

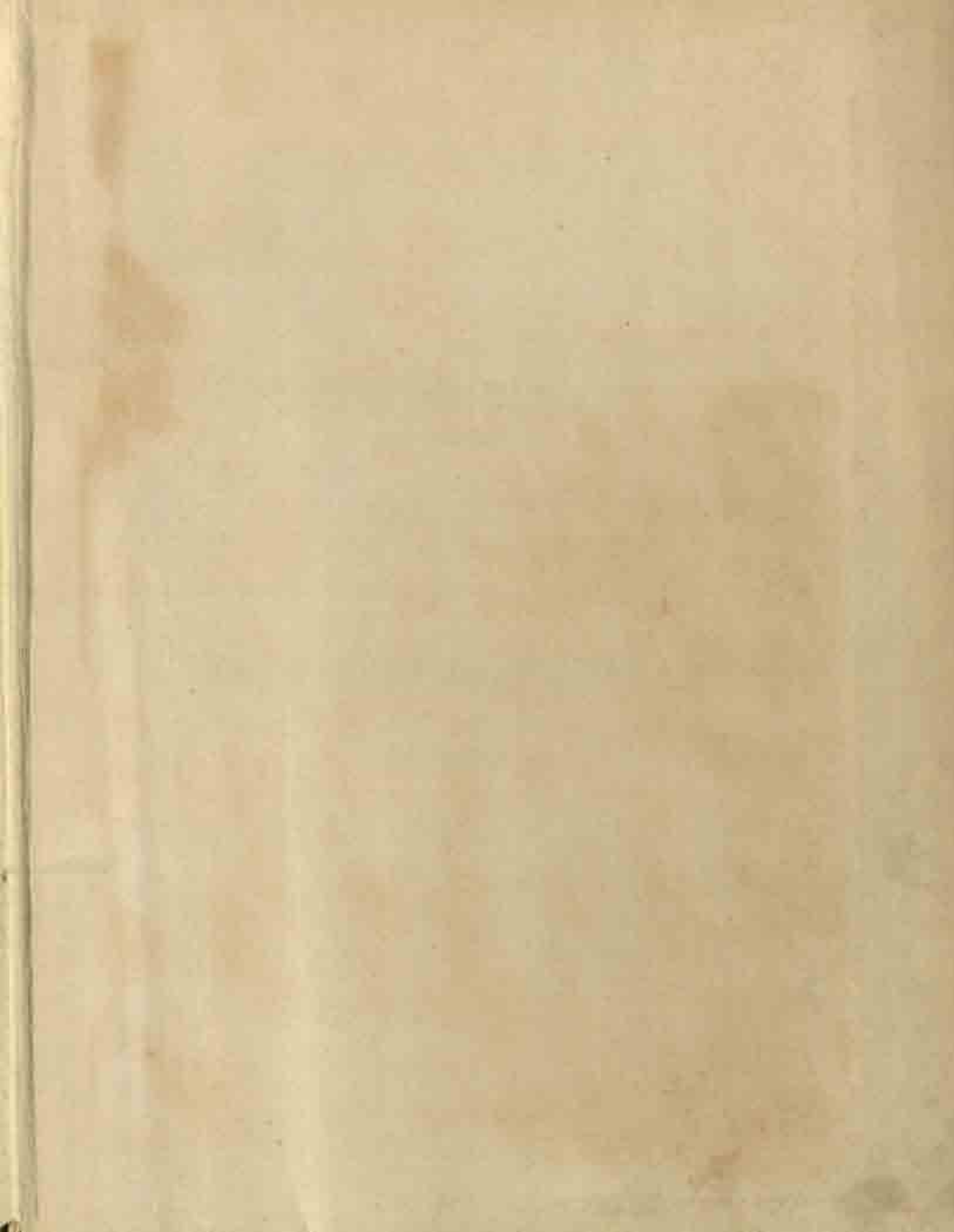
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*ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.*

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(NEW IMPERIAL SERIES.)

VOLUME XIV.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME II.





ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:

A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

## THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

TRANSLATED BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

53366



EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

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HON. COS. WIS. BERLIN SOC. OF ANTHROPOLOGY, ETC.; AND OF HAWAIIAN SOC. OF ARTS AND SCIENCES; FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY OF SOMERSET, ETC.  
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## PREFACE.

AS remarked in the Preface to the former volume, this is properly to be regarded as one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and practically may stand as the fifth volume of that publication : indeed, but that I had hoped the series of the *Corpus* would be resumed at an early date, these two "supplementary" volumes would also have borne the title chosen by the late General Sir A. Cunningham.

This volume completes what I had undertaken and closes my work in connexion with Indian Epigraphy. Among other papers, it contains a new and corrected edition of the Harsha inscription, first published by the Rev. Dr. Mill nearly sixty years ago, now edited by Professor Kielhorn from excellent impressions obtained for me by Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E. The Badāi pillar inscription first published by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1788 has also been anew translated by the same scholar, from Mr. H. B. W. Garrick's fresh impressions. The Pillar and Rock Edicts of Asoka have been finally revised by Professor Bühler, who has also continued the very important series of short epigraphs discovered by Dr. Führer at Mathura, along with the extensive collection of votive inscriptions made by the same scholar at Sānchi.

The very early Bauddha inscriptions discovered by Alex. Rea, Esq., of the Madras Archaeological Survey, in the brick remains of a Stūpa at Bhattiprolu in the Krishnā district, have also been edited by the same able scholar. This important discovery was reported to the Madras Government by Mr. Rea on 22nd February, 1892, and his letter was printed in G. O. of 22nd April, 1892, No. 270. It will be interesting in connexion with the epigraphs to give some details of the discovery here. Mr. R. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in Madras Presidency*, p. 77) states that this Stūpa "was greatly demolished a few years ago" (i.e. before 1882) for the "purpose of making a road ; and some of the marble sculptures were utilized in building a sluice on the Krishnā canal close by, where the road to Vellatūru crosses the canal. I have it direct from the officer chiefly concerned in the demolition that the mound was between 30 and 40 feet high, of a circular shape like a dome, but ruined at the top ; that there was a marble pillar standing erect, and sculpture here and there in marble . . . He found inside the dome a casket made of six small slabs of stone dove-tailed into one another measuring about 2½ feet by 1½ feet by 1 foot. Inside this was a common clay *chātti*, and inside the *chātti* a neat casket made of 'soap-stone,' which contained a crystal phial. In the phial was a pearl, a few bits of gold-leaf and some ashes. Wishing to remove his discoveries, the stone casket was accidentally broken and the remains were left at Bhattiprolu. The *chātti* was also broken. The



'soap-stone' casket was smashed during a voyage to England and the fragments thrown away. The crystal phial was presented to Dr. Burnell."

"The villagers of Bhattiprolu told me that they remember some railing or wall, which they described as about four feet high, surrounding the tope."\*

Mr. Rea found that the building had been of solid brick work throughout, and that a portion of the base of the dome and the wall of the procession-path at the south-east quadrant, were intact. From these he made out that the dome must have had a diameter of 132 feet and the base of 148 feet,—being thus about ten feet larger than the Amarāvati stūpa. Outside the basement, and 8 feet below the present surface, he found a brick floor about 12 feet broad, at the outer edge of which were fragments of marble,—probably of the great enclosing rail.

"I learned," he says, in his very instructive report, "that the casket had been found just above the summit of the remaining portion of the brick dome. I ascertained this point to be 15 feet above the level of the floor of the procession-path which surrounds the building. Although this casket had been found, I considered that, as the principal deposit is usually placed down in the centre near the foundation, or at the level of the procession-path, there was a great probability of there being another. After having found the centre of the circular brick-work, which, through the demolition, is not now in the middle of the mound but considerably towards the north, I saw that the bricks there had not been touched. In the centre was a narrow well, 9½ inches in diameter, filled with earth. This hole, it appears, was open when the top of the stūpa was removed, and was then sounded with a rope to a depth of about 15 feet from the present surface. Around it were courses of eight bricks radiating from the centre to a diameter of 3 feet. These bricks I removed to a depth of 14 feet 6 inches.

"At that depth I came on a large, irregular, triangular slab of black stone laid on the outside of the excavated shaft. The two inner sides of the stone radiated from the centre. Its outer side was curved concentric with the brick-work, and extended a foot into the wall of the shaft. It would have lain clear, had another ring of brick-work been removed, making the shaft 5 feet in diameter, but I did not expect to find more than one casket, in the centre. On removing it, I found a rectangular cutting on the under surface of the stone measuring 11 inches by 8 inches and ½ inch deep: the length was placed east and west. Below it was another similar but thicker stone with a raised rectangular rim on its upper surface cut to fit into the hollow in the upper stone. The inner sides of this rectangle slope down into a circular cavity 5 inches deep. The

\* *Conf. Ins. Ant.* vol. I, pp. 153, 374; vol. III, p. 124; *Madras G. O.* 1st Nov. 1878, No. 1630, pp. 33, 34.

upper surface of the lower stone is smooth, and cut on it, round the four sides of the casket chamber, are two lines of an inscription in characters similar to those of the Aśoka inscriptions" (see Nos. i and ii, pp. 326, 327).

In the cavity, was a small globular black stone relic-casket. Around the casket, and mixed with some earth which filled the cavity, were the following objects:—2 small hemispherical hollow copper or bell-metal (?) cups,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter: they fit into each other, and one bears traces of some sort of resin having been inside; on the apex of one is a gold bead,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter; the other has had a gold bead also, which was found in the earth alongside; 1 copper finger ring and several bits of copper; 1 small bead; 2 double pearls; and the following articles in gold, weighing collectively  $\frac{1}{2}$  tola and 13 grains (i.e., 148 grains) viz., 1 single and 1 double gold bead; 7 small triangular pieces; 4 lotus flowers in thin sheets with eight bent petals, each  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches across; 2 trisūlas in thin plates each  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches by 1 inch; 1 hexagonal crystal with slightly convex sides,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, pierced with a hole through its axis. On each of the sides of the prism is lightly traced an inscription in the same character as that on the stone (see No. x, p. 329).

"The two hemispherical vessels lay on the west side of the casket; the crystal prism, gold flowers and other articles on the east. The relic-casket is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The lid fits by a groove into the lower portion. Inside was a cylindrical crystal phial  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. It is moulded on the sides, flat on the top and bottom, and has its lid fitted in the same manner as the stone receptacle. Inside is a flat piece of bone, half an inch across, smooth on the one side and celled on the other: it seems to be a piece of a skull box.

"In the stone casket, below the phial were,—9 small lotus flowers in gold-leaf; 6 gold beads over an eighth of an inch in diameter, and 8 smaller; 4 small lotus flowers in thin copper; 19 small pierced pearls; 1 slightly blue coloured amethyst bead; and 24 small coins or tokens of a light coloured metal, somewhat resembling bell-metal. They are plain on the reverse; and on the obverse have lotus flowers, trisūlas, feet with a snake coiled round, and other emblems more or less legible. They were laid on the bottom of the casket—with the smooth sides down—in the form of a *svastika*, and had become fixed to the stone by oxidation. In the *svastika*, nine of the coins were in the central rectangle; three on each of the four arms, and the other three over the centre. The flowers and beads seem also to have been originally arranged symmetrically. An example of this symbolical use of the *svastika* was found in the centre of the stūpa at Pedda Ganjām.



"At a depth of 17 feet, was another black stone, on the north side of the well, and, like the first, sunk a foot into the wall. It is roughly triangular in form, with rounded corners, and measures about 2 feet across, by 10 inches thick. On the top is a circle,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, raised half an inch. The under-side is smooth with a circular hollow 12 inches in diameter and half an inch deep. The circle is filled in with an inscription in 18 lines (No. lii, p. 327), while around it, are two others in two lines (Nos. iv and v, p. 328). All had the letters filled in with white. Below it was a stone, roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. In it is a circular cavity  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter at the top and 4 at the bottom. Round the top is a raised rim  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad; and on the upper surface, round the hole, are inscriptions in two lines (Nos. vi and vii, p. 328). The characters are the same as those of the inscription first described. The letters were filled with *chunam*, evidently that they might show distinctly in the black stone. The cavity was nearly filled with earth and had no inner stone casket. In it was a crystal phial  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches high. Its lid is moulded like a *dāgaba*. The top and bottom were lying separate and filled with earth. There was no sign of a relic inside. Mixed with the earth in the stone cavity were,—164 lotus leaves and buds, 2 circular flowers, a *trisūla*, and a three-armed figure like a *mastika*,—all in gold leaf; 2 gold stems for the lotus flowers—one of them attached; 6 gold beads; and 1 small coiled gold ring. The lotus leaves (or petals) are of different sizes, having been fitted inside each other as in the flower itself. The beads represent the opening buds. These articles weigh collectively close on  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tolas (315 grs.). Also, two pearls; 1 garnet; six coral beads and one bit of the same material; 1 slightly blue, flat, oval, crystal bead; one pointed, oval, white crystal bead; and two green tinged, flat, hexagonal beryl drops: one is  $\frac{3}{8}$  and the other  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in length; a number of bits of corroded copper leaf, including lotus flowers, stems, a miniature umbrella, and one or more thin sheets of silver folded flat into about eight thicknesses. The metal of the latter is much corroded and extremely brittle: it will be impossible to unfold the sheets. One side is broken but the fragments remain. The largest piece measures 2 inches by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and shows some letters or symbols pricked on with a metal point.

"At a depth of 18 feet another black stone lay sunk a foot into the wall on the east side of the shaft. It is an irregular circular stone measuring about 2 feet 3 inches across, by 10 inches thick. On its under-surface is a circular space sunk half an inch with an inscription in eight lines (No. viii, p. 328). The letters were whitened. This stone lay on the top of another, roughly square in shape, and measuring 2 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 3 inches by 11 inches thick. On the upper side is a circular cavity  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep

7½ inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom. On the top is a rim 2½ inches broad which fits into the hollow in the upper stone. On the upper surface of the stone, round the rim, is an inscription in one line, with letters whitened (No. ix, p. 329).

"The cavity was nearly filled with earth. In it were: 1 crystal phial of the shape of that found inside the second stone receptacle but slightly larger. It measures 2½ inches in diameter by 3 inches high. The two pieces were filled with earth and lay apart.

"Close to the phial, was found the actual relic casket with the relics inside. It is made of a large beryl measuring ⅞ inch in length, by ⅞ inch, by ⅞ inch. A cylindrical hole, ⅞ inch in diameter, is drilled in its axis, in which are the relics,—three small pieces of bone. The hole is closed by a small white crystal stopper with hexagonal bulbous top. The necking is covered with gold leaf, and another sheet of the same material is fixed outside on the bottom. This unique casket had been originally placed inside the crystal phial, but had been displaced probably by shaking of the stone when it was laid. There was also in the cavity:—1 amethyst bead ½ inch long; another smaller; and 1 yellow coloured crystal bead; 1 small hexagonal crystal drop of a slightly yellowish colour, and another flat one of white crystal; 1 bone bead; 6 pearls, and 32 seed pearls, all pierced; 30 lotus flowers, a bent two-armed figure, and a quatre-foil in gold leaf; a piece of seemingly decomposed quartz having the appearance of salt but insoluble in water; a few bits of copper, and an iron (?) cinder.

"The inscriptions are of importance, as, being found in connection with the relics, they must be contemporaneous with the foundation of the stūpa, and shew it to have been an early one."

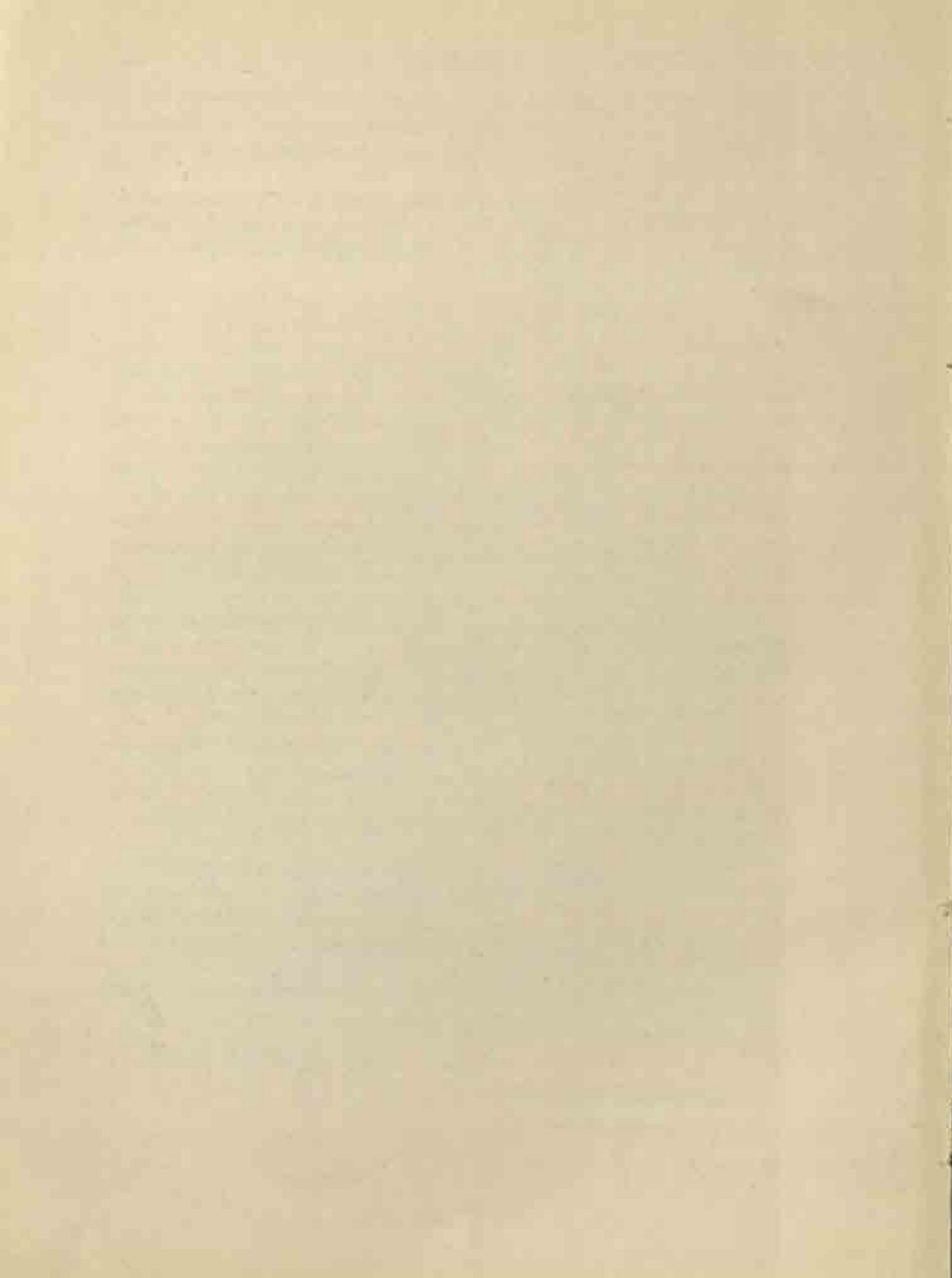
This report by Mr. Rea is a model of accurate and careful detail such as is seldom met with in such papers, and throws all the light possible in the circumstances on the discovery of these early Buddhist inscriptions. The whole of the objects found have been delivered by Mr. Rea to the Central Museum at Madras.

The volume concludes with a paper supplementary to that given in the previous one by Professor H. Jacobi of Bonn University, completing his ingenious method of computing accurately Hindu dates found in ancient documents. The table of contents will show the list of other papers and the names of the respective contributors: to all of them my best thanks are tendered. To Dr. A. Führer, Ph.D., as assistant editor, I am deeply indebted for much valuable assistance in many ways, ever readily rendered.

JAS. BURGESS.

22, SETON PLACE, EDINBURGH:

August, 1894.





# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

## I.—JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASAHKARNADEVA. [A. D. 1122.]

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where<sup>1</sup> or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nagpur Museum, where a Devanāgarī transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum; and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yasahkarnadeva hitherto discovered, I edit it now from five rubbings and impressions which during the last two or three years have been kindly supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, Mr. Fleet, and Colonel J. A. Temple.<sup>2</sup>

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ¼" in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *akṣaras* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅓" and ⅓½". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *om oṃ namo Brahmaṇe* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhīl copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevi.<sup>3</sup> As regards orthography, the letter *h*

<sup>1</sup> I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of 'Jabalpattana or Jhāl-pattan' was apparently mentioned in the last portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

<sup>2</sup> See Grant's *Quarter of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. ii and iii; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nagpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karpadeva, according to another it belongs to Gayakarna, and the transcript is said to read *Śrīmahadev-Karna*; but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yasahkarna and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Śrīmahadev-Yasahkarna*. Karpadeva is said to have built a fort named Karna Mura from which flowed the river Karnaśatī; in reality Karna built a temple at Bindana, which the poet describes as Karna's Ma-n, and he founded the town of Karpāvatī. The same Karna is said to have conquered Bhīmavara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhīma II, one of the eastern Chālukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yasahkarna defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhīmavara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 2, note 48.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 403—410; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—122. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 2, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published version of the Kumbhīl inscription.



is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, *ś* is used for *s* in the word *śārdḍham*, in line 21, and *y* for *y* in *trijāmā*, in line 15.

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhī and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripuri, from Yuvarājadeva down to the reigning king Yaśaḥkarnadeva (Yuvarājadeva; Kokalla; Gāṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramāditya; Karnadeva, who married the Hāna princess Āvalladevi; and Yaśaḥkarnadeva). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gāṅgeyadeva with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayāga, and that Karnadeva founded the town of Karnāvatī, it only records (in verse 13) that Karṇa also built a magnificent temple at Kāśī or Benares, where evidently verse 13 was composed; and (in verse 23) that Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the ruler of Andhra, in the vicinity of the river Godāvari.

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—'and this...*Paramahatthāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramesvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva,'—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, i.e., Yaśaḥkarnadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nāgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayakarnadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarnadeva which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśaḥkarṇa would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nāgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription<sup>6</sup> the grant recorded in it was made 'at the time of the Makara-saṁkrānti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha.' And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year<sup>7</sup> the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year the Makara-saṁkrānti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A. D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Māgha-badi 10 of Chedi-saṁvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśaḥkarnadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. H. Dikshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-saṁvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078—1178) the only year in which the Makara-saṁkrānti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Māgha, was Śaka-saṁvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122—23).

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं [१<sup>a</sup>] श्रीं नमो ब्र(म)ह्मणे ।  
जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीमरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानज(म)सूतिः ॥(1)  
अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमस्तिस्तदप्यस्तदनु जयति अथ प्राप्तवा-  
2. नश्चिबन्धुः<sup>20</sup> ॥<sup>21</sup>—[1].  
पथ वी(वी)धनमादिराजपुत्रं सृष्टजामातरमजवान्धवध्व<sup>22</sup> ।  
तनयं जनयोव(व)भूव राजा नगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[2].  
पुत्रं पुङ्गवमभौरसमाप स-  
3. तुर्देवस्य समजलरामि(शि)रसायनस्य ।  
शामीदनस्यसमभाम्यग्रतोपभोग्या यस्थोऽम्भी(शी) च सुकलजमिहोऽम्भीरा च ॥<sup>24</sup>—[3].  
अ[त्रा]न्वये किल गताधिकसतिमधयूपोपहृद्यमुनी-  
4. क्षविर्विजयोक्तिः ॥(1)  
सप्तान्वि(वि)रज्जरम(म)नाभरणाभिरामविश्वं(स्व)भ[रा]सु(स)भरती भरती व(व)भूव ॥ —[4].  
हिलास्यहीतपुनस्तमसस्तस(म)स्यो नीले जयलधिकमस्य स कार्तवीर्यः ॥(1)  
अ-  
5. तैव वैद्यनृपाव्ययपुत्रं पुंसि राजेति नाम स(म)श्लक्ष्णं चक्षमे यः ॥ —[5].  
स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिपंस(म)मसूत अमासतां भर्ता [१<sup>a</sup>]  
सुक्तामणिभिरिवामलहसैः पूत महीप-  
6. तिमिः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[6].  
तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवर्ते नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरोमिव पुरीं विपुरीं पुनानः ॥(1)  
शामोक्षदान्धनपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्माणकेसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥<sup>26</sup>—[7].  
मिञ्चासने नृप-  
7. तिमिञ्चमसुच्य स्रुमाकरुपवनिभर्तुरमावसुख्याः ॥(1)  
कोकलमण्यवचतुष्टयवोषिमंघसंघहृष्टचतुरङ्गनमूपचारं ॥ —[8].  
इन्द्रपभां निंदति चारुगुच्छं सुगुप्सते  
8. चंदनमाचिपन्ती [१]  
यत्र प्रभो दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्तिः ॥<sup>27</sup>—[9].  
मरकतमणिपटप्रोदवसाः क्षितासो<sup>28</sup> नगरपरिवर्धोर्ध्वं संचय[न्तो]र्ध्वेन ।  
[मिर]सि  
9. कुलिश(म)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्वं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥<sup>29</sup>—[10].  
सवीरमिञ्चासनभोजिर[क्ष] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।  
य[श्चाद]कृष्णादप[वर्ग] १-

\* From impressions supplied to us by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>20</sup> Read "नश्चिबन्धुः".

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>22</sup> Read "नश्चिबन्धुः".

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Anupachhandasika.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>26</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā. As the noun *sirudhā* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *sirudhā* (*sirudhā*).

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Ujjāli.

<sup>28</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Mālinī.



10. मिच्छवकु[च्छ]ल[ः][कुं स्वलि?]तां व(व)भार । (a)<sup>m</sup>—[11].  
 प्राप्ते प्रयागपटसूक्तनिवेस(ग)व(व)न्वी सार्धं गतेन यद्विषीभिरसुत सुति ।  
 पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदत्ति[तारि]करोन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलैः
11. स्व<sup>m</sup>ककुभीर्षति कर्णदेवः <sup>m</sup>—[12].  
 कनकसि(गि)स्वरवेज्जद्वेजयन्तीसमीरस्वपितम[ग]नखेलस्वेचरीचक्रुष्ट[ट]ः <sup>m</sup>(i)  
 किमपरमिष काष्ठां(शां) य[स्व] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(व)१]-
12. हल[कीलैः] कीर्तनं कर्णमैहः <sup>m</sup>—[13].  
 धर्मा धाम से(वे)यसो वेदविद्यावह्नीकंदः स्वःसवन्धाः किरीट [i\*]  
 त्र(त्र)हस्तंभो येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्य[ठापि] ज्ञातसत्र(त्र)हलो[कः]
13. <sup>m</sup>—[14].  
 अजनि कलपुरीषां स्वामिना तेन ह्यनान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्मां श्रीमदावज्ञदेयां <sup>m</sup>(i)  
 मगधदुदयस(ग)ह्यक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(ग):श्रीः श्रीयस(ग):कर्ण-  
 देवः <sup>m</sup>—[15].
14. [चंद्रार्द्धदीप]वति पर्वतराजपूरर्षकुम्भावभामिनि महा[ब्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमध्ये[i\*]  
 चक्रे पुरीहितपुर[स्त्रु]तिपूत[कक्षां] धर्मासनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं <sup>m</sup>—[16].  
 न
15. खलु स[मदमो]डीपद्यपातस्व पात्रं ।<sup>m</sup>न खलु कलुषवयांकजलो[हायकस] <sup>m</sup>(i)  
 कलयति कलिनामन्मुहमं यस्मिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(ज्बू)वीपरत्नप्रदीपः <sup>m</sup>—[17].  
 चित्ता-
16. मणि[कषा१]सु(ग)जिह्वा[स्म]क्रोडे स्वाद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्ध [i\*]  
 दुग्धे(स्ते)त दुग्धोस्तस्य दातुः सादृष्टं(धं) [ध]वलाहयेचक्षस्य । (a)<sup>m</sup>—[18].  
 यः ककुधुक्षरालानसंभसत्र(त्र)ह्यचारिणः ।
17. [चासा(शा)नो]षु जयस्तन्मानुदस्तंभयदुश्चकैः <sup>m</sup>—[19].  
 यो त्र(त्र)हर्षा याणिषु पंचवाणि दाता<sup>m</sup>निधने प्रयसः वृषन्ति [i\*]  
 तेरेव नृशामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरपि प्रथयन्धव[क्षां] <sup>m</sup>—[20].
18. महीभर्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापूरुषादिभिः [i]  
 मरिष्ठा [मि]रुत्तर्य ज्ञतार्थयति योयिनः । (a)<sup>m</sup>—[21].  
 स्वर्णराजगजदन्तहचीनि श्रीरनीरनिधिमं(ग)खसु(ग)पीनि ।  
 सा(सा)हि-
19. [विष१]कणिकंजुजभांसि स्त्रीततां दधति यस्य यसां(यां)सि <sup>m</sup>—[22].  
 चम्पाधीन(ग)मरभ्युदोर्विलसितं खच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता  
 धेनाभ्यर्च्यत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमिस्त्र(त्र)रो

\* Metre, Upajāti.

\* This word is quite clear in the rubbing.

\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.

\* Metre, Mālinī.

\* Metre, Śalinī.

\* Metre, Mālinī.

\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.

\* This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

\* Metre, Mālinī.

\* Metre, Bhadravirkā. The third Pāda wants one short syllable, between *drīṣa* and *ānya*. I would suggest reading *śuddhaya*.

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuśtubh).

\* This is quite clear in the rubbing.

\* Metre, Indravajrā.

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuśtubh).

\* Metre, Śloka.

L. 20.

[भूष]ये: ॥(1)

यस्या[व]र्ण[यदात्त]वृत्तलहरीद्वयसिगोदावरी  
 [वीर्याशु]षदहसनादमधुरैः स्रोतःस्त्रैः ससभिः ॥(४)<sup>m</sup>—[23].  
 कुर्वन्नाही वा(मा) ब्रह्मसा-

21.

दरिचत्तनिव(व)र्णः [१]<sup>x</sup>

मा(मा)र्द्ध परसु(व)रामिण वः सत्तामधिरोहति ॥<sup>n</sup>—[24].  
 स च परममहावक्त्रमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व(व)रवीर्यामदेवपा-

## TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1.) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye!<sup>m</sup>

(2.) Now the king<sup>n</sup> who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god<sup>n</sup> who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Pururavas, who had both Urvasi and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings.

(4.) In this family forsooth was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunā, hemmed in by more than hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (*offered by him*),—Bharata, who delighted in the welfare of the earth, made lovely, as by a pearl-ornament, by the girdle of the seven seas.

(5.) Highly glorious is in his family that Kārtavīrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king<sup>n</sup> only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

(6.) Resembling the Himālaya, the lord of mountains, that lord of princes begat the Kalachuri race which is purified by rulers of spotless conduct, as with pure round pearls.

(7.) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripuri so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvārjajadeva, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by passion, as a young lion does powerful infuriated elephants.

(8.) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,<sup>u</sup> was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

<sup>m</sup> Metre, Śārdhavarīṣṭita.<sup>n</sup> Metre, Śika (Anashubb).<sup>x</sup> This first verse glorifies the god Vishnu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, i.e., Mercury) married (Ilā or Idā) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuna), and that their son was Pururavas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.<sup>y</sup> i.e., the moon.<sup>z</sup> i.e., again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.<sup>u</sup> For the same idea, compare ante, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading *chakrasa* in the Kumbhī copper-plate (instead of *chakrasa*) yields no sense.<sup>v</sup> The original has only the word *chakrasa*.



(V. 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

(10.) His son was Gāṅgeyadeva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (and) the lord of the fortune of heroes, with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (and) with smiling eyes, (and) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar.

(11.) The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramāditya; for, striving after final beatitude (and) free from wicked deceit, he ruled the earth which he had himself conquered all of a sudden.

(12.) When, fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayāga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karnaḍeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, cleft by his sword.

(13.) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kāśī, there is a temple (erected by him), Karna's *Meru*,<sup>41</sup> (so lofty) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

(14.) He set up the pillar of piety, called Karnaḍvatī, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeping plant—knowledge of the Vedas, the diadem of the stream of heaven, the world of Brahman on the surface of the earth.

(15.) That lord of the Kalachuris begat on the illustrious Āvalladevi, (another) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūna family, the illustrious Yaśaḥ-karnaḍeva, the glory of whose fame is co-extensive with the billows of the milky ocean which rose (when he arose), mistaking him to be the rising moon.

(16.) Of this law-abiding (etc.) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.<sup>42</sup>

(17.) Glorious is that jewel-lamp<sup>43</sup> of Jambūdvīpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lampblack—base conduct.

(18.) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (put) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (king) whose eyes are both white and red.<sup>44</sup>

(19.) He erected high pillars of victory near the confines of the regions, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are fastened.

(20.) This bountiful (lord) puts five or six drops of water into the hands of the

<sup>41</sup> *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; *Brhatkathā*, iv, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gāṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

<sup>42</sup> At an ordinary *abhisheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśaḥkarna's *abhisheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himalaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

<sup>43</sup> *I.e.*, a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world, including India.

<sup>44</sup> The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.

Brāhmans<sup>10</sup>; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.<sup>11</sup>

(P. 21.) In weight (*like the mountain*) Meru, this ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies suppliants by bestowing on them (*gold*) equal to his own weight and by other great gifts.

(22.) Bright like the tusks of the elephant of the king of heaven, pure like the shells of the ocean of milk, (*and*) lustrous like the snake's skin in which Vishnu is clad, his fame has become superabundant.

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he revered the holy Bhīmaśvara<sup>12</sup> with many ornaments. The Godāvari, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

(24.) Crushing the power of his enemies and making over the earth to the Brāhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Parāsurāma.

And this . . . the *Paramahoffāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . . .

## II.—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALHANADEVI.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 907.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghāt on the Narmadā, in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of greenstone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499-532; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 91-94. I now re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. With the exception of two *akṣaras* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged *akṣaras*,

<sup>10</sup> viz., at the time when he is making donations to them.

<sup>11</sup> The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'

<sup>12</sup> i.e., the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhīmaśvara temple at Dhākeśwara in the Godāvari district.—E. H.]

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 531; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall's text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press; and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translation.



the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{12}$ ". The characters are Nagari, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *mahīpālāḥ-Karṇaḥ*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhānūlīya* in *Hūṇaḥ-praharṣaḥ*, in line 10. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.\* The language is not quite free from mistakes.† For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhātām*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *vidhātām* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chandimatā*, and, in line 2, the adjective *calgu*, used in the sense of the participle *calgat*. And the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *kim-vā*, line 2, and in *gushmān-śarīraiḥ*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *v*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrot*, but in line 6 *vibhrot*; in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have *śafāla*, instead of *śaḍāla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anuvāra* the dental *a* has been wrongly employed in the word *śiṅha* (in the proper names *Vairisīṅka*, *Vijayasīṅha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *vanā*, line 20, and in *vudhānūḥ*, line 18 (properly written *vudhānū* in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *sansatva*, line 5, and *etān-sūriḥ*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anuvāra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anuvāra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaśidhara<sup>1</sup> and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra*; written on the stone by his elder brother Prithvidhara; and engraved by Mahīdhara, a son of the artisan Bālasimha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhanadevi, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarnadeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasimhadeva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *maṭha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nāmaunḍī, in the Jāuli *pattalā*, and of Makarapātaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāsupata ascetic, named Rudrarāśi, of Lāṭa lineage (vs. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pithe.

\* The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

† Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

<sup>1</sup> Dharaśidhara, Prithvidhara and Mahīdhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva, of the Chedi year 902. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2.



By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "om oih; adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhanadevi had married, and of her own descent:—

From a prince of the lunar family, named Arjuna (or Sahasrārjuna, v. 7), was descended the king Kokaḷadeva (v. 8). From him sprang Gāṇgeyadeva (vv. 9-10); and his son was king Karna who is represented as having held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vāṅgas, Kalingas, Kīras, and Hūṇas (vv. 11-13). Karna's son was Yaśaḥkarna, said to have become famous by devastating Champāranya (v. 14); and his son again was Gayakarna (vv. 15-16). Gayakarna married Alhanadevi, a daughter of the king Vijayasimha (a son of Vairisimha who was a son of the prince Hamsapāla, a descendant of the son of Gobhila or Gobhilaputra,) and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of the king Udayāditya of Mālava (vv. 17-23). And Alhanadevi bore to Gayakarna two sons, Narasimhadeva, who in the inscription is represented as the reigning king, and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva (vv. 24-26). Nearly all this is stated also in the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva, and I may therefore, for the present, refer the reader to my remarks on that inscription, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 215.

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 007, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha commenced 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exception ly, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,



was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it.

The two villages Nāmaṇḍī and Makarapāṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāuli pattalā, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśahkarna's copper-plate,\* must have been the country around Jahalpur.

## TEXT.

- L. 1 श्री[१] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥  
 कलाचितामधिकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलामिधिकला शशियेश्वरस्य ॥(१)  
 एवैव या प्रभवसाधनतां द्वितीयावु(वु)द्विषदोषविरहपि करोति नित्यम् ॥<sup>१</sup>—[1].
- 2 किं माताः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किमर्थं कथाकुलाः<sup>२</sup>  
 किम्वा<sup>३</sup> कथुकिवकुलाः किमयवा भृत्यद्वयमा भान्वमी ।  
 इत्येवाकवितर्जिताः शिवधिरः सञ्चारिनाकापना-  
 रिङ्गद्वयुत्तरद्वयभङ्गिततयः पुष्पप्र-
3. याः पान्तु वः ॥<sup>४</sup>—[2].  
 भूतं सदिभु यदिभाति भुवनं यदिभ्रमाद्यजग-  
 श्वेतानन्दकरं धराधरसाधनत्वहेतुष यत् ।  
 यद्वन्दोत्तरायाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः  
 सख्यं यदकपमभिरवताद्युष्मान्ज(वज्र)रोरैः
4. शिवः ॥ —[3].  
 शक्तिहेतिपरमोतिहेतुसन्दर्भचितः ।  
 तावद्व्याहव(व)रः कुर्यावीलकष्टः शिवाणि वः ॥<sup>५</sup>—[4].  
 विजृम्भसन्तमसमञ्जरवाय शक्तं सुक्तं कलंकलया शकलं सुधांशोः ।  
 कुन्दावदाततरदन्तामिपाहृषा-
5. नः श्रेयः परमिदमस्तु वः सदयं शिवायः ॥<sup>६</sup>—[5].  
 कपूरनेकेष्विवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती वः ।  
 यज्ञेश्वरानिखलवादपि स्वाध्यायानु<sup>७</sup>पुमाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् [१] ॥<sup>८</sup>—[6].  
 गोले राजिकरस्य भूपति-
6. रभूदि(दि)श्वभक्षकं करा-  
 म्प्रत्येकमिजगन्धनोचिनयनं रात्रिन्दिवं जायति ।  
 तेषोभित्तगतीश्वताम्परिभवी नाम्नाल्लुनः प्रसन्न-  
 दंष्ट्राधाम्यविगम्यते वसु मतस्रोतं च चाराधरम् ॥<sup>९</sup>—[7].  
 तस्या-
7. न्यये समभवत्प्रथितः दृष्टिश्च नामः कथादुततमापि वृथा न वस्य ।  
 कोकजदेव इति त्रिभुदु[दार]रूपवाम त्रिलोकसुखमञ्जननैकधाम ॥<sup>१०</sup>—[8].  
 निर्जित्वोर्जितमर्थपव्येतस्यतः प्रत्यर्पिष्वजो-

\* See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 98.

<sup>१</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>२</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>३</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>४</sup> The sign of annexation in the last word is very faint, but it is there.

<sup>५</sup> Read शि वः.

<sup>६</sup> Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>७</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>८</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>९</sup> Read वाचस्पत्यु.

<sup>१०</sup> Metre, Indravajra.

<sup>११</sup> Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>१२</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

I. 8.

सुखः

प्राप्तानन्तयया वभूव नृपतिर्वाह्यदेवस्ततः  
इत्यो येन विधाय मेवमतुलं कल्पदुमेण[रि]र्धनं  
स्वर्णोद्भूतमभःस्त्रितापि विबुधाधारे [सः]भाषादिता ॥<sup>10</sup>—[9].  
पुष्पासूतेन संसिक्ता शुभमन्त्रप्रवर्ति-

9.

[त]।

यत्कोत्तिव्रततिः सर्वं व्याप त्र(त्र)स्त्राष्टमन्त्रपम(म्) ॥<sup>11</sup>—[10].  
तेनाजनि महीपालकृष्णैः स्वर्येण कुर्वता ।  
पूज्यैतुष्कार्णवानिर्दिभावातिर्धितकीर्तिना ॥ —[11].  
पान्धराचष्टिमताद्युमीच मुरलस्तत्वाच सर्वं[ध]र्तु<sup>12</sup>

10.

[कु]ङ्कः<sup>13</sup> सव्रतिमाजगाम चक्रपे<sup>14</sup>वङ्कः कलिङ्गे सङ्ग ।

कीरः कीरवदास पञ्चरगद्वे त्रण७७प्रवर्ध जङ्घी  
यस्मिन्नाजनि सौर्वेविभ्रमभरं विस्वत्वपूर्वप्रभे ॥<sup>15</sup>—[12].  
चक्रवर्तुपरामर्शेन सत्त्वता-

11.

चुङ्गे [सुर्व] यामसौ

तानिमात्तववामसै तनुतराकारामितीष क्षियः ।  
यत्तत्तविमहीमुजावयनजैव्यापैः पयोधीन्वधुः  
स्त्रारान्त्रमङ्गोयिभिः पुनरमी तं वरुं[याच]-<sup>16</sup>

12.

किरे ॥ —[13].

चम्पारण्यविदारचोदतययः शुभांशुना भासय-  
व्यायाचक्रमवक्रभावद्वयः क्षापान्त्रुडामणिः ।  
तत्प्राज्ञस्य समानसाद विमर्दं त्रीमान्दमःकण्ठे इ-  
त्वीदार्थाङ्ग[निकी]-<sup>17</sup>

13.

चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष सर्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तत्प्रादेशेषुचरन्निधिरमाभाङ्गवज्रमः समभवद्वयकण्ठदेवः ।  
सस्य प्रतापतयनोभारिसुन्दरीणां शोकाण्णवोदयनिदानपदं पपेदे ॥<sup>18</sup>—[15].

14.

श्रुतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पुषुतरगुणशालः श्रुतम्लोकातः ।  
विमलितरुशालः कान्तकीर्त्या त्र(च)टातः मिततरकरवालः शोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[16].  
यस्मिन्

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The *ośakara* poi in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.

<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Of the *ośakara* in brackets only the comment \* is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably वरुं[याच].

<sup>13</sup> The *ośakara* in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter & remains. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xviii, p. 217, line 10.

<sup>14</sup> This reading is absolutely certain. चक्रपे is grammatically incorrect for चक्रपे.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 12-14, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>16</sup> The word *म* of this line is quite certain. Of the *ośakara* in brackets only the first is partly visible.

<sup>17</sup> Of the *ośakara* in these brackets only the vowel *i* of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Yaśastīlaka.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Māhāt.

- L. 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोबिलवाजनिट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ।  
शौर्यावशजितनिरम्यैलसैन्यसंघनस्त्रीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुत्रकपालः ॥<sup>१७</sup>—[17]  
तस्याभवत्तनुभयः प्र-
16. जमत्समस्तसामन्तयेखरशिरोमणिरक्षिताङ्गेः<sup>१८</sup> ।  
शौर्यैरिसिन्धुसुधाधिपतिर्विश्वहृद्वैविधिवं परमार्थजनस्य चोद्यैः ॥—[18].  
स<sup>१९</sup> शैरिसिन्धोप्यनर्वाद्रिपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहाय-
17. क्षाणि ।  
क्षयश्च तेषामधिपत्यं चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[19].  
तस्मादज्ञायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभङ्गरिताहितयोः ।  
पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्धु<sup>२१</sup> इति
18. प्रवर्तमानः सदा जगति यम्ब यशःसुधान्यः<sup>२२</sup> ॥<sup>२३</sup>—[20].  
तस्माभवत्कालवमशलाधिनाशोदयादित्यसुता सुरुपा ।  
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरितविन्तामणिरक्षितयोः ॥<sup>२४</sup>—[21].
19. मेनावामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी चोलीभृतास्त्रायका-  
ङ्गीरिष्णामिव शुभ्रभातुवनिता दक्षापणानां सृजः ।  
तस्मादन्त्यदेव्यजायत जगदृचासमाद्रुपते-  
रितस्माच्चिज-
20. दीर्घवम्शविशदप्रेक्ष्यताकाङ्क्षतिः ॥<sup>२५</sup>—[22].  
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयज्जणैर्नरेखरः ।  
चक्रे प्रीतिप्यरामस्थां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥<sup>२६</sup>—[23].  
शृङ्गारशाला कलयी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
21. षण्णभूमिः ।  
असूत पुत्रद्वयकण्ठभूपादसौ नरेखरसिन्धुदेवम्<sup>२७</sup> ॥<sup>२८</sup>—[24].  
अस्य श्रीनरसिन्धुदेवद्रुपतेः<sup>२९</sup> प्रोद्यन्त्यशब्दमा  
दिमितीर्विदधातु व(ब)भुरभुवांसश्चारगम्भा इव ।  
भूर्भर्तारम-
22. वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिमत्वा प्राप्नुया-  
त्पूर्वेषाञ्च यथा मनामपि महाचोलीभृतां ध्यायति ॥<sup>३०</sup>—[25].  
अस्मानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्धुदेवः<sup>३१</sup> सौमित्रिवत्तमजेद्रुतरुपसिधः ।  
यो मेवनादव(ब)ह-
23. मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामभिमवच्छ[ह] प्रहृष्टः ॥<sup>३२</sup>—[26].  
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलिरिदम्भेनाद्रुतभूमिकेत ।

<sup>१७</sup> Metre of verses 17 and 19, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>१८</sup> Originally "वि" or "वि", but altered to "वि". At the commencement of the next line read "शौर्यैरिषिह".

<sup>१९</sup> Read "शैरिसिन्धु".

<sup>२०</sup> Metre, Upendrasajā.

<sup>२१</sup> Read "विजय".

<sup>२२</sup> Read "सुधान्यः".

<sup>२३</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>२४</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>२५</sup> Read "दीर्घवम्श".

<sup>२६</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrāntā.

<sup>२७</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anubhokā).

<sup>२८</sup> Read "विहृद्वै".

<sup>२९</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>३०</sup> Read "शौर्यभर".

<sup>३१</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrāntā.

<sup>३२</sup> Read "अपक्षिप्त".

<sup>३३</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.



सहासुना श्रीनरसिंहदेवप्रभुभावल्लभदेव्युदारा<sup>16</sup> ॥<sup>17</sup>—[27].

व्याख्यानशा-

L. 24. सामुद्यानभालामविकलाममूम(म) ।

अकारयस्युयं ग्रन्थप्रासादानीहयजिवैः ॥<sup>18</sup>—[28].

देवायामै वैद्यनायाभिधाय प्रादादेवी जाउलोपसलायाम् ।

यामवाद्या नामउष्ठीति सर्वादायैः<sup>19</sup>द्या-

25. ई चारुचर्चाप्रतिवैः ॥<sup>20</sup>—[29].

नभंदादल्लिणे कृते पर्वतोपलकाययै ।

तयापरमदाद्रामवाद्या मञ्जरपाटकम् ॥<sup>21</sup>—[30].

लाटानयः पाद्यपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रागिर्बिधिपद्मपत्तान्<sup>22</sup> ।

खानस्य रचावि-

26. धिमस्य तावद्यावन्निमीते सुवनानि ग्रन्थः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[31].

मौन्या(ना)न्यै<sup>24</sup>भासैवैतद्व्यसावेतसेतिप्रवरत्रयाद्यै ।

मईश्वराख्याद्वरपीधरोभूषाद्या गरिम्मा यमसा त्रिदा य ॥<sup>25</sup>—[32].

कौमल-

27. कान्तिसटालेनौबैःखेहातिभारभरितेन ।

दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन विभुवनदीपाविते येन ॥<sup>26</sup>—[33].

पृथ्वीधरस्तथा सुतः समस्तगभीरयास्त्राणैवपारदृशा ।

प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्हि-

28. इमण्डलो शिष्यगणैर्बिजिष्ये ॥<sup>27</sup>—[34].

यतश्चावरजस्तर्कनिष्ठातोद्गतनैपुणः<sup>28</sup> ।

प्रशस्तिमकरोदेताम्बुरिः<sup>29</sup>ग्रन्थिधराभिधः ॥<sup>30</sup>—[35].

<sup>31</sup>पस्युयदिदं सर्वं विम्बकभ्यविधानवित् ।

योविसमभिधः सुत-

29. चारः पृथ्वीभ्युच्युयवा ॥ —[36].

सुतधाराचणीवा(वा)लसिन्धुसुसंज्ञोधरः<sup>32</sup> ।

विलान्तवाकरोद्वरैर्वमभारकितं यवा ॥ —[37].

संवत् ८०७ मास्यसुदि ११<sup>33</sup>रवौ ॥ ॥ ॥

<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीनरसिंह<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Upendravajra.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> This sign of omission is superfluous.

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Sālini.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>22</sup> The correct form would of course be विष्णुपत्तान्.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Indravajra.

<sup>24</sup> The correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Upajit.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Arjā.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Upajit.

<sup>28</sup> Of the addition to the superscript line which turns it into a is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.

<sup>29</sup> Read "एत सति".

<sup>30</sup> Metre of verses 35-37, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>31</sup> Originally चारु, altered to चरु.

<sup>32</sup> Read "चरुसिंह".

<sup>33</sup> There is no doubt whatever about these figures.

## TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1.) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only *one* (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*)!<sup>18</sup>

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping<sup>19</sup> tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view!

(3.) (*That body*) which, being a gross element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light; (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures; and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth; (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is characterized by cold; (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel;—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies<sup>20</sup> (*of his*) protect you!

(4.) May Nilakanṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you!<sup>21</sup>

(5.) May the Elephant-faced (*god*) in his mercy bestow on you supreme felicity,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, bears the piece of the moon which is freed from the dark digit, able to dispel the profound darkness of crowds of obstacles!

(6.) May Sarasvatī guard you,—who by manifold forms (*of speech*) brings about all intercourse (*of men, and*) by partaking of even a small portion of whose elegance in trifles (*even*), men may secure greater weight in assemblies!—

(7.) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Arjuna, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom<sup>22</sup> is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago.

(8.) In his lineage was born a renowned ruler of the earth of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the name Kokalladeva, an illustrious name, eminently fit to give pleasure to the three worlds.

(9.) From him sprang the prince Gāṅgeyadeva who, by vanquishing hostile rulers

<sup>18</sup> *Fix*, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *śulpaṇḍita* is not given by the dictionaries.

<sup>19</sup> *Paṇḍita*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *paṇḍita*, opposed to *virāṇḍita*.

<sup>20</sup> These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā*.

<sup>21</sup> The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*śaṅkṛāṇḍa*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to the god Kārttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1727 of Vallabhadeva's *Śrōṭadātātā*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandraka* by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

<sup>22</sup> Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brhadajjagurva*, which expresses the same idea.



supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*<sup>10</sup> without equal.

(V. 10.) The creeping-plant of his fame, sprinkled with the nectar of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, overspread the whole bower of the universe.

(11.) He who, seeking good renown, so behaved to the crowds of suppliants that the ocean of their desires became replenished with gold, begat the prince Karna.

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence,<sup>11</sup> the Muraia gave up his arrogant bearing,<sup>12</sup> the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kālīṅga, the Kīra staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hāna left off being merry.

(13.) When the wives of hostile princes enlarged the seas with the tears streaming from their eyes, intending as it were to reduce the size of the earth, because he had it all subjected to his rule by the defeat of their husbands, those same seas again did homage to him with large waves of precious stones.

(14.) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśaḥkarna, a crest-jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile, who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champāraṇya, (*and*) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception, as soon as he set eyes on them.

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarnaḍeva. In his case even the sun,—the son of his prowess,—took upon itself the function<sup>13</sup> of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

(16.) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,<sup>14</sup> was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

(17.) Well known on the earth is the family of the son of Gobhila. Therein was born forsooth the prince Hamsapāla, who with the host of his valorous irresistible troops humbled the circle of all his foes combined.

(18.) He, whose feet were irradiated by the crest-jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (*before him*), had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisimha, a treasure-house not merely of purified understanding, but also, eminently, (*one*) for suppliants.

(19.) That Vairisimha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

<sup>11</sup> The abstract noun *chāpāṇatā* of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is *chāpāṇa*.

<sup>12</sup> Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

<sup>13</sup> This function belongs properly to the moon.

<sup>14</sup> This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Viṣṇu, *Haru-nṛpa*, (see M. Williams' Dictionary); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *śai*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Viṣṇu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

<sup>15</sup> Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches)

(V. 20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasimha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (and) the moon of whose fame (accordingly) was always waxing in the world.

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the realm of Mālava,—Śyāmaladevi, a gem granting the desires of the nobly-conducted, (and herself) a votary of Fortune.

(22.) As Menā bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śaṁkara, (and) Viriṇī to Dakṣa, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhanadevi, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.<sup>75</sup>

(23.) Having wedded her with due rites, the king Gayakarna bestowed on her the most ardent affection, as Śaṁkara did on Śivā.

(24.) And she, a mansion of amorous passion, a beaker (brimful) of accomplishments, a garland of the graces, a store-house of excellent qualities, bore to king Gayakarna a son, the prince Narasimhadeva.

(25.) May the rising moon of the fame of this illustrious king Narasimhadeva richly saturate as it were the walls of the quarters with a pleasing whitewash; and may the earth, having secured in him a snitable lord, experience such delight as never to think, however little, of its former great rulers!

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitra's son<sup>76</sup> (*did Rāma*); who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunder-clouds<sup>77</sup> and practises many wiles!—

(27.) That noble Alhanadevi, the mother of the illustrious Narasimhadeva, ordered this temple of the Moon-crested (*god*) to be built, together with that cloister with wonderful floors.

(28.) She too made her people construct that hall of study, (and) lay out that long line of gardens, in two ranges (*adjoining*) Śambhu's temple.

(29.) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanātha, the village named Nāmaūṇḍī together with every income (*thereof*), in the Jāulī *pattalā*.

(30.) And on the right bank of the Narmadā, in the land adjoining the hills, she gave to him another village, named Makarapāṭaka.

(31.) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy Rudrasīva of Lāṭa lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades<sup>78</sup> the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple *pranava* Bhārgava, Vaitaharya, and Sāvetasa,<sup>79</sup> there was born from one named Mahāśvara Dharanīdhara, (a *mountain*)<sup>80</sup> by name, by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

<sup>75</sup> Or, 'of a lofty flag-staff (*nomā*)'.

<sup>76</sup> *I.e.*, Lakṣmana.

<sup>77</sup> *Meṣhaṇḍa* and *Atikḍa* are also the names of two sons of the demon *Hāva*; and *Preṣṇa* was one of Śakra's generals.

<sup>78</sup> Or rather, 'is contented with'.

<sup>79</sup> Compare the *Atiśayana-triśaṣṭī*, Calcutta ed., p. 872.

<sup>80</sup> The word *dharanīdhara* has this meaning.



(F. 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp<sup>a</sup> to the three worlds.

(34.) His son Prithvidhara, who has seen the further shores of all the deep oceans of learning, (and) by whose crowds of disciples the circle of the regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(35.) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Śasidhara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36.) The architect named Pīṭha, who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,<sup>b</sup> planned all this, as Prithu did the earth.

(37.) Mahidhara, a son of the chief of artisans Bālasimha, so wrought this stone with letters that it is like the star-covered sky.

The year 907, on Sunday the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa.

### III.—TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHADEVA

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., O.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F. R. Hall at Tewar, a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited.<sup>1</sup> It is said to be of like character with that of Alhanadevi's inscription.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 512-13; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re-edit<sup>3</sup> the inscription from an impression and a rubbing, kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tolwan, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing, the last of which is engraved along the proper left margin, and which together cover a space of 11" broad by 7" high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but it is somewhat roughly and irregularly cut, and there are several *akṣaras* in line 5 and one at the end of line 8, the true reading of which cannot be made out with absolute certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the symbol for *om* at the commencement of line 1, lines 1-6 are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, *ḍ* is denoted by the sign for *ṣ* in *brahma Brahmodi*—(the only words in which *ḍ* would occur), in line 1; and the dental sibilant is

<sup>a</sup> The adjective of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; *śaśa* also means 'oil', and *daśā* 'the wick of a lamp'.

<sup>b</sup> The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 409 and 538; and U. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall's text, which, so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.



used instead of the palatal in *nareśvara*, line 3; *Kesava* and *astaram*, line 6, and *Kesavarya*, line 8; and *a* instead of *anuvāra* in *Jayasimha*, line 4, (but not in *Narasimha*, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *sandhi*.

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *nāyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kātyāyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sikkā in Mā[ī]vaka; during the reign of the king Jayasimhadeva, a younger brother of the king Narasimhadeva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayākarna. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvana, while the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Hasta. Referring this date, again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrāvana was intercalary, for the solar Śrāvana lasted from the 26th June, 12 h. 32 m., to the 27th July, 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 h. 30 m., and on the 27th July, 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śrāvana corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 h. 33 m. and the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Hasta up to 10 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrāvana corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakṣatra* Svātī about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrāvana, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrāvana.<sup>1</sup>

The village Sikkā which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mā[ī]vaka or Mālava, I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.

- L. 1. श्रीं [॥] आनन्दं परं ब्रह्म ब्रह्म ब्रह्मादिपुरुषवितं । वंदेम-
2. हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमद्वाक-
3. र्णनृपस्य सत्पुत्रैस्त्रयैः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो । जिष्णे धरि-
4. श्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट् श्रीयाधिर श्रीजयसिंहदेवः<sup>11</sup> ॥
5. विप्रो योस्तु<sup>12</sup> कना[भाम्] दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।
6. केस(श)वः कारदाभाम प्रासादममुमेस्त्र(स)रम् ॥
7. सख्य<sup>13</sup> ८२८ श्रावणसुदि ६ रवौ शुभो ॥
8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोवं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल]ा<sup>14</sup>
9. वके सीमायाम् ॥<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 65.

<sup>2</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Upajit.

<sup>6</sup> Read "देव".

<sup>7</sup> Read सम्राट्.

<sup>8</sup> Read "जयदेव".

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>11</sup> The reading of the *śloka* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and re-cut. The intended reading may possibly be विद्वत्प्रासादमस्तदात्मजः.

<sup>12</sup> Read योस्तु.

<sup>13</sup> The *śloka* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.

<sup>14</sup> This line is on the proper left margin.

## TRANSLATION.

Om!

(Line 1.) Let us adore (*him<sup>1</sup> who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmā and the other gods,—Mahādeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

The son of the illustrious king Gayākarna, the illustrious lord of men Narasimhadeva, conquered the earth: may his younger brother, the sovereign lord, the illustrious Jayasimhadeva, long be victorious!

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?),<sup>2</sup> caused that temple of Īvara to be built.

The year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvana, (*the moon being*) in (*the nakṣatra*) Hasta.

(8.) The *nayaka* Keśava's *gotra* is that of Kātyāyana, his place of residence the village of Sikkā in Mā[la?]vaka.

## IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

BY H. H. DERUVA, B.A., LL.B.

The Subh of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavād's State has sent me for decipherment three detached copper-plates, two of which belong to the Gurjaras of Bharoch, and one to an unknown line of kings. The two former are only second plates of the grants, and therefore do not contain genealogical and other personal details, while the last is a first plate and contains no information as to the date, donee, object of the grant, officers, &c.

## No. I.—A Gurjara grant of Samvat 346.

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3½, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sāmdhivigrahikā* ditya-Bhogika. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is "a small man not more than a Thākur of one or a few villages; for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, e. g. in the Kāvī grant of Jayabhaṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 110). In the *Deśikoshā* its Prākṛit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grāma-pradhāna*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Mahādeva or Śiva in whom all these epithets are applied.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly: "The Brāhman, named Astaka, had (a son) Āladeva; his son Keśava." See note 13, above.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bühler's *Pāṇinīyashikṣāsamūhā*, v. 104 (*ghṛaṇī bhoio ya ghṛaṇat*, p. 37). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as "headman or lord of a village," and quotes *bhōpān* from inscriptions. The Gujṛātī for *bhogika* or *bhoio* is *bhōgo*, and *grāmapati* or *ghṛaṇat* is *ghṛaṇat*. The word *bhōgo*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pālana* or "protection,"—see *Amara*, III, 23, and Mahesvara's commentary on it, also *Śivakośa*, v. 308; *Madanakośa*, v. 15 of words ending in *go*; and *Trikāṇḍaśāstrakośa*, III, 120 (प्राप्ते प्रवर्तते च विवेकं दयार्थीयता)। दीनः दूरे वने वापि; इतिवचनदीपः। Thus *वीरिणः* according to these authorities would be an equivalent of *प्राप्त* or "protector," as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.



Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler." If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjara, the title *bhogika* of the minister for war and peace Āditya would be sufficient; for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No. II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it.

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, *i.e.* with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Śaṃvat 346 probably corresponds with A.D. 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III. circa 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

#### TRANSCRIPT.

1. 1. आचन्द्रार्कोर्वाचतिस्वितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यमुद्रकातिसर्गेण
2. प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययमोभिहृदये अतोस्व ब्रह्मदेवस्त्रित्वा 'क्रियत × करि-
3. प्रापयतो' वा न ज्ञेयिद्यायेनै वसितंयमागामिराजभिराह्वयैर्वा' सामान्ये भूमि-
4. दानफलमवेत्यायमन्त्राद्योनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यवेत्तुं च भगवता आ-
5. सेन ॥ बहुभिर्भ्यःपुत्रा भुक्ता राजभिः 'मानरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
6. तदा फलं ॥ यद्विषयसहस्राणि स्वर्णे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेसा चाहमन्ता च तान्ये-
7. व नरजे वसे' ॥ विख्यातवीचतोदायुः शुक्लकौटरवासिनः कृष्णसर्पा भिजायने'
8. ब्रह्मदेवापहारका[.] ॥ दानीष्ट दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रीनानि धर्मात्तयमस्कराणि निष्ठा-
9. श्वान्ताप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा ॥ × पुनराददीत ॥ लिखितं वाच सान्निविद्यद्विकेना-
10. दिव्यभोगिकेन संवत्सरगतचर्यं यद्वत्वारिहृद्योत्तरके' ॥ ३४६

#### No. II.—A grant of Ranagraha, dated Sam. 391.

The plate measures 9½ inches by 4½ and contains ten lines of well preserved Gurjara characters, resembling those of the Umetā, Ilāo and Bagumrā grants. There are two holes at the top, showing where the rings originally were. The language of the grant is faulty Sanskrit.

The donor of the grant (l. 1) is the Brāhmaṇa Adityasarma (*sic*), the *dātaka* (l. 9) the *bhogika* Pāśakaṇṇajñāna, and the writer (l. 10) the *sandhivigrahādhiprita* Mātribhaṭa. According to ll. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vitarāga, called Ranagraha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (*Dinakarakirayābhyar. chanarata*) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (*śrī-Dadda-pādāntar-jñātā*); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) Sam. 391, *Vaiśākha bahula 15*, *i. e.* the new moon of Vaiśākha.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Read कर्णे.

<sup>3</sup> Correctly कर्णवर्ण.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'वेरवेर्वा.

<sup>5</sup> Read कर्णरादिभिः.

<sup>6</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>7</sup> Read वि कायने.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'पदे.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'विमदुत्तरके.

NO. 1. SANGHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA III. Ch. Sam. 346. (2nd plate).

[illegible]

Size of wetland

From Contributions by HEDD CHAMBERLAIN





Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV.—*Prasāntarāga* II.<sup>11</sup> and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two *Khedā* grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Sam. 380 and 385,<sup>12</sup> it follows from the new date, Sam. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression "the illustrious Dadda." Further, as *Ranagraha* is called both a son of *Vitarāga* and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of *Jayabhata* II.—*Vitarāga* II., *Ranagraha* must have been Dadda's brother or cousin. Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV. lasted at least until Sam. 391, or, as the *Gurjara*s used the *Chedi* era of A.D. 249, until A.D. 640.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. ब्राह्मणादिवश्याया<sup>13</sup> उदकातिमयेणाच्छिष्ट<sup>14</sup> यतोऽस्मात्तद्वर्गैरन्येर्वागमिभोगपतिमि शय<sup>15</sup>  
 2. "मयादायोनुमन्तव्य" पालयितव्यं यो वाञ्छामतिमिरपटला<sup>16</sup> त्रितराच्छिन्नादाच्छिन्नामान<sup>17</sup> वा-  
 3. नुमोदत व पक्षमिन्नेवापातवी<sup>18</sup> संयुक्त<sup>19</sup> स्या<sup>20</sup> इत्युक्तं भगवता वेदव्यासेन आमेन घटिपरिच-  
 4. सद्भाषि<sup>21</sup> क्षमं मोदति भुमिदा<sup>22</sup> चाच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता व ताम्बेव नरके वसे<sup>23</sup> विन्ध्याटवीष-  
 5. कोटरवासिनः<sup>24</sup> "किष्णाज्यो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः<sup>25</sup> दानीष दत्तानि पुरा  
 6. धर्मास्त्ययस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाश्रयप्रतिमानि तानि को वास<sup>26</sup> साधुः<sup>27</sup> पुनरादधीति<sup>28</sup> सदत्ता<sup>29</sup>  
 7. यत्नादत्र बुधितिर<sup>30</sup> मही<sup>31</sup> महिमता<sup>32</sup> येह दातातुच्छं योनुपालनमिति<sup>33</sup>  
 8. संवत्सरगतये एकनयने<sup>34</sup> येशाश्ववृद्धपक्षदम्भा सं ३९१ वैशाख व १५  
 9. इतकोष भोगिकपालकटुज्ञानः<sup>35</sup> दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्रजस्त्रोयं चोवीतरागसूत्रो  
 10. रणवृक्षस्य वीदहपादान्नाति<sup>36</sup> लिखितमिदं संन्निविगहाधिकृत<sup>37</sup> भाषिमटेन

No. III.—A grant of *Sāntilla*, general of *Nirihullaka*.

The plate measures 8½ inches by 3½ inches, and contains 12 lines in characters closely resembling those of the early Chalukya plates and of the *Mahākūṭa* pillar inscription edited by Mr. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff. The plate is slightly damaged at the top and on both sides at the bottom. Two holes on the lower side show where the rings were originally placed. The language of the grant is slightly incorrect Sanskrit.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

<sup>12</sup> *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Ind.* vol. VII, pp. 908 ff.; *Jour. Asiat. Soc. N. S.* vol. I, pp. 247 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Read "वश्या".

<sup>14</sup> Read "ओच्छिष्ट".

<sup>15</sup> Read "पक्षमिन्नेव".

<sup>16</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>17</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>18</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>19</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>20</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>21</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>22</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>23</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>24</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>25</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>26</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>27</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>28</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>29</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>30</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>31</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>32</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>33</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>34</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>35</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>36</sup> Read "मयादायो".

<sup>37</sup> Read "मयादायो".



Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakataka*), located at Nirguṇḍipadraka (l. 1), Śāntilla, the general (*balādhikṛita*, l. 5) of the *bhogikopāla* and *mahāpalupati* (*mahāpallapati*) Nirihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śamkaragaṇa (*Śamkaragaṇa*, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantavāmi (*Bhajika*<sup>20</sup> *Amantavāmin*, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pāshāṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vājasaneyi* (*Saṁhitā*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *piṭaka* of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western *śm* of Śrī-Parnākā, which belonged to (the district of) Tāṇḍulapadraka (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahājñās*. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*'s feet, i.e. probably of Śamkaragaṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Śāntilla's position is sufficiently clear. His master Nirihullaka must have been a Bhil chieftain; for the title *mahāpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe."<sup>21</sup> It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskrit, but a barbarous Deśi word. The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śamkaragaṇa" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. *Pādānuḍhyāta* is frequently used in the former sense.<sup>22</sup> With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarāja and Śamkaragaṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śamkaragaṇa* for *Śamkarapa* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjars, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions<sup>23</sup> mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharāja, the son of Śamkaragaṇa, from whom Maṅgalīśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śamkaragaṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda's Khedā plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgalīśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Samvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, remarks (pp. 31-32) that "it is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title *Saḍmin* attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhāṭṭas, Achāryas, Yajvans, Dikshitas and Yājñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svāmin. The title appears to have been in use at a

<sup>20</sup> *Bhajika* might be *bhajaka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee;" V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 802. Compare a similar use of the word *bhajita* in *Bhāṭṭa Kāmārita*, *Bhāṭṭapala*, *Bhāṭṭadhara*, etc.

<sup>21</sup> See Dr. Bühler's *Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *palla*. Mr. V. S. Apte (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 627) assigns to the same word the meaning "a large granary." On a local enquiry I find that the country about Śākhedā goes by the name of *Palla* (*Pisajit Palla*). Thus, *mahāpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pāla."

<sup>22</sup> See s. v. l. 32 of Mr. Fleet's No. 1; *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

<sup>23</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 16.

NO. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALĀDHIKRITA ŚĀNTILLĀ. (plate 1).



From unpublished by Dr. D. D. Datta.

Size of original.





certain period and been given to Mīmāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Śabarasvāmin, the author of the *Bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*; of Agniavāmin, the commentator on Jātyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra*; of Bhavasvāmin, the author of a *Bhāṣya* on Baudhāyana; of Keśavasvāmin, the writer of an introduction to the *Baudhāyana-prayoga-sūtra*; Devasvāmin, quoted in the *Trikāṇḍa-māṇḍana* and author of a comprehensive *Bhāṣya* on Āśvalāyana; Dhṛtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin and others. Kumārila is both a *Śvāmin* and a *Bhalla*. The title *Śvāmin* was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhi inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramāditya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dāsasvāmin, son of Janasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmin Dikshita, and one of 705 A.D. gives Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 128 and 130), while a Valabhi grant, dated Samvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṅkasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin and Bhavasvāmin, and places Śabarasvāmin two or three centuries earlier (*vide* p. 32 of his *Report*). The general inclination is towards the seventh century for the age of names bearing such titles. The records above noted were of rulers or families that were perhaps close neighbours of the recorders of the present grant. The grant mentions Bhajikānantasvāmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nirguṇḍīpadraḥ, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarātī Nāgaravāḍā or something like it. And the *Dehezāda of Gaikavādī Villages* (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadābād) does give a Nāgaravāḍā, 6 kos from Dabhoi. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pāshānīhrada, which would be Sapiādari, 14 kos from Dabhoi (given in the *Dehezāda*, p. 5). *Hrada* would be masculine *dharo* and feminine *dharī*, changeable to *dari* in Gujarātī, and *Pāshānī* would drop its initial *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Be* in having Gumrā, and give Sapiā, and thus we get Sapiādari. From the same Pāshānīhrada we would get Sāṅkheḍā if *hrada* were replaced by *kheḍā* for *khetaka*, meaning 'town,' and *Pā* were dropt as in the other case. Tāṇḍulapadraḥ is obviously Tāṇḍalajā, also 14 kos from Dabhoi (as given in the *Dehezāda*); and Śrī-Paṇākā is Paniu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhoi. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tāṇḍalajā and Sapiādari quite close to each other.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. श्री अक्षि निर्गुणपद्रकावस्थितविजयकटात् स — — [चिति] — — —  
 2. धितवरणकमलः श्रीशिवराजः \* तानुरनेकस[म]रविजय — — —  
 3. चिरञ्जितवधूवदनपद्मजम्बानिकर श्रीशंकरः सत्पादानुष्ठापकल-  
 4. ममोमञ्जलतलवस्थितकोटिर्मूर्धामिकपालमहापुपतिनिरिहृत् \*

\* Restor. मममोमतिमममम.

\* Rest. शिवराजः.

\* Restor. "वसकी".

\* Rest. शंकरराजः, "शुभासय".

\* Rest. "श्रीशिवमतिवस"; महापुपति.

L. 5. कस्तुबसाधितयान्ति<sup>11</sup> सर्वानिव परमपादीयास्त्रांवावेदप्रति<sup>12</sup>

6. यथा पाषाणिहृद<sup>13</sup> वास्तव्यकौस्तुभसमोदवाजिसनेयसद्राघारिणो<sup>14</sup>

7. भजिकनन्दास्मिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्मक्रियोत्पन्नाय<sup>15</sup> परमभद्रा-

8. रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिद्रिहये<sup>16</sup> तण्डुलपदकान्तभक्त<sup>17</sup> वीरश्रीका-

9. यां पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेशं<sup>18</sup> पलपौवान्वयभोजं चादि<sup>19</sup>

10. — परागकालमुदकातिस्मरणं प्रीतिपिठकवापवेदं आचारी<sup>20</sup>

11. — — वसति<sup>21</sup> [स्त्रि]तिसमकालीनं प्रतिपादिष्य भतुस्त्रा —<sup>22</sup>

12. — — ररानुर्वाधा भतुनिपतिभिः<sup>23</sup>

## V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

By J. KIRSTE, Ph.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined inscriptions collected by Mr. H. Cousens, in Gujarāt, were entrusted to me for decipherment by Professor Böhler, who assisted me with his advice. They were found in the following places:—

1. Bhilri (Nos. i—iii),
2. Dilmal (iv—vii),
3. Mandal (viii),
4. Munjpur (ix),
5. Palanpur (x, xi),

6. Roho (xii—xvi),
7. Sarotra (xvii—xxvi),
8. Sonak (xxvii, xxviii),
9. Taranga (xxix).

All are written in Devanāgarī characters, with the exception of No. viii, where the first six lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarātī. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskrit and Gujarātī. Hence the readings are not always certain, and I am not sure that I have succeeded in fully making out the sense of all.

The generally interesting information which they furnish may be arranged under the following heads:—

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarāt. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultān Ahmad and the names of his father Sultān Muḥammad, and of his grandfather Sultān Muzaḥfar Shāh. It also mentions a Malik Kāmachanda, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Mamḍālī (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagām Taluka, and that of a local chief called Raṇaka (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vanarāja, of the Gedīā family, in Śaṁvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

<sup>11</sup> Read "विजयमानिक".

<sup>12</sup> Read "वास्तव".

<sup>13</sup> Read "पुण्य".

<sup>14</sup> Read "राजमनेय", "चारिक".

<sup>15</sup> Read "करचाम".

<sup>16</sup> Read "निद्रिये".

<sup>17</sup> Can "भक्त" be for "भर्तृ" ?

<sup>18</sup> Read "व".

<sup>19</sup> Read "वीरश्री".

<sup>20</sup> Read "वापवेद".

<sup>21</sup> Read "वसतिभिः". The remaining words I am unable to restore.

<sup>22</sup> This line too is unrecognizable. [Read "वसतिभिः" ?—E. H.]



chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Ararajupaji, who ruled in Samvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradā-  
aji, who ruled in Samvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a  
Mahārāja Khetala (?) who held the village of Sūṇaka, the modern Sonak, in Samvat  
1356.

2.—We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapāga-  
chchha:—No. xxix tells us that Hiravijaya was Bhattacharya in Samvat 1642. This  
inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, vol.  
XI, p. 256). Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the  
inscriptions Nos. xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Samvat  
1689; while his appointed successor Vijayasimha is mentioned once (inscription xx).  
Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahideśvariya Maṭha  
called Jirāja, i.e. probably Jerāja or Jayarāja.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>

1. 1. सं[व]त् १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [प]रमिन् व[ि]द[ि] १५ सोमे
2. ॥ ग[म]न्वाटमातीय वे[द] [८] — — [ग]स्त
3. समयकेन मूर्ति कारापि[त]<sup>2</sup> . . .

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1358, on the 15th (*day*) of the dark half of Āśvina, a Monday, a  
figure was caused to be made by the Śreṣṭhin Samayaka, son of . . . of the  
Prāgvāṭa gotra.

No. II.<sup>3</sup>

1. 1. [त्री] मङ्गिदेखरीयमठाधिप-
2. जिराजगुरु[यो]भान[म]णाचार्य-
3. अ ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(*The image*) of the venerable Dhyānagaṇāchārya, the guru Jirāja, the lord of  
the Mahideśvariya monastery.

No. III.<sup>4</sup>

1. 1. श्री ॥ यावत् सुदि १५ पवन ज्येष्ठ वदि  
८ जम्बा । फागुन [या]
2. सुदि १२ दिक्ता । फागुन वदि १३ नाथ ।  
ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ मुक्ता नामि

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! The conception (*chyanana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrāvana;  
birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha; consecration (*dīkshā*) on the 12th

<sup>1</sup> At Bhilri: on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.

<sup>2</sup> Read सुर्भि: कारापिना.

<sup>3</sup> At Bhilri: on the base of an image in Mahulava's temple.

<sup>4</sup> At Bhilri: in an old well outside the village.



(day) of the bright half of Phālguna; enlightenment (*jñāna*) on the 13th (day) of the dark half of Phālguna; liberation (*moksha*) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyeshtha . . .

The stone bearing this must have been taken from a Jaina temple, and the inscription refers to the career of one of the Tirthankaras.

No. IV.<sup>2</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १[२]८५ वर्षे पौषे यदि ८ गुरौ नान्दायामे जीवयिष्य-  
 2. भवान्तर्ग श्रीपाञ्चनाथजिन्वा मातृपितृभूतिष्व कारिता येः  
 3. सोऽहस्तकुमरभदेन<sup>3</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1295 (?) on the 8th (day) of the dark half of Pausa, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pārivanātha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śreshthīn Kumarahadra (?), son of Sohadā, in the village of Gābhālā, in the district (?) of Dilavika.

No. V.<sup>2</sup>

- L. 1. [चै] सिद्धिः । — — । सप्त — सम्-  
 2. द्रो । याव [च] — — [त]डि[त]ी मे[क] ।  
 3. यावत्त — — — मे । ताव-  
 4. दि — — — — य — । स-  
 5. । सित [संवत् १५१२]वर्षे वै-  
 6. याव यदि १० उगोकेन  
 7. । उत दा[ग]स्त वादाकेन हि  
 8. जेयक करामितः । तुत [भरव]  
 9. चस्मिन् — [मे]लके कते सति उ-  
 10. भय कुला मये [भवत] मृष्टप द-  
 11. यद प्रतिमद्व नामा कृत [ट]क ४००  
 12. कसप[डाहु] श्री वसव

Nothing can be made out of this with certainty except the words:—"on the 10th (day) of the bright half of Vaiśākha . . . was caused to be made . . ."

No. VI.<sup>2</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १५३२ वैशाख यदि ११  
 2. रवौ के लघासुतदेवा-  
 3. केन स्थापितो नारायणः ।

## TRANSLATION.

In (the year) Sam. 1532, on the 11th (day) of the dark half of Vaiśākha, a Sunday, (an image) of Nārāyaṇa was placed by Ke. Devāka, son of Lakṣhā.

<sup>1</sup> At Dilnāl: on the base of an image of Pārivanātha.

<sup>2</sup> Read १५४.

<sup>3</sup> May also be "भदेन."

<sup>4</sup> At Dilnāl: on a pillar of the Kirtistambha to the west of the large temple of Limbe Mātā.

<sup>5</sup> At Dilnāl: on the east of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbe Mātā.

No. VII.<sup>10</sup>

- L. 1. શ્રાવણ સંવત ૧૫૩૨ વર્ષ વૈશાખ વદિ ૧૧  
 2. રવો કે રા[વ]ાસુત માં સાદાભાંટા  
 3. [વણ]તવો ભાવો ઠાં નરસિમ-  
 4. તનયા વાદ કપાદ માં સાદામ[જ]  
 5. તજા ઠાં ગોપાલતનયા વાદે માંદે  
 6. માં ભાટાસજ ચક્રનિર્મિત ચોલચો-  
 7. નારાયણભાં પ્રણમતઃ ॥ પ્રતિ-  
 8. મા પિંડી [તત]: કારાપિતા શિવ-  
 9. મસ્તુ ॥ કલ્યાણમસ્તુ ગુર્મ ભવતુ ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year Sam 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark-half of Vaisākha, a Sunday, Bā Rāpāi, daughter of Thā(kura) Narasing (Narasimha), wife of Mā (gda-  
lika) Sādājhamtā, son of Ke. Rāghā(?) (and) mother of Sādāsaha (?)—likewise  
Bāi Māmi, daughter of Thā(kura) Gopāla and mother of Jhāmāsaha, bow day and  
night to Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa. An image (*and*) then a base (*for it*) was caused to  
be made.

No. VIII.<sup>11</sup>

- L. 1. بتاريخ پانزده يوم ماه ذي القعدة سنة عشرين وثمانمئة  
 2. فر محمد سلطان سلطان احمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاه  
 3. الملطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . . . عمل كالمجلد . . . . . ابن التاج  
 4. . . . .  
 5. . . . .  
 6. . . . .  
 7. [શ્ર] સિ સંવત્ ૧૪૭૪ વર્ષ પૌષ વદિ  
 8. — કે" ચણે મંડવ્યાં મલિક ચો [કા]-  
 9. મવંદપ્રતિપત્તી રાજ ચોરણ[ક]-  
 10. વિજયરાજે મમસામાંડલિનિ[વા]-  
 11. [સો]લોકવિદ્યમાન માંડવો [જદ] શપ  
 12. [ત]નિચલ કોધો તે પૂર્વમ[દનો] "કો  
 13. સ[મદ]નિજરદિપુ[ક] તિયારિજેવા  
 14. ધવર્સદાનનિલાવિલાય [દયે તય]

<sup>10</sup> At Diluair: on the base of the image of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa is a small shrine.

<sup>11</sup> At Mandol: on a stone in the Chavli.

<sup>12</sup> The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof. Karabek at Vienna. Lines 4 to 6 are illegible.

<sup>13</sup> L. 8. Probably કુલે is to be read.

<sup>14</sup> Corrected below the line to પૂર્વે [સ]—કો. The third letter may be ક and the fifth seems to have been intentionally

## TRANSLATION.

*Persian Text.*—At the date on the 15th day of the month Dhu-l-Qa'de, in the year eight hundred and twenty (of the Hijra, i.e. the 24th December of 1417 A.D.), during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns Ahmad, son of the Sultān Muhammad, son of the Sultān Muzaffar Shāh . . . business(?) of Kāmajand . . . this writing

*Sanskrit Text.*—Hail! In the year Sam. 1474, in the dark half of Pausa, on a Friday (Friday, 24th December 1417 A. D.), to-day, here in Mamdall, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kāmachauda, in the victorious reign of Rāṇa the illustrious Rāṇaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Mamdall . . . . .

No. IX.<sup>11</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—  
 2. वडा [यानभ]मा — तथा माय — — [वरि]सी [ज]स  
 3. मताल सा — — धव — बीवि[पुर] सदेव कारापित . . .

Much defaced and probably mutilated on the right side. Nothing can be made out except the date Samvat 1211, Vaisākha śudi 5.

No. X.<sup>12</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि १०  
 2. के<sup>13</sup> श्रीवासास्थाने श्रीमहादेव  
 3. स्ने<sup>14</sup> योसा पेटिकायां [स]विष्ठा प  
 4. [ध]ी सज्जमेकं कारापित ॥ [ये]वि

This inscription seems to refer to a donation in the temple of Mahādeva at Khim-vāṇā, made in Samvat 1217, on the tenth day of the bright half of Kārtika, a Friday. Hence this stone, too, must have been removed from its original site.

No. XI.<sup>15</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुके गंडोष्ठा  
 2. राजत [म]र्षा [ह]त्त [व]त्ता । [भा]रातीये पतितः ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1282, on the fourth (day) of the bright half of Pausa, a Friday, fell the Gedā Rautta (Rājaputra) Vanarām (Vanarāja), the son of Meghām. The stone must be a so-called Pālā.

No. XII.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२५८  
 2. वै कार्तिक शुदि १  
 3. शुके । [ज]सदेवसुत

<sup>11</sup> At Munjpur: in the Jāni Masjid, on a beam.

<sup>12</sup> At Palampur: on the side of a wall.

<sup>13</sup> Read के.

<sup>14</sup> Read स्ने.

<sup>15</sup> At Palampur: on a house stone (lying over the railway).

<sup>16</sup> At Bohn: on a pillar of the Chattri of Pherozshāh, much defaced.



L. 4. [तो]जी मा — — — ने

5. यं — पं — — — कुं

6. — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

... caused to be made by ... son of Jasadeva in Samvat 1259, Kārti-  
ka sudi 1, a Friday.

No. XIII.<sup>22</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२६[९] — ती

2. — — — — वदि १४

3. — — — देव — यं सि

4. रीक्षा — — व — ता

5. — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No. XIV.<sup>23</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२६८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १२ सोम स्वभदेवीपेले निर्वृतिमन्त्रे गौरदेविपुते[न बाला]  
केन मातानिमित्तं नेमिनायविमं कारा[पितं] शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1269, on the 12th (day) of the bright half of Vaiśākha, a  
Monday, an image of Neminātha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by VAIĀKA  
(<sup>24</sup>), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevi (<sup>25</sup>).

No. XV.<sup>26</sup>

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६[०४]

2. वर्षे । पोसमास । कृष्णपक्षे । पंचम्यां ति-

3. थी । गुरुवामरे । [डाभी]वंसे । महेसरी [-]"

4. ग्राथायां । रात श्रीमांडलकी । भायां बाह

5. श्रीचांपा वापी कारापिता । प[र]साद श्री सहि-

6. ता प्रतिष्ठा कारापिता । बाहे पुत्री श्रीसज-

7. बाहे सहितेना पीरोजी ११००० एकावध

8. सहस्रवर्षी कृता । आ चंद्रार्क नंदात्

9. मासं ११ कार्य श्री प्रासाद व सहिता कृता ।

10. वंशी विस्तरवाधात् । यात् पुष्पं मह-<sup>27</sup>

11. यश । आबुविपुलतां यात् । वस्त्रपा वा-<sup>28</sup>

12. पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरनेना] डाका कृतं ॥

13. पं — — — — श्रीरम् ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

\* At Rishab : on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—same date and.

\* At Rishab : on the arch over the old well,—first storey.

\* At Rishab : on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.

\* L. 2. Probably [श्री].

\* L. 10. Read "वस्त्र" । "वस्त्रपा"

\* L. 11. Read "विपु" । वस्त्रपा.

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Rāmā Māmānājī, (whose) wife (was) Chāmpō, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bāi, spent 51,000 *Pīroḥ* (*Linpees*) (for this purpose). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (i.e. the well), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (to him)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Dhālā was made by Pam(dita) . . . .

No. XVI.<sup>27</sup>

- L. 1. श्री संवत् १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुद्धि ४ दने [वारगर्वा] <sup>28</sup>
2. — मानसल रात श्रीमङ्गली भारय श्रीधर वाह पूर्वो मन्त्रनने — पू — [प]ल
3. सुव ना[वा] स — — — — श्रीमणेश न — — — —
4. स श्रीनाराय[न] — — — — —

The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription.

No. XVII.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७८ वर्षे फागुणमासि शु पक्षे नवम्यां तयो मनिवसरे रो [ह] <sup>30</sup>
2. ॥ श्रीमण्डले । धन्या धयोधादसरदरुपा माय माताप धान्या
3. ॥ धन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रामनामपूजता । धन्या देवी कव-
4. पतिभवांन् <sup>31</sup> जव रामाधवतारा धन्यो लोको लोचानमगुणा राम
5. ॥ वाच्यं शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीधरजुगली । वाई श्रीपदमां वाई । वाई <sup>32</sup>
6. ॥ श्रीधमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदामजी केजवराज्ये <sup>33</sup> । कवी कारापिता

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna, a Saturday, under the Rohiṇī Nakshatra, during the reign of Arājūnājī, whose wives were Padamām and Amari, and whose son was Haradāsājī, a Chhatrī was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII.<sup>34</sup>

- L. 1. सं १६८१ वर्षे श्रवण शुद्धि ११ दने [हरदास लयना] <sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> At Roha: on the base of an image is a ruined shrine near the old well.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps वाहव.

<sup>29</sup> At Seroṭa: in the Bhavan Dhruja temple.

<sup>30</sup> L. 1. Head शुद्धि: तयो: रोहिणी <sup>31</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Dhanda is meant for dhapada.

<sup>33</sup> The metre of the verse in ll. 2-5 seems to be Maṇḍūkā. It may be restored as follows:—

*Dhanyo dhāyādāsaradarpā māyā māṭāpī dhanyā,  
Dhanyā vāṇī kavivarasūṣe rāmānāmapūjita,  
Dhanyā devī kavipatibhāvanā yatra rāmādhara,  
Dhanyā loko rājatanmayasā rāmādhārān tṛyāṇi.*

<sup>34</sup> L. 6. Read विष्णुप्राज्ञे.

<sup>35</sup> At Seroṭa: in the Bhavan Dhruja temple.

<sup>36</sup> L. 1. Read वाहव.

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Samvat 1685, Śrāvapa Sudi 11, Haradāsa . . . . .

No. XIX.<sup>28</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८५ वर्षे आषाढमासि [ब]हुलपक्षे एकादशी ११ तथ[१]<sup>29</sup> रविवारे — —  
 2. ॥ धान्या अर्धध्यादमरदनप मा माताप धान्या धान्या धाणी कविवरमुखे  
 3. ॥ रामनामप्रज्ञता । धन्या देवी [अ]पतिभवान् जिव रोमाधवतारा धन्या  
 4. ॥ [सी] का नीचतमगुणा रामवाच्य श्रुतीती ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । वा-  
 5. ई श्रीजिवती ॥ वाई राजू ॥ सबक ॥ वषट्ग नाम संवत्सरो । पूव श्रीतीग[री] व-  
 6. ॥ जयराजे ॥ ज्ञानी करामितः<sup>30</sup> ॥ २ ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Āshāḍha, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradāsaji whose wives were Jivanti and Rājā and whose son was Togabī (?), a Chhattī was caused to be erected. (Regarding the verse see inscription No. xvii.)

No. XX.<sup>31</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ महारकयोविजयदेवसुरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः आचार्य योविजयमिह-  
 2. सुरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो<sup>32</sup> नमः ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे आषाढ व० ११ दिने देहरीनीपञ्चतई सं [घण]  
 3. लाडण भाया जायी सुत सं० हरदास । सं० सांया । सं० तेजा । सं० देवकरणई रुपईय  
 [— —]<sup>33</sup> । आधा छई [३]

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvapa Sam. . . . . Lāḍapa, whose wife was Nāthī and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakarana, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhattāraka Vijayadevasūri and Vijayasinhasūri were [living].

No. XXI.<sup>34</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ महारकयोविजयदेवसुरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः<sup>35</sup> ॥ संवत् १६८८ वर्षे [वदि]  
 2. [जा] सं० लाडण भाया जा[व]सुत सं० हरदास सं० सांया सं० तेजा सं० [देवकरण]  
 3. — — — [सुत याव] — क — — — स्वपति[वका] — दि[सर्वेषां] श्रेयो-  
 4. र्वा । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रुम्मे [कारिता] ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . . . Sam. Lāḍapa, whose wife was Nāthī (?), and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakarana, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvīra.

<sup>28</sup> At Sarotra: in an old chhattī.

<sup>29</sup> L. 1. Read एकादशीतिथी.

<sup>30</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराजे । करामिता.

<sup>31</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhawan Dhwaja temple.

<sup>32</sup> Read "गुरुभ्यो".

<sup>33</sup> Looks like घण.

<sup>34</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhawan Dhwaja temple. Preservation bad and most letters indistinct.

<sup>35</sup> Read गुरुभ्यो.



No. XXII.<sup>41</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥  
 2. सं० १३८८ व० सं माघ [भा० वा०] ॥ नाबो [व पूर] सं० हर-  
 3. दास सं० तेजादिकुटुंब गोपाखंडेश्वरी कारापिता ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . a temple of Pārva was caused to be made by Sam. Lāḍaṇa, whose wife was Nāthī, and his son (?) Sam. Haradāsa, and by the family of Sam. Tejā.

No. XXIII.<sup>42</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरुभ्यो न  
 2. सं० १३८८ वर्षे प्रागुं शुदि १३ दिने य देहरीनीपजनह वु हरदास—  
 3. वु[प]नाबु माघ नया भोज — देमह रूप [ — — ]<sup>43</sup> चाप्या व

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by Haradāsa, whose father (?) was Māḍaṇa (Lāḍaṇa?).

No. XXIV.<sup>44</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ सं० १३८८ वर्षे प्रागुण शुदि १० दिने वु[प] — करणह य देहरी [नीपजनह]  
 2. रूपरथा [ — — ]<sup>45</sup> चाप्या वद ॥ इति मंगलम् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . . . were given by Karapa (?).

No. XXV.<sup>46</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु[र]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं० १३८८ वर्षे प्रागुण शु  
 2. दि १० दिने वुहरा-[वसरा]श्रीकरे य देहरीनीपजनह रूपरथा — — चाप्या व — — —  
 3. . . .

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . . . were given by the son of . . .

<sup>41</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhruja temple.

<sup>42</sup> Read 'भार', 'वृ'.

<sup>43</sup> Possibly for 'नारी वारे'.

<sup>44</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhruja temple.

<sup>45</sup> Looks like 'वरा'.

<sup>46</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhruja temple.

<sup>47</sup> Looks like 'वरा'.

<sup>48</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhruja temple.

No. XXVI.<sup>a</sup>

L. 1. । श्री । महारक्षणीविजयदेवशुक्ति-

2. श्री नमः सं० १६८८ वर्षे कार्ति ११ दिने प
3. देवरीनीपजनरु सु मा[ता] ताना [र]थ पाणि रूप [य यज]
4. थापा जय ।

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Phāṭiguna, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by . . .

No. XXVII.<sup>a</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १९१६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११
2. नमः । यद्येव सुपुत्रायामे न-
3. हाराय श्री[क्षे]तलप्रतिपत्ती
4. श्रीय " महिपाकेन देवीची-
5. शिवलीयाबावां नाट [भुजाव]
6. प्रदत्त पा[त्र] च दि[न] पूमि-
7. [य]न -- मा माता [त्रिवी]-
8. पीलक [नक्षत्र] संहित [सज]
9. लसपि पा[त्र] । श्रीः ।

## ABSTRACT.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Lāha (?) Mahipāka in Sam. 1836, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahārāpa, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sūpaka, on the occasion of the Yātrā of Devī Śrīdivall.

No. XXVIII.<sup>a</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १६८६ वर्षे
2. चावण वदि १३ सोमि -- --

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1596, Śrāvana vadi 13, a Monday . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>a</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १६४२ परमे थापाठ शुदि १०
2. दमे पातसा श्रीयकवर ग्रहि
3. मठीचा महेश मठी सजा
4. पमी श्री गोवंद पमी श्रीराम

<sup>a</sup> At Baccha: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhruva Temple.

<sup>a</sup> At Sonak: on a pillar in an old temple.

<sup>a</sup> At Sonak: on the base of an image in the same temple.

<sup>a</sup> At Taranga: on the side of the great temple.

- L. 5. जईननु पातया जंममोर-
6. य बीहोविजयसुरि ।
7. बीजजयसे । मसुरि ।
8. तिहना भरम साचा जांघी
9. बीबीसलनगरि मंदिमूमि
10. साहा मयापति पादर
11. करी गुरय ठामठामयक
12. गरय चाचीनि मासादत
13. मवी चाचार बीवी जिः ।
14. सो सयसी कूरीचा
15. उपरि रही कवाहु करा ह
16. सुख मोवाल मडनगर
17. सुख मूपा बीसलनगर
18. कवाहुकर । सु मो [पा]
19. रात साहपासरटा

Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Samvat 1642.

## VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚĀTRUMJAYA.

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śātrumjaya near Pālitānā, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i-xxxii which range between Samvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Samvat 1733 to 1943 or 1887 A.D.\* As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the *Ācchāra gacchāhā*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskrit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Maruṭaṅga, Rājasekhara and Jinamaṇḍana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr. J. Kirste, Privat-Docent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

As regards the historical information contained in the 118 inscriptions, it falls under the following heads:—(1) notes regarding the political history of Western India;

\* The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxvii ought properly to stand after No. xli.



(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks; (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen.

As regards the first point, No. I is the most important document; for it names (l. 1) three Sultāns of Gujarāt: (1) Mahimāda, (2) Madāphara, and (3) Bāhadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1587, and (l. 2) that his minister was Shāna (Khān) Majhādāshāna or Majhādaka (l. 26). It further enumerates (ll. 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakūṭa—(1) Kumbharāja, (2) Rājamalla, (3) Saṃgrāmasimha, (4) Ratnasimha, which latter ruled in Samvat 1587, and adds (l. 23) that Karmasimha or Karmarāja, who made (l. 27) the seventh restoration (*saptama addhāra*) and re-built the temple of Puṇḍarika, was his prime minister. We are further told (l. 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sultān Bāhadara, and obtained from him a *sphuranmāna*, i.e. a *fermān*, for this purpose. The negotiations were conducted by a *mantri* Rava (*raṣṭhika*) Narasimhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sultān Bāhadara's prime minister.

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarāt, it deserves to be noticed that Sultāns Sikandar and Mahmūd, the two brothers of Sultān Bahādūr, who reigned each for a short period after Sultān Muzaḥfar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khān Majhād or Majhādaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahādūr's *vazir* in Samvat 1587. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*,<sup>1</sup> that dignity was bestowed on Tāj Khān in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarāja or Karmasimha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevād. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Rāṇas agrees with Tod's. The statements of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (*op. cit.*, p. 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Samvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sultān of Gujarāt were of a friendly nature.

Next come the dates from the reigns of the third and fourth Mughal Emperors—

1. Jahāngir is mentioned as Nārādina J. Savai in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Samvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Samvat 1683. Nos. xvii—xx mention also prince Khosrū (*Shāhijādā Surātāṇa Shosādā*) and the governor (*sobat*) of Ahmedābād (*Rājanagara*), Sultān Khurme (*Sahiyāna surātāṇa Saurame*).

2. Shāh Jihān (*Shāhijādā*) occurs once in No. xxx, which is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1686 and Śaka Samvat 1551. The two dates agree perfectly with the facts. And it is also correct that Surātāṇa Khurme, i.e. Sultān Khurram or Shāh Jihān, was viceroy of Gujarāt in Samvat 1675. For the Muhammadan historians inform us that the latter province was added to the other governments held by him in A.D. 1617. Of interest, too, is the mention of Shāhijādā Surātāṇa Shosādā, i.e. prince Khosrū, (Nos. xvii—xx), who no doubt was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1675, but had been a prisoner ever since the second year of his father's reign.

Among the local chiefs of Kāthiāvāḍ, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jām (Yāma) Śatruṣālya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navinapura, i.e. Navānagar, in Hāllāra, i.e. the Hālār Prānt, in Vikrama Samvat 1675;

(2) Some of the Gohel chieftains of Pālitanā, viz.,—

(a) Khāmduji and his son, Śivājī, in No. xxvii. ll. 38-9, of Vikrama Samvat 1683;

- (b) Unadaji in No. li, of V. S. 1861;  
 (c) Kharadhi; his son, Noghanaji, and his grandson, Pratapsinghaji, in Nos. lxviii and lxx, dated V.S. 1891 and 1892;  
 (d) Noghanaji and his son, Pratapsinghaji, in No. xcvi, of V.S. 1910; and  
 (e) Pratapsinghaji, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).  
 (f) Sursinghaji, in No. cxi, of V.S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navanagar and Palitapa, given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jām Jasoji, the son of Jām Satāji, ruled from A.D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jasavants in Jasoji. Satāji is a very considerable abbreviation of Satrāj, the more usual form for the Sanskrit Śatruśālya, "an arrow for his enemies." As regards the Gohels, we read (*op. cit.* pp. 604f.) that Khandoji II, was succeeded by Shavaji II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavaji is placed five generations before A.D. 1756. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the *Gazetteer*, Unadji, A.D. 1766—1820, Khandoji IV., 1820—1840, Noghanaji IV., A.D. 1840—1860, Pratapsinghaji, 1860, Sursinghaji, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghanaji receives the proud titles *rājardjetevara* and *mahārājadhīrāja*, though the Palitapa State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kāthiāwād. Besides, Thakur Noghanaji was, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees; for his state was held under Government guarantee in farn by Vakhatchand, the Nagarsheth of Ahmadābād, from A.D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratapsinghaji managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmadābād, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harashachamda, i.e. Harakhchand of Damana-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xiv of V.S. 1860, that he was honoured by the *Phirangijālī Puratākāśa pālasāhi*, i.e. by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadābād is, to say the least, remarkable.

The next point which claims attention is the copious information which the inscriptions furnish regarding several schools of Jaina monks, the Kharatara, Tapā, Afichala, and Sāgara gachchhas. Lists of the spiritual heads of the former two sects have been published by Dr. Klatt in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 245 ff. and a Kharatara *paññāvalī* from the *Prāsaśī* of the temple of Vādipura Pārivanātha has been given, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319. The other two *paññāvalīs* have not, as far as I know, been made known before:—

*I.—Paññāvalī of the Kharatara gachchha.*

The following list is given in No. xvii—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Ud(d)gotanasūri,                       | <i>Nandajī vyāpiti</i> , and discoverer of the Pārivanātha of Stambhāna, |
| 2. Vardhamānasūri, <i>vasatimārgapra-</i> |  |
| <i>kāśaka</i> ,                           | 6. Jinavallabhasūri,   |
| 3. Jinesvarasūri I.,                      | 7. Jinadattasūri, to whom a <i>devatā</i>                                |
| 4. Jinachandrasūri I.,                    | gave the title <i>yugapredhāna</i> , <sup>*</sup>                        |
| 5. Abhayadevasūri, composer of the        | 8. Jinachandrasūri II.,  |

\* The first seven stūtas are mentioned also in No. xviii.



- |                                |                                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 9. Jinapattisūri, <sup>1</sup> | 16. Jinachandrasūri IV.,         |
| 10. Jineśvarasūri II.,         | 17. Jinodayasūri,                |
| 11. Jinaprabodhasūri,          | 18. Jinarājasūri,                |
| 12. Jinachandrasūri III.,      | 19. Jinabhadrasūri, <sup>2</sup> |
| 13. Jinakuśalsūri,             | 20. Jinachandrasūri V.,          |
| 14. Jinapadmāsūri,             | 21. Jinasamudrasūri,             |
| 15. Jinalabdhisūri,            | 22. Jinahamasūri,                |
|                                | 23. Jinamānikyasūri,             |

24. Jinachandrasūri VI.,<sup>3</sup> who awakened the Pātisāhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhāna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahāngīra and protected the Śādhus banished by him.

25. Jinasimhasūri, who caused the *mantri* Karamachandra to institute<sup>4</sup> a *rūpō-nandī* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*sapādakoti*), wandered through Kāthina, Kāśmīr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sāhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrīpura,<sup>5</sup> Gola-kundā (Golconda), Gajjaṇā (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhāna* from Jahāngīra-Nūrādī-Mahammada.

26. Jinarāja,<sup>6</sup> whose parents were Śā Dharmasī and Dhārālade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikā, and in consequence deciphered the *prāśasti* on an ancient image at Ghaṇḍhānīpura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention:—

Jinachandrasūri, Samvat 1794,<sup>7</sup> (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasūri,<sup>8</sup> Samvat 1887 (No. lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No. lxxviii), Samvat 1892 (No. lxxix); Jinamahendrasūri, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippallya branch (Nos. lxxxii-v).<sup>9</sup> Samvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

Jinasaubhāgyasūri, successor of Jinaharsha, Samvat 1910 (No. xvi).

Jinamuktisūri, Samvat 1922 (No. cvi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara *gachchha*, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinamuktisūri at Jessalmīr in 1874, and at Bikānīr another head of the Kharataras called Hemasūri. The pupils of a third Yugapradhāna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

## II.—*Pañcāvalī of the Tapā gachchha.*

No. xii mentions first Vardhamāna (verse 2), Sudharma (verse 3), Suasthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Koṭikagana (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

<sup>1</sup> This form, which is found also in the *Pittag Prāśasti*, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 219, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klati's *Jinapālī*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 240ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned also in No. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xviii, xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. xviii—xx, xviii—xxiv, add "before Akabarasāhi."

<sup>5</sup> According to No. xviii Śrīkālīpura, according to No. xix Śrīkālī-Śrīpura, according to No. xxiv Śrīpura.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xix—xx, xviii—xxiv, xxvi.

<sup>7</sup> Klati has a Jinachandra (No. 65) in 8, 1894.

<sup>8</sup> This is the last on Klati's list, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 244ff.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. lxxviii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jipachandrasūri, successor of Jinachandra, being alive. Regarding the Pippallya Kharatara *gachchha*, see Klati, *op. cit.* under No. 65.



of the Vajrā śākhā (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nāga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛti and Vidyādhara, the third of whom founded the Chandra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Samvat 1222 the Tapāśhruda (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

(1) Ānandavimāla (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatis in Samvat 1582 (verses 10-11).

(2) Vijayadāna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-13.<sup>12</sup>

(3) Hiravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14-24, who was called by Śāhi Akabbara to Mevāta, and persuaded the emperor in Samvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Suffia*-tax, and a *śulka*,<sup>13</sup> to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatrumjaya to the Jains, to establish a Jaina library (*paustakam bhāṇḍāgāraṃ*), and to become a saint-like king Śreṇika, who converted the head of the Lumpākās. Meghaji,<sup>14</sup> made many people adherents of the Tapā gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarāt and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mālava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatrumjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharaha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hiravijaya belonged to the Śāpka race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnatadurga, in Samvat 1652, Bhādrapada śukla 10, and his *pāduka*s were erected in the same year, on Mārga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakarana of Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25-34), who was called by Akabbara to Labhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramāya*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Choli-be-gam (*Choli Begam*), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Samvat 1680.

(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Samvat 1676, No. xxi of Samvat 1696, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Samvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pātisāhi Jihāmgīra the title *mahādāya*. His appointed successor, Vijaya-simhasūri, who, according to Klatt (*op. cit.*) died before him (Samvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Samvat 1710. It is stated there that the Sahaṣrakūṣa *tīrtha* had been dedicated at his request.

(6) Vijayaprabha (Klatt No. 61) is mentioned in No. xxxiii, dated Samvat 1710. He receives the titles *śāhāya* and *sūri*, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called *bhaffāraka*. This goes against Klatt's *Pattāvali*, which places Vijayadeva's death in Samvat 1709.

In the later inscriptions are named—

Vijayakṣamaśūri, No. xxxviii.

Vijayadayāśūri, No. xxxvii, *bhaffāraka*, in Samvat 1788 (Sumatisāgara, *ibid.*, also *bhaffāraka*), and in No. xxxviii, Samvat 1791.

Vijayajinendrasūri, No. xlii, Samvat 1843, Nos. xlii-xlii, Samvat 1860.

Vijayadhaneśvarasūri, No. lxxviii, Samvat 1893.

<sup>12</sup> Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi-x, all dated in Samvat 1620.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant, — see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 220 (6th edition). The *Suffia* tax is, of course, the *jizya*, or capitation tax on Muslims.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the Lumpākās see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84, p. 153.

Vijayadevendrasūri,<sup>16</sup> No. lxxvi, Samvat 1897, No. lxxix, Samvat 1905, No. xlii, Samvat 1908, No. xcv, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924.

Vidyānandasūri, successor of Dhaneśvara, No. ciii, Samvat 1916.

A Samvījñāyamārgīya Tapā gacchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasahasūri, is mentioned in No. lxxvi of Samvat 1893 and in No. cxlii of Samvat 1940.

### III.—*Pañḍarāṇi of the Aśchala or Vīdhīpakṣa gacchha.*<sup>17</sup>

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos. xxi of Samvat 1675 and xxvii of Samvat 1683, the remainder mostly in No. cv of Samvat 1921:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Āryarakeṣita, <sup>18</sup>           | (16) Dharmamūrti,   |
| (2) Jayasimha,                            | (17) Kalyāṇasāgara or Kalyāṇasamudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683, |
| (3) Dharmaghoṣa,                          | (18) Amarodadhi,  |
| (4) Mahendrasimha,                        | (19) Vidyāsūri (Vidyābdi), <sup>19</sup>                    |
| (5) Simhaprabha,                          | (20) Udayārpava, or Udayasāgara, <sup>20</sup>              |
| (6) Devendra or Devendrasimha,            | (21) Kirtisindhu or Kirtisāgara, No. ii, Samvat 1861,       |
| (7) Dharmaprabha,                         | (22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasāgara, (No. ii, of S. 1861),       |
| (8) Simhatilaka,                          | (23) Muktiśāgara, Samvat 1905, <sup>21</sup>                |
| (9) Mahendra,                             | (24) Ratnodadhi, Samvat 1921;                               |
| (10) Merutunga,                           | (25) Vīvekśāgara, Samvat 1940, No. cxi                      |
| (11) Jayakirti,                           |   |
| (12) Jayakeśari,                          |   |
| (13) Siddhāntasamudra or Siddhāntasāgara, |   |
| (14) Bhāvasāgara,                         |   |
| (15) Guṇanidhāna or Sugūṇasavadhi,        |   |

### IV.—*Pañḍarāṇi of the Sāgara-gacchha.*

This list is given chiefly in No. xci, where the latest date is Samvat 1905:

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| (1) Rājasāgara,    | (7) Ānandasāgara,  |
| (2) Vīddhisāgara,  | (8) Śāntisāgara, Samvat 1886, No. iv, No. lix; Samvat 1889, No. lxii, No. lxx; Samvat 1893, No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. lxxix. |
| (3) Lakṣmīsāgara,  |  |
| (4) Kalyāṇasāgara, |  |
| (5) Puṇyasāgara,   |  |
| (6) Udayasāgara,   |  |

Teachers of two other *gacchhas* are named:—

(1) Rājasāmasūri of the Laghuposāla *gacchha* in No. xlii, dated Samvat 1815.

(2) Paṇḍit Ānandakuśāla of the Pāyachanda *gacchha* in No. xcv, dated Samvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that *Pāyachanda* is a

<sup>16</sup> Spelt also Vijayadevīndra and Vijayadevīra.  
<sup>17</sup> The name Vīdhīpakṣa *gacchha* occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding this Āry-rakeṣita, see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* of 1883-84, p. 152. The *Pañḍarāṇi* described by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar (op. cit., pp. 14, and 5122.) is that of the

*Aśchala-gacchha*, and is therefore agree with the earlier part of the above text.

<sup>19</sup> This form is required according to the metre.

<sup>20</sup> No. ii.

<sup>21</sup> No. 20. Before him appears Rājendraśāgara, Samvat 1886 in No. lii.



mistake for *Pāśchanda* or *Pāśāṇanda*, regarding which see Bhāṇḍārkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 135".

*F.—Digambara Paṭṭāvali.*

No. xxx, dated Samvat 1686, gives (ll. 9 *et seq.*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kumḍakunda (*read Kundakunda*) Āchārya in the Bālātākāragana, the Sarasvatī-gaṇadhā and the Mūlasaṃgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as follows:

- |                    |                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Sakalakīrti,   | (7) Guṇakīrti,                      |
| (2) Bhuvanakīrti,  | (8) Vādībuddhāṇa,                   |
| (3) Jñānabuddhāṇa, | (9) Bāmakīrti,                      |
| (4) Vijayakīrti,   | (10) Padmanandi, the actual head of |
| (5) Śubhachandra,  | the sect in Samvat 1686.            |
| (6) Sumatikīrti,   |                                     |

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the *Paṭṭāvali* of the Kundakundānaya, which dates from much earlier times.

Next to the subdivisions of the Jaina monks, those of the laymen deserve notice, and it is interesting that our inscriptions furnish a good deal of valuable information on this point, regarding which hitherto little has become known. Among the various tribal names of the laymen which are mentioned in the great majority of the documents, that of the Ośāls occurs most frequently, as might be expected from the fact that this section of the Jaina community is not only generally considered the most noble, but possesses also the greatest wealth. The name appears in various forms, (1) *Upakeśa jñātī*, No. xxi; *vamsa*, No. xxvi; (2) *Ūkeśa* or *Ukeśa*, Nos. xxxiii and lx; (3) *Ośa vamsa*, No. xxxix; (4) *Ośa* or *Osa*, mostly with the addition of the termination *vāla* in a great many inscriptions; and (5) *Uśa*, Nos. i—iii, or *Usa*, No. cii.

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.<sup>20</sup> The processes by which the forms *Ūkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Usa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Ośa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahārāṣṭrī Prakṛita, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prākṛita vyākaraṇa*, I, 173).

In addition to the correct form of the name of this famous tribe, the Pallāṇā inscriptions furnish also a traditional account of its origin. We read in No. i—

(Verse 8). "Further—on the hill called Gopa, there was born a most worshipful (*raier*) called the illustrious Āmarāja, whom glorious Bappabhaṭṭi awakened. His wife was some daughter of a trader."

(Verse 9). "In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Rājakośhṭhāgāra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uśa race."

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Rājakośhṭhāgāra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Āma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Paṭṭāvali* and the *Prabandhas*, Āma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Samvat 800.<sup>21</sup> I may add that the genealogy of Karmarāja, which is

<sup>20</sup> See Ind. Ant. vol. XIX, pp. 2312.

<sup>21</sup> See E. P. Papaji, *Gandakī*, pp. xxxviii.



given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Āma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Samvat 1587.

The inscriptions mention also a good many other subdivisions of the Osvā tribe, viz.—

I.—A Vṛiddhasākhā, which is subdivided into the following *gotras* or families, —(1) Ūhāda, No. xxxiii; (2) Chājeḍā, No. cvi; (3) Nāḍūla, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nāhaṭā, No. lxxx; (5) Mummiyā, No. xvi; (6) Rājakoṣṭhagāra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yadugaḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lālaṇa, No. xxi; (9) Luṇṭyā, No. lx; (10) Loḍhā, No. xvi.

II.—A Laghuśākhā, to which belongs (1) the Nāgaḍā *gotra*, No. xc; (2) the Shota *gotra*, No. xi.

III.—An Addaisākhā, to which belongs the Kumkumalela *gotra*, Nos. xci, xcvi, xcix. The members of this *śākhā* and *gotra*, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadābād, besides claim kinship with the Sisodhā Rājputs of Mevād, — see No. xci. Visā Osavālas are mentioned in No. cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrīmālls, called after the town of Śrīmāla or Bhīlāmāla, the modern Bhīnmāl in the extreme south of Marvād. It includes—

I.—A Vṛiddhasākhā, Nos. xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given;

II.—A Laghuśākhā, Nos. xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No. xlv, the Kāśyapa *gotra*, the members of which claim kinship with the Paramāra Rājputs.

A Visā Śrīmāl occurs in No. xcv.

About the same importance belongs to the Prāgvāta tribe, called also Prāgvamisa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravaḍa or Poravāla, (pronounce Porvād and Porvāl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghuśākhā. Visā Poravāḍas or Poravālas are named in Nos. i and xcvii; Duśā-Porvāḍas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, viz. Gūjara *jāṭī*, No. x; Disāvāla *jāṭī*, No. vii; Dūgaḍa *gotra*, No. lix; Niṣma *jāṭī*, No. ciii; Mohotā *gotra*, No. cv; Saṁghavāla *gotra*, and Kāchāra *samāntas*, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

- (1) Ajamera, i.e. Ajmir in Rājputānā.
- (2) Avahillapura, also called Pattana.
- (3) Antarapura in Vāgvaradesa or Dūngarpur.
- (4) Ahmadābād, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Rājanagara, 'the capital.'
- (5) Ugrasenapura.
- (6) Kapadavanaja in the Khedā Collectorate.
- (7) Kāśī, or Benares.
- (8) Koṭhārā in Kachh.
- (9) Khambanayara, i.e. probably Cambay.
- (10) Ghaudhāra in the Bhroch Collectorate.
- (11) Chitrakūṭa, or Chitor in Mevād.

- (12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
- (13) Jesalamera, i.e. Jesalmir in Marvāḍ,
- (14) Damaṇa bandira, i.e. Daman in Gujarāt,
- (15) Divabandira or Diu in Kāthiāvād,
- (16) Devagiri or Daulatābād in the Dekhan,
- (17) Dhanapura,
- (18) Nabhinpura, in Kacch,
- (19) Nalinapura, in Kacch,
- (20) Navanagara, in Kāthiāvād,
- (21) Pālanapura, in Northern Gujarāt,
- (22) Bāluchara,
- (23) Bhāvanagara, in Kāthiāvād,
- (24) Makasudāvāda—Bāluchara or Makṣudāvāda,
- (25) Mumbāi, or Bombay,
- (26) Mesāna, in Gujarāt,
- (27) Rādhanapura, in Northern Gujarāt,
- (28) Vikanera, or Bikaner, in Northern Rājputānā,
- (29) Visalanagara, in Northern Gujarāt,
- (30) Sirohi, in Southern Rājputānā,
- (31) Surata bandira, in Gujarāt.

The name of Ahmadābād or Rājyanagara occurs most frequently.

For those who care to verify Hindu dates the Pālitānā inscriptions will be a perfect mine; for every single date can be calculated, as the weekdays are invariably mentioned.

#### No. I.<sup>21</sup>

- L. 1.    ॥ यो ॥ स्वस्ति योमूर्तेरपरिचां पातमाह्वीमहिमूदपद्मभाकरपातमाह्वीमदापरलाह  
पद्मोद्योतकारक ॥
2. पातमाह्वीवीवीवीवीवाहदरभाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८० वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधरधरपान-  
वीमभादपानया
3. पारे योमन्त्रवगिरी योचिचकुटवास्तव्य । दो० करमाकृतपद्ममोदारभवा प्रगष्टिनिष्ठते ॥  
स्वस्ति योमोख-
4.                    दो जीवात युगादिजिननायकः ।  
केवलपानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १<sup>22</sup>  
योमिदपाटे प्रगटप्रभापे [1]  
भावेन भ-
5.                    ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे ।  
योचिचकुटो मुकुटोपमानो [1]  
विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्मणः ॥ २<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Adīvara Bhagvān;—see *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, &c. (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. H.

<sup>22</sup> Metre of verse 1 Anuṣṭup. Read "जीवान्". A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. H.

<sup>23</sup> Metre of verses 2—4, Upajhiti. Read "वर्त",

सचदनो दातुसुरदमव [1]

त-

L. 8. क. सुवर्णोपि विहारभारः ।

विनेय्यरखावपिचभूमिः [1]

योचिचकुटः सुरगैलतुष्यः ॥ ३

विशालमालसिति-

7. लोचनाभो [1]

रभ्यो कृपां लोचनविचकारी [1]

विचिचकुटो मिरिचिचकुटो [1]

लोकस्तु यथाशिलकुटमुक्तः ॥ ४

तत्र योक्तु-

8. भराजो भूत् कुम्भीरुपनिभो नृपः ।

वैरिचर्यः समुदो हि येन पीतः चणायु क्षितौ ॥ ५<sup>12</sup>

[त] त्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभुद्राज्ञां म-

9. अरवीकुटः ।

कुतः संघाममिंदो अस्व संघामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६

तत्पुत्राभयमणिः सिद्धिदवत्पराक्रमी ।

रत्नमिंदो ॥

10. भुना राजा राजनय्या विराजते ॥ ७

इतश्च गोपाहमिरो मरिचः [1]

योवप्यभरिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।

योधामराजो अजनि मल्ल

11. पत्नी [1]

काचिचभूय व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८<sup>13</sup>

तत्कुचिजाता [1] किल राजकोटा [1]

माराहमीने सुकृतैकपात्रे ।

योधप्रपद्ये विजये

12. विजालि [1]

तस्यान्वये अमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९<sup>14</sup>

योधराजदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् ।

नय्योमिंदः पुत्री [वस्त] तत्पु-

13. यो भूयनपालाश्वः ॥ १०<sup>15</sup>

योधोवराजपुत्री — रमिंहास्व एव तत्पुत्रः ।

वेताकस्तत्पुत्री नरमिंदः तत्पु-

<sup>12</sup> Mistakenly verses 5-7, Anandajñāni.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'यो'.

<sup>14</sup> Mistakenly: Upajñāni. Read 'मरिचः'.

<sup>15</sup> Mistakenly: Indravajra. Read 'योध' योयो' पुत्रः.

<sup>16</sup> Mistakenly verses 10-12. Arja.

<sup>17</sup> Looks like 'न'.



L. 13.

[— — —]<sup>10</sup> ॥ ११

तत्पुत्रमोलायः पत्नी तस्याः [स्व] प्रभूतकुलजाता ।

तारादे परनाम्नी लील पुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२

तत्कुचिसमुद्रताः पट्टि]

15.

पुत्रा<sup>11</sup> कल्पपाटपाकाराः [1]

[धर्म] सुहानपराः शीवतः शीकृतीः श्रुतयो ॥ १३

प्रथमो र[त्ना] क्यसुतः सम्यक्तीयोतकारकः कामं ।

16.

शीचिचकूटनगरं प्राप्तादः [कारितो] येन ॥ १४

तस्याः श्रुति शीमला पाल्यवल्लीव<sup>12</sup> विमदासदा ।<sup>13</sup>

भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्र[ ] शीरंगना-

17.

भार्या ॥ १५

भ्राता श्रुतः शीमाहः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता ।

पद्मापाटमदेव्यो पुत्रो माणिक्यहीराह्वी ॥ १६

बंधुगणस्तु-

18.

तीर्थभार्या<sup>14</sup> गुणरत्नराशिर्विध्याता [1]

मंडरानगरदेव्यो पुत्रो देवामिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७

तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-

19.

रुभक्ता ।

देवल[द्व]रमदेव्यो पुत्रः केन्यामिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८

भ्राता श्रुतः शीमाहः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।

20.

भावलक्ष्मदेव्यो पुत्रः शीमह्वी जीयात् ॥ १८

सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधेयादिगुणैः प्रयुक्तः

शीकर्मराज्ञो

21.

भगिनी च तेषां जीयाकदा सुहविनामधेया] ॥ २०<sup>15</sup>

कर्मोन्मयभार्या प्रथमा कपूर [1]-

देवी पुनः कामलदेव्यो द्वितीया ।

शीभीषजी-

22.

कच्छकुलोदयादि<sup>16</sup>

सूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१

शीतीर्थयात्राजिमन्त्रिपुत्रा-

पदप्रतिष्ठादिकवर्मभूर्याः ।

सुपाचदानेन प-

23.

विचमाचाः

सर्वेदुशाः सपुत्राः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२<sup>17</sup>

श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधीरयः ।

शीकर्ममिहदचो मुखो

<sup>10</sup> Read "नी वातः".<sup>11</sup> Read "पुत्रः".<sup>12</sup> Read "कल्पराज्ञी". Above वा there is a mark.<sup>13</sup> Read "विमदा सदा".<sup>14</sup> Read "शीमो".<sup>15</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>16</sup> Metre: Indravajit. Read "शीमो".<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti. Read "विमदा". Above वा there is a mark.

1. 24. अवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३<sup>a</sup>  
 यीश्वरुजयमाहात्म्यं शु[त्वा]मनुमनिर्वा ।  
 तस्योद्धारकते भावः कर्मराजस्य — शम्भूत् ॥ २४<sup>b</sup>  
 याग-
25. त्व मौर्जरे देगे विवेकेन नरायणे ।  
 वसन्ति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यलोका इवाऽऽहुताः ॥ २५  
 तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीश्वरीमत् ॥ २६
26. बाहदरी नृप- ।  
 तस्य पाप्य स्मृत्स्नानं पुंडरीके समाययी ॥ २६  
 राज्यमापारधैरियः धानः श्रीमान् मन्नादकः ।  
 तस्य गेहे म-
27. कामंती रवास्थो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७  
 तस्य मन्मानमुत्पाद्य बहुविधशयेन च ।  
 उदारः सप्तमस्तोन चक्रे शत्रुजये गिरी
28. ॥ २८  
 श्रीपादलिलमल्लनामरगुणदेगे  
 महावर्ममंगलमनोहरगीतना[दे] ।  
 श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[वि]काया  
 चक्रे मन्नीस-
29. ववरः समुद्रपदेमात् ॥ २८<sup>c</sup>  
 चंचलं शङ्खटगरं गरवनामिरीनफेरौरवा-  
 बीणा[वण]विशुडनालविभवामाधर्मि[वाक्य]
30. ॥ २९  
 वस्त्रांललित[हंस]तुंगतुरगादीनां च स[व]र्षेण-  
 भवे विस्तरपूर्वकं मिरवरे विवप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥ ३०<sup>d</sup>  
 विक्रमसमयातीति ति-
31. विमलभंवत्करेऽश्वसुवर्णे । ॥ २९० ।  
 शाके जगज्जिवाणे ५३ वैशाखे कृष्णपक्ष्यां च ॥ ३१<sup>e</sup>  
 मिलिताः सुरयः संवा मार्गणमु-
32. निपुंगवाः ।  
 वज्रमाने धनुर्लब्धे प्रतिष्ठा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२<sup>f</sup>  
 भावणासमयाख्येन पंडितेन महाकला ।  
 स[त्त]मोद्धारसत्ता
33. च प्रशस्तिः प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३  
 श्रीमहा[हदर]चित्तीश्वचनादागत्य शत्रुजये [i]  
 प्रासादं विदधाम्य येन ह — १ — द्विमा-

<sup>a</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>b</sup> Metre of verses 24-28, Anuṣṭubh.<sup>c</sup> Metre: Vaināṭīlākā.<sup>d</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Text मिरि + ५३१. The car text is not clear.<sup>e</sup> Metre: Āryā. Read ५३१.<sup>f</sup> Metre of verses 32, 33, Anuṣṭubh. Read ५३१ + ५३१.

L. 34.

रीप्य व ।

उद्धारः किल ममः कनिष्ठं चक्रेव ना — —  
 जीयादेव मदीशर्वशमुकुटः श्रीकर्मराज्यधरं ॥ ३३<sup>17</sup>  
 य-

35. कर्मराजेन कृतं स्वायं-  
 मन्थन केनापि कृतं हि तयो ।  
 यन्मुक्तराज्यं [पि] तृपा] जयवो-  
 दारः कृतः समम एव येन ॥ ३३<sup>18</sup>

36. स — — — 'यानि जहानि मंघे  
 कुर्वति भव्याः परम[व] काले ।  
 कर्मोभिधानव्यवहारिणो-  
 दारः कृतः श्रीवि-

37. मन्नादिगुणे । ३४<sup>19</sup>  
 श्रीचिचकटोटयगौनग्रंथं ।  
 कर्मोभिधानोदयान्वितम् ।  
 शचुंजये विंशतिवारकृत्य-  
 [कर्मो-

38. वीलीयं स्मरतीति चित्रं ॥ ३०<sup>20</sup>  
 श्रीमदपाटे विप्रये निवासिनः  
 श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कीर्तिर[ज्जला] ।  
 देशेधनेकेष्वपि [मंचरत्न]-

39. श्री  
 ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्राय नमोविहारिणः ॥ ३८<sup>21</sup>  
 दत्तं येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरवापाय तन्मानतो  
 याचा येन [तृ]-

40. श्री च मघपतिना शचुंजये कारिता ।  
 माधुनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्ठा स्मिता-  
 मिलं वर्षानमुच्यते क्रिय-

41. दक्षी श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ ३८<sup>22</sup>  
 धेनोदारः शुभवति नमे कारितः पुंडरीके ।  
 स्वात्मोद्धारो विशदमतिना दुर्ग-

42. तक्षेन चक्रे ।  
 येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्ता  
 स्तेन चिमुवनतले सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ३९<sup>23</sup>  
 श्रीमदले-

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikīrṇita.

<sup>18</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>19</sup> Perhaps सप्तशतकाधिक.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>21</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikīrṇita. Read "३८".

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Hamsakrāntā. Read "३८", "३९", "३८".



- L. 43. न निशामन्तिर्दिनमणिस्तीव्रप्रतापेन च  
यंगीहीयन्कारणात् स्रजमणिचिंतामणिदानतः ।  
धर्मात् यावन्निरोधः-
44. निर्मदविषध्वस्तकणिर्भोगिनः  
एकानेकमयो गुणैर्नैव नरैः श्रीकर्मराजः सुधीः ॥ ४१ ॥  
तीलासुतः सुतन[र्यो]
45. विनयोज्ज्वलश्च  
लीलसुकुचिर्नलिनीशचिराजहंसः ।  
सम्भारदानविदुरो मुनिपुंनवानां  
सद्वृत्तबोधवयुतो
46. — — कर्मराजः ॥ ४२ ॥  
कर्मो श्रीकर्मराजोयं कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।  
तेषां समानि कर्माणि यदेष्टः पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३ ॥
47. अयोधः सुहरीकस्तु मण्डवा[व]कपर्दिराट् ।  
यावत्श्रीकर्मराजश्च सुप्रसन्ना भवन्त्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥  
श्रीमन्मन्त्रयतीर्षावारे ।
48. क्रमठा[य] सान्निध्यकारक सा अद्यता भा वाई चाप् पुत्र नाथा भानु कीता ॥ ४५ ॥  
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कीला
49. पुत्र सूत्रधार विरूपा[सु] भीमा ठ वेला ठ वडा ॥ योचिचकुटादायत सु टीला सु  
पोमा सु गंगा सु मोरा सु टाला
50. सुवं देवा ॥ सुवं नाकर सु नारैचा सु मोविंद सु विनायग सु टीला सु वडा म  
भाला सु का[पु] सु
51. देवदास सु टीका सु ठाकर — — पं काला वा विनायग ठा काम ठा मोरा सु  
दमोदर वा जराज सु पान
52. ॥ मंगलं चादिदेवस्य मंगलं एतन्नाचले । मंगलं सर्वलभयन्मंगलं निवृत्तस्य च । पं  
विवेकधीरमणिना लिखि
53. [ता म]गच्छि ॥ पुण्य पं समयरत्नमिष पं लावण्यसमयसंस्थं श्रीपादिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति  
मद्रं ॥ श्रीः
54. — हरपति । ठा चांसा ठ मूला ठ छप्पा ठा का[पु] ठा वया सु नाथ सु वाट् ॥ लो  
सहज

No. II.<sup>22</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ संवत्[त] १५८० वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [विष्णु]ख यदि ६ । रवौ ॥ योचिच [कुट]  
2. वास्तव्यचीउशवा[स]ज्ञातोयं ॥ ४४ ॥ भाषायां दी नरसिंह सुत दी [सि]ला भार्या वाई लोल  
पुत्र ६ दी

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Śāṅkīśākhī. Read "साक".

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Vasantatilak.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 43-44, Anuṣṭup.

<sup>25</sup> Read "४३".

<sup>26</sup> Read "४४".

<sup>27</sup> Read "सा".

<sup>28</sup> On the base of the image of Ānandīka in the great temple.—J. B.

<sup>29</sup> Looks like "४३".

<sup>30</sup> Read "साक".

<sup>31</sup> Read "भाषायां".

- L. 3. रत्ना भार्या रत्नमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो पोसा भा पंगदे हि पटमादे पुत्र माणिक्योर दो गणा  
भा गुराद [हि] गारवदे पु दवा  
4. दो दशरथ भा देवलदे हि टूरमदे पुत्र केलला दो० मोसा भा भावलदे हि [स] धमदे पु  
— — — भगिनी [सु] विदे [— व] धव श्रीमहाजसभागुमारजारश्रीमजुजससमीदार-  
5. कारक दो करमा भा कपूरादे हि कामलदे पुत्र भीपजी पुत्री वाई मोभा वा मोना वा  
मन वा प्रता प्रमुपसमस्तकुटुंबनेयोर्थ<sup>२०</sup> मजुजवमुखप्रसादी [डा] रे श्रीपादिनायविंव प्रति  
स्थापित<sup>२१</sup> । मं रवी मं नरमिंगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्ठित<sup>२२</sup> श्रीसुरभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III.<sup>२३</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ संवत् [त] १५०० वर्षे वैशाख दि  
2. श्रीउद्यवंश हृदशापाया दो तोला भा वाई लील सुत दो रत्ना दो पोसा  
3. दो गणा दो दशरथ दो भोजा दो करमा भा कपूरादे । कामलदे पु भीपजी मदि-  
तेन श्रीपुंडरीकविंव कारित श्रीः ॥

No. IV.<sup>२४</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री नमः ॥ संवत् [१६]२० वर्षे आषाढ यदि २ रवी ।  
2. गंधारवास्तव । प्राग्वंश<sup>२५</sup> दोसी । श्रीगोरेपा सुत दो ।  
3. मेखपाल भार्या वीरे<sup>२६</sup> [भोड]की सुत दो । पंचारण ।  
4. स्नातृ दो । भीम दो । नने दो । देवराजप्रमुख ।  
5. [स]कुटुंबेन सुतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।  
6. कारापिता कृष्ण । तपागळेविबुधिमणि श्री-  
7. विजयदानसुरि श्रीहीरविजयसुरिप्रसादा[त]  
8. शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. V.<sup>२७</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे कार्तिक यदि २ दने  
2. गंधारवास्तव श्रीजीमालजातीय सा । श्री [पा]स[वीर] ।  
3. भार्या वाई [पु]तल शत सा । श्रीवर्धमान भार्या वाई  
4. धमलदे धमरादे शत सा । श्रीरामजी भार्या सा<sup>२८</sup> । श्री-  
5. लडुजी सा । धम[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रमुपसमस्तकुट-  
6. बेन सुतः श्रीसिद्धजयोपरि श्रीशान्तिनायप्रसा-  
7. दं श्रीमय कारापित । श्रीतपागळेविबुधशरी [मिरी-]  
8. मणिश्रीहीरविजयसुरिप्रसादात् शुभं भ-  
9. वतु[॥]

<sup>२०</sup> Read "सुख".<sup>२१</sup> Read "प्र".<sup>२२</sup> Read "वि".<sup>२३</sup> On the base of the image of Pundarik in the temple facing Adivara Bhagavan's temple: *Liste*, n. s. p. 190, No. 38.—J. B.<sup>२४</sup> In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Adivara: *op. cit.* *Liste*, p. 194, Nos. 39—45.—J. B.<sup>२५</sup> At the beginning of each line stands a symbol looking like ५.<sup>२६</sup> Read वाई.<sup>२७</sup> Read "दुर्गप्रतिमणि".<sup>२८</sup> In the Gadulharia Channukh temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Adivara temple. *Liste*, p. 195, No. 73.—J. B.<sup>२९</sup> Looks like रई.<sup>३०</sup> The middle bar of the ५ is wanting.

No. VI.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उ नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५  
 2. ॥ गुरौ । श्रीमंधारवास्तव्यप्रामवमंज्ञातीय । सध  
 3. ॥ श्री श्रीजावडा सुत स<sup>०</sup> श्री[सीपा] माया वाई ॥  
 4. ॥ गिर [सुनाखा सुत । सं ।] जिवंत भ्वातु । सं । काव-  
 5. ॥ श्री । सं । श्री[टु]जी । प्रमुच[स्त्र]कुटवेन युतः ॥  
 6. ॥ श्रीपाखेनाप्रदेवकुलिका । कारापिता ॥  
 7. ॥ श्रीतपामच्छे । श्रीविजयदानसुरि[ः] श्री-  
 8. ॥ श्रीरविसुरिप्रसादात् [त्] ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VII.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ गुरु  
 2. ॥ श्रीपद्मवास्तव्यप्रामवमंज्ञातीय ।  
 3. ॥ श्रीय मचं श्रीवलाहम सुत मचं । श्रीगला  
 4. ॥ माया वाई मंगाई सुत । मचं । वीरदास  
 5. ॥ स्वकुटवेन युतः । श्रीमंतजयोपरि श्री-  
 6. ॥ श्रीदिनाप्रदेवकुलिका कारापिता । श्री-  
 7. ॥ तपामच्छे श्रीविजयदानसुरि श्रीहोरवि-  
 8. ॥ जयसुरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VIII.<sup>18</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि  
 2. ॥ २ दिने मंधारवास्तव्यप्रामवा[वा]मंज्ञातीय । श्री  
 3. ॥ परवत सुत श्री कोका सु<sup>०</sup> श्री । व[—]  
 4. ॥ श्री स्वकुटवेन युतः श्रीमंतजयो-  
 5. ॥ परि देवकुलिका कारापिता । श्रीत-  
 6. ॥ तपामच्छे विजयभिमरोमणि श्रीविजय-  
 7. ॥ दानसुरिप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्री ॥

No. IX.<sup>19</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उ नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शु-  
 2. ॥ दि ५ दिने मंधारवास्तव्यप्रामवा[वा]मंज्ञातीय ।  
 3. ॥ श्री समरोषा माया वाई । मोतु धुव्री वा-  
 4. ॥ ई वेरवाई । वाई । श्रीवाई स्वकुटवेन यु-  
 5. ॥ तः । श्रीशान्तिनाप्रदेवकुलिका कारा-  
 6. ॥ पिता । श्रीतपामच्छे विजयभिमरोमणि<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In a cell against the wall of the Adityana temple, at the north-east corner.

<sup>17</sup> In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding.—J, B.

<sup>18</sup> In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of the Adityana temple.—J, B.

<sup>19</sup> In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Adityana temple.—J, B.

<sup>20</sup> Read "विजयभिमरोमणि".



1. 7. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसुरि । श्रीश्रीरविजय ।  
8. ॥ सुरिप्रसादात् ॥ सुखं भवतु ॥ श्री

No. X.<sup>11</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशा-  
2. ॥ ॥ ५ श्रदि ॥ गुरुदिने श्रीमधवारवास्तव्य-  
3. ॥ श्रीश्रीमालीवज्रातीय परी । देवा भा-  
4. ॥ श्री वाई कमलाई सुत परी । मूखी । तथा  
5. ॥ गृह्यरक्षातीय दौमो । श्रीकर्ण भा वा  
6. ॥ चमरो सुत । दौमो । हंसराज उभयो ।  
7. ॥ मोलने श्रीसंतत्रयोपरि श्रीधादिना-  
8. ॥ वदेवकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपागळे-  
9. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसुरिप्रसादात् [न]

No. XI.<sup>12</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६४० वर्षे फागुण<sup>13</sup> श्रदि १३ दने<sup>14</sup>  
2. ठाकर करमसी भार्जा वाई मनी ठाकर  
3. दामा भार्जा वाई चडो ठाकर माह्व ठा-  
4. कर जसू ठाकर घोम ठाकर जसूजी भा-  
5. र्जा वाई जोवादे ठाकर माह्व सुत ते-  
6. जपाल भार्जा वाई तेजलदे संघर्षी  
7. जसू सुत तेजपाल प्रसाद<sup>15</sup> करा-  
8. पितं सुख भवतु<sup>16</sup> ॥ दो नाकर सेठ नावाणे  
9. ७४ । चडो सावाल ।

No. XII.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥  
शेयस्वी प्रयमः प्रभु प्रसिममाम् नैपुण्यपुष्पाकना ।  
मस्तु लक्ष्मीकरः सुधाज्जिमकरः श्री — —  
2. देवः स वः  
प्रमोक्षासकरः करैरिव रविर्ज्योतिः कर्माभीष्ट ॥  
न्यासीर्वास्तलकोजभूव भमवाज् गजजयनेक  
3. मः ११६<sup>18</sup>  
श्रीसिद्धान्तरेगर्वमवरसीजश्रीमनीवज्रमः ॥

<sup>11</sup> In the left end of the second (i.e. in some small chapel or cells on the west of the promenade, and against the north wall of the great temple. —J. B.

<sup>12</sup> On the forehead of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Āditya temple. —J. B.

<sup>13</sup> Read फागुण.

<sup>14</sup> Read दिने.

<sup>15</sup> Read दासा.

<sup>16</sup> Read सुख भवतु.

<sup>17</sup> In the porch of the east, or front, entrance of the Āditya temple, on the south or left hand, (facing No. 1. A transcript is given in the *Zeyl*, pp. 188. After this inscription No. cxvii) should follow. —J. B.

<sup>18</sup> Matra of verse 1—2. Śāradāśikāśāstra. Read श्री वादिदेवः.

पासाहः परमप्रभावभवत् श्रीवर्जमानः प्रभुः ।

उत्पत्तिस्मिति[ सं- ]

1-4. उत्तिप्रकृतिवाम् यद् श्रीवर्जमत्प्रावनी ।

श्रवणपीथ महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोक्तासिनो ॥ २

आसीद्वासवहृदयदितपदचंद-

5. यद् सप्रदा ।

तत्पदांबुधिरचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधर्मभिधः ।

यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्टसुमना श्रद्धापि विद्यावती ॥

यत्ने

6. संततिवृत्तिं भगवतो वीरपद्मोर्मोरिव ॥ ३<sup>१</sup>

श्रीवृत्तिः सुप्रतिबुद्ध पती ।

सुरी यभूता तदनुक्रमेण ।

याभ्या गणो ऽभू-

7. दिव कोटिकाह ॥

चंद्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः ॥ ४<sup>१</sup>

तथाभूद्विष्णो वंद्यः । श्रीवज्रमिगणाधिपः ।

मूलं श्रीवज्रमालाया । सं-

8. नाया विमलानिम्ब ॥ ३<sup>१</sup>

तत्पदांबरदिनमणि । रुद्रितः श्रीवज्रमेनसुरासीत् ।

नामिद्वचंदिनिर्गति । विद्याधरमंजुकाच तच्छिष्याः

9. ॥ ४<sup>१</sup>

अस्वनामममानानि । येभ्यस्तवारि जज्ञिरे ।

कुलानि काममेतत्तु कुलं चांद्रं तु दिव्युत ॥ ७ [४]<sup>१</sup>

भास्करा एव निमिरं । अरंतः स्वाति-

10. भावनं ।

भूरयः सुरयस्तथ । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः ॥ ८ ।

बभूवुः कमलस्तथ श्रीवज्रचंद्रसूरयः ।

वैश्वपाविसदं लेभे । वाणसिद्धा ऽर्ज-

11. १२८२ मकरे ॥ ८

कमिषाधिनं गणे वीम । विमलाः सुरयोमभवन् ।

तापटे सुरयोभूव । आनंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० [४]

साध्याचारविधिः प-

12. या शिविलतः सम्यक् विधां धाम वै ॥

बभूवुः आनविजिमायकसुधारोचिनिम्बे १२८२ मेहसि ।

वोमूतेरिव यैर्जमायुनरिटं तापं

<sup>१</sup> Read: सं-; यद् सप्रदा ।

<sup>२</sup> Metre: Indivisible. — Read: जगतां, मताः ।

<sup>३</sup> Metre: Anushtup.

<sup>४</sup> Metre: Giti.

<sup>५</sup> Metre of verses 7-10: Anushtup. — Read: जगतां.

- L. 13. हरद्विभयं ।  
 मञ्जीवं विदधे गवां श्रुतिसैः स्तोमै रसोद्भासिभिः ॥ ११ ॥<sup>a</sup>  
 पद्माश्रयैरलमलंकियते च तेषां ।  
 प्रोपक्षणां-
14. सि जगतां कमलोदयेन ।  
 पट्टः प्रवाल इव निर्व्वरनिकोरिणाः ।  
 शुद्धाब्जभिर्विजयदानमुनीश्वरैः ॥ १२ ॥<sup>b</sup>  
 सौभाग्यहरिसर्व[प]-
15. यंहरत्नं कपं च रंभापति ।-  
 शोभैवं शतपञ्चमिचमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुनः ।  
 तेषां बीजं सनातनं सधुरिपुष्यस्वामिचर्मोष्णी ।  
 जाताः
16. काममपञ्चपाभरभूतो गोपलमात्राद्ययः ॥ १३ ॥<sup>c</sup>  
 तपट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकलितोद्योतस्तथा सौधव[त्] ।  
 सखेह्यैर्[त]राज-
17. होरविजयखेजप्रियैर्निगंधैः ।  
 सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थमुजाशिना ।  
 विधातः स यथाजलिष्ट सुदुग्धा कामप्र-
18. मोदाश्रयं ॥ १४  
 देशाद् गूर्जरतोष हरिहयभा चाकारिताः सादर[र] ।  
 श्रीमत्साक्षिककल्बरेण विषयं मेवातमंजं भूमम् ।  
 शा-
19. — — — जपाण्योवतमसं सर्वं हरतो गवां ।  
 स्तोमैः सुचितविश्वविश्वकमलोत्तामैर्नभोर्का इव ॥ १५ ॥<sup>d</sup>  
 चक्रुः फलेपुरम-
20. — — — [मं]भौम ।  
 दृग् युष्मज्जोकुलमात्रमुष्टं सजतः ।  
 शब्देकपावकलपप्रमिते १६३८ अमोभिः ।  
 सोडा-
21. — — — — — पुत्रकाननम् ये ॥ १६ ॥<sup>e</sup>  
 दामेवाश्रितभूपमहंस निजामात्रां सदा धारयन् ।  
 श्रीमान् शाक्षिककल्बरी नरवरो[देशे]ष्य
22. शेषेचपि ।  
 शण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपट्टोद्योधानश्रवसिनाः ।  
 कामं कारयति च हृष्टहृदयो यदाकलारजितः ॥<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Metre: Śāntālavikrīṭa.—Read 'त्रिभुज'.

<sup>b</sup> Metre: Yaśodālakṣa.—Read 'विमोहिनाः'.

<sup>c</sup> Read 'सौभाग्य'.

<sup>d</sup> Metre of verses 13—15: Śāntālavikrīṭa.

<sup>e</sup> Read 'विषय'.

<sup>f</sup> Metre: Yaśodālakṣa.

<sup>g</sup> Metre: Śāntālavikrīṭa.—Read 'अशितः' ; 'यशित'.



- L. 23. ॥ १० [४]  
 यधुपदेयवयेन मुदं दधविखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे ।  
 धतधनं च करं च सुजीजिधाभिधमकल्लरभुपतिरखजत् ।
24. ॥ १८ [४]  
 यहाचा कतकामया विमलितकांतांनुपुरः कृपा ।  
 पूर्णः शास्त्रनिधनीतिवनिताको [डोकताळा]खजत् ।  
 शस्त्रं य [कु]
25. [म] शस्त्रमन्धरणीराजा जनप्रीतये ।  
 तहाचोडजपुंनपूरुपयगं वाममुचइरियः ॥ १८ ॥  
 यहाचा<sup>१</sup> निचयेर्मुधाकतसुधाळा [दे]
26. [र] मंदैः कृता ।  
 म्हादः योमदकल्लरः चित्तिपतिः संतुष्टिपुटापयः ।  
 म्हाका तल्लरभयसाधंमतुलं येषां मनःप्रीतये ।  
 ज्ञेयिभ्य-
27. : प्रददौ च तीर्थतिलकं यधुजयोर्वीधरं ॥ २० [४]  
 यहाग्निमुदितवकार कसुवास्त्रुल्लंभनाः पौस्तकं ।  
 भांडामारमपारवाडुमय-
28. मयं वंशेय वामदेवतं ।  
 यधुवेममरेण भाषितमतिः शास्त्रिः पुनः प्रत्यर्थं ।  
 पूताळा बहु मन्वते भगवतां सद्गुणो दयनम् ॥ २१ [४]
29. यहाचा तरणित्वियेव ज्ञानितोकासं मनः पंकजं ।  
 विभ्रच्छास्त्रिचकल्लरो व्यसनधीपायोजिनी चंद्रमाः ।  
 जज्ञे यादवजनीचित्तैव सुकतै-
30. सर्वेषु देवेष्वपि ।  
 व्यातोर्ध्वतमतिभाषितमतिः<sup>२</sup> श्रीचैतिकाप्रापवत् ॥ २२ ॥  
 सुंपाकाधिपमेधजोक्कविमुखा हिला कुमत्वापय<sup>३</sup> ।  
 मेजुयंभ-
31. रणधयोमतुदिनं भृगा रवांभीजिनी ।  
 उज्जामं नमिता यदीयचनैर्वैराखरमोक्कुबै ।  
 ज्ञाताः सन्नमतं विहाय यधुवो लोकास्तपामंयजा-
32. ॥ २३ [४]  
 चासीधैवविधापनादिसुकतसेषेषु वित्तव्ययो ।  
 मूयान् यदचनेन मूर्खैरधरामुल्लंघु देमेष्वे ज्ञं ।  
 याचां मूर्खैरमालवादिकमहादिमो-
33. इवैभूरिभिः ।  
 मंघैः सार्धंमोखरा चिदधरे शम्भुजये मे निरी ॥ २४ [४]

<sup>१</sup> Read यधुपदे. Metre: Dvādvāyambhita.

<sup>२</sup> Metre of vv. 19-24: Śāṅkhāyavikrānta.

<sup>३</sup> Read यहाचा.

<sup>४</sup> Read विष्णु.

<sup>५</sup> Read यधु.

तत्पुष्पमिषि रम्यतमं सुजतः ।

स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतममं हरतः [1]

[क]-

L. 34. ।सीलसत्त्वलयप्रणया जयति [1]

स्फूर्जलला विजयसेनमुनीद्रचंदाः । २५[४]<sup>०</sup>

यक्षतापक्ष माहात्म्यं वर्णते किमतः परं ।

अश्वप्राचक्रिरे येन जीव[तो]-

35. पि हि वादिनः । २६[४]<sup>१</sup>

सौभाग्यं विषमायुष्मात्ममलिनोकांताच तेजस्विना ।-

मैत्र्यै गिरिजापतेः कुमुदिनीकांतात्कलामाश्रिता ।

माहात्म्यं च-

36. रणोधराश्वसुजां गांभीर्यमभोनिधि ।-

रादायावुजभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यक्षसिंहेतक्ययी । २७[४]<sup>२</sup>

ये च श्रीमदकम्बरेण विनवादाकारिताः

37. सादरं ।

श्रीमन्नामपुरं पुरंदरपुरं अक्षं सुपर्वोत्करैः ।

भूयोभिर्गतिभिर्बुधैः परिहृतो [१]विगादलंकककिरे ।

श्रीमोदं सरसं सरोरुचवर्णं लीलाभराला

38. इव । २८[४]

अर्द्धतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विष्णोत्तमं ।

साध्यावाहिचक्रवर्णस्य सदसि स्तोमैर्गवासुधतैः ।

यैः संमोतिवलोचना<sup>३</sup> विदधिरै

39. इत्यचमूरेः<sup>४</sup> त्रिधा ।

वाटोक्तादभूतो हिजातिपतयो मया निष्ठाटा इव ॥ २९[४]

श्रीमन्वाहिचक्रवर्णस्य सदसि प्रोक्षार्पिभिर्भूरिभिः [1]

वाटैर्वादि-

40. वरान् विजित्वा समदाश्विदैर्हिपैर्द्वानिव ।

सर्वप्राणयतुष्टिहेतुरनयो दिव्युत्तररथां स्फुरन् ।

यैः कौलाच इषोत्तमो निजययः श्वंभो

41. निषधुं मज्जान् । ३०<sup>५</sup>[४]

दलसाधसधोरहीरविजयश्रीसुरिराजा पुरा ।

यच्छ्रीमाहिचक्रवर्णस्य धरणीशक्रेण तगीतये ।

तच्चक्रोत्थिलमप्यवालम-

42. तिला यत्ताज्जगत्साक्षिणं [1]

तत्पदं पुरमाजसंश्रमनचक्रवर्णं दिगो व्यानये ॥ ३१[४]

<sup>०</sup> Vasantatishā.

<sup>१</sup> Anukūṭh.

<sup>२</sup> Motif of vv. 27-31, Śāradālikāṭhā.

<sup>३</sup> Read "निषधौ".

<sup>४</sup> Perhaps meant for "अचमूरे".

<sup>५</sup> Read "यय", "ययं च".

किं च गौडपभकासरकाता ।  
कामरा यमस्य न हि नियाः ।  
मोच-

L. 43. मेव सृतविलमशेषं [1]

बन्दिनीपि हि न च प्रजणीयाः ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>12</sup>  
यत्कलासलिलवाहिलामप्रोतचित्ततरुणाजनतुष्टे ।  
स्वीकृतं स्वयमकम्बरधाचीस्त्रामि-

44. ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ ॥

चोलीवेगमनन्दनेन वसुधाधीनेन सन्धानिता ।  
मुखीं मुखैरमेदिनीमनुदिनं स्पर्शकविव्भोकिनी ।

45. सदृशा भद्रसा भरेण सुभगा गार्द गुणीस्त्रामिनी ।  
ये हारा इव कंठमंजुजदृशा कुर्वन्ति शोभास्यदं ॥ ३४ ॥<sup>13</sup>  
इतय ॥  
शामूरान्वय[प]-

46. ह्यपद्मसवया उक्तेयवर्गिभव ।-

च्छेदी" शोशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्णिकः पुष्पधीः ।  
तत्पुष्पोजनि सोधरस्य तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।  
[क]-

47. तलाहोजनि तकुतस्य तनुजस्तस्यापि वाचाभिधः । ३५[४]

तस्याभूद्वह्निष्वाभिधस्य तनुजः स्वाती रजार्द्रभव ।-  
स्तस्याभूत्सु सुहासिणी [ति]

48. मृष्टिणी पद्मेव पद्मापतेः ।

इन्द्राणिसुरराजयोरेव जयः पुष्पस्तयोद्याभव ।-  
तेजःपाल इति प्रहृष्टकुम्भनाः पिबोर्भनः प्रीतिरुत् ॥ ३६[४]  
[का]-

49. मस्येव रतिर्हरिरेव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते ।-

रासोत्तेजजदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः [ — — ] ।  
भोक्तव्यसुभगो गुरो प्रणयिनी शक्तकुपवांदरी ।  
पौलो-

50. मोक्षिदयेभराविन सुखं ती दंपती भिजतुः ॥ ३७ ॥

वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्वनिष्ठाकराणां ।  
तेषां च शीरविजयप्रतिसिंधुराणां ।  
शोभास्य [मा]-

51. स्वपरभागविभासुराणां ।

तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनसुनोभराणां ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>14</sup>  
वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिर्ददिवेताः ।  
यावः स शोभनमना भज-

<sup>12</sup> Metre of vv. 32 and 33, Śaigastā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of vv. 34-36, Ārāḍāśikāhīn.

<sup>14</sup> Read "शेरी."

<sup>15</sup> Metre of vv. 38, 39, Yaśovastāśā.



1. 52.

ति च भाष [1]

श्रीम[धम]स्त्रिचनदानजिनद्रव्ये[1]  
 तारादिकर्मेषु यथा सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥२५॥<sup>१६</sup>  
 विशेषतः ।  
 यदेः प्रयसोणि सुपाश्वभसु-

53. [र]मंतभसुं यथा पतिता ।

सोऽ चोकरत्यद्युगमृष १६४६ वर्षे ।  
 हृषेण मौवर्णिकतेजपालः । ४० [४]<sup>१७</sup>  
 सादावार्धभिरच तीर्थतिलके शसुं[ज]-

54.

येऽ चोकर ।

सैत्वं<sup>१८</sup> सैत्यकरं दृशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुरं ।  
 यथाज्येपि भुजाभिर्ता फलवतीमुखैः सजंतः त्रियं ।  
 [मा]-

55.

सादतदनुक्रमेण ब्रह्मवाकारयन् भूमजः ॥ ४२[४]<sup>१९</sup>  
 तीर्थेच साधुकरमाभिधो धनो सिद्धिभिदितिलि १५८८ संख्ये ।  
 सैत्यस[ची]-

56.

करदुर्गरानंदविमलमुनिराजा ॥४३॥<sup>२०</sup>

नं वीण्य जीर्णं भगवद्विहारं ।  
 स त्रिजपालः स्रष्टुतीति दृष्यो ।  
 भावी कदा सोऽवस

57.

रो वरीयान् ।

यथाऽच सैत्वं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ ॥<sup>२१</sup>  
 यन्मेषु स्रग्गुणदेभ्यस्तदा कामं वल्लोक्त ।  
 स्वांताभाः स वणिग्[र] सु-

58.

रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् ।

तीर्थे श्रीमति तृगतीर्थतिलके शसुंजयेदृष्यो [१]-  
 वारं कर्तुमना यथापतता साकल्यमिच्छन् प्रियः । ४५[४]<sup>२२</sup>

59.

यत्र स्वात् सुकृतं कृतं तत्सुमतां येषः चिदां कारणं ।  
 सत्यं निजपूर्वजजन्मदानदप्रमोदास्ये ।  
 तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलतिविमले [१]

60.

सौलहंती मंदिरं ।

श्रीर्षाधारमकारयन् सुकृती कुंतीतनुजन्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥  
 श्रृंगेण मिथ्यगनांगयमितदुर्वै ।  
 सैत्वं यथास्ति सि-

<sup>१६</sup> Read "सिमेद", मध.<sup>१७</sup> Metre: Upajati.<sup>१८</sup> Read "चोकर" केवल.<sup>१९</sup> Śāradāliṅgī. The figure 80 is missing: Read सादा.<sup>२०</sup> Metre: Aryā. — Read "नद".<sup>२१</sup> Metre: Upajati.<sup>२२</sup> Metre of vv. 45, 46: Śāradāliṅgī.

- L. 61. अरस्मितहेमकुम्भं ।  
 हस्तोपु ५२ इक्षुमितमुचसुपैति ताव ।  
 लक्ष्मी विजेतुमिव काममखर्वमयी । ४७[३]<sup>२०</sup>  
 यथाहंदोकसि जितागरकुम्भ-  
 62. भिजुम्भा ।  
 कुम्भा विभाति शरवेदकरेदु १२४५ प्रस्थाः ।  
 किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः<sup>२१</sup> प्रभुरप्रताप ।-  
 पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८[३]  
 63. उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानग्रेषान् ।  
 विखेसु विप्रकरिणो दुग्गपसिद्धंतु ।  
 सज्जाः स्म इत्यमभिधातुमिषंदुनेषाः २१ ।  
 सिद्धा विभात्युप-  
 64. गता जिनधानि यच ॥ ४८ ॥  
 योनिन्धो यच शोभते चतस्रो जिनयेश्मनि ।  
 निधेयितुमिवाकांताः प्रतापैरामता दिग्वाः । ५०[३]<sup>२२</sup>  
 राजते च दि-  
 65. शां पाश्चा [ — १ ] यथा ऽ हंदालये ।  
 मूर्तिमंत × किमायाता धर्मोत्तममिनाममी । ५१[३]  
 हासततिः विद्यमयति जिनेन्द्रवन्द ।-  
 विजानि देवकुलि-  
 66. कासु च तावतीषु ।  
 हासततेः चित्तजनानिकलालतानां ।  
 किं कुटुम्बका × परिमलैर्भुवनं भरतः । ५२ ३<sup>२३</sup>  
 राजते यच धत्तारो गवाक्षा जिनये-  
 67. श्मनि ।  
 विरंजैरिव वज्राणि विष्णाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ ३<sup>२४</sup>  
 यच शैले विराजते । धत्तारश्च तपोधनाः ।  
 शमी धर्माः किमाया-  
 68. ताः । प्रभूपास्वै वपुर्भूतः ॥ ५४ ॥  
 पंचाविकाः विद्यमयति जिनेन्द्रधाणि ।  
 हाचिन्द्रादिन्द्रमयोभरजेवरूपाः ।  
 ज्ञात्वा गतीनि  
 69. हृ जिने किमु लचणच्छा ।-  
 एजां प्रिया मिजनिजेमनिभासनोत्काः ॥ ५५ ३<sup>२५</sup>  
 हाचिन्द्रदुसमतमानि च तोरणानि ॥  
 राजन्ति य-

<sup>२०</sup> Metre of vs. 47-49: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>२१</sup> \*युः, visible on the reverse.

<sup>२२</sup> Metre of vs. 50: 51: Anantatilakā.

<sup>२३</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>२४</sup> Metre of vs. 53, 54: Anantatilakā.

<sup>२५</sup> Metre of vs. 55, 56: Vasantatilakā.

L. 70. च जिनघाञ्चि मनोज्ञराणि ।

जिं तोयंजदुदमतलच्छिस्तेष्वपाना ।-  
मंदोलनानि सरलानि सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥  
गजासत्-

71. विंशतिरऽद्वितीया ।

विभांति गन्ता जिनघाञ्चि यव ।  
देवास्तुर्विंशतिरोयभक्तौ ।  
किमागताः कुञ्जररूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥  
स्तं-

72. भावतुष्टासतिरऽद्वितीया ।-

तुंगा विभांतीश्च जिनेन्द्रचैत्ये ।  
दियामऽधोयोः सह सर्वं वृद्धा ।-  
× किमागमन्तौ ससुपेयिवांसः ॥ ५८ ॥

73. ॥ ५९ ॥

रम्यं मंदपयोधिभूषति १६४८ मिते वर्षे सुखीत्कपेक्षत् ।  
साहाय्याद् जसुठकुरस्व सुकृतारामैकपायोमुचः ॥  
मासा (1)-

74. दं वक्षिष्यासुतेन सुधिया शर्चजये कारितं ॥

दृष्ट्वा ऽष्टापदतोर्वचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते रतिः ॥ ५९ ॥  
चैत्यं चतुर्णांभिव धर्म-

75. मेदिनी ॥

भुजां स्थं प्रीणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥  
शर्चजयोर्विभूति नदि वर्षना ।-  
ऽभिधं सदा यच्छतु वाङ्कितानि वः ॥ ६० ॥  
[ - ]

76. यः प्रभाभरतिनिर्झितनेत्रशैले ।

सैत्ये ऽव भूरिरऽभवद् विभवज्ययो यः ।  
ज्ञात्वा वदन्ति मनुजा इति तेजपालं ॥  
ज-

77. स्यदुमस्ययमनेन धनज्येन । ६१ ॥<sup>2</sup>

शर्चजये गगनवाणकला १६५० मिते ऽब्दे ।  
यावां चकार सुकृताय स तेजपा ।-

78. लः ॥

चैत्यश्च तस्य सुदिने शुद्धिभिः प्रतिष्ठा ॥  
चक्षे च शीरविजया ऽभिधस्त्रिभिः ॥ ६२ ॥  
मार्त्तल्लभंलमिषांभुक्ता

<sup>1</sup> Metre of vs. 57, 58 : Upajāl.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : Śāntilavikṛāṇa.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : Upajāl of Indrasenā and Vamdastha.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of vs. 61, 62 : Vasantatilakā.



L. 79.

समूहः ।

पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः ।  
केकिन्नजः सलिलवाहमिवाऽतितुंगं ।  
सैल्यं निरीक्ष्य मुदमति जनः

80.

समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥

सैल्यं वाह्यं चतुर्भुजं कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं ।  
प्राप्तुं न जसुठकुरेण विहितं सैल्यं द्वितीयं यमं ।  
रम्यं कुंभ-

81.

रजोविनिश्चितम् ॥ भूषैल्यं तृतीयं पुनः ।

मूलवेष्टिकृतं निकामसुखं सैल्यं चतुर्थं तथा ॥ ६४ ॥  
एभिर्विष्णुविमारिभिर्भुक्तिभरैर-

82.

त्यर्घ्यसंयुक्तितोदः ।

द्योतो दिव्यऽखिलासु निर्जरपतिः स्वर्लोकापालैरिव ।  
योगचुञ्जयशैलमौलिमुकुटं सैल्यं चतुर्भुजं-

83.

तः ॥

पासादीऽमिमनोवि ॥ नोदकमलासैल्यं धिरं नन्दतु ॥ ६५ ॥  
वक्त्राभिधस्य वरसुधधरस्य गिर्यं ॥  
सैल्यं चिरादिदमुदीक्ष्य

84.

निरीक्षणीयं ।

शिष्यत्वमिच्छति ॥ कलाकलितोपि विष्णुः ।  
कम्पाय्य शिल्पिपटति भवितुं प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥  
सदाचाराव्योनां कमलविज-

85.

याज्ञानसुधियां ।

पदद्वंभोजभरमरमदयो हिमविजयः ।  
धनकारैराख्यां शिष्यमिव गुमां यां विहितवान् ।  
प्रशस्तिः म[सौ-]

86.

या प्रगति विरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ॥

इति सौवर्णिकमाह्वयेतिजपालोदुतविमलाचल-  
[पट] नदीयादीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः [च]यः<sup>१०</sup>

87.

बुधसहजसागराणां । विनेयजयसागरोऽलिखदणैः ।  
शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णः । माधवनामानाभिधानाभ्यो ॥ ६८ ॥

No. XIII.<sup>११</sup>

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमद्वत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुण्यनक्षत्रे निष्कृतिममं  
वैभवैरा-

2. निःकृतादिगुणरजितेन सहचोषकवरनरेन्द्रेण प्रतिवर्षं वास्तवमिदमवकाशजतुजाता-

<sup>१०</sup> Metre of vs. 64-65: Śaṅkharikaḥḥita. Read "विष्णुः".

<sup>११</sup> Metre: Yaṇṇaḥḥita.

<sup>१२</sup> Metre: Śaṅkharika.

<sup>१३</sup> Read "विष्णुः".

<sup>१४</sup> Metre: Ārya beginning with "श्री".

<sup>१५</sup> Read a part of "Vidhāna" in a small temple to the west of Ādhāra Bhagavāna temple — *Texts of Ind. Rev.*, p. 108, No. 119. — J. B.

3. भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनयथादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीविषादिकरभीचनमुहका-
4. मिधानकरभोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तवत् २ मानानां नानादे-
5. श्रीयसंधसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतवाचाणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां स<sup>०</sup> १६५२ व-
6. र्थे भाद्र मितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे धनशानपूर्वकं महीक्षयेन साधितोत्तमाद्यानां तपागङ्गा-  
धिराजमहा
7. श्रीक्षीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारि<sup>०</sup> कृतंभतीर्थीय स<sup>०</sup> उदयकरणेन प्र<sup>०</sup>भ<sup>०</sup>
8. श्रीविजयमैनसुरिभिः ॥ महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयमणयः धं धनविजय-
9. — लिभ्यां स[ट]प्रणमंति ॥ एताव म[वा]
10. [ — — रा ] राध्यमानाधिरं
11. [ नंद ] तु ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. XIV.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. १६०५ वैशाख शुदि १३ शुक्ले संघवानमो-
2. चो<sup>०</sup> काचरसंतामे सा<sup>०</sup> किला पुत्र सा<sup>०</sup> यथा
3. पु<sup>०</sup> नरसिंघ पु<sup>०</sup> कुचरा पु<sup>०</sup> नच्छा भायां नव-
4. रंमदे पु<sup>०</sup> सुरताण भायां मैदूरदे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुं-
5. यतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक<sup>०</sup>-
6. सप्तलेचोमस्ववित्त सा<sup>०</sup> प्रेतमी भा<sup>०</sup> सोभागदे
7. पु<sup>०</sup> पदमसी भायां प्रेमलदे पु<sup>०</sup> रंदजी भायां [भा]
8. <sup>०</sup> वीरमदे द्वितीयपुत्र सोमसी खलपुपुत्र सा<sup>०</sup>
9. विमलसी भायां लाडिमदे पुत्र प्रोमसी द्वितीय
10. भायां विमलादे पुत्र दूधनसी प्रोमसी भायां
11. कैसरदे पुत्र वि<sup>०</sup> दूंगरसी प्रमुखपुत्रपोत्रप्र-
12. पोत्रपरिवारसहितेन चतुर्मुखविचारपूर्वा-
13. मिमुखस्थाने — — — देवगृहिका कुटुम्ब-
14. वेदीर्थ<sup>०</sup> कारिता श्रीहृत्स्वरतरंगगाधिराज-
15. सुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसुरिपहासंकारक[<sup>०</sup>]
16. शत्रुंजयाष्टमोद्वारप्रतिष्ठाकारकश्रीजिनराज-
17. सुरिसुरि[समाजराजाधि]राजैः <sup>०</sup>[४]

No. XV.<sup>30</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ स<sup>०</sup> १६०५ वैशाख शुदि १३ त्रिथी शुक्लवारे सुरताणनूरदीनजहांगीरसुवाहविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीः
2. अहमदाबादप्रान्तप्रान्त टप्पातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक स<sup>०</sup> माईशा भायां नाहू पुत्र स<sup>०</sup> जोगी भायां  
जसमादे
3. पुत्ररत्न सकलसुत्रयककर्तव्यताकरसिंहितयत्न स<sup>०</sup> सोमजी भायां राजलदे पुत्र संघपति  
रूपजीकेन भाया

<sup>29</sup> On the shrine door of the temple of Pundarik in front of the Chaurmukha temple in the Khutianurval Tank; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 312.—J. B.

<sup>30</sup> Read "वेदि".

<sup>31</sup> Read "सुत्रय".

<sup>32</sup> Read "उदय".

<sup>33</sup> Read "उज्जयि".

<sup>34</sup> Round pillars in a small temple in the north-west of the Khutianurval Tank; Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4-6 on the east. *Lists*, p. 206, No. 330.—J. B.

- L. 4. जेठो पुत्र चिं उदयवत चार्दे कोडिकुंवरिप्रमुखभारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसमाकारचो-  
 5. विमलाचलोपरि मूलोहारसारचतुर्मुखविहारभुंगारकवोदुमादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीचादिनाथ  
 पादुके परमप्रभोदाय  
 6. कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीउज्ज्वलतरंगजाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसुरिसुरिमिरस्तिलके : प्रथमंति  
 भुवनकोर्तिगणिः ॥

## No. XVI.\*

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुके : श्रीसवालजातीप्रभोदायोवीय सां रायमज भायां  
 2. रंगादे पुत्र सां जयवत भायां जयवतदे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मकारकयोगपुंजययाचा  
 3. विधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक सां राजसीकेन भायां कमंडव सुरंगदे पुं अथयराज भायां अह-  
 4. कारदे  
 5. पुं अथयराज खन्नातुं सें श्रीपाल भायां गुजरदे पुं वीरधवल सां [न]गतादे खलपुम्भा-  
 6. नृ सें वीरपाल भायां लोलादे प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन श्रीचादिनाथपादुके कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते  
 युगप्रधानश्रीजि[न]  
 7. मिहसुरिपट्टोद्योतकश्रीजिनराजसुरिमिः श्रीपुंजयोहारप्रतिष्ठायां [१] श्रीउज्ज्वलतरंगजाधि-  
 राज्ञे [२]

## No. XVII.\*

- L. 1. स १६०३ मिते सुरताणनूरदीजडांगीरसवार्देविजयिराज्ये साहिजादासुरताणपोस[३] पयरे  
 श्रीराजो  
 2. नगरे घोवरसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुके श्रीचक्रवादावास्तव्यलपुमासाप्रकट-  
 प्राक्याटजातीयसे देवराज भायां  
 3. [३]डी पुत्र से श्रीपाल भायां राजू पुत्र से राजा पुत्र से सार्वथा भायां नाथ पुत्र से जीम  
 भायां लसमादे पुत्ररज श्रीपुंजयतीर्थयाचाविधानसंप्राप्तश्रीसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनम-  
 वनविजयप्रतिष्ठासाधमिकवास्तव्यादिधर्मसेवी  
 4. तस्यविज सें श्रीमजी भायां राजलदे कुचिरज राजसभाभार सें [३]पकोकेन पितृस्य सें शिवा  
 लउदभ्यातुं रजजी पुत्र सुंदर[दास] सपर लपुम्भातुं श्रीमजी पुत्र रविजी सभायां जेठो पुं उदय-  
 वत पितामह भ्यातुं सें नावा पुत्र सें सुरजो प्रमुखभारपरिवारसहितेन  
 5. स्वयंसमुहारितसमाकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोहारसारचतुर्मुखविहारभुंगारहारश्रीचादिना-  
 थजिबं कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीमहावीरदेवपटानुपहाविष्णुसपरंपरायातश्रीउद्योतनसुरि  
 श्रीवर्हमानसुरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वरसुरि श्रीजिनचंद्र-  
 6. [४] रिनवांगडसिंकारकश्रीसोमनकपार्जनाथप्रकटकश्रीचमयदेवसुरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसुरि देन-  
 ताप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनदत्तसुरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसुरि श्रीजिनपत्तिसुरि श्रीजिनेश्वरसुरि  
 श्रीजिनप्रबोधसुरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसुरि श्रीजिनकुमलसुरि श्रीजिनपद्मसुरि श्री-  
 7. जिननाथिसुरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसुरि श्रीजिनोदयसुरि श्रीजिनराजसुरि श्रीजिनभद्रसुरि श्रीजिन-  
 चंद्रसुरि श्रीजिनसमुद्रसुरि श्रीजिनसंसुरि श्रीजिनमाधवसुरि दिक्षीपतिपातसाहि-  
 श्रीचक्रवर्तिबोधकतद्वदत्तयुगप्रधानविदधरकसकलदेमाहाडिका-

\* Found a second pair of feet in the same temple; Line 1 on the north, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the north, and  
 5-7 on the east.  
 \* In the Gaurmukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple is the Kharsavarni Tank. — Lists, p. 339, No. 310.



L. 8. भारिप्रवत्तावककुंयित<sup>१</sup> अहामोरासाहिरजकतकुंमंडलवहिकृतसाधुरसकवुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद-  
सुरि मंचिकर्मचंद्रकारितसपादकोटिवित्तव्ययकपनंदिमहोत्सवप्रकारकठिनकास्मोरादिदेशविहारकारकथोष-  
कवरसाहिमनःकमनभमराभुकारकवयोवधिल<sup>२</sup> ॥

9. अलवतुजातजातनिर्वर्त्तक<sup>३</sup> श्रीपुरगोलकुंडागळ्णाममुखदेशामारिप्रवत्तकसकलविद्याप्रधानअहामो-  
रनुरदीमहस्यदपातिसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनमिहसुरि पडालंकारकथोषविकावरधारकतडलवाचित-  
घंघाणिपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रसिद्धि [व -] ॥

10. तरवोहितवंगीय सा<sup>४</sup> धर्मसोधारलदेदारकचतुःशासपारीणधुरीणमारकभहारकट्टदारकश्रीजिन-  
राजसुरिसुरिगिरी[मुकुटैः] ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसुरि श्रीजयभीम महीपाध्याय श्रीगुणचिनयोपाध्याय  
शोधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं<sup>५</sup> चानंदकीर्ति स्वलघुसहोदर वा<sup>६</sup> [भद्र]

11. [सिनादिमत्परिकरैः ॥]

### No. XVIII.<sup>७</sup>

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६०५ प्रमिते सुरताणनुरदीजहामोरासवाहिविजयिराज्ये

2. साहिजादासुरताणयोस[रु]प्रवरै राजनगरं सोवससाहिपानसुरताणपुरमे ॥ वंशाव सित १३ मुक्ती श्री

3. अहस्यदावादवास्तव्याम्बाटजातीय मे<sup>८</sup> देवराज भार्या [रु]डी पुत्र मे<sup>९</sup> गोपाल भा<sup>१०</sup> राजपु<sup>११</sup> मे<sup>१२</sup>  
राजा पुं साईभा भा<sup>१३</sup> नाकु पुं मे<sup>१४</sup> जोमो भार्या अक्षमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशब्दजयतीर्थवाचविधानसंघासंघप-  
तितिल-

4. कनवोनजिनभवनविंशतिहासाधर्मिकवाकल्यादिधर्मचिन्तोमस्वविन सं<sup>१५</sup> सोमजी भार्या राजलदे  
कुचिरस्य संघपति [रु]प्रकीर्तेन पितृव्य मे<sup>१६</sup> शिवा स्वहृदभातृ रज्ज्वी पुन सुंदरदास मथर लघुभातृ योमजी  
पुत्र रविजी पितामहभातृ मे<sup>१७</sup> नाथा पुत्र सु-

5. रजी स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिहतेन स्वयंसमुत्तमप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोदारमार-  
चतुर्मुखविहारगुंनारथोपादिनायविंश कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्यो-  
तनसुरि श्रीवर्धमानसुरि वसतिभार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वर-

6. सुरि श्रीजिनचंदसुरि नवांगहृत्तिकारकथोषभनकपार्मप्रकटकथोषभयदेवसुरि श्रीजिनवज्रभसुरि  
युगप्रधानश्रीजिनदत्तसुरिया[पा]द श्रीजिनमदसुरिया[पा]द श्रीधकवरप्रतिशोधकतदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधार-  
कसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिपालकपाष्मासिकामय-

7. दानदायकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंदसुरि मंचिकर्मचंद्रकारितश्रीधकवरसाहिमनःसपादगतलसवित्तव्यय-  
कपनंदिमहोत्सववि [स्तर] विहितकठिनकास्मोरादिदेशविहारमपुरतरातिमाविस्त्रवचनचातुरोरेजिनामे<sup>१८</sup>  
कहिंदुकतुरकाधिपतिश्रीधकवरसाहिश्रीका-

8. श्रीपुरगोलकुंडागळ्णाममुखदेशामारिप्रवत्तावकवयोवधिलधिलजलजंतुजातजातनियत्तावकसुरता-  
ननुरदीजहामोरासाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविहदप्रधानश्रीजिनमिहसुरि पडप्रभाकरसमुपलब्धश्रीधंविजावरवोहि-  
त्यप्रणीय<sup>१९</sup> सा<sup>२०</sup> धर्मसोधारलदेनंदनभहारकचक्र<sup>२१</sup> ॥

9. चक्रवर्तिमहारकगिरिस्थितकश्रीजिनराजसुरिसुरिराजैः श्रीहृत्तरतरतडाधिराजैः ॥ आचार्य  
श्रीजिनसागरसुरि पं<sup>२२</sup> चानंदकीर्ति स्वलघुभातृ वा<sup>२३</sup> भद्रसेनादिमत्परिकरैः [३]

<sup>१</sup> Probably "हृत्ति".

<sup>२</sup> Read "कलधि".

<sup>३</sup> Read "विन".

<sup>४</sup> In the shrine of the great Chamukha temple (No. 310)  
on the south image.—J. B.

<sup>५</sup> Read "रेजिता".

<sup>६</sup> Read "वर्णीय".

<sup>७</sup> Delo "वज्र".

No. XIX.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १६०५ मिते सुरताणनूरदोजङ्गमीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिवादासुरताणपोस[डू]प.

2. अरे राजनगरे सोवरसाहिवानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुके श्रीपद्मदावादावास्तवप्राग्वा-  
टज्ञातीय मे देवराज सा<sup>12</sup>

3. [डू]डी पुत्र मे गोपाल भायां राजू पुत्र मे राजा पुत्र मे सारंधा भायां नाक पुत्र मे जोगो  
भायां जसमादे पु श्रीमंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंवपतितिलकनवीनजिनभवनविंदसाधामिज्जपास-  
त्तादिधर्ममेवो-

4. सखवित्त मे सोमजी भायां राजलदे पुत्ररज संवपति [डू]पजीतेन [केन] पितृव्य शिवालालजी  
स्वहृदभातुरज रजजी सं [दरदास] स्वतुभ्यात् योमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभातु मे नाका पुत्र सुरज  
स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिवारमहिनेन स्वयंसमुदाहित-

5. सपाकारश्रीधिमलाचलोपरि भूलोडारसारचतुर्मुखविहारभृंगारहारश्रीचादिनाथविं कारितं प्रति-  
ष्ठितं च श्रीमन्नाथीरदेवाविष्णुवरपरंपरावातवीरहृत्स्वरतरंगच्छात्रिराजश्रीचक्ररमाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्पद-  
तुंगप्रधानविहृदधारकयास्मासिकाभय-

6. दानदायकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवसोवक्तुमप्रवानश्रीजिनचंद्रसुरि मंत्रिमुख्यकर्मचंद्रकारितश्री-  
चक्ररमाहिसमसम्पादशतलक्षितव्ययकपनदिपदमन्त्रोत्सवविस्तारविहितकठिनकाम्भीरादिदेवविहारमधु-  
रतरातिग्रायिस्त्वचनचातुरीरंजिताने-

7. कश्चिदुक्तुराजराविपश्रीचक्ररमाहिश्रीकारश्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जलाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवसोवक्तुमप्रवा-  
धिलक्षधिलक्षजंतुजातघातनिर्वे<sup>13</sup> सौवक्तुसुरताणनूरदोजङ्गमीरसवाईप्रदत्ततुंगप्रधानपदधारकसकलविद्याप्रदा-  
नयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनमिहसुरि पदप्रभाक<sup>14</sup>

8. श्रीचंकिावरप्राज्ञाचितसंधाणीपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्तिधर्मांतरबोहिज्य[यं]श्रीय सा धर्म-  
मोधारलदेनंदनभारकशिरोमणिश्रीजिनराजसुरिसुरिपुरंदरैः ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसानरसुरि श्रीजयसोममहो-  
पाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं आनंद-

9. कीर्त्ति स्तुतुभ्यात् वा मद्रसेन पं राजधोर पं भुवनराजादिसत्परिकरैः [8]

No. XX.<sup>15</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १६०५ प्रमिते ॥ सुरताणनूरदोजङ्गमीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिवादा-

2. सुरताणपोस[डू] प्रवरे श्रीराजनगरे सोवरसाहिवानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुके श्रीपद्म-

3. अदावादावास्तवप्राग्वाटज्ञातोप मे देवराज भायां [डू]डी पुत्र मे गोपाल भायां राजू पुत्र मे  
राजा पु मे सारंधा भायां नाक

4. पुत्र मे जोगो भायां जसमादे पुत्र श्रीमंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंवपतिपदवीजनवीन-  
जिनभवनविंदप्रतिष्ठासाधयिवास्तव्यादिसत्कर्मधर्मकारक मे सोमजी भायां राजलदे पुत्ररज संवपति  
[डू]पजीतेन भायां जेठी पुत्र

5. उदयवंत पितृव्य मे शिवा स्वहृदभातु रजजी पुत्र मुंदरदास मपर स्वतुभ्यात् योमजी सुत  
रविजी पितामहभातु मे नाका पुत्र [मं] सुरजी प्रमुखपरिवारमहिनेन स्वयंकारितसंप्राकारश्रीधिम-  
लाचलोपरि भूलोडारसारचतुर्मुखविहारभृंगारहारश्रीचादि-

<sup>11</sup> Is the same on the west image.—J. B.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'सर'.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'नाकर'.

<sup>14</sup> Is the same on the north image.—J. B.

6. भाषविंशं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवीरतीर्थकराविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीहृत्स्वरतरंगच्छाधिप-  
शोधकवरसाक्षिप्रतिबोधकतद्वत्तुगप्रधानविरुद्धधारकसकलदेमाहाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकतुगप्रधानश्रीजिन-  
चंद्रसुरि श्रीधकवर-

7. साक्षिरंजकविविधजीवदयालाभघातकसुरताणनरदीजश्रीमीरसवाईप्रदत्ततुगप्रधानविरुद्धधारकतुग-  
प्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसुरि महविभूषणबोद्धित्यर्थसोयसा धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभहारकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीजिनराज-  
सुरिसुरिदिनमणिभिः ॥ आ-

8. चार्य श्रीजिनसागरसुरि पं० आनंदकीर्त्ति श्वेततुमचोदर वा भद्रसेनादिसत्यरिकरैः ॥

No. XXI.<sup>20</sup>

L. 1. श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभक्त्यापि न विष्णुचतुराननः ।

न प्रज्ञा यो वृषाकोपि न रुद्रः स विनः श्रिये ॥ १ ॥<sup>21</sup>

संवत्

2. १६७५ वर्षे शके १५४९ प्रवत्तमाने ।

समस्तदेवशृंगार । हात्तारतिलकोपमम् ।

अनेकेभ्यश्चहाकीर्त्ति । नवीनपुरम्-

3. उत्तम ॥ २ ॥

अभ्वंलिहविवापाय । अजायकहृतातपम् ।

रुप्यसत्त्वमणिश्यात । चतुष्पथविराजितम् । ३ । दुस्मन्

तत्र राजा

4. [प्र] शास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः ।

यामश्रीशुभगन्धाडकुलावरनभोमणिः । ४ ।

यद्यतापात्तिस्तपस्तप्त इव ताप-

5. नः ।

निर्ग्राति जलधौ निलमुखाजननिमज्जने । ५ । सुम्भ ।

वभूतुः श्रीमहावीरपडानुकम्भभूषणाः ।

श्रीधंजलमणा-

6. लीला आवरेरलितसूरयः । ६ ।

तत्पदपंकजादित्वाः सुरिगीजयसिंहकाः ।

श्रीधर्मवीरसूरीद्रा महेन्द्राभिहसूरयः<sup>22</sup>

7. । ७ ।

श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीयाः सूरयो जितसिंहकाः ।

श्रीमहेन्द्रसूरीयाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः । ८ ।

श्रीसिंहतिलकाद्याश्च श्रीम-

8. [च] द्रप्रभाभिधाः ।

श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंगाद्या वभूतुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ८ ॥

<sup>20</sup> Read श्रीप.

<sup>21</sup> On the north wall of a temple near the Hāthipola, in the Vimalavati Tank: *Ellis*, p. 201. No. 234.—J. B.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Anushtubh.

<sup>23</sup> Probably महेन्द्राभि.



- समप्रगुणमपूर्णाः सुरित्रीजयकीर्तयः ।  
तत्त्वदेय सुसाधुत्री-
- L. 9. जयकीर्तिरसुरयः । १० ।  
श्रीमिवांतमसुद्राख्यसुरयी भूरिकीर्तयः ।  
भावसागरसूरीद्राक्षतो ऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ ११ ॥ [४]  
श्री-
10. मद्रुणनिधानाख्यसुरयस्तत्त्वदेभवन् ।  
सुगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः सुरित्रीधर्मसूतयः । १२ ।  
तत्त्वद्रोदयवैलासप्रोक्तसरणिमं-
11. निभाः ।  
जयति सुरिराजः श्री । सुखः कल्याणसागराः । १३ ।  
श्रीनख्यनगरे वास्यु । पञ्चमहातिभूषणः ।  
इत्यः श्रीह-
12. रपासाङ्ग आसीञ्जालचमोचकः । १४ ।  
हरीयाख्यो ऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः ।  
उदेसील्यथ तत्पुत्रः पर्वताङ्गस्त-
13. तो ऽभवत् । १५ ।  
वच्छुनामा ऽथ तत्पत्नी चामुवाकलदेविका ।  
तत्कुचिमानसे ऽभसतुष्यो ऽया ऽमरमञ्जकः । १६ ।  
लिंग-
14. देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्याख्यो वराः ।  
जयति श्रीवर्तमानचोपपन्नमिहिकाः । १७ ।  
अतः परं दिशेषतः साहचिवर्तमान-
15. साहचिपन्नमिहयोर्वर्तनम् ।  
गाम्भीर्येण समुद्रामौ दानेन धनदोपमौ ।  
अद्भुतगुणमपूर्णा बोधिना श्रेणिको-
16. पमौ । १८ ।  
प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपाससमाजबहुलादरी ।  
मन्त्रित्रीवर्तमानचोपपन्नमिहौ सद्गोदरी । १९ ।  
महेला वह-
17. मानस्य । वसादेवीति विन्दुता ।  
तदंगजादुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकी । २० ।  
वर्षिनी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगम्भी
18. सुजायदे ।  
श्रीपालकुरपालाङ्गरणमहासुदंगलाः । २१ ।  
एवं स्वतंत्रपुत्राभ्या । मनस्योत्सवपूर्वकम् ।  
साहचिर्वमावतश्री-

L 19.

पद्मसीम्भा प्रसादरात् । २२

प्रागुक्तवस्तु रम्ये । माधवाब्जुनपक्षे ।  
रोहिणीभृतृतीयायां बुधवासरभञ्जि

20.

। २३ ।

श्रीमतिनामसुखानां । जिनानां चतुस्तुरा ।  
दिशती प्रतिमा ह्यद्या । भारिताय प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ ।  
सुम्भम् ।

21.

पुनर्निजबहुद्वय । सप्तसीकरणकृतम् ।

श्रीमन्मन्त्रे ऽकारि । प्रासादः शैलसन्निभः । २५ ।  
हासप्रतिजिनी-

22.

श्रीमि । र्वेष्टितव चतुर्मुखी ।

जेलापपर्वतोत्तुमैर । द्वाभिः श्रीमितो ऽभितः । २६ ।  
सुम्भम् ।  
साहित्री-

23.

पद्मसिंहेना ऽकारि शशुंजयोपरि ।

उत्तुंगतोरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ ।  
यं दृष्ट्वा भविष्यः स-

24.

र्व । चिंतयति स्वचेतसि ।

उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोद्वि । दृग्भूते ऽभिलिखी यतः । २८ ।  
येन श्रीतीर्थराजोयं राजते सा-

25.

वर्तसकः ।

प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांसमुखा ऽर्पिताम् । २९ ।  
तथा च । सर्वत् १६०६ वर्षे फाल्गुन मित दि-

26. तीयायां तिथौ देवगुरुवासरे रवतोन्नतश्रे श्रीमतो नयनगरात् साहित्रीपद्मभोकेन श्रीभरतचक्र-

27. वर्त्तनिर्भित्तमं च दृश्यं महामघं कृत्वा श्रीचंचलगणाद्योन्नतमहारकपुरंदरदुर्गप्रधानपुष्कराज-

28. श्री ५ श्रीकल्याणसागरसूरीश्वरैः साई श्रीविमलगिरितोर्थवरं समेत्य स्वयंकारितयोगशुद्धय-  
निरिमि-

29. रः प्रासादे समष्टोत्सवं श्रीश्रेयांसप्रमुखजिनेश्वरानां सन्ति विधानि स्थापितानि ।  
सद्भिः पूजमानानि

30. चिरं नंदत् ।

यावद्दिभाकरनिशाकरभुधराश्वरजाकरभुवधराः किल आप्नतीह ।  
श्रेयांसनाथजिनमन्दिरमथ ता-

31.

वर्षदत्तनेकभयिकौघनिषेधमानम् [म] । १ ।<sup>११</sup>

वाचकश्रीविनयचंद्रमणीनां शिष्यमुदय सागरिण विजिता प्रशस्तिः [॥]

No. XXII.<sup>33</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि  
 2. १३ तिथौ शुक्लवारि श्रीमदंवलन-  
 3. आधिराजपुण्यश्रीधर्मसिंहसुरि-  
 4. तत्पहासंकारसुरिप्रधाने युगप्र-  
 5. धानपुण्यश्रीकल्याणसागरसु-  
 6. रिविजयिराज्ये श्रीश्रीमालीश्री १-  
 7. तीयपद्मदावादवास्तव्य साह  
 8. भवान् भायां राजलदे पुत्र साह ।  
 9. श्रीमजी सुपजी दाभ्यामका देव ।-  
 10. श्री कारापिता विमलाचले चतुर्मुखे [४]

No. XXIII.<sup>34</sup>

- L. 1. [सं] १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताथनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगर  
 प्रास्ताव्यप्रास्ताव्य-  
 2. तीय सं देवराज भायां [रु]ही पुत्र सं गोपाल भायां राजू सुत राजा पुत्र सं साईया भायां नाक  
 पुत्र सं नाया भायां ना-  
 3. रिगदे पुत्ररु सं सुरजीकेन भायां सुपमादे पुत्रायित रंजजी सहितेन श्रीयांतिनर्यं चंभं कारितं  
 प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीहृत्स्वरतर[ग]-  
 4. आधिराजश्रीधर्मवरपातसाहिभूपालप्रदत्तवास्तव्यमिकाभयदानतदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसक-  
 लदेगाष्टाङ्गिकामां - - - - -  
 5. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसुरि पद्मदीपककठिनकाश्रीरादिदेवविहारकारकश्रीधर्मवरसाहचित्ररंज-  
 नप्रपालितश्रीपुरी - - - - -  
 6. प्रमुखदेशामारिजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारिश्रीजिनसिंहसुरि पद्मदीपकारकभहारकशि-  
 रोरक्षश्रीजिनराजसुरि - - -

No. XXIV.<sup>35</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताथनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य  
 2. प्रास्ताव्यप्रास्ताव्य तीय सं साईया भायां नाक पुत्र सं जोगी भायां जसमादे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मापा-  
 जं सं श्रीमजी ।  
 3. भायां राजलदे पुं सं रतनजी भायां सुजाणदे पुत्र २ सुंदरदाससयराभां पितृनाम्ना श्रीयांति-  
 नाथविंभं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्री-  
 4. हृत्स्वरतरगजे युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसुरि जहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकश्रीधर्मवर-  
 साहचित्ररंजककठिनक[र]-  
 5. [४]मीरादिदेवविहारकारकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसुरि पद्मदीपकारकश्रीहृत्स्वरंभंगारकभहारक-  
 हृदारकश्रीजिनराजसुरिसुरिसगराजैः [५]

<sup>33</sup> In a cell or chapel attached to the north-east corner of the great Ādiśvara temple, close to that in which are Nos. vi and vii.—J. B.

<sup>34</sup> In the Khartarsvad Tunk, immediately to the north-east of the great Chamukha temple, on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 306, No. 322.—J. B.

<sup>35</sup> Probably "जाति".

<sup>36</sup> In the Khartarsvad Tunk in a temple fronting that containing No. xxiii, to the south-east of the great Chamukha on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 306, No. 316.—J. B.



No. XXV.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १४०६ वर्षे वैशाखासित ६ शुक्ले तृतीयाश्वीययो ।-  
 2. श्रीमालिङ्गातीय मन्त्रिजीवा भाव्यां वाई रंगाई सुत मन्त्रिख[र]।-  
 3. [म]वाकाकेन भाव्यां वाई रंगाई प्रमूखकुटुंबयुतेन खे[र] ।  
 4. [म]मसालौशिवजीप्रसादात् स्वयंप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविमलना-  
 5. थदेवकुलं कारितं ॥ श्रीमत्तपागणगमनांगणगमनमणि[स]-  
 6. [मा] नमहारकश्रीविलयसेनसुरीस्वरपहालंकारमहारक ।  
 7. [श्री] विजयदेवसूरोस्वरविलयिराज्ये ॥  
 यापदेवगिरिभांति  
 8. ॥ यावत् शतं जयाचलः ॥  
 तावदेवकुलं जीयात् । श्रीवाकाकेन  
 9. कारितं ॥ १ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. XXVI.<sup>18</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ नमः श्रीमहादेवादिर्वर्मानां तीर्थकराणां श्रीपुंडरीकाक्षगौतम-  
 2. स्वामिपर्वतभ्यो मणधरभ्यः सभ्यजनैः पूज्यमानेभ्यः सेव्यमानेभ्यश्च संवत् ।  
 3. १४८२ ज्येष्ठ वदि १० शुक्ले श्रीजिसलमेरुयास्तश्रीपद्मेश्वरीयभांडशालिके  
 4. सुश्रावककर्तव्यताप्रसीधुरीण सा श्रीमन्न भाव्यां चापलदे पुत्र पवित्र चरिष ।  
 5. लोदवापत्तनकारितश्रीश्रीहारविहारमंडनश्रीचिंतामणिनामपाशैनाभाभिराम-  
 6. प्रतिष्ठाविधायकप्रतिष्ठाभमयाईश्वरचलंभनिकाप्रदायकसंघनयककरणीय-  
 7. देवगुहसाधयिहवात्तल्यविधानप्रभासितसितसम्यक्शुक्तिप्रसिद्धस[वृधि] जयविहि-  
 8. तश्रीशुच्यसंघलसंवाधिपतिलक सं वाद [कुनामको] द्विपंचामदुत्तरचतुर्दश-  
 9. शत १४५२ मितमणधराणां श्रीपुंडरीकादिगौतमानां पादुकास्नानमजातपूर्वम-  
 10. श्रीकरत् स्वपुत्रहरराजमेधराजसजितः समेधमानपुच्छोदयाय प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवृह-  
 11. त्स्वरतरगकाभिराजश्रीजिनराजसुरिसुरिराजैः पूज्यमानं चिरं नंदनात् ॥

No. XXVII.<sup>19</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १४८३ वर्षे ॥ पातिमाहजिह्वागीरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमंडलाखंडनविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥  
 2. ॥ श्रीचक्रेश्वरी नमः ॥ श्री ॥ मद्योपाध्यायश्री ५ श्रीजिसमूर्तिगणिमहद्व्यो नमः ॥ श्री ॥  
 3. ॥ श्री ॥ उ नमः ॥  
 कश्चित् श्रीः शिवयांजरोपि मणमान् सर्वज्ञश्चुंजयः [1]  
 सर्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]-  
 4. न् गौरी हर्षाशो यदः ।  
 मंगीमापतिरस्तु कामविक्रितः सिद्धैः कृता इति स्तुतो [1]  
 रुद्रो यो न परं त्वयै स

<sup>17</sup> In a temple in the Vimalavati Tāh, near Aditana's.—J. B.

<sup>18</sup> Round the margin of *pāḍakas* or foot-prints. No. 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khartaravati Tāh. *List*, p. 205, No. 317.—J. B.

<sup>19</sup> In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavati Tāh, on the left hand between the Vāghana-pols and Hāthi-pols; *List*, p. 204, No. 158.—J. B.

- L. 5. जिनपः श्रीनामिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ ॥<sup>१</sup>  
 उद्यद्गोरजडः कलंकरहितः संतापदोषा ऽपहः [i]  
 श्रीभ्यः प्राप्तम[७].
6. वा ऽमितकनः सुश्रीर्धर्माहोऽप्ययः ।  
 गौरानोभूतसुरपास्तकपुषो जैवातुकः प्राविना ।  
 चंद्रः [कर्म]
7. जयत्यहो जिनपतिः श्रीवैश्वसेनिर्मज्जान् । २ ॥  
 लज्जा राजीमती यः स्तनिहितहृदयानेकपत्नीः ७ -  
 पां ।
8. सिद्धिर्धो भूरिरज्जामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीमः ।  
 लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदतिशय[वान्]
9. ब्रह्मवाचोति नास्मा [i]  
 स श्रीनेमिजिनंद्रो दिग्गतु शिवस्तुल्यं सात्वतां योमिनामः ॥ ३ ॥<sup>२</sup>  
 चंचच्छारं चंद्रवा [६ ७]
10. दनयेयोधिनिर्व्यहसः [i]-  
 पेयुषीवनियेकतो विषधरेणापि प्रपेदे दुतं ।  
 देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[म]-
11. तुलं यस्मात्तुल्यपानिधेः ।  
 स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेमिनास्तु मततं विधुच्छिदे सात्वतां । ४ ॥<sup>३</sup>  
 यस्तु श्रीवरमास[न]
12. चितितले मार्तंडचिंतायते [i]  
 यद्वाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिना ।  
 यद्धानं [भ-]
13. विद्यापंचकदलने मंगानुभारायते ।<sup>४</sup>  
 योसिद्धार्थनरेन्द्रनंदनजिनः सोऽस्तु शिरो मय्यंदा ॥ ५ ॥ [i]
14. अथ पहावली ॥  
 श्रीवर्धमानजिनराजपटक्रमेण ।  
 श्रीचार्यरचितमुनीश्वरसुरिराजाः ।  
 वि-
15. आपगावलधयो विधिपलमण्ड ॥  
 संस्थापका यतिवरा गुरुनो कभूयुः । ६ ॥<sup>५</sup>  
 तत्राक्षपट्टकमला[ज]-
16. मुराजहंसा ॥  
 चारिचर्मजुकमलाश्रवणावतंसाः [i]  
 गच्छाधिपा कुचवरा अवसिंहसुरि-  
 नासा[न]

<sup>१</sup> Metre of verses 1-3 : Śārdhavarikāṭṭita.

<sup>२</sup> Metre : Śārdhavarikāṭṭita.

<sup>३</sup> Read "आरदपट्टकमला".

<sup>४</sup> Metre of verses 4-5 : Śārdhavarikāṭṭita.

<sup>५</sup> Read "वर्धमान".

<sup>६</sup> Metre of verses 6-7 : Yāsanatīlaka. Read "वर्धमान".

- L. 17. <sup>16</sup>[उ]यदमलोऽसुखावदाताः । ७ ॥  
 श्रीधर्मोऽसुखरवो वरकीर्तिभाजः [1]  
 सरोवरास्तदनु पूज्यमहं-
18. दमिन्दाः ।  
 आसंस्ततः सकलसुरिगिरोवतसाः [1]  
 सिद्धप्रभाभिधसुसाधुगुणप्रसिद्धाः ॥ ८ ॥<sup>17</sup>  
 तिभ्यः क-
19. मेण सुखो जिनिस्सिद्धसुरिः<sup>18</sup>  
 गोचा बभूवुरय पूज्यतमा गणेशाः [1]  
 देवेन्द्रसिद्धसुखोऽखिललो-
20. कामान्वा [1]  
 धर्मप्रभा मुनिवरा विधिपचनायाः ॥ ९ ॥  
 पूज्याश्च निजतिलकास्तदनु प्रभूत [1]-  
 भाव्या
21. महेंद्रविभवो सुखो<sup>19</sup> बभूवुः [1]  
 वक्त्रेऽखरीभगवतोर्विहितप्रसादाः [1]<sup>20</sup>  
 श्रीमद्वत्सुगसुखो नरदेवव[द्य]-
22. T. ॥ १० ॥<sup>21</sup>  
 तेभ्योऽभवन् गणधरा जयकीर्तिस्सुरि [1]-  
 सुखास्ततश्च जयकेसरिसुराजः<sup>22</sup>  
 सिद्धांतसाग-
23. रमणाधिभुवस्ततोऽनु [1]  
 श्रीभावसागरसुखसुखा<sup>23</sup> बभूवन् ॥ ११ ॥  
 तद्वत्सुखरविभासन्<sup>24</sup> भा-
24. सुखाः<sup>25</sup>  
 सरोवराः सुगुण[रे]यधयो बभूवुः । पट्पदो ॥  
 तत्पटोदयशैलशृंगकिरणाः
25. गार्वाङ्गधेः पारगा [1]  
 भव्यस्तांतचकोरलासनसलत्पुष्पाभचंद्राननाः [1]<sup>26</sup>  
 श्रीमंतो विधिपचनज[च्छ]-
26. तिलका वादीद्रपंचानना ।  
 आसन् श्रीसुखधर्मसूतिगुहवः सुरीद्रव्याङ्गयः ॥ १२ ॥<sup>27</sup>  
 त-

<sup>16</sup> उ stands above the line.

<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 8-11: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>18</sup> Read सुखो । 'सिद्ध'.

<sup>19</sup> Read वरपी.

<sup>20</sup> Read 'स'.

<sup>21</sup> Read री.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'पुरिवा' । उ stands above the line.

<sup>23</sup> Read 'सुख'.

<sup>24</sup> Read 'भासन'.

<sup>25</sup> Read 'सुखा'.

<sup>26</sup> Read 'सुखसुखा'.

<sup>27</sup> Metre of verses 12-13: Śāradālavikrāṇita. Read 'दुररा'.



- L. 27. तपेऽस्य जयति मन्मथभटाक्षकारमूर्त्तौपमाः ।  
श्रीकल्याणसमुद्रसुरिगुरुषः कल्याण —
28. कदांबुदाः ।  
भय्याभोजविबोधनैककिरणाः सद्विज्ञानपाशोधिपः ।<sup>१०</sup>  
श्रीमंतोच जयति सुरिभि-
29. भुभि ।<sup>११</sup> सख्याः प्रभावीयताः । १३ ॥  
श्रीश्रीमालज्ञानीयमंशोश्वरश्रीभंडारी तत्पुत्र मणंश्रीप-
30. मरसी सुत मणंश्रीकरण तत्पुत्र सा  
श्रीधवा तत्पुत्र साह श्रीसोपा तत्पुत्र सा श्रीमंत त-  
31. ज्ञाया उभयकुलानंददायिनी बाई श्रीसोभागदे तत्कुलसरोराजस साह श्रीप-  
32. तद्विनी उभयकुलानंददायिनी परमश्रविका श्रीबाई पुत्र पारीश श्रीमोमच<sup>१२</sup>  
33. प्रभृतिपरिकरदुतया । संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । माघ शुदि चयोदसी तिथौ श्रीमवासरे [श्री]-  
34. चंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनमंदिरश्रीश्रींकारः कारितः । श्रीराजनगरवास्य<sup>१३</sup> मणंभंडारी प्र-  
35. साद कराविउ हुतु तेजनर वठी पेटी [इ] बाई श्रीश्रीर बाई हुई तनीर प — — — उडार  
कराविउ ॥  
संघसहित ९९ वा-
36. रवाचा कोधी ॥ असुरपते पारिय श्रीमंगदास भार्या बाई सुरदे पुत्र पारिय श्रीकुंयरी भार्या  
बाई कमण्णदे-
37. कुचिसरोराजसोपमौ पारियश्रीवीरजीपारियश्रीरहीयाभिधानौ । पारिय श्रीरजी भार्या बाई  
होरादे पुत्र पं<sup>१४</sup>
38. श्रीमचंदस्तवाचा श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनसिंघं कारितं प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>१५</sup> ॥ देगाधीश्वरस्वभापतपनप्रभो-  
ज्ञाभितासि-<sup>१६</sup>
39. लभूमंडल — — — — श्रीकांबुजी तत्पुत्र राज्य श्रीनिवाजी — — — — आयिका  
श्रीश्रीर बाई पुत्री बाई कीरं वा-
40. ई कल्याणी भाता पारिय रूपजी तत्पुत्र पारिय गुडीदासबुलेन ॥ संवत् १६८२ वर्षे माघ शुदि  
चयोदसी [श्री] सोमव-
41. तसरे श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिप्रतिष्ठाकारिता ॥ भट्टारकश्रीकल्याणसागरसुरिभिः प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>१७</sup> ॥ वाचक-  
श्रीदेवसगरग[१] -
42. [श्री]नां कृतिरियं ॥ पंडितश्रीविजयमूर्तिगणीनासिंघ ॥ पं<sup>१८</sup> श्रीविजयशेखरगणीनां शिष्य सुं  
श्रीरविशेखरगणीना लि-
43. स्मृतिरियं ॥ श्रीशेखरजय नमः यावत् चंद्रार्कं चिरं नंदतात् श्रीकण्डयसप्रसादात् ॥ राजधररामजी  
लघुभार्ता कुप-
44. — — — शिखरतनकल्याणकृतायां श्रद्धा भई ॥

\* Read "पाशोधिपः".

\* Read "भुभि".

\* Read "पंड".

\* Read "राजस्य".

\* Read "प्रतिष्ठित".

\* Probably for "प्रतिष्ठित".

\* Read "प्रतिष्ठा".

\* Read "प्रतिष्ठित".

No. XXVIII.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ सं १ [६] ८४ भाव यदि ५ शुके श्रीमत्पुननवास्तव्यश्रीमलजातीय ठं जसपालपीलेय धि-  
2. नृ ठं राजा भानू ठं श्री [पुष्यो ह्वे] ठं धाधाकेन श्रीपादिनायविषं खतकसहितं कारितं ॥

No. XXIX.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६८६ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १५ दिने दक्षवदेमे देवगीरोनगर-  
2. वास्तव्यश्रीमलीजातीयलघुमाषीय साहा तुकजी भायां बां तेजलदे  
3. सुत सां हासुजी भायां बाह हासलदे लघुभाता सां वहुजी सां देवजी  
4. भायां बाह चहादे देराणी बाह देवलदे पू [पु] व सां धर्मदास भनी [मि] नी बां  
5. कुषरि प्रमुषसमसुकुटं श्रीविमलाचलनी याथा करोनि  
6. श्रीपदवृद्ध चा — — — [या] सादनो मंडमनो श्री ३ सहीत के-  
7. री वहार कराव्यु — — — — — हारक [यो] — — — — — [रा] ज्ये  
8. तव्यहासंकारि [वी] — — — — — [वी] — — — — — [व्य] ॥  
9. पंडितोत्तम श्रीह — — — — — सुपदेमात् शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXX.<sup>18</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ पुष्ये याजे १५५१ प्रवर्तमाने श्रीमूलसंवे सरस्वतीमन्त्रे  
2. मत्ता [ला] रणे श्रीकुंडकुंदाचार्यान्वये भट्टारक श्रीमलकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पदे भं श्रीमुपनकीर्तिदेवा-  
स्तत्पदे भं श्रीज्ञानभूषणदेवा-  
3. स्तत्पदे भं श्रीविजयकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पदे भं श्रीगुमचंददेवास्तत्पदे भं श्रीसुमतिकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पदे  
भं श्रीगुणकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पदे भं श्रीवादिभूषणदेवास्तत्पदे भं श्रीरामकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पदे भं श्रीपद्मनंदिगुरु-  
पदेमात् पातसाहाश्रीमाहा-  
4. व्यासांविजयरान्धे श्रीगूर्जरदेमे श्रीपद्मदावादावास्तव्यहृवडजातीयवृहडाखीयवाम्बरदेशस्वांतरी-  
यनगरनौतनमदप्रामादोहरणधार जाडा सं भोजा भां सं लकु सु संवस्ता भां सं रखादे तयोः  
5. सुत वृद्धचर्यव्रतप्रतिपालनेन पवित्रीकृतनिजांसमसवेचारीपितृस्वकीयवित्तं स लटकण भां सं  
ललतादे तयोः सुत निजकुलकमलविलागमैकसुयांवतार दानगुणेन सृपतिश्रेयांसममः श्रीजिनविंशप्रति-  
6. हातीत्यथाचादिप्रण्येकर्मकारणोक्तचित्तसंघपति श्रीरत्नमी भां सं रुपादे द्वितीयभां सं  
मोहलदे तृतीयभां सं न [च] रंगदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी श्रीरामजी भां सं केसरदे तयोः सुत संघवी  
7. हुगरमी भायां सं लाडमदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी [रायव] जी भां सं गमतादे [एते सर्वे] सहासि-  
हमी श्री [चुंजयनाम्नि] गिरी श्रीजिनप्रासादे श्रीमातिनामविंशं कारयित्वा निखं प्रणमति । शुभं भवतु [९]

No. XXXI.<sup>19</sup>

- L. 1. । श्री ॥ भट्टारकपुरंदरभट्टारकश्रीहरी-  
2. । विजयसूरीश्वरगुहम्भी तमी ममः तत्-  
3. । पद्मभाकरभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेन-

<sup>16</sup> On the base of a Chakravartya image is a small temple, west of the great Āditya Bhagatā; *Lists*, p. 108. No. 114.—J. B.

<sup>17</sup> In the shrine of "Bhimsdeva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. B.

<sup>18</sup> In the Dignabura temple, in a small court to the north-west of the great Āditya temple; *Lists*, p. 204. No. 237.—J. B.

<sup>19</sup> Beside the doorway of the Śeshakṛṣṇa temple, facing the south door of the great Āditya temple; *Lists*, p. 137. No. 97.—J. B.

- L. 4. | सूरिगुरुभ्यो नमः संवत् [१] १६९६ वर्षे ज्ये-  
 5. | श्रावण सुदि ५ रवौ श्रीदीवर्गदिरवास्तव्य सं-  
 6. | घवी सत्ता भाव्या वाइ तेज वाइ तयो<sup>100</sup> सुपुत्र  
 7. | संघवी गोविंदजी भाव्या वाइ वयज वाइ  
 8. | प्रमुखकुटुंबपुत्रेन<sup>1</sup> सन्वेयसे श्रीमपुत्र<sup>2</sup>  
 9. | ये उत्तम<sup>3</sup> प्रासाद [१] कारापित [२] श्रीपार्श्वनाथ-  
 10. | विंशं स्थापितं प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>4</sup> च श्रीतपागहनाय-  
 11. | कभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिभिः तत्प-  
 12. | शालंकारसुवराजश्रीविजयसिंहसूरि चिरं जीय<sup>5</sup>

No. XXXII—(610).<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. | श्री । उं नमः  
 2. | प्रलतिष्ठिपदि-दं सत्तु तीर्थ ।  
 4. | रायसिंह इह वर्तमानम् [१]  
 6. | प्रासनादिज-यदेवसुरीः स-  
 8. | हावलेन वि-नयादिजये-न ॥ १ ॥  
 श्री- वजयसिंहसूरिः । स जयतु तपमच्छमौ- समाधिष्वं ।  
 15. | अजनिष्ट यदु । पदेमात् । स- इच्छकृटाभि-धं तीर्थम् ॥ २ ॥  
 19. | दिक्कमिज-लधिभित्ते १०१० सित घ-ठगं ज्येष्ठमासि तीर्थेष्णिन् ।  
 24. | अहंस्त्रिंशद-सं । स्थापितम-टोत्तरं वदि ॥ ३ ॥  
 27. | यावज्जयति सुमेव । स्थाप-जीवाग्रकट-सौभाग्यः<sup>10</sup>  
 श्री शत्रुजयमूर्ध-नि । सइस-कूटः किरी-टोयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII.<sup>11</sup>

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| L. 1.   अहंम्                             | 9.   न मा । वालादे पु । स     |
| 2.   श्री । सक्ति श्रीसं-                 | 10.   मानसिंहयानसिंह-         |
| 3.   यत् १०१० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ <sup>12</sup> | 11.   रायसिंहकनकसिंह-         |
| 4.   शुक्ल घटी <sup>13</sup> तिथौ सु-     | 12.   उपमेनकपभटासै-           |
| 5.   सुवारे श्रीउपमेनपु-                  | 13.   सा । जगत्सिंहलीवण-      |
| 6.   रवास्त्यककेगडा-                      | 14.   दासप्रमुखपरिवार-        |
| 7.   लीयउवमासीयकु-                        | 15.   युतैः सपितृवचनात्-      |
| 8.   हाउगोव सा । वर्तमा-                  | 16.   त्पुन्यार्थं श्रीसइसकू- |

<sup>100</sup> Read तयो.

Read "कुटुंब".

<sup>1</sup> Read "पुत्र".<sup>2</sup> Read "सूरि".<sup>3</sup> Read "उत्तम".<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीपार्श्व.<sup>5</sup> Read श्रीपार्श्व.<sup>6</sup> Read श्रीपार्श्व.

— In the temple of Śaśakota, on the left hand column.

— *Lists*, p. 147, No. 67.—J. B.<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śāghā. The penultima of the second pāda ought to be long.<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 2—4: Āryā.<sup>9</sup> Read ज्येष्ठमासि.<sup>10</sup> Read सारणी.<sup>11</sup> On a column in the Śaśakota temple, in the Vinayaknagar Tank.—J. B.<sup>12</sup> Read ज्येष्ठ.<sup>13</sup> Read घटी.



L. 17. टतोयं कारितं स्वप्रति-

18. द्वायां प्रतिष्ठापितं<sup>14</sup> । त-

19. पामच्छे भ । श्रीहीरवि-

20. जयसुरिपट्टप्रभाकर

21. भ । श्रीविजयसेनसुरि-

22. पहालंकारपातिमा-

23. द्वित्रीजिह्वांगीरप्रदत्त-

24. महातपाविद्वद्धारि-

25. शनिकराजाधिराजप-

26. तिवोधकारिभट्टारक

27. श्री ७ श्रीविजयदेवसु-

28. रीधरभाचार्यश्रीविज-

29. यप्रभसुरिनिर्देशात्

30. श्रीहीरविजयसुरि-

31. शिखरखमहोपाध्या-

32. य श्री ५ कीर्त्तिविज-

33. य न । शिखोपाध्या-

34. यशोविनयविज-

35. यमशिमिः प्रतिष्ठि-

36. तं श्रीरक्तु ॥ श्रीयज्ञंज-

37. यमजातीर्थकार्यक-

38. रण्डित श्री ५ शान्ति-

39. विजय न । देवविजय

40. न । मेघविजय न । सा

41. ज्ञायतः सिद्धिमिदम्

42. सुखधर मनजीः ॥

No. CV.<sup>15</sup>

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥

2. ॥ श्री नमः ॥

बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरः पहादुक्रमभूयसाः [1]

श्रीचंचलनवाधोयाः धारिचित्सूरयः<sup>16</sup> [1] १ [1]

3. तत्पट्टपंकजादित्वा सुरिजीजयसिंहकाः [1]

श्रीधर्मगोपसुरीद्रा । मणिंद्रसिंहसूरयः<sup>17</sup> [1] २ [1]

श्री ।

4. सिंहप्रभसुरीयः<sup>18</sup> सूरयो जिनसिंहकाः [1]

श्रीमहेवेंद्रसुरीयाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः [1] ३ [1]

श्रीसिंहतिलकाज्ञाय

5. श्रीमहेवेंद्रप्रभाभिधाः [1]

श्रीमंतो मेघतुंभ्याख्याः<sup>19</sup> बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः [1] ४ [1]

ममप्रयुक्तसंपूर्णाः सुरिजीजयकी-

6. सूरयः [1]

तत्पदेय सुसाधुजीजयकेसरसूरयः [1] ५ [1]

श्रीसिद्धातसमुद्राख्याः सूरया<sup>20</sup> भूरिकीर्त्तयः [1]

भावसागरसु-

7. रीद्रा ततोभूवन् नवाधिपाः [1] ६ [1]

श्रीमधुंननिधानाखः सूरयस्तत्पदेमवन् [1]

सुगप्रधाना<sup>21</sup> श्रीमंतः सुरिजी-<sup>14</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठापितं.<sup>15</sup> In the Khartarnad Tank, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Narsi Keshari's temple.—*Liste*, p. 206, No. 282.—J. B.<sup>16</sup> Read "रीद्रा" ; "धारिचित्".<sup>17</sup> Read L. 3: "दित्वा" ; "धीव" ; "मदद".<sup>18</sup> Read "रीया".<sup>19</sup> Read L. 5: "तुंभा" ; "बभूवुः".<sup>20</sup> Read L. 6: "देय" ; "ख्या" ; "सूरजी".<sup>21</sup> Read L. 7: "रीद्राध" ; "दुष" ; "का" ; "शान्त".



L. 19.

सुंदराकृति [1]

चिरंजय सदा ऋषि उडिर्मवत्<sup>10</sup> धर्मत [2] १८ [3]:

इति संघावलि: ॥

20. मांधी मीहीतामीत्रे सा केसवजी निजभूजोपाजितविसेन<sup>11</sup> धर्मकायांणि कुरुते सा  
 21. तथ्या निजपरिकरयुतो संघसाह<sup>12</sup> विमलाभितरीये समेता कण्ठसौराद्रुगुर्जर: म-  
 22. र्धरमेवाडकुकुचादिदेयादागता: बहुसंघलोका: मिलिता: अंजनमलाका-  
 23. प्रतिष्ठादिमहोक्तवार्थं विशालमंडपं कारयति सा तन्मध्ये नवीनजिनविंश-  
 24. नां रत्नपाषाणधातूनां बहुसहस्रमंथानां सुमुहुर्त्तं सुलम्बे पीठोपरि संस्था-<sup>13</sup>  
 25. प्य तस्य विधिना क्रयाकरणा<sup>14</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसुरविधिपञ्चगव्यपतेरादे-  
 26. यत: मुनिश्रीदेवचद्रगायना तया क्रिया कुशलयाहै: सह शास्त्रोक्तविद्या<sup>15</sup>  
 27. शुद्धीया कुर्वन् श्रीश्रीरविज्जभाकत: संवत् १९२१ मा वर्षे तस्मिन् श्रीशा-  
 28. लीवाहनभूपालकृतयाके १७८६ प्रवर्त्तमान्ये मासीतम<sup>16</sup> श्रीमाधवासे शुक्ल-  
 29. पक्षे तिथि सप्तम्या: गुरुवासरे भास्त्रडोदयवेलायां सुमुहुर्त्तं सुलम्बे स्वर्णशि-<sup>17</sup>  
 30. लाकया जिनमुद्राणां श्रीगुरुभिय साधुभिरंजनक्रियान्कुरुते सा: सचलोका<sup>18</sup>  
 31. न् सुवेसधारीन् बहुकृप्या गीतगानवाजिपूरुषं समेता जिनपुजनलोका<sup>19</sup>  
 32. नादिक्रियायाचकानादानादिसंघवात्सल्यादिभक्तिहर्षतयस्य पुन: धर्मशा-  
 33. लायां चारानोपलनिर्मितं साक्षतकृपभादिजिनानां चतुर्मुखं चैवं पुन: गिरि-  
 34. शिखरोपरि श्रीधर्मिन्दनजिनस्य विशालमंदिरं तस्य प्रतिष्ठा<sup>20</sup> भाव सित त-  
 35. योदृष्ट्यां बुधवासरे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रिया कृता<sup>21</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसुरिणामुप-  
 36. देयांत: श्रीसंघपति निजपरिवारेण सह श्रीधर्मिन्दनादिजिनविंश<sup>22</sup> स्या-  
 37. पिता तत: गुरुभक्तिसंघभक्तिगत्यानुगारेण कृत: गोहिलवंशविभूषण<sup>23</sup>  
 38. ठाकौरश्रीसूरसंघजीराज्ये पादलितपुरे: मदनोक्तवमभूत् श्रीसंघस्य भद्रं  
 39. मूयात्[1] कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवत्तु[2] ॥  
 माणिकसिंधुवरमुख्यमुनिवरैषु: ॥  
 40. तन्निगन्धवाचकवरविनयाणैवेन [1]  
 एषा प्रगच्छि अथवास्ततुल्यरूपा<sup>24</sup>  
 संघ-  
 41. स्य शासनसमुच्चतिकारलेखि: १: ॥  
 वाचकविनयसानरेणैयं प्रगच्छि-

<sup>10</sup> Read L. 19: "कृति: । तय: । 'देहि'.<sup>11</sup> Read "सुनी".<sup>12</sup> Read L. 21: "साहि" । "जर्म".<sup>13</sup> Read "विश्व".<sup>14</sup> Read L. 24: "दण" । "हते".<sup>15</sup> Read "विना".<sup>16</sup> Read L. 26: "सुवि" । "चद्र" । "रीया".<sup>17</sup> Read L. 27: "विश्व: । गजिन".<sup>18</sup> Read L. 28: "जत" । "नाके" । "जने".<sup>19</sup> Read L. 29: "विपी सयम: । "हते" । "यता".<sup>20</sup> Read L. 30: "विश्व: । क संघ".<sup>21</sup> Read L. 31: "विश्व" । "रिवपूरुषं" । "गुजम".<sup>22</sup> Read L. 32: "दण" । "जत".<sup>23</sup> Read "जत".<sup>24</sup> Read L. 33: "शास्त्री" । "जता".<sup>25</sup> Read L. 34: "विश्व: । "विश्व".<sup>26</sup> Read L. 37: "रिव" । "समुद्रा" । "जता" । "सुर".<sup>27</sup> Read "पुरे".<sup>28</sup> Read "रिपु".<sup>29</sup> Read L. 40: "विश्व: । "दण".<sup>30</sup> Read "साहि" । "वादिपति".



L. 42. लिखिताः ॥

यावत् नेह मन्दिषर यावत् चद्रदिवाकरी<sup>11</sup> [1]43. यावत्तीर्थ जिनेन्द्राणां [ ] तावत् नदंतु मंदिरः<sup>12</sup> ॥ १ ॥

चौरस्तु [2]

## ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv.<sup>13</sup> Samvat 1763, Māgha sudi 5; *Siddhachakra*, dedicated by Anandabātī, wife of Shetā (Khetā) of the Śrīmālī *laghuhākhā*, inhabitant of Dhanapura; consecrated by *paṇḍitavara* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dipachandra, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Jñānadharmaji, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārājī in the *śākhā* of Jinachandra Sūri, *yugapradhāna* of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, who awakened Pātisāhi Akabhara.

No. xxxv.<sup>14</sup> Samvat 1768, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhūmamuni dedicated by Dulichand, son of Sā(hu) Kikā of the Kharatara *gachchha*; consecrated by *upādhyāya* Dipachandragani.

No. xxxvi.<sup>15</sup> (Date as above); an image of Śrī-Yudhishtira [*shhira*] muni (remainder as above).

No. xxxvii.<sup>16</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1788, Śāka 1653, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premaji (surnamed Cheuli, from his residence in Cheula), of the Śrīmālī *vṛiddhasākhā*, at the request of *bhaṭṭāraka* Vijaya-Dayāsūri, and of the Tapā *gachchha*; consecrated by *bhaṭṭāraka* Sumatisāgara of the same *gachchha*.

No. xxxviii.<sup>17</sup> Samvat 1791, Vaiśākha sudi 8, *pūshyārke*; an image of Pāravanātha, dedicated by *bhaṇḍārī* Ratnaśimha, a *mahāmāntṛī*, who caused an edict of *amāri* to be proclaimed in Gujārāt, son of Udayakarna (and Udayavantadevi), son of Shetasihaaji, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Dīpāji, of the Osavāla *vṛiddhasākhā* and the Nādāla-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayāsūri, successor of Vijai-Khamāsūri, of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xxxix.<sup>18</sup> Samvat 1794, Śāka 1659, Aśāḍha sudi 10, Sunday; an image of Pāravanātha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by *bhaṇḍārī* Harashachanda son of *bhaṇḍārī* Sivachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Rūpachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Tārachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Nārāyaṇaji, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Bhānaji of the Ośavama *vṛiddhasākhā*, Nādāla-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinachandraśūri of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, by *paṇḍita* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dipachandaji, pupil of *upādhyāya* Jñānadharmaji, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārājī.

<sup>11</sup> Read L. 42: "चिन्ता" "मन्दिषरी" च<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Read "चौर" नदंतु मंदिर.

<sup>13</sup> On a *Siddhachakra* slab in the south corridor of the Kharataraśūri Tank.—*Liste*, p. 200, No. 337.—J. B.

<sup>14</sup> On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pātisāhi Pāṇḍava temple.—*Liste*, p. 207.

No. 350.—J. B.

<sup>15</sup> In Pātisāhi Pāṇḍava temple, on the base of the principal image.—*Liste*, ib.

<sup>16</sup> Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-east corner of the great Ādityaram.—*Liste*, p. 197, perhaps

No. 100.

<sup>17</sup> In the Vimalavasi Tank, on right hand when going towards the Hāthipola, about half-way up.—*Liste*, p. 202.

No. 247.

<sup>18</sup> In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipāvasi Tank.—*Liste*, p. 207, No. 337.

No. xi.<sup>66</sup> Samvat 1810, Māha sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sumatinātha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, Saṅghavi Kachara Kikā and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasūri.

No. xlii.<sup>67</sup> Samvat 1814, Māgha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a *śikhara*, dedicated by Fo. Kāśarisangha, son of Fo. Lādhā, (and Prānakumara,) son of Fo. Dipachand, son of Fo. Sakalachanda of the Prāgvāṭa-vamsa; *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Udayasūri.

No. xliii.<sup>68</sup> Samvat 1815, Vaiśākha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by *masa* Kuyaraji Lādhā of Bhāvanagara; consecrated by Rājasāmasūri, of the Laghuposāla *gachchha*.

No. xliii.<sup>69</sup> Samvat 1822, Phālguna sudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśā, Deshavāla-Tapā *gachchha*'s *deri*, dedicated by *pāndhi* Parasottama Sūdaraji and by his nephew Amāidāsa and his brothers Nāthā and Kumbhā, all of Meśānā. The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Samvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xlii.<sup>70</sup> Samvat 1843, Śāka 1708, Māgha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Rājānagara, a Śrīmālī of the *laghuśākhā* of the Kāśyapa gotra and Paramāra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlv.<sup>71</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1860, Śāka 1726, Vaiśākha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Harashachanda, son of Hīrachanda (and Kumārābāi), son of Sā Rāyakarana, a Śrīmālī of the *vriddha śākhā*, a native of Damapa-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phirangijāti Purastakāla pātasāhi (the king of Portugal).

No. xlii.<sup>72</sup> (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjaharā-Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Savaichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachanda and Jeyati, a Jhaveri (*jeweller*) of the Usavāla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasūri, of the *gachchha* Vijaya-Ānandasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlii.<sup>73</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asrahurā (Vijjaharā?) Pārśvanāth, dedicated by Jhaveri Premachanda, . . . . . an Usavāla of Surat, belonging to the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Ānandasūri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri, *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlviii.<sup>74</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasakuṣajī (*Sahasrakūṭa*), dedicated by Dāhābhāi, son of Sā Lālabhāi, grandson of Sā Bhāisāji, a Śrīmālī, at the request of Pūnyasāgarasūri of the Amchala *gachchha*, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlix.<sup>75</sup> Date and contents as of the preceding.

<sup>66</sup> In a temple on the south of the way to the Hāthipōja, in Vimalavadi Tūkh.—*Lists*, p. 304, No. 293.—J. B.

<sup>67</sup> On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Ādhvāra temple.

<sup>68</sup> On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hāthipōja.—*Lists*, p. 304, No. 291.

<sup>69</sup> In Modi Premachand's temple No. 84.

<sup>70</sup> In Vimalavadi Tūkh, in a small temple on the south of the Vāghana-pōja.—*Lists*, p. 304, No. 304.—J. B.

<sup>71</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tūkh, on an image in the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 307, No. 302.

<sup>72</sup> On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tūkh of Modi Premachand.—*Lists*, p. 308, No. 307.—J. B.

<sup>73</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tūkh, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding.—*Lists*, p. 308, No. 384.

<sup>74</sup> On a column in the Śāchakōja in the Fāchā Pādāta's temple.—*Lists*, p. 307, No. 351.

<sup>75</sup> In the same temple.—J. B.



No. I.<sup>22</sup> Samvat 1860, Māhā audya 13; a temple was begun and finished Samvat 1861, Phāguna vadi 5, Wednesday, by Virachanda, son of Pitāmara, grandson of Harashachanda, a Pārekh of Ahmadābād, of the Viśā-Poravāla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Vijaya-Anandasūri.

No. II.<sup>23</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1861 and Śālivāhana Śāka 1726, Dhātā samvatsara Mārgaśirsha audī 3, Wednesday, Pārvāśādhā nakshatra, Vṛiddha Yoga, Gira Karāṇa, in the victorious reign of Punyasāgarasūri, successor of Kirtisāgarasūri, successor of Udayasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha, a *kuṇḍa*, called Iobhākumḍa, was dedicated by Ichchhābhāi, son of Nihālachandabhāi, a Śrīmālī of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unadāji ruled over Pālītāṇā.

No. III.<sup>24</sup> Samvat 1867, Chaitra sūda 15; an agreement in Gujarātī not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hāthī Pōla.

No. IIII.<sup>25</sup> Samvat 1875, Māgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhīnātha (F), dedicated by Sosaḷi, son of Mūlaḷi and Māmnakumara, of Rādhanapura; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sedagarasī, son of Mūlaḷi and (?); an image of Mallinātha, and a little temple (*dēharī*) dedicated by Kāmtiyā Hemaji, son of Tokarāsī.

No. IIV.<sup>26</sup> Samvat 1885, Vaiśākha śukla akṣaya-tṛitīyā, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śrāvika Gulāvabenī, by Bābu Harashachandaji and Visanachandaji, sons of Jethamallaji, Bāranachandaji and Keśava-dāsaji, sons of Sāha Bohitthaji, of the Dāgada gotra, inhabitant of Bālāchhara; consecrated by Jinnharashasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. IV.<sup>27</sup> Samvat 1886, Śāka 1751, Māgha, śuklapakṣa 5, Friday; an image of Puṇḍarika guṇadhara, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lalubhāi, son of Seth Pānābhāi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Seth Vakhatachanda Khusyālachanda of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Oṣa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated during the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. IVI.<sup>28</sup> (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pāravanātha, dedicated for the welfare of Bāi Rāmākumyara, wife of Sāha Harakhachanda, son of Sāha Mūlachanda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Oṣa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverabāi, wife of Dast Kusnachanda, in the reign of bhāṭṭāraka Rājendrasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha.

No. IVII.<sup>29</sup> (Date as above); a *chaturvīṅśatīrthakarapatta* with *brīṅkāra*, dedicated by Motichanda, son of Sāha Malukachanda, and Kuslabāi, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Oṣa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated by the bhāṭṭāraka of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. IVIII.<sup>30</sup> (Date as above); a *parameshṭī* [*shṛī*] *pada*, with *Omkāra*, dedicated by the donor of No. IVII; consecrated as above.

<sup>22</sup> In Vinayavad Tūkh, to the south-east of the Chaturvīṅśatīrthakarapatta of a hundred pillars.—*Liste*, p. 302, No. 345.—J. B.

<sup>23</sup> On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.

<sup>24</sup> On the wall, beside the Hāthīpōla, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Ādītiya Bhagvān and the eastern section of the Vinayavad Tūkh.—J. B.

<sup>25</sup> In Modi Pramechand's Tūkh, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.

<sup>26</sup> In a small temple to the south of Puṇḍarika's.—*Liste*, p. 307, No. 345.

<sup>27</sup> In Hemabhai's Tūkh, at the entrance.—*Liste*, p. 309, No. 409.

<sup>28</sup> On the east of an image south of Puṇḍarika's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatchand's Tūkh.

<sup>29</sup> In Hemabhai's Tūkh, on the north wall of the Mandapa of the principal temple.—*Liste*, p. 309, No. 407.

<sup>30</sup> In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.



No. lix.<sup>22</sup> (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhāvahu, wife of Naginadāsa, son of Śeṭh Himabhāi, son of Śeṭh Vakhatachanda Khushālachanda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchhā*.

No. lx.<sup>23</sup> Samvat 1887, Vaisākha sudi 13, *jñavāsara*, in the reign of Gohel Kāmādhājī, *kumara* Noghapājī, of Pādaliptanagara, a temple (*vihāra*) built, and an image of Kumthanātha by Gajamalājī Parakh, son of Himaturāma, son of Sāha Tilokachanda of the Luniyā gotra, Ukeśa jñātiya Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ajameranagara; consecrated by Devachanda, in the reign of *bhoff*. Jinharshasūri, of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchhā*.

No. lxi.<sup>24</sup> Samvat 1888, Vaisākha vadi — — *śoripāsara* (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khemakuvarabāt, wife of Nihālachanda, son of Sāha Pāmnāchanda, Ośavāla of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Devachandra, in the reign of Jinharshasūri of the Kharatara *gachchhā*.

No. lxii.<sup>25</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisākha śukla 13, Wednesday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Ujamabāi, daughter of Vakhatachanda, an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchhā*. A small temple in the Moṭi ṭunk near Puñchabhāi's temple by the same.

No. lxiii.<sup>26</sup> (Date as above); an image of Rishabhadeva, dedicated by Paradhāmnavan, wife of Sūryamala, son of Śreshti Vakhatachanda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ukeśa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the Sāgara *gachchhā* (?).

No. lxiv.<sup>27</sup> (Date as above); an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachandājī, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachanda Jasarupājī, younger brother of Jasarupājī, son of Patājī Parakh; consecrated in the Tapā *gachchhā*.

No. lxv.<sup>28</sup> (Date as above), *chaturmukha* *hamba*, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhāi by his whole family, *viz.* Naginadāsa, his wife Ichhāvahu, his younger brother Premabhāi, his wife Sāmkalivahu and his sisters Rukhamāṇī, Prasanna, Motikumara—Hemabhāi's wife Kamkuvahu, parents Śeṭh Vakhatachanda and Jadāvabhāi, grandfather Khushālachanda, Ośavālas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-*gachchhā*.

No. lxvi.<sup>29</sup> Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?); a *pañchaparameshthi* [*shthi*]-*paṭṭa*, containing an *Oṃkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxii); consecrated in the Tapā *gachchhā* (?).

No. lxvii.<sup>30</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisākha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a *chaturvīṃśatīrthamkarapaṭṭa*, containing a *Hṛīmkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxvi), consecrated in the Tapā *gachchhā* (?).

<sup>22</sup> In a shrine in Hemabhāi's Ṭunk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.

<sup>23</sup> Outside Kharataraṇal Ṭunk, in a temple at the north-east corner.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 347.—J. B.

<sup>24</sup> In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, on the north side.

<sup>25</sup> In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.

<sup>26</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.

<sup>27</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, north corridor, room No. 2.

<sup>28</sup> In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 412.

<sup>29</sup> In the principal temple in Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, on the south wall, see No. lxviii.

<sup>30</sup> In Hemabhāi's temple, in the Mandapa north wall, east corner, see No. lxvii.—J. B.

No. lxviii.<sup>a</sup> Samvat 1891, Māgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khāndhājī, his son being Noghahājī and his son Pratāpasīnghājī, of Pālītānā, an image of Rishabhā, dedicated by Imdrajī, son of Nihālachandā, of the Yadugada-gotra, Ośavāla race, Bṛihat-Śākha, inhabitant of Makasūdāvad-Bāluchara; consecrated by Pam. Devachandra, pupil of Pam. Jayavantsājī, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxix.<sup>a</sup> Samvat 1892, Vaiśākha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohel Khāndhājī (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Sambhavanātha, Pāravanātha and Śitalanātha, dedicated by Mahetāhakumāra, wife of Bāhu Pratāpasīnghājī, brother of Bāhu Bahādarasinghājī, son of Bāhu Rādhāsīnghājī, of the Yadugada-gotra, Ukesa race, Bṛihat-Śākha, of Makasūdāvad-Bāluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhadra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharājī.

No. lxx.<sup>a</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādinātha dedicated by Phūlakumyara, daughter of Anopabhāi and Manachhi, Anopabhāi being son of Vakhatachanda (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxi.<sup>a</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāntinātha dedicated by Ujaltvahu, wife of Phatebhāi, son of Motichanda, Vṛiddha-Śākha, Ośavāla, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāg. ga.

No. lxxii.<sup>a</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāntinātha dedicated by Bhagubhāi, son of Phatebhāi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motichanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii.<sup>a</sup> (Date as above), a temple built in Hemābhāi's tank and image of Ajitanātha dedicated by Sā Lashamichanda, (wife Pāravati), son of Sā Jessingha, son of Sā Hīrāchanda, of the Vṛiddha-Śākha, Uśavāla, inhabitant of Khambhānagara.

No. lxxiv.<sup>a</sup> Samvat 1893, Jyeshtha śudi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bāphasā Gumāmnachandājī Bahādarāmāllājī of Jēsalameru, consecrated by Jinamahendrasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxxv.<sup>a</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10; an image of Pāravanātha dedicated by Premachanda, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Padmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi.<sup>a</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pāravanātha dedicated by Ajab and Mānakumara, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāmara, son of Sā Sākalachanda, son of Sā Premachanda, son of Sā Dāmodaradāsa of the Laghu Śākha of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Ahammadāvad, consecrated by

<sup>a</sup> In temple outside the gate of Puṇḍarikā temple of the Kharataraśvet Tūkh and next to that containing inscription No. lx.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 341.—J. B.

<sup>a</sup> Outside the enclosure of the great Chasmukha on the east, next to proceeding on the base of an image.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 339.

<sup>a</sup> In Hemābhāi Tūkh, west corridor, room No. 1.

<sup>a</sup> In the same Tūkh is a shrine in the west corridor.

<sup>a</sup> In Hemābhāi's Tūkh, west corridor, room No. 3.

<sup>a</sup> In the Hemābhāi Tūkh, north corridor, East room.

<sup>a</sup> In the shrine of Gomukha, at the entrance to the Chasmukha temple.—*Lists*, p. 206 No. 311.

<sup>a</sup> Sākalachand Premachand's Tūkh, on the east below the image (Chintāmani Pāravanātha), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 494.

<sup>a</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Tūkh, on the east of Puṇḍarikā, facing the principal temple.—J. B.



Rūpavijayagani, pupil of Padmavijayagani, a Samvijñamārgi, of the line of Vijayashāsūri, in the Samvijñayamārgiya—*Tapā gachchha*.

No. lxxvii.<sup>100</sup> (Date as above), an image of Padmanātha, dedicated by Sā Mūlachandā, son of Sā Karmachandā, son of Sā Premachandā (etc., see above) consecrated by Rūpavijayagani (etc., see No. lxxvi).

No. lxxviii.<sup>101</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Amarachandā (and family), son of Ratnakhinchandā and Devakūara Bāi, son of Premachandā and Ichhābāl of the Ośa race, Laghu Śākha, inhabitant of Mumbāi, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhaneshvarasūri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānandasūri, called the *Tapā gachchha*.

No. lxxix.<sup>1</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Sāhavisimgha, son of Sā Kesirisimgha, son of Sā Khusālachandā, son of Sā Nāhālachandā, an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād, consecrated by Śānti-sāgarasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lxxx.<sup>2</sup> (Date as above), an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Khemachandā (and family), son of Śeṭh Motichandā and Divālī Bāi, son of Śeṭh Amichandā and Rūpā Bāi; an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā and Nāhaṭā gotra, inhabitant of Mumbai-bindara (Bombay), consecrated by Jinamahendrasūri, successor of Jinaharshasūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara gachchha (Kharatara Pippalliya), during the reign of Gohel Pratāpasimghaji.

No. lxxxi.<sup>3</sup> (Date as above), image of Śeṭh Motichandā and his wife Ichhāvāl set up by Śeṭh Khemachandā, in the Kharatara-Ghinaliya (Pippalliya?) gachchha.

No. lxxxii.<sup>4</sup> (Date as above), image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Amichandā (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahendra, (*Kharatara-Pippalliya-gachchha-ja-yu śri-Jinadevasūri tatpāṭhe bha-śri-Jinachandrasūri viyāmadne soparikaravayale*).

No. lxxxiii.<sup>5</sup> (Date as above), an image of Supārsvanātha, dedicated by Rūpā Bāi, wife of Śeṭh Amichandā (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahendrasūri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxiv.<sup>6</sup> (Date as above), an image in the temple of Śrīmat-Kesarīdevī (Āmbā), dedicated by Muṅgīvahn, wife of Khemachandā (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahendrasūri, etc., (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxv.<sup>7</sup> (Date as above), an image of Puṇḍarīka, dedicated by Khemachandā (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahendrasūri, etc. (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxvi.<sup>8</sup> Samvat 1897, Śāka 1733, Vaisāka, Śukla 13, Monday: an image

<sup>100</sup> In the temple in the north-east corner of Sākalachand Premachand's Tank.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 426.—J. B.

<sup>101</sup> In Motīsh's Tank, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 420.

<sup>1</sup> In Motīsh's Tank, on the base of image is a temple on the north of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 423.

<sup>2</sup> In Motīsh's Tank, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> Near the door below the image of the Śeṭh and his wife, in the principal temple in Motīsh's Tank.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 417.

<sup>4</sup> On the base of an image to the right of the principal image in temple No. 420.—*Lists*, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north-east of the central one.

<sup>6</sup> On the base of image of Āmbā Mātā (Chavādevī) to the right of the principal temple in Motīsh Amichand's Tank.

<sup>7</sup> On the base of Puṇḍarīka, in the temple at the entrance of Motīsh's Tank; the temple of Puṇḍarīka always faces the principal shrine of Ādinātha.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.

<sup>8</sup> On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motīsh's Tank.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 421.



of Ādinātha, dedicated by Phulachanda, son of Kapureschanda and Kasali, son of Parekh Jiboghā (?) and Lashami, Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Mumbāi-bidar (Bombay), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devidrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxxvii.<sup>9</sup> Samvat 1900, Śaka 1765, Māgha śukla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kshemachanda.

No. lxxxviii.<sup>10</sup> Samvat 1903, Śaka 1768, Māgha, kṛishṇa 5, Friday; an image of Rāpabāl (etc., see No. lxxxiii), dedicated by Kshemachanda; in the reign of Jinamahimndrasūri of the Brihat-Kharstara Pipaliya gachchha.

No. lxxxix.<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1905, Vaiśāḥa, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by *meti* Motichanda, son of m. Khetast, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha-Śākhā, inhabitant of Pāṇasapūra; two other images of Ādinātha, dedicated by his wives Rāmākuyara and Imbara, two more images of Ādinātha, dedicated by Manigull, son of *meti* Iśvara and Jñānavahu, son of Rāmākuyar and Motichanda, as well as by Dīlubāi, wife of Khetast, son of Mūlachanda, in the reign of Devimdrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xc.<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1905, Śaka 1770, Māgha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamdraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a *dharmasāla* 120 gaja long and 40 gaja broad, built in Pālitānā, south side, an *upāsā* in Pālitānā for the Amchala gachchha restored, (all) by Sā Hiraji and Sā Viraji with their wives Purebāt and Līlā Bāt, they being sons of Sā Narasi and Kuarabāl, son of Bhāramalla, and Manika Bāl Ośavālas of the Laghu-śākhā, and Nāgādā-gotra, members of the Amchala gachchha, inhabitants of Nabhinpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (*upadeśāt*) of Muktiśāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha.

No. xci.<sup>13</sup> Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Śeṭh Vakhatachanda, his son Hemābhāi and his grandson, the late Nagarśeṭh Premābhāi of Ahmedābād. He belonged to the Ośavāla-jñāti, the Addai Śākhā, the Śiśodī-cāmīa, the Kumkumalola-gotra, worshipped the gotra-devi Āsāpuri, the Kshetrapāla Baradā. The pedigree includes (1) [K]ulaatapatirājā Sāmanītasamgha cāmpo, (2) his son Kuarapāla, converted to Jainism by Achārāja Dharmagoshasūri, (3) his son Sā Harapati, (4) his son Sā Vachchhā, (5) his son Sā Shusakarana, (6) his son Śeṭh [Sā]ntidāsa of Rājānagar, a courtier (*vijayabhārasāra*) in the time (*pravaritte*) of Dalipatipātasāha—Sāhājāmgāji, his son Śeṭh Lakhmichanda; (8) his son Shusālachanda (Khushālehand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Śeṭh Vakhatachanda (Vakhatchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a *pañḍavoli* of the Sāgar-gachchha; (1) Rājasāgarasūri; (2) Vṛiddhisāgarasūri; (3) Lakṣmīsāgarasūri; (4) Kalyāṇasāgarasūri; (5) Punyasāgarasūri; (6) Udayasāgarasūri; (7) Ānandasāgarasūri; (8) Sāntisāgarasūri, V. S. 1905.

No. xcii.<sup>14</sup> Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhad

<sup>9</sup> In Sākhachand Premchand's Tūkh, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east. — *List*, p. 212, No. 409.

<sup>10</sup> On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motich's Tūkh.

<sup>11</sup> In Motich's Tūkh, south corridor, first room.

<sup>12</sup> In the Kharstara-vad Tūkh in a temple outside the Chamrakh residence and behind that of Nani Kharaji.

<sup>13</sup> In Hemābhāi Vakhatachand's Tūkh, on the front wall, at the north corner, outside the principal temple of A] 'anath built by Premabhai. — *List*, p. 209, No. 407. — J. B.

<sup>14</sup> In Motich's Tūkh, in a room in the south corridor.

Moti-vat (Motish's Tank), by Vriddhishamdañi, son of Mubatā Panchāna and Panyakura, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vikānera: consecrated by Pam. Devam-drakusāla, brother of Ānamdakusāla of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xciii.<sup>17</sup> Samvat 1908, Vaisāsha kṛishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanāthañi, dedicated by Khusālabhāi, son of Dipachamda, a Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Rājānagara.

No. xciv.<sup>18</sup> (Date as above), an image of Śumatinātha, dedicated by Jethābhāi, another son of Dipachamda (see No. xciii).

No. xcv.<sup>19</sup> (Date as above), an image of Rishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkha-chandrasūri by Jethābhāi (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pāyachamda(?) *gachchha*, consecrated by Pam. Ānamdakusāla.

No. xcv.<sup>20</sup> Samvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Rājārjesvara Mahārājādhirāja (II) Gohil Śrī Noghana, his son being Prātāpasimghaji, of Pālītānā, a new temple built and eight images of Adijina, Suvrata, Ādinātha, Namīnātha, Ādinātha, Śrūvata, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Śeth Vaghmalaji, son of Agarakuvarabāi and Dhanarāpamala, Osavāla of the Vriddha Śākha and Śrī-Mummiyā gotra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasaubhāgyasūri, successor of Jina harāha of the Khar ga. by Hemachandrasūri, younger pupil (*laghuvikshya*) of Māhmasundaraji, of Harshakirtti, pupil of Dayāvilāsaji, pupil of Jayabhadraji, pupil of Pam. Kanakasesharaji.

No. xcvi.<sup>21</sup> Samvat 1911, Phālguna, kṛishṇa 2 Monday,<sup>22</sup> an image of Abhinam-danāsvāmīmālanāyaka, dedicated in the Motivastūka by Sā Kālidāsa, son of Bāi-Devā and Bhagavāna, son of Sā Harashachamda, a Viśā Poravāla, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Pam. Ānamdakusāla in the reign of Devindrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xcvi.<sup>23</sup> Samvat 1913, Māgasara, śudī 6; *Narāsara*, an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śeth Phattebhāi, son of Sā Motibhāi and Rupakumvarabāi, of the Sisodhiā sāsā and Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadāvād.

No. xcix.<sup>24</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Śeth Chagana-bhāi, son of Siradarakumvarabāi and Sā Mānasushabhāi, of the Sisodhiā sāsā and the Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadāvād.

No. c.<sup>25</sup> (Date as above), an image of Abhinamdana, dedicated by Samarathakura-bāi, daughter of Pradhānakumvarabāi and Śeth Surajamalabāi, Osavāla of the Sisodhiā sāsā and the Kumkamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadāvād.

No. ci.<sup>26</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgaśīrsha, śudī 7, Monday; an image of Dattajina, dedicated by Bāi Aimdra, wife of Sāha Velachamda Mānyekachamda of Rājānagara.

No. cii.<sup>27</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgaśīrsha, vadi aikame,<sup>28</sup> Wednesday (*sārabuddhe*); an image of Śūvratatjina, dedicated by Bāi Harakumyyara, wife of Māpikachamda Khimachamda, an Ūsa of Rājānagara.

<sup>17</sup> In Motish's Tank, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>18</sup> In the same room as the preceding.

<sup>19</sup> In the same place as in No. xciii.

<sup>20</sup> In the Chammak enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—*Liets*, p. 206, No. 235.

<sup>21</sup> In Motish's Tank, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.

<sup>22</sup> Date on the image 908.

<sup>23</sup> In Hemabhai's Tank, south wing, room No. 35.—J. B.

<sup>24</sup> Hemabhai's Tank, south wing, No. 32.

<sup>25</sup> In the same corridor, No. 31.

<sup>26</sup> In Motish's Tank, south corridor, No. 28; see No. cvi.

<sup>27</sup> In Motish's Tank, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.

<sup>28</sup> Date on the image Samvat 1698.



No. ciii.<sup>27</sup> Samvat 1916, Vaisākha, kṛṣṇa 6, Thursday, (*uttarāślādhonakṣatva samkrānti mesha, sūryo udayāt ghaṭi 1, pala 45*); a temple (*Śrīśūpājyoprasāda*) built, *gātrā* and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapadavāsja, a Nemiya by race, of the Vṛiddha-sāśhā and Maṇiyāna-gotra, called Sā Hirṇji, his son Gulāha-chamda and wife Manakuvāra, their son Pārekha Mithubhai and wife Benakumvara, their son Karamachamda and wives (1) Bāl Jaḍāva, (2) Bāl Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyānandāsūri, successor of Dhaneśarasūri of the Ānandasūri *gachchha* by Gaṇi Ramgavijaya, pupil of Pam. Viravijaya, pupil of Pam. Dhiravijaya, a *samcepa-pakṣi*, pupil of Pam. Khemāvijaya of the Tapā *gachchha*, during the reign of *rājā-dhīrāja* Pratāposimghajī.

No. civ.<sup>28</sup> Samvat 1916, Śaka 1781, Phālguna, kṛṣṇa 2, Friday; an image of Ajitanātha, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachamдавast, by Seth Anopachamda, son of Vakhatachamda (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adhira and daughter Bāl Ddhīrya (Dhīraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrāsūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. cv.<sup>29</sup> Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an image of Aranātha, dedicated by Sivaprasāda, son of Modi Namidāsa, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and the Chhājeda gotra, inhabitant of Kāśī, consecrated by Hirāchamdra, pupil of Pam. Devachamda, by command of (?) Jinamuktisūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. cvii.<sup>30</sup> Samvat 1924, Māgha śukla 10, Monday<sup>31</sup>; an image of Sitalanāthajī, dedicated by Sā Amolakakasaīā, a Daśa-Poravāda of the Laghu-Śākhā, inhabitant of Viśālanagara (Visalnagar?) in Gujara-deśa; his sons were Mālsachamda, Mayāchamda, Ravichamda, their sons Gokala, Dipachamda and Shimachamda; consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrāsūri of the Tapā *gachchha* by Pam. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.<sup>32</sup> Samvat 1928, Māgha śukla 13, Thursday; an image of Pārśvajina, in their own temple (*dehārī*) in the Tūṅk of Seth Motisā, dedicated by Prāgaḷī and his father Gulāhachamda, the latter being the son of Bāl Irtana, and Khimajī, son of Jhaverī Velāji of Navānagara.

No. cix.<sup>33</sup> Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Mānukachamda Motichamda, of Amadāvād.

No. cx.<sup>34</sup> Vikrama-Samvat 1939, Mahāmāsa, kṛṣṇa 12, Tuesday; an image of Sām-tinātha, dedicated by Nānāpujā Sā Pitāmbarādāsa, a Poravāda of the Laghu Śākhā inhabitant of Amadāvād.

No. cxī.<sup>35</sup> Samvat 1940, Śaka 1805, Vaisākha śukla 3, Monday (*iśā ghaṭi 3 pala 10 suryodayāt*); during the reign of Goyala Sūrasimghajī of Pālītānā, in the time of Vivekasāgarasūri of the Amehala *gachchha*, an image of Ādinātha dedicated in Sā Keśava Nāyaka's Tūṅk in the temple of Pundarikā, by Sāhā Trikama, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchha and in Mu[m]bāimdar (Bombay), an Ośavāla of the Laghu śākhā and Shetā-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetast.

<sup>27</sup> In the Hāhāhā Tūṅk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east.—*List*, p. 212, No. 402.—J. B.

<sup>28</sup> In Hemakhal's Tūṅk, in another room, No. 27 of the same *Bādhā*, with No. c.

<sup>29</sup> In Motisā's Tūṅk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 29, in the same room as No. c.

<sup>30</sup> In Motisā's Tūṅk, in the south corridor room No. 23.—J. B.

<sup>31</sup> Date on the image—Samvat 1903.

<sup>32</sup> In Motisā's Tūṅk, in the south corridor room No. 30.—J. B.

<sup>33</sup> In Motisā's Tūṅk, south corridor No. 34.

<sup>34</sup> In Sāhāhād Premachand's Tūṅk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.

<sup>35</sup> In the shrine of Pundarikā at Keshaji Nāvā's temple in Vimalavati Tūṅk.—J. B.



No. cxii.<sup>36</sup> Samvat 1940, Māgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Parasatāmīdhayā (?), son of Jayasinha Himsachanda, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Amatavāṁsa (?), consecrated by Paṇḍyāsa Gulābhavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Paṇḍyāsa Maṇivijaya.

No. cxiii.<sup>37</sup> Samvat 1940, Phālguna śukla 8, Friday; an image of Dharmānātha, dedicated by Rāmachanda Phulachanda, a Vṛiddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Anahil-lapura; consecrated by Paṇḍyāsa Gulābhavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Paṇḍyāsa Maṇivijaya-gaṇi of the Samvijñā-pakṣa of the Tapā-gachchha.

No. cxiv.<sup>38</sup> Samvat 1943, Pausa, kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī, Monday; a *Vāsudāyājina*, dedicated by Śā Kevala Lakṣmīchanda, a Daśa-Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amadāvād, his wife Kesarabāi, his son Chuntālā, with his wife Parasanabāi, and their daughter Bena Sāmkuna.

No. cxv.<sup>39</sup> Samvat 1943, Māgha-sukla 10, Thursday; an image of Śā(m)tināth, dedicated by Śā Lālū Vakhatachanda(a), a Viśā-Osāvāla of Amadāvād, his wife Bāi Adhtr, his daughter Dhīraja, and his sons Vādīlāla and Bholābhāi.

No. cxvi.<sup>40</sup> No date; an image of Śreyāmsa, dedicated at the request (*upaśeṣa*) of Kalyāṇasāgarasūri<sup>41</sup> of the Amehala-gachchha, consecrated on Vaiśākha sudi 3, Wednesday.

No. cxvii.<sup>42</sup> Samvat 15... (??)... sudi 5; buddha, an Ashtāpada, dedicated by Jhaverachanda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

#### No. cxviii.<sup>43</sup>

L. 1. : श्री : नं १६१. [प्र] वीं पूर्णि-

3. मायां हविर्हितसाक्षीर-
3. सागरप्रोत्ताप्तप्रोत्तादानां
4. निजवचनरहितसाक्षीर-
5. शक्यप्रदत्तयौसिधयै-
6. ज्ञानां भटारकयौविजयसै<sup>44</sup>
7. नक्षत्रप्रसूतसविहित-
8. भक्तिभरतसमानपादा-
9. रविदानां श्री ६ योहीरवि-
10. जयसू. रपादानां साक्षात्प्राप्ति-
11. वितसीधिमिर्मितसकल<sup>45</sup>

12. शक्यप्रदत्तयौसिधयै-
13. यो प्रथमयौपूर्णिमायां [म-]
14. चिन्मयसकलपीतकौटि<sup>46</sup>
15. योहीरमतयोदितयो ६ योवि-
16. मलप्रदत्तयौसिधयै<sup>47</sup> । श्रेष्ठं देव<sup>48</sup>
17. ययं न योमलप्रदत्तयौसिधयै<sup>49</sup>
18. यं धनविजय मं यं जयवि-
19. जय मं जयविजयययसवि<sup>50</sup>
20. जय मं मुनि [ये]मलादिमुनि-
21. जयविजयपरिकरितैर्निर्वि-
22. "लक्ष्मी याया इति भद्रम् [॥]

Samvat 1650, Chaitre full moon day; Vimalaharaha, pupil of bhāṭṭāraka Hira-vijaya, of the Sāpha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sāhi Akalbāra and received from him the Siddhasāila (*Satruvijaya*), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

<sup>36</sup> In a cell of Koterji Bāyā's temple in the Vimalasaili Tūnk, east corridor.—J. II.

<sup>37</sup> In same place as the preceding.

<sup>38</sup> In Sākāśchand Premachand's Tūnk, on the east below the image in the temple to the right of the principal one.

<sup>39</sup> In Sākāśchand Premachand, under an image, west side, corridor 17.

<sup>40</sup> On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hāthi, pole, north side.—*List*, p. 201, No. 224.

<sup>41</sup> This name shows that the inscription belongs to Samvat 1675 or 1683.—1675 is the date of the temple.—J. II.

<sup>42</sup> On a brass plate in Modi Premachand's temple, see No. xlv.—J. II.

<sup>43</sup> On the south wall of the temple of Jhāvera Bhagavan temple.—J. II.

<sup>44</sup> Read "भटारक"

<sup>45</sup> Read "यौवि"

<sup>46</sup> Read "साक्षी"

<sup>47</sup> Read "यौवि"

<sup>48</sup> Read "देव"

<sup>49</sup> Read "ययं"

<sup>50</sup> Read "ययं"

## VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCHI STÜPAS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the Sānchi, or more correctly Kākanāda,<sup>1</sup> Stūpas Nos. I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs. Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr. Führer, who visited Sānchi during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A. Cunningham's collection,<sup>2</sup> *Bhiles Topes*, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stūpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stūpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stūpa I and five from Stūpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A. Cunningham's work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A. Cunningham's book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham's No. 177 (*Bhiles Topes*, plate xix), see also *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I, Plate xx<sup>3</sup>, which, as I have already pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka's so-called Kosambi edict on the Allahābād Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:—

## Allahābād.

. . . . . samgham [ . ]  
[Bho]khatī bhikkhū-va Likhonī-vā. [p]  
chā [ . ] (3) dā[ā]ni [d]māni . . .  
dhāpyitū ānapasa . v. \* y. y. [ . ]

## Sānchi.

. . . . . samgham (3)  
Bhokhatī bhikkhū [v\*] & bhikkhunī [vā\*]  
[ . ] dātā (3) nī dā[ā]ni e[ā\*]nam .  
[dh\* ā]p[ā\*]yit [u\*] anā[p\*]e (5) sasi  
visapetaviya [ . ] ichhā hi me sā (6) ti  
samghasa \* mase chāthitās siyā ti ( 7 ).

Assuming a new sentence to begin with *bhokhatī* L. 5, the remainder of the Sānchi version may be translated as follows:—

"Monks and nuns will dine,\* (and) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (you) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (of Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time."

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the *mahāmātra* in charge of Mālvā, just as the edict on the Allahābād Pillar gives directions to the governor of

<sup>1</sup> See J. F. Fleet: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions found only in Sir A. Cunningham's collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed.

<sup>3</sup> During the repairs under Major Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stūpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr. Führer in his hurried visit.—J. R.

<sup>4</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's two facsimiles (*A*, *Bhiles Topes*, Plate xix; *B*, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I Plate 22) have the following readings, which I have corrected:—

L. 4, *to bhikkhū . . . vaddhā* (*A*) *chā bhikkhū gi bhaddā* (*B*);

L. 5, *dapāsi* (*A*), *dā[sa] pī* (*B*); *anasa* (*A*, *B*); *chārasa* *andā* (*A*); *pāyita* *and* (*B*);

L. 6, *vāthapetaviya* (*A*);

L. 7, *tiā samghasasa* (*A*), *tiā* (*B*); *vāthititāsa* (*A*);

I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sānchi version. Mr. Prinsep's and Sir A. Cunningham's attempts (*Bhiles Topes*, p. 200 f.) do not seem to me successful.

\* Or perhaps "if a monk or a nun will dine (then) etc."



Kosambi. According to Childers, *Pali Dictionary* (sub voce *dama*), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sanchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahabad Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, "for it is my wish" and "that . . . may endure for a long time." Finally, it must be pointed out that *chilathilika*, instead of which the dialect of Mālvā would have required *chirathilika*, as well as the final *e* of the masculine nominative singular *mage*, is a Magadhiism, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sanchi version show the type of Asoka's Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Asoka's times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stūpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham's views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.\* According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vāsīthiputa Ananda, *āvesani* or foreman of the artisans of king Siri-Sātakaṇi. Identifying this Sātakaṇi with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson's calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ananda's inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sātakaṇi of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurāṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Sanchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Asoka's times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Seth Nāgapiya two, our Nos. 85 (= C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stūpa No. II, shows the same characters as Asoka's inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nāgapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvānlāl† in identifying the first Andhra Sātakaṇi with the Sātakaṇi, whom Khāravela, king of Kalinga, protected in the second year of his reign. The

\* *Basilica Topes*, pp. 371 ff. Sir A. Cunningham's assertion that the occurrence of the name *Goliputra* (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, *Goliputra*, in Sanskrit *Gaṇḍiputra*, means only that the royal scribe *Buddhita* was the son of a lady of the *Geta* or *Gaṇḍa* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Goti* or *Gangā* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Asoka's times.

† *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient.*, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Asoka's conquest of Kalinga, fixes the beginning of Sātakaṇi's reign in the B.C.



thirteenth year of Kharavela corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvānīl, *op. cit.* p. 149). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B.C., Kharavela's second year lay between 169 and 159 B.C., and Sirī-Sātakaṇi was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 30), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 93 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A.D., viz. the inverted *da*, the square *sa*, the angular *ma*, and the *anusvara* above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No. 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken *vedikās*.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stūpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stūpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeṭh Nāgapiya, whose case has already been noticed.\* It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arakaguta-Sāsādaka, occurs in No. 19 (C.) of Stūpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 35) of Stūpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka's times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stūpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka's edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (*loc. cit.*),<sup>†</sup> that the Stūpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggalliputta, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pāṭaliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himalaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box *savakamavatachariya* "the teacher of the whole Haimavata (district)."

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B.C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions,<sup>‡</sup> which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty.

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka's edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in *ī* and *ā*, which sometimes end in *ya* or *yā*, and sometimes in *ye*. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka's edicts is the ablative in *āto*, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions,<sup>§</sup> and the

\* It is also possible that Nāgā, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No. 1 of Stūpa II, may be identical with the venerable Nāgā, whose relatives according to No. 84 (C. 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stūpa I.

† I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*.

‡ See Dr. E. Hultzsch's excellent edition of these documents in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XI, p. 38 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings.

§ See *ante*, col. I, p. 372.

original from which the Śauraseni termination *ādo* and the Mahāśāstri *āo* have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 8, where *kekāṣeyakasa jamatā-vijitasa* is a negligent spelling for *kekāṣeyakasa jāmātā-vijitasa*, and takes the place of the grammatically correct *jāmātu* or *jāmātī-vijitasa*. The same anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, *śaṁṁigo-jātaka*, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Further, the use of the feminine affix *ā* at the end of female names in *devā*, e.g. *Sopado* [*de*]vā, I. 8; *Dhamadevā* II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in *Chāpadevā*, No. 32, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrīhis and in the sense of "she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Chāpa."<sup>13</sup>

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pali and of Aśoka's Gīrnār edicts. Even the *ra*, which is never changed to *ia*, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name *Pratīphānasa*, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Gīrnār inscriptions for words like *prāṇa*, *prīṇa* and so forth. The *ā* stroke is attached to *ra*, and both are placed above the *pa*, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. *Bhichhu*, which appears far more frequently than *bhikkhu*, shows the change of *kha* to *chchha* or *chha* observable in Pali *acchhā*, a variant for *akkhā*, and Aśoka's *chhūdaka* for *khūdaka* and other words.<sup>14</sup> The only remarkable point is that the form with *chha* does not occur in this particular case in Pali, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions<sup>15</sup> see, e.g., Nos. 27, 31, 65, 120. *Nhusā*, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit *śauśhā* "daughter-in-law" has been formed according to the principle applied in Pali to medial *su*. It is interesting, because neither the Pali nor Aśoka's dialects admit the group *śu* in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pali forms for *śauśhā* are *śauśā*, *śuśā* and *śuśā*.<sup>16</sup> *Nusā*, a further corruption of *śhusā*, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name *Patīphīya*, I. 22, 23, no doubt represents the Sanskrit *pratīphīta*, and thus shows an elision of a medial *ta*. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 58.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sāneli and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon:—

- (1) The frequent omission of a medial long *ā*, e.g. in *danaṁ* for *dānaṁ*, I. 6, 49, 82, *jamaṭa* for *jāmātā*, I. 3, *Achalaya* for *Achalāya*, I. 6, *Sopado* [*de*]vaya for *Sopadevāya*, I. 8, *upasikāye* for *upāsikāya*, I. 20, *Asvadevaye* for *Asvadevāya*, I. 30, *Yasilaya* for *Yasīlāya*, I. 33, *pojavatiyā* for *pojāvatiyā*, I. 48, *bhatu* for *bhātu*, I. 63, *Samidatasa* for *Sāmidatasa*, I. 65, *Avisinaye* for *Avisināya*,

<sup>12</sup> See note, vol. I, p. 275.

<sup>13</sup> Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV. 1. 4, which teaches that nouns in *a* take *ā* in the feminine.

<sup>14</sup> See E. Müller: *Pali Grammar*, p. 65;—Kuhn: *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Another abnormal *chha* occurs in *acchā*, Sanskrit *aiśaka* and Pali *ekka*, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 15.

<sup>16</sup> The latter probably stood in I. C. 28, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless *śuśa*; see below, note 27.



1. 79, *Arápāna* for *Arápānā* (ablative), I. 89 *Jitāmitāye* for *Jitāmitāye*, I. 101, *Vedisakāya* for *Vedisakāya*, I. 117, *Dhamasenāya* for *Dhamasenāya*, II. 9, and *Nāgapalitāya* for *Nāgapalitāya*, II. 10.<sup>17</sup>
- (2) The occasional omission of short *i*, e.g., in *Dhamarakkhatāye* for *Dhamarakkhitāye*, I. 76, and *bhichhunayā* for *bhichhunīyā*, I. 119.
- (3) The almost invariable omission of medial *anuvāras*, e.g. in *Uduboraghara* and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in *Nadinagara* and its derivatives (see *ibidem*), *Tubavana* (*ibidem*), *Upidadata* (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with *Dhama*<sup>18</sup> (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in *aterāsi* for *anterāsi* I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long *ā* is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like *jamata*, *jataka* and *jītamita*, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of *i*-strokes and of the Anuvāras, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the *i* is omitted stand, one and all, in *these*, i.e. immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that *na* and *kha* were sometimes actually pronounced instead of *ni* and *khi* in words like *bhichhunayā* and *Dhamarakkhatāye*. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Aśoka's inscriptions *aya* appears occasionally instead of *iya*,<sup>19</sup> and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the Anuvāra it must be borne in mind that the spelling *dhama*<sup>20</sup> instead of *dhamma*<sup>21</sup> is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence *dhama* may be read *dhamma*, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* may stand for *Upidadata* and *Tubavana*, because long *i* and *ā* are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where *i* and *ā* may be put for *in* and *an* as in *śha*, *śhaśi* and so forth. And it must be noted that the form *īda* for *Indra* occurs repeatedly, e.g. in L. 1 of the large Nānāghāt inscription, *Archæological Rep. West Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60. A form like *Nadinagara* may be a negligent spelling for *Nādinagara*, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases *ā* for *an*, e.g., in *dāhā* for *damahtrā*, *ayāda* for *anāda* and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the Anuvāra seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in-

<sup>17</sup> Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 156, *gāhā baddhamaṃ ameyā jātakaṃ*, which, as Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, is a quotation from *Jātakas*, vol. I, p. 203, verse 61 (Faustöl), where the text has *gāhā baddhamaṃ vaddhā*.

<sup>18</sup> See H. Sauer's collection of such forms in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 304; and my additions in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, p. 154, to which instances *chātaya* for *Sanakrit chāsi* (pa. Pali *chāsi*), has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No. 11.



scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons,<sup>18</sup> we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I. C. 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I. 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pāḍukulikā II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 240 and p. 280) takes in both cases *grāma* as a personal name or as a part of such. But *grāma* is not used in such a manner, and the translation of *Vejajasa gāmasa dānaṃ* by "Gift of Vejajigrāma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be *Vejajagāmasa dānaṃ*. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pāḍukulikā corresponds to Pāṇḍukulikā, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pāṇḍu, i.e. the Nāga Pāṇḍu, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations *aj*, *ej*, and *ij*, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes *aya*, *eya* and *iya*.<sup>20</sup> Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit *vaidyā*, which possibly may be an abbreviation of *Vaidyandhā*.<sup>21</sup> Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions<sup>22</sup>, and those recorded on the Sāncī Stūpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pāḍukulikā were Upāsakas of the Buddhist Saṃgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Panch, belonged to the Bauddha sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mālvā. Of equal interest is the mention of a *Bodhagoshthi*, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to *Bauddhagoshthi*.<sup>23</sup> A *goshthi* is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Bauddha shrine, or perhaps a Vihāra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goshthi existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term *goshthi* occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word *Barulamisāga* or *Barulamisāna*. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the *Vedisaṅka dānatākāra*, or workers in ivory of Vedisa, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or *śreṇī*, such as the Nāsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vākiliyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila, I, 84, and the Upāsikās

<sup>18</sup> This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadevā, the mother of Bahudata (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadevā, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Liddā of Madhuvana (I, C. 122), the same as the nun Liddā of Kārāra.

<sup>19</sup> The number of the Upāsikās is uncertain, because possibly the Oḥ, mentioned I, 26, may be identical with the nun Oḥ, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

<sup>20</sup> The map of Guzerāt furnishes e. g., Adāli, Arnej, Kāmlej, Kamrej, Feriyaj, Palej, Prāntij, Sackhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kamlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit *Karmaraja* or *Karmaraja* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 193).

<sup>21</sup> Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepāl inscriptions; *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> The Bharhut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of *Karshakaja* (*Karshakata-nigama*).

or female lay worshippers of Navagāma, I. C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vākālā devī, the mother of Ahimā, mentioned in I. C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, *Vākālīya*, further, must be considered to stand for *Vākālīya*. It would then correspond to Sanskrit *Vārkālīya* and *Vākālā* to *Varkalā*. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from *Vrikala*, which name is found in the mythological lists of the *Purānas* (see the Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stūpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurā and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stūpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nāsik, Kārlē, Amarāvati and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutātikini* or *Sātātikini*, I. 79, 80, "a female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sūtras*" and *dhamakāṭhika*, I. C. 191, "a reciter of the Dhamma," have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, *pachanekeyika*, I. 86, has escaped detection. *Pachanekeyika* is a negligent spelling for *pāchanekeyika* or *pachanekeyika*, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit *pāṇḍhanakāyika*, and means, as Dr. Hultsch has translated it, *loc. cit.*, "one who knows the five Nikāyas." The five Nikāyas are (see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, *sub voce*) the five divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Dīghanikāyo, Majjhimanikāyo, Samyuttanikāyo, Aṅguttaranikāyo and Khuddakanikāyo. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka's edicts.<sup>24</sup> The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka's longer Bairāt edict with portions of the Majjhimanikāyo and Aṅguttaranikāyo. *Yugapajaka*, I. 74, which I translate tentatively by "the path-(finder) of the age," seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, e.g. Bhambuka and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wensel's *Index*. Aya-Pasanaka, I. 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonāri Tope No. I. Monks and nuns, who

<sup>24</sup> See also Dr. Hultsch's remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, *op. cit.* p. 58, and on the quotation from the *Jāṭaka*, *ibidem*, p. 76.



had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kāboja, Prātiṣṭhāna, Chirāti, and perhaps also Oḍi, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out. Some similar names occur among the laymen—thus the name of Kekateyaka, I. 1. 3, the father of Dhama- and father-in-law of Vijita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikateyaka, and means 'he of the Kikaṣa country or Magadha.'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank belongs the Vakkalādevi, I. C. 8. Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati*, or village landholder,<sup>21</sup> I. 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *seṭhi*, *sheṭh*, or alderman, II. 11, 35, 57, 85, 99, 115; C. 45, C. 46, C. 94, II, C. 8. Simple traders *cāṇḍiya* or *cāṇḍika* are mentioned I. 47, 81, 91, C. 119. A royal scribe *rājatilipikara* occurs I. 49, a professional writer, *lekhaṇa*, I. C. 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, *āvesani*, I. C. 190, a trooper, *asa-vārika*, I. 117, and a humble workman, *kaṇḍika*, I. 10. The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāceti*, literally 'a mother of children,' I. 8, 45, 95, 117; C. 45, C. 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,'<sup>22</sup> and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,<sup>23</sup> is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, *Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya* 'of Mitā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas'. The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tāpasīyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.<sup>24</sup> If Mitā is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Āpastamba, *Dharmasūtra*, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)."<sup>25</sup> I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Āpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tāpasīyas, are required.

<sup>21</sup> See Prof. Rhys Davids: *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, p. 257, note.

<sup>22</sup> See I. 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 66; C. 106.

<sup>23</sup> See e. g. I. 30; C. 85. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jain inscriptions.

<sup>24</sup> According to Sir A. Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows:—No. 53, *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya*; No. 59, *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya*; No. 67, *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya*. None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya*, "The gift of Nandā (Nandā), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain;" (2) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya*, "The gift of Nandā (Nandā), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain;" (3) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānaṃ nandāya Mitāya*, "The gift of Nandā (Nandā), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain." If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 73, it is evident that the Tāpasīyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 205), that they were ascetics. We have also *Phāṭṭakajaka Rājaka, Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 97 ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, *loc. cit.*, the Tāpasīyas with the "Tāpasi Magorum" and the "Tāpasi gens" of the classical authors.



The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, e.g. Arsha, Araha, Arahata, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāsi, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Buddhila, Buddha-pālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Samghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Samgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, e.g. Asāda, Mulā (i.e. *Māḍā*), Muladātā, Phaguna, Poṭhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusini, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poṭhaka, Poṭhadevā, Rohini (*Rohini*), Sātīla, Svaticuta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Grihyasūtras*,<sup>20</sup> which recommends the use of *nakshatranāmanī*, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agisarmā*), Agido-[de]vā, Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitā, Vesamannadātā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhita, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nāgā, Nāgila, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vishnudattā or Vishnurakhita, Upidadata or Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitra (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishna, Baladeva or Balarāma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaiṣṇavism, while Nandiguta (*Nandigupta*), Nandigiri,<sup>21</sup> Sāmidata (*Scāmi*, i.e. *Kumdra-datta*), Samika and Samikā (*Scāmika*, *Scāmikā*), Sivanadi (*Sivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read,<sup>22</sup> it corresponds to Sanskrit Isadatta. The other two may be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may, however, be also derived from *Hima*, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sanchi Stūpa, it is possible

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., *Hir. Gri.* 54. 11, & 12.

<sup>21</sup> I would explain *Nandigiri* by "he whose mountain (i.e. protection) is as may be Nandis," on the analogy of *Dandigiri*, for which name *Dandiverrana* appears. *Devagiri*, *Himnagiri*, *Dharmagiri*, *Sihagiri* may be explained similarly, though *Devagiri* and *Himnagiri* may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. *Vijha*, i.e. *Vindhya*, furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly the correct form may be *Iśadatta*, i.e. *Iśhidatta*, (compare *Irigata*).

to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Pāraṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, e.g., we learn from the *Bhikkhupācittiya*, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takṣaṣilā was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the *Suttavibhaṅga* was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead *Dharakina*, is without doubt the modern Eray in the Sagar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakana, and in Sanskrit Airikina.<sup>22</sup> Mahisanti is the ancient town of Māhishmati, identified with the modern Mandal,<sup>23</sup> Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmir, Pratiṣṭhāna (the base of the male proper name Pratiṣṭhāna) either Allabābād<sup>24</sup> or Paṭṭhān on the Godāvari, Ujēti, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantī or Eastern Mālvā, and was the residence of Mahākachchāyana.<sup>25</sup> Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The *Indian Atlas*, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 23° 38' N. Lat., and 77° 5' E. Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sānchi-Kākanāda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, XIV, 15, or with its chief town; that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonārī close to Sānchi where some stūpas exist; that the name of Pādāna, the etymon of the adjective Pādāniya, is preserved in the modern Panana, Lat. 23° 36' N. and 76° 38' E. Long. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N. W.*); and that Na(m)dinagara and Kāpāsīgāma correspond with the modern 'Nandner', Lat. 23° 4' N. and Long. 76° 6' E. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N.W.*) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28' N. and Long. 77° 54' E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasi' is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55' N. and Long. 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubaraghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubaraghariya, and Aba, *i.e.* Amba, the etymon of *Abeyaka*; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sānchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

<sup>22</sup> Fleet: *Coyne Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18, note 2.

<sup>23</sup> Cunningham: *Ancient Geography*, p. 428.

<sup>24</sup> Jhal, opposite to allabābād, — see Führer: *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 138. — Ed. E. J.

<sup>25</sup> See Dr. Weusal's Index: *Jour. Pali Text Soc.*, 1898.



than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper.

## TOPIC I.

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटयकपुत्रस धर्मसिवस दानं [1\*]<sup>10</sup>

"The gift of Dharmasiva (*Dharmasiva*), son of Kekateyaka (*Kekateyaka*).

No. 2 = C. 4.

धर्मगिरिकस मातु दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Dhamagirika's (*Dhamagirika's*) mother."

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटयकस जमत विजितस दानं [1\*]<sup>11</sup>

"The gift of Vijita, son-in-law<sup>12</sup> of Kekateyaka (*Kekateyaka*).

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिक्षुनी दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Kāda (*Kāda*)."

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनकस भिक्षुनी दानं [1\*]<sup>13</sup>

"The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (*the venerable Prasannaka*)."

No. 6 = C. 14.

नादिनगरा अचलया भिक्षुनिया दानं [1\*]<sup>14</sup>

"The gift of the nun Achalā, from Nādinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगरा काबोजस भिक्षुनी दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Kāboja (*Kamboja*) from Nādinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिहरखितस पद्मावतिय सोमदोवय दानं [1\*]<sup>15</sup>

"The gift of Somadevā (*Savarṇadevā* or *Somadevā*), wife of Siharakhita (*Siṃharakṣhita*)."

<sup>10</sup> Possibly ककटयक<sup>10</sup>, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanāgarī inscription: 'रा श्री शारदेय भवमोहि निम [1\*]' - The king (?) the illustrious Śāradēya, adores constantly."

<sup>11</sup> An apparent mistake above the last कृ is an accidental scratch.

<sup>12</sup> जमत seems to stand for जामाता, the nominative being used instead of the stem.

<sup>13</sup> There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions.

अयसन stands for अयस्य and दानं for दान.

<sup>14</sup> सोमदोवय is meant for सोमदेवय.



No. 9 = C. 19.

धम्मरक्षितस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Dharmarakhita (*Dharmarakhita*)."

No. 10 = C. 20.

अथस कामिकस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Atha (*Artha*), the labourer (?)."

No. 11 = C. 23.

L. 1. सामनेरस

2. अयेयकस

3. सेठिनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Sāmanera,<sup>a</sup> the Abeyaka Sheṭh (*i.e. the Sheṭh of a town or village called Aba or Ambo, in Sanskrit Amra-grāma*)."

No. 12 = C. 24.

प्रातिष्ठानस भिक्षुनो जाटियस अमेवासिनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the Prātiṣṭhāna monk (*i.e. the monk from Pratiṣṭhāna*), pupil of Hāṭiya."

No. 13 = C. 25.

उदुवरधरियस सीहरक्षितस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Siharakhita (*Siharakhita*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udubaraghara*)."

No. 15 = C. 30.

धम्मरक्षितास मधुवर्निकावे दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Dharmarakhita (*Dharmarakhita*), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 16 = C. 33.

L. 1. [मो]तिपुतस

L. 2. भंङ्कस

L. 3. भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Bhaṇḍuka, son of Goti (*i.e. of a mother of the Gupta race*)."

No. 17 = C. 34.

L. 1. वेजजस मामस दा

L. 2. नं [१\*]

"The gift of the Vējaja village." "

<sup>a</sup> The *satroka* is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of *म*.<sup>b</sup> With the proper name Sāmanera (*Sāmanera*), literally "a novice," compare the name Samonē: Bharhut Inscriptions. Hultzsch, No. 23, and *Somana*, I, C. 179.<sup>c</sup> The *म* is faint and blurred, the *अनुवर्त* distinct. Both stand above the line.<sup>d</sup> Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction.

No. 18 = C. 35.

अरहगुतस सासादकस भिडुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadyupta*), inhabitant of Sāsada."

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभगस

L. 2. कौरघरस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (*Kararogriha*)."

No. 20 = C. 38.

इदिनाये उपसिकाये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Vudinā (*Vyudirṇā*), a female lay-disciple.

No. 21 = C. 39.

का[कना]ये भगवतो पमाणलठि [1\*]

"The measuring-staff of the Divine one (*Buddha*, the gift) of Kākana" (i.e. probably *kakini*, 'the little crow').

No. 22 = C. 40.

सुववना गहपतिनो [प]तिठियमुसाय वैसमन[दत्त]यि दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Vesamanadattā (*Vaīravanadattā*), daughter-in-law of Patitthiya (*Pratishthita*), a *gahapati* from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*)."

No. 23 = C. 41.

सुववना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [1\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Patitthiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावुनो च नादिविरोहिंस च दानं [1\*]

"The gift both of Nāḍavu (*Nandāyu*?) and of Nādivirohi (*Nandivirohi*)."

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधमोठिय धम्मपटनना दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the Buddha-Committee of Trustees from Dhamavaddhanana (*Dhammavaddhanana*)."

\* Regarding this name see the Introduction.

\* The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct.

\* Possibly कौरघरस is to be read.

\* Dr. Bhagakul Indrāji according to Mr. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31, took कौरघरस to stand for कौरघरस.

\* The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like वर.

\* Regarding the precise meaning of गहपति, see the Introduction.

\* Regarding the explanation of Bodhagōṭhi, see the Introduction. Though the term *Dhammavaddhanana* occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for *Dhammavaddhana*. Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the *Bhāṣya*, I, 74, 10, see the *Petersh. Diet.*; c. v.

No. 26.

बोधगोठिया धम्मवदनना दानं [1\*]<sup>22</sup>No. 27 = C. 76.<sup>23</sup>

उज्जेनिया वाकिलिवाना दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the Vākiliyas, from Ujjain."

No. 28 = C. 78.

चिरातिय भिक्खुनिया दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Chirātī (*Kirātī*)"

No. 29 = C. 79.

सधनस भिक्खुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Sadhana (*i.e. Sa-dhana or Sad-dhana*)".

No. 30 = C. 80.

अश्वदेवये वज्रदत्तमातु दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Asvadevā (*Āśvadevā*), mother of Bahadatta (*Brahmadatta*)".

No. 31 = C. 81.

उगिरियकस स्रतिगुप्तस दानं [1\*]<sup>24</sup>"The gift of Svātīguta (*Satīgupta*), an inhabitant of Ugirā.

No. 32 = C. 82.

अरहगुताये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Arāhagutā (*Arhadguptā*)".

No. 33 = C. 84.

यसिलस्य अश्वेवमिनि संचरखिताये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Saṅgharakhitā (*Saṅgharakhitā*), pupil of Yasilā (*Yasīlā*)".

No. 34 = C. 86.

यसिल्लाय दानं [1\*]<sup>25</sup>"The gift of Yasilā (*Yasīlā*)".

No. 35 = C. 87.

सिठिनो पटिकमकारिकाना दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the Sieth, the great executor of repairs".<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No. 25, not a second impression of No. 25. For the six of small letters does not agree in the last and the termination of the first word ends in *st* instead of in *u*.

<sup>23</sup> See also I. C. 11.

<sup>24</sup> The subscribed *q* of स्रतिगुप्त is not quite distinct.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly यस्सिल्लाय to be read.

<sup>26</sup> I take पटिकमकारिकाना as *pluralis maiestatis*, agreeing with the singular सिठिनो, see above, vol. I, p. 373.



No. 36 = C. 90.

उपिददत्तस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Upidadata (*Upendradatta*)."

No. 37 = C. 93.

वाघुमता सघदिनाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [1\*]<sup>22</sup>"The gift of the nun Saghadinā (*Saṅghadattā*) from Vāghumata."

No. 38 = C. 93.

यखिय भिक्षुनिये वेदिमा दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakshī*) from Vedisa (*Viddisā*)."

No. 39 = C. 95.

कुररिये तापसिया मातु दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Kurari, the mother of Tāpasī."<sup>23</sup>

No. 40 = C. 99.

कापासिगामा अरहस दानं [1\*]<sup>24</sup>"The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kāpāsīgāma (*Kārpāsigrāma*)."

No. 41 = C. 101.

कटकत्रया भद्रकस दानं [1\*]<sup>25</sup>"The gift of Bhadraka (*Bhadraka*) from Kaṭakaṇṇu."

No. 42 = C. 102.

अपथकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Apathaka (*Apāthaka*)."<sup>26</sup>

No. 43 = C. 103.

भोगवदनकस अजितगुप्तस [1\*]

"(The gift) of Ajitiguta (*Ajṭigupta*?), inhabitant of Bhogavardhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No. 44 = C. 104.

मोरसिहिकाटि अरहदिनस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Arhaddina (*Arhaddatta*) in Morasihikaṭa (*Mayūrasīhikaṭa*)."

No. 45 = C. 105.

भोगवधन धम्मरखितय सिवनदिनो मातु [1\*]<sup>27</sup>"(The gift) of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakhitā*), mother of Sivanadi (*Sivanadi*) from Bhogavardhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."<sup>22</sup> Perhaps वाघुमता.<sup>23</sup> Tāpasī may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tāpasīya family (see the Introduction).<sup>24</sup> There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.<sup>25</sup> The letters are much blurred.<sup>26</sup> I take the name to be formed from *apatha*, "who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth." It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit *apāthaka*, "poor."<sup>27</sup> There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

No. 46 = C. 107.

नवगमसमिकाये उज्जैनि[ह]रा दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Samikā (*Scāmika*), inhabitant of Navagama (*Navagrāma*) from the district of Ujjain."<sup>30</sup>

No. 47 = C. 108.

L. 1. सिरिगुप्तस

L. 2. वानिवस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the merchant Siriguta (*Śrīgupta*)."

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुबाहितस पञ्चतिया मभिसाया दानं [१\*]<sup>31</sup>

"The gift of Majhimā (*Madhyamā*), wife of Subāhita.

No. 49 = C. 110.

L. 1. सुबाहितस गोतिपुत-

L. 2. स राजलिपिकरस

L. 3. दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the scribe Subāhita, son of a Goti (i. e. of a mother of the Gaupla - *gaupla*)."

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिडपदा नागाय उपासिकाय — —<sup>32</sup>

"(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiriḍapada (Tiriḍapadra?)."

No. 51 = C. 112.

बरुलमि[साय] गोठिया दान [वे]दिमाली [१\*]<sup>33</sup>

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedīsa (*Vedīśā*)."

No. 52 = C. 113.

L. 1. धमारखिताये भिक्षुनिय काचुपथे

L. 2. दानं [१\*]<sup>34</sup>

"The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakṣitā*) in Kāchupatha."

No. 53 = C. 114.

धमारखितस काचुपथस भि[कु]नो दान [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakṣita*), inhabitant of Kāchupatha."

<sup>30</sup> *Ujjainikā* may stand for *Ujjain-dikā* (see E. Müller: *Pali Grammar*, pp. 40-41). *Adāra* is the well-known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that *Navagrāma* was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

<sup>31</sup> There is a second copy, which has only सुबाहितस पञ्चतिया ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

<sup>32</sup> The last two syllables *राग* and half the preceding *स* are wanting in the impression.

<sup>33</sup> Possibly *वरुलमिसा*.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *भिक्षुनिय*. According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter *स* has been lost after काचुपथे. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.

No. 54 = C. 115.

संघानस भिक्कु दानं [1\*]<sup>10</sup>

"The gift of the monk Samdhāna."

No. 55 = C. 116.

पुसगिरिनो नावगामकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagāma (*Navaśrāma*)."

No. 56 = C. 117.

भिक्कुस पाडानियस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Bhikkhuka (*Bhikkhuka*), inhabitant of Paḍāna."

No. 57 = C. 124.

L. 1. सामनेरस अबेय-

L. 2. कस सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Sāmanera, the Abeyaka Sheṭṭh."<sup>11</sup>

No. 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाना भिक्कुनो [1\*]<sup>12</sup>"The gift of Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), the monk."

No. 59 = C. 127.

अरा[पा]नातो अरहदिन — — — [1\*]<sup>13</sup>

"(The gift) of Arahadina ('s mother) from Arāpāna."

No. 60 = C. 128.

तंबलमडा कुज — दानं [1\*]<sup>14</sup>"The gift of Kuja—(?) from Tambalamaḍa."<sup>15</sup>

No. 61 = C. 129.

— धुवना धम्मगुतस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>16</sup>"The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) from Madhuvana."

No. 62 = C. 131.

महागिरिनो भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Mahāgiri."

No. 63 = C. 135.

उपसिक्खस फगुनस भत्तु भिक्कुनो [1\*]

<sup>10</sup> Read सिद्धनी.<sup>11</sup> See above, No. 11.<sup>12</sup> The apparent 4-stroke at the end of दाना may possibly be an *anandro*, run together with the ३<sup>13</sup> Sir A. Cunningham completes ३ मातु दानं.<sup>14</sup> Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable. I suspect that कुजर, ६ ० कुजर, is meant (see *Epigraph. Ind.*, No. 104).<sup>15</sup> Restore मधुवना.



"The gift of the monk Upasijha (*Upasidhya*), brother of Phaguna (*Phāḷ-guṇa*)."<sup>22</sup>

No. 64 = C. 136.

भोगवदनातो वसिरखिताव [1\*]

"(The gift) of Isirakhitā (*Rishirakhitā*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavādhanā*)."

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतस भिडुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Samidata (*Sāmīdatta*)."

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1. देवगिरिनो पचनेकयिकस

L. 2. भिडुनो स चत्तेवसि — — चो [1\*]<sup>23</sup>

"(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas,<sup>24</sup> and of his pupil."

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिडुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*) the monk."

No. 68 = C. 143.

चुडस च धमरखितस च भिडुनं दानं [1\*]

"The gift both of Chuḍa (*Kaṣṭhā*) and Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakhitā*)."

No. 69 = C. 144.

उज्जैनिवे अगिसिमये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Agisimā (*Agāṣarūḍ*) in Ujjain."<sup>25</sup>

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1. [प्रा]तिठानस भिडुनो दानं

L. 2. च[यतिम]कस चत्तेवामिनो [1\*]<sup>26</sup>

"The gift of the monk Prātiṭhāna<sup>27</sup>, pupil of Aya-Tisaka (*the venerable Tishyaka*)."

No. 71 = C. 146.

बुधरखितस भिडुनो दानं एजावतस [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakhitā*), the Ejaṇata."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Though the last sign looks like श्री, I suspect that the writer meant to give *Se-stredhāna dāna*.

<sup>23</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>24</sup> Possibly चत्तेवसि is to be read.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly अगिसिम or अगिसिमस. — The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.

<sup>26</sup> See above No. 12.

<sup>27</sup> The etymological meaning of एजावत would be "endured with doubts." This, of course, does not suit here, I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.

No. 72 = C. 149.

अरापाना अशदास मातु दानं [1\*]<sup>10</sup>“The gift of Aśāda's (*Aśāḍha's*) mother, from Arāpāna.”

No. 73 = C. 149,

L. 1. उज्जेनिया ताप-

L. 2. मिथानं नुमा-

L. 3. मिताय

L. 4. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Mitā (*Mitrā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 74 = C. 150.

[भ]रडियस सपुरिसस युगपजक्स दानं [1\*]<sup>11</sup>“The gift of the Bharadīya, the holy man, the path-(*finder*) of the age.”<sup>12</sup>

No. 75 = C. 153.

जोहकस भिहुनी दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnaka*).”

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>13</sup>“The gift of Dhamarakhata (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 77 = C. 155.

माहमोरगिन्हा सिहगिरिनो दानं [1\*]<sup>14</sup>“The gift of Sihagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सि]रिया भिहुनिये मडलक्षिकटिकाये

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>15</sup>“The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (*Dharmasiri*), inhabitant of Maḍalakhikāṭa (*Maḍolākhikāṭa*).”

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. अविस्मिनये सूतातिकिनिया

L. 2. मडलक्षिकटिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Avisinā (*Avisāṇṇā*),<sup>16</sup> who is versed in the Sutta-Piṭaka, an inhabitant of Maḍalakhikāṭa.”<sup>10</sup> Possibly अशदास is to be read. But the wavy line below the अ is probably accidental.<sup>11</sup> The left side of the initial भ has been almost cut away in the impression.<sup>12</sup> Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of Bharadā, etc.<sup>13</sup> Meant for धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये.<sup>14</sup> Possibly माहमोरगिन्हा. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read Maḍamogirimāḍ, from the great Mayūngiri. Compare Bharhut Inscr. Nos. 81, 94, 96, where Marogirimāḍ occurs.<sup>15</sup> The third sign of धमसिरिया has been originally ण, which afterwards was altered to सि.<sup>16</sup> Compare Pali visinna for nissinna, and the male name Avissana; Bhar. Inscr. Nos. 141, 142.

No. 80.

- L. 1. चविमिनाये सुतातिकिनि—  
L. 2. मडलच्चिकटिकाय दानं [1\*]<sup>a</sup>

No. 81 = C. 162.

- L. 1. सघदेवस मेरोहकटस  
L. 2. शाणिकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Saghadeva (*Samghadeva*), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakata.<sup>b</sup>"

No. 82 = C. 167.

- L. 1. ओडिप  
L. 2. नदिनस-  
L. 3. रिक्कय दन [1\*]

"The gift of Odi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).<sup>c</sup>"

No. 83 = C. 180.

अरहदिनस भिक्षुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).<sup>d</sup>"

No. 84 = C. 181.

- L. 1. भदतनागिलस  
L. 2. सवानं वातीनं-  
L. 3. दानं यमो [1\*]<sup>e</sup>

"A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila.<sup>f</sup>"

No. 85 = C. 182.

कोररस नागपियस अह्वावे सेठिस दानं यमो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), inhabitant of Kurara,<sup>g</sup> a Sheth in Achhāvaḍa.<sup>h</sup>"

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालोताया भिक्षुने[या] दानं [1\*]<sup>i</sup>

"The gift of the nun Budhapālītā.<sup>j</sup>"

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>k</sup>

"The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (*Prosthaka*).<sup>l</sup>"

No. 88 = C. 193.

चवहुडस अनेवामिनो बलमित्रस दानं यमो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuḍa (*Kshudra*).<sup>m</sup>"

<sup>a</sup> Restore सुतातिकिनि.

<sup>b</sup> There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 सघा and the other सघि, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading given, however, no sense.

<sup>c</sup> The proper form of the name is Kurara; see No. 38.

<sup>d</sup> This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achhāvaḍa.

<sup>e</sup> Meant for भिक्षुविद्या.

<sup>f</sup> The apparent ā-stroke after यी is in my opinion accidental.



No. 89.

अरपान देवकस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Devaka from Arapāna (*Arāpāna*)."

No. 90.

अरहदिनस दानं रमोरज[दि]कडि — —<sup>22</sup>

"The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Ramorajakadi (?).

No. 91.

असवतिवा इसिगुतस वणिजस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the merchant Isiguta (*Rishigupta*) from Asavati (*Asavati*)."

No. 92.

इसिकस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Isika (*Rishika*)."

No. 93.

L. 3. इसिकस रोहा —

L. 2. विपदिपस दा —<sup>23</sup>

L. 1. नं [१\*]

"The gift of Isika (*Rishika*), inhabitant of Rohinipada."

No. 94.

इसिरखितस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakhita*)."

No. 95.

L. 1. उज्जिनिया विस्वदे-

L. 2. वस पजावतिया

L. 3. मुलाय दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Mula (*Mūlā*), wife of Visvadeva (*Viscadeva*), from Ujjain."

No. 96.

[उ]दुबरघरिय [स]चमि[तस] दानं [१\*]<sup>24</sup>

"The gift of Sachamita (*Satyamitra*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 97.

L. 1. क[ठ]क[य]कस अयपतुडस<sup>25</sup>

L. 2. भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu."

<sup>22</sup> The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in *द* and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of *Ramorajakadi* (?).

<sup>23</sup> The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहिपि.

<sup>24</sup> This is a more correct, and the bracketed letters are merely uncertain.

<sup>25</sup> Most of the letters of l. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.

No. 98.

कुरारा संवलितस दान[<sup>1\*</sup>]

"The gift of Samvalita from Kurāra."

No. 99.

L. 1. कौरघरस शैठिनो

L. 2. सीहस दान[<sup>1\*</sup>]"The gift of the Sheth Siha (*Siṃha*), inhabitant of Kuraghara."

No. 100.

गिरिगुताय भिक्षुन्या दान[<sup>1\*</sup>]"The gift of the nun Girigutā (*Girigutā*)."

No. 101.

जितमितये भिक्षुनये वडिवहनिकाये दान[<sup>1\*</sup>]"The gift of the nun Jitamitā (*Jitāmitrā*), inhabitant of Vadivahana."

No. 102.

धमताय दान पुणवदनिकाये [1\*]<sup>2</sup>"The gift of Dhamatā (*Dharmadattā*), inhabitant of Puṇavadhana (*Punyavardhana*)."

No. 103.

धमदत्तस भिक्षुनो दान अयभक्षुजियस [1\*]<sup>3</sup>"The gift of the monk Dhamadata (*Dharmadatta*), pupil of Aya-Bhadraka (*Arya-Bhadraka*, No. 16)."

No. 104.

L. 1. [पिय]धमाय

L. 2. बोधिय च

L. 3. कौरघरिन

L. 4. भिक्षुनिन दान [1\*]

"The gift of Piyadhamā (*Priyadharmā*) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara."

No. 105.

पुसये भिक्षुनये नदिनगरिकाये दान [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Pusā (*Pushyā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 106.

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-

L. 2. गिरिनो दान [1\*]

"The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (*Pushkara*)."

No. 107.

पोरविच्छिकस धम्मसिवस दान [1\*]

"The gift of Dhammasiva (*Dharmasīva*), inhabitant of Pura vikkha(?)."<sup>1</sup> Probably पुणवदन is to be read.<sup>2</sup> धमभक्षुजियस looks almost like धमभक्षुजिय; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.

No. 108.

बेदकरा नदिगि[रि]मातु द[र]न [१]\*

"The gift of Namdigiri's mother from Bedakara."

No. 109.

[भोगवड]नकस भवि[द] — — —"

"(The gift) of Mahida (*Mahendra*), inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavar-anana*)."

No. 110.

L. 1. मधुवनिकाये दुधरखितये भिडुनिये

L. 2. दानं [१]\*

"The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakhitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 111.

महिमतिय देवभगस [दा]नं [१]\*

"The gift of Devabhaga (*Devabhāga* ?) from Mahisati (*Māhishmati*)."

No. 112.

L. 1. यक्षिलस भिडुनो अयदेवगिरिनो अवे-

L. 2. वासिनो दानं [१]\*

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*), pupil of the venerable Devagiri."

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स निगडिस दा-

L. 3. नं [१]\*

"The gift of Nigadi, inhabitant of Rohanipada (*Rohipada*)."

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स बुलिकस

L. 3. दानं [१]\*

"The gift of Bulika," inhabitant of Rohanipada."

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहणिपदियसि

L. 2. सेठिनो नामदि-

L. 3. नस दानं [१]\*<sup>1</sup>"The gift of Sheṭh Nāgadina (*Nāgadatta*), inhabitant of Rohanipada."<sup>\*</sup> Better मणियस दानं.<sup>\*\*</sup> Compare the *Bali* tribe (Wenzel; *Index*, sub voce) of *Allakappa*.<sup>1</sup> Read पदियस; the *fy* stands above the line, and is a correction.



No. 116.

वाडिवहना चडिकस भिहुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Chhadika (*Chhadika*?) from Vādivahana."

No. 117.

L. 1. वेदिमकय [हं]सरखितास चसवारकस

L. 2. यजावति — नामदता[य] दानं [1\*]<sup>2</sup>"The gift of Nāgadattā (*Nāgadattā*), wife of the cavalierist Hamsarakhita (*Hamsarakhita*), an inhabitant of Vedisa (*Vedisa*)."

No. 118.

समिकाये सधितिकाये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Samikā (*Sāmikā*) and of her daughter."

No. 119.

शिरिदिनाय भिहुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Śridattā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 120.

सोयसस दानं भादनकटियस [1\*]

"The gift of Soyasa (*Sauyasasa*), inhabitant of Bhādanakaṭṭa."

No. 121.

[र]वाये उज्जेनिकाये उपमिकाये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain."

No. 122.

— — — स भिहुनो दानं अयमंहुकियस [1\*]<sup>3</sup>

"The gift of the monk . . . , pupil of the venerable Bhamḍuka."

No. 123.

L. 1. — — — — [ने] कन

L. 2. [नो] रुहकस

L. 3. — — [म] — — त — स ड

L. 4. — रि — —

TOP II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

पाहुकुलिकाय ग्रामस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the village of Pāḍukulikā (*Pāḍukulikā*)."<sup>1</sup> The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.<sup>2</sup> Possibly another स may have stood in the beginning.<sup>3</sup> See above, Nos. 16 and 103.

No. 2 = C. 4.

बुधिलस भोग[व]डनकस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Buddhila (*Buddhila*), an inhabitant of Bhogavādhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No. 3 = C. 5.

धम्मदेवय देनं मितसिरिय चत्तेवासिनि[य] [१\*]<sup>१</sup>

"The gift of Dhamadevā (*Dharmadevā*), (who is) a pupil of Mitasiri (*Mitrasiri*)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

इसिलस भिक्षुनो दाना [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (*Rishila*)."

No. 5 = C. 11.

विभस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Vijha (*Vindhya*)."

No. 6 = C. 12.

यखिलस भिक्षुनो दान [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*)."

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागपियस अछाव[ड]

L. 2 स शेटिस दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), a Sheth of Achhāvaḍa."<sup>२</sup>

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1 सपकाय कीररिय दान

L. 2 भिक्षुनिय [१\*]

"The gift of the nun Sapakā (*Sarpakā*), an inhabitant of Kurara."<sup>३</sup>

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1 धम्मसेनय कीररिय दान भिक्षुनि

L. 2 य [१\*]

"The gift of Dhamasenā (*Dharmasenā*), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun."<sup>४</sup>

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालितय दान यमो [१\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapālita."<sup>५</sup>

No. 11 = C. 25.

[ओ]डिय भिक्षुनिय यमो दान [१\*]<sup>६</sup>

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi."<sup>७</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read दानं; the third letter of मितसिरिय was originally an णि, which was afterwards corrected to णि.

<sup>२</sup> This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Stupa I.

<sup>३</sup> Properly कुरार; see I, 98.

<sup>४</sup> Possibly श्रीवाह.

No. 12 = C. 30.

सघमित्तस सोनरकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Saghamitta (*Saṅghamitta*), an inhabitant of Sonara (*Sonārī*)."

No. 13 = C. 32.

अग्निगिल्लस दानं अधपोरिक्कस [1\*]

"The gift of Aggila (*Aggila*), inhabitant of Adhapura (*Ardhapura*)."

No. 14 = C. 33.

यसोविरिनो दानं भिक्खुनो [1\*]

"The gift of Yasogiri (*Yasogiri*), a monk."

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नादिनागरिकाय [1\*]

"(The gift) of Gaḍā, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 16 = C. 33.

अवनादुकस भिक्खुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Aya-Nāduka (*the venerable Nāduka*), a monk."

No. 17.

पुसरक्खितस दानं [अ]यस अतेवासिनो [1\*]

"The gift of Pusarakhita (*Pushyarakshita*), the pupil of Aya (*Ārya*, i.e. the venerable one)."

No. 18.

सिह्वाय दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Sihā (*Siṃhā*)."

No. 19.

L. 1. सुमनस भिक्खुनो

L. 2. दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Sumana (*Sumana*)."

No. 20.

धम्मगुत्तस पुत्तिनिवा च दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Dhamagutta (*Dharmagupta*) and Pusiniya (*Pushyanika*)."

No. 21.

विसाखस पाडा — यस [1\*]

"The gift of Visākha (*Viśākha*), an inhabitant of Pādā[na]."

\* Restored from the text, according to I, 36.



## APPENDIX—LISTS OF NAMES.

## I.—Monks.

Arabadina I, 83, 90.  
 Arabaguta I, 18; II, C. 19.  
 Aruhaka II, C. 34.  
 Balaka II, C. 19.  
 Balamitra I, 88.  
 Bhamdaka (Gotiputa) I, 16; \*hiya, 103, 122.  
 Bhurodiya I, 74.  
 Budharakhita I, 71.  
 Chhaḍḍika I, 116.  
 Chusla I, 58; (aya—) I, 88.  
 Devagiri I, 80; (aya—) 112.  
 Dhamulata I, 103.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 175.  
 Dhamagota I, 61.  
 Dhamarakhita I, 9, 53, 65.  
 Dhama I, C. 31.  
 Dhanaka (aya—) I, C. 151.  
 Gotiputa—see Bhamdaka.  
 Hātiya I, 12.  
 Isika I, 92 (93?).  
 Isila II, 4.  
 Jonaka I, C. 153.  
 Jonhaka I, 75.  
 Kāboja I, 7.  
 Kāda I, 4.  
 Mahāgiri I, 62.  
 Nadigata I, 58.  
 Nagadina I, C. 10.

Nādaka (aya—) II, 16.  
 Nāgarakhita II, C. 39.  
 Nāgila (bhadata—) I, 84; II, C. 1.  
 Pannaka (aya) I, 5.<sup>20</sup>  
 Patoda (?) I, 97.  
 Poṭhaka I, 87.  
 Prātibhāna I, 12, 70.  
 Pura I, C. 29, C. 158.  
 Pusagiri I, C. 21.  
 Pusaka I, 67.  
 Pusarakhita II, 17.  
 Rahila (aya—) I, C. 37.  
 Sadhana I, 29.  
 Saghamita II, C. 7.  
 Sagharakhita II, C. 40.  
 Samdhāna I, 54.  
 Samidata I, 65.  
 Sumana II, 19.  
 Timaka (aya—) I, 70.  
 Upasijha I, 63.  
 Vājuka (bhadata—) I, C. 122.  
 Vejha II, 8.  
 Visākha I, C. 123.  
 Vira I, C. 186.  
 Yakhudā[d]ina I, C. 50.  
 Yakhila I, 112; II, 6.  
 Yasogiri II, 14.

## II.—Nuns.

Achala I, 6.  
 Arataddai I, C. 175.  
 Avicina I, 79, 80.  
 Balika I, C. 159.  
 Bodhi I, 104.  
 Budhapālitā I, 86.  
 Budharakhita I, 110.  
 Chirāti I, 28.  
 Dhamadevā II, 3.  
 Dhamarakhita I, 52.  
 Dhamasena II, 9.  
 Dhama[s]iri I, 72.  
 Dōpaka (?) I, C. 170.  
 Gadā (II, 15?), C. 21, 38.  
 Girigutā I, 100.  
 Hana (?) I, C. 2.  
 Isiddhā I, C. 169; II, C. 22.  
 Isidatā I, C. 182, 183.  
 Isidina I, C. 147.

Jitamitā I, 101.  
 Kadi I, C. 65.  
 Mitaciri II, 3.  
 Mula II, C. 21.  
 Odatikā I, C. 26.<sup>21</sup>  
 Oḍi (I, 82?); II, 11.  
 Phagulā II, C. 18.  
 Piyadhatā I, 104.  
 Pusa I, 105.  
 Saghadina I, 37.  
 Sapakā II, 8.  
 Samgharakhita I, 33.  
 Sedi II, C. 43.  
 Siridina I, 119.  
 Vallā II, C. 15.  
 Yakhi I, 38; (Yakha) C. 187.  
 Yamarakhita II, C. 29.  
 Yamikā I, 55 (34?).

<sup>20</sup> Pannaka occurs as brother of Dhamaguta and Sagharakhita in the inscription on a pillar of the Sanchi Stupa No. 1. Cunningham, *Sanchi Stupa*, plate xliii.  
<sup>21</sup> This corresponds to Sanskrit *araddhā*, literally 'the pure one'.

## III.—Male names, not marked as clerical.

- Agila II, 13.  
 Ahimita I, C. 8.  
 Ajitiguta I, 43.  
 Apathaka I, 42.  
 Araha I, 40.  
 Arahaka I, C. 165 (see also List I).  
 Arabadāsa I, C. 100.  
 Arabadina I, 44, 90.  
 Arabatupālita I, C. 164.  
 Asāḍa I, 72.  
 Aṭṭha (kamika) I, 10.  
 Bahadāta I, 30.  
 Bahula II, C. 35.  
 Bhadaka I, 41.  
 Bhichhuka I, 36.  
 Budhapālita (sethi) II, C. 8.  
 Budharakhita II, C. 10, 23.  
 Budhila I, C. 32; II, 2.  
 Bulika I, 114.  
 Chodaguta I, C. 97.  
 Chheta I, C. 66.  
 Dadāta (?) I, C. 89.  
 Damaka (?) I, C. 174.  
 Devaka I, 89.  
 Devabhaga I, 111.  
 Dhamadāta I, C. 173.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 56.  
 Dhamagirikā I, 2; C. 166.  
 Dhamaguta II, 20.  
 Dhamopāla I, C. 134.  
 Dhamarakhita II, C. 2.<sup>12</sup>  
 Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 157.  
 Dismarakhita (?) I, C. 42.<sup>13</sup>  
 Gobila I, C. 77.  
 Gopāla I, C. 12.  
 Goliguta, —see Subāhita.  
 [Hama]sarakhita I, 117.  
 Himagiri I, 106.  
 Imadāta (?) I, C. 52.  
 Isiguta (vānija) I, 91.  
 Isika I, 93 (?) (compare also List No. II).  
 Isipālita I, C. 179.  
 Isimīta I, C. 59.  
 Isirakhita I, 94.  
 Kakatayaka I, 1, 3.  
 Kuja (?) I, 80.  
 Kujara I, C. 94.  
 Mahida I, 109.  
 Mulagiri (lekha) I, C. 48.  
 Nadāva I, 24.  
 Nādivirohi I, 24.  
 Nagadina I, C. 74.  
 Nabhāgiri I, 108.  
 Nāgadina I, 115.  
 Nāgapiya (sethi) I, 85; C. 192, II, 7.  
 Nigadi I, 113.  
 Opedadāta I, C. 62-64.  
 Patihya (gahapati) I, 22, 23.  
 Phaguna I, 63.  
 Pungirī I, 55.  
 [Sa]chumi[ta] I, 96.  
 Sodatha (?) I, C. 168.  
 Sagha I, C. 192.  
 Saghadara I, 81.  
 Saghamita II, 12.  
 Samana I, C. 179.  
 Samghila I, C. 163.  
 Sāmanera I, 11, 57.  
 Samika (vānika) I, C. 85, C. 119.  
 Samvalita I, 98.  
 Sāṁla I, C. 98.  
 Sihagiri I, 77; C. 28 (?) (Sammile, Sappagawo).  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Siriguta (vānija) I, 47.  
 Siripāla I, C. 120.  
 Sivanadi I, 45.  
 Silha (sethi) I, 99.  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Sona I, C. 57.  
 Soyasa I, 120.  
 Subāhita, Gotiputa (rājapikara) I, 48, 49.  
 Subhaga I, 19.  
 Svatiguta I, 31.  
 Upadadāta I, 36.  
 Vaḍa (?) I, C. 172.  
 Vaḍha I, C. 47.  
 Vajaguta I, C. 3.  
 Vajita I, 3.  
 Vimala I, C. 138.  
 Vira I, C. 77.  
 Viśākha II, 31 (see also List I).  
 Viśvadeva I, 95.  
 Yasopāla I, C. 27, 156.

<sup>12</sup> If the following *soḍasa* stands for *saikakasya*, this person was an ascetic.

<sup>13</sup> The name is probably wrong.

## IV.—Females, not marked as nuns.

Agidā[de]vā I, C. 17.	Odī I, 82 (compare also List II).
Agā[ī]mā I, 69.	Padmā (?) I, C. 51.
Arahagatā I, 82.	Patolī (?) II, C. 28.
Asvadevā I, 39; C. 85.	Pothādevā, I, C. 44.
Balakā I, C. 61.	Pūmī II, 36.
Bodhā I, C. 64.	Revā, I, 121.
Dāśā I, C. 46.	Rohini (?) I, C. 55.
Dharmatā [dātā] I, 102.	Sagharakhitā II, C. 22.
Dharmarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76.	Saghā I, C. 108.
Gadā II, 15 (compare also List II).	Sāmidarā [tā] I, C. 176.
Himadatā I, C. 43.	Samikā I, 46, 118.
Ismitā I, C. 54, 69.	Semākā (?) I, C. 91.
Israhitā I, 64.	Sihā II, 18.
Kā[ka]gā I, 21.	Sihadatā I, C. 67.
Kanī I, C. 85.	Sonado[de]vā I, 8; C. 17.
Kurari I, 39.	Sulbhagā I, C. 18.
Majhimā I, 48.	Tāpasi I, 39.
Mayadatā I, C. 64.	Vāhalā devī I, C. 8.
Mitā (Tīpasyanarā vusā) I, 73.	Vasulā I, C. 88.
Mnā I, 95.	Vesmanulātā I, 22.
Muladatā I, C. 60.	Vinhakā II, C. 24.
Nāgadātā I, 117.	Vipulā I, C. 70.
Nāgamitā I, C. 72.	Vudinā I, 20.
Nāgajulitā II, 10.	Yakhadāsi I, C. 171.
Nāgā I, 50; C. 45.	Yasā I, 35 (see also List No. II).

## Geographical names.

Abeyaka (adj.) I, 11, 57.	Kuraghara I, C. 69; C. 71-72; <i>Koraghara</i> (adj.) I, 19, 99, 104.
Achhāvaṇa I, 55; (adj.) I, C. 192; <sup>16</sup> II, 7.	Kurāra I, 98; <i>Kurariya</i> (adj.) I, C. 138; C. 192; <sup>17</sup> <i>Kurari</i> (adj.) I, C. 133; <i>Kurara</i> (adj.) I, 85; II, 8, 9; C. 15.
Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.	Madalachhikātika (adj.) I, 78, 79, 80; C. 159.
Anahmitaka (?) (adj.) II, C. 10.	Madhuvana I, 61; <sup>18</sup> C. 132; <sup>19</sup> <i>maika</i> (adj.) I, 15, 76; <sup>20</sup> 110.
Arāpāna I, 59, 72, 89.	Māhamoragī, I, 77; <i>Mahāmo</i> I, C. 28.
Asvavatī I, 91.	Mahivati I, 111.
Balakara I, 108.	Moravāhikā I, 44.
Bhūvikāda I, C. 156.	Nadinagara I, 6; C. 170; <i>Nādā</i> I, 7; <i>Nadinagarika</i> (adj.) <sup>21</sup> I, 82, 103; C. 147, 169.
Bhāṇanaktiya (adj.) I, 126.	<i>Nadinagarika</i> (adj.) I, 119; II, 15.
Bhogavādhanā <sup>22</sup> I, 45; <sup>23</sup> <i>vadhāna</i> , I, 64; C. 137; <sup>24</sup> <i>vadhāna</i> , (adj.) I, 45, 109; II, 2.	Navagamaka (adj.) I, 46; <sup>25</sup> <i>gāmaka</i> , I, 55; <sup>26</sup> <i>gā-mika</i> , I, C. 53.
Chahatiya (adj.) I, C. 158.	Pādāniya (adj.) I, 56; II, 21. <sup>27</sup>
Dhamavadhāna (read <sup>28</sup> <i>vadhāna</i> ) I, 25, 26.	Pāṇkulikā II, 1; <i>Pāṇkulini</i> [ki]ya (adj.) II, C. 6.
Ejāvata (adj.) I, 71.	Pokhara I, 106; <sup>29</sup> <i>regala</i> I, 83; <sup>30</sup> C. 23, 39.
Erakina <sup>31</sup> I, C. 98.	Poravāhika (adj.) I, 107.
Kāboja (proper name) I, 7.	Prāthithāna (proper name) I, 12, 70.
Kāchopotha (adj.) I, 52, 53.	Pūṇavādhaniya (adj.) I, 102.
Kamādīgāma I, C. 47; <sup>32</sup> <i>gāmiya</i> (adj.) I, C. 45, 46.	
Kāpdivigāma I, 49.	
Katakānu I, 41; <sup>33</sup> <i>kaṇaka</i> (adj.) I, 97.	
Katakareyaka (adj.) I, C. 100.	
Kekateyaka (proper name) I, 1, 3.	
	Ramorsjabhikadi (?) I, 20.

<sup>16</sup> *Achhāvaṇa*, on facsimile.<sup>17</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 95.<sup>18</sup> *Dharukina*, on facsimile.<sup>19</sup> *Kurariya*, on facsimile.<sup>20</sup> First syllable obliterated.<sup>21</sup> Spelt *vadhāna*.<sup>22</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 12.<sup>23</sup> Third syllable obliterated.<sup>24</sup> *Pokhamreyakada* [sa], on copy.



Rohanipadiya (adj.) I, 113, 114, 115; *Rohāṇī*<sup>2</sup>  
I, 98.  
Sāhakaṅgāmiya (adj.) I, C. 97.  
Sisādaka (adj.) I, 18; II, C. 19.  
Somaraka (adj.) II, 12.  
Tembalamaja I, 60.  
Tiridapula I, 50.  
Tubavana I, 22, 23.  
Udubaraghariya (adj.) I, 13; II, C. 41;  
C. 42; *Udambhara*<sup>3</sup> I, 26.

Ugrīyaka (adj.) I, 31.  
Ujani I, 27, 69, 73, 95; C. 11, 12, 49, 55-68,  
70, 77; *ka* (adj.) I, 121.  
Vādivahana I, 116; *Vādivahanika* (adj.) I,  
101; *Vādiva*<sup>4</sup> (adj.) II, C. 24.  
Vāghumata I, 37; C. 118.  
Vedisa<sup>5</sup> I, 38; *Vedisa* (adj.) I, 117; C. 189;  
*āṭa* I, C. 26.  
Veja I, 17.  
Verohakata (adj.) I, 81.

### VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1030.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELMORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchāpahar," which is near the village of "Harasnāth" in the Shaikhāwāti province of the Jaypur state of Rājputāna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75° 15', Lat. 27° 31', *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoe, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV, pp. 361-400.<sup>1</sup> In the course of last year Mr. Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr. Burgess; they were prepared by Mr. Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 11" broad by 2' 10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen *akṣaras* have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between ⅜" and ½"; it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

<sup>2</sup> See also *Ekharat Inscriptions*, Nos. 22, 23, 25, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 932-937.

are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a *prasaṁsā*, and was composed by Dhiraṇaga, the son of the *karayika* Thiruka (verse 45).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *h*; before *r*, *ṛ* is always doubled after a vowel, e.g., in *vichitra*, line 4, and *śūtradhāro* and *dagdha-tṛipura*, line 6; and a single *j* is written instead of *jj* in *ujvalah*, line 16, and *viśphurajñāna*, line 22. The dental *s* is employed instead of *aśvāra* in *dharma*, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in *antareśvaraḥ*, line 22, and in *Chandrasiva*, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metro); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in *prasaṁsah*, line 15, and wrongly retained in *nirṇāśita*, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.\*

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allāṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allāṭa's disciple Bhāvaditya. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chāla-māna family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gūvaka I., said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes (v. 13). His son was—
2. Chandrarāja (v. 14); his son—
3. Gūvaka II. (v. 14); and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudrena† (v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vakpatirāja, who put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv. 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Simharāja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavaṇa, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

\* See notes 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

† I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapāla.



7. Vigraharāja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed, who restored the fortune of his family; but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlābharāja (vv. 20-28). It will appear below that, besides Vigraharāja, Simharāja had two other sons, Chandrarāja and Govindarāja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarāja.

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijholl of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Chāhamānas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarūpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Pañchārthala* doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhāvarakta, also called Allāṭa, who was born in a family of Brāhmanas of the Vārgatika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rāṅgallikā, a village where the *Sāṁsārika* doctrine was practised. Allāṭa built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv. 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhāvaditya (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allāṭa was built by the architect Chandaśiva, a son of Virabhadra (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Āshādha of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allāṭa is (in v. 45) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the *yoga* Śubha and the *nakshatra* Hastā, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A.D. 970; for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the *Simha-sa akṛānti* took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhādrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the *nakshatra* was Hastā up to 13 h. 29 m. and the *yoga* Śubha up to 13 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar *saṁkrānti*, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.\*

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Āshādha-śudi 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:—

The king Simharāja, after having bathed at Puṣkarnatīrtha, had given the villages Simhagoshṭha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

\* The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengali character.



Isanakūpa<sup>8</sup> in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarab-kottā *vishaya*; his brother Vatsarāja the village Kardamokkhāta in the Jayapuri *vishaya*; the king Vighararāja the villages Chhatttradharā and Śamkarāṇka (verse 25); Simharāja's other sons Chandrarāja and Govindarāja two hamlets in the Paṭṭabaddhaka and Darūhakaksha *vishayas*; Dbandhuka, an official of Simharāja's the village Mayūrapadra in the Khattakūpa *vishaya*; and a certain Jayanarāja the village Kolikūpaka. Besides, fields had been given by various pious people, at Madrapurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harsha, and . . . [ka]lāvaṇapadra. And taxes on salt and on horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by the traders (?) of Śākambhari and by the horse-dealers from the north.

Of the localities in this list, to which may be added the village of Rānapallikā near Harsha, mentioned above, few have as yet been identified. Jayapura, Śākambharī and Pushkaratīrtha near Ajmere are well known. Of the rest, Rānapallikā must be the village "Ranoli," about 7 miles east of "Harasnāth" and one mile west of "Shishu;" and Nimbadikā, the village "Nimara,"  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of "Harasnāth," near a salt-lake which may have given its name to . . . [ka]lāvaṇapadra.

The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT.

$$\text{L. 1.} \quad \dots \dots \dots [\psi]^\dagger \parallel$$

सर्वविघ्नहर्त्रे नमः सुरार्चिते॥ पूर्वमेव शिष्योऽस्तनूयम् ।

भुक्तिमुक्तिपरमायंसिद्धिदं तं नमामि धर[ट] ७ - ७ ७ " - [1.]

● ● ● ● ●

2. ... [का] कुलितमाजभैः ।

सुखमानस्य मदेवै पातु उन्निपुरांतकः ॥<sup>११</sup>—[२.]

पादव्यासावसुधा समति वसुमती शेषभोगावन्मना

[वा(वा)]हृत्तेपि स[मे] - - - - -

३. — — ब्रह्मण्यः ।

भिन्नाधनं समस्तं भवति चि मुक्ते यस्य नृत्तं प्रहसते

मन्त्रिपरिषद्भागो जयति पञ्चमस्तुतविष्णुमन्त्रः ॥१०—[३.]

मये शुलं विविणमपरि दोषि [भि]लाज[पाल]

५५५

६. [भु]जगः कठिना नीलकंठे ।

नेदुत्थेयस्तिगयन मया क्वापि दृष्टो विचित्र

\* See note 79.

\* From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. B. Jacob, U. S. E., and made by Lila Han Baksh, of Jampur.

<sup>2</sup> The words broken away at the beginning were probably श्री श्री ममः शिवयः.

\* The subfarms in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain.

<sup>1</sup> The word broken away here was probably *अज्ञानम्*.

Metro: Rathodihata

<sup>12</sup> Meyer: *Singa* (Amalutubb).

<sup>18</sup> Metro Singhani.

इत्तं मौयां पञ्चसितहरः सञ्चितः पातु युधान् ॥<sup>12</sup>—[4.]  
 वेमोहतायमादिप्रहमनतलं व्यथुवाना जलोपे-  
 न्यङ्गवाणा संसि[रान्]<sup>13</sup>

1. 5. चय[व]लितजलानुकिंमालासहस्रैः ।

देयादभ्यर्धितं वः शशधरधवला स्मर्तुनी चंदमौलि-

मौलि लोला वल्लन्ती स्फुटविकटजटाव(व)भने वीरकायाः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[5.]

चंचलद्राक्तरं भुवननगनदीदीप[ि]मि[धु]-

6. [प्र]पंच

विश्वं देवासुरादिप्रमथमुनिवरैर्यजमर्च्यैः सनातनम् ।

यस्यैवायमक्तिभावादसदपि साकलं जायते शीयते च

मोव्याधो हर्षदेवो भुवनविरचनासुप्रधारोप्रमेयः ॥ —[6.]

मूनं वाणाग्निदग्धमिपुरसुररिपु-

7. [स]ितहर्षः सहर्ष-

रिद्राह्यैर्द्वयपदेः कृतनुतिनतिभिः पुञ्चमानोच शैले ।

योभुवास्वापि जयो गिरिशिखरमुवोभारतानुप्रहाय

सो<sup>15</sup> भूताद्यो निगरूपो हिमुणितभवनचंद्रमौलि, शिवाय ॥ —[7.]

निर्यदेवा[ण्ड]-

8. [भा<sup>16</sup>]ष्टानणदहनरवि शीघ्रमंभान्तसत्तं(चं)

प्रान्तज्वालापलीटदुमव(व)ल्लमधाधुमपृम्बायितायम् ।

मरंभारंभमीसखनमसमशरोच्छेदि यस्याग्रयंके

दृष्टा देवैः [स्व]रूप<sup>17</sup> किमिय[म]समये संवृतिर्वी[र्वी]भुवे[वा] ॥ —[8.]

9. देवः पुरधगव्यास्ते यमभक्तपमुवके ।

हर्षस्वातिः स हर्षाख्यो गिरिरेश<sup>18</sup> पुतातु वः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[9.]

शूरस्येदं शीघ्रं ।

मानं नो निर्वर्त[राम]ः पवहति न शुभा नंदनीधानलज्जोः

सद्व्यष्टर्णभुवामलविधिप्रह्वी नैव — —<sup>20</sup>

10. [स्त?]वाच ।

चन्दा धने तथापि श्रियमतिशयिनोमिष शैलोदितोयां

वाचाच्छेभुर्गदास्ते तदपि हि परमं कारणं ख्यतायाः ॥<sup>21</sup>—[10.]

यष्टमूर्तिर्वमव्यास्ते निवाहनविभुः सयम् ।

महिमा भूधरस्यास्य परमः कोपि — ८<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup>—[11.]

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Mandikrāñk.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 4-8: Sragdharā.

<sup>14</sup> Read ५.

<sup>15</sup> Originally सयम् was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स्.

<sup>16</sup> Originally "रा", altered to "रि".

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>18</sup> Read शूरस्येदं शीघ्रं.

<sup>19</sup> The two alaloras here broken away were perhaps शीघ्रा.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>21</sup> The word here broken away was perhaps विप्लवे.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



[illegible]





- L. 11. [एत]मुष्ण्णकांतिप्रवरतममहामण्डपाभोगमदं  
 प्रांतप्रासादमालाविरचितविकटापाण्डुपुष्पाभिरामम् ।  
 भरोः शृंगोपमानं सुवटितवृषसत्तोरणहाररम्यं  
 नानासङ्कोगदुर्लभं जयति भगवतो हर्षदेवस्य [४\*]-  
 12. [म्यम्] ॥ ११-[12.]  
 आद्यः श्रीमूषकाद्याप्रथितनरपतिराजमानान्वयोमृत\*  
 \* श्रीमन्नागा[४\*]लोकप्रवररूपसमानव्य(स्य)वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।  
 यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयो भौतलो कीर्त्तिमूर्तिः-  
 लोकेषापि स्मिरेषा प्रतपति परमैः -  
 13. ॐ — — ॐ — [मै?]: ॥ —[13.]  
 पुत्रः श्रीचंद्रराजोभयदमनपमास्तस्य तीव्रप्रतापः  
 सनुस्तथाय भूयः प्रथम इव पुनर्मूषकाव्यः प्रतापो ।  
 तस्माच्छ्रीचंदनोभूतिवतिपतिभयदस्योभरसं सदर्थं  
 जत्वा रुद्रेनभूयं सभर[भुवि]  
 14. [४\*]साद्य[न लम्बा\*] जययोः ॥ —[14.]  
 ततः परमर्तजस्त्री सदा समरजित्वरः ।  
 श्रीमान्नाकपतिराजान्वयो मञ्जाराजोभवकुतः ॥ १२-[15.]  
 येनादेन्यं सभैर्यं कथमपि दधता राजिवत्सा मुमुक्षु  
 प्रागेव चासितेभः परसि क[रि]रटङ्गिडिर्मेर्द्धु ॐ  
 15. —[३?]\*  
 वन्यज्जामर्तुराज्ञां समदमभि[४\*] हज्जामतोन्तपायं-  
 क्षापानस्तत्तपासो दिग्दिग्गमितो बुधिविषयः प्रमण्य(स्य): ॥ ११-[16.]  
 शूरसेदं ।  
 लोकैर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिचंद्रोपमो गीयते  
 त्वामेश्व[यं]जयेषु की[र्त्ति\*]-  
 16. [४\*]मला धमोक्ष यस्मोत्त(स्य)लः ।  
 येनादायि हराय मंदिरकले भक्त्या प्रभूतं वसु  
 श्रीमन्नाकपतिराजसुनुरसमः श्रीमिहाराजोभवत् ॥ ११-[17.]  
 हैमभारोपितं येन शिवस्य भवनीपरि ।  
 पूर्णचंद्रोपमं स्त्रीयं मूर्तं य[४] ॐ [[पि?]]डक[म्] ॥ ११-[18.]  
 17. — — १ । सोमरनायकं सलज्जं मैत्राधिपत्नोत्तं  
 युष्मे येन नरेन्द्रराः प्रतिदिग्गं निर्व्रा(गर्णा)शिता जिष्णुता ।

\* Meter of verses 12-14: Sargdhak.

\* Read "मृन्मू". The sibilant *m*, preceding *ṣṇ*, may possibly have been altered to *ṣ*.

\* Originally undoubtedly श्रीमन्नाग was engraved, but the sibilant *n* appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only sibilant which would suit the context appears to me to be *ṣ*; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.

\* This word, for which Dr. Hill has read *वरेन सुदः*, is quite clear and distinct in the original.

\* Meter: Sika (Anushtubh).

\* This sibilant might possibly be read *ṣ*.

\* The lower portion of this sibilant is not quite

distinct.

\* Meter: Sargdhak.

\* Meter: Sargdhak.

\* Meter: Sika (Anushtubh).

\* The word, here broken away, was probably either *शिव*

or *इतर*.

कारावेग्रमनि भूरयच विहृतास्तावन्नि यावद्भूते  
तन्मुत्तमार्थमुपागतो रघुकुलो भुवक्रवर्त्तो स्वयम् ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[19.]

श्रीमा-

L. 18. [न्वि]षजरातोभूतकुतो वामवोपमः ।

वंशलक्ष्मीलंवशीच येनैते विधुरोद्भूते ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[20.]

श्रीमिह्वराजराजिता किल चितयतो भोगेव संप्रति विभुनेतु कौ समेति ।

येनात्मवा(वा)द्युगले चिरसन्निवासं संधीरितेति ददता निज-

19.

[रा]ज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[21.]

येन दुष्टदमनेन सञ्जतः साधिताखिलमहो स्ववा(वा)द्युभिः ।

लोचयेव वज्रवर्त्तनो कृता किङ्करोव निजपादयोस्तले ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[22.]

यस्य चारु चरितं सतां सदा मृण्वता जमति कोर्त्तितं जनैः ।

हृष्टिजातघनरोमक-

20.

ॐ —<sup>२०</sup> जायते तनुरत्नं मृदुभृङ्गः ॥ —[23.]

मुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः पतरत्नतुरगैश्चरुस्त्र्यंशु मर्त्यैः

कर्पूरैः पूगपूरैः सलयतस्वरैर्हंसभारैरुषारैः ।

उदाहानैः समानेचलकुलगिरिभिर्हन्तिवारैः सदरै-

श्चिर्व्याजैः प्रातिर —

21.

ॐ ॐ भिरिति भूतैः प्राभूतैर्यः सिधेवे ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[24.]

छत्रधारारवराधामो द्वितीयः संकराणकः [१<sup>०</sup>]

तेनेमो जयना[धाय] [भ]क्त्या दत्तो मजासनी ॥<sup>२०</sup>—[25.]

श्रीमद्भक्तभराजेन योगेन विभूषितः [१<sup>०</sup>]

लक्षणनेव जाकुत्स्यो विष्णुनेव जलायुधः ॥ —[26.]

22. [महा<sup>०</sup>]राजावलो चासौ संभुमन्त्रिगुणोदया ।

श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवीश्यास्तथाह्वयः कुलकमः ॥ —[27.]

धनंतयोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित श्रीसरेख(ख)रः ।

पंचार्चलाकुलाभाये<sup>०</sup> विष्णुरूपोभवद्भूः ॥ —[28.]

दोषाजातमलव्यविस्फुरद्वा-<sup>०</sup>

23.

[मनि<sup>०</sup>]शैलः ।

प्रमस्ताखीभवच्छिखस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृतो ॥ —[29.]

भा[व]<sup>०</sup>रजो[भ]वत्तस्य सिधो दिनामतोदयः ।

वार्मटिकान्वयोद्भूतमहिमकुलसंभवः [१<sup>०</sup>] —[30.]

हर्षस्वामवतो घामः प्रसिद्धो राष्ट्रपटिका ।

सामारिककुलाभायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्गमः [१<sup>०</sup>] —[31.]

<sup>२०</sup> Metre: Śardūlavijayita.

<sup>२१</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuśtup: bh).

<sup>२२</sup> Metre: Vasantika.

<sup>२३</sup> Metre of verses 21 and 23: Rathoddhak.

<sup>२४</sup> The two aksharas here broken away, were probably

१२१-

<sup>२५</sup> Metre: Śardūlavijayita.

<sup>२६</sup> Metre of verses 25—32: Śloka (Anuśtup: bh).

<sup>२७</sup> One would expect to read here पंचार्चलाकुलाभाये, and I believe that the akshara ay has been altered to e already in the original.

<sup>२८</sup> Read "संविष्टमुरद्वा".

<sup>२९</sup> Originally वि, but apparently altered to व.



L. 24. अष्टादशना नदी शिवासहस्रितिकमः ।

श्रीहर्षाराधने नूनं स्वयं सर्वमवातरत् ॥ —[32.]

शास्त्रात् त्र(त्र)प्रचारी दिगमलपवनः संवतात्मा तपस्वी

श्रीहर्षाराधने कव्यसनगुह्यमतिस्वतंत्रसारमोहः ।

शासीयो लब्ध(ध)ज्या भवतर[णधि]दां —

— [दी?] सुव(व)सु-

25.

स्तेनदं धर्मविपत्तैः सुघटितविकटं कारितं हर्षहर्म्यम् ॥ —[33.]

धर्मचंद्रांकशैले गगनपथसिद्धोत्तुंगदुर्गप्रमेयं

हर्म्यं श्रीहर्षनामप्रदितपश्यतेः सद्भिमानो[प]मानम् ।

दृष्ट्वा सद्भिगुह्यं व(व)हृत्तुभवनं कारितं येन

26.

नामाधं किंचिदस्ति स्फुटमिति तपसी निःस्वार्था प्रतीनाम् ॥ —[34.]

शासीवैदिकरूपो यो दीप्तपाद्यपतव्रतः ।

ती[त्र]वेगतपोजातपुष्पापुष्पमल्लयः ॥ —[35.]

सदा शिवसमाकारस्तस्यैश्वरसमद्युतेः ।

भावयोतोभवच्छिष्यः संदीपितपु-

27.

[सक?]मः ॥ —[36.]

सुरोराजामयं प्राप्य प्रतितामोः शिवालयम् ।

यथाप्रारब्ध(ध)कार्याणामंगीकृतमरोभवत् ॥ —[37.]

पुरस्तात्पर्वतस्थाचक्षितयं येन कारितम् ।

मत्कपो वाटिका दिव्या मोप्रपा घटितोपलैः ॥ —[38.]

मदैव वदमानेन कृपेन स्नादुधारिणा ।

वाटिकानेच-

28.

... प्रभाभरणन्तथा ॥ —[39.]

सत्पुष्पैरर्चनं गर्भोः पयःपानं गवामपि ।

कार्यदयमिदं सारं दर्शितं पुष्पकाञ्चिनाम् ॥ —[40.]

दिसंव(व)रं जटा भस्मा तस्य च विपुलं मही ।

भिन्ना वृत्तिः करः पार्श्वं यस्यैतानि परिधत् ॥ —[41.]

शिवभवनपु-

29.

— — — [पा?]रं यदासीत्तदखिलसुपनीचेः पूरयित्वा गभीरम् ।

समतलसुखगम्यं प्रागद्य तेन कांतं सद्यन्तरशिलाभिः कारितं सं(व)धयित्वा ॥ —[42.]

वीरभ[द्र]सुतः श्वातः सूतधारी च चंडसिव<sup>a</sup> ।

विश्वकर्षाव सर्वज्ञो वासुविद्या[म]-

— — — [॥<sup>k</sup>] —[43.]

[वि]न निश्चितमिदं मनोहरं शंकरस्य भवनं समं हयम् ।

<sup>a</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Singūharā.

<sup>b</sup> Metre of verses 35-41: Śloka (Anuśtubh).

<sup>c</sup> Originally मन्त्र, altered to मन्त्र.

<sup>d</sup> Metre: Mallar.

<sup>e</sup> This word is perfectly clear in the impressions and cannot possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both the metre and grammar.

<sup>f</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuśtubh).

[म]खेदेवमयचाकतीरणं स्वर्गखंडमिव वेधसा खयम् ॥<sup>22</sup>—[44.]

संगाधरवरभवने कार्त्तिकसीकसुतेन भजेन ।

अक्रियतेयं सुगमा यथास्तिरिह धीरनारीन ॥<sup>23</sup>—[45.]

यावच्छो —

31. — ७ ७ ममुरनदीचदलेखापतित्वं  
यावज्जीर्णैरारैरसि विलसति द्योतते कौमुभं च ।  
सायसौ याव[दा]स्ते सततमुपनता प्रेयसी ब्र[ह्म]ह्मणीन्  
कैलासाकारमेतत्तपसु भवनं हर्षदेवस्य तावत् ॥<sup>24</sup>—[46.]  
थ . .

32. \* [ज]लः शंभुः कथं कालख्य मीचरः ।  
हर्षानिर्घोषकालस्तु यथादृष्टो निघ[व]धते ॥<sup>25</sup>—[47.]  
संवत् १०१३ पाषाडशदि १३ शंभोः प्रसादमिति ॥ ३३ ॥  
जातेन्द्रा[व्य]नां सप्तमे त्रिगुणनयुते सिंहराशौ मतेजं  
शुक्ला वामोक्तु[ती]—

33. [श]श्वकरसङ्घिता सोमवारण तथाम् ।  
आदिष्टः शंभुनामौ [ध्रुव]ममलपदं दिक्नुना श्वसत्वं[च]  
लखा[व्य]वेदेहमः<sup>26</sup> शिवभवनमभिप्रम्विती छाडटोय ॥ ३४ ॥<sup>27</sup>—[48.]  
समिति । संवत् १०३० पाषाडशदि १५ निरुद्धं ययालख[व्य]शामना[मा] . .

34. शैव लिखते । महराजाधिराजयोमिहराजः स्वभोगे तृणकूपकदादशके भिन्नगोष्ठे ।<sup>28</sup>  
तथा पटव[व]दकविषये चै[ल]लककेगानकूपौ ।<sup>29</sup> सरकोटविषये कण्ठपल्लिकामिव प्रामांश्चतुर-  
यंद्रांशमिच्छरीपरि . . . [अ]—

35. मवते श्रीहर्षदेवाय पुण्ड्रिहनि श्रीमत्पुष्करतीर्थे स्नात्वा सपनाचनविनिपनोपहारयुदीपपञ्च-  
यासीकवाथमा शमांकतपनाणवस्त्रितेर्यावच्छासनत्वेन प्रददौ : तदैतद्वाता श्रीवत्सराज  
स्वभोगावाप्तजय[पु]रविष[१]—

36. ये कहेमयातयाममदाच्छासनेन । तथा श्रीवत्सराजेन शासनदत्तामहयमुपरिलिखित-  
मास्ते । तथा श्रीमिहराजाकजौ श्रीचंद्रराजयोमीन्द्रराजौ शभोगावाप्तपटव[व]दकविषये ।<sup>30</sup>  
दभेकचविषये] . .

37. [श]मण्येन स्वहस्तांकितशामनौ [स्ट] . . . [ट]के घाटकद्वयपल्लिकाशामी भक्त्या वितेरतु ।  
श्रीमिहराजीवदुःसाध्यधीधुक्कः स्वहृत्पविषये स्वभुज्यमानमयूरप[ट]धामं साम्बनुमतः  
प्रदत्तवान् । . . . .

38. हिलाकज. श्रीजयनराजः<sup>31</sup> स्वभुज्यमानकीलिकूपकधामं भक्त्या हर्षदेवाय शासनेन दत्तवान् ॥<sup>32</sup>  
तथा समस्तश्रीभक्त्य[ट]रेखा शाकंभयी लवणकूटकं प्रति विमोपकमेकं दत्तं । तद्योत्तराप  
श्रीयत्तेडाविकानो[म] . . . .

<sup>22</sup> Meter: Bathodharā.

<sup>23</sup> Meter: Kṛyā.

<sup>24</sup> Meter: Singdharā.

<sup>25</sup> Meter: Shika (Anantakṣh).

<sup>26</sup> Meter: Singdharā.

<sup>27</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>28</sup> The sign of annexure of the last shikha is doubtful.

<sup>29</sup> Originally श्रीवत्सराज, altered to श्रीवत्सराजः.

L. 39. [च]ो[ट]कं प्रति द्रुम एको दत्तः (॥) पुष्पात्मभिर्देवानि देवमुज्ज्वमानवेक्षाणि यथा । म[हा]-  
पुरिकायां पि[प]लवलिक्वालेन निम्ब[व]डिका[या]म दमर्टिकालेन मरुपल्लिकायां [भा]-  
टके[स्त्र] [ह]यं लाटकेन . . . . .

40. . . . [क]लावणपट्टे मेकल्लेन तयाचैव दिहलिकान[दि]सोमके वृहद्वलमिति ॥

सर्वानितान्भावितो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो वाचते रामभद्रः ।

सामान्दीयं चन्द्रमेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि [॥<sup>३१</sup>]—[49.]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om!]

[Om! Adoration to Śiva!]

(Verse 1.) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gaṇānana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2.) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is<sup>30</sup> . . . . . with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods!

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati<sup>31</sup>, the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position; [for] the earth, resting on Śeṣha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky] with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4.) "A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish; the ornament . . . . .; a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat; nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture;"—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gauri, guard you!

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (god), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair;—may she grant your petitions!

(6.) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals!

(7.) May the moon-crested (god), who in the form of the Linga has (here) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness; he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (and) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha<sup>32</sup> stayed on (these) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhārata<sup>33</sup>!

(8.) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening

<sup>30</sup> *Metre*: Śālid.

<sup>31</sup> The missing portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is despatched by the demons.

<sup>32</sup> *i.e.* Śiva.

<sup>33</sup> *i.e.* 'joy.'

<sup>34</sup> *i.e.* Bhārata, or India.



the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (and) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(V. 9.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (and) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you!

A hero speaks the following verse:—

(10.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11.) Since the eight-formed (*ṣoḍ*), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (and) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇdu by reason of the court-yards<sup>84</sup> which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gūvaka, of the Chāhamāna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgas and the rest<sup>85</sup>; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great . . . . .

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarāja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gūvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(15.) After him came his son, the Mahārāja named Vākpatirāja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(16.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapāla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quitted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums . . . . . (?)<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word *vikṣip* its meaning is not clear in mss. *Vikṣip* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court-yard and a female, related somehow to the Pāṇjavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that *Vikṣip* is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhṛitaraṣṭra.

<sup>85</sup> See note 36, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

<sup>86</sup> I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original. *Tṛdaitāḥ* might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants.' The word *abhināḥ* (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr. Mill's translation of the second line is: 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war elephants.'

A hero speaks :—

(17.) Vākpatirāja's peerless son was the illustrious Śimharāja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Hariścandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18.) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (ṛ), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19.) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavana, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (*princes*) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.<sup>47</sup>

(20.) His son was the illustrious Vigharāja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21.) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Śimharāja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22.) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23.) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24.) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons; with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold; and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhatradhārā and Śaṅkarānaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabharāja, as Rāma was by Lakshmana, and as Halāyudha is by Viṣṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Sambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarūpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the *Pañchārthas*.<sup>48</sup>

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

<sup>47</sup> The following verse shows more clearly that Śimharāja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Rāma (or Viṣṇu).

<sup>48</sup> This verse contains the two words *uttareśvara* and *pañchārthas*, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from *uttareśvara* which we have in *Uttareśvara-tīrtha*, the name of a Tirtha, and *Uttareśvarādharma*, the name of a *Lāṅga*, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. *Pañchārthas* is evidently equivalent to *pañchārthika*, which occurs in line 6 of the Tower stone inscription of Gujjarādeva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the *Sarvadharma-saṅgraha*, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.



(Fe. 30 and 31.) His disciple was Bhāvarakta, also called<sup>20</sup> Allāṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brāhmins belonging to the Vārghaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rānapallikā, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the *Sāmsārikas*.<sup>21</sup>

(32.) In Allāṭa surely Nandin<sup>22</sup> himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha.

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities; whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world; who as soon as he was born was a dear friend ..... of those eager to cross (*the sea of*) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people.

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (*god*) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish.

(35 and 36.) Of him, resplendent like Īśvara, the disciple was Bhāvadyota, always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (*spiritual*) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Pāśupata ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds.

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced.

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone.

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up ..... and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Śaṃblu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish.

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants.

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense .... which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (*work*) was Chandaśiva, the famed son of Virabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses .....

(44.) He built this delightful house of Śaṃkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> This apparently is the meaning of *deśinmāṣa*, which does not occur elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out.

<sup>22</sup> An attendant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides.

<sup>23</sup> In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr. Deen speaks of a doorway relieved by an architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.



(V. 45.) Dhīranāga, the pious son of the *karaṇika*<sup>17</sup> Thīruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gangādihara. †

(46.) As long as Śambhu owns . . . . . the river of the gods and the moon's crescent, as long as Lakshmi sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura's foe,<sup>18</sup> as long as Gāyatri abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kailāsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth!

(47.) . . . . . how should Śambhu come within the range of time? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1018, on the 13th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,<sup>19</sup> and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the *yoga*) Śubha and (the *nakṣatra*) Hasta, on a Monday,<sup>20</sup>—then that Allāṭa, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.<sup>21</sup>—

May it be well!

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to<sup>22</sup> the 15th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the year 1030:—

The *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Simharāja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratīrtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harsha-deva on the hill of the moon-decorated (*god Harsha*), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, viz. Simhagoshṭha in the Tūnakūpa group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Iśānakūpa<sup>23</sup> in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kanhapallikā in the Sarahkoṭṭa *vishaya*, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (*the god*), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarāja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *vishaya* which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,<sup>24</sup> were given by deed by the illustrious Vighnarāja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simharāja, the illustrious Chandrarāja and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . . two hamlets<sup>25</sup> . . . . in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya* (and) the Darbhakakaka *vishaya* which they had become possessed of.

<sup>17</sup> i.e. a writer of legal documents.

<sup>18</sup> i.e. Vishnu.

<sup>19</sup> i.e. in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.

<sup>20</sup> The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.

<sup>21</sup> I take *saideha* as an abstract noun, derived from *saideha* 'bodiless.'

<sup>22</sup> The word of the original, so translated, is *śraaddham*, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.

<sup>23</sup> The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.

<sup>24</sup> See above, verse 25.

<sup>25</sup> Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word *pāṭaka* here differs from that of *pallikā*. On *pāṭaka* see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 156.

The illustrious Simharāja's *duṣṣādhyā*,<sup>22</sup> the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayūrapadra which he possessed in the Khaṭṭakūpa *viśaya*.

The illustrious Jayanarāja, the son of . . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikūpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one *vinṭopaka* on every *kāṭaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . . .<sup>23</sup> at Śākambhari.

And one *dramma* on every horse was assigned by the . . . . . of horse-dealers<sup>24</sup> from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrapurikā a *pippalavālikā*<sup>25</sup> field, at the village of Nimbadikā a *darbhāṭikā* field, at Marupallikā a *jhōṭa* field, at Harsha a *lāṭa* field, at . . . . . [ka]-lāvaṇapadra a *sekyaka* field; likewise here at . . . . .<sup>26</sup> a big plough of land.

(Verse 49.) Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

## IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLI.

By PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archaeological Survey officers of the Panjāb circle at diverse places in the former *Sūba* of Dihlī.

### I.—JHAJJHAR (جھجھر; in inscr. No. 5 جھجھر).

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in the Rohtak District. It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dihlī. The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dihlī, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers. Many ruins testify its later importance. In 657 A.H. it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nuṣrat Khān (*Taḥ. Nōḥ*, p. 274); in 756 Firōz Shāh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 *krōḥ* (Firishta, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the *Ala-t-Akhbarī* it is registered with 128,417 *biḡhas*, 1,422,451 *dāms*, *Soyūrgāh* 306,461 *dāms*, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghāns and Jats. In A. H. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abu'l Ma'āl, who was set free from his confinement at

<sup>22</sup> This word apparently denotes an office. In other inscriptions we find *duṣṣādhyāśāhī*.

<sup>23</sup> The word here left untranslated is *śāmasaka-dēṭā* about the reading of which there is no doubt. *Dēṭā* apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Feroza inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes 'a guild' and in that case *śāmasaka* should denote a class of traders. For *vinṭopaka* see *vinṭopaka*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 106. *Kāṭaka* probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).

<sup>24</sup> The original has *bolḍika* instead of *bolḍika*, which occurs in the *Mitākhar* on Yājñavalkya II, 30.

<sup>25</sup> The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.

<sup>26</sup> The words here omitted I do not understand.



Bayāna by Khān Khānān, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A.D., but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kālī Masjid, now in the house of Mardān 'Alī Shāh Bhattān in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines:—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له مثله في الجنة  
بنا كرد اين مسجد مجلس عالي خان اعظم بركزيده رحمان مربي جهان  
دارد خان بن مغفور مرحوم ملك الشرق عمه الدرله والدين ملك ميلان افغان  
سلمه الله عن التحدث و تزج ثوابه بتاج الزمان الخامس والعشرين من رمضان سنة تسع و تسعين  
و سبعمائة

"The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says,—'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, will have built for him a house like it by Allāh in Paradise.'"

"This mosque has been built by the high *Majlis*, the great Khān, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—

"Dāūd Khān, the pardoned deceased son of the Malik Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Waddīn Malik Miyān, the Afghān;—

"May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazān 790 [22nd June 1397]."

The date falls in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 304.

2. Over the *mīhrāb* of the Bāzārwallī mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
في زمانة عمدة الخلافت باسط العدل و رافت جلال الدين  
محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بناء مسجد سلخته مكرمه  
و محسنه بيك لطباع ثواب زمينخان فرمايش سرکار خراج كتور  
في التاريخ السابع والعشرين ٢٧ من شهر رجب رجب قدره سنة سبعين تسعمائة ٩٧٠

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar *Rōdīshāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

<sup>1</sup> Here, at Strasburg, I am unable to refer to the *Tārīkh-i-Badāʿunī*, the *Jawāydrūdāna*, the *Miftāḥ attawārīk*, Stewart's *History of Bengal* and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, *kasras* or *tashdeeds*, the poetry excepted; but I have omitted the signs of the short vowels and the *fasmas* which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found, I have consulted Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To Dr. S. Landense I am obliged for his kind assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.



reign! the erection of the honoured

"And beautiful mosque, the lady over natures (?), has been made by the *Nawāb* Rūmī Khān, governor of the *sarkār* Khwāj Katōr (?).

"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]."

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rūmī Khān, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the *Āla* (No. 111, p. 424), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rūmī Khān Ustād Jalāl.<sup>1</sup>

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shāh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 19", bearing the six lines:—

براه حق وحد ابدی چو داد      بد این مسجد را عزم انقاد  
بدین شه جلال الدین اکبر      که ایام بکام او مقرب داد  
چو کس برسد بدین توان نو کتب      محمد روست ابراهیم دلشاد  
یقین از هدم است با زمان حق      که خاطر خستگل می سازد ایاد  
تخصیص انک با قطب زمانه      بر خدمت بیا می آرد استاد  
چو مقصد جهانست بده شاه      خدایا بر او را جاردان داد  
که نه صد بود عزیز شصت رده و پنج      شهر رمضان که آنرا کوه بلیاد  
رحم الله علی محمد  
ز هفت خواسم اتمم تاریخ      ندانم جاد سیده فیض نه داد

۹۷۶

Metre: *Hasnā*.

"When God the only one, put away (*my*) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

"In the time of the king Jalāl addīn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (*also*) is happy through him.

"He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.

"To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters.

"As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!

"When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazān that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muḥammad!

<sup>1</sup> *Liqā'at* has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps *afād* is to be read and *Bīg-ya* (i.e. *Bīg-i*) *afād* synonymous with *dergāh khānāra*—Bāhar's *Memoirs*, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *Katōr* is somewhat doubtful; the word may be *Ganaur* or *Kanaur*, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known *sarkārs* of the Moghul empire. The more strange use of *formāyīd* occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.

<sup>3</sup> More famous was the homonymous *emīr dīsh* of Hunyūn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chanik by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sultān Bahādur of Gajardī, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sultān Bahādur's parrot in Khān Khān's *Muntakhab al-lubāb*. The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persian Shāhs, a fact that Shāh Tahmāsp I. in vain attempts to deny in his *Memoirs* (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassburg, Trübner).

'From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me 'já (-gi) *sijda fayz da'* (Bestow a place of adoration), 976.' [Ramazán 976 began on the 17th February 1560]."

The words of the *tirikh* give only 975. The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand. I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4. Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miyán Raib to the south of the Bazarwalli Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19" by 15", bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings; it is no more used for religious purposes.

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

واشهد ان محمداً عبده ورسوله

كرد بقاء عمارت مسجد ميدان رايب بن پياره

في التاريخ عشر من شهر (sic) ذي الحجة

سنة ٩٨٩ قمرانيش ميدان داره

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;

"And I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyán Raib, son of Piyāra, on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,

"In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (was) Miyán Dāūd."

5. The graveyard of Miyán Raib is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buzwalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27" by 13") bears the following inscription of four lines; the lettering is very poor:—

بقرری شاه اکبر گز عدالت مبارکه تلج جهان را

ساختن [٤] چون دین بپایر محیر میدان رايب ابن پياره

قصبة پير نور حجر طاعت کيان [٤] همرا

سنة الف الف الله (sic) ماه رمضان محمد بولکياره اولتجی [٤] .....

"In the time of Shah Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world

"Miyán Raib, son of Piyāra,

"The town full of light, Jhajhar, is the repose of all nobles;

"In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazán [began the 21st May 1594] . . . ."

The marble gravestone itself measures 3' 8" by 10½". It contains the *Kalima* and the words *qabr-i-Miyān Raib*; round the open middle space runs the *Fātiha*. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved 'چه آمد برقت' 'Whatever came has gone'.

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd as-Samad, half a mile east of the town near the Buzwalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21" by 17"), containing the following six lines:—

خوش رواجست دین اسلامي در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین

یا الهي باده سال عزاز عدل و انصاف استوار ملین

Of the ford of Bābā Piyāra on the river Narmadā, *Epigraph. Ind.*, p. 231.



مرد مسجد بنی اسمعیل      این را ایب که ارست طالب دین  
 سال تاریخ از خرد جسم      خردم رهنمون هزار و عشرين  
 گوشه شنی تقدیر عبدالصمد      این مکن که قرع عباسین  
 از طفیلی محمد عربی      دین داران بر روضه خلد برین

**Metre : Khafif.**

"In a good career is the faith of Islām in the time of the king Nûraddīn (Jahāngir) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

"This masjid has been built by Ism'atī Īrah Rāib, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (*said*) to me '1020' [began 10th March 1611].

"(I), a hermit, the poor 'Abd as-Samad, the son of Mankan, who belongs to the family of the 'Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muḥammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

In No. 11 'Abd as-Samad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khān in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12½", are two lines, and flower arabesques:—

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله  
 تاريخ دروازه رستم خان ابن محمد خان سربانی سنه ۱۰۲۹

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sarbani (is) 1029' [began 8th December 1619].

"Jahāngir elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khān; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarāt. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwās, after he had abandoned the services of the rebel Prince Shāhjahān. *Iqbāl, Jah. 209, Waq'āt-i Jah. in Elliot's History, vol. VI, p. 388.*"

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4' 7½" by 9", is an inscription of two lines; (not *in situ*):—

بدر جهانگیر شاه جهان      تد این روضه پر نور حسن شهید  
 تاریخ این روضه دار کسی      هزار و سی و پنج سالش کشید

**Metre: Mutaqārib.**

"In the time of Jahāngir, the king of the world, this light tomb of Ḥasan Shāhid has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhānwāla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4' 11" by 8½", contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are



missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

نهایت خرابی جبر . .  
که عاقبت تر زشافان جهانت  
که در زمین بمثلش بی نهالت

بسم الف و پنه رمی . .  
(مرتّب شد عمارت) بقاریخ نعم از ماه رجب

Metre: *Mujass.*

"By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

"Kalāl Khān has built this high mosque in the time of Shāhjahān, the refuge of men.

"It was in the year 1030 [began the 21st August 1620]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security."

## II.—PĀNIPAT.

Pānīpat lies to the north of Dīhli, as the *Akbarnāma* (II, 35) says 30, according to the *Munt. allub.* (I, 50) 40, *krōḥa* distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the *dēbris* of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muḥammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bābar, in his *Memoirs*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Timūr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bābar met Ibrāhīm Lōdī near Pānīpat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of Pānīpat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sultān Muḥammad Anghulī, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Tārīkh-i-sulāṭīn-i-Afghānā*; Elliot's *History*, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khān Zamān, conquered Hēma on the same field. On account of these victories Jahāngīr, in his *Tuzag*, speaks of Pānīpat as of a place "which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors" (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnāl, by the rebel Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrā. When Nādir Shāh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pānīpat. In A.D. 1761 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī gained there his great victory over the Marāṭhas.

The *Asā* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 *bighas*, its revenues were 10,756,647 *dāms*, 3,540, 632 *say dāms*, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghāns, Gūjars and Ranghars. Two learned men born at Pānīpat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamān, author of a commentary on the *Laws* and other excellent works (Badāunī, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Husan (*Asā*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hāfiz Jamāl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (3' 8" by 13½") which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots:—

امر بنا هذه العمارة في عهد السلطان المعظم علاء الدين ابن المظفر  
مسعود شاه سلطان د حلد ملكه ... بركه مركب مطهر منصور علاء بدر الدولة والدين [ ابن ]  
مسعود الامراء بيلال السرب ( ؟ ) . . . مرجح ( ؟ ) السلطاني ابن الملك ... في المنصف من سواد  
سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة



"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign . . . . . of Pargana Munk, Muzaffar Manşûr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddin,

"(son) of the chief of the Amirs, *Pahlawân ashsharq* . . . , the defunct, the royal—may God increase his . . . .!—in the middle of Shawwâl 643" [began the 19th February 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ûd Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Firôz Shâh and succeeded Bahrâm Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title *Badr addin*, which Malik Badr addin Sunqar-i-Rûmî (put to death in 639) had before him (*Tab. Nâs* 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuṣrat Khân Sunqar-i-Sûfî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, e.g. in the *Riyâz as-salâṭin*, p. 284—Malik Sunqar-i Sûfî must have been named Badr addin, but in the reign of Maḥmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a *persona grata* than under Mas'ûd, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Muḥazzab addin to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amirs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the *Ṭabaqât-i Nâsiri* among the Shamsi Maliks, for Minhâj addin gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Maḥmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

*Pargana Munk* has been identified by General Cunningham (*Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicæa of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the *Ain*, but it occurs once in the *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.\*

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addin in the east of Panipat is a sandstone slab (2' 8½" by 19") bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached:—

باني این عمارت فیروز محمد لطف اللہ افغان بانی الخیر در عهد سلطان السلاطین  
سکندر شاه بابل شاه سلطان بکر باری تعالی توفیق یافت تا بنید حظیرہ بندگی شیخ  
المشایخ والایاد شیخ جلال الحق والشرح والدین قدس اللہ سرہ  
العزیز برورد بتاریخ درم ماه شوال سنہ اربع و تسعمایہ

"The builder of this edifice is Firôz Muḥammad Luṭṭfallâh, the Afghân. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alḥaq washahar' waddin—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwâl, 904" (13th May 1499).

\* Buznae Nicomeneus has overlooked the fact that Ziyâ al Mulk is mentioned several times in the *Akbarnâma*, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the *Ain* Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farîd Bukhârî; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abû Nâsir were sent as ambassadors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became *bakhshîgar* of the army sent against Bir Singh Dêv Bundâlâ, the murderer of Abû-l-Faiz. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 500 horse. The *Ain* names him only as a chief of 330.



The words *Bānt-yi in khair* in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pānpatī should be read, written پانی پتی). In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalāl addīn. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shāh Lōdī's reign.

### III.—SEWĀH.

14. In Sewāh, 4 miles south of Pānpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bāyazīd. A sandstone, measuring 13" by 9", over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines:—

بنا لمحمد کبیر سید بایزید شهید  
بلورک نیت ساکنی موضع سراء  
سنه ۴ تریح سنه

"The dome of Sayyid Bāyazīd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewāh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar."

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahānshāh's reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabi' al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt. al-ahb.* II, 737.

### IV.—SONPAT (سرپات 'سرپتی' 'سرپتی').

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Āin* it is registered with 283,299 *bighas*, 7,727,323 *dāms*, 775,105 *say. dāms*, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghāns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Naṣir 'Abdallāh ibn Ahmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khān, son of 'Alā addīn Muhammad Khiljī, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭūta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Naṣir, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dillī road, is a sandstone slab (7' 6" by 17") which bears an inscription<sup>a</sup> of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy:—

تجدد هذه العماره المسجد المباركه المسموه فى نوبه السلطان الاعظم بالله فى العالم حجاب الدنيا والدين  
بالعلم بالله الرحمن ابوالمظفر دلس السلطان  
ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الصعيف ميردك من ابي بيك مقطع سرندت  
من الفاروق نوردهم من مبارك رحمت عظم الله حرمته سنة ستين و ست مائه

"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, *Ghiyāth addunyā waiddīn*, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

<sup>a</sup> See the facsimile No. 1 on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.



I.—SONPAT INSCRIPTION OF GHIYÁS AD-DÍN BALBÁN, A.H. 670.



MS. 12-10014a

II.—ONE SIDE OF A PILLAR AT SONPAT, A.H. 884.



MS. 12-10014b

III.—MAHIM INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 949.



Chulav, Buzass, Impress

MS. 12-10014c





Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave Mir Beg, son of Āi Beg, the *mughī* of Sonpat. Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670" [13th February 1371].

Three other inscriptions of Balban's time are extant: the first from Barwāla, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Gahmukhtēsar in the Mirat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dihlī*, p. 136); and the third from Sakhtī in sarkār Qanauj, 684 A.H. (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1874, May, p. 104").

16. In a part of the graveyard of Imām Naṣir a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences. Its dimensions are 6' 2½" by 1' 3½" by 10½". It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls. The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome *Ta'aliq*; round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters. As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends. That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, viz. the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of Bahlāl Lōdī.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzeb, and that it is the tomb of some Pir Yūsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself. The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head; it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts. Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten. This beautiful object should be protected.

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre: *Ramāl*):—

گر سراجند قدرت تو بر افلاک بود      عبادت ز بر خشت خال بود

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راست کن کار خود امروز که عمرت پنداست      که جو آن فر شودت عمر بود کار تو راست

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished."

Both sides contain two *Rubā'is* each:—

قائمی (اسول دین) کم و کاست کنی      از مغرب ساهه نغمه در شراست کنی  
اهنگ نوای عین کم کنی که لعل      چندان نگذار که نفس راست کنی

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

"Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban, viz. at Kōh, or 'Allgarh, A.H. 682, and at Manglaur in taluk Buhā, A. H. 683; see A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudā*, pages 2 and 17.—Ed. E. J.

"See the facsimile No. II of the right side of this stone on the plate.

"O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready."

گر کار برسم صلب هوش کلی      زبدا سخنان اهل دل گوش کلی  
با کس نکلی بدی و نسبت بقوکس      هر چند بدی کند فراموش کلی

"If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise."

"Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it."

خوش آنکه بآئین مروت کیشی      راحت رسد از روی بدلی درویشی  
از خلقی نگر همیشه با خلقی خدای      نیکی کند و عرص بوجود زیشی

"Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet."

"He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them."

خواری از صغری قفا پیوستن      در ملک بقا رسیدن و آسودن  
باید سخت بد کرد و گری جوخمش      خاموشی تو بقدر باید بودن

"If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

"Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind."

On the top are inscribed the *Kalima, Qorân, Sûra II, 256*, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the Imâm Nasir, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. P. G. Dulmerick gives some information in the *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwāja Khizr's tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines:—

مرتب شد عمارت دهلیز حظیره میان خواجه خضر بن دیرا خان سرزانی رحمة الله علیهما يوم الاثنين  
الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة ثمان عشرين

و تعمیمة فی عهد السلطان العادل البادل الائق بنایید الرحمن ابوالمظفر ابراهیم شاه بن اسکندر شاه  
بن بهارل سلطان و سلطانه خلد لتفاد<sup>12</sup>

"The portico of the tomb of Miyan Khwāja Khizr, son of Daryā Khān Shirwānī—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th Shawwāl, 928 [7th September 1522].

"In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Iskandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"

<sup>12</sup> The second last words are uncertain.



18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 5½" by 11". It runs—

بِعِزِّ اللَّهِ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَفَضْلِهِ عَمَّارَتِ كَلْبَدِ ابْنِ حَظِيظٍ بِلْدُنِي مِيَّانِ مُعَظَّمٍ وَكَرِيمِ مِيَّانِ خِرَاجَةِ خَظَرِ  
مَرْحُومِ مَغْفُورِ بْنِ دُرَا خَانَ بْنِ شَيْخِ الْمَشَايِخِ شَيْخِ لَمْعِدِ بْنِ مَلِكِ الْمَشَايِخِ شَيْخِ مَلِكُوغِي هَرَوِشِ شِيرَوَانِي  
عَلَيْهِمُ الرِّحْمَةُ وَالْعَفْوَ

مَقْطَعُ قَبْرِ سُلَيْمَانَ مَرْحُومِ حَضْرَتِ سُلْطَانِ السُّلْطَانِيْنِ مَعْمُودِ قَرَامِدِ السَّلَامِ وَالدِّينِ قُلُّ اللَّهِ فِي الْعَالَمِيْنَ  
الرَّائِقِ يَذَلِيْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ [ابن] الْمُظَفَّرِ اِبْرَاهِيْمِ شَاهِ بْنِ سَكَنْدَرِ شَاهِ بْنِ بَهْلُولِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ خَلْدِ مَلِكِ وَ سُلْطَانِ تَمَامِ قَدِ  
بِهَرْمَايشِ لَقَرِ خَانَ خَظَرِ مَرِيَّاتُزْدَهَمِ مَاهِ رَجَبِ رَجَبِ قَدْرِهِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِيْنَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ

"With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miyan Khwāja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryā Khān, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Ahmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandūkī Darwesh of Shirwān—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

"The *muqṭa*' of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islām and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhlāl Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khān Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930" [19th May 1524].<sup>12</sup>

19. Over the central outer arch of a small *masjid* in the *sarāf* near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21" by 13"), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house:—

بَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ يَا عَامِرُ أَنْفَرِ زُنُوْبِي (sic) يَا إِلَهَ

ابْنِ حَظِيظٍ الشَّعْرَانِيِّ بَرَادَرِ مُحَمَّدِ خَانَ اَنْفَرَانِ مَقْطَعُ قَدْرِهِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِيْنَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ رَاسِبِ كَلْبَدِ بَرِ عَمِدِ بَابِزِ مَلِكِشَاهِ هَرَمِ مَاهِ  
مَرْحُومِ سَدِّعِ نَقْدِي وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ

"O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!

This tomb has been built by 'Alī Khān, brother of Mahmūd Khān, the Afghān, *muqṭa*' of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bābar Pādīshāh, on the second of the month Safar 937 [25th September 1530].

'Alī Khān belonged to the Farmuli tribe and is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* as 'Umdat al A'yān 'Alī Khān Shaikhzāda-ya Farmuli, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his *Akbarnāma*.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imām Naṣr, is a sandstone slab (3' 5" by 1' 3") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:—

بِعَالَمِ عِيْشَتِيْزِ زِيْلَانِ بِلْدُنِي نَذِيْدِي تَا بِلْدُنِي رُوْزْغَارْتِ  
بِهَرَوِشِي شَهْنَشَاهِي اَهْمَدَانْدِي كَلِ مَرِ مِيْدَانِي مَرْحُومِي شَهْرِيَارْتِ

<sup>12</sup> Both inscriptions have been published by Böckmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 54, *ibid.* Mr. Delmonick there identifies the Khwāja Khizr with the homonymous Khān, who is several times mentioned by Firishta.

<sup>13</sup> Corr. from نَذِيْدِ



چاقال الدین محمد اکبر آن کل که از بسالی معالی پادشاه است  
 جهانگیری که چون خاکن و قیصر تمام در جاگوش میروم آریست  
 امیری کشته پانی این بنا را که طرح قدرت او استوار است  
 امیر کشور شوکت علی هست که در دراز چون اسپندیار است  
 عدالت پیشه چون از تدبیر که در ملک عدالت شهریار است  
 جو چشم از غم حالی بدلیش بگفتا نه بد و شست و چهار است

Metre: *Hasraj*.

"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time;

"It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—

"Jalāladdin Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden;

"A conqueror of the world, who makes (*men*), as the emperor of China and the Caesar, his accustomed servants and slaves.

"An Amīr was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—

"The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'All Dōst, who is like Ispandiyār on the day of battle.

"I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.

"When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 904' [began the 4th November 1556].

'All Dōst Khān Bārbēgl (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'All, is mentioned in the *Akbar-nāma* (II, 69), 903 A.H. as one of Tardi Beg's officers in the war against Hēmū. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to Persia (I, 223). In 984 he was attached to Shihābaddīn Ahmad Khān; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Fath Dōst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qāzizādas, in the Mahalla of the Qāzizādas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 3' 6" by 10", which contains three lines:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خوشا تعمیر مسجد زیر افلاک صفای عرش جو خوش بوی عطر  
 زمانی شد پشاهی جان عالم چاقال الدین محمد شاه اکبر  
 شده تاریخی (sic) بنا از مسلم بامر فاضل احمد باینگ ذکر  
 ماه رجب و رجب قدره سال تسع و ستین و تسعمائة

Metre: *Hasraj*.

"There is no God, etc.

"Well! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—

"Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalāladdin Muḥammad Akbar Shāh.

"The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzi Ahmad and five others (?).

"In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzilâdas mentioned in the *Akbarnâma* were all rebels, or *bad-andêsh* (malicious men); one being a partisan of Ma'sûm Khân; another who had the surname *khabîtha-ya Mâwarannahr* (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma'âlî's command and attempting to murder Mah Chochuk Begum, Prince Muhammad Hakim's mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mirzâ Shâhrukh to murder Qâsim Khân.

22. Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2' 8" by 18") in five lines:—

والله اعلم بالله محمد الرسول الله

بعد شهاد شهبان که امام را زینت و زیب داد  
چنان مسجد ساخت قاتی نصر که خلق آورد سوی مسجد چنان  
چو نازش از عقل چشم بگفت که مسجد برای خدا نیکو

مرتب شد عمارت هذه المسجد المباركة الميمونة في التاريخ يارفع شهر ربيع الاول سنة الف و ستين  
(Metre: *Mutaqârib*.)

"There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjahân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzi Nasr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said 'He has newly built the mosque for God's sake'. The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabi' al awwal A. 1036" [8th January 1636].

23. In the southern wall, outside Imâm Nasir's tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Navir's tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque; the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3' 8" by 4½". Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:—

عمارة هذا المسجد بنى القائد احماد السعد ابى بكر (٩٠) محمد بن الحسن القسرى ادام الله نوابها

في المحرم سنة اتمنى وامننى والف و مائة

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muhammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muharram of 1181."

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful; instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

#### V.—ROHTAK AND MAHIM.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin; in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of



Rāja Samanta Deva from about 920 A.D.<sup>13</sup> These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjāb, from Mahmūd of Ghazni till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Mahmūd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihāb addin Ghōrī, by Bābar, by Nādir Shāh, by the Marāṭhas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one *sarkār*, the older name of the tract of country being Hariāna. 'Abbās Khān states in his *Tarikh-i Shērshāhī* (Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 415) that Shēr Shāh 'gave the *sarkār* of Sirhind to mesnad 'Alī Khawās Khān as *jāgīr*, who kept in that *sarkār* his slave Malik Bhagvant at the capital Dihli. Miān Ahmad Khān Sarvānī was *amīr*, and 'Adil Khān and Hātim Khān *shiqdār* and *faujdar*.' If Dihli was the capital of Malik Bhagvant's *sarkār*, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dihli *sarkār*, and Mahim to *sarkār* Hisār Firōza. The *Asi-i Akbarī* has the following details concerning them: 'Mahim has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 *bighas*, 4,958,613 *dāms naqdī*, 84,202 *dāms sayurghāl*. The inhabitants were TUNNAR Rājputs and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot' (I, 527). 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,835 *bighas*, 8,599,270 *dāms naqdī*, 428,000 *dāms sayurghāl*. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khosrau, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobād's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahim, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak.<sup>14</sup> The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No. 33. below.

24. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Firōz Khān is now placed. It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible:—

تمام شد این بقعه شیرفر... [؟] در عهد لیلو [؟] حضرت پیر پادشاه عزری خلد الله ماله و سلطانه  
 رفته بنکا [؟] مسند علی [؟]  
 فیروز خان بن مسند علی لعمد خان بن ..... جماعتی مجرمین بتاریخ دهم ماه ربیع الثانی سنه اربع  
 و ثلثین و تسعمائة

"This tomb .... has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bābar Bādishāh-i-Ghazāl—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ..... the high *Masnad*

"Firōz Khān, son of the high *Masnad* Ahmad Khān, son of ..... Jamāl Khān, both defunct, on the 10th Babi'al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Firōz Khān is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* and in the *Akbarnāma*, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bābar after the victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Besides one *krór* of *tankas*—(according to Bābar's *Memoirs*,—1 *krór* 46 *lakhs* and 5,000 *tankas*, p. 384) from Jaunpūr, he received some *jāgīr* (*chizī jāgīr*). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itāwah.

<sup>13</sup> Cunningham's *Reports Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XVI, p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the *Tuhfat-i Nāziri*, p. 217, is not correct, as Captain Kearty states in his translation of that work, p. 693, note 7.



25. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *garhi*, or fort, of the Pathāns at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size 16½ by 12½ inches. The *garhi* of the Pathāns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hānsi :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْخَيْرِ فَلَهُ عَشْرُ أَثْمَالٍ وَمَنْ  
جَاءَ بِالشَّرِّ فَلَهُ مِثْلُ مَا كَفَّرَ بِهِ اللَّهُ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ  
مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا فِي الدُّنْيَا فَلَهُ قَصْرٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ ٩٤٥ ..... ٩٤٥١ هـ

"In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he

"Who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof." My grace does not come through any one but God.<sup>14</sup> He (*the Prophet*), upon whom may God's blessing be, has said.—

He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.' 96,251 .....<sup>15</sup> A. 945' " [began the 30th May 1538].

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khīābān Mahalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْخَيْرِ فَلَهُ عَشْرُ أَثْمَالٍ وَمَنْ  
جَاءَ بِالشَّرِّ فَلَهُ مِثْلُ مَا كَفَّرَ بِهِ اللَّهُ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ  
مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا فِي الدُّنْيَا فَلَهُ قَصْرٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ ٩٤٥ ..... ٩٤٥١ هـ

"With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Nasir ..... Muhammad Humāyūn Bādishāh-i Ghāzi—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

"Muhammad Jamāl of Nāgōr, the Chishtī. In the year 945" [began the 30th May 1538].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humāyūn's common title *nasir addin* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *nasir* is not clear.

The Chishtīs are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishtī saints—*khawājagān-i chishtī* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahānārā at Dihlī (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for November 1872, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions:—Qutb addin Khān Chishtī, commonly known as Shaikh Khūbū (Blochmann, *Ala-Translation*, p. 496), the foster brother of Shāh Jahāngir, in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December 1873, p. 199; Shaikh Faiz Allāh Chishtī, *ib.*, p. 200; Shaikh Muhammad ibn Shaikh Mahmūd Chishtī, *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for April 1877, p. 91.

At Nāgōr, the birth-place of Muhammad Jamāl of our inscription, was a Chishtī shrine.<sup>16</sup> A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubārak, the

<sup>14</sup> *Qurʾān*, Sūra vi, 161 (E. H. Palmer's translation).

<sup>15</sup> *Qurʾān*, Sūra xi, 90.

<sup>16</sup> There follows a group like a rupee-sign turned upside down.

<sup>17</sup> See Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*, vol. XIII, p. 31.

father of the poet Shaikh Faizi and of Abu'l Fazi, but in the year 945 Shaikh Muḥarak had already left Nāgôr.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokarān, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3' 2" by 2' 5") contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square در دور جلال الدین محمد اکبر (in the time of Jalāl addin Muhammad Akbar)<sup>a</sup>:-

مست جان در پیش سبزه معرفت      کشته از جان بلندای قمرای حق  
کرده از جان بقعه خیرالامر      شد از آن رخشا و قابل آن حق  
سوی آن مسجد غریب کس رفته شد      تری بحر لطف یابی (۹) دلی حق  
راعدی تاریخ این مسجد نوشت      گفت برادر معبد خدای حق

Metre: *Ramāl*.

"The Darwēsh Mastjān, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God;

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity).

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)

"Zahidī (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque; he said, 'Say "A temple of God's favourites".'<sup>b</sup>

The letters of the *tārīkh* give 908 [began 14th October 1558].

28. A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dāk Banglā of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dihli road, bears an inscription of three lines; its dimensions are 17" by 16". On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost:

ساخت شمشیر خان زلف الله کلید  
بر سر قبر زین العابدین علی عا  
سبعماية خمس سبعین سال است [ت]

"Shamshēr Khān has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pir Sāfi-Dil 'Ā...975 H. is the year" [began 8th July 1567].

Shamshēr Khān was *shiqdār* of *pargana* Rohtak, A. H. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the *Akbarnāma*. In 957 he was *Khujāsarāī* and was sent to Bihār to quell the disturbances which had broken out there; and to Bengal, together with Rāi Parukhōt, Maulānā Tayyib, and Shaikh Najm addin (III, 294). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pātna, Shamshēr Khān was despatched to Banāras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Rāja Bīr Bar, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, and Ilakūm Humām (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Ahmadnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The border contains the passage from the *Quds*, Sira II, 255.

<sup>b</sup> According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshēr Khān lies buried at Bolhā; I know nothing about him.



29. In the wall of the Dogawalli masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19" by 16") is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs:—

اسم [ان الله الله محمد رسول الله]  
 ثاني . . . . .  
 جلد الله ملكه . . . . .  
 ٩٧٢ سنة . . . . .

"The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalāl addin Muḥammad Akbar *Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzī*,—may God perpetuate his kingdom!...anno 970" [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 970.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19" by 2½", is a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—*sana* 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (3" by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, *Sūra* xlviii, 1.

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4' 2½" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the *Qorān*: *Bismillāh*, *Sūra* ii, 256-59 incl., *Kalima*, *Sūra* cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhōbi Gate in the *Mahalla* of Wazīr Khān, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines:—

بعمرة الله تعالى ورسوله بنى ابن عمارت در عهد دولت  
 و خلفت ابوالفتح شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني  
 شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه ناهدام خدام المراء  
 پيرخان ابن سرفان مورا بتمام رسيد في عهده ملك محمد سنة ١٠٣٣

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khalifat of Abu-i Faṭḥ Shihāb addin Muḥammad, the second *Shāh-i-qirān*<sup>22</sup> (Timūr)

"*Shāhjahān Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

"Pir Khān, son of *Sarkhān*, the *Sarud*[*nā*?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muḥarram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khāna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamāl Khān. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere *Shāhjahān* is named ثاني صاحب قران a phrase which is to be interpreted *Thāni-yi Shāhjahān*, see Rückert-Fortsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik des Perser*, p. 340, note 1, and Tenfelz, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. XXXVIII (188), p. 223, note. Titles such as *Thāni-yi Iskandar-i-tawra* or *Thāni-yi Iskandar-i-Zāl* garlands and others occur very often.



years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ  
 در عهد دولت سلطان السطین جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه غازی  
 مقبول الرحمن جمال خان بن منصور رزقہ توفیق یافت راست کتایید جمال خان را امجد توابع که  
 باید من تاریخ ذی القعدة (۶) سنه الف و مائة

"In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-addin Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī,

"The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khān, son of Mansûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khān has hope that he will obtain reward. In the *Zi'lqa'da* A. 1100 " [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muhammad Akbar, son of Aurangzêb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Rājput, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the *julâs* name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king's son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marāṭhas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan."

34. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pirzādas is a red sandstone, measuring 19" by 16", which bears an inscription of five lines:—

در عهد حضرت دولت (sic) شاه عالم بهاء ظہیر الدین محمد باکر  
 غازی پادشاه خلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ بوندہ دروہ میری  
 الفقیر حقیر جالبو ملو انہ ابن شیخ سکر و ساکن حصار شادعلی  
 بتوفیق اللہ تعالی توفیق یافت مسجد در قصدہ میں راس کتاند حق تعالی  
 محراب و مستجاب کرداند بوندہ و قضاء بتاریخ الفتم ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۰۳۰ و ۱۰۳۱

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahiraddin Muhammad Bābar

"*Ghāzī Bādishāh*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

"The poor, base Janyu Sunu Āghā, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

"Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build" the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

"Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom!—On the fifth Rabi'ul awwal 936" [7th November 1529]

<sup>18</sup> It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word is *ruada* and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself.

<sup>19</sup> *Ras* or *rikt* *kaudalā* with the meaning 'to build,' occurs several times in the inscription. In 19 and 23 *rikt* has distinctly been engraved.





در این روز طاعت و عبادت و توبه و استغفار  
 خلا الله ابدا جنات و عیش و نشاط  
 این روز بیاید عبادت و عبادت و عبادت  
 से वृत्ति वृत्ति वृत्ति वृत्ति वृत्ति  
 १५ ना ७३ ३५ ५५ ५५ ५५ ५५  
 वाहसह नपाजाक नपासम  
 से नषनम से ह ३ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५  
 पे तादास से उ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५ ५



35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jāmi' Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3' 1" by 2' 3½" and consists of five lines<sup>35</sup>—

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین میری المرتبة السلطنة  
والخدمة حضرت محمد همام بن بادشاہ تباری خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلی امره و سانه حضرت معز  
الدارین لله نعم سلطان سرینده الدن کرینده درگاه امیر دادکار طعاه بدو معنی الله تعالی  
بودن باب مسجد جامع صند مهم راس کفایت الله تعالی محاب و مسجوب  
کرداد بدو رخصه و کمال کریمه داریم همام ماء رجب صند معز دلتی و رستمه

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

"And Khalifat, his Majesty Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

"To the palace of Bāga Bēgum Sulṭān, the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amir Yādgar Taghāī, by the grace of God Almighty

"Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

"Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531]."

Respecting Yādgar Taghāī the *Akbarnāma* furnishes the following information: One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamān, son of Humāyūn, anno 934 (I, 113)<sup>36</sup>; and she most probably is the Bāga Bēgum Sulṭān of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hājī Bēgum. Afterwards she lived at Dihli, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dihli (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hājī Bēgum, who with other Bēgums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamān's mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hājī Bēgum in his *Ala*-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the *Akbarnāma*, II, 243 the words *dukhtar-i-Taghāī* are to be understood 'a daughter of (Yādgar) Taghāī.'

Over the *mīhrāb* in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8' 5" by 10½") is fixed which contains in two lines *Qorān*, Sūra lxii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the *mīhrāb* runs the *Kalima* and *Qorān*, Sūra, iii, 16-17 (to *al-islām*).

The Jāmi' mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078, by Aurangzēb's order.

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

<sup>35</sup> See the facsimile reproduction No. 17 on the accompanying plate.

<sup>36</sup> The words *mayhāt addita Bāga Bēgum Sulṭān* [sic] *addita addita* are perhaps uncertain.

<sup>37</sup> Bāhar mentions in his *Memoirs* the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abū-l-Wāhid, p. 359. According to the *Memoirs*, Alamān's mother was a daughter of Yādgar Taghāī. For Bāhar's not agreeing with the name of Alamān see p. 451 (Parut de Courtilles, tome II, p. 363).

Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather:—

در عهد دولت شاه عالم پناه حضرت محمد هدایت بادشاه  
خلد الله ملكه عمارت هذه المسجد توفيق يات .....  
.....

..... قصابی قصبة مهم راس کذايد بتاريخ ماه شعبان سنه الفی و اربعین و تسعمائة

"In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muhammad Humāyūn Bādshāh—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom!—..... found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim. During the month of Sha'bān of the year 942" [began the 25th January 1536].

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription. A butcher's mosque is also mentioned at Nāgôr.\* The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzēb's time, see inscription No. 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer *in situ*. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the Qasāyan\* at Mahim. The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpūr, the Daulatābād of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4' by 11½':—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما فتحنا لك فتحا مبينا كشاد بان بشارتي هيبه ابن فركه سحر اشهد ان لا اله الا الله  
در عهد دولت تلد حضرت حليمي شير شاه حسن سحر سلطان توفيق يات بناء ابن مسجد  
و مقام دولتباد بومست ابن حسن سحر سيد عالي در اشغال  
باسيد ثواب حبيب نبي من بني مسجد بني الله تعالى له قصر في الجنة والجنان ابتداء  
الله تعالى في الدنيا و رفته الله تعالى علي العدل والصلح  
في الحامي والعشرين من شهر المبارك المكرم شهر رمضان سنة نهجده چهل نه بزه كه ميترستيد  
الله التبريم الشعار

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory." May this liberal door always be opened with joy! I testify that there is no god but God.

"In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, Shēr Shāh, the son of Hasan Sūr, Yāsef ibn Hasan Sūr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkhān, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatābād,

"In the hope of the reward of the prophet's saying 'He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.'

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazān of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient."

\* Cunningham's *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 51.

\* See fascicule No. iii, on the plate at p. 122. Qasāyā and qasāyā occur in Hindūstānī (Shakepeare); see No. 40.

\* Qasā Sūr, still, l.



It is known that Shēr Shāh built numerous mosques and *kārawāsardā*, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Salasām there exist some ruins of his time at Dihli.<sup>16</sup> If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shēr Shāh's reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A.H.)

Yūsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shēr Shāh (*Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwāja Qutb addin (*Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pīrzādas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines:—

در عهد نبوت حضرت ابدالی خلافت باد سلطان  
شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قری لائی شاه جهان بادشاہ غازی خلد  
خلافت ابدی توفیق یافت فتح ناصر ابن شیخ الہداد مامی حد الفہر و خمیسین واحد

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (of God), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king

"Shihābaddin Muhammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Shāhjahān, *Bādshāh-i-Ghāzi*—may (God) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever!—Shaikh Nāsir, son of Shaikh Hāhdād of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641].

Khāfi Khān, in his *Muntakhab allubāb* (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamid in the *Bādshāh-nāma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nāsir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Shāhjahān's time.<sup>17</sup> Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Khāfi Khān citing the *Shāhjahānnāma*.<sup>18</sup> I extract the following:—His original name was Nāsir Muhammad; he was born at Ajmir, and lived afterwards in Gujarāt. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Sayyid Rafī'addin, son of Sayyid Ja'far, from Shirāz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jāmi' masjid is a red sandstone (3' x 1' 11½"), bearing nine lines:—

در عهد سعادت محمد حد و حد زمین  
و زمینی خدیو مامی و مکانی سلطان  
السلطان قل الله فی العالمین محمد اوردکرم

<sup>16</sup> See Giesse de Tassy: *Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d'après le texte hindoustani de Sayyid Ahmad Khān*, *Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XXI, passim, esp. pages 102 (No. 110), 128 (No. 161), and 128 (No. 161).

<sup>17</sup> The printed text of 'Abd al Hamid has Shaikh Nāsir.

<sup>18</sup> Many histories of Shāhjahān's reign are so entitled.



بهادر عالم کبير بادشاه غازي خداد الله ملکه  
 و سلطانه تعمير مسجد جامع قصه مهم حسبہ الحکم القس  
 باقتمام بنده درگاه خواجه رحمت الله با تمام رسيد  
 الله تعالى ميواب و مستجاب کردانان بنده و فضلہ  
 في التاريخ هفتهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ثمان و  
 سبعين و الف هجري و سنه عشر جلس مبارک

"In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth  
 And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king

"Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muhammad Aurangzêb

Bahâdur 'Âlamgir Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—the repairing of the Jâmi' masjid of the town of Mahim,  
 according to the holy order,

"Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwâja Rahmat  
 Allâh—

"May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and  
 wisdom!—

"On the 17th of the month Muharram, the holy, A.H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the  
 tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne."

Sarbuland Khân Khwâja Rahmat Allâh was a man of great consequence  
 under Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbuland Khân received  
 this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shâhjahân (*Moâsir al*  
*Umarâ*, II, 478), i. e. 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Mu'azzam,  
 whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person.  
 A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen  
 under Shâhjahân (*Bâdishâhnâmâ*, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size: 11 by 7 inches),  
 now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qasr-ayân at  
 Mahim; the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short  
 time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 در عهد عزت و زمام (?)  
 ظل جلالی ابو الظفر  
 محیی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب  
 بادشاه غازي خداد الله ملکه  
 و سلطانه مستند قضاة  
 جهان کبير (?) .....

ترتیب کرد در شهر رمضان سنه تسعين و الف

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. In the time of the reign and  
 the life of the divine shadow Abu'l Zafar, Muhyiddin Muhammad Aurangzêb

Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the mosque of the butchers... was rebuilt. In the month of *Ramāzān* 1090" [that month began the 6th October 1679].

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible; the year may perhaps have been *sab'lu*. It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No. 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards.

41. An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size 17½ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khān in the *garhi* of the Pathāns in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	والله الا الله محمد رسول الله
يا الله يا فتاح	يا محمد يا نبي الله
ابن عمارت زبير رب كريم	بالجيش عرلة خان والاشان
بدرش بختيار ناموری	معفرت دستک دریا/ خلی
مال اتمام را بعقل و تمیز	مسجد مقبره زخان برقرار

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God.

"O God! O opener!

"This edifice for the merciful God"

"His father (*was*) a celebrated Bakh-tiyār,

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment:

The letters of the *tārīkh* give 1108 [began 31st July 1696)].

42. Daula Khān, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2' 8" by 1') will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بنده درگاه رحمتی  
 درگاه خان محمدی مرید کیانی دانستم که چهار یار برحق این دنیا همه غایتی توفیق یافت  
 در هنگام زادن کیانی این مقبره ساز سلخت از لطف ربانی در عهد ازنگ رب  
 بانگاه ظل حبیبی یاریم ۱۴ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه یکهزار و یکصد و چهارم هجری باهتمام اسنا  
 ابو رلد طیب معیار

'In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khān Muḥammadi Murīd of Gīlān—

"I knew that the four friends (*the Khalīfs*) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace

"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzéb

"Bādishāh, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month *Ramazan*, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1703]. Through the effort of the architect *Ustā Abū Falad Tappīl*."

The inserted *Sunnī* dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula *ashhadu an lā ilāha illallāh*, etc.

#### VI.—KHÔKARAKÔT (کھوکھ کوٹ)

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamsēr Khān, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore.\* Its dimensions are 2' 2" by 1' 7½" and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindī.<sup>†</sup> The Persian text runs—

در ایام سلطنت ہندوئی حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی  
خلد اللہ ملکہ ابدی رفعتہ فی حدات ابا شمشیر خان شتدار پرنکہ رنک عمارت  
این دروازہ بنیاد نہاد فی شہر المبارکۃ رمضان سنہ ہجری ۹۶۵ و فغان بہتمام رسید

"In the days of the empire of the slave (of God), his Majesty Jalāl addīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (and) his highness in Parādisē!—Abū Shamsēr Khān, the *shiqdār* of *pargana* Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month *Ramazān* anno 973 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words *ruf'atahu fi jannat Abū* are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamsēr Khān of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

#### VII.—BOHM.

44. The village of Bohm (بھوم) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihli. In the east wall of the tomb of one Maḥmūd of Bohm, a stone (3' 9½" by 9") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the *Qorān*, Sūra ii, 256, is followed by these words:—

لا یعرف ابراعیم عرف مواسلخانی فرمایش علی قاضی بہاولخان

"The writer (was) Ibrāhīm, known as Muwāsakhānī, by the order of 'Alī Qāzī Bahāikhān."

#### VIII.—HISÂN FIRÔZA.<sup>‡</sup>

45. From a mosque outside the Dihli gate, situate in the Sarāi Nathūā Bhatyārā (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3".

\* See the facsimile No. v, at p. 149.

† The Hindī inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A.D. 1566. The date is Śukrat 1623, *Faizābād* 15, which corresponds according to Dr. Schreier's approximate tables to the 20th April 1566; if the year is taken as an ended northern (*padmānta*) Vikrama-year, the 20th April was the last of *Ramāṣā*. Akbar, Shamsēr Khān and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindī version.

‡ For a short historical account of the town of Hisân Firôza, see Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1877, April, p. 92. ff., where some of the following inscriptions have been published.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدًا لله بلى الله تعالى له بيتًا في الجنة  
بعد توفيق الله الملك العلام و بركات حضرت رسالتهم  
در عهد ميمون و دولت ايام افزون خدايگان ناصر جهان عادل الزمان سلطان البلد و الخراسان رافع  
رايات المجاهدات و المغازي محمد همايون پادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه  
و خلافته و ابد على العالمين عدله و رافقه بذاكره و مؤين گردانيد اين مسجد مرغوب بعمارت خوب بمرصفت  
حضرت معبود بنده اعيان و رحمت پروردگار السعدين بالله القوي الرحمان نظر قلبي اين شاه قلمچيان  
المعروف نظام الدين جاني تركمان زاد الله تعالى ما اعطاه و بلغه الي ما يتمناه بحرمه [ميد] الابرار  
والخير مورخامي الرابع من شهر شعبان ختمه الله بالظفر و الامان سنة ٩٣٩ لايجوز عبد الله يوسف احمد  
بن ركن الدين

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise.' By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophetship—on whom be peace!—

"In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorāsān, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humāyūn, *Pādishāh-i Ghāsi*—may God perpetuate his reign

"And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qull, son of Shāh Qull Khān,

"Who is known as Nizām addin Jānyin, the Turkman—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Shā'hān—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is 'Abdallāh Yūsuf Ahmad, son of Ruknaddin."

46. The inscription from the Jāmi' mosque of Hīār consists of nine lines, and measures 1' 11" by 1' 5". The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann's readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و انه لتقام عبد الله يدعوه لاهوا  
يكونون عليه ليذا قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجدا يفتي به وجه الله بلى الله في الجنة مثله  
تمام شد اين مسجد در ايام دولت شهنشاه العظم و الخاقان المعظم ملك رقاب طويقت الامم من الهند و الترك  
و العرب و العجم السلطان المفضل الكامل الولي الزلي و الخاقان العادل العلي العالي الذي رجب اطلعه  
كاطعة الله و رسوله بحكم اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولي الامر منكم حافظ بلاد الله  
ناصر عباد الله رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازي محمد همايون پادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالى

ملک و فی شعار اللطف اجری قلک بسعی جناب سعادت فرجام زبده قصه الانام لتجده امراء العظام  
امیر محمد بن

عالم جناب امارت آباد مملکت پناه نظام الدین بیک مہربان جناب المغفور المہر خوشکینلی ...  
بن جناب مغفور مآب ... .. انور دین منکلی [؟]

شد بانی مسجدی بہر خدا الدیر حصار کو رفیع القدر آمد همچو کیوان سر بلند

پس کہ عالی قدر و کیوان عیانت و مزین فتاد ہر کہ دید انداز اورا طرح این مسجد پسند

چون پسند آمد تمام اہل دل [؟] تاریخ او باب . . . . . رحمت کفشد اند

کاتبہ و قایلہ نظام . . . . . سنہ ۹۴۲

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! [*Qordā, Sūra lxxii, 18, 19*]  
'the mosques are God's.' You should not call on any one with God, and 'when God's  
servant stood up to pray they (*the jinna*) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon  
him.' The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God  
desiring thereby God's honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

"This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the  
exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks,  
Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sultān, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just  
prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the  
Prophet, according to (*Qordā, Sūra iv, 62*) 'Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those  
in authority amongst you,' the guardian of God's countries, the helper of God's servants,  
who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn, *Bādishāh-i-  
Ghāzī*—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of  
His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accom-  
plished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amir Muḥammad, son of the distin-  
guished noble, the meritorious Nizāmaddīn Beg Mirak, son of the pardoned and  
purified Khushgeldi . . . . ., son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven . . . . .

(Metre: *Romāf*). "A mosque has been built in Hīṣār for the sake of God, which is  
as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

"Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has  
turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque.  
Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogram is . . . . .

"Its writer and composer is Nizām . . . . . A. 942" [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Bābar's time, an officer of Prince Humāyūn  
(Bābar's *Memoirs*, p. 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several  
situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the  
fort of Chanār, then just conquered (*Akbarnāma*, I, 151). In the report of the victory  
gained over Rana Sanka (Bābar's *Memoirs*, pp. 410 ff.) ten grandees bear the title  
Nizāmaddīn, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory  
addition of the learned composer of the letter.

\* I do not think that these words are correct.



47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hisâr. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1' 4" by 2' :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا  
يَتَعَبَى بِهِ وَجْهَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا مِثْلَهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ دَرَجَةً  
مَعَهُمْ وَدَرَجَاتٍ أَفْزَوْنَ حَضْرَتِ سُلْطَانِ السُّلْطَانِ قَاسِمِ الدُّنْيَا وَ  
الدُّنْيَا رَافِعِ رَايَاتِ الْمِيَاهِدَةِ وَالْمَغَارِي مُحَمَّدِ عَمَّامِينَ بِإِشْرَافِهِ خَلْدُ خَلْقَتِهِ بَاتِيهِ  
بِنُورِهِ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ أَمِيرُ مَعْظَمِ أَمِيرِ الْإِسْلَامِ يَدُوكَ ابْنِ أَمِيرِ يَسُوفِ أَحْمَدَ مِيرَاجُورِ وَكَانَ فِي ٩٥١

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, 'He who builds a mosque for God

"[Desiring thereby God Almighty's honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.' In the auspicious time

"And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

"And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādishāh-i-Ghāzi—may God perpetuate his khulifat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (was) the great Amir, Amir Ulugh Beg, son of Amir Yūsuf Ahmad, the master of the horse. Dated in 951" [began 25th March 1544].

48. On a dome outside Hisâr, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10", are four lines of very bad poetry—

خوشا روضه کبید جور بهشت گل رخشیت او مشک و عتبر مرشد  
زلفش بانس معطر دماغ روان سبیلی زاشجار کشت  
دیر فلک کشد بر کبر او که تاریخ بر کبید آمد نشت  
سنة ٩٧٥  
هزار آفرین بر الهی یزد که حکش بیداد بفاد خشت  
کاتب کبیر

(Metre: *Mutaqarib*). "How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum, its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris.

"From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed; and a *salsabil* (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees.

"The secretary of heaven (*Mercury*) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567].

A thousand praises are due to Bâyezîd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabîr."

49. On a mosque in the yard of 'Shér Buhlûl's mausoleum' outside Hisâr, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2' 5" square, in six lines of well-formed *Nasta'liq*:—

بیرونی شرح رسول مجتبیٰ عبداللہی  
آتش دیدارش بعد آئینہ دارا جلا  
پیش صحن روضہ بھلول شاہ افتد طرح  
مسجدی عالی کہ باشد مسکن اہل دعا



بی تکلف هاتقی زد بآلت کاین مصرع نویس  
هر هزار و یکصد و شش یافت اتمام این بنا

Metre: *Ramāl*.

- "The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one," Abd-annabi,  
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,  
"Erected, before the courtyard of Shāh Buhlāl's mausoleum,  
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.  
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistich  
"This building was completed in 1106" [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of *Qorān*, *Sūra* V. 98.

#### IX.—BARWĀLA.

Barwāla is now the head-quarters of a *tahsil*, distant 18 miles north-east of Hisār. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Pargana Barwāla is mentioned as belonging to *Sarkār* Hisār. Its area was 136,799 *bighas*; the revenues were 1,097,807 *dāms* (109,052 *Say. dāms*); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzādas, Baqqāls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5" by 8" is in very bad preservation:—

امر بدهد عهد المسجد می عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدین والدین خاند ملوک  
ابوالمظفر کعبیک السلطان محمد الاول والعمر تاج الدوله والدین  
السلطانی دام اعدائه می العبد [؟] من رفیع الاول سند ملوک و سعادته

"This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu'izzaddunyā waddīn—may (God) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqobād, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tajaddaula waddīn . . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabi' al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289].

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of Kaiqobād, son of Bughrā Khān, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbanī Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljīs.

51. A second Barwāla inscription is of Balban's reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3" by 11 inches:—

نور [؟] السلام والمسلمین ابوالمظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلدالله ملوک و سلطانه  
دام اعدائه می العبد من سیر المذکور و صلی عمت مدامه سند ملوک و سعادته

"The light of Islām and of the Muslims Abul-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—  
may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazān—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282].

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No. 15.

\* Another inscription of Kaiqobād, dated A.H. 686, exists in the Sada masjid at Anand, Muzaffar district, North-Western Provinces, (see A. Führer; I. c., page 23).—Ed. E. I.

## X.—FATHĀBĀD.

52. In the town of Fathābād is a round sandstone pillar, 10' 2" high and 6 1½" in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shāh himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bān 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh.<sup>42</sup>

XI.—HĀSĀT.<sup>43</sup>

53. On the Dīnī mosque, near the Sarāogyan mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

بِقَوْلِهِ خَدَّائِ عَالَمِ وَ بَرَكَتِ مَصْطَفَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي عَهْدِ مَعْمُورٍ وَ دَوْلَتِ عَمَّانِ  
خَدَّائِ عَالَمِ عَالَمِ نَادِيهِ اسْمِ رَافِعِ الْإِمَامِ فَيَزُورُ سَاءَ السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدَالَهُ مَلِكَهُ  
و سُلْطَانَهُ نَدِيهِ سُلْطَانِ نَدَارِيهِ غَرَّةِ دِي الْعَهْدِ سَلَمِ سَمِعِ وَ حَسَنِ وَ سَيِّعَادَةِ أَمِينِ سَعْدِ بَدَا كَرْدِ

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace!—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islām, the shepherd of the people, Fīrōz Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Šāh(l)īn, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqa'da, 767" [10th July 1366].

54. From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1' 3" by 1", evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

و مظهر كلمة [ الله ] ناصر امير المؤمنين

".....and who manifests the word of God,\* the helper of the Lord of the faithful."

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?). It consists of two lines (2' 13" by 30") and belongs to the reign of Iltimish (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdūm Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from *Qordā*, Sūra ix, 19.

<sup>42</sup> I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathābād. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulam Husain, one of Mr. C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjāb inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zin ud Dīn, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathābād trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did.

<sup>43</sup> For the history of the town of Hāsat, see *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1877, 117, 82.

<sup>44</sup> These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shāh in an inscription from A.H. 906 (see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).



## X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badāl,<sup>1</sup> in the Dinājpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription; and his translation was published in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir William Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Pandit Harachandra Chakravarti, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratāpachandra Ghosha, will be found in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess' request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

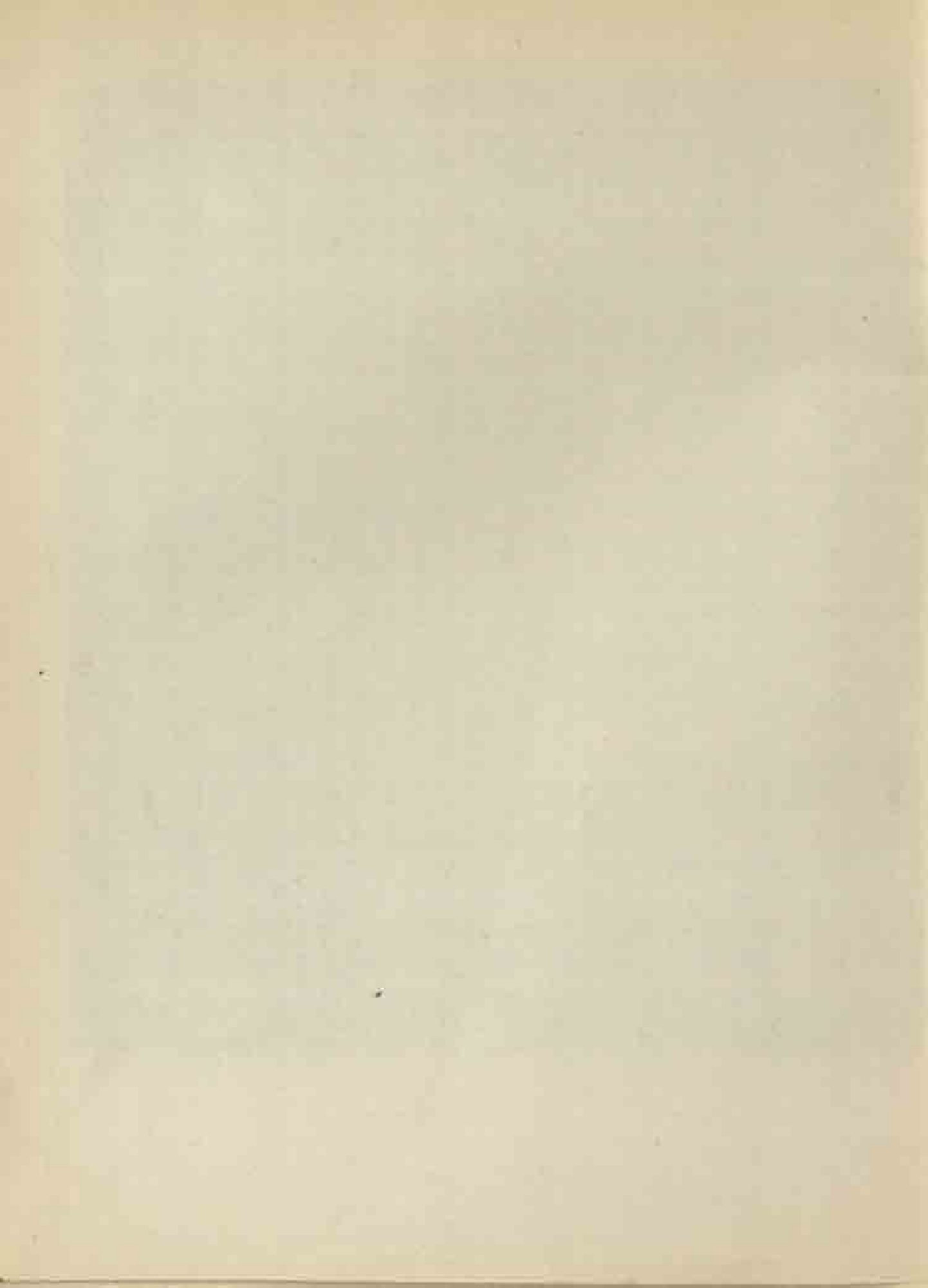
The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5' long,—which cover a space of from 1' 8½" to 1' 10" broad by 1' 7¼" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen *aksharas* at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged *aksharas* in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{32}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrāwā inscription, of which a photolithograph is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, Viśvabhadrā, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Before *v* the consonant *m* has been retained, instead of being changed to *anusāra*, in *samerita*, line 6, *bhrāntam* = *vikaṭam*, line 8, *samvalgitāḥ*, line 9, *satām* = *vismagāḥ*, line 10, *vāchām* = *vaishnavam*, line 20, and *tā-dṛiṣām* = *vyadhiṣā*, line 24; and instead of *anusāra* the guttural nasal has been used in *vaṇṣe*, lines 1 and 26, and *vaṇṣasya*, line 21, and the dental nasal in *pāṇṣṭh*, line 7. We also have *-saṇṣṭ* for *-śaṇṣṭ*, line 17, and *-saṇḥater* for *-śaṇḥater*, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *vidhivat Rallā*, line 11, and *-pīṭān chatur*, line 13; and that the sign of *anagrade* has been exceptionally employed in *'bhidhā bhavat*, line 17, and *'tāro 'adat*, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhman,

<sup>1</sup> See Montgomerie & Martin's (Buchanan Hamilton's) *Eastern India*, vol. II, page 672. [Badāl Kacheri is in the south of the Dinājpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Mahālakṣī, which is on the border of the Bagura pargana of the Bagura (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Dumkani station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badāl is in Long. 88° 55' E., Lat. 25° 5' N. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (*Chief. Hunter's Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii, p. 451, and vol. viii, p. 128)—J. D.]









named Rāma Guravamīśra. But the inscription is really a *prāśasti*, or laudatory account, of Guravamīśra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pāla kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brāhmanas were counsellors or ministers.

In the race of Śaṇḍilya there was one [Viśnu?]; in his lineage was Viradeva; in his family Pāñchāla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharmapāla), 'the regent of the east' (vv. 1-2). Garga married Ichchhā, and their son was Darbhapāni, who became minister of the king Devapāla (vv. 3-7). He, again, married Śarkaradevi, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Kallādevi (v. 10); and their son was Kedāramīśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauda (whom I understand to be Devapāla)<sup>2</sup> is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hāpas, Dravīdas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intimated to have consecrated the king Śūrapāla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedāramīśra married Vavvā, a lady born at Devagrāma (v. 16), and she bore to him Rāma, called Guravamīśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nārāyanapāla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brāhman is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as *dātaka* in the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyanapāla.<sup>3</sup>

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pāla], Devapāla and Nārāyanapāla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śūrapāla, I readily adopt Dr. Hörnle's suggestion<sup>4</sup> that he is identical with the Vīgrahapāla of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nārāyanapāla. But regarding the Pāla kings in general my views differ from those of Dr. Hörnle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nārāyanapāla were: his son Rājyapāla; his son Gopāla II.; his son Vīgrahapāla II.; his son Mahipāla; his son Nayapāla; and his son Vīgrahapāla III.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . .<sup>6</sup> शास्त्रिणवत्सेभ्यो दीदेवस्तदन्वये ।

पाञ्चालो नाम तद्वीरे गम्यस्तस्मादजायत १ - [1.]

गर्गः पुरोदिशि पतिर्ब्रह्म दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्जित एव

2.

- ७ : [1']

धर्मः कृतस्तद्विपक्षवर्जितान् दिशुः स्वामी मयेति विजहास २(वृ)क्षति यः १ - [2.]

पञ्चोष्ठा नाम तस्मादीदृश्वेवान्तर्निवर्तिनी ।

निर्गन्तव्येनान्निध्या कान्तिवन्द-

3.

मसौ यथा १ - [3.]

विद्यावतुष्टयमुखायुः ३(वृ)दहात्तस्मा नैर्गन्तव्योत्तमपदाधरितविलोकः [1']

सुतुस्तयोः कमलयोनिरिव दिजेयः श्रीदर्भपात्रिरिति नाम निजन्दध-

<sup>2</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, page 308, v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See ib., page 307.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Part II, Appendix II; and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, pages 162-165.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr. H. R. W. Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably *विष्णु*; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for श्री.

<sup>7</sup> Read "३३".

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Vamśatīkṣā.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



L. 4.

नः ॥<sup>11</sup> — [4.]या रेवावनकाशतज्जमदक्षिन्मच्छिलासहते-<sup>12</sup>

रा गौरीपितुरोशरन्दुकिरणैः पुष्पकितिलो गिरिः ।

मात्तच्छास्त्रमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिरा-

5. शिववा-

सीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदा श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥<sup>13</sup> — [5.]

माद्यन्नागजैन्दुस्यदनवरतोहामदानप्रवाहो-

श्रुष्टोषीविसर्पिप्रव(व)स-

6. घनरजःसम्पृताभावकायं<sup>14</sup> ।

दिक्कक्षायातभूषत्परिकरविसरदाहिनीदुर्विलोक-

स्तस्वी श्रीदेवपालो नृपतिरवसरापेक्षया द्वारि

7. यस्य ॥<sup>15</sup> — [6.]

दक्षाप्यनन्तमुहुष्यविपीठमये यश्चासनं नरपतिः सुरराजकल्पः ।

नानानरैन्दमुकुटाङ्कितपादपाङ्गुः सिङ्गासनं<sup>16</sup> सच-8. कितः स्वयमासमाद ॥<sup>17</sup> — [7.]तस्य श्रीमहारादेव्यामखेः सोम इव दिवः [1<sup>18</sup>]चभूतोमेखरः श्रीमान् परमेस्वरवत्तमः ॥<sup>19</sup> — [8.]न भ्यान्तस्त्रिकटं<sup>20</sup>9. घनञ्जयतुलामारुह्य विक्रामता ।<sup>21</sup>

वित्तान्वाविंशु वर्षता स्तुतिगिरो नोद्वर्ज्यमाकल्पिताः ।

नेवोक्ता मधुरस्वप्नं<sup>22</sup> प्रणयिनः सम्ब[न्धि]ताय श्वि-10. या ।<sup>23</sup>येनैवं स्वगुणैर्वनहिसदुमीयक्रे यताम्विचयः<sup>24</sup> ॥<sup>25</sup> — [9.]शिव इव करं शिवाया हरिरिव लज्जया गृह्णायमपेक्षः [1<sup>26</sup>]

अनुरूपया विधि-

11. वत्<sup>27</sup> रत्नादेव्याः स जघाह ॥<sup>28</sup> — [10.]

चासन्वाविञ्जराजह(ह)जलमिच्छमिच्छाबुम्बि(म्बि)दिक्कक्षाको

दुर्वारस्त्वारयतिः स्वरसपरिणतायेपविद्या-

12. प्रतिष्ठः ।

ताभ्यां जन्म प्रपेदे विदमन्नमनोनन्दनः स्वक्रियाभिः

श्रीमान् जेदारमिचो मुह इव विकसज्जातकपप्रभावः ॥<sup>29</sup> ॥ — [11.]<sup>12</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>13</sup> Read "सहते".<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>15</sup> Read "संस्था". Originally विश्वाय was engraved, but the sign for 4 is struck out.<sup>16</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>17</sup> Read "पाङ्गुः सिङ्गासनं".<sup>18</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>20</sup> Read "वर्ण" विकटं.<sup>21</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>22</sup> Read "महर्षे नमः प्रणयिनः श्वे".<sup>23</sup> Read "सर्वा" विचयः.<sup>24</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>25</sup> Read "विजितद्वारा".<sup>26</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- L. 13. सज्जह्यनसम्प्रीताम् चतुर्विंशत्यधोनिधीम् [1<sup>a</sup>]  
 सज्जह्यनसम्प्रीताम् चतुर्विंशत्यधोनिधीम् (अप)स एव यः ॥<sup>a</sup> — [12.]  
 उत्तोलितोत्सङ्कुचं इतः प्रवर्ज्य चतुर्विंश-  
 14. तद्विंशत्यधोनिधीम् ।  
 भूपीठमन्वि(न्वि)रगनाभरन्मन्वि(न्वि)भोज्यौष्ठेभ्यश्चिरसुपाय चिरं वदीता ॥<sup>a</sup> — [13.]  
 स्वयमपहृतवित्तानधिनी यो-  
 15. सुमेने विपतिं सुहृदि चासीद्विन्विष्यो यदाप्या ।  
 भवजलधिनिपाते यत्न भीष त्रया च ॥<sup>a</sup> परिसदितकथा(था)यो<sup>b</sup> यः परे वाचि रते ॥<sup>a</sup> — [14.]  
 यत्नो-  
 16. ज्वाह्व इ(वृ)हस्यतिप्रतिज्ञतेः श्रीशूरपालो मृगः  
 साक्षादिन्द्र इव जताप्रियव(व)सो मलैव भूयः स्वयं ।  
 नानाश्रीविधिमेखलस्य जगतः  
 17. सज्जह्यनसम्प्रीताम् चिरं  
 सज्जह्यनसम्प्रीताम् नतमिरा जघाह पुतम्ययः ॥<sup>a</sup> — [15.]  
 देवघाममवा<sup>c</sup> तस्य पक्षी वन्वाभिधाऽभवत् ॥ [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 चतुश्चा चलयता स-  
 18. ज्वाह्व सत्वा चाप्य[नपत्]या<sup>d</sup> ॥<sup>a</sup> — [16.]  
 सा देवकीव तन्वाद्यमोदया स्त्रीकृतमतिं सज्जह्यः ।  
 गोपालप्रियकारकमस्तुत पुरुषोत्तमस्तनयं ॥<sup>e</sup> ॥ — [17.]  
 19. जमदग्निकुलोत्पन्नः सम्पद्यतचित्तकः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 यः श्रीगुरुवन्वाच्यो रामो राम इवापरः ॥<sup>a</sup> — [18.]  
 कुशलो गुणान्वितेभ्यो विजिगीषुर्यद्वृ-  
 20. च य(व)धुमेने ।  
 श्रीनारायणपालः प्रयस्तिरपरास्तु का तस्य ॥<sup>a</sup> — [19.]  
 वाचाभैभवमागमेभ्यधिमम<sup>f</sup> नीतिः पराजिहता ॥<sup>g</sup>  
 वेदार्थानुगमादभी-  
 21. भमजसो वज्रस्य<sup>h</sup> सम्पन्विता ।  
 चासन्निकुणकोत्तनेषु सज्जह्यनसम्प्रीताम् ज्योतिषो  
 यज्ञानन्वयमतेरमेयमभी धर्मावतारी ऽवदत् ॥<sup>a</sup> — [20.]  
 22. यन्निश्चितः श्रीमति वागधीमे विज्ञाय वैराचि निसर्गजानि ।  
 उमे स्थिते सत्यमिवादि(चि)गन्ध्यावेकत सज्जह्योच सरस्वती च ॥<sup>a</sup> — [21.]  
 माञ्जानुमील-

<sup>a</sup> Read "प्रीताम्".

<sup>b</sup> Metre: Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>c</sup> Metre: Vasantikā.

<sup>d</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>e</sup> Originally "चरवी", altered to "चमवी".

<sup>f</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>g</sup> Read "सज्जह्यनसम्प्रीताम्".

<sup>h</sup> Metre: Śārdhavarikā.

<sup>i</sup> Originally "नर", altered to "नरा".

<sup>j</sup> The lower portion of the shikharas is broken and is damaged.

<sup>a</sup> Metre: Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>b</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>c</sup> Metre: Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>d</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>e</sup> Read "वाचि रते".

<sup>f</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>g</sup> Read "यद्वृह".

<sup>h</sup> Metre: Śārdhavarikā.

<sup>i</sup> Metre: Upajātī.

- L. 23. नगभीरगुणैर्व्योभिर्विद्वत्समासु परवादिमदावलिपः [1<sup>a</sup>]  
 उवाच सपदि येन सुभि ह्रिवाच निवीमविजमधनेन [म]टाभिमानः ॥<sup>1</sup> — [22.]
24. [आविर्व्य(वै)भू]व सङ्घसैव फलं न यस्य यस्तादृशम्व्यधित<sup>2</sup> कर्णैरुच्छन्न किञ्चित् ।  
 यथाप्य दानपतिमर्विजनीन्यमेति तत्कलिदानमपि यस्य न जातु  
 25. — ७ ॥ — [23.]  
 अतिसोमहर्षयेषु<sup>3</sup> [च<sup>4</sup>] कलियुगवाक्सीक्षितश्चापिनेषु ।  
 पश्चेतिहासपर्वेषु पुष्पाणा यः कुतोर्व्यग्रहोत् ॥<sup>5</sup> — [24.]  
 चमिन्नुपमृता यस्य सधुनी
26. . ७ — ७ [भा] ।  
 वाची प्रसन्नगम्भीरा धिनीति च पुनाति च ॥<sup>6</sup> — [25.]  
 पितृत्वं स्रवमास्त्राय पुत्रत्वमगमन्तुयं [1<sup>a</sup>]  
 व(त्र)ञ्जेति पुत्रपान् यस्य वहे<sup>7</sup> यच्च प्रपदिरे ॥ — [26.]  
 योयो-
27. — ७ ७ — सकोयवपुत्री लोकिचरपाहिषि  
 स्वाभिप्राय इवातुल्योक्तिमति काप्रेमव(च)ञ्जलिरे ।  
 अष्टं ग्रन्थ इवार्पिते कलिहृदि स्तम्भेन ते-
28. [न?] ७ ७  
 — — — कलिनां हरेः प्रियसखस्ताञ्जोवमारोपितः ॥<sup>8</sup> — [27.]  
 भ्रात्र्या दिगन्तमखिलं गत्वा पातालमूलमप्यस्मात् ।  
 यम इ[ह]<sup>9</sup> तथोत्तमौ हताङ्गिरसहृष्टसादमख[न] ॥<sup>10</sup> — [28.]
29. सुवधारविष्णुमदेव<sup>11</sup> प्रशस्ति चरितं<sup>12</sup> [1<sup>a</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om!]

(Verse 1.) In Śaṇḍilya's race was . . . ॥<sup>1</sup>, in his lineage Viradeva, in his family Pāñchāla; from him was Garga born.

(2.) As he made Dharma<sup>2</sup>, the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Brihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was Ichchhā<sup>3</sup>, like love dwelling in his heart. By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon.

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named Darbhapaṇi, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>2</sup> Read चरित.

<sup>3</sup> The akṣara ७ was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following ७, which I have added, is not in the original.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śikha (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>6</sup> Read वः.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śaṇḍilyavikṛijita.

<sup>8</sup> The akṣara in brackets looks like ७, altered to ७.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>10</sup> The akṣara ७ was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>11</sup> One would have expected अविद्वत्समासु.

<sup>12</sup> The name, here missing, probably is Viṣṇu.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. the king Dharmapāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.

<sup>14</sup> I.e. 'desire, love.'



knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.<sup>20</sup>

(7.5.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapāla made tributary the earth as far as Revā's parent<sup>21</sup> whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gauri's father,<sup>22</sup> the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Iśvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.

(8.) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapāla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (in such numbers) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (though) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds.

(7.) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling.

(8.) To him was born, of the illustrious Śākarādevī, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya<sup>23</sup> he displayed unlimited prowess; never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants; and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world.

(10.) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Hallādevī, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivā, and Hari of Lakshmi.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedāramisra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (sacrificial) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.<sup>24</sup>

(12.) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency.<sup>25</sup>

(13.) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūnas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.

(14.) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

<sup>20</sup> Darbhāṅgī was śāstureḍya (or śāstureṣṭha) as Brahman is śāstureṣṭha; and the epithet śāstureṣṭha, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.

<sup>21</sup> i.e. the Vindhya mountains.

<sup>22</sup> i.e. the Himālaya.

<sup>23</sup> i.e. Arjuna.

<sup>24</sup> The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedāramisra is compared to the god of war, Guha or Kārtikeya, is clear enough; but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a Bahuvrīhi, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of śāstureṣṭha, which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedāramisra, none of the ordinary meanings of śāstureṣṭha ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with śāstureṣṭha ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Guha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean: 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'.

<sup>25</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(P. 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Brihaspati, the illustrious prince Śūraspāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vālā; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water,<sup>55</sup> his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16.) His wife was Vāyā, born at Devagrāma, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Sati.

(17.) As Devaki gave birth to Puruṣhottama<sup>56</sup>, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakshmi's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, Rāma,<sup>57</sup> called Guravamisra, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jamadagnya, to whom the thriving Kshatriya order caused anxious thought.

(19.) Since the illustrious prince Nārāyaṇapāla, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20.) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmi and Saraśvatī resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor.<sup>58</sup>

(24.) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vālmiki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies.

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (*in them*) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (*in him*) had again become their offspring.

<sup>55</sup> I.e. the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth.

<sup>56</sup> I.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>57</sup> Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamisra.'

<sup>58</sup> In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts.



(F. 27.) He has placed Tārksya,<sup>79</sup> [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the . . . beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kali age.

(28.) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuḍa with a serpent in his mouth.

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Viṣṇubhadra.

# XI.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III.; DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Srirangapatna-Belgola*, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch.

Ātakūr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Maṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Maṇḍya Talukā of the Maisūr District in Maisūr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Atcoor,' in Lat. 12° 40' N., Long. 77° 8' E.;<sup>1</sup> and it is entered, as 'Atagur,' in the map given in Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Ātakūr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challaśaṅga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challaśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other; the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left; they occupy a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high.—Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' 0" high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the *ppa* of *ppanneradum*, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two *akṣaras* in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

<sup>79</sup> i. e. the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu.

<sup>1</sup> The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an 'Atagur,' forty-nine miles north-east of Maisūr, and an 'Adagur,' eleven miles north by west of Hassan.



stampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.—The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".—The language is Old-Kanarese; and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.—In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ri* in *sri*pa, line 1, *prithu*ri, line 2, and *krishna*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in the word *bēra*, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, e.g. in *saka*, line 1, and *sakti*-*ś*-*ge*, line 16; and (4) the doubling of *s* after *r*, in *ār*-*ssagara*, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named *Kṛishnarāja*, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be *Kṛishna III.*, a son of *Amōghavarsha III.*, of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* dynasty of *Mālkēd*: in the body of the inscription, he is also called *Kannaradēva*; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a *Chōla* king or chief named *Rājāditya*, at a place called *Takkōla*.<sup>1</sup> The inscription then introduces a *Gaṅga* feudatory of his,<sup>2</sup> called in the body of the record *Permanādi*, and in the addition *Bātuga*,<sup>3</sup> who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain *Rāchamalla*,<sup>4</sup> the son of *Ereyapa*, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known *Gaṅgavādi* Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was *Bātuga* himself who slew *Rājāditya*; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together; and that, in approbation of the deed, *Kṛishna III.* gave to *Bātuga* the districts known as the *Banavase* Twelve-thousand, the *Bejrola* Three-hundred, the *Purige* Three-hundred, the *Kisukād* Seventy, and the *Bāgenād* Seventy.<sup>5</sup> The record then introduces a follower of *Bātuga*, named *Maṅgalarata*, of the *Sagara* lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of *Vajrabhi*." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, *Permanādi-Bātuga* granted some land to a temple of the god *Challēśvara* (a form of *Śiva*) at the village of *Ātukūr*; a stone,—evidently the one bearing this

<sup>1</sup> The fact that *Rājāditya* died in battle with *Kṛishna III.* is mentioned also in the large *Leyden* copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultsch's Report No. 79, dated the 8th April 1891); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which *Rājāditya* was riding.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the paramount title in *śarva*-*māhādēva*-*śārīrādēva* must be taken, with the use of the name *Satyavākya-Kotgunivarman*, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between *Permanādi-Bātuga* and *Kṛishna III.*

<sup>3</sup> This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of *Maṅgalarata*. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that *Permanādi* and *Bātuga* were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to *Bātuga* and *Maṅgalarata* in ll. 21-23.—When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that *Bātuga* is distinctly called *Permanādi-Bātuga* in the *Hebbal* inscription (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 270).

<sup>4</sup> One might perhaps expect the name of *Rājamalla*, rather than *Rāchamalla*. But the original very distinctly has *cha* in the second syllable.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Rieu (*loc. cit.*, p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus:—"Moreover, from a subsequent addition engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this *Gaṅga* king" [viz. the *Satyavākya-Kotgunivarman*, or more specifically the *Permanādi-Bātuga*, of lines 6, 8, 9] "was *Rāchamalla*, the son of *Ereyapa*; also, that he defeated a rival named *Bātuga*, who then proposed to *Rājāditya*, the *Chōla* prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join him in attacking *Kannara* India. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which he was governor absorbed into the *Gaṅga* territories."—Mr. Rieu's extract from the text (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct, but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and accuracy.

inscription,— being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Maṇalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bātuga also granted, to Maṇalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Ātukūr Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyār of the Belvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya *samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Krishna III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the Saumya *samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Samvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Ātakūr itself is mentioned, as Ātukūr, in the inscription proper (l. 12), and in the addition at the top of the stone (l. 22); and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l. 10) a neighbouring village named Belatūr, in the Kejale *nāḍ*; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkōla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Rājāditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permāṇḍi-Bātuga it mentions the town of Koḷāla and the Nandagiri mountain (l. 5). Mr. Rice (*c. g. Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxviii) has taken Koḷāla to be the same with the Kōlāhalapura of the Eastern Ganga records, and has identified it with "Kōlār, in the east of Maisūr." The identity of the two names, Koḷāla and Kōlāhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kōlāhala was in the Gaṅgavāḍi *vishaya* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII., p. 170). The identification of the place with Kōlār may be correct; but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point: and I notice, in the map, a small village named 'Kōlala' close to Dēvarāyadurg in the Kōṭagiri Tālukā of the Tumkūr District, Maisūr; this seems to me to suggest that Koḷāla may possibly be the ancient name of Dēvarāyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikksāpur Tālukā of the Kōlār District, Maisūr. And finally, in the titles of Maṇalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valabhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhi in Kāthiāwāḍ. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me; but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Maṇalarata, the rulers of Valabhi themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand: this is undoubtedly the well-known Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisūr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gangas; towards the north it extended as far as Lakkundi, near Gadag, in Dhāravāḍ (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Krishna III. to Bātuga; *i. e.* the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bātuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banavāsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the



first is the Belvola Three-hundred. This district is equally well-known; and its name, being derived from the Kanarese *bele*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola*, *hola*, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It included Gadag in the Dhārwad District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 297), Annigere in Dhārwad (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Annigere was then, A. D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakōṭi in Dhārwad (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 318), Nargund in Dhārwad and Hāli in Belgaum (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 47; here the name is written Belvala, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala *viśaya*), and Kukkanūr in the Nizam's Dominions (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nāgarī characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Ātakūr. The second is the Purigere Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmēshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwad District. The third is the Kisukāḍ Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage; and the chief town of it (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijāpur District, near Bādāmi. To the south it included (*id.*, p. 257) Kiru-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Kodikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rōṇ Tālukā, Dhārwad. And the fourth is the Bāgenāḍ Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bāgadage Seventy, or Bāgadige *uḍḍ*, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place 'Bāṅgaḍikōṭe,' the popular explanation of which is that some Nawāb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (*lit.* for bangles, *bāṅgaḍi*). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bāgadage or Bāgadige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tālukā Kachēri at Bāgalkōṭ, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hērkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bāgadageya-kōṭe," (*śrīma[d-r]ājadhāni Bāgadag[e]ya-kōṭeya śrī-mūla*)-[*sthān-d*][*dhī*][*pati*] *Nilakaṇṭha-paṇḍitadēvaru*; lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bāgadage and Bāgalkōṭ. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kōṭeyūr of the Belvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurtakōṭi in Dhārwad, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 3 miles west of Koppal in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat. 15° 20' N., Long. 76° 10' E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Ereyapa of this inscription is the Gaṅga king Ereyapa or Ereyapparasa, ruler of the Gaṅgarāḍi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bēgūr inscription (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. I, p. 346 ff.). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bēgūr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Rāchamalla, the son of Ereyapa; and Ereyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (*e.g. Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xlv, xiv), was most distinctly of the



Ganga lineage (see *ante*, Vol. I, p. 349). Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Bātuga by Krishna III., distinctly prove that at this period the Gangas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Kreyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadōva of the Bēgūr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyana I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Krishna III. to Bātuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kādambas of Banawāsi and Hāngal; and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply.

# TEXT.\*

- 1 Svas[t]i Sa[śa]ka-nri(nri)pa-kāl-āṭita-samvatsara-sa[śa]taṅga-<sup>1</sup>enṭu-nūr-elpatt-erada-  
neya Śau(sau)myam-emba
- 2 samvatsarāṇa pravarttiṣe [I\*] Svasti Amōghavaraha'dōva-śrīprithuvī<sup>2</sup>vallabha-  
paramēśvara-parama-
- 3 bhatt[ā]raka-pāḍapankaja-bhramara[m] n[ri]pa-Tri[ṇē]tran-āne-voḍengam vana-  
gaja-mallam kachchegam Kri(kri)śṇarājam śrīmat
- 4 Ka[n]aradēva[m] . . . [ā(?)vaja]m Chōla-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu  
Takkōludo-kādi kōndu bijayam-geyyutt-iḍu [I\*]
- 5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavākya-Koṅgunivarṇma-dharm[m]amahārājādhirājam Koḷāla-pura-  
var-ēśvaram Nandagiri-nātham
- 6 śrīmat Peramānāḍiga<sup>3</sup> nammya-Gaṅga jaya[d-u]ttaraṅga Gaṅga-G[āṅgē]ya  
Ganga-Nārāyaṇa tan<sup>4</sup>-āḷu
- 7 Svasti Sakaḷa-lōka-paritāp-āvi(?)hata-[pra]bhāva-Avatāri[ta]-Gaṅga<sup>5</sup>-pravāha-ōḍāra-  
Sagara-vaṁśa Va-
- 8 [abhi-puravar-ēśvaran-udāra-Bhagtrathan-iriva-bedengam Se[ḡara]-Triṇētram  
senase-mūgarivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(ā)drakam Bātugan-āṅkakāram śrīmat Maṇalarata[ṅga]nuvarado[  
mechchi bēḷi-koḷ]-endo-
- 10 de dayeya mere-vo[(?)]-emba Kāḷiyam daya-geyy-<sup>6</sup>endu kōḍanā nāya[m]  
Keḷale-nāḍa Beḷatūra paḍu-
- 11 vana dexeya moradiyo[ piri[ḍum pa]ndige vittōḍe pandiyam nāyum-ōḍa-  
sattuvadarake-
- 12 y-Atakūro[ Challēśvarada munde kallaṇ-nāḍisi piriya kereya keḷage Malti-  
kāḷāṅgado]-ir-kka(kkka)nduga-
- 13 maṇṇa[m] koṭṭar-ā maṇṇan-okkal nāḍan-ā[voṁn<sup>7</sup>-ūran-ā]vor-i maṇṇan-  
aḷidōn-ā nāya geyda pāpama[m] kōṇḍom-

\* From the inked set-misses.

\* Read 'sarada'.

\* Read 'prithivī' or 'prithiv'.

\* We should expect *śau(sau)*, with the double *śau*. But I

notice that Sanderson's *Kanarese Dictionary* gives *śau* as a variant of *śauśa*.

" Read *paḍaḍ* or *paḍga*.

" Read 'Mōsa'.

- 14 n<sup>13</sup>-ā sṭhānāman-āḥva goravan-ā kallam pājisad-undar-appode<sup>14</sup> nāya geyda  
pāpamam koṇḍa[n] [11\*] Ōm [11\*]  
15 Urad<sup>15</sup>-idir-ānta Chōḷa-chaturāṅga-balaṅgaṇan-atti muṭṭi taḷṭ-iriv-eḍeg-ōravar-  
appoḍam-idirchchuva  
16 gaṇḍaran-āmpēv-endu poṭṭaḷisuvā<sup>16</sup> bi(vi)raṇṇu nereye kōṇe(na)mē Chōḷane<sup>17</sup>  
sa(sa)ktiy-āge taḷṭ-iridudan-āve(? me) ka-  
17 uḍev-ene mechchador-ār-Ssagara-Tripētranam || Narapati bennoḷ-iḷḍon-idir-  
āntudu vairi-samūham-illi  
18 machcharisuvār-ellarum seraguv-āḷdapor-int-ire nendu siṅgaḍ-ant-ire Hari  
bi(vi)ra-Lakshmi nerav-āg-ire Chō.  
19 [a[na]-kōṭey-embā sindhurada śir-āgramam biriye pāyidam<sup>18</sup> kadan-aika-  
Su(śū)drakam [11\*] Ōm [11\*]

## THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magam Rāchamallanam Bātugam kōḍi kondu tombhatt-  
aru-sāsiramumam<sup>19</sup> āḷutt-ire [1\*] Kannaradēva[m] Chōḷanam kāduvandu  
Bātugam Rājādityanam bisugeye kaḷḷan-āgi gurig-iridu  
21 kōḍi kondu Banavase-pannirchchā(? rechchā)siramum Beḷvola-mūnūrum  
Purige-mūmnā<sup>20</sup> am<sup>21</sup> Kisukāḍ-ēḷpattum Bāgenāḍ-ēḷpattuva(ma)m Bātugaṅge  
Kannaradēvam rechchu-gottam [11\*] Bātuganum<sup>22</sup> Maṇalarata-  
22 na munde nind-iridudarkke mechchi ātuk[ū]r-ppanneraḍum Beḷvolada  
Kōṭeyārumam bāḷga[m]  
23 [me]<sup>23</sup> rechchu-gottam [11\*] Maṅgaḷa-mahā-śrī [11\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! The *samvatsara* named Saumya, (*which is*) the eight hundred and seventy-second (*in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:—

(Line 2).— Hail! When Krishnarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,— a very bee at the water-lilies which (*were*) the feet of Amoghavarashadēva (III.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramāśvara*, the *Paramahaffāraka*; a very Trinētra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (*real*) fighter (or, disputant), — having . . . . . come upon the Chōḷa, Rājāditya, and having fought and killed (*him*) at Takkōla, was going in triumph:—

(L. 5).— Hail! (*He who has the hereditary titles of*) the pious Mahārājādhirāja Satyavākya-Koṅguṇīvarman; the lord of Koḷāla, the best of towns; (*and*) the lord

<sup>13</sup> Read *koṇḍa*.

<sup>14</sup> This seems to be the reading; but *\*appoḍ* would be better.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Champakamālā; and in the following verse.

<sup>16</sup> The *poṭṭa* is wrong here; in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be *vā*, instead of *ṭā*.

<sup>17</sup> This *ee* was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

<sup>18</sup> Read *pāyidam*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *\*sāsiramam*; the copulative ending is not required here.

<sup>20</sup> Read *\*mūmnā*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *\*rechchu*; here, again, the copulative ending is not required.

<sup>22</sup> I cannot find the place where this syllable, *ma*, stands in the original; perhaps the *śākara* was omitted altogether.



of the mountain Nandagiri,—(viz.) the illustrious Permāṇḍi, the truthful Gaṅga, the arch of victory, a very Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, a very Nārāyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,—

(L. 7).— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Maṇḍa-rata,— who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgā through (its) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind ; (who has the hereditary title of) the lord of Vāḥbhi, the best of towns ; who is as noble as Bhagiratha ; who is a marvel among men who pierce ; who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ; who cuts off noses when he is angry ; who is a very Śūdraka (devoted) only to war ; (and) who is the arithmetician of Bātuga,— said " Prefer a request ! " Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called " the shining river (?) of kindness," said, " Do (this) favour ! " Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Bejātūr of (the district called) Kejale nāḍ. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Chālāsvara at Ātukūr, at (the place where) the boar and the dog killed each other,<sup>21</sup> he (Permāṇḍi) gave<sup>22</sup> land yielding two *khaṇḍugas* (of grain), at the site called Maltikālāṅga below the large tank.

(L. 13).— Any cultivator (who destroys) that land, (or) the ruler of the district (if he does so), (or) any governors of the village who destroy<sup>23</sup> this land,— he incurs (the guilt of) the sin committed by that dog ! If the Gorasa, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (the guilt of) the sin committed by (that) dog ! Ōm !

(L. 15).— Saying " We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chōḷa, like a male buffalo in coitu, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (their) prowess " in saying ' Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chōḷa which, blazing (with wrath), have opposed (us), we will resist the valiant men who confront (us), if (indeed) there be any (to make a stand) at the place of meeting and piercing. ' "— what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ? The king was at (his) back ; a multitude of enemies opposed (him) in front ; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (in perspiration) to the (very) edges of (their) garments ;— under these circumstances he, a very Śūdraka (devoted) only to war, dripping (with sweat), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (and) the brave Lakshmi, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called " the fortress of the Chōḷa. " " Ōm !

#### THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

(L. 20).— Hail ! When Bātuga, having fought and killed Rāchamalla, the son of the glorious Ereyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand :— At the time when Kannaradēva was warring against the Chōḷa, Bātuga treacherously,<sup>24</sup> while (they) were taking the air (together), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,

<sup>21</sup> lit. " died together. "

<sup>22</sup> lit. " they gave " (better) ; the word is in apposition with *permāṇḍigaṇ* (l. 6).

<sup>23</sup> lit. " who destroys " (*śalida*) ; this sentence illustrates well the change of construction from the singular to the plural, and back again (compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 146, note 15). The words " this land " are rather unnecessary after the " that land " which stands at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>24</sup> *poṭṭa* (seems to be some derivative from *pōṭari*, ' a brave man ' ; see note 18 above, regarding the prefix).

<sup>25</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>26</sup> lit. " as a thief. "



Rājāditya; and then Kannarādēva gave to Būtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Beṭvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukād Seventy, and the Bāgenāḍ Seventy.

(L, 21).— Being pleased with the manner in which Manalarata stood out in front and pierced (*his foes*), Būtuga gave (*to him*), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Ātukūr Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyūr of (*the*) Beṭvola (*country*). (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

### XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at Karitalai, a village in the Muḍvārā Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (*Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3' North, Longitude 80° 46' East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents<sup>2</sup> of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1' broad by 1' 8" high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some *akṣaras* have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1". The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nāgari of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words *yas-cha*, in line 5, and *kim vaktum*, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *ṛ*, and that the sign of the *jihvāmūltya* once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the *apadhmāntya* once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripuri, especially Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bhradvāja there was a Brāhman, named Bhākamiśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarājadeva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dīkṣhito*), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illusious Lakshmanarāja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, p. 8; also Dr. Fied's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called Pāṇsger, is really a name of the planet Saturn; see line 24 of the text.

From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a *pura* (or *brahmapura*, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brāhmanas; and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations, made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brāhmanas mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmanarāja, gave the village of Dīrghasākhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31); while his queen, Rāhādā, gave the village of Chakrahrādī (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śaṅka[ragaṇa, the king's son(?)], a devout worshipper of Vishnu (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhallipāṭaka in the district of Dhavalaharā and the village Antarapāṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vatagartikā in the Mālā 'group of twelve,' are besides mentioned among the donations to Vishnu, after the founder of the temple called 'the holy Somasendideva, in the mutilated verses 35-37'. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanarāja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva and his son Lakshmanarāja, the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa, of the Bilhari inscription (*ante*, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dīrghasākhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kāritālāi (or Karcetullas).

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

L. 1. . . . . \*

2. निमोणि प्रदानि वाननमहापाताय कच्छाहदी ।

प्र[ख]चीकृतदान एव तु वनेः प्रादादनन्धर्जितो

पामान्ना(न्ना)कच्छातये व(व)इ[नरांसु]ष्टानरा[भा] ७ - [१]<sup>2</sup> - [१].

3. वंमाद्वरदावसुनेरननाद्वानतो<sup>3</sup> वमी इवापरो[भु]त् ।

बीमावमिदः चित्तिप्रचमः वसुधुतायोक्तमार्गयोः ४<sup>4</sup> - [२].

कुष्ठितधिपयो धिम[यो] . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The mutilated state of verses 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *kād-śadya*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean 'a field sown with a *kād* of grain', or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kāritālāi.

<sup>2</sup> I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word *śadya*, mentioned *ante*, p. 130, note 83.

<sup>3</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>4</sup> Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of *śloka*s, which it contained, is preserved; but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> The last *śloka* of the preceding line must have been वम्. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Rāi, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmanarāja), who must have been spoken of in the last portion of the inscription.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śāntālikāṛīṭa.

<sup>7</sup> I should have expected to read here वम् माद्वरदावसुनेरने वमीवमी.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Upejāli.

<sup>9</sup> The *śloka*s, here broken away, probably were वीमः, i.e. वमीमः.



L. 4.

सौम्यो बु(बु)धो न बु(बु)धः ।

अक्षविः कविरपि यस्मादतिप्रसोम्येवमपहसितं ॥<sup>12</sup> —[3].

यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्वातवेदस्ततरखरतापीतमगातो धरित्री ।

दिग्भिभुज[ग].

5. रावानन्तकृष्यैः समूहे कलितद्वयुपोऽनष्टधैर्यः कर्वाचित् ॥<sup>13</sup> —[4].

यस्य ॥

अक्षीकरत्कुत्र<sup>14</sup> न देवप्रेमान्वाचोखनकुत्र न वा सरांसि ।अविश्वधत्कुत्र<sup>15</sup> न कूपवा[पी].6. रुरुपवाधवणानि कुत्र ॥<sup>16</sup> —[5].

अवाप्य यं श्रीसुवराजदेवो धराधरं प्राच्यनिवाशमालो ।

धापोषतिं व्यस्तसमस्तदीर्घा मन्त्रप्रधानं कुलमोक्षचारं ॥<sup>17</sup> —[6].

न संदिश्ये वे-

7. दे द्रवद्वधिवो(वो)हा प्रदक्षिणेरतर्कस्तर्कव्ययनवममतिस्तनुमतिषु ।

य आधो वेदान्ते अरचनिपुणः काव्यसरथः<sup>18</sup> स तस्यासीत्पुनः प्रयित इह सोमेश्वर इति ॥<sup>19</sup> —[7].

पुष्टे-

8. नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमधरिजे तोर्व्यत्रिके किमपि यः कुग्रतो व(व)भूव ।

इत्यवपातनपरीचयकर्माशले रजतवैज्यनुपमो धुरि भीमतां च ॥<sup>20</sup> —[8].

एका कला मूर्तिं म[शा].

9. इमौलिरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः ।

योमहसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः<sup>21</sup> कलाहार्त्तयितुं कृती कः ॥<sup>22</sup> —[9].

महः संहितकाञ्चनैकनिचयः पुष्टपुषारोत्तरै-

कृतो[दुर]जा-

10. अ एव हिमवान्दीदी गिरिः स्थाटिकः ।

वर्धप्रसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रैकैकवो(वो)धावधिः

सौम्योपाधुपमीयते कथमिव आसन्नयेनासुना ॥<sup>23</sup> —[10].

अपा[स्तु]कुम्भं ये-

11. न नवनीतमनीयत ।

वसुप्रचयितां यष्टे वशिभिर्दुःकरं<sup>24</sup> चि किं ॥<sup>25</sup> —[11].

अपास्तकाञ्चिर्भूत[मु]ल[र]त्कुम्भैर्दुग्धुली [ष्ट?]त[दु?]रवासाः ।

अलौकि[कलेन][विद्ये]पचार्य[यो].

12. धितां पर्वणि वेध एवः ॥<sup>26</sup> —[12].

अन्नीदम्नीन्विज्वर विधिवद्विह्रि जामोपयुक्ता-

मध्वर्यो नां सुवसपि समं जालयाद्य सुवेण ।

तसैर्वाभिर्भयतु सविधे गार्हपत्यस्य प-

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Udgiti.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Nāliṇī.<sup>14</sup> Originally अक्षीकरत्कुत्र was engraved, but the first akṣhara 'र' was struck out.<sup>15</sup> Originally अविश्वध, but altered to अविश्वध.<sup>16</sup> Metre: Upendrarajik.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>18</sup> It is somewhat doubtful whether 'सरथः' or 'सरथः' was engraved.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śikhariṇī.<sup>20</sup> Metre: Vamśatālikā.<sup>21</sup> Originally अष्टः, altered to अष्टाः.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Indrarajik.<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śikhariṇī.<sup>24</sup> Read वसुध and 'दुग्धुली'.<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭup).<sup>26</sup> Metre: Upajāti.



I. 13.

बो-

स्वेवं प्रोत्तुम्हशुकगणा यज्जनो यस्त सन्धौ ॥<sup>a</sup> —[13].  
 धन्तर्वशिक वासमन्दिरमहो गन्धोदकी चान्धतां  
 वारस्तीजन देहि भास्तरशिक्षा[ग]प्रदोपान्ध(स्व)हन् ॥<sup>(1)</sup>  
 त्वं से-

14.

रेन्नु निधेहि गन्धमखिलं राज्ञि त्वमप्यादता  
 वेवे स्या इति भा(सा)रिकोदितसम्भायं [य]दनापुरे ॥<sup>a</sup> —[14].  
 विश्वेपि विश्वजित्कोटिमगमन्मत्तन्तवः ।  
 [स\*][ल्व]स्वं ददतस्तस्य श्रीमच्छेदीन्द[म]-

15.

निगुण ॥<sup>a</sup> —[15].

[शस्त] ययत्तम्भौ रणशिरसि सदा शमितं होतुसूतै-  
 र्नीतिं प्रहृजादिभेदेरतिमधुरगिरोहातुभिर्मायकैश्च ।  
 चध्वर्युः [क]र्मावय्यः प्रचरति च करो दानसंसि-

16.

स्तवस्त-

स्तस्य श्रीमच्छेदीन्दमधुरगणने के वयं तुच्छवाचः ॥<sup>a</sup> —[16].  
 वात<sup>b</sup> त्वमाधरोह [भ]स्मति दोला भूतिचमालिचिन्त ।

17.

श्रीमज्जम्भराज स्तवमदायस्त दोलायां ॥<sup>a</sup> —[17].  
 प्रामादोद्यमकारि तेन कृतिना देवस्य देव्यदृष्टः  
 श्रीमच्छेदीन्दसन्तुलितकेनाच्छादिताशामुखः ।  
 यस्तोच्चैः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः प्रेङ्गन्वियहामिनां(नः)<sup>c</sup>  
 मञ्चां [व्या]-

18.

घुटने करोत्वविरलं ददाधनोतिधुवं ॥<sup>a</sup> —[18].

चक्षुरति व(ध)हिरन्तरादधानः कुटिलतरत्वमधःकृतान्धकोर्तिः । ।  
 [पि] ७ ७ इव समुह्यतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्वलोक एषः ॥<sup>a</sup> —[19].

19.

लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रे] ददानी विमुक्तिमादर्शं(रि)नेविस्वरूपः ॥  
 [क]लामगाक्षित दानवारैरियोष्यया[य] ७ ७ [वा]मनत्वं ॥<sup>a</sup> —[20].  
 चलमसमुद्वयपान्तसंसक्तशृङ्गांशुकघटित[य]-

20.

रीरेणोच्छितेन ध्वजे[न] ।

॥कनक[क]लशरोचिर्दृष्टलम्बप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्वं ॥<sup>a</sup> —[21].  
 [उ]द्यतानां परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय मङ्गते यतः ।  
 अपि दुर्दृग्मनो भानुर्भवल-

<sup>a</sup> Metre, Mandākrāntā.  
<sup>b</sup> The *vaahava* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.  
<sup>c</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikṛānta.  
<sup>d</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuakṛāntā).  
<sup>e</sup> Metre, Śaṅgīhā.  
<sup>f</sup> The exact meaning of this line I do not understand.  
<sup>g</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>a</sup> This correction appears to have been made already in the original.  
<sup>b</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikṛānta.  
<sup>c</sup> Metre, Puṣpitaṅga.  
<sup>d</sup> Metre, Upajāti.  
<sup>e</sup> The *vaahava* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.  
<sup>f</sup> Metre, Mālika.

L. 21.

ख सुदृशं(शं)नः ॥<sup>१</sup> —[22].

अजपटविकटान्तम्बान्तिसर्पसमीरे मिलदभरमरिक्तेवश्यमभीतमाह्वे ।  
तरणिरन्तुभूतं यामयुक्ताभिगम्ये निजयतुरगाणां वातघटन्द<sup>२</sup> ।

22.

[दा]ति ॥<sup>३</sup> —[23].

अस्योक्तुङ्गो[च]माह्वानवरतगमनोद्धृष्टिसोदद्रवाहः  
प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेभ्यो घटयति युगलं चक्रयोर्व्योतसंख्यं<sup>४</sup> ।  
मह्यं कूटान्तरालस्वपुटनिपतनोत्था-

23.

— — — [द]ण्डः

सायं सायं जनानां<sup>५</sup> कलयति नितरामचवर्गं समयं ॥<sup>६</sup> —[24].  
मयति रघममुषेइक्षिणेनोत्तरेण अरति हि दिवसानां कुचनप्राचनानि ।  
त-

24.

— — — — — [मि]रुवातेष्यमिहो भुवमनभिविलंघं प्राप्य सोदलमन्दं ॥<sup>७</sup> —[25].

अलङ्कारमिहरेवेणिलङ्गनव्यसनादिव ।  
पातङ्गिरङ्गु(ङ्गु)व्यापतिरसपात्रमभू-

25.

— — — [॥<sup>८</sup>] —[26].

— — — — — [म]राहचरणसोदादृदक्षकिर्णं  
पृष्ठं मे तव तन्त्र[णो]तविमप्राया शिरःसन्ततिः ।  
मा माह्वमितीपस्यं निदधे तत्तावदेतद्भुवं  
कुम्भस्यापि [व]-

26.

— — — — — वाहे भवन् ॥<sup>९</sup> —[27].

किं व(व)दुना ॥  
सर्व[प्रासा]दराजोयं नियतं प्रतिभाति नः ।  
यदस्य केतुदण्डायतन्त्रवत्त्वा(त्वा)यते विधुः ॥<sup>१०</sup> —[28].  
क्येयादावात्यमेतत्तु-

27.

— — — — — [रमु]ख्यः

प्र(त्र)ङ्गाच्छाधारमूर्धुं [दृढ]तरजगतीनिचलोभावमहोः ।  
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्ताम्भुररिपुमरणं यावदेतच्चकास्तो-  
त्येतच्चायंसनं

28.

— — — — — [क]रुणं ॥<sup>११</sup> —[29].

अथोविम[त्युरे] चाक्किचटौ भगवत्सुनिव ।  
दोर्ध्वाश्लिङ्गनामानमेभ्यो वामसदावृपः ॥<sup>१२</sup> —[30].  
योमलक्षणराजो यामं देवा-

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

\* Read "मती and वाताहन्द".

\* Metre, Mālinī.

\* This may have been altered to "सम्यं" in the original.

\* Possibly this has been altered to चक्राणां.

\* Metre, Śṛṅgharā.

\* Metre, Mālinī.

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

\* Metre, Śṛṅgharā.

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

- L. 29. . . . . [1\*]  
 . . . . . दादय्यं चहं भानोः ॥<sup>31</sup> —[31].  
 वृषानुमत्वा भज्जा व खीयया तस्य राज्ञा ।  
 ग्रामं वज्रहृदीमधौ महादेवो आश्रित्यत् ॥<sup>32</sup> —[32].  
 वीमह-  
 30. . . . . खौ ।  
 देवाय दानग्रौणी ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णवश्चपरमः ॥<sup>33</sup> —[33].  
 धवलहरामं(व)हं प्रायश्चत्स्त्रिपाटकं ग्रामं ।  
 भानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहणे देवा-  
 31. . . . . [१\*]<sup>34</sup> —[34].  
 . . . . . [लचेल]हं ददौ ।  
 तन्ममोपि वराहाय चितं हादय्यच्छिष्टं ॥<sup>35</sup> —[35].  
 मातादादयौ ग्रामं ग्रामनं वटमलिका ।  
 खवीये ग्रामने वीमान्[सं]  
 32. . . . . [१\*] —[36].  
 . . . . . [यते] ।  
 सोमोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवाग्रमिवागतः ॥ —[37].  
 पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः<sup>35</sup> शुक्लामिकादगौ ददौ ।  
 हादमीमपि यत्नायाः धी-  
 33. . . . . [१\*] —[38].  
 . . . . . का तथा ।  
 निम्बमिकां भट्टी गीष्ठां योडमोहितयं तस्य ॥ —[39].  
 कथागपच्छले देविहीनमध्वे आवेदयत् ।  
 भार्हवाविग्रमं व वा(वा)हं पाद-  
 34. . . . . [१\*] —[40].  
 . . . . . ।  
 [वागू]निकमधानश्च परणपद्यागतं ददौ । (१) —[41].  
 परणपद्यागदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिक्षया ।  
 खलमिवाद्यतस्य मण्डलं सकलं ददौ ॥ —[42].

<sup>31</sup> Meter, Āryā.

<sup>32</sup> Meter, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>33</sup> Meter, Uḍḍi.

<sup>34</sup> Meter, Āryā.

<sup>35</sup> Meter, from here to the end, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>36</sup> All this is quite clear in the rubbing.



## XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1161.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIRLHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nāgpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid.<sup>1</sup> And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W. Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattārā.<sup>3</sup> On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say. And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation. I now re-edit this inscription from excellent estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 8½" high; and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4' 11½" long. No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single *akṣaras* and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 21, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text. The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about ⅜", in the separate line 41 about ⅝". The characters are Nāgarī of the beginning of the 12th century A. D.; they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya*<sup>4</sup> in *vāṣṭpāmbhalikāya*, in line 12. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *om namo Bhūvatya* and the date *saṁ 1161* at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks. Except in the word *nirbbhara*, in line 18,<sup>5</sup> the letter *ḍ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings *śhanna* for *śhanya*, in lines 6 and 10, *nistrimā* for *nistrimā*, in line 16, *chakshuhkaryam* for *chakshuhkaryam*, in

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. I, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VII, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> According to Lassen his copy was sent him on the title page 'Sammit No. 57,' and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen's text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I find certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Pandit and brought to Bombay. To prove this in detail would be a waste of time. It will be sufficient to say that Lassen's copy furnishes no help wherever the stone is damaged, and that its readings in those places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Pandit.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for *ḍ*.

<sup>5</sup> But not in line 41, where we read *nirbbhara*.

line 24, *tajūair* for *tajjūair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhram* for *vidhaddhram*, in line 41. The language is correct.<sup>4</sup> It contains several uncommon words; but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmāṇḍakavya*, apparently denoting 'the vault of heaven' or 'the firmament,' in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13. As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31. The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kūśa* grass.

The inscription is a *Prasaśti* or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II.) to Lakshmadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Ābū) the sage Vasishtha, when his wonderful cow Nandini was being carried off by Viśvāmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmitra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized. The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisimha (vv. 16-17). He was succeeded by his son Siyaka (vv. 20-22); and after him came his son Muñjarāja (vv. 23-25). Muñjarāja's younger brother Sindhurāja (vv. 26-28), and Sindhurāja's son Bhojadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karna who, joined by the Karnaṭas,<sup>5</sup> had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet's account Lakshmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripuri (v. 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vāṅkshu, and contains a well-known play on the word *kira*.<sup>6</sup>

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpura *maṇḍala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapātaka instead. Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmidhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself. From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *prasaśti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

<sup>4</sup> The use of *adikant* in the first compound of verse 20, for *adikant*, I ascribe to an error of the writer.

<sup>5</sup> As Karna is joined here with the Karnaṭas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karnaṭas in the Udaypur *Prasaśti*, ante, vol. I, p. 223, line 20.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., above, p. 15, verse 12.



This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Paramāras of Mālava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, *ante*, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Naravarman the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in the *Transactions Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarman; and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

## TEXT.\*

I. 1. श्रीं [॥] श्रीं नमो भारते ॥

प्रसादोदायमाधुर्यमाधिसमतादयः ।

युववीर्यं गुणाः सन्ति वान्देवौ तेषां सन्तु नः ॥<sup>1</sup>—[1].

एक एव भुवनत्रयेषु न खोपतिमवतु वा विभूतये ।

यस्य मध्यमपदयितोष्यसौ भास्करप्रभृतयश्चासति ॥<sup>2</sup>—[2].

जातिं वत्तद् वि[भ्याणा]<sup>3</sup> सु-

2. वाजंकारवारवः ।

सरसाद्य प्रसीदन्तु सक्तयः सुरयश्च नः ॥<sup>4</sup>—[3].

दुर्दरारिपुरभङ्गभोषणो भूरिभूतिसवित्रो[यभूषण]<sup>5</sup> ।

[रा]जराजकृतसन्निधयः क्रियाद्विज्वलशमदयः शिवः शिवं ॥<sup>6</sup>—[4].

आता मञ्जुवर्णवोत्पत्ते न[म]द्वाप्यसक्तिरुपुटे ।

महेश[स्याचि]-

3. ता मुक्ता जयन्त्यधोऽजयोऽनयः ॥<sup>7</sup>—[5].

वैराग्यं च सरासतां च नृशिरोगालां च माणानि च

व्यादानेकपत्रसौपी च वसन्ते वाचीं च वारादि च ।

उद्धतिं च विलिपनं च भजते भोमं च मय्यं च त-

द्विश्रादूपसुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वः ॥<sup>8</sup>—[6].

वेद्वरुणं सम[स्य]-

4. स्य मोनायाकृतिकेतवात् ।

स्वामिचनिर्मितामेधविश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥<sup>9</sup>—[7].

\* From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Metro, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>3</sup> Metro, Rathoddhata.

<sup>4</sup> Read विवाहा. The *śloka*s in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words जातिं वत्तद्.

<sup>5</sup> Metro, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>6</sup> The *śloka*s in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.

<sup>7</sup> Metro, Rathoddhata.

<sup>8</sup> Metro, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>9</sup> Metro, Rathoddhata.

<sup>10</sup> Metro, Sloka (Anushtubh).



धर्मि यस्तगिरीन्दगन्धर्वगिरिमा नीलाश्रमसाङ्गम-  
 ल्कान्तिवातविडम्बि(म्बि)ताम्ब(म्ब)रतलः श्रीमात्रेन्दोऽङ्गु(ङ्गु)दः ।  
 यस्य श्रीमन्तोदितविडम्बिखरपाश्वरपद्माकर-  
 धङ्गपद्मपरगचक्रमि-


L. 5. तरत्र(त्र)प्राणखण्डायते ॥<sup>10</sup>—[8].

देवेरावतमम्बमण्डलमिदं मन्त्रं व भूमण्डलं  
 कृत्वा धर्मतुलायमानं वपुषो यस्यान्तयोन्मेष च ।  
 कानि यावद्वैतमिच्छति विधिः किं शुद्धमित्येतयो-  
 र्द्वै तावदगादमर्त्यमिच्छतिस्तथात्रभोमण्डलं ॥ —[9].  
 लोमे विभिद्य जलधिप्र-

6. धिभूमिचक्रमाक्रायचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि ।  
 संसारवर्त्तने महाविषमं निधय(य)मन्मोक्षतैकतटविहारयाचलक्ष्मीः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[10].  
 तस्मिन्नेदविदां वरः स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापयः-  
 पूरणावितकान्तकोमलतटोत्तिष्ठदसिष्ठो मुनिः ।  
 यस्मैतानलधूमपार्तिरयमु-

7. नां प्रोत्थे पितृर्त्र(त्र)प्राणो  
 मङ्गामङ्गमिदं वि समनपद्(पु)प्राणखण्डं प्रति ॥<sup>12</sup>—[11].  
 विद्यामहासर्पिदुपान्तविर्वात्तघोरसंसारमैकतविषकममक्षमेतं ।  
 यस्य विलोकरयमुत्पयसंप्रवृत्तमुत्तारयन्ति शतशोऽप्युपदेशधुर्योः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[12].  
 प्रायातस्व कदाचन चितिपतेराचिन्दतः श्रीमि-  
 श्वाति-

8. श्रीचितवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनीं नन्दिनी ।  
 निर्वृता कुपितेन तेन हविषा मंजुर्विताह(ह)र्षिणी  
 वीरः श्रीपरभार इत्यनुपमः सत्त्वाभिधानोभवत् ॥<sup>14</sup>—[13].  
 रात्र्यवर्द्धनविशालधर्मभक्त्यक्तकेतुपुष्पकोर्त्तिपाविष्यः ।  
 वर्द्धतेयमहिमांशुचन्द्रमः संततिप्रतिष्ठितियेदम्बय-  
 : ॥<sup>15</sup>—[14].

9. वराजरामराजितोन्नतोद्भवः सभारतः ।  
 शङ्खेन्दुचन्द्रयोरिव अजायतायमम्बयः ॥  ॥<sup>16</sup>—[15].  
 नर्मिष्यन्नेरिमिहः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभाव-  
 प्रागन्म्यौदार्यमौर्ध्वप्रचयपरिचयप्राणसौराज्यसिद्धिः ।  
 नमस्त्वापालभालसलदलिततुलकान्तकी-

10. टोरकोटि-  
 सुखाश्रानिक्वचक्रस्वपुटितमणिमत्पादपोठीगण्डः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[16].  
 सत्त्वाश्रानिक्वचक्रस्वपुटितमणिमत्पादपोठीगण्डः

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Vamantillakā.

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Vamantillakā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Śōka (Aṇṇatubbā).

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Sūptakā.

सोमसूरातपवारणैः शुभमिरे नष्टावकाशा दिशः ।  
सर्वशक्तकरीन्दुचक्रचरणगाम्भारदीर्घास्त्रि-  
रन्ध्रीद्वुतविषय(ण)येषसविष-

L. 11. सामावरुदा इव ॥<sup>17</sup>—[17].

पातानि वडवामुखानलमिषात्पुष्पोतले च स्फुर-  
मौवर्णाचलकैतवाद्रियति च व्र(त्र)घ्नाष्टखण्डच्छन्तात् ।  
[च]ञ्चत्काञ्चनचक्रवालवलयव्याजाच्च दिग्गण्डले  
यस्याद्यापि समुद्रसत्त्वविचलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥ —[18].  
स्वर्वाङ्गेषु च विद्विषत्त्वितिषु च व्यालिन्दरीरेषु च

12. स्माराजं च रिपुत्रयं च मुरजिवागाधिराजं च यः ।  
श्रेष्ठर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारक्षमत्वेन च  
आकुर्वन्ध पराभवञ्च समतिक्रान्धं प्रसीमपात् ॥ ॐ —[19].  
तस्मादेरिन्दुपावरीधनवधुषैधव्यदुःखोद्वय-

द्वा(वा)प्याम्भ<sup>18</sup>खण्डान्तकोपदहनः श्रीमोवकीभूवृषः ।  
13. आविर्भावितनूतनसितिरयं व्र(त्र)घ्नाष्टखण्डच्छन्ता-  
वस्याद्यापि विलोकाते विद्य[द]धोधूमः<sup>19</sup> प्रतापानलः ॥ —[20].  
अनुमगनमुदक्षः स्तूलमृतीवया ये यदमिदलितकुण्डलुश्चिकुम्बस्त्रलेभ्यः ।  
सततमपि पतन्तस्तंरा यावत् पूर्वी पृथुलतरलताराव्या-

14. नभाजो भजने ॥<sup>20</sup> —[21].

अत्वाचर्यमदृष्टमनुतमिदं कश्चै समावच्छे  
को न्वेत्यतिपद्यते च तदपि प्रस्तूयते कौतुकात् ।  
उडुव्यापि धमंभराममदृशी लब्धा(भू)पि लक्ष्मीं च यः  
कुर्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागाच्च वैकुण्ठता ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>21</sup> —[22].  
तस्मादे-

15. रिवकुचिनीव(व)धुविधपारम्भ(म्भ)[यु]द्वाधर-  
प्रध्वंसैकपिनाकपाणिजनि श्रीमन्धराजो ययः ।  
प्रायः प्रातृतवान्पिपालयिषया यस्य प्रतापानलो  
लोकालोकमलामहीधवलयव्याजाश्चसीमण्डलं ॥ —[23].  
यस्मिन्मर्याति लीलयापि जलितैः सैन्यैः समुज्ज-

16. स्मितं  
वाङ्मूहविमारिधुलिपटलव्यालुमदिम्भण्डले ।  
अस्त्रदी(न्दु)करीन्दु[मञ्च]यपदप्रेङ्गोलनोच्छृङ्खल-  
प्रेङ्गुहलनादनित्तरभूतत्र(त्र)घ्नाष्टभाण्डोदरैः ॥ —[24].  
यस्मिन्(स्मिन्)गनिरस्तमस्तकतया लब्धा(भू)न्याया दुर्गमं  
देवत्वं शक्यव(व)न्ममु[ह]तमधो दृष्टा भटै-

<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 17-20, Śāradāśvīkṛtita.

<sup>18</sup> Originally विषद्वी<sup>17</sup> was engraved, but it has been al-  
tered to विषद्वी<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Māhul.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 22-24, Śāradāśvīkṛtita.

L 17.

वेदितं ।

संहर्यात्पततो विमानमिच्छरादाश्रित्य कण्ठे वृठा-

हीरा[स्वा]ररागिणी रुचिरे संभूय सिद्धाङ्गनाः ॥ २५ ॥ —[25].

तस्मादीदृश पार्ष्विवः पुत्रययाः श्रीमिथुराजोत्तुजः

स्फूर्ज्वाडवपावकस्फुट[म]हः[सौम्य]यगौर्वानलः ।

यः संघामयु-

19. गान्तवलितामुलादुर्जातदूरीकृत-

त्वज्जोलायितमण्डनायप[ट]लिनामज्ययद्वसतः ॥ —[26].

प्रजति जयिनि यत्नामिजजातेन जसे तरलतुरगवेगोद्धतभूरंगराजिः ।

विकटकरटिभारभटभुष्टरभ्यादुदित इव समन्तादन्तकालाग्निधूमः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[27].

गान्धीर्यं प्रल-

19. याण्यवस्व च व(व)लं कथान्तवातस्व च

स्वेमानं कमठेगितुष [गुरु]तां [व(व)प्राण्ड]भाण्डस्व च ।

तेजः कालवृताशनस्व च महीयस्वं युचक्रस्व च

स्वीकृतेव विनिर्मितं यमविदुः प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुजः ॥ २८ ॥<sup>26</sup>—[28].

तत्कानुभूतनैकभूषणमभूद्रूपालवृद्धामणि-

20. आवाडम्(स्व)रचुस्वि(स्वि)ताडिकमलः श्रीभोजदेवी नृपः ।

यस्माद्या[पि] स[माच]यन्ति चरणी गङ्गासना[ध्या]सिनः<sup>27</sup>

अर्वाव(व)भविनधनिर्जरनटलोटीरकोटिलिखः ॥ —[29].

रटत्पटहपाटवप्रकटभक्तस्फूर्जितस्फुरज्जमरुडम्(स्व)रीज्जमरुडिण्डिमोष्णामरा ।

स्तु-

21. टत्करटकुष्ठरप्रपदसंपतसंभ्रमभ्रमद्वयन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चम्[रुच]केः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[30].

यकुष्ठः कमलासनाय चतुरास्त्राय स्वयंभूः पुनः

पञ्चास्त्राय हराय गम्भूरपि षड्जाय पुत्राय च ।

सनानीरपि दन्दशूकपतयेज्जं सङ्गमानना-

याद्यापि स्तुहय-

22. त्वमर्च्यममितौ य[त्वीर्य]मुक्तीर्ययन् ॥ ३१ ॥<sup>29</sup>—[31].

तस्मिन्वासवव(व)भुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले

मन्त्रस्वामिनि तस्य व(व)भुदयादित्वोभयद्वपतिः ।

येनोद्धृत्य महापर्ववोपममितत्कर्णाटकरणप्र[भु]-

सुर्वीपालकदर्यितां भुवमिमां श्रीमद्वराहयितं ॥ —[32].

य-

23. आदुष्टतरप्रताप[पवनो]पादुदुर्द्वयता-

सादृशोत्तरविभ्रमादभिमुखैः प्रापच्च वैः यक्षता ।

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>26</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26, Śāntilāvīkṛtita. The third line of verse 26 has no caesura after the 12th syllable.<sup>27</sup> The asterisks in brackets look as if originally ॐ had been engraved.<sup>28</sup> Metre, Pythvī.<sup>29</sup> Metre of verses 31-37, Śāntilāvīkṛtita. Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no caesura after the 12th syllable.



मन्वे भोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्षप्रकर्षेण ते  
मि[त्रा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुमटाः प्रापुः परां निर्ब्रूति ॥ —[33].  
एकस्यां समितौ विलोक्य विजयं य-

L. 24.

ध्यापरस्था सुव-

[नक्षी?] — [वक्ष?]तां समर्थयति दुग्धिज्ञासहस्रद्वये ।  
किंत्वानन्दनिमीलितेक्षणतया श्रौते, सुखैर्विहित-  
"वक्षुःकर्णमकण्ठमप्यहिपतिः स्त्रोयं वपुर्बिन्दति ॥ ॐ ॥ —[34].  
पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्प्रयैकतरणैः सम्यक्प्रजापालन-  
ध्यापारप्र-

25.

यणः प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलक्ष्मदेवोभयत् ।

नीला येन भनुस्तयानुविदधे नामौ न वैवस्वतः  
मर्ज्वापि सदाप्यवर्तत यथा कीर्तिर्ब्रह्मैव स्वतः ॥ —[35].  
संभूय प्रियतां सुखैर्(र्ज्वा)लभराट् कुम्भराजादयः  
सद्यो नमस्त [वा द्रु]तं नमत वा प्रत्य-

26.

विपुष्पोभुजः ।

चक्षुर्गच्छ पिथीयतामनिमिषाः पांसुः पुरा पूरय-  
त्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटञ्चो यस्य स्वनच्छद्मना ॥ —[36].  
यस्मिन्मार्ग[ति] वा(वा)न्मोपि विपुर्ः पूर्वैः परित्यज्यते  
कल्पायस्य कथापि कातरतया नापेक्षते दक्षिणैः ।  
आमावर्त्तिरस-

27.

न्यलेति विकलेर्विधीयते पश्चिमै-

मूर्त्तुः केवलमुत्तमैर्बृपतिभिर्द्वेषाप्ययोधाश्चते ॥ —[37].  
प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिग्मे हरेर्विहीर्ययानन्वसमानदन्तिना ।  
यथाविशङ्कोदपतेः पुरं दूर[श्चाद्या]ग्रगङ्गे सहसा पुरंदरः ॥<sup>१०</sup>—[38].  
उत्थाञ्चोचतिसविमत्तजनि-

28.

ताजस्रप्रयाणक्रमे-

शाकम्ब त्रिपुरी रथैकरसिकान्वि[ध्वं]स्य विद्वेषिणः ।  
येनावास्तत विन्ध्यनिर्भरमरुत्तंवारचारुक्षस-  
श्रीलोद्यानलतावितानवस्रतौ रेवोपकण्ठ[स्व]ले ॥<sup>११</sup>—[39].  
जातानि जन्मन्ममार्जनानि बीजानि यत्कुञ्जरमज्जनानि ।  
तटाचलो-

29.

आटनतत्पराया रेवाप्रवाहोर्गोपरंपरायाः ॥<sup>१२</sup>—[40].

ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्भरकराः कुम्भायमानोवम-  
त्कटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविगलहानायमानाश्चसः ।  
प्रायश्चोपि विरोधिस्मिभुरधिया यद्वाहिनीवारणै  
रुन्मीलनमदमदुरैर्वि(र्वि)भिदिरे विन्ध्यस्य

<sup>१०</sup> Read "वक्षुः".<sup>११</sup> Metre, Upendravajra.<sup>१२</sup> Metre, Śrīrūlavikrānta.<sup>१३</sup> Metre, Upajitā.



एतदेति न कोपि यत्र जलधौ [त]स्याप्य[विधे] प्रय[ः]

[पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः कृतैकवृत्तैस्तैश्चै-

L. 37.

रगस्त्वायितं ॥<sup>५०</sup>—[50].

यैः संभूय तिमिङ्गलप्रभृतिभिः संसर्पिणस्त[न्व]ते

पीताधानधव(व)श्रुतां मिश्ररिणो मैनाजमुखा अपि ।

स्वास्थ्यान्तरडम्ब(म्ब)राणि दधिर<sup>५१</sup> तैरप्यपेण्यु(स्यु)धौ

यस्मेनागजराज[पीव]रकरा — — ॐ नोच्छृङ्खलैः ॥ —[51].

अथातिचित्तोरिव राज-

38.

राजमन्यं तदायां प्रति यच्च यातुः ।

द्विधापि भोत्वुत्तिष्ठतचित्तपाशैर्भूयैः प्रतोपैर्विभयैर्वै(वै)भूते ॥<sup>५२</sup>—[52].

आरामाः समरा मरावपि तदा पुत्रानपूगादिम-

हुल्मान्त्वैर्नदेयतायितत्रयश्रीमशयःपादपाः ।

यस्यासम्भुजदण्डव[ण्ड]मलमलोलासितवीकृत-

श्रीश्रीपालक-

39.

पालमण्डलमललोलासितकुञ्जाकुलाः ॥<sup>५३</sup>—[53].

खिलोत्प्लाततुक्कदसचित्तमहाहावलोवेक्षण-

क्राम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकसदौ वंशूपकण्ठसले ।

येनावास्त भरस्त्रुतीसविधतासाधिक्यवाक्पाठव-

द्याटुत्कट[प]तिपञ्चरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥ —[54].

तेन व्यापुर्गमण्यले सुकृति-

40.

ना यच्चैः चहेन्दयहे

यद्गामद्वयमयिषेण विधिना विद्यायितं अथवा ।

तद्गता नरयन्त्रदेववृत्तिः पद्यात्परीवर्त्य त-

द्गामं मोक्षलपाटकाख्यमदिशद्देववृत्त्येच्छया ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>५४</sup>—[55].

तेन स्वयंकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिवितितं ।

श्रीमन्नमोदरेणैतदेवामारमकार्यत ॥<sup>५५</sup>—[56].

सं ११६१ ॥

41.

श्री

चञ्चो वु(वु)धाः साधु समुत्सवध्वं कुशाचकस्यां च धियं विधध्वं<sup>५६</sup> ।

मध्यस्थभावं च समाश्रयध्वं सुखं च नः सुखिसुखामुपाध्वं ॥<sup>५७</sup>—[57].

चन्दनीयावुधौ सुखिचोतारौ तौ विपचितौ ।

यावन्तु सुखतः सान्द्रमानन्दालम्बनिर्ध्व(ध्व)रौ ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>५८</sup>—[58].

<sup>५०</sup> Metre of verses 50 and 51, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>५१</sup> Originally दधिरै seems to have been engraved.

<sup>५२</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>५३</sup> Metre of verses 53-55, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>५४</sup> Originally "हमवय" was engraved.

<sup>५५</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>५६</sup> Read विधध्व.

<sup>५७</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>५८</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Bhārati !<sup>17</sup>

(*Verse 1*). O goddess of speech and divine Durgā ! Let simplicity,<sup>18</sup> force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us !

(2). May Lakshmi's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even<sup>19</sup> the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth !

(3). May good utterances, clad in *jāti* and *eritta* metres,<sup>20</sup> pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us ! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them !

(4). May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrible when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord<sup>21</sup> of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race,<sup>22</sup> which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings !

(5). Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords !

(6). May that form<sup>23</sup> of the husbands of Umā and Lakshmi grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious !

(7). May Viṣṇu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself !

(8). Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

(9). I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*, the goddess of speech or eloquence.

<sup>18</sup> For the exact definitions of *prasaḍa*, *andhrya*, *uddharya*, *samādhi* and *samādhi*, denoting certain qualities of style, see, e.g., *Kāvyadūta* I, 45, 76, 81, 93, and 47. But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary sense, 'serenity of disposition,' etc.

<sup>19</sup> The *madhyama* *Viśṇu* *padam*, 'Viṣṇu's middle stride,' is the six. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Viṣṇu's *madhyama* *padam* already is so high, his *uttama* *padam* must be infinitely higher still.

<sup>20</sup> See *Indische Studien*, vol. VIII, pp. 180 and 194.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.*, the god Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*, the *Paramāra* family which will be eulogised in the following.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, the form of Hari-Hara or Viṣṇu-Śiva : see *ante*, vol. I, p. 211, note 47.

the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru!<sup>10</sup>

(V. 10). Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwell that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishṭha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunā, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12). His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

(13). Once upon a time, when the royal descendant<sup>11</sup> of Kusika visited him and took by force the cow Nandini, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishṭha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvāmitra, the unparalleled hero, the illustrious Paramāra, rightly so named.<sup>12</sup>

(14). Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Rājyavardhana, Viśāla, Dharmabhrīṭ, Satyaketu, and Prithukīrti.

(15). This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Rāma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

(16). In this race there was the king Vairisinha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity and bravery; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diadems which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śeṣha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching rutty elephants.

(18). Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals.' What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbinda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, Viśvāmitra.

<sup>12</sup> *Viz.*, 'the slayer of enemies.' See *ante*, vol. I, p. 236, verse 8.



(V. 19). He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishnu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Siyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuntha.\*

(23). From him was born the illustrious king Mūñjarāja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Śiva did to (Dakṣha's) sacrifice;† and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokāloka mountains.

(24). Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

(26). After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindhurāja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

(28). In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

\* Vaikuntha, i.e., Vishnu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakṣmī, and did the work of the gods; the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well-minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (*Adā na tai kṣep(ha)lām*).

† See the first verse of the first act of Kālidāsa's *Sākeśī*, and Sir M. Monier-Williams' note on it.



(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhojadeva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud *gharjharas*,<sup>26</sup> by a multitude of shrill *damarus*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his ruddy elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuntha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhū again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods<sup>27</sup> in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.<sup>28</sup>

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.<sup>29</sup>

(34). The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, . . . . . shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious Lakshmadeva, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: 'Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!'

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.<sup>30</sup>

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

<sup>26</sup> *Gharjharas* and *damarus* are names of certain kinds of drums.

<sup>27</sup> *Kūṣṭhān* would also mean 'crowded with soldiers.'

<sup>28</sup> I.e., Vishnu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks.

<sup>29</sup> See the *Parāśara-smṛiti*, Calcutta ed., p. 626; *Dade* (max. *parashau* like *śrīya-maṇḍala-bhāṣana*, *parivṛṭṭa* *papaṅkṣat* etc. *raṇe* *śāḍhīmukha* *śatāḥ*).

<sup>30</sup> I take the words *dandāḥpy* *ayudhādyante* to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by *ayudhādyante*, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. *Aya*, i.e. *ayudh*, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter *ayas*, 'iron, steel,' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune.' Compare below, verses 40 and 52.

quarter,<sup>71</sup> then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauda, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

(V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripuri and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tent<sup>72</sup> were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kāliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered<sup>73</sup> by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

(44). Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Parashottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.'<sup>74</sup>

(45). The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to . . . get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even these ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

(46). When, like the pitcher-born Agsatya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.<sup>75</sup>

(47). The water of the Tāmraparnī which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *I.e.*, the east.

<sup>72</sup> The word of the original would also mean 'deprived of their trunks.'

<sup>73</sup> The words translated by 'it was the holy Parashottama'

and 'the worthy Bali' would also mean 'glorious is that chief of men' and 'powerful enemies.'

<sup>74</sup> See Mr. S. P. Papill's note on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* VI. 81.

<sup>75</sup> See *ib.*, notes on verses IV, 47 and 50.



(V. 48). Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Rāma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

(49). When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuṇa despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.<sup>79</sup>

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Maināka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timiṅgila and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.<sup>80</sup>

(51). By those same Timiṅgila and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Maināka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.<sup>81</sup>

(53). And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnāga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54). Being encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkshu,<sup>82</sup> which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kira chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

(55). This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave<sup>83</sup> with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura *mandala*. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravar-madeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapātaka, at the request of the three places.

(56). And he has ordered the illustrious Lakṣmidhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

<sup>79</sup> Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuṇa the regent of the west.

<sup>80</sup> Agastya is failed to have swallowed the ocean.

<sup>81</sup> Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter.

<sup>82</sup> According to Sir M. Monier-Williams' dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges.

<sup>83</sup> The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative *parasmai* in reference to which the demonstrative *tasmāi* would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.



The year 1161.

Oṣa!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *kusa* grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

(58). Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

#### XIV.—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ.

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer. Nos. i—viii, x—xxi, xxiii—xxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankālī Tila at Mathurā during the period from November 1890 to March 1891.<sup>1</sup> No. ix comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No. xxii is identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxviii with Mr. Growae's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kāman or Kādambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka's edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhāti's inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śūngas (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 138). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pālī type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in *āsa* from *a*-stems, instead of *assa*, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.<sup>2</sup> It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial *a* of *āntevāsi*, which is also found in *āntevāsi*, No. iv, finds an analogy in the curious *parāntam*, which occurs twice in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*, I. 3, 9, 23 and I. 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p. v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound *pāsādetoranam* is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythis period, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sāncī Stūpa, No. i, see *ante*, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankālī Tila, (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankālī Tila. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's article *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL, p. 608, No. 145.

vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śodāsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurā. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's lion-pillar, where Śodāsa is called the son of Rajula.<sup>2</sup> Though the precise date assigned to Śodāsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B.C., before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śodāsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahārāja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No. ii is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No. iii, mentions also a Mahākshatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No. ii, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No. x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahākshatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kushanas reigned there. The *maṅgala* of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed *ya*, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary *ya*, the *da*, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the *ta*. The *ra* has a very curious shape in the word *Śivayakā*, No. v, l. 2a, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No. iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No. ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gotiputra Idrapāla or Idrapālita with Gotiputra, "the black cobra for the Śakas and the Pothayas" mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurā.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Samvat 4 to Samvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, *bhavatu*, No. xiii, *antu*, No. xviii, and *nirmartayati*, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have *śishyasya paṇḍitya*

<sup>2</sup> *Academy* of April 25th, 1891, p. 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion-pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, I too, read *Rajulasa putra Śodasa chhatrasa*. But I do not feel quite certain that *Rajula* and *Rajubula* are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.



*Nandiya*, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form *Haganamdia* in No. ix of the collection in vol. I, and shows that masculine *i*-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No. xxix, which shows *ganaya vggahiniya*, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note *asma* or *asmi kshuge*, "at that moment," in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, *pasa* "fifty" in No. xvii and *dedpand* "fifty-two" in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahārāshṭrī *ḍāvanya* and the *ḍāva* or *būva* of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles *mudhārāja rājātiroja*, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, e.g., No. xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balatrāta and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Samvat 50, and the teacher Jeshṭhasthi, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like *Mahalo*, has to be read *Mihilo*, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In *protima* No. xxix, the *ā*-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the "anyhow-style" of the Indian writers and masons. In No. xxix of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of *ta* in the word *arahaṇḍina*, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped *ta* of *Navahastisya* is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for *na* in *bhrātrinaṃ* (l. 3). The looped form of *ta* is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siriyāṇa Satakani.\* But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the *va* which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like *ma*. It is quite distinct in the word *vadhuge*, No. xxvii, l. 1, likewise in *viḥare*, No. xlii, and in *Huvishkosya*, No. xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, *siddha*, discussed in the remark on No. xxvii, in note 3 on No. xxxvi, and note 2 on No. xlii. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase *bahavo[to] vacaka oṃ ganino oṃ*, "of the great preacher and *gani*," No. xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, *ante*, vol. I, p. 375. Another amusing instance of the

\* *Arch. Rep. Brit. Ind.*, vol. IV, plate iv, No. 22; compare also No. 20.



utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No. xxxiv, *Navahastiya dhīdā, grahasenasya vadhū ... Sicasenasya..... bhātrīnam mān jāyāge*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *i*, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D., and that No. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. V, p. 59ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvānlāl's paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rājataranginī* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkar-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stūpa existed in Mathurā, which in A.D. 107 was considered to have been built by the gods, i.e., was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachchhaliya kula (No. xliii) and of the Vidyādhari Śākha (No. xxxix) for the Kottiya or Kotika gāṇa, as well as those of the Nāṭika, or perhaps Nāḍika kula (No. xxviii) of the Aryyabhyista or perhaps Aryyanyista kula and of the Sa[mkāsiyā] Śākha (No. xxxvi) for the Vārana gāṇa. The schools connected with the Kottiya gāṇa offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpavṛkṣa*. The Nāṭika or Nāḍika kula may be considered to correspond to the Māliḍḍa kula of the *Sthavīrāvalī*, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Aryya-Aṇiyasa(to)* and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of *Ārya-Kaniyasa*, another equivalent for which, *Aryya-Kaniyasika*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxvii).

#### No. I.<sup>a</sup>

समनस माहरक्षितास चर्तिवासिस वञ्जीपुत्रस भावकास उत्तरदासक[1]स पासादोतीरन[2]स\*

#### TRANSLATION.

"An ornamental arch for the temple" (*the gift*) of the lay-hearer Uṭaradāsaka

\* Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2" — 6".

<sup>a</sup> According to the impression the reading सानवासि is perhaps possible. Possibly उत्तरदासक is to be read.

<sup>b</sup> Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.

(*Uttarādāsaka*),<sup>a</sup> son of the Vachhi (*Vātsī mother and*) disciple<sup>a</sup> of the ascetic Māharakṣita (*Māgharakṣita*).<sup>b</sup>

No. II<sup>11</sup>.

- L. 1. नम अरहतो वर्धमानस ।<sup>11</sup>  
 2. स्व[र]मिस महस्यपस शोडासस सवत्तर ४० (?) २ ज्येष्ठमास २ दिवसे ८ हरितिपुत्रस पालस  
 भयाये समसाविकाये<sup>12</sup>  
 3. कोट्टिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुवेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आयवती प्रतिष्ठापिता  
 प्राय—[म]—  
 4. आयवती अरहतपुत्राय [३]

TRANSLATION.

<sup>a</sup> Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahākṣhatrapa Śoḍāsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Āyavatī (*Āryavatī*), was set up by Amohini (*Amohinī*), the Kochhi (*Kautī*), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (and) wife of Pāla, son of a Hariti (*Haritī or Hārītī mother*), together with her sons Pālaghoṣa, Poṭthaghoṣa (*Prosh[haghoṣa and*) Dhana-ghoṣa. . . the Āyavatī (*is*) for the worship of the Arhat.<sup>12</sup>

No. III<sup>13</sup>.

- L. 1. सिद्धम् । नमोस्त्वर्द्धरा,<sup>14</sup>  
 2. महाराजमहास्यपस — —<sup>15</sup>

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! . . . Mahārāja, Mahākṣhatrapa-  
 Ma . . .

No. IV<sup>16</sup>.

- L. 1. भद्रतज्यसेनस्य अतिवासिनीये  
 2. धामघोषाय दानो पासादी [३]<sup>17</sup>

TRANSLATION.

"A temple, the gift of Dhāmaghoṣā (*Dharmaghoṣā*), the female disciple<sup>18</sup> of the venerable Jayasena."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Compare the Buddhist name *Uttarāsana*. *Uttara* probably stands *āttara* for Uttaraphāṇḍī or Uttarabhadra-pādā.

<sup>b</sup> Regarding the form अतिवासि see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Māharakṣita was the spiritual director of Uttarādāsaka; for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on a slab measuring 3' 2" by 3' 8" and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants one of whom is holding up a parasol.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly वरी, as the ends of the upper strokes of *var* are somewhat thickened.

<sup>13</sup> The first figure of the date may possibly be 70. The Anuvāsa of ज्येष्ठ is not certain. Read वज्रवह्निवाये.

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the top of a small statue cut out of the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.

<sup>15</sup> The second vowel of वरी is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to वरी the appearance of वरि: —

<sup>16</sup> The last syllable may have been र्द्ध —

<sup>17</sup> Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torso, measuring 1' 2" by 8".

<sup>18</sup> I suppose अतिवासिनी means here, like अतिवासि in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhāmaghoṣā's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic.

No. V<sup>n</sup>.

- L. 1a. नमो अरहतानं कसुययस<sup>a</sup>  
 2a. नतकस भयाये शिवयया-  
 3a. — — ि — — ि — — ि — काये  
 1b. चायामपटो कारितो  
 2b. अरहतपुजाये [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayasaś (Śiveyakaś), wife of the dancer Phagn-  
 yaka (Phalguyakaś), . . . . . a tablet of homage (āyāgapāṭa)<sup>b</sup> was caused to be made for  
 the worship of the Arhats."

No. VI<sup>n</sup>

भगवा नमसी भग — —

## TRANSLATION.

"The divine Nemesa (Naigamesha), divine . . . . ."<sup>c</sup>

No. VII<sup>n</sup>

- L. 1. व — व  
 2. — र[क्तव]च च यो मनो  
 3. — यतनं घनश्च महतः  
 4. — — [विष्णु]कयं [न] जि<sup>d</sup>

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Prasaśti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No. VIII<sup>n</sup>

नमो अरहती महाविरस । माधुरक — — लवाडस [सा] —  
 भयाये — — व — िताये [चायामपटो] [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (Mahāvira). A tablet of homage (āyāgapāṭa the gift) of . . . itā, wife of . . . lavāḍa (?), an inhabitant of Mathurā."

<sup>a</sup> Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2' 4" by 1' 0", and bearing the representation of a stūpa with rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr. Bhagrānīś's slab, *Actes du séminaire Congress, Ind. Or.*, pt. III, met. II, p. 142.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly कसुययस, but I believe the apparent i-stroke to be accidental.

<sup>c</sup> Regarding the meaning of चायामपटो, see *note*, vol. I, p. 296.

<sup>d</sup> Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2' by 10", and bearing the representation of a large seated figure with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap.

<sup>e</sup> The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculptures, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurā.

<sup>f</sup> Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1' by 8".

<sup>g</sup> The bracketed letter looks almost like ki, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that the apparent i-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anuvāsa of ॥ is doubtful.

<sup>h</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an āyāgapāṭa), measuring 2' 10" by 2' 10".



No. IX.<sup>27</sup>L. 1. मा चरहतपुत्रा [ये]<sup>28</sup>2. गोतीपुत्रस ईद्रपा[न] — —<sup>29</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

An image of . . . . . for the worship of the Arhats . . . . of Idrapāla (*Idrapāla*),<sup>30</sup> the son of the Gotī (*Gauptī mother*).

No. X.<sup>31</sup>

— ये जीवनादाय —

## TRANSLATION.

"Of Jivanādā (*Jivanandā*)."<sup>32</sup> . . . .

No. XI.<sup>33</sup>A. मिडं स ४ वि १ दि २० वारवातो मणातो अयंहाहकियातो कुलतो वज्रमरित[ी] या] — —<sup>34</sup>B. पुष्टमित्रस्य मिश्रिनि सयिमित्राय मिश्रिनि मिष्टमित्रस्य मटचरि — — —<sup>35</sup>C. दाति सहा वज्रचेटेन वज्रदासेन — —<sup>36</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 4, the first (month of) summer, the day 20,— . . . of . . . the female convert<sup>37</sup> (*saṁhachari*) of Sihamitra (*Siṁhamitra*), the female pupil of Sathisiṁha (*Shashṭisimha*), the female pupil of Puṣyamitra . . . out of the Vārṇa *gaya*, out of the Arya-Hāṭṭakiya (*Arya-Hāṭṭakiya*) *kula*, out of the Vajjanagari (*Vārjanagari*) *śākhā* . . . . the gift . . . , together with Graha-choṭa (and) Grahadāsa."

No. XII.<sup>38</sup>

— — — ख व ५ ख ४ दि ५ कोटिया — — — — —

त[ी] ग्राह्यात [ी] वाचकस्य चये — —

## TRANSLATION.

"In the year 5 of . . . . , in the fourth (month of) summer, on the fifth day,— . . . . of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Arya . . . . (*Arya* . . . .) out of the Koṭṭiya (*gaya*) . . . . . out of the . . . . *śākhā* . . . .

<sup>27</sup> This inscription belongs to Dr. Führer's collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1' 6" by 1' 2".

<sup>28</sup> Restore *pratimā*.

<sup>29</sup> As the right half of the *ja* has been lost, the name is not certain. It may have been *Idrapālita*.

<sup>30</sup> Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.

<sup>31</sup> Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.

<sup>32</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 1" by 1' 2".

<sup>33</sup> The i-stroke of *siddhānt* has been lost; the Anuvāsa is not certain. The i-stroke of *aryahāṭṭakigāto* is faintly visible on the impression. Below the *ja* of *vajjanagari* a letter, probably another *ja*, has been lost. Restore *śākhāto*, but more syllables have probably been lost.

<sup>34</sup> At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word *nirvartanā*.

<sup>35</sup> The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end, the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.

<sup>36</sup> This translation is, of course, merely tentative; the Sanskrit equivalent is *śrīddhā arhata*.

<sup>37</sup> Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 0".

No. XIII.<sup>27</sup>A. स १० ८ स ४ दि ३ [अस्मा] — [अ] — — [वा]तो गण[तो] — — —<sup>28</sup>B. संभोगातो वच्छलियातो कुलातो गणि — — — — —<sup>29</sup>D. 1. — — — वामि लयस्य — तु मामिगिदे (?) दानं सव्यत[?]म[?] — — — —<sup>30</sup>2. — [सर्वस]वा[न] सुखाय भवतु ।<sup>31</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the third day,—on that (*date specified* as) above a fourfold [*image*], the gift of Māsagī(?), (mother of) Jāya . . . . .  
[at the request] of . . . . . a *gavi* out of the [Kottī]yagaya . . . . . out of the  
. . . . . *sambhoga*, out of Vachchaliya (*Vātsaliya*) *kula*. May it be for the wel-  
fare of all beings!"

No. XIV.<sup>32</sup>A. — — — स १० [८] व २ दि १० १<sup>33</sup>D. धितु मि[तमि]रिये भगवतो अरिष्टमिस्य [देवते]† — —<sup>34</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the second (*month of*) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . .  
. . . . . [the gift] of Mita-Śiri († *Mitrakri*), the daughter of . . . . .  
a . . . of divine Arishtanemi (*Arishtanemi*) . . . . .

No. XV.<sup>35</sup>

A. स ३० १ व १ दि १० अस्मा सुवे

B. 1. — — यातो गणतो [अ]यवेरितो गणतो [ठा]चियातो कुलातो वष्टतो : कटुमि-  
निये [य]व<sup>36</sup>2. — — — — [अय] — दासस्य निवर्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देवि सस्य । मिरिये दाणं ।<sup>37</sup><sup>27</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1' by 8". The section C, has been cut away.<sup>28</sup> Read *ayd*. The restoration *keftigālo* is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the Rasthūga has been lost.<sup>29</sup> Indistinct remnants of *eye* are visible after *gavi*. The lost piece C must have contained the name of the *Gavin* and the greater portion of the description of the daughter which is very imperfect.<sup>30</sup> The impressions point to *gāra*. For *adhiya* it is possible to read *adhiya* or *maaya*, but none of these forms admits of an explanation. May it be *Mānaya* for *Mānaya*? See below No. XXXII. Section *as-mahādevīdā prastā*.<sup>31</sup> Read *as-mahādevīdā*.<sup>32</sup> Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2' by 10".<sup>33</sup> Perhaps *as-mā* is to be restored.<sup>34</sup> The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.<sup>35</sup> Incised on base of small squatting Jina, 2' by 1' 1".<sup>36</sup> Section *keftigālo* *gandhā* *vakāto* (= *śrīkato*). Before *keftigālo* the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of D 2. the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line.<sup>37</sup> Probably *as-mā* is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between *ayd* and *as-mā* the restoration *as-mā* seems certain. The name occurs in the *Kalpavṛkṣa* (p. 79 ed. Jacobi). After *as-mā* stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:—  
कीर्तिवाली (२)कीर्ती अयवेरितो गणतो (३)चियातो कुलातो वष्टतो (४) (अयस्य) अय (कीर्तिवाली) निवर्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देवि सस्य  
कटुमिनिये वष्टमिरिये दाणं :



No. 1 Early imitated inscription.



Figure 3-41b

Inscriptions of the Kabirapada of Mathura.

No. 23 Of Solāsa



Wentworth, J. L. 1993.

No. 2 - Of unimproved Kabutrapa



1990

Archaeo-Inscriptions No. 1



100

No. 4—Archaeologic.



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No. 3. Archaio



卷一百一十五

No. 6 Article



11





## TRANSLATION.

"The year 31, the first (month of the) rainy season, the tenth day,—at this moment a gift (was made) by Grahasiri (Grahāṣiri), daughter of Buddhi (and) wife of Derila at the request of the great (?) [Garin] Aryya [-Go-]ūsa, out of the [Kottijya (gaga), the Aryya-Veri (Arya-Pajeti) śākhā, the Thāniya (Sthāniya) kula."

No. XVI.<sup>a</sup>

A. 1. मिवम् । सव[स्]रे २० । २ ऐमन्तमाने ४ दिवसे २ वारणातो यथा — — —  
वातो[कु] )<sup>b</sup>

2. — — — — —

B. 1. — पि अयन्तदिकस्य निर्वर्तना जितामितय [रितु]मन्दिस्य धीतु बुद्धिस्य कुटुम्बिनिये  
मा—<sup>c</sup>

2. रिकस्य — नो — ि धा मातु मन्थिकस्य अरहन्तप्रतिमा सर्व्वतोमदिका ।<sup>d</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success 1. In the year 32, in the fourth month of winter, on the second day, a fourfold image of the Arhat (was dedicated) by Jitāmītrā, daughter of Rītanandī (Rītanandī), wife of Buddhi (and) mother of the performer . . . . . at the request of great Aya-Nandika (Arya-Nandika), . . . . . out of the Vāraṇa gaga, the . . . ya kula . . . . ."

No. XVII.<sup>a</sup>

1. 1. पण ५० ऐमन्तमाने प — — —

2. आर्यवेरस्य — — — —<sup>b</sup>

3. ये शुधदिनस्य

4. धित

5. पूषद्विषस्य — — —

No continuous translation of the fragment is possible. The date is "the year 50 and the first or fifth (?) month of winter."

No. XVIII.<sup>a</sup>

L. 1. सिद्ध संवत्सर स्थापना ५० २ ऐमन्त[मा]स प्रव—दिवस पंचमीय २० ३ यस्य सुखे क[१]  
हियातो यरात[१]<sup>b</sup>

2. वेरातो यशतो स्तानिकियातो कुलात[१] श्रीश्वतो संभोगातो वाचकस्यापस्तुहमितस्य<sup>c</sup>

3. शिष्यो वणिष्ठास्यमगुह्यस्य प्रदचरो वाचको अयन्तदिवस्य निर्वर्तना यूस्य यम<sup>d</sup>

4. यकपुत्रस्य मोहिकस्य लौहिकाकारकस्य दानं सर्व्वस्त्वानं जितसुखायास्तु ।

<sup>a</sup> Inscribed on base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 8" by 11".

<sup>b</sup> Possibly *gandhā kottidato* is to be restored.

<sup>c</sup> *Restore gopi*, *vita* is uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps *prāśārikas* is to be restored, which might mean 'a ferryman.' See below, No. XXXIX.

<sup>e</sup> Inscribed on base of large seated Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 10".

<sup>f</sup> Perhaps *Aryya Kharaya*.

<sup>g</sup> Inscribed on the base of a broken image, measuring 8" by 1' 8".

<sup>h</sup> The *Assavāra* of *assavāra* is doubtful.

<sup>i</sup> Read *śākhā*.

<sup>j</sup> *Śākhā* stands no doubt for *śākhā*; possibly *śākhā* in *śākhā*.



## TRANSLATION.

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (*was dedicated*) the gift of the worker in metal<sup>60</sup> Gotika, the Śāra,<sup>61</sup> the son of Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Divita, (*who is*) the convert of the *gāṇi* Aryya-Maṅguhastī (*and*) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghaṣṭu-hastī out of the Koṭṭiya *gāṇa*, the Verā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, the Sthānikiya kula (*and*) the Śrīgriha *sambhoga*. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX<sup>62</sup>.

- L. 1. सिव स ५० २ व २ दि ५ एतस्य पुत्रय वाचकस्य आयककुडस्य [स]<sup>63</sup>  
 2. वारचमणियस मिथो प्रहजलो आतपिको तस निवर्तना

"Success! the year 52, the second (*month of the*) rainy season, the day 5, on that (*date, specified as*) above, the pupil of the preacher Āya-Karkuṣastha (*Arya-Karkuṣa-gharashita*)<sup>64</sup> of the Vārana *gāṇa*, was the ātapika Grahabala, at his request . . . . .

No. XX<sup>65</sup>.

- A. 1. स ७० ८ व ४ दि २० एतस्या पुत्राय कोट्टिये गणे वहरायां ग्राह्यायां — —<sup>66</sup>  
 2. को अयद्वधजस्ति चरहतो नन्दि[पा]वर्तस प्रतिमं निवर्तयति ।<sup>67</sup>  
 B. — — — भार्खये आधिकवे [दिनावे] दानं प्रतिमा वोढे शुपे देवनिर्मिते प्र — — — —<sup>68</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 70, the fourth (*month of the*) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (*date, specified as*) above, Āya-Vyidhahastī (*Arya-Vyiddhahastī*), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gāṇa* (*and*) in the Vairā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandīāvarta (*Nāndyāvarta*)<sup>69</sup> . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . , was set up at the Vohva Stūpa, built by the gods."

No. XXI<sup>70</sup>.

- L. 1. स ८० १ व १ दि ५ एतस्य पुत्राय [च]यिकाजीसवे अन्ते.  
 2. वासिकिनिवे दत्ताये निवतना । [च]ज्जमिदि — — —

<sup>60</sup> Compare *note*, vol. I, p. 321, No. xxi.

<sup>61</sup> I take Śāra, as the name of the family or the clan.

<sup>62</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the lower part has been destroyed.

<sup>63</sup> On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.

<sup>64</sup> The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re-edited in the *Penns Or. Jour.*, vol. 1, p. 172.

<sup>65</sup> Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8"; the right portion is missing.

<sup>66</sup> I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent *re-stroke* above *va* may be accidental. Possibly *śūṣṭi* to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables *śūṣṭi* have certainly been lost, because the syllable *śū* in l. 2 stands exactly under *śūṣṭi* and l. 2 is, therefore, complete.

<sup>67</sup> The *va* is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of *d* by a stroke going upwards.

<sup>68</sup> It is possible to read also *soṣṭa*, which, however, is as unsatisfactory as *śūṣṭi*. Perhaps *śūṣṭi*, i.e. *vyiddhā* "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide *śūṣṭi* into *śū* and *śūṣṭi* and to take this as the name of *pratiṣṭhā* (two images) *śūṣṭi*. This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only one statue is mentioned. Restore *pratiṣṭhā*. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dinā's husband, as a small remnant of a *ya* is still visible on the impression.

<sup>69</sup> The Arhat Nāndyāvarta, i.e., he whose mark is the Nāndyāvarta symbol, is Ara, the eighteenth Tirthankara.

<sup>70</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2' 5" by 1' 10", lower part destroyed.



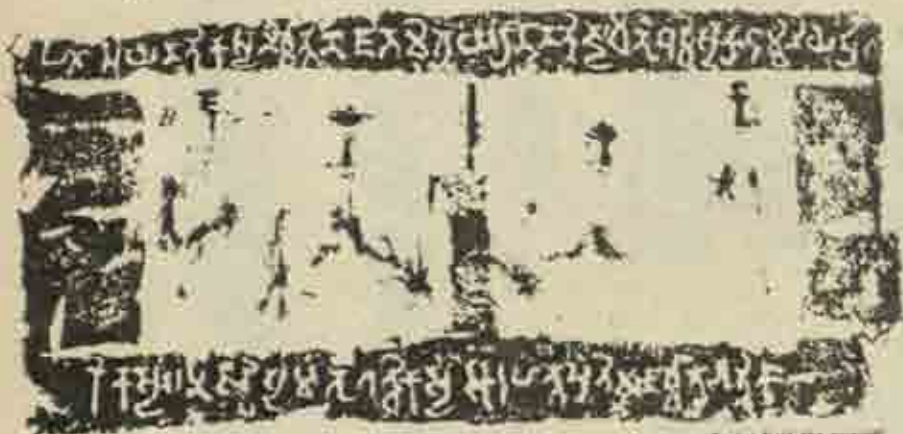
No. 16: Dated Sam. 32



No. 17: Dated Sam. 50



Scale: 1 cm.



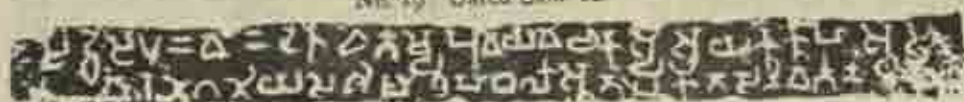
Shows half the original

No. 18: Dated Sam. 52



Shows half the original

No. 19: Dated Sam. 62



Scale: 3 inches

A  B 

No. 25: Huvishka.  


B 

No. 21. Dated Sam. 81.

A 

*Goodly, but the inscription.*

No. 22: Dated Sam. 90.

A 



B 

No. 23: Dated Sam. 93.

A 

B 

No. 24: Dated Sam. 98.





## TRANSLATION.

"The year 81, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the sixth day—on that (*date as specified*) above at the request of Datā, the female pupil<sup>70</sup> of Ayikā-Jivā (*Aryikā-Jivā*)—Grahāsiri (*Grahāsiri*) . . . . .

## No. XXII.

- L. 1. सव [८ = व] — — — — — टुबनिए दिनस वधुय  
 2. को — — तो ग[वा]तो प- व[ह] — [क]तो कुलातो मभमातो याणा[तो] — —  
 सनिकय मतिवलाए—भिन

This inscription is Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III, pl. xv). It seems to have suffered since the time when the first facsimile was prepared. The date, which I have given according to Sir A. Cunningham, has disappeared, and several letters at the end of line 2 have become indistinct. Its chief value consists in the mention of the *Majhamā śākhā* and the *Pa-cāha-ka kula*, which latter I have formerly identified with the *Praṇavāhanaka* or *Paṇavāhanaya kula* of the Jain tradition. Dr. Führer's impression shows pretty clearly that the first letter is *pa*, which is not equally certain according to Sir A. Cunningham's facsimile. It also makes it probable that the third letter of the name is not *hu*, but *ha*. The name of the *gana* was without a doubt Koṭṭiya, as the first syllable *ko* is tolerably distinct.

No. XXIII.<sup>71</sup>

- A. नमो षडंतो महाविरस सं ८० ३ [व] — — —  
 B. 1. शिष्यस ग[नि]स [न]न्दिये [नि]र्वर्त्तना देवस देरखवाख धितु — — — — —<sup>72</sup>  
 2. — — — f- [भ] — वतो वडमानप्रतिमा प्रति — — — — —<sup>73</sup>—पुजा[वे] [३]<sup>74</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*)! The year 93, the . . . . (*month of*) the rainy season . . . . . at the request of the *gani* Nandi (*Nandi*) pupil of . . . . . an image of divine Vardhamāna was set up by . . . . ., the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship [*of the Arhat*]."

No. XXIV.<sup>75</sup>

- स ८० ८ ३ १ दि ५ अथा सुषे क[१]दियात [१] गणातो उचनग — — —<sup>76</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

The year 98, the first (*month of*) winter, the fifth day, at that moment,—out of the Koṭṭiya *gana*, the Uchanagari (*Uchchānagari*) [*śākhā*] . . . . .

<sup>70</sup> *Aśvadeśikā*, as well as *ayikā*, are properly diminutives. Compare *parajitikā*, which is common in the Buddhist inscriptions.

<sup>71</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 5" by 2' 2".

<sup>72</sup> Regarding the form *nandiyā*, which is indisputable, see above, the Introduction.

<sup>73</sup> Restore *śākhāto* and further on *praty-śākhāpāt arhata* or *arhata*.

<sup>74</sup> Incised on the base of a squatting Jina 1' 10" by 2' 4".

<sup>75</sup> Restore *uchanagarī śākhāto*.



No. XXV.<sup>25</sup>— — — — [व]पुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य स — — — —<sup>26</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“In the year . . . . . of . . . Devaputra Huvishka . . . . .”

No. XXVI.<sup>27</sup>

A. 1. एकुमती [य]

B. 1. च[र]ह[तो]

C. 1. — — —

2. या — —

2. — [ह]रवल

2. प्रतिस — —

D. 1. स्वम — र — स्य देव[पु]त्रस्य [ह]स्य — — —<sup>28</sup>

2. [वा]मि[क] नमदतस्य मिथो मि[म]क — — — स — —

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka, (*Hushka* or *Huvishka*), and of a monk named Nagadatta (*Nāgadatta*). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group *sidha*, an abbreviation of *śiḍhaś*, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word *ekumatika*, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII.<sup>29</sup>

L 1. सिद्धम् महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य — — — — —

2. श्रीहर्षनन्दस्य शिष्येण से — न — — — — — [—]<sup>30</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Oghanandī (*Oghanandī*)” . . . . .<sup>31</sup>

No. XXVIII.<sup>32</sup>A. — — भगवतो उचमस वारणे मणे साडिले कुले — — — — — सा [य] — —<sup>33</sup>B. दुक्तस वायक्तस सिमिनिण सादिताण नि — — —<sup>34</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“[Adoration] to divine Usabha [*Uśabha*]! At the request of Sādita, female

<sup>25</sup> Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 2' 6" by 2' 6".

<sup>26</sup> Restore *Devaputrasya* and *samodharsa*.

<sup>27</sup> Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 1".

<sup>28</sup> The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain: *śiḍhaśasya* looks, because the first letter is blurred, like *paṇḍita*. But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.

<sup>29</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 6" by 2' 1".

<sup>30</sup> Restore *senana* according to C. No. 10 (republished *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 306, No. xxx), where *Sena*, pupil of *Oghanandī*, is mentioned. The last *na* is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of *Oghanandī*'s name is unmistakable and that the reading *Dakṣ*<sup>31</sup> is impossible.

<sup>31</sup> As the other inscription is dated Sam. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.

<sup>32</sup> Incised on the base of a squatting Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 8".

<sup>33</sup> Restore *nama* before *bhagavato*. Possibly *adika* or *addika* to be read. Restore *śiḍḍipāṇa*.

<sup>34</sup> Restore *śiḍḍipāṇa*.

pupil of . . . dhuka, a preacher<sup>28</sup> in the Vārāṇa *gana*, Nāḍika *kula* and . . . . .  
*lakkhā* . . . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>29</sup>

स[र]निकिये कुले गनिष्य उग्गहिनिय ग्रिषो वाचको घोषको आहंतो<sup>30</sup> पर्यस्य प्रतिमा — —

## TRANSLATION.

. . . "The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,<sup>31</sup> a *gani* (*gani*) in the Sthānikiya ("kiya) *kula*; an image of the Arhat Parśva (*Parśva*)," . . .

No. XXX.<sup>32</sup>

- L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं सिहकस वानिकस पुत्रेण कोशिकपुत्रेण<sup>33</sup>  
 2. सिह नादिकेन आवामपाटो प्रतिष्ठापितो अरहंतपुत्राय [॥]<sup>34</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*dyāgapdā*) was set up by Sihanādika (*Siṃhanādika* ? "nādika ?), son of the Vānika<sup>35</sup> Sihaka (*Siṃhaka*) and son of a Kośiki (*Kauśiki* mother), for the worship of the Arhats."

No. XXXI.<sup>36</sup>

नमो अरहंताना शिवघो[ष]स मरि[वा] — — — ना — — — ना — —

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! . . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . ."

No. XXXII.<sup>37</sup>

- L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं [मल] — वस धितु भद्रयस वधुये भद्रनदिस भयार्थ<sup>38</sup>  
 2. अ[चला]ये आ[वा]मपाटो प्रतिष्ठापितो अरहंतपुत्राय [॥]<sup>39</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*dyāgapada*) was set up by Achalā (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter-in-law of Bhadrayaśa (*Bhadrayaśa*), and wife of Bhādranadi (*Bhādranandin*), for the worship of the Arhats."

<sup>28</sup> *Fḍaka* is the Jaina-Prakrit form for *edaka*.

<sup>29</sup> Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 6", the right side being broken off.

<sup>30</sup> Read *arhanta*.

<sup>31</sup> The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit *adgrahinī*. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title *gani*, which is given to males alone.

<sup>32</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina.

<sup>33</sup> "*Arakanta*" is a mistake for *aravanta* and *dyāgapdā* may be a mistake for *pada*, but, as the Sanskrit has *pada* and *pada*, the form *pada* is not impossible.

<sup>34</sup> This might be a corruption or misspelling for *adgrahita* or *adgrahita*. But, as Sihanādika requires the epithet *adgrahita*, I suspect that he was a Kshatriya, not the son of a merchant, and that *Fḍaka* is the name of his clan.

<sup>35</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".

<sup>36</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 1" by 2' 4".

<sup>37</sup> The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be *म*.

The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.

## No. XXXIII.\*

- A. वर्धमानपटिमा वजरनक्षत्रं धिता वाधिशिव — — — —  
 B1. — ि— च्च — कुटीविनि<sup>१</sup> दिनाये दाति वडिम[मि] ये — — — —  
 2. — — — — — — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

"An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dinā (*Dattā*), daughter of Vajaranadya (*Vajranandin*), [daughter-in-law]<sup>2</sup> of Vādhiśiva (*Vridhishiva*?) house-wife of . . . .  
 i; Badimasi's (?) . . . . ."

No. XXXIV<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. उचैनगरितो गच्छती अर्यवल्लभतस्य मिसिणि अर्यवल्लभ—<sup>4</sup>  
 2. अर्यवल्लभतस्य शिष्यो अर्यसन्धिस्य परिषदं नववसित्तं धिता पञ्चमेन च वपु — — — —  
 3. शिवसेनस्य देवसेनस्य शिवदेवस्य च भ्रात्रिणं मातु वायये प्रतीमा प्र — — — — —  
 4. [मा]नस्य सर्वसत्त्वानं हितमुच्यते ॥

## TRANSLATION.

"For the acceptance<sup>5</sup> of Aryya-Sandhi (*Arya-Sandhi*), pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Arya-Balatrāta*) [and of ?] Aryya-Bahma, . . . (*Arya-Brahma* . . .), the female pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Arya-Balatrāta*) out of the Uchenagari (*Uchchānagari*) śākhā, Jāyā, daughter of Navahasti (*Navastin*), daughter-in-law of Grahaseṇa . . . ., mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, has set up an image of [Vardha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.<sup>6</sup>"

No. XXXV.<sup>7</sup>

- A. त्रिये निर्वर्तना  
 B. 1. तो गच्छतो शिरिकतो संभोक्तो अर्य  
 2. ि—धराये निवतना शिवद[त्त] —<sup>8</sup>  
 3. — — सनस्य मनु व[त्ति] — — —

## Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words *nivartana* and *nivatana* is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

\* Incised on the base of a squatting Jina, measuring 1' 11" by 1' 6".

<sup>1</sup> The *ta* of *kuṭīni* is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.

<sup>2</sup> The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".

<sup>4</sup> Read वाधारी. Restore अर्यवल्लभदासिने or विसादे.

<sup>5</sup> The apparent *ta*-stroke after the *ta* of *Balattrata* is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent *ra*-stroke above the *ra* of *Navahasti*. According to the nature of the impression the real reading is *parigrahe*, not *parigrāhe*, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably śāyā or śāyāḥ, preceded by a male name in the genitive.

<sup>6</sup> Read śivasenasya. Restore pratishṭhāpitā vardha.

<sup>7</sup> *Parigrahe* "for the acceptance" is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetics named exhorted Jāyā to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them; for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them.

<sup>8</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 2' by 8", sections C and D being cut away.

<sup>9</sup> A. the beginning वसतिवरादे i.e. वडिधरारादे; has probably to be restored; compare below No. XXXVI.



No. 27.



Scale : 1-20.

A.

No. 28.

B.



Scale : 2-70/100.

No. 29.



Scale : Half the original.

No. 30.



Scale : Half the original.

No. 31.



Scale : 1-40.

No. 32.



Scale : 1-50.

No. 33.

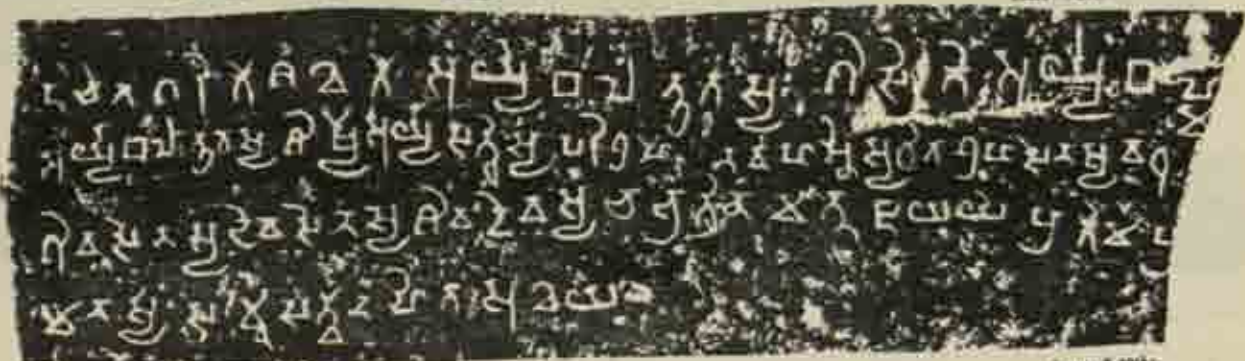


B.



Scale : 1-30.

No. 34.



Scale : 2-70/100.





Scale: Half the original.

No. 36



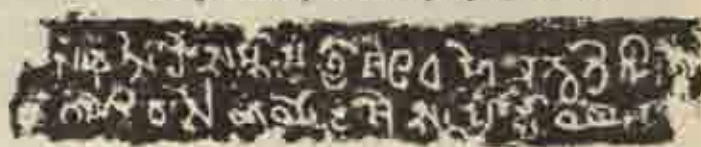
Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 37



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 38: Inscription of Gupta period, S. 57.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 39: Inscription of Kumāragupta, S. 113.



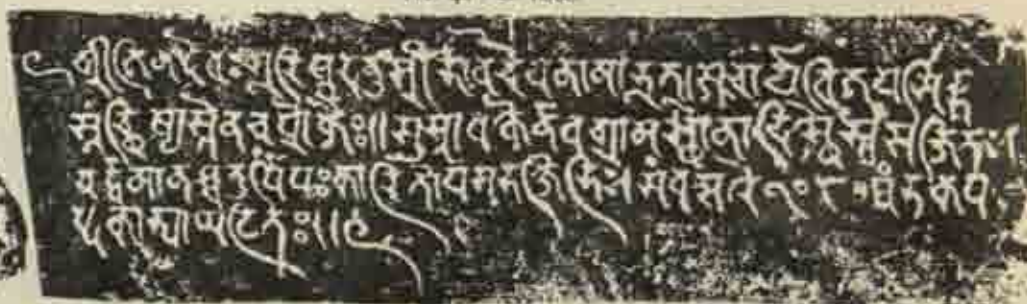
Scale: 1-10th.

No. 41: S. 1080.

No. 40



Scale: 1-3rd.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 42: Buddhist Inscription from Kāman, Sam. 74.



A. Führer, Pl. 2, Imprints.

Scale: 1-3rd.

## No. XXXVI.\*

- L. 1. — — ५० (?) ३ दि १ अथ पुन्यं वरणी गणी अथभिरुक्ततो [स] — — —<sup>†</sup>  
 2. — गतो शिरिपिहती समोयती वज्रवी वचक च गणिमो च समदि[च]—<sup>‡</sup>  
 3. — वथ दिनरस शिशिनि अथजिनदसिपतिवरितय शिशिनिच — —<sup>§</sup>  
 4. अजरवपतिहरमसोपवसिनि वुवुस धित रज्यवसुधधर्म — —<sup>||</sup>  
 5. [द]विनस मनु विष्णु[म]वस्य पिदमश्चिक् विजयशिरिये दन वध — —<sup>||</sup>  
 6. — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

" . . . 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (date, specified as) above, [an image of] Vadha[māna] (*Verdhamaṇa*), the gift of Vijayakīri (*Vijayakīri*), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rajyavasu (*Rājyavasu*), mother of Devila and paternal grandmother of Vishnubhava, who fasted for a month<sup>†</sup> (and) obeys the command<sup>‡</sup> of A[yya] . . . ghakaraba (?) (who is) the female pupil, obeying the command<sup>§</sup> of Ayya-Jinadasi (*Arya-Jinadasi*), (who was) the female pupil of Samadi . . . va Dinara, the great (?) preacher and *gani* out of the Varana (*Vārana*) *gana*, the Ayyabhyista (?) *kula*, the Sa[mhāsiyā] *śākhā*, and the Śirigriha (*Śirigriha*) *sambhoga* . . . . ."

No. XXXVII.<sup>||</sup>

- A 1. मिह को[दि]यती गचतो उवेन-  
 2. गरितो मचतो वलादासिचतो<sup>†</sup>  
 3. कुलतो शिरिपिहतो समोयतो  
 4. अथजिहस्तिस्स मिथो च[र्वमि]हि[सो]  
 B 1. तस्य मिथ[ी] चर्वचेर<sup>‡</sup>  
 2. [को]वाचकी तस्य निर्वत-  
 3. न वर[च]हस्ति[स्व]<sup>§</sup>

\* Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1" 4".

† The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading *ayyāyistakulato*. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for *apt*. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as is often the case for *śikhā* (see No. xxvi), the first four syllables might be a kind of tasyographic representation of *ayyāyistakulato* and correspond to *ayyāyistakulato*. This *kula* of the Yāyasa *gana* is mentioned in No. 23, ante, vol. I, p. 302. The *śākhā* was probably *Śākhā*, see *Kalpavṛkṣa*, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi).

‡ Restores *lokhato* i.e. *śākhāto*; read *sambhoga* and *lokhato*; the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.

§ Restores *ayya*.

|| Restores *dharmapala*.

‡ Read *devilasya*. Restores *vadhavanapratimā* or perhaps *patimā*, as the inscription does not mark the *devatā*. The last three syllables no doubt stood in line 6, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.

§ A pious queen, who fasted for a month, is mentioned in the large Nāgāhāt inscription, *Arch. Soc. Rep. W. I. vol. v., p. 80*.

† *Penatidhrita* corresponds with Sanskrit *dhritaprajñapti*.

‡ *Penatihara* i.e. in Sanskrit *prajñaptidhara*.

§ Incised on base of a large quadruple image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9".

|| Read *kalasa*.

‡ Read *laya*.

§ *Nirvāṇa* is, no doubt, meant for *nirvāṇa*.



- C 1. [च] देविय च धित जय-  
 2. देवस्य वधु मोषिनिये  
 3. वधु कुठस्य कसुथस्य  
 D 1. धम्मप[ति]सु खिरप<sup>2</sup>  
 2. दन मवदोमदिक<sup>3</sup>  
 3. सर्वसत्वन हितसुखये<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jeshṭhastī (Jyeshṭhahastī) out of the Kottiyā gāya, the Uchenagari (Uchchānagari) Śākhā, (and) the Bamhadāsia (Brahmadāsika-kula) (was) Ayya-Mihila (Arya-Mihira); his pupil (was) the preacher (edch-ka) Arya-Ksheraka (Arya-Kshairaka?); at his request a fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Varanahastī ("hastī) and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (and) daughter-in-law of Moshini (and) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. XXXVIII.<sup>5</sup>

संवत्सरि सप्तपञ्चम १० ० हेमन्तव्रितो —<sup>6</sup>  
 —सि [दि]वसे तयोदमे च-पूर्वायां —<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (date specified as) above . . . .

No. XXXIX.<sup>8</sup>

- L. 1. सिद्धम् । परमभारकमाजाराजाधिराजचोक्रुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यम् [१०० १०]  
 १ ख — — — — जमा — — [दि] — स २० चर्या पु[र्व्यायां]चोशिया मणा-<sup>9</sup>  
 2. दिवाधरो[तो] माचातो दतिलाचाव्यमप्रपिताये मामादाये भद्रिभवस्य घोतु चक्षुमिचपा-  
 लि[त]पा[ता]रिखस्य कुटुम्बिनोये प्रतिभा प्रतिहापिता ।<sup>10</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 118, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day [of the winter-month] Kārttika—on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Śamādhyā (Śyāmādhya), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (and) house-wife of the ferry-

<sup>5</sup> *Dhamrapatika* seems to be a misspelling of *dhamrapatiya* with *dhamra* for *dharma*. Compare the forms of the Glazeb version of Afaka's rock-edicts *drakhipid* for *drakhipid*, *tijsanti* for *tijsanti*, and so forth.

<sup>6</sup> Meant for *dhamra* *sarvatoḥkārī* viz. *prati*.

<sup>7</sup> Meant for *sarvatoḥkārī* *ditavakkhā*. The spelling *sarva* for *sarva* is not uncommon in bud MSS.

<sup>8</sup> This is Mr. Growse's No. 8 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathura Museum.

<sup>9</sup> Read *hemanta*; restore *trifiga* or *trifiga*.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *edice* and *aydich*.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 3' 1".

<sup>12</sup> Read *maḥādhya*; restore *drakhipatikanantandhaya* *dhamra*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *drakhipatikanantandhaya*.—Possibly *drakhipatikanantandhaya* is to be read.

man (?) *Grahamitttrapālita*,<sup>20</sup> who had received the command (to make the dedication) from *Datilāchārya* (*Dattilāchārya*) out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa* (and) the *Vidyādhara Śākhā*.<sup>21</sup>

No. XL.<sup>22</sup>

- L. 1. —प्रीक[रच न]<sup>23</sup>  
 2. चन्द्रावदाता भवतु  
 3. तारविष्णोः ॥ गोविन्दस्व  
 4. रं वडमेरुया विनि —  
 5. भनलोद्धिस्त्रि मुनेस्त्रिनेदं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical *Prasasti*, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says:—"By him this . . . of the sage, which touches the sky." It is evident that a word like *सृष्टम्* or *चायतनम्* has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

No. XLI.<sup>24</sup>

- L. 1. श्री श्रीजिनदेवः सुरिस्तदनु श्रीभावदेवनामाभूत् ।  
 आचार्यविजयसिंह-  
 2. स्थापितस्तेन च प्रोक्तैः ॥ [११]<sup>25</sup>  
 सुखावकैर्नवधामसानादित्यै स्तसकितः ।  
 3. वर्तमानवतुर्विवः कारितोयं सभक्तिभिः । [१२]<sup>26</sup>  
 संवत्सर १०८० धर्मकप-  
 4. पञ्चाम्यां पटितः ॥ श्री<sup>27</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

"Om! The illustrious Jinadeva (was) a *Sūri*; after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhāvadeva. His pupil (is) the *Āchārya Vijayasīṅha* (*Vijaya-siṅha*). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in *Navagrāma*, *Sthāna* and other (*towns*), caused to be made, full of devotion, (and) in accordance with their means, this fourfold *Vardhamāna*; it was fashioned in the [*Vikrama*] year<sup>28</sup> 1080 by *Thambhaka* and *Pappaka*. Om!"

<sup>20</sup> The translation of *padilāka* by "ferryman" seems to be justified by the use of *prapti*, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."

<sup>21</sup> Inscribed on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.

<sup>22</sup> Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.

<sup>23</sup> Inscribed on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>24</sup> Read श्री. Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 3. Read *vi-jaya-siṅha*.

<sup>25</sup> Read *asthāpita*; *sthāpā*, *asthāpita*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *संवत्सर*.

<sup>27</sup> It is evident from the characters, which show the common *Nāgarī* of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the *Vikrama* *Saṃvat*, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1080-84, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud's expedition against Mathura (A.D. 1000) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Kellie, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 456). Probably the Jaina temples of the *Kankhal* Thā escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.

No. XLII.<sup>36</sup>

- L. 1. सिंह । सं ७० ४ घ १ दि १० ५ चक्षि जुवे भिक्षुस्य मन्दिकस्य दानं भगवतो यक्षमुनिना  
प्रतिमा मिहिरविहारं च [चाव्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादीनां परिषदि मातपितृणां स.<sup>37</sup>  
2. सर्वस[त]णा च हितसुखाय ।<sup>38</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! The year 74, the first (*month of*) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Sakyamuni (*Sākyamuni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi, (*Sarvāstivādīn*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures."

XV.—SANGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA  
BHILLAMA II.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 922.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Sangamner, in the Sangamner Sub-Division of the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuḍa as seal.<sup>39</sup> Each plate measures about 8½" broad by 13½" high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few *akṣaras*, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about ⅓" on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between ⅓" and ½" on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgarī alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Sanskrit, but the names of the Brāhmins, men-

<sup>36</sup> Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman.

<sup>37</sup> The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. 12 of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 237. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 5), because I misread the preceding sign as *ed*. The latter is, as I now recognise, *edā*, the abbreviation for *śāśā*, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection, as *edā* and as *śāśā* in No. xxi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as *40*. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has *edāśā*, which has to be restored in any case. The long *ri*-vowel in *piśīśāśā* is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.

<sup>38</sup> The third sign of *carvacatend* is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not *ed*. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

I owe this information to Mr. Cousens.



tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (*Kelannipādhyāyena* for *Kelātopādhyāyena*, in line 114, *Nārāṇapādhyāyena* for *Nārāṇapādhyāyena*, in line 66, *Vidyādharaṇiḍya* for *Vidyādharaṇiḍya*, and *Śrīdharaṇipādhyāyena* for *Śrīdharaṇipādhyāyena*, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *khaṣṭecādhā*, in line 58, which is equivalent to the expression *khaṣṭecādhā* of the Siyāḍṇī inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165; and to the title or *śrīrūpa sellaridaga*, which does not look like Sanskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namaḥ Śrīdya* and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant, beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses,<sup>1</sup> in lines 55-61, 89-95, 102-106, and 108-110; and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, e.g., in *Śicāpa*, l. 1, *śaṣ*, l. 6, *śiṣṭaḥ*, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *śaṣṭra*, l. 60, and *śakala*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *Atṛi*, l. 10, and *ṛigṛāmi*, l. 84, and *ri* in the place of *ṛi* in the word *riṣayak*, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of *samāhi* are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single *okṣhoras* and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out; and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the *Maṇḍānta* Bhīllama II., and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yādava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words 'om, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhīllama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhīllama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambha, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yādava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marichi, Atri, Indu, Purāṇavaś, Āyus, Naghusha, and Yayāti. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before.<sup>2</sup> The first historical prince spoken of is Saṇḍachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (*maṇḍala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhāḍi[yappa]<sup>3</sup> (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhīllama I. (lines 28-33).<sup>4</sup> And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Rājān or Rājā, called elsewhere Śrīrājā or Rājagi.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription resembles in this the Kalu-Budrākh grant of Bhīllama III., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, in addition to the Kalu-Budrākh plate of Bhīllama III., the Pāṇini grant of Saṇḍachandra II., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhāḍaḍkari's *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> See note 40, below.

<sup>4</sup> Bhīllama provided the god Somarāja (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.

From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrākh plates of Bhīllama III. and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II., Śrīrāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhīllama II., who married Lakshmi or Laohchhiavvā, a lady born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family.\* The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Rājan or Rāja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛishna or Kṛishnarāja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddīyavvā,<sup>†</sup> a daughter of the great prince (*mahānripa*), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muñja,<sup>‡</sup> and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Rāparāṅgabhimā; while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindinagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lakshmi incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called *Vijayābharanātha*; but there is no indication as to who erected this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhīllama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory *prastāvi* should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhīllama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakshmi, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakshmi or Laohchhiavvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhīllama, the donor of this grant; and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47, which, or the god worshipped in which, was named *Vijayābharanātha*, was founded either by Bhīllama himself one of whose titles or *śirudas*, as we learn from line 51, was *Vijayābharaṇa*, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words *stend-rāti* in line 40, recording that Voddīyavvā bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhīllama, and another, after the word *mahanaś* in line 45, stating that Bhīllama or his wife Lakshmi erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhīllama II. who defeated the great prince Muñja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Rāparāṅgabhimā. The question then arises, who were these kings Muñja and Rāparāṅgabhimā, and who was the king Kṛishna or Kṛishnarāja, to whom Bhīllama's father Vandiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhīllama II.

\* According to the Bassein grant Laohchhiavvā was the daughter of Jhañjharāja.

† This lady built a Śiva-temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

‡ See note 29, below.



lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vākpatirāja-Muñja of Málava,<sup>8</sup> and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhīllama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Rāparaṅga-bhīlma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhīllama was acting, was an adversary of Vākpatirāja-Muñja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Chālukya Tailapa,<sup>9</sup> by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A. D. 973-997; we know him to have also been called Āhavamalla; and Rāparaṅga-bhīlma is little less than a synonym of Āhavamalla.—Bhīllama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., and, such being the case, the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa,<sup>10</sup> for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A. D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yādavas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Chālukyas, which took place in A. D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Chālukyas.—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prakṛit equivalent of the Sanskrit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Rāshtrakūṭa kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Kṛishṇarāja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Kṛishṇa's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga.<sup>11</sup> The description of Dhorappa as *mahānripa* would thus, I believe, be well accounted for.—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., the rise of the Yādava family and the date of Seuna-chaudra (or his predecessor Dridhaprahāra) can hardly be put earlier than A. D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhīllama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brāhmanas who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 68-86) which contains this information is clear enough; but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhīllamarāja is described in lines 48-53 as a *mahāśāhanta* or great feudatory who had obtained the five *mahāśābda*, the supreme lord of the city of Dvāravātī, . . . born in Viahṇu's family, eager to worship Śiva, . . . and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as *Arāṭi-nishādana*, 'the destroyer of enemies,' *Samgrāma-Rāma*, *Kandukdehārya*, *Sellaviḍega*, and

<sup>8</sup> See ante, vol. I, pp. 226-227.

<sup>9</sup> See Professor Bhāgārkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 69, and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Konkan Districts*, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> See Professor Bhāgārkar, *ib.* pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, *ib.* pp. 37-38.

<sup>11</sup> It may be noted that Bhīllama III. married 'Hāmmā, the daughter of Jayasinha and sister of Āhavamalla, the Chālukya emperor.' See Professor Bhāgārkar, *ib.*, p. 75.



*Vijayābharaṇa*. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has already pointed out that,<sup>18</sup> since Viṣṇu Kṛiṣṇa is represented in the *Purāṇa* to have belonged to the Yādava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves *Viṣṇuvanshādabhava*, and that, as Kṛiṣṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of *Dvārakāśpuravarādhīśvara*, 'the supreme lords of Dvārakā, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or *śirudās* of Bhīllama, the term *Samgrāma-Rāma* is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākḥ plates. *Kandukūśhārya* apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and *Sellaviḍega* seems to be a Prākṛit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title *Vijayābharaṇa* has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem<sup>19</sup> that they lived at Sindhinagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhīllama, and which has been identified<sup>20</sup> with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmanas, some students of the *Ṛgveda* or *Sāmaveda*, and others members of the Kāva or Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyin branch of the *Yajurveda*, or of the Maitrāyaṇiya *śākhā* of the black *Yajurveda*. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaundinya, Bhāradvāja, or Kauśika *gotras*. And one (in line 72) is described as *rāja-dandārika*, 'the king's doorkeeper.'

To these Brāhmanas Bhīllama gave<sup>21</sup> (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunonḍhikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātulingi, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunonḍhī and Laghu-vavulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Samgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhali, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no name similar to Arjunonḍhikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālungi river of the Samgamner Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District, which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Samgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Samgamner of the Ahmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhali-grāma would be the village of Chikhali on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimvagrāma the village of Javlekardak, which is about 2½ miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavulavedra would be represented by the village Velhāle (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mālungi river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted "wādis" not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhīllamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Bhādrapada of the year Śarvarin, on the occasion of a solar

<sup>18</sup> See *ib.*, p. 83; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.

<sup>19</sup> I am not sure about this, for after the word *ṢṢ-Sindhinagar-Rataḥpāṭi* one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages situated in the district of Sindhinagara.

<sup>20</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 118.

<sup>21</sup> In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is *śākhāśāstraprakṛityastam* in line 80. I can only compare with it *śākhāśāstraprakṛiti* in line 18 of the inscription published in the *Proceedings, Beng. Ac. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.

eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Aruna<sup>17</sup> (and Godāvari) at Nasik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this *śāśana-paṭṭa*, Keśava-upādhyāya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Śārvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2; but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon *tithi* of either the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Bhādrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

TEXT.<sup>18</sup>

## First plate.

- L. 1. श्री [नमः] मि [मि] वाय । स्वस्ति शकनृपका [ला] तातसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु द्वाविंश-  
 2. [ल] धिकेष्वेकतोषि संवत्सराः ८२२ ॥ तयमपि<sup>19</sup> भुवनानामोषदुक्ते-  
 3. [ष] मावाप्यभवति लयगेवे यस्मिन्पादुपैति [१<sup>20</sup>] अतिमवि-  
 4. तचरितो योगिनामप्यगम्यः स इह जयतु देव<sup>21</sup> वाक्च-  
 5. [न्दाह] मीलिः ॥ १ ॥ भुव[न]<sup>22</sup> भवनहेतुः दुष्कृताश्चोपिसेतुः विहितम-  
 6. दनमायः पाञ्चतीप्राणलाघः ॥ (१) निहतमरुदरोमः (यः) पातु मित्र-  
 7. ममोयः ॥<sup>23</sup> करतलकृतशूलः सव्येदा चन्द्रचूलः ॥ शुगणदो<sup>24</sup>  
 8. म[श्च] ॥ भुवनमसृजद्वयमूर्तिस्तेषां सुरसिपिविचित्रप्रभवतः ॥ (१)  
 9. वि[रि]चेः संभूतः सकलमहतां योनिरुत्तरो मरौवियो (वै) लो-  
 10. [ति] स्वेमति भुवने कुन्दविमदा । ३ ॥ चतु[वि]नामाभवत्तस्मात्सुत-  
 11. स्वपरायणः । तत्सुनिन्दुराख्यातो जगदानन्दमन्दिरम[म्] । ४ ।  
 12. "ततोभवविशालमोमवगजो विशालभूपालगुणालयं हि  
 13. यः [१<sup>25</sup>] पुच्छरवा भूपतिरवमाननं सदा सुरेन्दय व(व)भाज लीलया  
 14. । ५ ॥<sup>26</sup> "अभूदाबुस्तस्मात्पतिरमरैर्वन्द्यचरितो जटाकालारा-  
 15. तिप्रणतचरणाश्चाजयुगलः [१<sup>27</sup>] ततो जातो यास्मिन्पुष्ट-  
 16. पतिर्वाच्यः (ह) नमिषाहिलेख स्वस्था [स्था १]<sup>28</sup> स्वभुजविजयो चन्द्रफलके । ७ ।  
 17. अचति<sup>29</sup> नक्षत्रभूपाङ्गमिपालो यस्मात्तिष्ठिदग्महितकी-  
 18. तिर्वैरिलक्ष्योर्विलासः<sup>30</sup> [१<sup>31</sup>] किमिव<sup>32</sup> गुणगणोमो य[गण]ने<sup>33</sup> त-  
 19. स्त सान्ध्याजगदवननिमित्तं यादवानां प्रसूतिः ॥ ८ ॥ च-

<sup>17</sup> See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XV (Nasik), p. 324. Their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.  
 Aruna first is where the Aruna joins the Godāvari near Kam's Pool.

<sup>18</sup> From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr. H. Coomra.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī, and of the next verse.

<sup>20</sup> Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of *anukṛti* have not been changed.

<sup>21</sup> The *śloka* *य* was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between (३) and (४).

<sup>22</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Rikharid. In the first half of the verse two syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Rikha (Anushubh).

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Vanshika.

<sup>26</sup> From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Rikharid.

<sup>28</sup> Read *स्वस्था*.

<sup>29</sup> The two *śloka*s *स्वस्था* were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī, and of the next verse.

<sup>31</sup> I believe the reading intended to be "कीर्तिरवचरित-  
 लाघः", although this would offend against the metre.

<sup>32</sup> Here I would propose reading *विचित्र* *स्ववर्णो* *वर्णो* *तस्य* *स्ववर्ण*.

<sup>33</sup> The *śloka* in brackets, so engraved, is not



- L. 20. भवदिह यथातिः सज्जनानन्दकारी यदुत्पतिरसमाका-  
 21. स्तदाय(या)दचक्रः [1'] सकलविपु(व)धदन्तैर्वन्दितोसौ मुरारिज-  
 22. सद्वननिमित्तं यस्मिन् प्रसूनः ॥ ८ ॥ "एतस्माद्यदु-  
 23. गतः" समभवदुपालचूडामणिभूषणः" कलिकाल-  
 24. कल्म[ष]लवैखान्तिकितो भूतलि । स्वातः सेडणचन्द एव स-  
 25. हमा नाम्ना निजनाहय" यो लीकं निजमण्डलं च समदा-  
 26. रातीभकण्ठोरवः । १० । प्रख्यातोसौ" सङ्घर्षो विमा(मा)लः  
 27. संधामोपहृमारातिकालः । "जातःस्वाम्नादट्टमोचन्द-  
 28. भातः स्रु [1'] योमात्वाडिखो" नृपालः ॥ ११ ॥ "तदनु विपु(व)धद-

*Second plate ; first side.*

29. [न्या]न्दसन्दोहमीमा समदमदन — [मानि]नीमानवीरः [1'] चसमम ५ ५ —  
 30. — योरिकालानलोभूतत इह ५ ५ [रे]न्दो भूतलि मित्रमाख्यः ॥ १२ ॥  
 31. [ननु] किमिह लयीतां तस्य वर्य्यं हि न स्यात्कुमुदविम(य)दकोत्तैर्भू-  
 32. [तलि]द्यापि यस्मिन् । रुचिरकनकभासोडाभिगीमायवन्ध" प्रति-  
 33. टिलमिह देवः पटिकां [सो]मनाथः" ॥ १३ ॥ "तस्माज्जातः सुतो रा[ज]रा-  
 34. जा राजीवलोचनः [1'] राजिव राजते योत्र प्रजानन्दकरः सदा ॥ १४ ॥ तस्मा-  
 35. इन्दिसमूपतिः समभवदुपालचूडामणिः यः सौभाग्यमचोदधि-  
 36. मंगदुगां कन्दर्पदण्डोदितः । राजा दीर्घभुजहयः [1'] प्रयुलसदचस्य-  
 37. जाः समरः 1" मुरारिप्रमदभदण्डदलनः योत्राचराजानुगः ॥ १५ ॥  
 38. श्रीधो[र]णमहासुपस्य दुहिता श्रीवोद्वि[वा]भिधा" रंभो सै[र]स-  
 39. सुतेव कैटभरिपोःलक्ष्मीरिव" प्रेयसी [1'] यस्यासौकुमुदा[व]दातयप्रसः स्रुपायसा[न] यथा  
 40. [ना]मावेखरमीमादेव" विहितं श्रीतामलीलाहरम्" [स्ते] "नारातिकरासकालर[च]ना-  
 चण्डा[सि]।  
 41. दुर्लभं यो हत्वा मुञ्चमहानुपप्रणयिनी" संधामरंगंगणे [1'] लक्ष्मीमभ्यु[ध]धिमेषुलावल-  
 42. वित[स्त्रा]र्वसिनोन्मापयद्वपवीरवरंगमीममवने साचात्कुलश्रीव्रतम् । (१) चधि-  
 43. कानं सिन्दोम[स]रमपरंस्वर्गधट्ट" सदा भूतां लक्ष्मीर्वसतिभवनं यस्मिन् सुदिता ।  
 44. मलः स(य)धोः पादाभ्यु[ध]रुच्युगले ध्याननियतं यदोर्व्ये भूपाचरितमभव" चा[व] 1]  
 45. मज्जमः । (१) "हिमगिरिसि[मि]खरसदृगमिह राजति सुरपुरवर्त्मसखिभ" हतपुर[म]-

\* Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa.

\* Originally "सो", but altered to "सज्ज".

\* Originally "चक्रः", but altered to "समिन्".

\* Read "सद्वन", this correction may have been made already in the original.

\* Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa.

\* Read "समदमदन".

\* The intended reading must probably be "सद्वनदयो".

\* Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa; and of the next verse.

\* Read "समर".

\* The akshara in brackets is not rather than "सो".

\* Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa.

\* Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa; and of the next two verses.

\* This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

\* The akshara in brackets looks very much like "स".

\* Read "विपु(व)ध".

\* The accent of the first akshara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be "स", the following aksharas are quite clear.

\* Originally "ह" was engraved.

\* Of this akshara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole akshara might possibly be read "ह".

\* Read "सुप".

\* Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa.

\* Read "सिन्दोम[स]रमपरम".

\* Read "मज्जम".

\* This passage, from here to the end of line 47, looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres.

\* Read "सुवि".



- L. 16. धननियतकैलानमिरिस्वहम[ग]मसखभम् ॥ पूर्वितयग इवेन्दुकुन्द[व]-  
 47. ति भुनक्तिलकमुन्दर विजयाभरणनागाभिषममितवमिरि[ग]मन्दिरम् ॥  
 48. समप्रगतपंचमहागन्ध[व]महासामलहारवतोपुरपरमेस्वरकरावधनिव[व]-  
 49. धिरितदिगन्तरालविजयतुयोरवसंवामितजितरिपुसमूहविष्णुवगोह-  
 50. वमधवरपाराधनैकतापरमनस्विनीमानोन्मननकन्तपादप्योदिताराति-  
 51. निषदनमधामरामकंदुकाचार्यमेजविडेगविजवाभरमेत्वादिमसम्भरा-  
 52. आवलीविराजितचीमद्विजसराजा ॥ धनभूय कदमोगभेदधार-  
 53. संभार । ध्याधिकरामरणभाधारणे शरीर । प्रव[व]लपवनकमितनलि-  
 54. नोदलगततुषारतरले च धनायुषी यौवनं च । तथा च । कृतकैतदापर-  
 55. दुग्मेभ्यो अत्यर्थं दानफलं । कलौ दुगे पुनः ॥ संसति । न तथा सफल विद्या  
 56. न तथा सफलं धनं । यथा तु मनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौ दुगे । (॥) अम्बरपट-  
 57. पदमं सुवर्णं भूर्जेष्वी सूर्यसुताय गावाः । लो[क] ॥ त्वं तेन भवेत्पदं यः ॥  
 58. काचन गा च मही च दद्यात् ॥ आस्तीटयन्ति पितरः प्रवेणभ[ला]न्ति पिताम-  
 59. हाः । [॥] भूमिदोष्वाकुले जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति । (॥) भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सु-  
 60. तीर्थेषु सुपर्जि । यमाधाधारं (सं) नारमानरीभारणं भवेत् ॥ धवसान्वातप्र-  
 61. [वाणि] दन्तिनचि[य] मदीदता । भूमिदानस्य पुत्राणि फलं क्षमे पुरन्दरः ॥ ५-  
 63. [ति] पराशरवल्कली (स) हिरमयीतमसमुदायवल्कामुनिवचनान्यव[धा]-  
 63. [य] मया [द] टनविरक्तुषा ॥ मातापितोरामनस्य सेयोधिना हि मया ॥ [वा[वा]]-  
 64. [ह्य]ना ॥ नां या[सो] दत्तः । श्रीमिन्दीनगरान्तःपाति । वाजिकाश[सा]श्विनं ॥ गौत-  
 65. मगोवाय - -

## Second plate; second side.

66. — होवाधाय ॥ नारणैउपाध्वदसु[ताय] तथा वाजिकाशवाधाय कौशिकन्यगोताय [विषा ॥]-  
 67. [ध]रिधाय श्रीधरैउपाध्वदसुताय तथा व[व]हृचमाधाय भरहाजगोताय म[हल ॥]-  
 68. [व]धाय वि[व]धाय ॥ पंचसुताय तथा वाजिमाध्वदिनमाधाय कौशिकन्यगोता[वा]य [महल ॥]-  
 69. पंधाय इन्दुपेयसुताय तथा व[व]हृचमाधाय देवपेयाय चतुर्पेयसुताय तथा [हं ॥]-  
 70. [दो ॥] राप्रमाकरदीप्तिताय तथा मित्रायणीवधपेयः ॥ तथा अश्वपुन्यपेय-  
 71. [त]वा माध्वदिन[ग]हृमपेयः तथा अश्वोममलः ॥ सोमपेयसुतः तथा माध्व-  
 72. दिनमहलपेयः तथा व[व]हृचराजदीवारिकमहलपेयः तथा व[व]हृचसंम[लः]-  
 73. तथा अरसाटवपलः तथा वाजिकाशनिभेयः तथा व[व]हृचनेवपेयः तथा  
 74. व[व]हृचमाधाय [व] ॥ कौशिकनोवाय विहपेयाय श्रीधरैसुताय तथा

\* Read "महलपेयम्."

\* The *akshara* वा of श्रीधराधाय was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

\* Read "रुपः". Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous.

\* The *akshara* य of वधय was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

\* Read "पयः".

\* This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original.

\* Instead of पुनः one would have expected सुताः.

\* Metre: Śūka (Anuṣṭubh).

\* Metre: Indravajrā.

\* Metre: Śūka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the two next verses.

\* The *akshara* ए was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

\* Read "वधः".

\* Read "वहः".

\* This word is unnecessarily repeated here.

\* Originally वाधायि was engraved; see below, line 75.

\* One would expect "वाधाय".

\* Read "नोवाधीय".

\* The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty.

- L. 75. [धो]पलाय कौशिकमोवाय व(व)हुचसाखिनि<sup>a</sup> । तावा व(व)हुचमाखा-  
 76. य अरण्यैषाय तथा व(व)हुचमाखाय दन्द्यैषाय कालपेसुताय  
 77. तथा पौम्बदेवः अलपेसुताय । एवममीषां विजानां पितृपे-  
 78. तामहोपाजितं<sup>b</sup> मातुलिहोतसमाधासितं अर्जुनोष्टि-  
 79. काधामं तथा लघुअर्जुनोष्टीधामलघुवज्रवेदधाम-  
 80. [इ]पाम्भेतरं सत्तमभामाकुलं चा(च)तुःसोमापर्यन्तं साष्टा-  
 81. दशप्रकृत्योपेतं वापीकूपतडागारामचङ्गितं सत्तुलका[ष्ट]-  
 82. पादाचोपेतं ग(स)कलसमसोपेतं [1<sup>c</sup>] घामम्यावाटाः<sup>d</sup> लिख्यन्ते [1] ।  
 83. पूर्वतः संमसनगरं दक्षिणतः विश्वनीधाम पश्चिम-  
 84. तः अन्वलीनम्बधामः उत्तरतः वज्रलवेदतृ(त्रि)धामो [1<sup>e</sup>] एषं चा(च)-  
 85. त्तावाटविशुहं सन्वीभ्यंतरसिध्या<sup>f</sup> पुत्रपौत्रादिर्भन्त्योपे-  
 86. तानां चद्रार्कं यावन्नतिपालनीयं । एवमन्वयजां वंभुनांमाप  
 87. [मु]च्छानानां भो[ज]यतां<sup>g</sup> कृपतां कर्षापयताम्वा<sup>h</sup> ययेष्टं प्रति, दमता वांत-  
 88. देशयतां [1<sup>i</sup>] केनापि सन्नेवाधा<sup>j</sup> न करणीया । उक्तं च सुनिभिः [1<sup>k</sup>]  
 89. यानीह<sup>l</sup> दत्तानि पुरा नैरन्दैर्जनानि धर्मोपदेशस्कराणि [1<sup>m</sup>]  
 90. निष्ठात्वमालाप्रतिमानि तानि [1<sup>n</sup>] को नाम साधुः पुनराद-  
 91. द्दोत [1<sup>o</sup>] व(व)हुमिर्जसुधा<sup>p</sup> मुक्ता राजसिः सगरादि  
 92. भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 93. कुलं [1<sup>q</sup>] सद्यो दानं निरावासं सादासं तस्य पाल-  
 94. नम् [1<sup>r</sup>]

*Third plate.*

95. एष [1] रिषयः<sup>s</sup> प्राहुः दानाच्छेयोतुपालनम् ॥ दत्वा<sup>t</sup> भू[मि] ताविनः  
 96. पार्थिवेन्द्रः भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सा-  
 97. माच्योयं धर्ममेतुर्नपाणां काले काले पालनी-  
 98. तो भवतिः [1<sup>u</sup>] इत्यवितोपि यः कलिकालवस(श)होमा-  
 99. भिभूतो यः<sup>v</sup> पूर्वदानमपहरिषति [1<sup>w</sup>] स पंचम  
 100. चापातकैरुपातकैर्युतो रौरवादिषु नरजेषु  
 101. पञ्चमानो दुष्कृतमनुमविषति<sup>x</sup> । तथा च [1<sup>y</sup>] व्यासभट्टार  
 102. कः प्राहुः । सद्दत्तां<sup>z</sup> परदत्ताम्वा<sup>aa</sup> यो हरित वसुधराम(म्) [1<sup>ab</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> Read "माफिने तपः".

<sup>b</sup> Read "सदीपा".

<sup>c</sup> Read "वाटा".

<sup>d</sup> Read "अनारसिद्धा".

<sup>e</sup> Read "जावा वम्बामपि".

<sup>f</sup> Originally only हुचयतां was engraved; but three or four asterisks were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text.

<sup>g</sup> Read "ता वा".

<sup>h</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>i</sup> The second asterisk might also be read वे, but compare

अष्टाध्यायी, ante, vol. I, p. 162.

<sup>s</sup> Metre, Upajith. Read नरैः.

<sup>t</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>u</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse.

<sup>v</sup> Read अथवा प्राहुरी.

<sup>w</sup> Metre, Sloka. Read दत्ता, विद्वाद्, and प्राचते.

<sup>x</sup> This word is superfluous.

<sup>y</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>z</sup> The asterisk हु was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>aa</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>ab</sup> Read "दत्ता वा".

- L. 103. म विद्यायां कर्मभूत्वा कर्मभिः सह पश्यते । (१) विद्याटवी-  
 104. चतुर्थासु युष्ककोटरवासिनः । महाह्वयो हि जायन्ते  
 105. भूमिदानापहारकाः । (२) तडागानां महत्वेन वाजिमेधयतेन च । (३)  
 106. सर्वां कोटिप्रदानेन (न) भूमिहर्त्ता न युद्धाति । (४) इति महर्षिवचना-  
 107. न्यवधार्ये । (५) धामस्तुकराजभिः धर्मलोपमयेन प्रतिपालनीयम् । (६)  
 108. महत्स (श) जाः । परमहोपातिवंगजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूषाः । (७)  
 109. ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मासिं समस्य तेषां मया विरचितोऽक्षि-  
 110. रेय सुप्रि । (८) सा (या) ज्यैरोमवसरोवमाद्रपदाभावाध्या-  
 111. याम् । (९) श्रीनामिकीयधरणासवे (वे) दसहतीर्षे । (१०) परम-  
 112. व्रतो (नो) पवासनियमयुक्तेन सो (यो) भिज्जमराजेन सुवपण्णे था-  
 113. मायं प्रदत्तः । निख (खि) तमिदं शासनपदं खाननिवसेन  
 114. राजनिवसेन च । (११) मया केशवैउपाध्यायनेति । यद-  
 115. चरं परिभ्रष्टं मांजाहीने च यद्वेत (त्) । जा (चं) तुमहं विद्वांसः क-  
 116. ख न खलते मनः । यद्वोनाचरेमधिकस्वा तत्तर्ज प्रमाणमिति ।

## XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE SAKA YEAR 901.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHÖRN, PH.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 478, Vāghli, a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khandes District, has three temples, an old temple of Mādhādevī, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mānbhāva<sup>2</sup> sect. "The Mānbhāva temple, built in Hemādpanthi style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a *liṅga*, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskrit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mānbhāva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 6" broad by 1' 1½" high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

\* Motre, Vasantatilāhā.

\* Really मरु is engraved.

\* Motre, Rinka (Ananttilāhā).

\* Read 'वरुण' et.

† In the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 38, spell "Bangley," in

the *Postal Directory* "Waghli," is Long. 75° 10' E., Lat. 20° 21' N.

\* See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 122; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 135; and Dr. Burgess' *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 122, 250.



partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{4}$ " and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *ṣ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *ṣ*; the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *trīṣṭaya*, line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Gaṇapati; after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1-12; and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pāda of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, i.e., the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāshṭra; and verse 3 states that here, in Surāshṭra, there is the city of Valabhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhman citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4-13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:—

1. The illustrious Kikata, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhima (v. 6).
4. Sarvasūra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindarāja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sādhvasika (v. 9).
7. The prince Jhañjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Devanastin (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
10. From him, the prince Padmākara (v. 13).

*B.*—This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3' 3" broad by 1' 8" high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandākrantā metre, must have commenced about 13" from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pāda of a Vasantatilakā verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13", and, moreover, the *akṣaras* preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-

lakṣ verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of A. For what we can read at the commencement of line 1 of B. is—

*prayachchhand-Lakṣmīśī-chalates-vadanīyam-a*,

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse:—

पद्माकरो नरपतिः प्रव(व)भूव तच्चादृक्तः पदा[नि]गजवाजिरथैरनेकेः ।  
दानानि योभ्यदयधन्यै[रतः?] प्रवच्छञ्ज्यावत्तत्त्वदनीयम[पाचकार ?]

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2; verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 5, and verse 18 in line 7; verse 19 probably ended towards the end of line 8; verse 20 ends in line 10, verse 21 in line 11, and verse 22 in line 12; verse 23 must have ended in line 13; verse 24 ends in line 14, and verse 25 in line 15; and the end of verse 26 must have coincided with the end of line 16, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses 4-13 of the inscription A, each of the verses 14-24 gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmākara, spoken of in verse 13. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmākara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses 14 and 15, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned:—

13. Vappaiya (*Vappaiya-nāma sa nareṣa āstī*, in verse 16).
14. Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (*Vappaiyasya utas-tato-vanītaḥ*, in verse 17).
15. Valaparāja (*tasmād-Valaparāja ity-abhikṛto bhūpāla-chōḍāmanih samjajñe*, in verse 18).
16. Śādhvasika (*rājā Śādhvasika-tataḥ param-abhūt*, in verse 19).
17. Śāntirāja (*Śāntirāja itī bhūmipatir-vabhūta*, in verse 20).
18. Pravaraśūkara (*Śānty-ātmanjah sakala-bhūpa-guṇair-upetaḥ śrīmān-abhāt-Pravarasū[ka]ra-nāmasheyaḥ*, in verse 21).
19. Bhāileka (*tasmād-abhāt-pravara-śātra-gaṇa-pramātṛīrti-Bhāileka-nripatir-jagati-prasiddhaḥ*, in verse 22).
20. Bhīmarāja (*Śānt-Bhīmarāja-nripatis-tu Śima-prasādāt*, in verse 23).
21. Govinda (*Govinda-bhūpotir-iti*, in verse 24).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 2½" broad by 1' 10½" high. With the exception of a few akṣaras, lines 1-16 are well preserved; but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ¼" and 1". The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, ṣ is everywhere denoted by the sign for ṣ; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *vinīyita*, line 3, and *tridīpa*, line 8; and the *jīhva-mātṛya* and *npashmāntya*, both denoted by the ordinary sign for *śh*, are employed in *avataḥ kīrti*, line 8, *sevadhīh padma*, line 5, and *tanuḥ paṇya*, line 7.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the



continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 27-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (*narapati, nripati, bhānupāta*) Govinda or Govindarāja, who in verse 27 is styled *Mauryakula-pradīpa*, 'the light of the Maurya family,' and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 24 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a *śālā*, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the *mahāmāyāla-nātha*, the illustrious king Seuna.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Āshāḍha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Saṃgami and Madhuvāṭikā, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the *amānta* scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A.D. 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India; and the king Seuna is the Devagiri Yādava Seunachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-samvat 991'.—The villages of Saṃgami and Madhuvāṭikā I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarāja's donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand; but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 4-5); that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his *śālā*, he gave four fields which are described as *Vagatākammatābhāmi*, *Vakulāshetra*, *Vanatālakābhāmi* and *Paṭayakāshirāṭa*, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12); and that he besides granted sixteen *śivartanas* of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the *rājāsī* Nāyaki (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over, and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069, of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yādava king Seunachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarāja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

<sup>1</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrāvana-śukla 14 of Śaka 991 expired (= Saumya) corresponds to the 8th August, A.D. 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.







- L. 6. दिव्य[भू]मं सुरसदनसमं मंदिरं चंद्रमौलिः  
 श्रीमद्वीरवीरराजावरपतिरभिलो मन्त्रलोके प्रकार ॥ १२ ॥<sup>a</sup>  
 छ(पु)ष्टाज्जानामृतोत्तिष्ठतवरसरोराजचर्मोमलो<sup>b</sup>  
 राजनीशारुक्तादायिततर[त]
7. कुलपुत्रवत्सल्य<sup>c</sup> मूलं ।  
 धात्रा चंद्रोदयमौलिमति सरपतिः सध्वजानन्दधारो  
 धैर्यध्वजानासिभिषणहृदयजतमोहतिगोविन्दराजः ॥ १३ ॥  
 [च]मर्मोनायताराद्यभिनवतदुभिर्विष्णुरूपैरुपे-
8. तं  
 चक्रे सिद्धिमानावाक्यमतिमहत्त्वार्थमौलोपपद्यं ।  
 मूर्ध्नि पार्श्विनामौ नृ(वि)दिवपतिपुरारीहनिचेतिभूतं  
 गोविन्दो भूमिपालस्वसन्पुण्यैरन्वितकोटिकामः ॥ १४ ॥  
 वापी च-
9. कारं पुर्विसलोपलभादय(म)हमोपानप[क्ष]तिरुपैरन्वितविष्टदेवं ।  
 शश्वत्सलोपाय(म)[कु]ष्ट[भू]जलमवाहकं स्नापिताभिमपनामपनामदक्षाम् ॥ १५ ॥<sup>d</sup>  
 रूपमदांकतुल्यं तु ८८१
10. शककालस्य भूपतौ [१]<sup>e</sup>  
 श्रीमत्संवत्सरापादरविपक्षपर्वणि ॥ १ ॥<sup>f</sup>  
 महामंडलनायसु श्रीमान्देवभूपतिः ।  
 सिद्धेश्वराय प्रददौ धामवसुमुदारधीः ॥ २ ॥  
 निजिन राजभोगिन संस[मी]<sup>g</sup>
11. म[भू]वाटिकाम् ॥ ३ ॥  
 श्रीविंदराजोपि ददौ धाम[म]यो[र्मा]न्य[भो]मकं ।  
 मेलाय देवपूजार्थं प्रायक दीपसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥  
 पादकं गीतशृङ्गार्थं विलासिभिसमन्वितं ।  
 तृष्णालं देवभोगार्थं मङ्गलानां च भूमि - [३ ५ १]<sup>h</sup>
12. विमार्गा भोजनार्थं सत्त[स]मुद्दिष्टा प्राप्यते ।  
 विद्याभ्यासरतानां च<sup>i</sup> काया[जा]यां भोजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥  
 सेतानि धानि मृगालो ददौ तानि निधाम्बतः ।  
 वसुकृष्णभूमिः<sup>j</sup> पूर्वसीमा तु भूमि -

<sup>a</sup> Metro, Sogdharā; and of the two next verses.

<sup>b</sup> The akshara व was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>c</sup> The akshara च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>d</sup> I am doubtful about this akshara, and the intended reading may possibly be मति नीं.

<sup>e</sup> Metro, Yasantallikā.

<sup>f</sup> Metro, Śūka (Anuśtubh); and of the following twelve verses.

<sup>g</sup> Of this akshara only the sign of anasaden is doubtful.

<sup>h</sup> The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विद्यासिनी (?)

<sup>i</sup> I do so understand this, nor the following मङ्गलानां; मङ्गलानां may have been put for निधामं.

<sup>j</sup> This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>k</sup> Originally "भूमि" was engraved, but the akshara वृ has been struck out.





where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory *om śrī-Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter *ḥ* is, as usually, written by the sign for *ṛ*; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a *prasaśī*, was composed by Miśra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadāsa of the Vāstavya<sup>\*</sup> family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) by the shoemaker (*moḥṭ*) Devapāla, a son of Śivadāsa and grandson of Jassu (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khaivāṭikā (v. 7), i. e., the modern Khalāri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words 'om, adoration to Gaṇapati' and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nārāyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (*rājadhāni*) Khaivāṭikā is represented to have been when the inscription was composed:—

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Siṃhana, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoningadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years' cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇi. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents:—

For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Māgha-śudī 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;

for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A.D. 1414;

for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇi from 13 h. 8 m., or, by the *Garga-siddhānta*, from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, or, by the *Brahma-siddhānta*, from about sunrise. This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the *Sūrya-siddhānta* rule without *ḍyā* lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D. 1415.

<sup>\*</sup> See ante, Index of vol. I, under *Vāstavya*.



Of the reign of the prince Haribrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1458, which was found at Rāypur and is now in the Nagpur Museum\*, and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 26, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Haṅkeśvara (Śiva) by the *Nāyaka* Hājirājadeva, the prince is described as *Mahārāja*, *dhīrāja*, and called Rāyabrahmadeva, Harirāyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Singhā and Rāmachandra, instead of Simhāna and Rāmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhāna and Rāmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek† in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

## TEXT.

- I. 1. श्री [१०] श्रीमन्महाराजे नमः । (४)  
 सकलदुर्गितहर्ताऽभीष्टसिद्धिप्रकर्ता निगमसमुपगोतः श्रेष्ठपद्मोपगोतः ।  
 जलितमधुकरालोभे-  
 2. वितां मंडपाकीतटमुपि मथराजः पातु श्री विजुराजः ॥ १ ॥  
 वेदानारायण वेदाः पठति भगवती यामनायस्तुतिः  
 श्रीकंठस्थापि मादेरपहरति मनः  
 3. पार्श्वतो किञ्चरीभिः ।  
 द्वारा नारायणस्वरसि रक्षति रक्षत्कथा यदुक्ताः स्तुः  
 सदाः सत्कायसिद्धौ स्फुरतु कविमुखाभोरुद्धे भारती सा ॥ २ ॥  
 व(स)द्वाद्-  
 4. यो द(दि)विषदः श्रुतिवाक्यदृष्ट्या ध्यायति यं पुरुषमात्मविदोऽप्यमूर्तं ।  
 पापानि यत्कथयती विमलं प्रसाति नारायणः स्फुरतु चेतसि सर्वदा वः । (४) ॥ १ ॥  
 चादिह-  
 5. यदुपर्वमे संसृज्योऽवतीर्षः कलशुतिरिति माखां प्राप्य तीक्ष्ण(व)प्रतापः ।  
 निजमुत्तुगदपांशोऽरिदुर्गांस्वैषोदयमुपि दम चाष्टौ सिद्धयश्चोपपातः ॥  
 6. ॥ १ ॥  
 अभयदवनिपातस्त्वामुतो रामदेवः समरशिरसि धीरो येन मोक्षितदेवः ।  
 भनिरित कलियंशफाऽहतः कोपदृष्ट्या तत्कथतरचितवःपञ्जराज्यतापः ॥ १ ॥  
 7. तत्पुतः अमुजता जगति विजयति चंद्रचूडस्य भक्तः  
 श्यामः कामाभिरामो मनसि खगदुःखसुखदानीं कृतांतः ।  
 सर्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदभरतस्त्वोत्पतिः वंदिता-

\* See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 77.

† See ib., vol. VII, p. 112.

\* From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

† Read "पिनी"

\* Metre, Mālinī.

† Metre, Sengharā. In the second line of this verse a tri-tie pronoun has been omitted.

\* Metre, Yamunasthānā.

† I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuri branch of the Halhaya family there was the prince Simhāna, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Halhayas are called by the writer Abhinaya, and the Kalachuris Kalachuris, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.

\* Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mālinī.





## XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., O.L.B.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,<sup>1</sup> in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' *Indian Atlas*, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 51' E., Lat. 25° 43½' N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwālior; and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, *ib.*, plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 3½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty *akṣaras* in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other *akṣaras* which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between ⅛" and ¼". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, and, excepting the introductory *om om namo vitarāgāya* and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a *prasaṁsī* (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakīrti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarāja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tilhaṇa (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *ḍ*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-51) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tīrthakāras Rishabhdeva, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahāvira), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (*brūta-devatā*) 'famous in the world under the name of Pañcajavāsini.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXV, part I, p. 168.<sup>2</sup> In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.



The poet's account of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 10-32) is as follows:—

"There was, an ornament of the Kauchhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yavarāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a Bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth."

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves.

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters,\* and which in splendour rivalled the moon's crescent, . . . . . having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun's orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapāla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them, a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasimha, 'the lion of valour,' rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

\* Arjuna being the name of one of the Pāṇḍava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words *Pāṇḍu* *Elhimasena* (the second son of Pāṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and *Elhimasena* (an epithet of Arjuna).

\* The words of the original would also mean 'possessed of many sweet bow-strings which supported crowds of arrows able to conquer the circuit of the quarters'.



all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters.

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men.

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chadobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this:—

In the Kachchhapaghāta family there was—

1. Yuvarāja. His son was—
2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyādhara-deva, slew in battle Rājyapāla. His son was—
3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—
4. Vijayapāla; and his son again—
5. Vikramasinha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shown in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 361 (No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D. 1088.\*

Of the Kachchhapaghāta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large Gwālior Sāsabāhū temple inscription† of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmana, Vajradāman, Maṅgalarāja, Kīrtirāja, Māladeva, Devapāla, Padmapāla, and Mahipāla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription‡ of Virasimhadēva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Virasimhadēva, Śaradasimhadēva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasimhadēva. As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

\* The date is one of those in which the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.

† See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 35.

‡ See *Journal. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 543, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 213.

inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghāta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwālior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradāman of the Gwālior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1024,<sup>9</sup> defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwālior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapāla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapāla to be identical with the *vripati* Vijayādhirāja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byānā, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapāla<sup>10</sup>; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapāla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapāla (Vijayādhirāja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramāra Bhojadeva of Mālava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964—Vikrama 1099.<sup>11</sup>

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, the illustrious Rājyapāla; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyādhara-deva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapāladeva.<sup>12</sup> Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhauṅadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055,<sup>13</sup> and Vijayapāladeva was succeeded by Devavarmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107.<sup>14</sup> Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080,<sup>15</sup> which shows that his successor Vidyādhara-deva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghāta Arjuna. As to Rājyapāla, I think it highly probable that he is the Rājyapāla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochanapāla in the Jhūsi (or Allahābād) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 34; and I now believe that the three kings Vijayapāladeva, Rājyapāladeva and Trilochanapāladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyādhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyākubja (or Kanauj)<sup>16</sup>, and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghāta chiefs, and that the prince of

<sup>9</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 303.

<sup>10</sup> See Dr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 8.

There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Maṅgalārāja mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byānā (ib. p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghāta Maṅgalārāja of the Gwālior inscription, the successor of Vajradāman.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, p. 196.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, pp. 124 and 129.

<sup>14</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

<sup>15</sup> See also *ante*, vol. I, p. 219.



Kannauj destroyed by him was the very Rājyapāla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhūsi copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kannauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kannauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Arjuna's father Yuvarāja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last verse translated above told us that to Vikramasimha belonged the town of Chaḍobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade; and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jaina traders Rishi and Dāhaḍa, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of *śreṣṭhīna*<sup>12</sup> in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomatī, and grandsons of the *śreṣṭhīna* Jāsūka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lāṭavāgaṭa *gaya*, is the Guru Devāsena. His son was Kulabhūṣaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhasenasūri. From him sprang the Guru Śāntīśena who, in a *sabha* held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakīrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Śādhu Dāhaḍa whose genealogy has already been given, Kākeka, Śārpaṭa, Devadhara, Mahīchandra, and Lakṣmaṇa; but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *vinśopaka* on each *gaut* (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four *gauts* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraka; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil<sup>13</sup> for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahāchakra and Rajakadraka anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned; and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.

<sup>12</sup> See Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kaṭhasūtra*, p. 107: *śreṣṭhīnaś śrīdevatāśhyāito-souvarāṇapatta-bhāṣakī-tattvānāyaka*.

<sup>13</sup> The original has the compound *śara-ghaṭikā-dasyam*, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.



TEXT.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>18</sup> ॥ [श्री] न[मो] वीतरावाय ॥ श्री<sup>19</sup> — — — ट — ट — उ — उ टना[वत्या]दपोठं भुठन्-  
[दा]रक्षमम[द]गुंज[द]लि[म]विष्णुतसाराविणम् । [त]-  
2. [त्वा] — — — वच[व]ः ॥ रसु — — — [तां] व — — — [मि]वाकरोस सयमन्नामी  
नियं स्तासता[म्] ॥ वि[वि]श्वा-  
3. [यो] गुण[सं]वृ[त्ति] जततमस्तापो निजन्वोतिषा [धु]क्ताकापि जगति संगतजय[व]क्ते सरा-  
गाणि यः । उवाचव-  
4. कर[व]जोर्जितमजघासोदसलोसरी संसारोद्यमदण्डिदेसु स मम श्रीसां[मा]तिनायो जिनः ॥  
जा[व] सखदक्षित-<sup>20</sup>  
5. सयमपि श्रीवाखिलोपच[र] साक्षादीक्षितमक्षिभिर्दधदपि पौठं कर्त्तुं तथा । विष्णुत्वाद्यदु-  
पातमाय्य सततं [जात]-  
6. [स्तया?]नदक्षचंद्रः सर्वजनस्य पातु विपदचंद्रप्रभोर्दध नः ॥ श्री[यो]वानोक्षसंकुलं रतितुल-  
नेषि प्रणम्य[वृ]म-  
7. — — [आ]ध्वगपुगमुद्रतमजामिष्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिशृंगोपघातकृतधीर्ध्यानाभिना  
मन्त्रमाहावं कर्त्त-  
8. धनं निनाय जयताकोवं जिनः सन्धतिः ॥ "प्रसाधितावतुर्भयपंकजाकर[भा]स्करः । संतस्तमो-  
पहो वोसु सो-  
9. तमो मुनिसत्तमः ॥ "श्रीमन्निनाधिपतिसद्वदनारविंदमुह्यच्छदच्छतरवो[वो]धसखदगंधम् ।  
अध्यास या जगति पंकजवासिनी-  
10. ति श्वा[त्ति] जनाम जयतु सृ[ष्टु]तदेवता सा ॥ "श्रीमोक्षच्छपघातबंधतिलकक्षौलोक्षनि-  
यंयमःपांडुवीरुवराजसुनर-  
11. समधुद्रीमसेनानुगः । श्रीमा[न]जुनभूपतिः<sup>21</sup> पतिरपामध्याप यत्कुलतां नो गांभीर्यगुणेन  
निर्जितजग[व]न्वो धनु-  
12. त्विंधया ॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकवाचनिवर्द्धत्वा  
महत्वाहवे ।  
13. <sup>22</sup>[विंदोर]धनिचंद्रमंडल[मि]लभ्यक्ताकनापोज्ज[स्व]लैक्ष्मीलोकं सकलं यशोभिरनर्नदीजसमा-  
पुरयत् ॥ "यस्य  
14. प्रस्थानकालोत्तितजलधिरवाकारवादिवशब्दा[ब्दा] वैशाखिर्नृच्छददिप्रतिममजघटाकोटिघंटार-  
वाय । संस-  
15. र्गतः समंतादहमहमिकया पुरयंतो विरेमुनी रोदोरंभ्रमां निरिधिवरसुखधतिभानमिषाः ॥  
"दिव-  
16. काक्रमयो[न्व]मानंयमगाधाराननेकान् सुधानिच्छिजाननिग्रं दधद्विधुक्तासंख्यमानयुतोन् ।  
[ध]व-

<sup>17</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa; and of the next three verses.

<sup>20</sup> Read वच[व]ः.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa; and of the next verse.

<sup>24</sup> The akṣara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>25</sup> The akṣaras in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa; and of the next verse.

- L. 17. [चि]वचमु<sup>१७</sup> विजयिगोप्याजी विजिजी[जि]तं जातोष्मादभिन्मनुरन्वृपतीनामन्मान-  
स्तुम् ॥ यथास्व[दुत]-  
18. बाह्वाहनमहाशक्तप्रयोगादिषु प्राचीनं प्रविकसितं पृथुमतिवीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा । च्चत्तो<sup>१८</sup>-  
कनमावजात-  
19. भयतो दृष्टारिभंगप्रदस्यास्य स्वाङ्गवर्णने त्रिभुव[नि] को लब्ध[व्य]वर्णः प्रभुः ॥ <sup>१९</sup>तुरगचरचुरा-  
योत्प्रात[धात्री]-  
20. समुत्तं स्वगवदहिमरस्ये[शे]मंडलं यथायागे । प्रचुरतररजोन्वासेपतेवस्त्रितेजीवतिमचिरत  
21. एवा[श]भतीवानिवारम् ॥ शरदस्तमयुखप्रसदंशप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्तिव्यातदिवक्त्रवाचः ।  
चजनि विजय-  
22. पालः श्रीमतीस्त्राह्मीशः शमितसकलधात्रीमंडलकेयलस[य]ः ॥ <sup>२२</sup>भयं यच्छ्रुत्वा त्रिदशतर्कणी-  
वीलितरणे  
23. कर्मणायायाया व्यतरदमदध्यान्मान सदा । सतीप्रमवादादव[नि]जलप्रस्थाधिकमतो वु[ध]धा-  
नामाचर्य व्यतनुत  
24. नरेन्द्रो हृदि च यः ॥ <sup>२४</sup>तस्माद्विक्रमकारिविक्रमभरपारंभनिर्भेदितप्रोत्तुंगाखिलवैरिवारणघटी-  
यन्मा[स]कु-  
25. भस्मलः । श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्णनामा समं सर्वासा[मा]प्रसरदिभाचुरययः स्मरस्मुर-  
त्सेसरः ॥  
26. वा[वा]लस्यापि विलोक्य दस्य परिष्कारं भुजं दक्षिणं श्रीवायेषपराययस्त्रितिधिया वीरत्रिया  
मंचितम् । सर्वानेष-  
27. वगृह्णानाहमहंकारादहंपूर्विका <sup>२७</sup>राज्यश्रीरत्न[ता]धिगत् <sup>२८</sup>विमुखो सर्वान्यपुंयमीतः ॥ <sup>२९</sup>यत्वंतो-  
हृत्सविष्टतिमि-  
28. रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचकं विषयप्रकाशं सकलजगदमदावकाशं दधानं । निःपर्यायं <sup>२८</sup>  
दिगास्वप्रसरदुह-  
29. क[राका]तधात्रीधरेन्द्रे यस्मिन्नालासु[य]मालिन्महज सति त्रयैवैवकीर्त्यांशुमासी ॥ <sup>२९</sup>यद्गजये  
वरतुरंगचुरप्रस-  
30. गच्छन्नावनीवलयजन्मरजोमिसर्यत् । विदेधिया पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्मवस्तुत्करं प्रलयकालमि-  
वादिदे-  
31. श ॥ तस्य चितीश्वरवरस्य पुरं समाहितं विश्वीर्णशोभमभितोपि चडोभमंशम् । प्राप्तेमितकय-  
ससपदिगागतामि-  
32. स्वावस्मानविषयिज्यवहारसारम् ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>३२</sup>श्रीमतीज्यसपूर्वनिर्मितवनिर्दंशाव[वा]राभीष्ट-  
मान् जातुकः प्रक[टा]चता-  
33. सैनिकरः चैष्टी <sup>३३</sup>प्रभाविष्ठितः । सम्यन्दुष्टिरभोटजेन[च]रणदंशार्धेन यो ददौ पात्रीधाय [चतु]-  
र्विधं [त्रि]विध[वु]-

<sup>१७</sup> The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the stroke <sup>१७</sup> may have been altered.

<sup>१८</sup> Read <sup>१८</sup>चत्तो.

<sup>१९</sup> Metre, Māhātī; and of the next verse.

<sup>२०</sup> Metre, Śikharī.

<sup>२१</sup> Metre, Śārdūlarikṛīṭa; and of the next verse.

<sup>२२</sup> Originally <sup>२२</sup>पुर्विका was engraved.

<sup>२३</sup> Read <sup>२३</sup>विषय.

<sup>२४</sup> Metre, Śārdūlarī.

<sup>२५</sup> Read <sup>२५</sup>विषय.

<sup>२६</sup> Metre, Vasantīlākā; and of the next verse.

<sup>२७</sup> Metre, Śārdūlarīkṛīṭa.

<sup>२८</sup> Read <sup>२८</sup>मात्राचतुः.

<sup>२९</sup> Perhaps altered to <sup>२९</sup>शिवप्रभा.

- L. 34. धो दानं वृतः श्रवया ॥ श्रीमज्जिने[भर]पदां(वु)रुहद्विरेफो विस्कारकोर्ति धोवलीकृतदिधि-  
भागः । पुत्रोऽस्य वैभव-  
35. पदं जयदेवनामा सोमायमानचरितोऽग्नि सज्जनानाम् ॥ "रूपेण सो(मो)लेन कुलेन सर्वस्वीणा  
गुणैरप्यपरेः  
36. शिरः ॥ पदं दधानास्य उ(व)भूव भार्या यमोमतीति प्रसिता पुत्रिव्याम् ॥ "तस्यामजीवनदसा-  
हविदाहडास्यो पुत्रौ पवि-  
37. त्रवसुराजितचारुनूर्त्ति । प्राच्यामिवाकस(म)गिनौ समयः समस्तसंपन्नसाधकजनव्यवहारहे-  
[तु] ॥ "प्रोन्वाद्यसज्जना-  
38. रिक्तुंजरगिरीनिर्हारणोद्ययमोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियाचोन्मार्गगामी च यः । सोदाहिकम-  
सिंहभूप-  
39. तिरतिप्रोतो यकाभ्यां युगचेष्टः चेष्टिपदं पुरेष्ठ परमं ॥ ॐ ॥ "यामोद्विग-  
तरवो(वो)धचरितवद्-  
40. द्विनिगेषय(स)रिनतमस्तकधारिताः ॥ श्रीसाटवामटगणोद्धतरोहणादिमानिष्यभूतच-  
रितो गुरुदेवसे-  
41. नः ॥ "सिदातो द्विविधोऽप्यवाधितधिया येन प्रमाण[नि]यधेषु प्रभवः श्रियामवगतो वस्तुस-  
मुक्तोपमः ।  
42. जातः श्रीकुलभूषणोच्चलवियदासोमणधामणीः सम्यग्दयानुदवो(वो)धचरणालंकारधारी  
ततः ॥ "रत्नव्या[भ]रण-  
43. धारणजातमोमस्तथादजायत स दुर्लभसेनसुरिः । सर्वं श्रुतं समधिगम्य सदैव सम्यगात्मस्वरू-  
पनिरतोभवद्विह-  
44. [धी]र्यः ॥ "यास्यानाधिपतौ कु(वु)धा[द्वि]गुणे श्रीमोजदेवे रूपे सम्येव(व)रसेनपंडितगिरी-  
रत्नादिवृत्तदान् । योने-  
45. कान् ॥ अतसौ व्यजेष्ट पटुतामीष्टोयमी वादिनः यास्याभोनिधिपारमोभवदतः श्रीमांतिषेणो  
गुरुः ॥ "गुरुचर-  
46. णसरोजाराधनावासपुष्पप्रभवदमलवु(वु)दिः सुवरत्नययोस्मात् । यजनि विजयकोर्तिः सुहृद्व्याव-  
47. कीर्णो जलधिमुवमिवेतां यः प्रस(म)स्ति व्यधत् ॥ "तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूतं धर्मोपदे-  
शमधिकाधिमत्-  
48. प्रवो(वो)धाः । लज्जाय व(व)धुसुहृदां च समागमस्य सत्वागुपय वपुषश्च विनम्रत्वं ॥ "प्रार-  
था(व्या)धमकांतारविदाहः  
49. साधुदाहडः । सधिविकच [कु]केकः सूर्यटः सुकृते पटुः ॥ तवा देवधरः सुवः ॥ धर्मकर्मधुरधरः ।  
च[दा]जिनि-  
50. तनाकच महीचंद्रः शुभार्जनात् ॥ गुणिनः सणनामिचोक्तादानविचक्षणाः । शब्देपि श्रावकाः  
वेचिद-

\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.  
\* Metre, Upajhāt.  
\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.  
\* Metre, Śārdūlavrikhḍita.  
\* Read परमपारक.  
\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.  
\* Metre, Śārdūlavrikhḍita.  
\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.

\* Metre, Śārdūlavrikhḍita.  
\* Read "वामपरी.  
\* Metre, Hālik.  
\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.  
\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); end of the next three  
verses.  
\* Read दुर्धी.



- L. 51. कर्ते[धन]पायकाः ॥ किंच लक्ष्मणसंज्ञोभू—वदेवस्य मातुलः । गोष्ठिकी जिन्मन्त्राय सर्वमाय-  
 52. विचक्षणः ॥ "ग्रामागोष्ठिस्थिताव(व)रं यस्मिन्पासाद्वदवापाङ्गरं सार्धं श्रीजिनमन्दिरं विजगदानं-  
 दप्रदं सु-  
 53. दरम् । संभूयेदमकारयन्नुसशिरःसंचारिकेत्वं(व)रप्रतिनोच्छततेव वादुविहतेर्द्यामादिग[त्यम्-]  
 54. ताम् ॥ ॐ ॥ अयेतस्य जिनेश्वरमन्दिरस्य निष्यादनपूजनसंस्काराय कालान्तरस्फुटितवुटित-  
 प्रतीका-  
 55. रार्थं च महाराजाधिराजयोविक्रमसिंहः सपुत्ररासे(ग)रप्रतिहतप्रसरं परमोपचयं चेतसि  
 [नि]धाय  
 56. गोष्ठीं प्रति विशेषकं मोधुमगोष्ठीचतुष्टयवापयोष्यसेवं च महा[यज्ञ]धामभूमौ रजकद्रुपू-  
 57. र्चदिव्यागवाटिकां वापीसमन्वितौ ।<sup>1</sup> प्रदोपमृनिजनशरीराभ्यञ्जनार्थं करघटिकाद्यं च दत्त-  
 वान् । तथाच-  
 58. द्वाकं महाराजाधिराजयोविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन ॥ "व(व)भूमिर्ज्यसुधा" मुक्ता राजभिः समरा-  
 दिभिः । यस्य य-  
 59. स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति स्मृतिवचनाविक्रमपि ज्ञेयः प्रयोजनं मन्यमानैः  
 सकलैरपि  
 60. भाविभूमिपालैः प्रतिपात्तनायमिति ॥ ॐ ॥ "लिलेखीदयराजो यां प्रस(ग)स्तिं युवधोरि-  
 माम् । उत्कीर्णवा-  
 61. न्" शिलाकूटस्तीक्ष्णस्तां सदचराम् ॥ संवत् ११४४ भाद्रपदसुदि ३ सोमदिने ॥ संमत् महाराजोः ॥

## XIX.—PABHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. FÜHRER, Ph.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosā stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnā, in tahsil Manjhānpur, 32 miles south-west of Allahābād, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhāsa.<sup>1</sup> The classical hill of Prabhāsa, which is the only rock in the Antārvedi, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamnā rivers, is 5 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosām Khirāj, the ancient Kauśāmbi, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosām Inām and Pāli,<sup>2</sup> which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave, in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nāga described thus by Hiuen Tsiang<sup>3</sup> in his account of Kauśāmbi:—"To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 li (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. Having subdued

<sup>1</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikīrṇita.<sup>2</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>3</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>4</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>5</sup> Read "विष्णुः".<sup>1</sup> The Prabhāsa mentioned in the Maṇu Chandra inscription of Mahānagarman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 197 & 204, most probably is the modern Pabhosā on the Jamnā, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in Berar.<sup>2</sup> A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 5 inches, of Mahārāja Lakṣmīnara, dated (Gupta)-Samvat 168, was found in this village in May 1891.<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Sép. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 227.

this dragon, Tathāgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."<sup>4</sup> Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kausāmbi, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosām. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nāga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnā while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nāga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divālī festival.<sup>5</sup> Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nāga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of debris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2' 2" by 1' 9", has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2' 3" are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1' 5" and the other of 1' 7". The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1' 3" above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8' 6" on the right in length, by 7' 4" in width and 3' 3" in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1' 5" in

<sup>4</sup> Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopāla, *Besal, &c.*, vol. I, page cxi.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.



breadth, and 1' 2" in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

## No. I.

*On the rock outside the cave*

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14" by 10½". Each letter is on an average 1·3" long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn\* of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hönle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kausambi, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

## TEXT.

- L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस्य
2. ब्रह्मनिमित्तस्य
3. स्नातुलिन गोपालीया
4. वैहदरीपुत्रेन [यामा]
5. यामादमेनेन मेने
6. कारिते [उदात्तस्य] दस-
7. मे सुवहरे कणपोयाने चरहे-
8. [ता]ने — — — — — [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"By Āśadhassena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī (*i.e.* the *Vaihidura-princess*), and maternal uncle of king Brahmasatimittā (*Brihaspatimittā*), son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . of the Kāśyapīya Arhats (*i.e.* either the *Buddhists* of the *Kāśyapīya* school, or the pupils of *Vardhamāna* who was a *Kāśyapa* by *gotra*<sup>1</sup>) . . . ."

## No. II.

*Inside the cave.*

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32" by 12". On an average each letter is 1·6" long and 3·6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

\* See *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.

<sup>1</sup> See Facsimile No. I.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly गोपालिया. The genitive गोपालीया is constructed with the crude form वैहदरी which stands in the same

of a genitive, compare, e.g. अपस्तम्बस्य गुरुमुख (Āpastambasya Gurumukha) or गोपाः पालिपुत्राणां (Pāṇinī).

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards usual.

<sup>4</sup> All letters doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.



PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO. I.—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.



*A. Kéroux Pl. D'après*

*Scale 1/2-size.*

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO. II.—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL.



At present, the inscription is

South 1-100



Text.

1. अधिराजाया राज्ञो शोभकायनप्रवक्ष्य वरं<sup>१</sup> पानस्य
2. पुष्यं राज्ञो<sup>२</sup> सिध्नीपुष्यं भामवतस्य पुषेण
3. वैजिदरीपुषेण आषाढमेतेन कारितं<sup>३</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Āshādhāsena, son of the Vaihlidari (i.e. *Vaihlidara*—princess, and) son of king Bhāgavata, son of the Tevati (i.e. *Traivarna*—princess, and) son of king Vamigapāla, son of Śonakāyana (Śaunnakāyana) of Adhichhatrā."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śunga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatra,<sup>11</sup> the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pāncālā, here furnished to us:—



Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśāmbī, as the latter place is close to Prabhāsa, and as many of his coins<sup>20</sup> have been found at Kauśāmbī.

## No. III.

*Is the modern Dharmakīrti.*

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmashāla in the village of Pabbosā. It records the consecration

U. S. Formula No. 31.

20. Possibly 4.5" or 5.0"

<sup>14</sup> Possibly not.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Bhānagar in Bahlikāra, see Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. 1, pp. 225-226. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 26-29. The same form Adhikhatra; and not the usual Ahikhatra, Ahikhattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahābhārata*, *Hastināpura*, and *Pāṇini*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Bhānagar.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the 'Adversus' of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 1, 60.

" The epithets *Taivarakas* and *Vaishidari* are no doubt derivations from the names of nations or countries although not found in the *Purāṇa* literature. Compare e. g. *कैकाय* "the queen of the Kaiya-sons," *कौण्डिन्य* "the queen of the Kōṇḍa-tribe." Compare also the epithet *Tvaishika*, or *Taivaramika* occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 304 and 307.

See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 77, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasa-  
hamitra. The Lahore Museum coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasastris, nine of which were excavated by  
me at Kanishka in 1887, and six at Auladikata (Hemugger) in 1901.



of an image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣa, in Samvat 1881, by Śādhu<sup>20</sup> Śrī Hīrālāl of Allahābād on the top of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the city of Kauśāmbī. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosām and Pabhosā were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśāmbī and Prabhāsa.

TEXT.<sup>21</sup>

- I. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिते मार्गशीर्षशुक्लपक्षां शुक्रवासे-
2. रे काष्ठामंघ्रे मायुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्याम्बये
3. महारक्षोत्रमूर्त्तिस्तुष्टये महारक्षोत्रललितयो-
4. त्तित्तित्तदाद्याये चद्योतकाम्बये गोवलगोत्रे प्रसागन-
5. मरवासुवसाधुश्रीरायजीमदभद्रदनुजकेचम-
6. लस्तमुचसाधुश्रीमेहरचंदस्तद्वातामुमेरचंद-
7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्तमुचसाधुश्री-
8. रालालेन कौशाम्बीनगरवास्ते प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-
9. पद्मप्रभविनदीशान्तिनक्षत्राणकचैत्रे श्रीजिन-
10. विवर्धतिहा कारिता चमरेवज्जहादुरराज्ये सु[स्त्र]मं [६]

## TRANSLATION.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the town of Kauśāmbī, by Śādhu Śrī Hīrālāl, son of Śādhu Śrī Māpikya Chand, younger brother of Sumera Chand, brother of Śādhu Śrī Mehar (*i.e.*, Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Śādhu Śrī Rāyaji Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayāga (Allahābād), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka<sup>22</sup> family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhaffāraka* the illustrious Lalitakīrttijit, in the line of *bhaffāraka* the illustrious Jagatkīrtti, the descendant of Lohāchārya, in the Pushkara *gaya*, the Mathura *gachchha*, and the Kāshthāsamgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣa, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminātha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pārśvanātha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

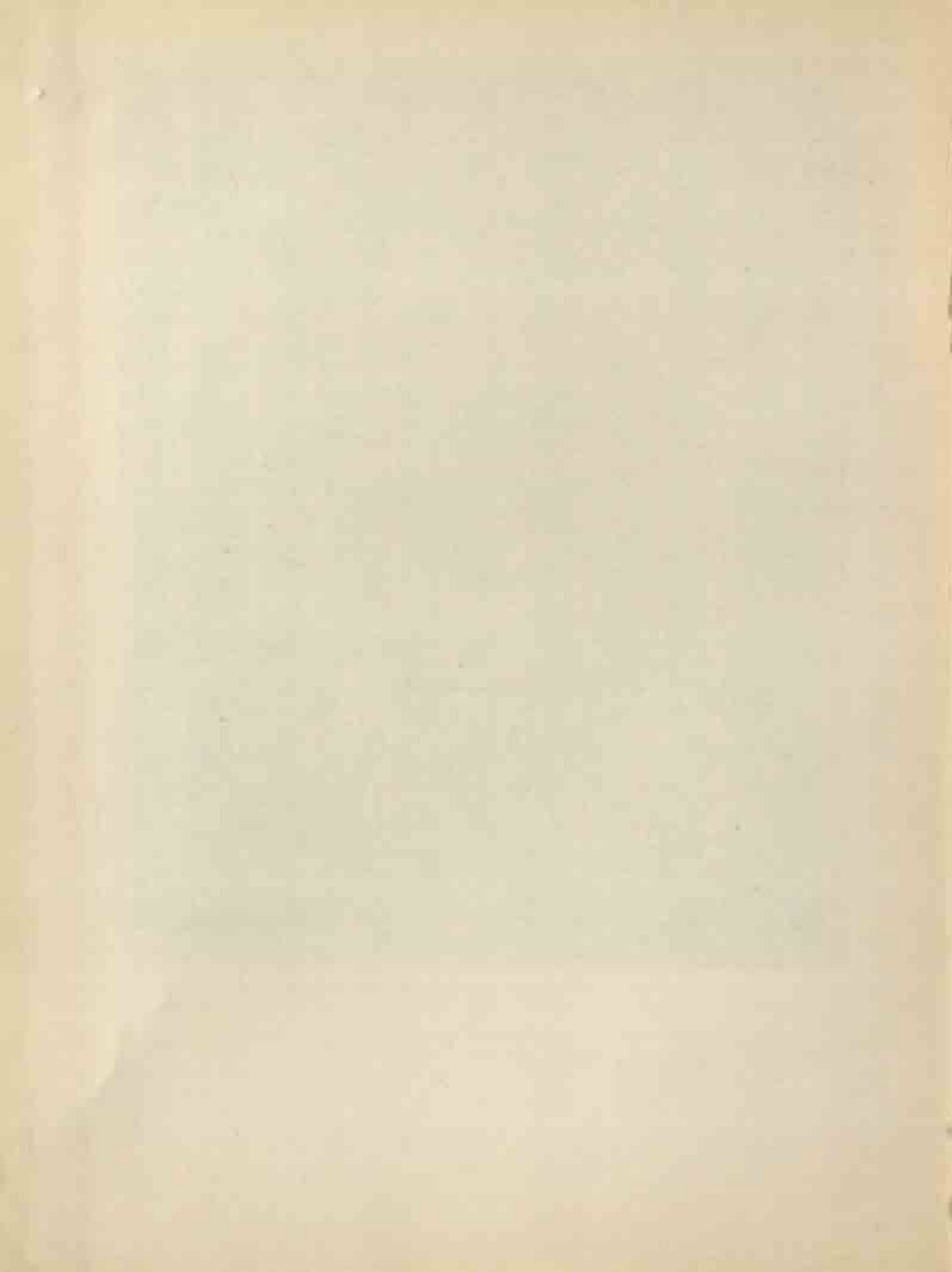
<sup>20</sup> *i.e.* banker and merchant.

<sup>21</sup> See *Samvats* No. III.

<sup>22</sup> The modern *Agrotaka* *Essays*, *see ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

संवत् १८८१ निनेमा गिर्षिर्षुक्त प्रष्टा शुक्र वास  
 रकाष्टा संघे भापुरगधेषुष्करगणै लोह्वाद्यान्नाये  
 नद्याकषी जगती त्रिसप्तद्वेन द्वारकश्री ललितकी  
 त्रिजिज्ञ एह्वाये श्रेत कान्दये गोयुन गौत्रे प्रसागन  
 गरका सत्यसाधकषी एवजी मल्लसदनुज कैरुम  
 ल्लसत्पुनसाधकषी भद्रचंद्रसद्गता सुमेरुचंद्र  
 सदनुज साधकषी भाणिकचंद्रसत्पुनसाधकषी दो  
 एलातेन कोशं वीनगरका दुप्रभासुपर्वतो परिश्री  
 पद्मप्रभ जिनदी लात्पानकल्याणकथेत्रे श्री जिन  
 विवप्रतिष्ठाकारिता श्रीगरेज वहाउर सत्ये सुभ





## XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used :—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.<sup>1</sup>

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia (Lauria-Ararā)*, *Mathia (Lauria-Narandgarh)* and *Rāmpūrvā*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the *Dehli-Mirat* and *Allahabad* versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the *Allahabad* version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the *Dehli-Sivalik* and *Allahabad* versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eighty years.

The changes in the *Radhia* and *Mathia* texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the *Rāmpūrvā* version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 54ff. According to the account<sup>2</sup> of Mr. Garrick, the *Rāmpūrvā* Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the *Rāmpūrvā* version agrees exactly with those of *Radhia* and *Mathia*, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two *Dehli* versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

<sup>1</sup> These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.



be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudānepi* into *cha kha dāne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *īyā kḍanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome II, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.\* Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Rājanīti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Sāstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahanarām and Rāpnāth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñānamārga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmins, Jains and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently. *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 304.

liberations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakrādāne-pi-me bahuvidhe divine, kālanena-va-hakam mā palibhasyissanti, nālikā-va-kāni vijhapoyissanti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Saṃhitās* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

## Emmet L.

<i>Delhi-Sicak.</i>	<i>Delhi-Misc.</i>	<i>Allahabad.</i>
Devānam-piye Piyadasi kīja-	x x x x x x x x	Devānam piye Piyadasi kījā
bevaṃ-āhā [1] sadhvaṃti <sup>2</sup> [3]	x x x x x x x x	bevaṃ āhā. [3] sadhvaṃti <sup>2</sup> sadhva-
vama abhiśeṭṭa-me iyaṃ-dham-	x x x x x x x x	ṣeṭṭa me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhā-
malipi likhāpitā[.] [2] hīdatayā-	x x x x x x x x	pitā[.] hīdatapālāte dāsaṃpetipād-
lāte dūsaṃpetipādāya anamata-	x x x x x x x x	āya[.] [3] anmata agāya dham-
agāya-dhammahāmatāyā[3] agā-	x x x x x x x x	mahāmatāya agāya palikkāya
ya-palikkāyā agāya-saṃśeṭṭā āge-	x x x x x x x x	agāya vāśāyā āgena bhāyena
na-bhāyena[4] āgena-mahāsa[.]	x x x x x x x x	[āge]ṃ vāśheṃ[.] Eka eka kha-
ka-cha-kha-mama anumatthiyā[5]	x x x x x x x x	mama anumatthiyā [2] dhammā-
dhammāpekkhā dhammahāmatā-	x x x x x x x x	pekkhā dhammahāmā-ā cha sava-
chā sava-sava-vaṭṭitā vaḍḍhisi-	x x x x x x x x	sava vaḍḍitā vaḍḍhisi ehorā[.]
ehorā[6] Pūṭṭi-pi-cha-ma ukasā-	x x x x x x x x	Pūṭṭi pi mā ukasā cha geyayā
chā geyayā-chā majjhimā-chā anu-	x x x x x x x x	chā majjhimā cha anuvādhīyanā-
vidhīyanā [7] saṃpetipādāya m-	x x x x x x x x	saṃpetipādāyanāni cha [3] alam-
ti-chā alam-chapalāni-samāpāpay-	x x x x x x x x	chāpalāni-samāpāpayāve[.] bhe-
itave [1] bheveṇ-sāṭṭa [8] mahā-	x x x x x x x x	va amāmahāmā-ā pi [1] Eā hi
mā-ā-pi [.] Eā-pi <sup>2</sup> -vidhī yā-	x x x x x x x x	vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālānā
iyam dhammena-pālānā dham-	x x x x x x x x	dhammena vidhāne dhamme[ā]
mena-vidhāne [9] dhammena-	x x x x x x x x	sukhiyaṃ dhammena guti ti cha-
sukhiyaṃ dhammena-gotī-ti [.]	[1] vidhāne dha[m]m . . . . .	[4][.]
	knif[va] . . . . . [2] [.]	

\* The sign, read here *da*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sanchi inscriptions, e.g., in *Pāṇḍurāṭṭi*, i.e., *Pāṇḍu* *luṭṭi*. With the form *andanti* compare *āre*, *darāḥ*, *indanti*.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly the stupa may have *śi* instead of *śi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

\* I give the words *hi-ede* on the strength of Dr. Fink's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 210. The word-sign of *hi-ede* (angularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kild version of the Book Ed. XIII, 2 4 12) is the last reliable of *amuridhiantsi* and *amuridhiantsi*.



## EDICT I.

## Radhia.

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevañ-āha [1] saḍvāsitavaśābhi-  
 sitena-me iyañ-dharmmalipi [1]  
 likhāpita [1] hidatapālata<sup>1</sup> dusañ-  
 paṭipādāya amanta-agāya-dham-  
 makāmatāya [2] agāya-palikhāya  
 [2] agāya-saḍāya agena-bhaya-  
 na agena-udhena [2] Eas-chu-  
 kho-mama-anuṣaṭhiya dhamma-  
 pekha [3] dhammakāmatā-cha  
 suve-surre-vadhiṭa vadhiṭati cheva  
 [1] Pulisā-pi-me ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majhiṇā-cha anuvadhī-  
 yanti [4] sampatipādāyanti-cha  
 alam-chapalam samādapayitave  
 hemeva-santamahāmatā-pi [1] Eas-  
 hi-vidhi yā-iyam dhammena-pāla-  
 na [5] dhammena-vidhāne dham-  
 mena-sukhiyana dhammena-got-  
 ti [6] [5]

## Mathia.

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevañ-āha [1] saḍvāsitavaśābhi-  
 sitena-me iyañ [1] dhammalipi  
 likhāpita [1] hidatapālata dusañ-  
 paṭipādāya amanta-agāya dham-  
 makāmatāya [2] agāya-palikhāya  
 agāya-saḍāya agena-bhaya-  
 na agena-udhena [2] Eas-chu-  
 kho-mama-anuṣaṭhiya dhamma-  
 pekha dhammakāmatā-cha suve-  
 surre-vadhiṭa vadhiṭati-cha [1]  
 Pulisā-pi-me [4] ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majhiṇā-cha anuvadhīya-  
 ti sampatipādāyanti-cha alam-  
 chapalam samādapayitave [5] he-  
 meva-santamahāmatā-pi [1] Eas-  
 hi-vidhi yā-iyam dhammena-pāla-  
 na dhammena-vidhāne dhammena-  
 sukhiyana [6] dhammena-got-  
 ti [7]

## Rāmpūrea.

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lāja .  
 hevañ-āha [1] sa [du] . . .  
 . . . [1] dusañpaṭipādāye  
 amanta-agāya dhammakāmatāya  
 . . . . . [5.]  
 . . . [2] Eas-chu-  
 kho-mama-anuṣaṭhiya dhamma-  
 pekha dhamma . . . . .  
 . . . [3] geva-yā-cha majhi-  
 ṇā-cha anuvadhīyanti sampatip-  
 ādayanti . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . [4] yā-iyam dhammena  
 pālana dhammena-vidhāne dham-  
 mena s[u] . . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.<sup>1</sup> But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*vis.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones<sup>2</sup> and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners<sup>3</sup> back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.<sup>4</sup> Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,<sup>5</sup> to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

<sup>1</sup> Bernouff's explanation of *śidats* and *pāṭān*, which are found also below IV. (I. 7 (D. S.), I. 18 (P. S.), VII. 2, I. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *śro*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratraya* is used in the sense of *paratraya* or *paratrayika*, see *Paṭichatsāstra*, III, p. 54, l. 17 (Ba. edition).

<sup>2</sup> *Circumspection*, i.e., a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience*, i.e., towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear*, i.e., of sin.

<sup>3</sup> *Geṇapā*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gṛ* or *gṛh*, which the *Dāṭṭapāṭya* explains by *dehaya*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, *\*gṛhya* or *\*gṛhya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

<sup>4</sup> *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvāsita*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

<sup>5</sup> The *santamahāmatā*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antepāṭyā* of the Sanskrit writers, see, e.g., *Mālavikāgnimitra*, p. 16, l. 7 (Ba. & Sc. 2nd ed.).

<sup>6</sup> It will be best to take *śā* here as *śāddhara*, i.e., in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.



1. ॐ असतो मा सद्गमय ॥  
 2. ॐ तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं  
 3. ॐ भर्गो देवस्य धियो नमो  
 4. ॐ वधो ॥  
 5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 7. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 9. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 11. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 13. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 14. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 15. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 16. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 17. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 18. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 19. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 20. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 21. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥



21 V

2

6

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Ed VI.

13

249



## EDICT II.

## Dehli-Sivalik.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
[10] hevaṃ-āha [:] dhamme-sādhū [.]  
Kiyam-cha-dhamme-ti [?] Apā-  
sinave bahu-kayāne daya dāne  
[11] daya-dāne sacche-sochaye [.]  
Chakbudāne-pi-me bahuviddhe-dimne  
dupada [12] chatupadesu  
pakhivālichaleṣu vividhe-me-anu-  
gahe-kāṭe ā-pāna- [13] dākhināye  
amānā-pi-cha-me-bahūni kayā-  
nāni-kāṭāni [.] Etāye-me [14]  
atthāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-likhā-  
pitā [:] hevaṃ-anupatipajamtu  
chilānti- [15] thitikkā-cha-hotū-ti-  
ti [.] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-anupatipaji-  
janti-se-sukataṃ-kachhati-ti [16]

## Dehli-Mirat.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
hev . . . [:] dhamme-sādhū [a] <sup>10</sup> [.]  
Kiyam . . . . . [78] Apāsinave  
bahu-kayāne daya dāne sacche [so]-  
chaye [.] [Chakbudā] nam-  
pi-me [4] bahuviddhe-dimne dupa-  
dachatupadesu pakhivālichale. [vi-  
vidhe-me-anu] [5] gahe-kāṭe ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amānā-pi-cha-me  
bahūni . . . yānāni [6] kāṭāni [.]  
Etāye-me-atthāye iyaṃ-dhamma-  
lipi-likhāpitā . . . [7] anupatipa-  
jamtu chilānti-thitikkā <sup>18</sup> -cha-  
hotū-ti [.] Ye-cha-he . . . . .  
[8] soti se-sukataṃ-ka [chha] ti-  
ti [9]

## Allahabad.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha [:] dhamme-sādhū [:]  
Kiyam-cha-dhamme-ti [?] Apāsin-  
ave bahu kayāne daya dāne  
sacche sochaye [.] Chakbudāne pi  
me [5] bahuviddhe dimne dupada-  
chatupadesu <sup>10</sup> pakhivālichaleṣu  
vividhe me anugāhe kāṭe ā pā-  
nadākhināye <sup>18</sup> amānā pi cha me  
bahūni kayānāni kāṭāni [6] Etāye  
me atthāye iyaṃ dhammalipi  
likhāpitā [:] hevaṃ anupatipa-  
jamtu chilānti-thitikkā cha hotū ti [.]  
Ye cha hevaṃ anupatipajanti se  
sukataṃ kachhati [7]

## EDICT II.

## Radhia.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha [:] dhamme-sādhū [.]  
Kiyam-cha-dhamme-ti [?] Apā-  
sinave bahu-kayāne daya dāne  
sacche [7] sochaye-ti [.] Chakbu-  
dāne-pi-me bahuviddhe-dimne du-  
padachatupadesu pakhivālichaleṣu  
vividhe-me-anugāhe-kāṭe [8] ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amānā-pi-cha-me  
bahūni-kayānāni-kāṭāni [.] Etāye-  
me-atthāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi likhā-  
pitā [:] hevaṃ [9] anupatipajamtu  
chilānti-thitikkā-cha-hotū-ti [.] Ye-  
cha-hevaṃ-anupatipajanti se-su-  
kataṃ-kachhati-ti [10]

## Mathia.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha [:] dhamme-sādhū [.]  
Kiyam-cha-dhamme-ti [.] Apāsi-  
nave bahu-kayāne [8] daya dāne  
sacche sochaye-ti [.] Chakbudāne-  
pi-me bahuviddhe-dimne dupada-  
chatupadesu pakhī [9] vālichaleṣu  
vividhe-me-anugāhe-kāṭe ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amānā-pi-cha-me  
bahūni-kayānāni [10] kāṭāni [.]  
Etāye-me [e]-atthāye iyaṃ-dham-  
malipi likhāpitā [:] hevaṃ-anu-  
patipajamtu chilānti-thitikkā-cha-  
hotū-ti [11] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-anu-  
patipajanti se-sukataṃ-kachhati  
[12]

## Rāmpūrvā.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha [:] dhamme-sādhū [.]  
Kiyam . . . . .  
[6] bahuviddhe-dimne  
dupadachatupadesu pakhivālicha-  
leṣu vi . . . . .  
[7] . . . . .  
Etāye-me-atthāye iyaṃ-dhamma-  
lipi-likhāpitā [:] hevaṃ a . . . . .  
[8]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—“(To fulfill) the law is meritorious. But what does (the fulfilment of) the law include? (It includes) sinlessness, many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight <sup>a</sup> I have given (to men) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

<sup>a</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *saddha* is not certain.

<sup>b</sup> *Chilānti* looks like *chilānti*; possibly *chilānti* to be read.

<sup>c</sup> Possibly *dupadachatupadesu*. But the dot after *du* is probably accidental.

<sup>d</sup> *Pāndakāṭā* is the Sanskrit *prāndakāṭā*, a less commonly used variant for *atthakāṭā* ‘the boon of safety.’ The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.











ASOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF EMIBIVA NAVANDGARH OR MATHIA (BEL V\* AND VI.)

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EDICT III—*contd.**Radiata*

gāmini-nāma-ti aṭṭa-candaṭṭiye  
[12] aṭṭhāṭṭiye kodhe-māne iya  
kālanena-va-hakam mā-paṭṭha-  
mayikam-ti[.] Eṣa-bāḍhaṇṇa-  
khiye [:] iyaṃ-me-bhidatikāya  
iyaṃ-maṇa-me-pāṭatikāya-ti[13]

### Mathia

gāmim<sup>9</sup>-cāmā-ti atha-cha[m].  
 dīye nīthūlye kadhe māne iya  
 kalamma-va-bakich[15] mā-pali-  
 bhacayim-ti[:]. Ee kadham-  
 dukhiye [:] iyam-me - bīdatikāye  
 iyam-mama-me-pāstikāye-ti[15]

*Rămănești*

[10] kodine mame isya  
kallanena-va-lakari-ut-palibhama-  
ri, . . . . .  
[11]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"Man only sees his good deeds, (and says unto himself) 'This good deed I have done.' But he sees in no wise his evil deeds (and does not say unto himself) 'This evil deed I have done; this is what is called sin.' But difficult indeed is this self-examination. Nevertheless man ought to pay regard to the following (and say unto himself): 'Such (passions) as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy (are those) called sinful; even through these I shall bring about my fall.'"<sup>2</sup> But man ought to mark most the following (and say unto himself): 'This conduces to my welfare in this world, that at least to my welfare in the next world.'

## Emmet IV.

Delli-Sivalik.

[illegible]

Dehli-Miraf.

[lu]ñ-  
 kã] oharhamti-[i]ã[dhaya-  
 lave] [2]  
 tu aava[ñho-  
 ho]

*Alcedinbas.*

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31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110
111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130
131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140
141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170
171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180
181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190
191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200
201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210
211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220
221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230
231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250
251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260
261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270
271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280
281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290
291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300
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391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400
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411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420
421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430
431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440
441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450
451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460
461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470
471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480
481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490
491	492	493	494						

<sup>22</sup> The *e*-stroke of *dsinevnydsini* is not distinct in the new formula to be considered as accidental. But it is probably only due to a mistake of the scribe.

<sup>2</sup> *Mina*, said (D. H.) and were represented in my opinion the Sanskrit words, Pali word. *Na* word or as would 'not in the least, in no wise,' which fits here excellently, is very common in Sanskrit.

<sup>29</sup> Or 'may I not cause my fall through them.' The Russian translation of the phrase is *(trishch) zhdemost'kha i d purkhtroshchis'kha*, and *ni* may be taken in this case to stand for *ne*, or as the negative particle. M. Smart's attempt to construct *ni-dzhdumna* is barred by the fact that all versions have a break between the two words.



EDICT IV—*contd.**Dehli-Sicalik.*

nisiñit[10] asvathe-hoti[.] Vi-  
yuta-dhātī chaghati-me-pajam su-  
kham-palihatave[11] heva-  
manu-lajūka-katā jānapada-  
hitasukhāye[.] yena-ete-abhūtā  
[12] savatha-saṇḍam avimā-  
karmāni-pavatayevū[.] Ete-  
na-me-lajūkanam[13] abhīhā-  
va-darbhā-vā atapatiye-katā[.]  
Ichhitaviye-bi-sā[.] kim-ti[7] 4  
viyohāsa-manā-cha-siya darbhā-  
soma[.] chā[.] Ava-ete-pi-cha-me-  
āvuti[15] barmhanabhadhānam-  
manisānam tīlīdama[.] nam pa-  
tavadhānam tīhni-divasāni-me  
[16] yote-ditum[.] Nālikā-va-  
kāni nijhapayimānti jīvāye-tā-  
nam[17] nāsam-tam-vā-nijhapa-  
yitā dānam-dāhamti-pālatikam  
upavāsam-vā-kachhamti[18]  
Ichhā-hi-me[.] heva-ni-ludhasi-  
pi-kāla[.] pālatam-āldhaye-vū-ti  
janasa-cha[19] vadhati-viv-lhe-  
dhammachalane samyame dāsa-  
vibhāge-ū[20]

*Radha.*

Devānath-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
heva-ni-lāha[.] anāyastiva[.] ā-  
sitena-me iya-dhammalipi-  
likhāpita[.] Lajūka-me-lahā-  
pānasatasaṇḍam[14] janai-āya-  
ta tesam-ye-abhīhāle-va-darbhā-  
va-atapatiye-me-katā[.] kim-ti[7]  
lajūka-savatha abhīta karmāni  
pavatayevū-ti janasa-jānapada-  
[15] hitasukham-upadāheva  
anugahineva-cha[.] Sukhīyana-  
dukhyanam janasanti dhamma-  
yutena-cha-viyovadimānti janam-  
jānapadam[.] kim-ti[7] hida-  
tam-cha[16] pālatam-cha āldha-  
yevū[.] Lajūka-pi-laghamti-pa-  
tichalitave-mam[.] paṇḍāni-pi  
me-ehamādamāni patichalimā-  
nti[.] te-pi-cha-kāni viyovadimā-  
nti yena-mam[17] lajūka-cha-  
ghamti-āldhayitave[.] Athā-  
hi-pajam-viyatāye-dhātīye-niñi-

*Dehli-Mirot.*

ti[3] [viya]. . . . .  
[.] . . . . . [ha] tave[.]  
h[.] ram-mamā[4] lajūka[.]  
[.] . . . . . ye[.]  
yena-ete-abhūtā[5] asvattha-sam .  
[.] . . . . .  
[pa]vatayevū-ti[.] Etena-me  
[6] . [.] ākham . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . atapatiye-[katā] [7]  
Ichhitavi . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . hāsamatā-cha[.]  
niyā<sup>20</sup> [8] darbhā[ma] . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . [me]-āvuti[.]  
barmhanab[.] nam[9] mu-  
nisāna[m] . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . vadhamam tīhni-divasāni-  
[m]e[10] yote ditum[.] . . . . .  
payimam[11] jīvāye-tānam [11]  
nāsam-tam-vā-ni . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . ti-pālatikam[12] [pa]  
vāsam-vā-ka . . . . .  
heva-ni-ludhasi-pi-[k]āla[13]  
[p]ālatam-āldhay . . . . .  
vadhati vividhe-dhammachalane  
samyame dā[us] . . . . . [15]

*Mathia.*

Devānath-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
heva-ni-lāha[.] anāyastiva[.] ā-  
sitena-me iya-dhammalipi-  
likhāpita[.] Lajūka-me[17] la-  
hāsa-pānasatasaṇḍam janai-  
āyuta tesam-ye-abhīhāle-va-darbhā-  
va-atapatiye-me-katā[.] kim-  
ti[7] lajūka-savatha [18] abhīta-  
karmāni-pavatayevū-ti janasa-  
jānapadam-hitasukham-upadā-  
hevū anugahineva-cha[.] Sukhī-  
yasadukhyanam[19] janasanti  
dhammayutena-cha-viyovadimā-  
nti janam-jānapadam[.] kim-ti-  
[7] hidatam-cha pālatam-cha  
āldhayevū-ti[.] Lajūka-pi-lā-  
ghamti[20] patichalitave-mam  
[.] paṇḍāni-pi-me-ehamādamāni  
patichalimānti[.] te-pi-cha-kāni-  
vivyovadimānti-yena-mam-lajūka-  
chaghamti āldhayitave[21]  
Athā-hi-pajam viyatāye-dhātīye-

*Allahabad.*

ti[3] [viya]. . . . .  
[.] . . . . . [ha] tave[.]  
h[.] ram-mamā[4] lajūka[.]  
[.] . . . . . ye[.]  
yena-ete-abhūtā[5] asvattha-sam .  
[.] . . . . .  
[pa]vatayevū-ti[.] Etena-me  
[6] . [.] ākham . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . atapatiye-[katā] [7]  
Ichhitavi . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . hāsamatā-cha  
niyā<sup>20</sup> [8] darbhā[ma] . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . [me]-āvuti[.]  
barmhanab[.] nam[9] mu-  
nisāna[m] . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . vadhamam tīhni-divasāni-  
[m]e[10] yote ditum[.] . . . . .  
payimam[11] jīvāye-tānam [11]  
nāsam-tam-vā-ni . . . . .  
[.] . . . . . ti-pālatikam[12] [pa]  
vāsam-vā-ka . . . . .  
heva-ni-ludhasi-pi-[k]āla[13]  
[p]ālatam-āldhay . . . . .  
vadhati vividhe-dhammachalane  
samyame dāsa-vibhāge [19]

*Rāmpurā.*

Devānath-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
heva-ni-lāha[.] anāyastiva[.] ā-  
sitena-me iya-dhammalipi-  
likhāpita[.] Lajūka-me[17] la-  
hāsa-pānasatasaṇḍam janai-  
āyuta tesam-ye-abhīhāle-va-darbhā-  
va-atapatiye-me-katā[.] kim-  
ti[7] lajūka-savatha [18] abhīta-  
karmāni-pavatayevū-ti janasa-  
jānapadam-hitasukham-upadā-  
hevū anugahineva-cha[.] Sukhī-  
yasadukhyanam[19] janasanti  
dhammayutena-cha-viyovadimā-  
nti janam-jānapadam[.] kim-ti-  
[7] hidatam-cha pālatam-cha  
āldhayevū-ti[.] Lajūka-pi-lā-  
ghamti[20] patichalitave-mam  
[.] paṇḍāni-pi-me-ehamādamāni  
patichalimānti[.] te-pi-cha-kāni-  
vivyovadimānti-yena-mam-lajūka-  
chaghamti āldhayitave[21]  
Athā-hi-pajam viyatāye-dhātīye-

<sup>20</sup> Possibly *chā-riyā* is to be read.<sup>21</sup> Possibly *dhātī* is to be read.

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IV

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20





EDICT IV—*contd.**Radhia.*

tu savathe-hoti[1] viyata-dhāti-  
chaghati-me-pajam-enkham-pali-  
hutave-ti[15] hevam-mama-lā-  
jūka-kṣa.<sup>26</sup> jānapadasa-hitau-  
kṣāye[1] yena-ete-abhīta-savathā-  
santam-avimāna-kammāni-pa-  
vayevū-ti[1] Etena-me lajūka-  
nam abhihāle-va[19] dāme-ru-  
atapatiye-kate[1] Ichhitaviye-hi-  
esa[1] kiṁ-ti[2] viyohālasamatā-  
cha-riya dāmdasamatā-cha[1]   
Avā-ite-pi-cha-me āvati[2] ham-  
dhanadhamāni[20] munisā-  
nam-tīlitadardhanam patavadhā-  
nam tūhni-divasāni-me-yote-  
dime[1] Nātikā-va-kāni-nijha-  
payasanti jivitāye-tānam nāsa-  
tam-va[21] nijhapayitave dānam-  
dāhamti-pālatikam upavāsam-  
va-kachhamti[1] Ichhā-hi-me[1]   
hevam-niludhasi-pi-kālasī pāla-  
tam-āhādhayevū-ti[22] janasa-cha-  
vadhati vividha-dhammāchalane  
sayame dānasavibhāge-ti[23]

*Mathia.*

nisijitu savathe-hoti[1] viyata-  
dhāti-chaghati-me-pajam en-  
kham-palihatave-ti[22] hevam-  
mama-lajūka-kṣa jānapadasa-  
hitasukhāye[1] y[1] e[1] na-ete-abhīta-  
savathā-santam avimāna-kam-  
māni-pavayevū-ti[23] Etena-  
me-lajūkanam-abhihāle-va-dam-  
de-va-atapatiye-kate[1] Ichhita-  
viye-hi-esa[1] kiṁ-ti[2]-vivyohāla-  
samatā-cha-riya dāmdasamatā-  
cha[24] Avā-ite-pi-cha-me-āva-  
ti[1] hamdhanadhamāni-mu-  
nisāsa[25] tīlitadardhanam patava-  
dhānam tūhni-divasāni-me-yote-  
dime[1] Nātikā-va-kāni[25] ni-  
jhapayisanti jivitāye-tānam  
nāsamtam-va-nijhapayitave dā-  
nam-dāhamti-pālatikam upavāsam-  
va-kachhamti[1] Ichhā-hi-me[1]   
hevam[26] niludhasi-pi-kālasī pā-  
latam-āhādhayevū-ti janasa-cha-  
vadhati vividha-dhammāchalane  
sayame dānasavibhāge-ti[27]

*Bāmpūred.*

ni . . . . .  
[16] jānapadasa-hitasukhāye yena-ete-  
abhīta-savathā . . . . .  
[17] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[1] ki-ti[2] vi-  
yohālasamatā-cha-riya . . . . .  
[18] tūhni-  
divasāni-me y[1] te-dime[1] Nā-  
tikā-va-kāni nijha- . . . . .  
[19] Ichhā-hi-me-hevam  
niludhasi-pi-kālasī pālatam . . . . .  
[20]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajūkas*<sup>26</sup> are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments<sup>27</sup>—Why? In order that the *Lajūkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,<sup>28</sup>—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajūkas* are eager to serve me<sup>29</sup>. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajūkas* may strive to gain my favour.<sup>30</sup> For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajūkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajūkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business<sup>31</sup> and

<sup>26</sup> It is possible to read *lajūka-kṣa*. But the *ks* stroke is much shorter than the *real* one, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

<sup>27</sup> Though *vijādhā*, in Sanskrit *vyavahāra*, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *chādhāre* by 'awarding honours' makes ad. liable.



equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death." Their relatives will make some (of them) meditate deeply (and) in order to save the lives of those (men) or in order to make (the condemned) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts'. For my wish is that they (the condemned) even during their imprisonment may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajāka* or *rājāka* (Gīr-nār) in the *Kalpasastra*, where *rajja* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajāka*, i.e. *lajjāka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabīr*) or *Kāyastha*, and that Asoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *ayatā*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratiśhṭitā*, note 3, on Sep. Ed. 1, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajākas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajākas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*tesāṃ yo' bhīhāro vā dayāsi vā [tatra] mayā [tesāṃ] santantrotā kṛitā*, and I take *śtanapatyam* [*santantrotā*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *ādhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihāra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jātaka*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihāram* by *pājam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammagutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktene*, i. e. *dharmayuktyā*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' i.e.

<sup>20</sup> In the interpretation of *ase ite* (Oh. A.) and *duḥ ite* (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *śānta ite*, and I take *duḥ ite* with M. Senart as equivalent to *duḥkṛitā*. *Ṭiṭṭa* or *ṭiṭṭa* has here the same sense as *Ṭṛita* Mein. IX, 233.

<sup>21</sup> *Sāntakāṇṭhi pi kṛitā*, literally *śāntakāṇṭhe pi kṛitā*, may be taken in the sense of *śāntakāṇṭhe pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g. *saṅghakāṇṭhe* and *saṅghakāṇṭhe* *abhiyāpita* for *saṅghakāṇṭhe* *abhiyāpita*, *Jāt.* I, p. 280.

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dhammagulāṇa janaṃ* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *amā*, 'the free borderers.'

(d) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghanti* for *laghanti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghanti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghanti*' does not exist. *Laghanti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *raṅghante* 'they hasten', i.e. 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *pañcha* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *pañchar*, because in Pali the preposition *pañ* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina *Mahārāṣṭri*, *pañiyar*, i.e. literally *pañchar*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Avagacchite Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭri*, glossary sub voce '*pañiyariya*.'

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhamdamañi* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *chhamda* and *añi*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhamdam jñanānti chhamdajñā*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pañchāñi*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *man* must be understood and is the object of *pañchāñanti*, as of the preceding *pañchalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *pañchedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the *Pañchs* and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rājasmṛiti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *kāni*, 'some' (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the *Lājūkas* may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remote *Lājūkas*, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the *Lājūkas*. *Kāni* thus refers both to the *Lājūkas* and the provincials. With the phrase *man-āśādhayitave* compare *lajālāthi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhaulī). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindi *chāh-nā*, I would add that *chāh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyāi* and not from *nikhapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nīdīdhyaśanā* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nātikāvākāni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nātikā-va-kāni*, i.e. *jñālaya eva kāmāśhit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitā*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitā*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitāya*. And the contraction of the syllable *dya* does occur in Pali, e. g., in









makapote save chatupade[4] ye-  
 patipogam-no-eti<sup>29</sup> na-cha-khādi-  
 yati [.] Ajaka-nāni edaka-cha  
 sūkalī-cha gabhinī-va pāyamā-  
 va[5] avadhyā potake-cha-kāni  
 āsamāśike [.] Vadhikukete no  
 kaṭaviye [.] tuse-sajive no jhā-  
 payitaviye[.] Dāve[6] anuthāye-  
 va vibhāye-va no jhāpayitaviye  
 [.] Jiveva jive no-pusitaviye [.]  
 Tiso-chātumāsāye tisiyam [7]  
 punnamāsiyam tittini divasāni  
 chāvudasaṃ patinadasaṃ patipa-  
 dam dhuvāye-cha anuposatham  
 machhe avadhye no pi [8] viketa-  
 viye [.] Kāni-yava-divasāni nā-  
 gavanasi kavatābhogāni yāni-am-  
 māni-pi-jīvanikāyāni[9] no-hati-  
 taviyāni[.] Athamipakhāye chā-  
 vudasaṃ patinadasaṃ  
 tisāye punāvasane tām-chā-  
 tumāsāni[10] sūtiyasaṃ gona-  
 no-nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sū-  
 kale o-vā-pi-atma nīlakhiyati no-  
 nīlakhitaviye[11] Tisāye punā-  
 vasane chātumāsāye chātumā-  
 sipakhāye asyama gonasa lakhana-  
 no-kaṭaviye[12] Yāva-sadavisa-  
 trasaṃnīkhitam-ma eṭāye amali-  
 kāye patinavāsi lāmadhana-  
 mokhāni kaṭhāni[13]

pote gūmakapote save-chatupade  
 ye-patibhogam-no-eti na-cha khā-  
 diyati [.] Ajaka-nāni edaka-cha  
 sūkalī-cha gabhinī-va pāyamā-  
 va avadhyā potake-cha-kāni [6]  
 āsamāśike [.] Vadhikukete no  
 kaṭaviye [.] tuse-sajive no-jhā-  
 payitaviye [.] Dāve-anuthāye-va  
 [7] vibhāye-va no-jhāpayitavi-  
 ye [.] Jiveva-jive no-pusitaviye [.]  
 Tiso-chātumāsāni tisiyam [8]  
 punnamāsiyam tittini—divasāni  
 chāvudasaṃ-patinadasaṃ pati-  
 padam dhuvāye-cha-anuposatham  
 machhe avadhye [9] no-pi-vika-  
 taviye [.] Kāni-yava-divasāni  
 nāgavanasi kavatābhogāni yām-  
 amāni-pi[10] jīvanikāyāni no-  
 hatitaviyāni [.] Athamipakhāye  
 chāvudasaṃ patinadasaṃ  
 tisāye punāvasane[11] tām-chā-  
 tumāsāni sūtiyasaṃ gona-  
 no-nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sū-  
 kale o-vā-pi-atma[12] nīlakhiyati  
 no-nīlakhitaviye [.] Tisāye-pu-  
 nāvasane chātumāsāye chātum-  
 māsipakhāye asyama gonasa[13]  
 lakhana-no-kaṭaviye [.] Yāva-sa-  
 dvistrasaṃnīkhitam-ma eṭāye  
 amalikāye patinavāsi[14]  
 lāmadhanamokhāni kaṭhāni[15]

## EDICT V.

King Piyāvasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures,\* viz. parrots, starlings,<sup>2</sup> *śūnas*, Brāhmanī ducks, swans,<sup>3</sup> *śāntimukhas*,<sup>4</sup> *peṭāṇas*, *jatukas*,<sup>5</sup> *ambāka-pīlūkās*,<sup>6</sup> terrapins,<sup>7</sup> boneless fish,<sup>8</sup> *vedarēyakas*, *gangāpupufokas*, *śankuṇa*-fish,<sup>9</sup> tortoises, porcupines,<sup>10</sup> *paṇṇasasas*, *śimurās*/hills set free, (?) *okapiṇḍas*,<sup>11</sup> rhinoceros,<sup>12</sup> grey doves,<sup>13</sup> village-pigeons,<sup>14</sup> and all quadrupeds, which are not used<sup>15</sup> nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (i.e.) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (i.e.) some (of them) which are less than six months old.<sup>16</sup> Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;<sup>17</sup> forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (living beings);<sup>18</sup> living creatures must not be fed with living creatures.<sup>19</sup> At the (full moon of each) of the three seasons and at the full

\* Read *patibhogam*.

<sup>2</sup> According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the *Nardimukha* is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhāmā-jyotiḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *ambāka* or *edavāda*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kāṭhās. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, e.g., *Qṛṣṇa*, xvii, 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Gāṇḍakānta* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Tishya fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (and) the first (of the following fortnight), nor constantly, on each fast day.\* On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.† On the eighth of (each) fortnight,‡ on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,§ on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals|| bulls shall not be castrated,¶ nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (commonly) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,§ the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.‡ Up to the twenty-sixth (anniversary) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (times) the liberation of (all) prisoners.†

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti*, *jāta* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *jāti* and be translated by "animals of the following kinds." But, as the neuter *jāta* means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: "Of even the following creatures."

(b) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "*munia*." I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sarikā* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marāṭhī Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary* *sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *kamsas* in the palace at Kolhāpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of *ambākapilikā* or *ambākapilika* with *ambu*, 'water,' and translates "water-ants(?)." As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation 'mother-ant,' or 'queen-ant,' is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read *kapilikā*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipilika*.

(e) As *daḍḍi* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, — see remark (A).

(f) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable.

(g) M. Senart's suggestion that *samaja* is identical with Sanskrit *sankuchi* 'a skate,' seems very probable.

\* The translation of *udimasa* by 'festival' is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *udimasa dīnasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern *Dusse*, *Dusse*, and the like may be meant.



(h) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—e.g., Āpastamba, *Dh. Śā.* i, 17, 37, Baudhāyana, *Dh. Śā.* i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śā.* xvii, 27, Vasishtha, *Dh. Śā.* xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaja*, i.e., according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamajha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of *parnamriga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *parnasasa* i.e. *parnakasah* may mean 'a hare, i.e. a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghāts. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(j) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *śṛimara*. Vāgharta, *Aśtādāghri-daya Śā.* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahāmriga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jñānakandā* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *śṛimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bārasing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahāvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapiṇḍā* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 10, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *hīlāmaṇṣikagodhimuṅgusā*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mongooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke* i.e. *oke* *piṇḍo* *yeshāṃ* *te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' i.e. 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mongooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, viz. of the *godhā*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (h) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(l) M. Senart's correction *patapate* for *patasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasata* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pali Miscellany*, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (h). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrāddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(m) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullā*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that *patibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer exclusively to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(o) *Ajakānāni* must be separated into *ajakā nāni*. *Nāni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajā edikāścha sūkaryakāścha tō garbhīṅyo dhayantyo eā avadhyaḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *piyamānā* for *piyamānā* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *piyamānā* is against the Pali idiom. *Pāyati*, not *piyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *minā-* occurs more frequently for *māna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *mini-mina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

*Potakāś cha* [apī cha, D. S., D. M.] *kechit* [te cha kathambhātāḥ] *āśayamāsikāḥ* [avadhyā iti leśah]. The plural *kāni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *āsammasiko* from *āśayamāsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *ākalika*, the adjective belonging to *ākalam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, e.g., Gautama, *Dh. Śā.*, xviii, 31.

(p) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) *Fihāsiye*, 'to injure living beings' very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(r) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(s) *Chātumāsī*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī* is taught in Vārttika 7 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṃjñāyām au*. "To *chāturmāsa*," "a period of four months", (is added) the affix *a*, which causes Vṛddhi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import." Patanjali adds: "*chatur-śhu māseṣu bhavā chāturmāsī paurṇamāsī*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *chāturmāsī*," and the *Kāśikā*, which repeats Patanjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Āshādha, Kārttika and Phālguna are meant." More explicit are the statements, which the *Suvarṇagala Pīṭasīlī* makes on *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Komudiyā chātumāsiniyā* "on the full-moon (night or tithi) of Kārttika (which is) *chātumāsini*." It says:—*chātumāsiniyā ti chātumāsiniyā sū hi chaturṇaṃ māsaṇaṃ pariyośanabhūtā chātumāsī idha pana chātumāsiniṭṭi rucchati*. "*Chātumāsiniyā* is equivalent to *chātumāsinyā*. For that (full-

\* This must be understood from Vārttika 6: *chātumāsiniṭṭi rucchati bhava*. See the *Mañjuśrī-sūtra*, Vol. II, 261 (ed. Kielhorn).

\* Compare also *Umalatta* on *Āpārambha*, *Dharmasūtra*, I, 10, 1.



moon of *Kārttika*) is the end of four months (and is) hence (called) *chātumāsī*, but here *chātumāsī*.<sup>47</sup> It thus appears that the real meaning of *chātumāsī-chātumāsī* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pārgamānta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.<sup>48</sup> Each of them was called a *Chaturmāsam* or *Chāturmāsyam*.<sup>49</sup> Both the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sūtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmins it was the cause of the celebration of the *Chāturmāsya*<sup>50</sup> sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.<sup>51</sup> With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vassa*, over four months, see *Mahāvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Chātumāsā*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff. and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xlii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Śoḍāsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhiras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. IF. I.*, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grishmadā-gṛimā*, 'summer,' *varshadā-varṣā*, 'the rains,' *hemantā-hemantā* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gr* or *gri*, *va* and *ha*. In the inscriptions from Mathurā and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurā inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gri*, (i.e. *grishmamāsa*)

<sup>47</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent *chāturmāsī* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vārttika 5 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 34.

<sup>48</sup> Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

<sup>49</sup> *Chāturmāsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trairākyam*, *trairāgyam*, *chāturmāsyam*, *chāturmāsyam*, and so forth, see Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kāśikā*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *varshachāturmāsa* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *varshachāturmāsa* meant 'at the commencement of every year or season of four months,' it must be *varshachāturmāsa* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *chāturmāsyam*, in Pali *chāturmāsā*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chāturmāsam*.

<sup>50</sup> The word *chāturmāsa* is according to Vārttika 6 on Pāṇini v. 1, 36, derived from *chāturmāsam* by the affix *ga*, causing Vṛiddhi, and meaning *satva śānta*, falling into that.

<sup>51</sup> See *Manu*, ix, 26, and the parallel passages in the *smṛiti* to my translation. *Manu* says that there are to be offered *pitṛānta*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 11, *grishmanānta* *varṣānta* for *chāturmāsānta*. *Varṣānta* has *pitṛānta*, and other passages from the *Śrauta Śāstra* and *Brāhmaṇas* are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v. d. Vedischen*, ii, 232ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4; Mathurā inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamāse*) 4; Cunningham, No. 20, *varshamāse* 4; Mathurā inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamāse chaturthi* 4, *ibidem* No. 8, *hemantamāse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kaṇheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mṛigeshavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurā it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumāragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kā[rttikahema]ntamā[s] divase 20, "on the 20th day of the winter month of Kārttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarātī villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Sāstras* speak only of the *uśhāto* (*uśhā-kāto*) *varsū* nā *dehādā* or *chomāmna* and *shiyāto*. The Marāṭhas know only *uśhādā*, *pānasādā* (*prārish* and *kāto*) and *hīncāḍā* (*hīmakāto*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,<sup>21</sup> *dhūpkāl*, *barākhāl* and *atkhāl* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Brāhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śranta Sātras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phālguna, other *Śranta Sātras* with the month of Chaitra.<sup>22</sup> The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

I		II	
Irisamāh	Phālguna.	{	Chaitra.
	Chaitra.		Vaiśākha.
	Vaiśākha.		Jyaiśthā.
	Jyaiśthā.		Āshāḍha.
Varshāh	Āshāḍha.	{	Śrāvaṇa.
	Śrāvaṇa.		Shrādhapada or Praushthapada.
	Shrādhapada or Praushthapada.		Āśvina.
	Āśvina or Āśvayuja.		Kārttika.
Hemantāh	Kārttika.	{	Mārgaśīrsha.
	Mārgaśīrsha.		Pauṣa.
	Pauṣa or Tausa.		Māgha.
	Māgha.		Phālguna.

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, *Si yūki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that "according to the holy doctrine of Tathāgata the year is divided into three seasons," the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phālguna. For they prescribe for the *vassa*, the retreat during the rainy season, an "earlier" period, beginning with "the day after the full moon in Āshāḍha."

<sup>21</sup> Glazewin, ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Prasat* I/1, § 1083; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnentage*, p. 261.

<sup>22</sup> See A. Weber: *op. cit.*, p. 326.



and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Āshāḍha," i.e. with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvana. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudi chātumāsini* "the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends".<sup>36</sup> Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Digha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kārttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three Chātumāsīs." They may be either those of Phālguna, Āshāḍha and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvana and Mārgaśīrṣa. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the consensus of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taiśha or Pauśa, December—January. The forms *tisyaṃ* (R) and *tisiyaṃ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisā*, which has been formed from *tishya* without *Vyiddhi* in the first syllable. With the form *tisyaṃ* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisā*, i.e. *tisā* (*tishyā*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyā-pūrṇamāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dharuṇāye* which stands before *anuposatham* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dharuṇāya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposatham* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, viz.:—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taiśha or Pauśa, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Krahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sātras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmasāstras*<sup>37</sup> a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

<sup>36</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Chātumāsini* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Samāyogīya Vārtikā*, see above, p. 261.

<sup>37</sup> See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.<sup>18</sup> According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasūtras* and metrical *Sūtrīs* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night<sup>19</sup> and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jains, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amāra*,<sup>20</sup> Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Chāturmāsī* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmins, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the *Chāturmāsya* sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays<sup>21</sup> on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhist *Samsāgala Vāṇī*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *apariprasāddavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kārttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the *Nakshatra* by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dīpaṅśo*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kārttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phālguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmins on Kārttika and Āshāḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisa or Pausa. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarāyana, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṅkrānti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(f) The term *nāgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pāli and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Ohāḥatthipadopamaṇasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyathā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam paviseyya, so pavessu nāgavanam mahantam hatthipadaya dighato cha āyatanā tiriyaṇa cha ritthotam, etc.* "Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

<sup>18</sup> Vishnu, Ixxi, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

<sup>19</sup> Manus, iv, 112–114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopses.

<sup>20</sup> Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus see Śaṅkara's instructions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, where it is stated that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jīshabhai Sūri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hīmaṇḍa Sūri.

<sup>21</sup> Manus, iv, 110, and the parallel passages in the Synopses.



the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*.<sup>10</sup> The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhātithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kecaṣabhogā* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nāgaśana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is.

(d) M. Senart's explanation of *aṣṭamipakkhāye* by "*pakṣasyāṣṭamyaṁ* on the eighth of (each) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Achārāṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamipakkhena* "on the tenth of the fortnight." The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, e. g. the Deśi *valayabāhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśikosa*, VII, 52) for *bāhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *cārābhāṣa*, 'a protection against arrows, i. e. 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(e) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakṣatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *puṣya nakṣatra* and Tishya or Pūshya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakṣatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Brihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(f) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nīlakhiyati* by *nīlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśi word<sup>11</sup> *nelachchho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(g) According to the analogies, found in the *Srauta Sūtras*, *chāturmāsipakṣa*, the fortnight connected with the full moon of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmāsī pūrṇimā*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kātyāyana uses *māghipakṣa* for the dark half of Māgha, and Lāṭyāyana *phālgunipakṣa* for the bright half of Phālguna.<sup>12</sup> If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pūrṇimānt* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(h) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakṣatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brāhmins considered the new-moon day of Phālguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Sāṅkhyaṇa Gṛhya Sūtra*, III, 10.)

<sup>10</sup> See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*.

<sup>11</sup> See Hemachandra *Deśikosa*, iv, 44, and *Prāyaskita*, verse 225, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

<sup>12</sup> See the *Petersburg Dictionary* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakṣatra*, Ed. II, p. 327.





## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :— After I had been anointed twelve years,\* I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that the people), giving up that (unrighteousness which they practised), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (in) this or that (respect).<sup>†</sup> (Saying unto myself) "the welfare and happiness of the people (is concerned)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate.\* I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.<sup>‡</sup> But I consider that to be most essential, what (I call) 'the approach through one's own free will.' After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) *Dhammalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, "when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order," and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, "king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years." The earlier part of Piyadasi's spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

- (1) After the conquest of Kalinga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).
- (2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).
- (3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhamma* or Sacred Law, i.e. those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).
- (4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the *Dhammamahāmātas* or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(b) *Apahata* (D. S.) or *apahata* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apakṛitya* or *apahṛitā*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*<sup>††</sup> (*Jātaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratiladdhā*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahṛi* in the sense of 'to avoid, to give up,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Tap*, the object of *apahata*, stands for *tap*, and denotes 'that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.' The whole sentence down to *pāpā* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

\* Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

† The verse runs as follows :—*Sikkhappam sikk paṭiladdha pāpam acchēdānā kamma karoti laddha*.

krit as follows:—*Saṅ[loka ityarthāḥ] tad [kriyamāṇam adharmaṃ ityarthāḥ] apahṛitya [parihṛityeyarthāḥ] tān tān dharmavṛddhim prāpuṇāt.*

(c) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhammamahāmātas. By "those who are near," Piyadasi probably means his Lājās and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. "Those who are far," *apakāṣa*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dharma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(d) M. Senart has recognised that *kimam* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kimā*. As R. M. read plainly *kimam*, I would suggest that *kimam* too stands for *kimam*, and is a contraction of *kimā*, i.e. *kimā*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(e) *Nikāya*, 'body corporate,' refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikāyā* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikāyā* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(f) *Paścchūpagamaṇa*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamaṇa*, might mean 'the return to,' but may also be taken as 'the approach towards.' The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi's recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—"They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines."

*Delhi-Sialk Pillar*

EDICT VII, 1.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā[;]yo-atikaṃtam [11]  
 aṃtalaṃ lājāne hsu[;]hevaṃ ichhisu[;]katham-jane[12]  
 dhammavādhiyā vadheyā[?] No-cha-jane anulupāyā dhammavādhiyā[13]  
 vadhihā[.] Etam devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ-āhā[;] esa-me[14]  
 huthā[.] atikaṃtam-cha aṃtalaṃ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne katham-jane[15]  
 anulupāyā dhammavādhiyā vadheyā-ti[;] no-cha-jane anulupāyā[16]  
 dhammavādhiyā vadhihā[;] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyā[17]  
 kina-su jane anulupāyā dhammavādhiyā vadheyā-ti[;] kina-su-kāni [18]  
 abhyunnāmayeham dhammavādhiyā-ti[?] Etam-devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ [19]  
 āhā[;] esa-me huthā[.] dhammasāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusāhīni[20]  
 anus[ā]sāmi[;] etam-jane suta anupaṭipajisati abhyunnāmisati[21]

\* The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyā* stands above the line.

\* This might be read *anupāṭipajeyā*, but I believe the blotched line above the *ṣ*-stroke to be accidental. *anupāṭipajeyā* is also used by Asoka elsewhere, e.g. Sop. Ed. II, 4, (8), etc.



## EDICT VII, 2.

dhammavādhiyā-cha bādham vādhisati[.] Etāye-me aṭṭhāye dhammasavanāni sāvapitāni  
 dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni yathā me pul[isā-pi]<sup>16</sup> bahune<sup>17</sup> janasi āyatā ete  
 paliyovadisanti-pi parithalisanti-pi[.] La[ḥ]k[ā-pi]<sup>18</sup> bahukesu pānasatasahasesu āyatā  
 tepi-me ānapitā[.] hevaṃ-cha hevaṃ-cha paliyovadātha[1]  
 janam dhammayu[ta]m<sup>19</sup>[.] [D]e[ṇ]ānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā[.] etam-eva-me anu-  
 vekhamāne dhammathambhāni-kāṇi[.] dhammanahāmātā-kāṇi[.] dhamma[s]ā[van]e<sup>20</sup>  
 kāṇi[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lāḥa-hevaṃ āhā[.] magesu-pi-me nigohāni lopāpitāni[.]  
 chhāyopagāni hosanti pasumunisānam[.] ambāvedikya lopāpitā[.] adhak[o]s[i]kyāni-  
 pi-me-udupānāni[2]  
 khānāpāpitāni[.] nimisidhiyā-cha<sup>21</sup> kālāpitā[.] āpānāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpitāni  
 paṭibhogāye pasumunisānam[.] La[ḥ]ke-cha<sup>22</sup> esa paṭibhoge nāma<sup>23</sup>[.] Vividhāyā-  
 hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi-pi lājhi mamayā-cha sukhayite loke[.] Imam-cha dhammā-  
 nupaṭipati anupaṭipajamtu-ti[.] etadathā-me[3]  
 esa-kāṇi[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā[.] dhammamahāmātā-pi-me t[e]-bahuvi-  
 dhesu<sup>24</sup> aṭṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpatā-se pavajitanam-cheva gihithānam-cha[.] sava-  
 [pāsam]desu-pi-cha<sup>25</sup> viyāpatā-se[.] Samghaṭṭhasi-pi-me kāṇi ime viyāpatā hohanti-ti  
 [.] hemeva bābhanesu ājivikesu-pi-me kāṇi[4]  
 ime viyāpatā hohanti-ti[.] Nigamṭhesu-pi-me kāṇi ime viyāpatā hohanti [.] nānā-  
 pāsamdesu-pi-me kāṇi ime viyāpatā hohanti-ti [.] Paṭivisitham paṭivisitham tesu-tesu  
 to-[t]e [ma]hāmātā[.] Dhammamahāmātā-chu-me etesu-cheva viyā[pa]tā savesu-cha  
 amnesu pāsamdesu[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lāḥa-hevaṃ āhā[.]5]  
 ete-cha amne-cha bahukā muktā dānavisagasi viyāpatā-se mama-cheva devinam-cha[.]  
 savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuviddhena ā[kā]lana<sup>26</sup> tāni tāni uṭṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi-  
 [pādayanti] hida-cheva disāsu-cha[.] Dālakānam-pi-cha-me kāṇi amnānam-cha deviku-  
 mālānam ime dānavisagesu viyāpatā hohanti-ti[6]  
 dhammāpadānāṭṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭipati-cha  
 yā-iyam dayā dāno saccha sochava madava sādha[va]-cha loknes hevaṃ vādhisati-ti[.]

<sup>16</sup> Fairly visible too, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ga* the *g* and the left-hand curve of *ga*, while the right half of *ga* is quite plain. The inscription is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost ornaments and because the phrase *palid-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, 1. 7 (D. S.), I, 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 285, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

<sup>17</sup> *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahukā*. But it may be defended by the locative *pasumunesu* above,—v. 10, 12 (D. S.).

<sup>18</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *lajāḥ* is not certain.

<sup>19</sup> The last syllable of *dhammayuṭṭha* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a law in the stone.

<sup>20</sup> The restoration has been made correctly by M. Smart. The rubbing shows the *ā*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *a*.

<sup>21</sup> The continuation of the same flow in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhammayu* and *ṭṭha* in I, 3, has here made necessary the division *niṭṭha* *ḍḍi* (not *ḍḍi*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

<sup>22</sup> The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between *la* and *sa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *laḥke cā sa* or *laḥke cā sā sa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, 1. 14 (Kāḥi), *laḥke cā sā sa* and below, I, 9, *tata cā laḥ-sa dhammasigāne*.

<sup>23</sup> The *sa* of *saṭṭha* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

<sup>24</sup> Though the *la* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimile, that the reading was *la*. The *sa* after *viyāpatā* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in I, 3, where another redundant *sa* occurs.

<sup>25</sup> The restoration has been given correctly by M. Smart.

Devānam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lājā hevaṁ-āhā[:] yāni-hi-kāni-chi mamiyā sādharāni kaṭāni  
tam-loke anupatipamne tam-cha anuvadhīyanti[:] tēna vadhitā-cha[7]  
vadhīyanti-cha mātāpītisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo mahālakānam anupatipatiyā  
bābhanassmanesu kapaṇavalākesu āva dāsabhaṭakesu sampatipatiyā[:] Devānam-piye  
Piyaḍasi lājā hevaṁ-āhā[:] munisānam-chu yā-iyam dhammavādhi vadhitā dūvehi-  
yeva ākālehi dhammaniyamena-cha nijhatiyā-cha[8]

Tata-chu laku-se dhammaniyame[:] nijhatiyā-va bhūye[:] Dhammaniyame-chu-kho  
esa ye-me iyaṁ-kaṭe imāni-cha imāni<sup>7</sup> jātāni avadhīyāni[:] amāni-pi-chu bahu[kāni]  
dhammaniyamāni yāni-me kaṭāni[:] Nijhatiyā-va-chu bhūye munisānam dhammavādhi  
vadhitā avihimsāye bhutānam[9]

anārambhāye pāṇānam [:] Se-etaye athāye iyaṁ kaṭe [:] putāpapotike chaṁḍa-  
masuliyike hotu-ti [:] tathā-cha anupatipajantu-ti [:] Hevaṁ-hi anupatipajantam  
hidata[pāla]te āladho hoti [:] Satavistivasābhāsita me iyaṁ dhammalībi likhāpā-  
pitā-ti [:] Etam devānam-piye āhā : [:] iyaṁ [10]

dhammalībi at<sup>8</sup> athi sīlāthambhāni-vā sīlāphalakāni-vā tata kataviyā ena esa chila-  
thitike siyā [11].

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, 'Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,'! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

Concerning this<sup>1</sup> (matter) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (thought) came to me, 'On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!' On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up<sup>2</sup> some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law?"

Concerning this (matter) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (thought) came to me "Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,<sup>3</sup> and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law." For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *rajukas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me, "Instruct (*my*) loyal people<sup>4</sup> in this way and in that."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Having regard to this same matter,<sup>5</sup> I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law."

<sup>7</sup> Read *indul cha*, as the verse requires.

<sup>8</sup> *Kiam-eva-me anurakkhāmaṁ* (i.e., *anurakkhāmaṁ*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *arjitham hi vijjāmaṇo*, *Keek Edics XIII* (l. 26, b.3). But it is not impossible that *anurakkhāmaṇo* (i.e., *anurakkhāmaṇo*) was what Asoka really wrote.



King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens." I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos* and I have ordered rest-houses<sup>1</sup> to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations<sup>2</sup> to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Saṃgha<sup>3</sup>; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ājivikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamthas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

Both these and many other chief officials<sup>4</sup> are occupied with the distribution of gifts both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment<sup>5</sup> both here (*in Pāṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes<sup>6</sup> in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus<sup>7</sup> grow among men."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmins and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation". But, among these two<sup>8</sup> the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the short *a* of *ambāṭṭā* see note 37 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *ambāṭṭā* may stand for *ambāṭṭā*. Regarding the long *a* of *ambā*, see below, note 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Mokṣā* has either been used in the sense of *ambā*, in a leader (see the smaller *Pāṭ. Diet.*, sub voce), or it stands for *ambāṭṭā* and corresponds to *ambāṭṭā* "chiefs," i.e., officials of high rank.

<sup>3</sup> *Tāva* i.e., in the manner desired by the king.

<sup>4</sup> *Tāva*, i.e., *tāva*, has been, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tāva-cā* is equivalent to *tejasta*.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;<sup>22</sup> but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign\*, as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*):—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION

(a) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *katham* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *kāni* has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etam* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atra*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(c) *Abhyunnāmayeham* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 206f., and especially the quotation from the *Rāmāyana* under b). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridhessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(d) *Abhyunnāmisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyunnamissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *prunnamati*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) *Lejūka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *āyatā* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(f) *Paligovodātha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Fisehel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(g) *Adhakanikyāni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *ardhakrośikīyāni*. The krośa or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *yagyāli*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sultānā kos* of 5 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come too close to each other.

<sup>22</sup> See above, Pillar Edict V.



(h) *Nimsidhiyā* no doubt stands for *nīsīdhiyā*, just like the Pali *mukhina* for *mukha*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyā*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nāgārjuni Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *vāshenishidiyāye*. Both *nimsidhiyā* and *nishidiyā* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyā*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishidh*. The lingual *dh* of *nimsidhiyā* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishidyā*. The Jains use closely allied words *nīśidhi*, *nishidhi* and *nīsīdhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Nimsidhiyā* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or *serais*, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharma* by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadāta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(i) *Apāna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapā*.

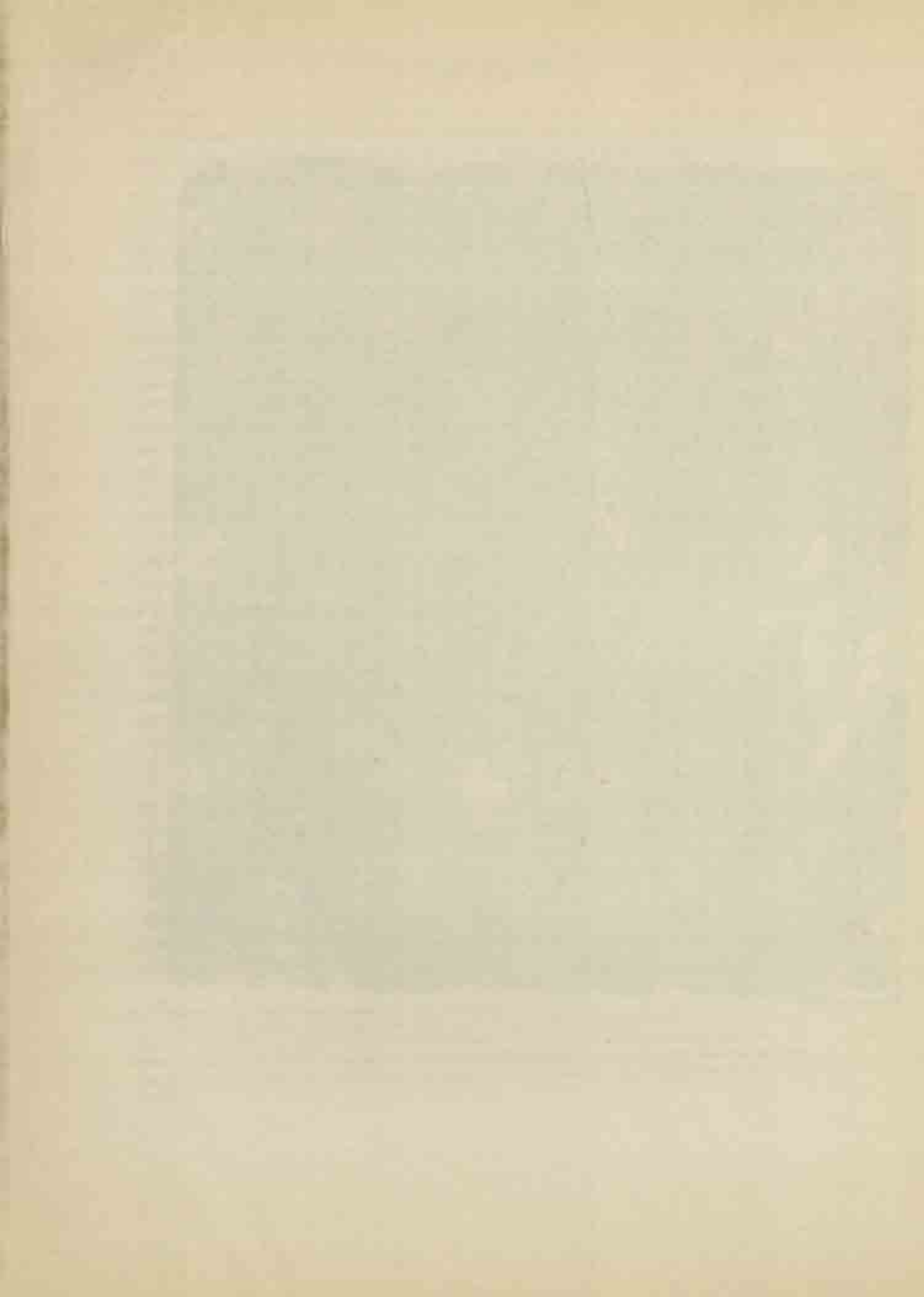
(f) *Saṅgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The *Ājīvikas* are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishyava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The *Nigamthas* are the Jain ascetics or *Nirgranthas*. I take *pativīsīṭham pativīsīṭham*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativīśesham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Diet*, sub voce). *Tsu-ten*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the *Vachabhūmikas* and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tuṣṭyātandāni*, i.e. *tuṣṭyāyatandāni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭṭi* [*pādayamāṭi*] is self-evident.

(l) *Devikumāla* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' i.e. of such a lady who has the title *devī*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, i.e. his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(m) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nīḥṭhī* as a derivative from the causative of *nīdhyōi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nīdīdhyaṇā* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(n) In *puṭāpapoti* the nominative of the plural *puṭā* takes the place of the stem just as in *antā-vāṇīkya*, above l. 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jāt.* iv, 184, 18, *sakkhābhāṇīyam*, 'the wife of a friend.'





[illegible]

## XXI.—THE MAHABAN PRAŚASTI OF SAMVAT 1307.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurā Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapāla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapāla, because he had obtained lately from Mahāban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahāban in the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile<sup>1</sup> of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurā Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahāban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *dāl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahāban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahāban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments<sup>2</sup> from the railway-workmen at Mathurā.

I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahāban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapāla, not Vijayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvamśi dynasty of Bayānā-Śrīpāthā (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me specimens of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *paramatmantri-bhāṣṭāgādāra* and may belong to the seventh century.



Mahābharata shows the name of Ajayapāla's successor Haripāla and the date Samvat 1227. The pedigree of the Rājput who built the temple now stands as follows:—



## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री [म]णपतेये नमः ।

दिश्यास यः कैरवकु — — —

— यासि<sup>१</sup> दंतो हिरदाननस्य [1]

विजित्व विघ्नानिव — १ — शंके (?)

मुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [११]

L. 2. [श्री]रः कमलकांतिरस्वसिलता भुव्ये ि — —<sup>२</sup> खरा-

लालिंदीय समुद्रता सरभसं या खडुनीसहया ।

यत्ना[न्]ल्लनमानुषोय कमला डिण्डीरपिण्डी-

L. 3.

पमः

कम्बुर्जितमम्बरं क[म]लिनी[कि]ञ्जल्पायते<sup>३</sup> ॥ [२]

स वीरवत् ज — —<sup>४</sup> : सकलदेवदर्पाहिनः

महानरं क[म]हो[नः] प्रचुरवीरभंतर्ह-

L. 4.

नः [1]

समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः

हतामरमहाभरः तृ[ण]वदुदुतच्छाधरः ॥ [३]

इति प्रथममेष ॥

याथा[स]न्ततिमविद्वह-

L. 5.

कलप्रोदामदिग्मण्डलः

छायाः पा[न्]समाययो द्विजकुलैः संसेव्यमानोधिषं ।

<sup>१</sup> Read वसपते. On Dr. Filhofer's impression the c-stroke above the *ta* has almost disappeared.

<sup>२</sup> Restore कैरवकुलतामः वेयासि.

<sup>३</sup> Restore विरं वः.

<sup>४</sup> Read किञ्जल्पायते ।

<sup>५</sup> Read 'इव ईनी'—सूपाकरः—'महानरं'—Restore मन्त्राहिनः.

चौबीमच्छलमच्छनं बहुतरप्र[ध्यात]पर्वजसः  
श्रीमानाश्रित ससु-

- L. 6. अतः चितितले राजन्यवशो महान् ॥ [७]  
सौजन्यासुतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणधामप्रकामावधिः  
श्रीमान्यर्कोनिधिर्वैकानिपुणक्षुधाध्वचक्रप्रधिः [१]
- L. 7. तत्ताभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमयोप्रसासनेक्यमः  
मान्यः क्षत्रियवर्त्ममौलितिलकः श्रीमिहाराजाह्वयः ॥ [१]<sup>a</sup>  
दानेन लक्ष्मीर्धनयेन विद्या  
भाषेन म-
- L. 8. श्रिः चमया च श्रिः [१]  
सत्येन सृष्टि — — तेन सूरि-  
रसंछतानं कतिना च येन [१११]<sup>b</sup>  
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोन्नतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाह्वयः  
सहर्षैकवचिः
- L. 9. श्रुचिर्गुरुगुणधात्री विवेकाकरः ।  
यद्यित् पुत्रपोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-  
मैश्वर्येष्वभुजङ्गमो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७]<sup>c</sup>
- L. 10. तस्मात्तुनुरजायतोऽजलतरप्रध्यातकीर्त्तुचयः  
श्रीमानामिक इन्दुदारमहिमा देवद्विजार्चरतः [१]  
विद्वद्वाञ्छितपूर्तिर्लक्ष्यविटपी श्वायैकनिष्ठः परं ॥
- L. 11. — — — — — रोमणिर्धर्मलधीर्धरः सतां प्रमतः ॥<sup>d</sup> [८]  
ग्रंथः शैलसुतामिव श्रियामिव श्रीमार्त्तापाधिः प्रभुः  
पौलो[म्रीमिव] इतश्चाभ्युधिरिव श्रोतस्त्रिर्नो जाह्नवी ।  
श्रीतांगः किल
- L. 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्मान्दामिवाव्यती  
स श्रीमान्दरिकण्डजामुदवहस्रवृत्तिम — — तां ॥ [८]<sup>e</sup>  
तस्यां तेन मुतो जज्ञे जज्जः सज्जनभूषणं ।  
रामो दम-
- L. 13. रघुर्नेव कौ[स]ल्यामुदारधीः ॥ [१०]  
कुम्भैरेभः कलपितुमलं वा[रि]धिः कथं श्रिः  
को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकतास्ताः परिच्छेत्सुमीयः [१]  
नक्षत्रा-

<sup>a</sup> According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीतान्दव्यं, but Führer's gives plainly "सर्प"

<sup>b</sup> Restore श्रिः दृष्टुमेव सूरि-.

<sup>c</sup> The second नयो and the second ॥ of विवेकाकरः stand below the line.

<sup>d</sup> The last Pāda stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore श्रीवीपालप्रियोधिः.

<sup>e</sup> Read श्रीमार्त्तापाधिः.—Restore सवृत्तिमाराजतं.



- L. 14.      कौ दिवि गणयितुं कोट्युत्तरीभिः समर्थः  
तस्य स्तोत्रं सकलमव वा कः प्रगल्भः सुधीर्ष [११]  
चंद्रः कर्षयितुमवाप्य इति  
पथं किलैकं विम-
- L. 15.      लं करोति [1]  
जलः पुनर्भूतलपार्थ - -  
हावेव पथौ विमली विधत्ते ॥ [१२]<sup>12</sup>  
सहः साधुभिरेव कोपममने शक्तिश्च धर्मो मतिः  
दानेभ्यासविधिः प-
- L. 16.      रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरुणां त[त्तिः 1]  
- - योपुर्वोत्तमाङ्गिदुगले नीची समं पंडितैः  
जलम्यासिकसंभवस्य सुमतेः किं किं न लीकोत्तरं ॥ [१३]<sup>13</sup>  
का-
- L. 17.      यः परोपकृतिभिः मुक्तो - -  
- विमुरारिचरलम्बरणेन चेतः [1]  
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवाञ्छितपूरणेन  
सत्येन वार्गापि च येन कृता कृता-
- L. 18.      र्था ॥ [१४]<sup>14</sup>  
योमानुषिकनामधेयविदितो राजन्ववंशोदितः  
तस्यामातुपधेमिवान्दुहितरं धर्माभिधानां सती ।  
शोलाचारविभूषणां शुभगुणां भर्तृव्र-
- L. 19.      तां सन्धतां  
तस्यां [पुत्र]चतुष्टयं समभवदसौपयत्वं ततः ॥ [१५]  
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिनां वरिष्ठः  
ख्यातः सुरद्विजगुरुचित्तमक्तिगुहः [1]  
सामोय-
- L. 20.      सत्यमवदानं [विशे]कपुष्टिः  
श्रीचासिकाजमुनिर्मलपञ्चनामा ४ × [१६]  
श्वन्तराजतनवां मायांसुदवह्वती ।  
तस्यां स जलयासास × × × × - - - ४ × [१७]<sup>15</sup>  
संसारं हरिभक्तिसारमण्डलं विज्ञाय गोष्ठीजनैः  
सार्धं धर्मपूरां चिरा-
- L. 21.      यं वक्षता जलेन निर्मापितं ।  
विष्णोर्धर्ममन्त्रशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्रं वक्ष-

<sup>12</sup> The reading of the stone seems to have been धर्मवेदः.

<sup>13</sup> Restore मतिः योपुर्वो.

<sup>14</sup> Restore चतुष्टयं पुष्टिः.

<sup>15</sup> Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.

कुर्यान्निजलोलितध्वजपटं शुभ्राभमभ्रलिङ्गं ॥ [१८]  
सौवर्ग-सैन्ध-

L. 22. वसन्तकालकजटाजटाटवीनाटक-  
कोडादुर्भलितस्थितिस्त्रिरतरं यावत्पवित्रं पयः [1]  
सधोषी सुचिरं कणीश्वरकणारक्षाङ्कुराणां चि-

L. 23. f-  
— — — — — यदिहास्तु मन्दिरमिदं लक्ष्मीपतेः शायतं ॥ [१८]  
अथ मोहोक्तताद्यामानि ॥  
मुक्तिकालजधमोह रामस्तिलस्य नन्दनः ।  
पिष्टचित्तक-

L. 24. — — — — — गो वक्षिकात्मजः ॥ [२०]  
मंगपुत्री नारदस्य आसिको माहवांगजः ।  
दोलस्तुर्धर्मतय कलस्वात्मजधनुकः ॥ [२१]  
सोमराजा मङ्गीपालः

L. 25. x x x x — — नः ।  
कुलोरो सङ्गसंभूतः देधरी माधवात्मजः ॥ [२२]  
सोढलो रामपालस्य सेल्हो राविकोद्वजः ।  
पते मोर्डी समानस्य पुत्रपौत्रादि-

L. 26. — [रि]जाः ॥ [२३]  
[अया]तो लिख्यते तस्मिन् देवस्य चक्रिणः ।  
संपदता नरेन्द्रेण पुरवासिजने [न च] ॥ [२४]  
हे मृगे योष्यः पटु वाटिका देवहेतवे ।  
गोणी-

L. 27. [प्र]खतिरधस्त मानोन्मानरसादिका ॥ [२५]  
यवे यवे पत्नी [पा]क्षा [वा]तुण पुष्पमालिकात् ।  
मापकाच चतुर्धर्मो यः कश्चिन्मापको भवेत् [२६]  
यः कश्चित् ह-

L. 28. रते हस्ति न ददाति च मानवः ।  
स गण्डेश्वर [व] चोरं यावदाभूतसङ्गवः ॥ [२७]  
अस्याः [प्र]यस्तेः कर्माँरी दुधौ पालकुलदरी ।  
[च]ित्तव्यं सर्वविधुर्धर्मान्मान् विचार-

L. 29. तः ॥ [२८]  
सयत् १२०० कार् — — — — — पीथमास्यां महाराजाधिराज — —  
जयपालदेवविजयराज्ये उल्लोकां सोमलसुव [धारे]ण ॥

\* Restored by the author.

† वातुण can, of course, not be correct. Read चतुर्धर्मो.

‡ The last word is probably meant for मापकामृतसङ्गर.



## XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

BY PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the *Sana* of Dillil, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashkilds*, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

## 1.—BHĀGALPŪR.

The history of Bhāgalpūr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Mahmūd Shāh ibn Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpūr, is of value, because it shows that Bhāgalpūr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqi kingdom, as did also Bihār (*vide* below). In A. H. 952 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnāma*, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahāngir), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rām Bihī in Māpda Roga Mahalla, Bhāgalpūr; it is no longer *in situ*; the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النبي عليه السلام من بلي مسجدا في الدنيا بلي الله له قصرا في الجنة في زمن ملك العدل محمود  
 شاه السلطان بنا كره ابن مسجد خاتمهم خورشيد خان سر لوبت غير محلين في العشر من جماد الاول سنة  
 خمسين وثمانماية

## TRANSLATION.

<sup>1</sup> The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Mahmūd Shāh the honoured Khān Khurshēd Khān, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumādī'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).<sup>2</sup>

The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshēd Khān, whose title *sar-i naubat-i ghair-mohallān* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII, p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargāh* called the Maskan-i Barārī or Makhdūm Shāh's Dargāh in Champanāgar near Bhāgal-

<sup>1</sup> See facsimile No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The same term occurs, e.g., in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.



NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.



*From J. D. Beglar's impression.*

*Reader, look at original.*





pār; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

۞ اَللهُ اَكْبَرُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُوْلُ اللهِ ۞  
 ابوبکر صدیق | عمر فاروق | عثمان رضی | علی کرم الله  
 رضی الله علیه | رضی الله علیه | الله علیه | وجهه

چون اضعف عباد الله خواجه احمد سمرقندی حسب احکام نواب قدسی القاب شاهزاده عالمیان شاه پرویز  
 جهانگیر تخدمت فوجداری سرکار منکیر امدہ بود بہ بنای عمارت این روضہ متبرعہ تولدوق یافت سنہ ۱۰۳۲ ہزار  
 سی و نہ

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God.

Abū Bakr, the vernacious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmān—may God be pleased with him! 'Alī—may God dignify his face!'

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwāja Ahmad of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawāb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shāh Parwēz, son of Jahāngir, had entered the service as Faujdār of Sarkār Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].

Shāh Parwēz was the second son of the emperor Shāh Jahāngir. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Šafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal<sup>1</sup> in *jāgīr* to Mahābat Khān, after having defeated in battle Shāh Jahān (*Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīrī*, p. 239), whereas Bihār, to which sarkār Mungir belonged (*Ain-i-Akbarī*, vol. 1, p. 419), remained his own *tiyāl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann.

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسی الحسین بملک بقا  
 رخت مغربست دفالی سرای  
 از سر الدنیا بگو سال فوت  
 روح محترم زجهان رفت بای

Metre,—*Sarf*':

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andāh*, i.e. the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *tārīkh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

<sup>1</sup> The four caliphs.

<sup>2</sup> In Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, for Bihār read Bengal.



The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خوش تعمیر یافت  
برایش این دیر هم از سعی او تعمیر یافت  
خراسم تاریخ هجری (؟) عسوی (sic.) سازید  
تا بود بر لوح سنگ از سالی تعمیرش نشان  
نالهان عاتق زری شادمانی لفظ بود  
بعد لفظ دیده اندر مصرع هشتم نژود  
آنگهان در کوش خاطر از سوشی بس عجب  
دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب

#### TRANSLATION.

Metre.—*Ramāl*:

By (order of) Ziyā-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word 'Būd' after the word 'Dīdah' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *tārīkh* which runs therefore 'Dīdah būd kam' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*būd*)—i.e.—1208-9H.

Ziyā-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhāgalpūr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shāhjangī (Shāhbāz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhāgalpūr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Fasli. As a memorial of that fact a Hindūstānī inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghāt, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.\*

#### II.—HAZBAT PAṆDUAH.

The following inscriptions from Paṇduah belong to the *Adina* (i.e. Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, son of Shams-addin Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Paṇduah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorān*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

\* There is another rubbing of a Hindūstānī inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *idāda* and a *sanā'ī fuyyād*.

5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

امريئاه العبارة غذا المسجد الجامع في [أ] م [ال] الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اعلم اكرم اكمل السلاطين  
العرب والعجم الوثائق بتأييد الرحمن ابراهيم سندر شاه سلطان ابن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلائقه الى  
بن الموجود كتبه في التاريخ رجب سنة ست [ز] سبعين وسبعماية

## TRANSLATION.

'The edifice of this Jāmi' Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu'l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, the king, son of Ilyās Shāh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).'

There are some mistakes in Blochmann's readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyām*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt*; besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sādis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *wa* (and) before *sab'in* or to read the *sa* standing before *sab'miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Ādina mosque was finished; the *Rigās* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jāmi' Masjid at Kotla in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that 'gigantic barn,' as General Cunningham calls the Ādina mosque (*Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).\*

6. Over the doorway of the king's platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bādashāh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrāb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorān*, Sūr. xxxiii, 56, and Sūr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin's *Journal of a Route from Rājmahāl to Gaur*, A. D. 1810, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorān*, on the northern, the combined verses Sūr. ii, 63, iii, 31, li, 121 and Sūr. ix, 20, 21.

\* I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (six) of the *rajas* of Muhammad Shāh of Balkh in Dihlī, — *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1876, p. 212.

† The ordinal phrase is— 'قال الله تعالى من ثقل رجل من متكلم' (God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator).



Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlviii, 27, 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xlv) Sûr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fâtîha*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muhammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

### III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2' 1" by 1' 2" in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قسرا في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد  
في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر  
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باركشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاتن اعظم  
مرجاء خان انابك ذات اعلى بتاريخ هودهم ماه مبارك رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانمائة

### TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,\* Shamsaddunyâ waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramzân 885 (17th November 1480).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

\* *هوهم*.

\* This reiteration occurs also on *minâ*.

8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 5")—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا يَعْزِمُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَمْرِ بَالِهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ  
وَأَتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَحْضِرْ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ وَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي  
مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ مِثْلَهُ وَعِمَارَةُ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْجَامِعِ  
فِي عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلْطَانِينَ سَيِّدِ السَّادَاتِ مَلِيحِ السَّعَادَاتِ أَرْحَمِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ مَعَالَى كَلِمَاتِ الْحَقِّ  
وَالْحَسَنَاتِ الْعَرُودِ بَلَايَيْدِ الدِّينِ الْمِيَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِ الرَّحْمَنِ خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ بِالْحَقِّ وَالْبَرِّهَانِ ثَوْرُ السَّلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ  
عَهْدِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ  
أَبُو الْمَنْظُفَرِ حُسَيْنُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَسُلْطَانُهُ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ خَالِفًا مَخْلُوفًا  
مُتَوَكِّفًا عَلَى اللَّهِ الرَّبِّ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ الْمَخْطُوبِ بِخَطَابِ مَجْلِسِ الْمَجْلِسِ مَجْلِسِ مَلِكِهِ نَصْرًا لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى  
فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَتَارِيخُهُ الْمُسَمَّى فِي الرَّابِعِ عَشَرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ رَجَبٍ رَجَبُ قَدَرِهِ سَنَةِ [ ٤٠٠ ... ٤٠٠ ... ٤٠٠ ]

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qur'ân*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Hussain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Wall Muhammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i munsûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . .

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsitâna* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1' 4")—

بَنَى هَذَا الْبَابَ الْحَصَنَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَعْلُومِ عَقْرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ أَبُو الْمَنْظُفَرِ حُسَيْنُ شَاهِ  
السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ سَيِّدِ أَشْرَفِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَسُلْطَانُهُ فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ عَشَرَ وَتَسْعِمِائِيَةِ

TRANSLATION.

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,



the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).<sup>10</sup>

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6' 5" by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, Súr. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, etc., and in three circles the words *Yá rahmán, yá Alláh, yá rahím* are inscribed; the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in., and contains *Qorán*, Súr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasúl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6").—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر أمثالها بنى هذه المسجدة المطهرة التي فيها حجر التيه اتركه رسول  
على الله عليه وسلم السلطان  
المعظم المرح السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابراهيم المظفر نصرته السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان  
بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنة سبع و ثلثين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Súr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Násiraddunyá waddín Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Rigáz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasúl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Sháh Ni'mat Alláh's *ásitána*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in.).—

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله ياتى هذا الباب خاتميان في التاريخ فترة من ذراعيه سنة سبعين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Súr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khánjahán. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).<sup>11</sup>

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyás addín Abu'l Muzaffar Jalál Sháh of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khánjahán was in 982 governor of Oríshá (*Akbarnáma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Iádí Khán, *amir al umará* of Sulaimán, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badauni*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khánjahán was the next to that of Khánkhánan (*Ma'ásir*, I, 649).

<sup>10</sup> This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 225, and repeated in *Barneshaw's Gazet.* p. 88, No. 12.

<sup>11</sup> There is no reason for Blochmann's *etc.*, who has read faultily.

<sup>12</sup> Put *abol* in *Barneshaw's Gazet.* p. 34. The number *tis* is not legible on my rubbing.

13. From the Jāmi' masjid in the Firōzpūr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1' 4" by 2 in.), which contains *Qorān*, Sūr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis*] *lā' l himāri*).

IV.—MAHDIPŪR (VILLAGE).<sup>12</sup>

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdipūr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4' 4" by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى لما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر اقام الصلوة واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الله  
نفسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين  
وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى  
مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة  
بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والعين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن  
محمود شاه السلطان  
وقد بنا السيد اعظم سيد نسلور بن سيد راحت بالحسنة ثم جعله سر كلبه مولانا بيرخوردار ابن خانم اعظم  
نام حول فى شهر المبارك رمضان سنة احدى و تسعين و ثمانمائة

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorān* Sūr ix, 18).  
God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," etc. (*Qorān*, Sūr. lxxii, 18).  
The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing! has said "He who builds a mosque"  
etc.

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalāl addunyā wad-dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shāh, the king, son of Mahmūd Shāh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastūr, son of Sayyid Rāhat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulānā Barkhurdār, son of the exalted Khān Taj Khān. In the blessed month of Ramazān of the year 891' (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shāh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhākā, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 262), 887 from Dhāmraī, north of Dhākā, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampūr, Dhākā District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunārgāon, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sātganw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5' 7" by 4 in.), one line

جلال الدنيا والعين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه واعلى امره  
وشاهه بسعي خان اعظم و خاتان المعظم الراضى بالملك المذل خانم اعظم دولتهان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه  
فى سنة اربع ...

<sup>12</sup> See facsimile No. 2.



## TRANSLATION.

'Jalāl addunyā waddīn Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shāh, the king, son of Mah-mūd Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khān and the high Khāqān, who trusts upon the beneficent Lord, the exalted Khān Daulat Khān, the wazir of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)!'' In the year . . . . .

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1' 5" by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم طغر خان بن ملك ...  
... سر توب ... در شهر ربيع الحمر [?] می الداربع ...

## TRANSLATION.

[Alā.]addunyā waddīn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shāh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazid Mu'azzam Zafar Khān, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabi' al ākhir, in the year . . . . .

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

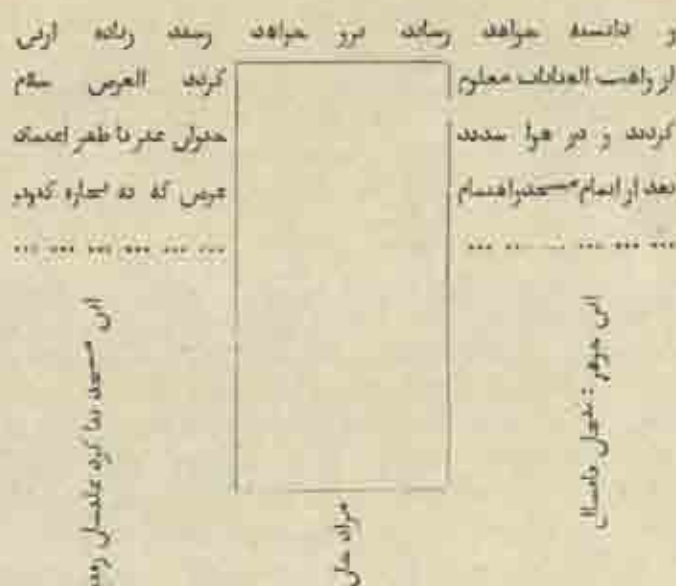
## V.—KHANDEKARTOLA (SHĒRPŪR).

17. In the jungle in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shērpūr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4' 7" by 2' 4" by 3") bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bādīshāhī masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

یا مظهر العباد  
ماده روز دوشنبه ۲۳ ماه ذوالحججه سنه ۹۸۶  
یا سعادت نواب میرزا مراد خان مسجد افشار گون درون روز  
سنه ۲۶ شهر حال قرار مسجد محله معبر عند الصلوات کتویر  
سرورام از هوا فرود آمدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض  
کردند که از مکه مبارکه نام رس و مقلد داریم برای ما و اصحاب ما درین  
مسجد احسانه حکم خواهند فرمود معبر کعبه حرا نه اما مسجد  
روزن محله از مردم رنجیده خبر حقا پرسید گفتند هرکه داند

<sup>10</sup> In the Qurān, *qubale* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.



TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (19th January 1582), the Nawab Mirza Murad Khan with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqir* 'Abdassamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction<sup>1</sup> they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqir* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murad Khan, son of Jauhar 'Ali Khan Qaqa-shahi.

Murad Qaqa-shahi in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khan (*Akbarnama*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'sum Khan Kabuli (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabutar* (*bandu*)-i *haram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murad Khan's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

<sup>1</sup> This form is not so rare as Bickert indicates. *Glossarisch, Poetik und Rhetorik des Perser*, 2nd edition, by Perle, p. 348, note 1. Compare also 'bismillah' and 'bismillah'—*Ma'atir al Usul*, vol. I, p. 121.



The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bādishāhi masjid, 18 lines (size 2' 3" by 1' 5").—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ... .. يا خبير  
قال صدر جهان بن ميان جعفر بن يازيد بن داود  
بلى مسجدا في بلد شيرپور بمقام التوكل على الله العفو  
يعين شاه جهان جهانكير مشهور حله القادري و اربعون بالشكور  
قال الله تعالى و من يتوكل على الله  
هو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره و حبه (sic) بتكاته معظم ثمن  
قد جعل الله لكل شي قدرا  
قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بلى  
مسجدا في الدنيا بلى له الله تعالى سبعين  
امرا في الآخرة حله الف و اثنى و اربعين  
الله اثنى على كل مسلمين

#### TRANSLATION.

\* In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! . . . . .

Sadr Jahān, son of Miyān Jayū, son of Yāzid, son of Dāūd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shērpūr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shāhjahān, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said: "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qardā, Sūr. lxx, 3, 4*). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shāhjahān in the Sāba of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khān in the year 1042. Allāh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.

Sadr Jahān's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Sadr (*Sadr-i Jahān*) as Sadr Jahān was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahāngir and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up poetry (*ma'āsir al Umara*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khān or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khān Mir Muhammad Bāqir Irādāt Khān became Governor of Bengal after Qāsim Khān in 1041. In the *Rigāz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Ashām*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. alnubab*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islām with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khān was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islām Khān, who undertook successful campaigns against the Rāja of Assam. 'Azam Khān was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. Shērpūr which is mentioned in the last inscription





کفولی فرمائی فیماںی عالمی فی الامن والاعمال الفل الفل وارث ملک شریفی ابوالاعمال محمد بن  
اعلیٰ السلطان خلیفہ خلافتہ سلطنتہ فی القری من السیر المبارک وصالح [سنہ] ادنی و فاضل و مستعبد

## TRANSLATION.

<sup>1</sup> In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalifa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, Abu'l Mujâhid Muhammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732<sup>1</sup> (27th May, 1332).

Muhammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5' 1" by 1' 2" two lines—

بعد دولت شہ جبل کبر	کئی یادگار ایاز ملک نوروز
شہنشاہ جبل مدرز سلطان	کئی برشاعان کبکی بخت فیروز
ملک مدرت ملک بیو براہیم	کئی بد دردن جو ابراہیم ابن نور
بدلہ ذی الحجہ یکشنبہ از دہر	بخت حسین سعیدہ از مہر نوروز
اجرت عقد و بختہ سے تاریخ	مسافر شد ملک در جنت ابن روز
خداوند فضل خورش بر وی	کئی امین حساب افزای روز

## TRANSLATION.

Mette : Huroj—

<sup>1</sup> In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Firôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zîl Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (days were passed) (?), in the year 733 A. H. (20th January 1333), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!

Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XI-II, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarâi at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1' 5" by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ دالذہم ماہ رجب رجب قدرہ سنہ ستون تمعلیہ لزل شہید یسر حاجی اسحاق مرچل [؟]  
دیرین مقام جعدہ از باغ و حوض بناء لایعہ . . . . . یسر نورج جعدہ فاجدہ حق اذا لنا [؟]

<sup>1</sup> This archaic spelling, instead of *Erâ*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.







TRANSLATION.

'On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nārān Shakhīd, son of Hājī Ishāq . .

On this place . . . . .<sup>18</sup>

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Chotā Takya on the other bank of the Adyanadi, in Bihār. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3' 5" by 1' 2" and bearing two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. قال ملكه السلام من بنى	مسجدا لله نذا الله له نعدا منى الله
شد درونىق الهى راز طليل مصطفي	مسجد جمعه نعهد شاه دن بروز نذا
شاه محمود ابنى ابراهيم شاه عادل انك	كشور از شاهان سزاند تاج شمس نركدا
داني اس مسجد كن مسند شريف هب كو	ذات ناكش قرة العين نبنى ومرتضا
سوزر و صدر جبال اس سد لعل كه شد	ملك و علم و دين و دولت را نبراد النجا
كره نرمايش نذا خير ملك الشرف كن	مقطع دارد جوين خطه نصير ابن بها
اس نذا شد اسلوار از طاب كبرى نرهبار	كعبه نر عظمت نبرعت نعت معمر نر
عرا ماه رجب بد هيمت و جيل و عفت سال	نادر بن مسيد انست شد بنابيد خدا

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramāl*—

'In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says "He who builds *etc.*"

By divine grace and for the sake of Mustafā (*Muhammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtaṣā (*Ali*), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti*, the David<sup>19</sup> in this district, Naṣīr, son of Bahā, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpūr*). This building in Bihār is stronger than the porileo of Kiarā: it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847<sup>20</sup> (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqāma* took place in this mosque.<sup>21</sup>

The metrical Bihār inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Mahmūd Shāh of Jaunpūr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihār), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihār, published by Blochmann).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

<sup>19</sup> In this inscription the letters *re* and *dd* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *d dhar*.

<sup>20</sup> The form *hiṣad*, instead of *haskṣad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

<sup>21</sup> The Mahmūd Shāh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Balliān is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.



24. Also from the Bayley Sarāi. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1' 3"); the right side is partly broken—

..... من خاندان سلطانی .....  
 افتخار اهل سیف و کلاه و جامه اعداد [?] .....  
 مدد و تار و معجز و ماس و علف ..... از مایه معجز فی شجر ..... شمار

## TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramāl*—

..... In the time of the Khānzāda. ....

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?) . . . . .

The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*629* *an* the 18th September 1365); backwards from the month of Muharram reckon . . . . .<sup>22</sup>

## VII.—MUNÉR.

Munér, Māner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishita ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Firóz Rāj, son of Keshū Rāj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*Ālthogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munér immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krōḥ* distant from the river. Bābar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munér.'

In the *Ain* (vol. I, p. 419) Munér is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *bisous*, 7,049,179 *dāms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dāms*. Bābar and Sikandar Shāh Lōdī are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyā, father of Shaikh Sharaf addīn (*Tārīkh-i Dāūdī* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bābar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munér-i Shaikh Yahyā*. Shaikh Sharaf addīn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrāhīm Qiwām Farūqī has called his dictionary *Sharafnāma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munér now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danāpur.<sup>23</sup>

25. Two lines (dimensions 1' 9" by 8 in.)—

بسم الله در عهد ته انجب ته محمود سلطان مہذب  
 بہین مسجد کہ بد بانی اول جلیل الحق زقطاب مقرب  
 جو حمامہ خطیر او ..... عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب  
 زہجرت محمد و ہشت و لون بد بعصمت دار بلیانہش تو ای رب

<sup>22</sup> The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

<sup>23</sup> No information is given about the places where the following three Munér inscriptions have been found.

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

\* By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Mahmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalil al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammād Khāṭir . . . . .

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security. O God.\*

This and the Mahmūd Shāh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'adat Khān A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahān (*Malik ashsharq Khwāja-i Sarāt*), the founder of the Jaunpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karah, Audh, Sandola, Dalaman, Bahrūch, Bihār, and Jaunpūr; the emperor Mahmūd was confined for some years only to old Dihlī, the fortress of Sirī, and the Jāhānpānāh, while the districts of the Doāb, of Sambhal, Pānīpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khān, *viz.*, Sultān Naṣiraddīn, who had his residence at Firōz-Abād. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amirs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Tīmūr.

26. Three lines (size 5' 9" by 1' 4")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
وسيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاؤاها وفتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها سلام عليكم حين  
دخلوها خالدين  
كُنْتُ مِنْ فِرَارٍ مِنْ هَذَا الْبَابِ كُنْ قَلْبِي بِعَوْنِ سَائِدَا  
قَالَ قَلْبِي عَلَى طَرِيقِ الْقَبْرِ قُلْ مَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْ أَمْنِ  
جَنِّ نَرْوَقَةٍ مُقَدَّسَةٍ رَوَى رَفَعَتْ نَهَادَ [بِرَ الْمَاءِ]  
سَالِ الْجَمْعِشِ إِزْ جَرِّهِ جَسَمِ خَرِيمٍ يَهْرُ ابْنِ خَيْسَلَةٍ مَقَامِ  
بَعْدَ لَبِّ كَشْرَةٍ وَ كَفَا مَرْدُوتِ كَفَا [دَهْ بَدَ مَرَامِ]

TRANSLATION.

\* There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qurān*, Sūr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (God's) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Aḥafif*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."



Both *tārīkh*s give the year 1022 (began the 21st February 1613).

27. Three lines (10' 0" by 1' 3")—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۞ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَبَارِكْ  
 وَسَلِّمْ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّ  
 أَوَّلَ بَيْتٍ وُضِعَ لِلنَّاسِ لَلَّذِي بِبَكَّةَ مُبَارَكًا وَهُدًى لِلْعَالَمِينَ قَدْ أَنبَأَ آيَاتُ بَيْتِكَ مَقَامَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ  
 آمِنًا وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حَقُّ الْبَيْتِ مَنْ لَمْتَعَطَ إِلَهَ سَبِيلًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى مِنَ الْعَالَمِينَ  
 چو این عالی سراى كعبتمثال جهان ارا بغیض سماع قدر تمنای اقتضا كرده  
 دل مملای عقی حسرت از خرد سال بلای او خرد گفتا چو ابراهیم بیت الله بنا كرده

#### TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muhammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorān*, Sūr. iii, 90-91).

(Metro: *Hasaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Āsī was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *tārīkh* gives 1028 A.H. (began the 19th, December 1618).

The *tārīkh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrāhīm Khān Path Jang, son of Ghiyās Beg of Tahrān. This combination relies upon the very similar *tārīkh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Perisch, p. 223): *banā-yi Ka'ba-ya sāvi nihād Ibrāhīm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrāhīm,' where Ibrāhīm Khān Path Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihār A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shābjahān. The *tārīkh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrāhīm Khān had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *isāfat* after *banā* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030.

## XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraved upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvati with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvati, and the bull, is written *Śrī-Karṇa-deva*.<sup>1</sup> The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192. . . . The ancestors of Śrī-Karṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gāṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kantaka*: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakṣmaṇa-rāja-deva."

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.<sup>2</sup> Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,<sup>3</sup> and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ½" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *akṣaras*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{16}$ " and  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

<sup>1</sup> I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank my friend Professor Lassen for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.



**Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit.** Excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śīrāya* and the words *kim-vāpareṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrī* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *kṣ* is employed instead of *khy* in *saukṣha*, line 7, and *kṣhātām*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *kā* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, e.g., in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyanaishit*), line 10, *dur jjaṣaḥ* (for *duryyaṣaḥ*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *āṇṇya*, line 8, and *kārūnya*, line 20, and instead of *anuvāra* in *vānu*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anuvāra* and *visarga* and whole *akṣaras* (or even groups of *akṣaras*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaṇḍa, the illustrious Karpadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karpadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṃhadeva in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription \* of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasimhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant † of the *Mahārāṣṭra* Kirtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasimhadeva's son Vijayasimhadeva in the Kumbhī copper-plate grant ‡ of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karpadeva's immediate successor Yaśālikarpadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant § [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state \* that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaṇḍa to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Telāṅga; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

\* See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṃhadeva, Jayasimhadeva and Vijayasimhadeva add *nijāḥkṣajpārjit-śīlapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrogādhipati*, after *Trikaṇḍādhipati*.

† See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

‡ See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 110.

§ See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . . .'

\* See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.



rulers of Tripuri or Ratnapur mention a prince Vāmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karnadeva from his camp of victory,<sup>9</sup> located at a place the name of which looks like Svasāga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son<sup>10</sup> (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahāpramātāra*<sup>11</sup>) and others, that, having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, he has granted the village of Susī<sup>12</sup> (or Susi) to the learned Viśvarūpa,—a son of Nātāyana, grandson of Vāmana, and great-grandson of Mahe,—a student of the Vājasaneyi *śikṣā*, who belonged to the Kaṇṣika *gotra*, and whose three *pravaras* were Andala, Devarāta and Vaiśvāmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. Karnadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susi to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-49), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Venī, near which Karnadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasāga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangā of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nāgpur.<sup>13</sup> The villages of Susi and Vesāla<sup>14</sup> I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January<sup>15</sup> A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 316, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient data for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Āśvina-śudi 1<sup>st</sup>) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Āśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pūrṇimānta*

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-lagana*, for which Captain Wilford got *vijaya-lagana*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gāṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya-lagana* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the Kumbhī copper-plate, where, instead of *mahādēvā mahādēvapatrah*, we have *mahādēvā(?) mahādēvapatrah*.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

<sup>12</sup> The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

<sup>13</sup> See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

<sup>14</sup> I hardly think that Vesāla could be the ancient Valāhī, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

<sup>15</sup> On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 15½ hrs. after mean sunrise.

<sup>16</sup> Writing at Nāgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 20th October 1720, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina; but, opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 183.



scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*samvat* 793 *Phālguna-vadi* 9 *Soma*,—is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karpadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of *Phālguna*, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 A. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 5 A. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.<sup>11</sup> I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* *Māgha* ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karpadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*om om*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme *Brahma*.<sup>12</sup> It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kārtavīrya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvaṇa;<sup>13</sup> and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kārtavīrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.<sup>14</sup>

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śamkaragana. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishnarāja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,<sup>15</sup> I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishna II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kannauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishna II. also bore the name Kṛishna-vallabha,<sup>16</sup> and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

<sup>11</sup> On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 34. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>12</sup> The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Havel copper-plate grant of the *Mahārājaka* *Salakha* *Samaran* *deva*; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 229. Compare also the first verse of the *Tewar* inscription of *Jayachandera*, *above*, page 72.

<sup>13</sup> See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *above*, vol. I, page 262.

<sup>14</sup> This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

<sup>15</sup> See *above*, vol. I, page 252.

<sup>16</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanwar Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishnarāja's father Amoghavaraha is named *Śri-vallabha*; and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharāja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharāja of the present inscription are the Bhojadēva and Kṛishnarāja of the Bilhārī inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kōkkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakūṭa is a well-known locality of Bundelkhand<sup>22</sup> which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Rāhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipaladeva of Kanauj<sup>23</sup> for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhāṅgadeva<sup>24</sup> was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Kṛishna-vallabha. Lastly, the Śamkaragana of our inscription I believe to be Kōkkalla's own son (also called Banavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmi was married<sup>25</sup> by Kṛishna-vallabha's son Jagattunga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us<sup>26</sup> that the Chedi ruler Kōkkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurī, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas*; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kōkkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śamkaragana, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>27</sup> that the reign of Kōkkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kōkkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 800 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kōkkalla married a lady, named Natṭā or Natṭadevi, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavalā (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bālaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhārī inscription,<sup>28</sup> Kōkkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhātunga, and his son again was Keyārararsha-Yuvarājadeva, who married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avānivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavalā and Mugdhātunga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarājadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyārararsha-Yuvarājadeva of the Bilhārī inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bālaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhārī inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhātunga (Prasiddhadhavalā) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pāli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyārararsha-Yuvarājadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva, informs us<sup>29</sup> that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedi.'

<sup>22</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

<sup>23</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

<sup>24</sup> See *ib.*, page 124.

<sup>25</sup> See *Flint, Dynasties*, page 36.

<sup>26</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

<sup>27</sup> *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

<sup>28</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264–266.

<sup>29</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.



The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarājadeva's son Lakshmanarājadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṅkaraganādeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kāṭhāli inscription<sup>21</sup> has preserved the name of Lakshmanarāja's wife, Rāhajā; and the Bīlhari inscription records<sup>22</sup> that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarāt. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarājadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva.<sup>23</sup> As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmanarāja's daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of Tailapa<sup>24</sup> who restored the Western Chālukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *praband*,<sup>25</sup> Yuvarāja was defeated and his capital Tripuri conquered by Vakpati-Muṇja of Mālava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.<sup>26</sup>

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarājadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gāṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gāṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśahkaradeva,<sup>27</sup> also bore the name Vikramāditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayāga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'<sup>28</sup> Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription<sup>29</sup> he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gāṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dāhāla (or Chedi) by Alberūnī,<sup>30</sup> in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>31</sup> is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapāla,<sup>32</sup> who had ceased to rule<sup>33</sup> before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gāṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalsachuria,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,<sup>34</sup> besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇavati, and that at Kāśī or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī<sup>35</sup> represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pāṇdyas, Murala, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Kiras and Hōṇas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva<sup>36</sup> makes him be waited upon by the Choḍa, Kuṅga, Hōṇa, Gaṇḍa, Gūrjara and Kira princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 173.

<sup>22</sup> See ante, vol. I, page 228.

<sup>23</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 315.

<sup>24</sup> See *Vincent's Dynasties*, page 41.

<sup>25</sup> See ante, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.

<sup>26</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.

<sup>27</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>28</sup> I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon, in which he lets (Gāṅgeyadeva die, out of the world [Sanskrit] *ga-jamārdita* (cf. l. 33 of the copper-plate).

<sup>29</sup> See ante, vol. I, page 219, and page 223, l. 14.

<sup>30</sup> See Sachau's Translation of Alberūnī's *India*, vol. I, page 202.

<sup>31</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 112.

<sup>32</sup> The copper-plate of Vijayapāla's successor Devavarmanadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 173.

<sup>33</sup> See above, page 8.

<sup>34</sup> See above, page 15.

<sup>35</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 315.

eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,<sup>40</sup> it is clear that Karna's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nāgpur *prāśasti*<sup>41</sup> Udayāditya of Mālava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions<sup>42</sup> report of Kirtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Sanskrit play, is, that that prince defeated Karna, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra<sup>43</sup> eulogizes Bhīmadēva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karna in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhana,<sup>44</sup> who elsewhere describes Karna as the god of death to the lord of the Kālānjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Chālukya Somēśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karnadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karna married the Hūna princess Āvalladevī<sup>45</sup> and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśahkarnadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A. D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśahkarnadeva's name also occurs<sup>46</sup> in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśahkarna part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripuri by Lakshmadeva of Mālava, the son and successor of Udayāditya, which probably took place during Yaśahkarna's reign, is mentioned in the Nāgpur *prāśasti*.<sup>47</sup> The only exploit which Yaśahkarna's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godāvari;<sup>48</sup> and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadevī, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśahkarna of Champārnaya.<sup>49</sup>

Yaśahkarnadeva was succeeded by his son Gayākarnadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription<sup>50</sup> dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasimha had already been appointed *Yuzarāja*. Gayākarna (or Gayakarna) married<sup>51</sup> Alhanadevī,

<sup>40</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>41</sup> See above, page 192.

<sup>42</sup> See *infra*, vol. I, pages 220 and 226. The Durgadi rock inscription of Kirtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A.D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 56, No. 61.

<sup>43</sup> See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

<sup>44</sup> See *Vikramādityaśataka*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

<sup>45</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>46</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

<sup>47</sup> See above, page 193, verse 32.

<sup>48</sup> See above, page 7, verse 23.

<sup>49</sup> See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champārnaya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godavari river.

<sup>50</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 210.

<sup>51</sup> See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 34.



a daughter of the king Vijayasimha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Harshapāla of the Guhila family of Mewād,—and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevi bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,<sup>20</sup> dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasimhadeva's reign three inscriptions<sup>21</sup> have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married<sup>22</sup> Gossladevi, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasimhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,<sup>23</sup> of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasimha's son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Dāhāla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadava of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śamkaragana. He married the Chandella princess Natṭā.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā.
3. His son Bālaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyāra-varsha-Yuvarājadeva I.; married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmanarājadeva; married Rāhadā. His daughter Bonthādevi was the mother of the Western Chālukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śamkaraganadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarājadeva II.; contemporary of Vālpati-Muñja of Mālava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gāṅgeyadeva-Vikramāditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberūni (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapāla.
10. His son Karnadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1042. Contemporary of Bhīmadēva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Chālukya Somēśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayāditya of Mālava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kirtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevi.
11. His son Yaśahkarnadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayākarnadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhanadevi, a daughter of Vijayasimha of Mewād and grand-daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava.
13. His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

<sup>20</sup> See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.

<sup>21</sup> See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216.

<sup>22</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 216.

<sup>23</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 1/4.

14. His younger brother Jayasimhadēva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevi.  
15. His son Vijayasimhadēva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasimhadēva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.<sup>a</sup>

First Plate.

- L. 1. श्रीं [१<sup>a</sup>] श्रीं नमः सि(मि)वाय ।  
निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(मि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।  
भावप्राज्ञं परं ज्योतिस्तम्यै सद्गु(ङ्गु)ह्यग्रे नमः ॥<sup>b</sup>—[1].  
यद्देवस्थितमव्य[यं]<sup>c</sup> प-  
2. रमयि ज्यो(ज्यो)तिसि(मि)दं मु(शु)प्रभं ।<sup>d</sup>  
सूर्याद्यस्त च [मा]क्षरप्रभृतयो<sup>e</sup> यस्य स्मरन्त्यर्थयः [१<sup>f</sup>]  
सर्वज्ञान[म<sup>g</sup>]यो व(व)भूव भगवांस्तथाभ्यनुभ्यांसो  
यस्मात्पृथिरभूदि[यं] [गु]-  
3. षवतो श्रीपुत्रिमिता ततः ।(१)<sup>h</sup>—[2].  
देवः श्रीकासंवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्गुण(णं) भूतधावा  
ज्ञेयोत्थिमाद्रिवि(वि)भ्यनुचिनिगिरिसुतास्त्रे(स्त्रे)प्रसक्तोपितेस(स)म [१<sup>i</sup>]  
दोर्दण्डा-  
4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापुरंवाप्रवाह-  
व्याघ्रोतवाचपूजागुरुजमितरुषं रावणं यो ववन्व<sup>j</sup> ।(१)<sup>k</sup>—[3].  
यस्य स्म[रं] [१<sup>l</sup>]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्षि[ष्ट]-  
5. मावे प्रतिपं<sup>m</sup>  
था के(के)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरपूषमसमुत्पातसुं(सुं)गायमिनेः ।  
था च<sup>n</sup> प्राचः समुद्रात्पुनरिदतुल्यलसुतावल्लोका-  
दाशोपेईक्षिणाच [स्फु]-  
6. रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्तमावः ।(१)<sup>o</sup>—[4].  
तद्वन्मपभवा<sup>p</sup> नरेन्द्रपतयः स्वाता[ः] चित्ती वैहवा-  
स्तेषामनु(न्य)यभूषण(णं) रिपुमनोविन्दस्वस्तापानलः ।  
चर्मध्यानध-

<sup>a</sup> From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

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

<sup>c</sup> Metre: Sloka (Anushtubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the Mahārājā Śaṅkaravarmanadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 328.

<sup>d</sup> This is what is offered by the rubbing; but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am

not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be 'देवैरा सिन'.

<sup>e</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>f</sup> The *akshara* in brackets looks in the impression like श्री.

<sup>g</sup> Metre: Śāundaryakṛitā.

<sup>h</sup> Read षवन्तः.—Compare *note*, vol. I, page 283, verse 3.

<sup>i</sup> Metre of verses 3 and 4: Śingharā.

<sup>j</sup> Read दधति दधतयः क्षिप्रमारे प्रतिपाम् (१).

<sup>k</sup> Read च.

<sup>l</sup> Read नरेन्द्र.



- L. 7. नानु(नु)संधितमुखः सख्यस[ता]<sup>14</sup> मौस(ख)क-  
खेयास(स)र्वगुणाहितप्रभुतया श्रीमान्भूकोद्वजः<sup>15</sup> । (१)<sup>16</sup> —[5].  
सम्यक्का(का)स्यविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] प्रच्योय योगाय च  
इष्टा-  
8. पूतपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्वसक्तो(का) मतिः ॥ (1)  
शान्त्या(श्ला)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सधंस(स)पुष्टभूषा  
ज्ञानाभ्यासवसासमुच्चपदवीमते<sup>17</sup> च यः प्राप्तवान् ॥ (1) —[6].  
भोजे व-  
9. [अभ]राजे<sup>18</sup> श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चितकूटमु(भू)पाले ।  
स(स)हृदमणे च रा[ज]नि वस्वामीदमयदः पाणिः ॥ (1)<sup>19</sup> —[7].  
सविमिवेन्द[ः]<sup>20</sup> कमलामुपेन्दो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रभोजिः ।  
चन्द्रेज्जवसप्रभवा<sup>21</sup>  
10. सुमिता नडाख्यदेवी स तु पर्वर्तनेपितु<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> —[8].  
उग्रामदर्थद्विपती जयन्तं क(क)दर्थमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।  
अजीवनक स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-  
11. मारम् ॥ (1) —[9].  
नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो मुख(व)नवदपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो(व्यो) धवलः स राजा ।  
वोदु<sup>24</sup> धुरं यो मुखारहा योऽन्यान्दिन्दाक्[ञा]र चकार ॥ —[10].  
एकैक(कं) ददता मुजङ्गमनि-  
12. सं(सं) स्र(सं) जीवित(ने) रचता  
भद्रार्थ(र्थे) गरुडाय नामपतिना न्यकार उच्योलितः ।  
चारित्र्याय ददो(दौ) जलं मुरपतिर्न्यच्छब्[ह] ॥<sup>25</sup> व्यासुतो  
वन्द्यासा(या) सुवनवदेष्यमभू[दौ].  
13. चित्त(त्त)वृत्तेः पदं ॥<sup>26</sup> —[11].  
किम्बापरेण<sup>27</sup> ,  
होहिस्ति एव व(वं)से पुरिसा एहययनारयमङ्गथा [1]<sup>28</sup>  
इष जाविक्रय जेनं पालीष परिम(म)हो महिषो ॥<sup>29</sup> —[12].  
तसु(सु)मुः स्यात्-

<sup>14</sup> Read इच्छतः.

<sup>15</sup> Read श्रीमान्भूकोद्वजः. — The word कोद्वजः offends against the metre, but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double v is correct.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 5 and 6, Śāṇḍilyakṛtita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

<sup>17</sup> Read "वसासमुच्चपदवी".

<sup>18</sup> Originally इराजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the characters इ and र.

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>20</sup> Read अपीमिवेन्दः.

<sup>21</sup> Read "जवसप्रभवा".

<sup>22</sup> Read "देवी स तु पर्वर्तनेपितु".

<sup>23</sup> Metre of verses 8-10: Upajāti.

<sup>24</sup> I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वीदु probably should be वीदु, and the fourth Pāda may be श्रीमान्भूकोद्वजःरदीपहारः; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śāṇḍilyakṛtita.

<sup>26</sup> Read चि वापरेण.

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Āryā. "In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions." Professor Pischel informs me that पाली is given as a synonym of पितृ in Hemachandra's *Deśanāmāli*, VI, 37.



[illegible]





- L. 14. कस्यां दिगिभकरनिभावातुवा(वा)धुर्महात्मा  
भूमिभ(भं)त्तां व(व)भूव चतरिपुनृपतिर्वा(वा)लक्ष्यः सु[व]त्[वा] ।  
यं सहितानुरागानुलतकृतय(यु)गाचारमास(त्रि)त्व जात-  
स्य-
15. ज्ञान्योऽप्यमहं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्षाति(स्त्रि)वर्षाः ॥१॥<sup>10</sup> -[13].  
धन्योऽहं दास(श)रश्चिरं रिपुर्हंसा(सा)ख्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोक्षवाय ।  
भूमि[भ]त्[वा]मसकलदिप्रतो
16. धिगन्त्रानात्मानमाश्रयरादिति यः सुसौच<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup> -[14].  
सत्यव्रतेकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(यः) प्रथितवा(वा)द्व(व)त्तो व(व)भूव ।  
दुर्वोधनारिव(व)त्ति(वी)रयधैकध-
17. स्त्री पार्थीपरः कतिपुगे युवराजदेवः ॥१॥ -[15].  
भु(भू)भारवमदृक्(वृ)तिप्र[व]त्[वा]यिनीमालम्ब(स्व)मानस्तन(तु)  
कुर्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पयमानागच्छतो विधि[व]त्[वा] ॥१॥  
विद्या-
18. तां भुवि भूरिमासंममनामुचैर्हंदाहिनीं  
यः साचात्यरमेक्ष(श)र[व]त्[वा] समभयसम्यक्त्रि(विश)वाराधनात् ॥<sup>13</sup> -[16].  
तस्यादभूजक्षयराजदेवः पुण्यौ(श्लै)र्जमाना(नां)
19. जनितव्यवसः ।  
सा(च)वाप्य यं धर्माभिव चितोसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥<sup>14</sup> -[17].  
यः सत्वस्य निधिः स्त्रि(त्रि)धां च नरणिः साक्षा च धासा [व]त्[वा] यो  
यो दाता च दयालु-
20. रव च पदं कीर्त्तिसु(च) नीतिसु(च) यः ।  
तस्याभीत्यरमेय दूषणकण[व]त्[वा] कार्त्तव्य(श)पुण्यात्मनः  
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सव्यस्वदानेवपि ॥<sup>15</sup> -[18].  
शीस(श)इरगणदेव-
21. स्तुतोभयत्सकलमुचनतलतिलकः ।  
सा(सा)मति वसधां यश्चिन्मन्त्रायित(तं) क्षापि कलिमापि ॥<sup>16</sup> -[19].  
असौ निस्सुंमता<sup>17</sup> यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [१]<sup>18</sup>  
रयचक्रेषु चारि-<sup>19</sup>
22. त्वं वायो[यो] सच्छन्दचारिता [१]<sup>20</sup> -[20].  
तस्यानुयो(यो)भु(भू)युवराजदेवः पतिः चितेः अ[व]कुलप्रसु(स)तिः ।  
यस्यासिधाराजलधौतमु(सू)त्तंमु(वि)रं क्षिरासि(सी)च(च)पलापि लक्षि<sup>21</sup> [१]<sup>22</sup> -[21].  
असि-

<sup>10</sup> Metre : Śrīgāhā.<sup>11</sup> Read सुवीच.<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakā.<sup>13</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>14</sup> Metre : Upajīti.<sup>15</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>16</sup> Metre : Āryā.<sup>17</sup> Read निर्विप्रता.<sup>18</sup> *Aritas*, derived from *arita* aris 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'<sup>19</sup> Metre : Śloka (Ānashūloka).<sup>20</sup> Read सुवीच.<sup>21</sup> Metre : Upajīti.



- L. 23. सा[र्वा]वधिस्त्रागः सेमं सूरजयावधिः<sup>100</sup> .  
 वच(श)सा(सां) धर्मरासे(से)स(च) नावधिर्वच भूपतेः ।(॥)<sup>1</sup>—[22].  
 सीसास्तोयायतं यातकीतुः काकलदेवी वसधिकनाथः ।  
 ज(य)च्छण्ड-  
 24. साधो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथावस(श)च्छ(य)ः ।(॥)<sup>2</sup>—[23].  
 नमः<sup>3</sup> कामुकवत् कृत नियमितं तृणीरपत्कृतः ।  
 काष्ठासु चणमात्र[च]क्षविहितः [भा]नरादादण्डवत् ।(॥)<sup>4</sup>  
 25. कृत्वा सा[र्व]परिच्छदेन रक्षितं सम्यक्[रि] स्थापितं  
 सत्त्वामखिलं कुलं नरपति[यिज्ञेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)<sup>5</sup>—[24].  
 काकलनृपादवास्तसकल[का]पी[व]पद<sup>6</sup>  
 सी-  
 26. रक्षानितङ्गारमो(मो)रगुणभूमांगवदेवाभूत् ।  
 यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्ये(से)यकोपेसरः ।<sup>7</sup>  
 स्तवेव प्रतिविवि[ध] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[क्षुण्णं] ।(॥)<sup>8</sup>—[25].  
 27. अगुनेज्जोषलोति<sup>9</sup> क्षातं यदिह दुर्जसः ।  
 लक्ष्मा तदधुना धी[तं] दिव्यमादाय तदधुः ।(॥)<sup>10</sup>—[26].  
 ख्यातः[<sup>11</sup>] सत्यतया स धर्मतनयः<sup>12</sup> त्यागेन वि(वे)रोच-  
 28. निः  
 सोयेनदमुर<sup>13</sup> न चैतदसवत्स[त्वं] मता[चि]तसि ।  
 एकस्मिन्क्षितयं कलो<sup>14</sup> समनिक मांसियदेवे नृपे  
 [दृ]ष्ट्वा रिक्षित[मि]व तेरः<sup>15</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Read श्रीमि हरवयावधि.

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>2</sup> Read 'सीसास्तोकायतं यातकीतुः काकलदेवी वसधिकनाथः'.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Uṣṇah.

<sup>4</sup> I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following —

नमः कामुकवत् कृत नियमितं तृणीरपत्कृतः  
 काष्ठासु चणमात्रद्वरविहितवाचं च दीर्घवत् ।  
 कृत्वा साऽपरिच्छदेन रक्षितं सम्यक् स्थापितं  
 सत्त्वामखिलं कुलं नरपतिदेवेन येनासिवत् ।

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śāṇḍilyakṛhṛjita.

<sup>6</sup> For the commencement of this line I would suggest 'काकलनृपादवास्तसकलोपीरपद'; the end of the line I am unable to restore.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'सूर्यवदेवोभूत्'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'सरस्वतेव प्रतिविविधं पुनरभूत्'; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Śāṇḍilyakṛhṛjita.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'अगुनेजोषलोति क्षातं यदिह दुर्जसः'.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Read 'वसधिकनाथ'.

<sup>13</sup> I would suggest here 'सूर्यवदेवोभूत् न चैतदसवत्सं नमः पीडितः', but am not sure about the last word of the line.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'कलो'.

<sup>15</sup> I would suggest reading this line 'पुरा निमित्तमेव हेरितवत् पूर्वं वयोका नृपाः'. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhishtira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gaṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings in a higher degree even than they did.

## Second Plate.

I 29.

वितथं पूजे येनोक्ता स्याः ॥<sup>१०</sup>—[27].

तस्याजः कर्ण इवावतीर्णः कर्णः इतिव्या(यां) प्रथे(वि)तपु(प्र)भायः ।  
यस्याभिसे(वि)कस(य)वशा[हि]व-

30.

दिनष्टं प्रष्टं दिवमितवर्गः ॥<sup>११</sup>—[28].

यत्कीर्त्तितया दूरं प्रसरत्वा दिने दिने ॥<sup>(1)</sup>  
व(वि)द्यामलकपाभोगः स्त्र्यतामुपनीवते ॥<sup>१२</sup>—[29].  
स्त्र्यं समु-

31.

कृत्वाद्योर्ध्वार्ध्ववर्चिस्तान् ।

कोपे(प्ये)ध भूयण(त्) भूमिर्जलमः कल्म(श्व)पादयः ॥ —[30].  
स(प्र)कृतमे(ये)कने(नि)लयस्व गुणाकरस्य धर्मोत्तमः

32.

स्तुतिपदं किमिच्छास्ति कि(चि)चित्

यासा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कतिभिः सदे(दे)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(ते)व भूयात् ॥<sup>१३</sup>—[31]  
तवे(दे)वं गुणगणाल्लत-

33.

स(श)रीरः [स्वसा]ग<sup>१४</sup>भमावास्तवीमहिजयकव<sup>१५</sup>त्परममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-  
(स्व)रवीवाम[दे]वपादानुध्यान(त)परममहा-

34.

रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व(श्व)रपरममाहेश्व(श्व)रतु(वि)कलिंया(शा)धिपतिवीमलक<sup>१६</sup>  
देव[ः] कुस(श)नी महादेवी महाराजपु[त्रं]<sup>१७</sup> महाम-

35.

वि[शो] महामात्मा<sup>१८</sup>महासन्निविष्टिका महाधर्माधिकारिका महासपटलिका महाकर-  
षिका स(म)हाप्रतोहारो महासामन्तो

36.

महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्व)साधनिको महा[भा]<sup>१९</sup>ण्णगारिको महाध्वज<sup>२०</sup>एतानन्तामु(व)  
कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितामु<sup>२१</sup> यथाई मानयति वो(वो)धयति समाप्रापयति विदित-

37.

स[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [जपावा]<sup>२२</sup>कासि[भूम]<sup>२३</sup>स्त[मी]त[मु]सिधामः सात्र(स)मपूजः  
समर्त्तस्त्र्यजलोपरः सर्वाकरख[नि]<sup>२४</sup>प्रमत्तिसमुत्प-

38.

त्तिसेतसु(व)तुराव(वा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।<sup>२५</sup>वेसालयामविनिर्गताय कोसिकमोवाय<sup>२६</sup>।<sup>२७</sup>बोद  
सदेवरात्रिविन्वामितवि<sup>२८</sup>

39.

प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)साय ।<sup>२९</sup>महाप्रमत्ते वा[म]ननमे नारायणपुत्राय पञ्चितवीविस्व-  
(श्व)रुपाय ।<sup>३०</sup>इहैव पितुः श्री-

<sup>१०</sup> Metre: Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭita.

<sup>११</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>१२</sup> Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>१३</sup> Metre: Vasantatillakā.

<sup>१४</sup> Of the word preceding सवावास्ति only the third akṣara (न) is quite clear; the first akṣara might perhaps be read व, and the second वा.

<sup>१५</sup> Read "विजयवटकापरम".

<sup>१६</sup> The akṣara in brackets may have been altered to वा.

<sup>१७</sup> What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महासायः महाधर्माधिकारिकः, etc. Com-

pare, e.g., the Hungir copper-plate grant of Devagadadeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX1, page 256, line 31.

<sup>१८</sup> I suspect that one or more akṣaras are omitted in this word.

<sup>१९</sup> Read "कीर्त्तिता".

<sup>२०</sup> The akṣaras in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Sui was situated.

<sup>२१</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

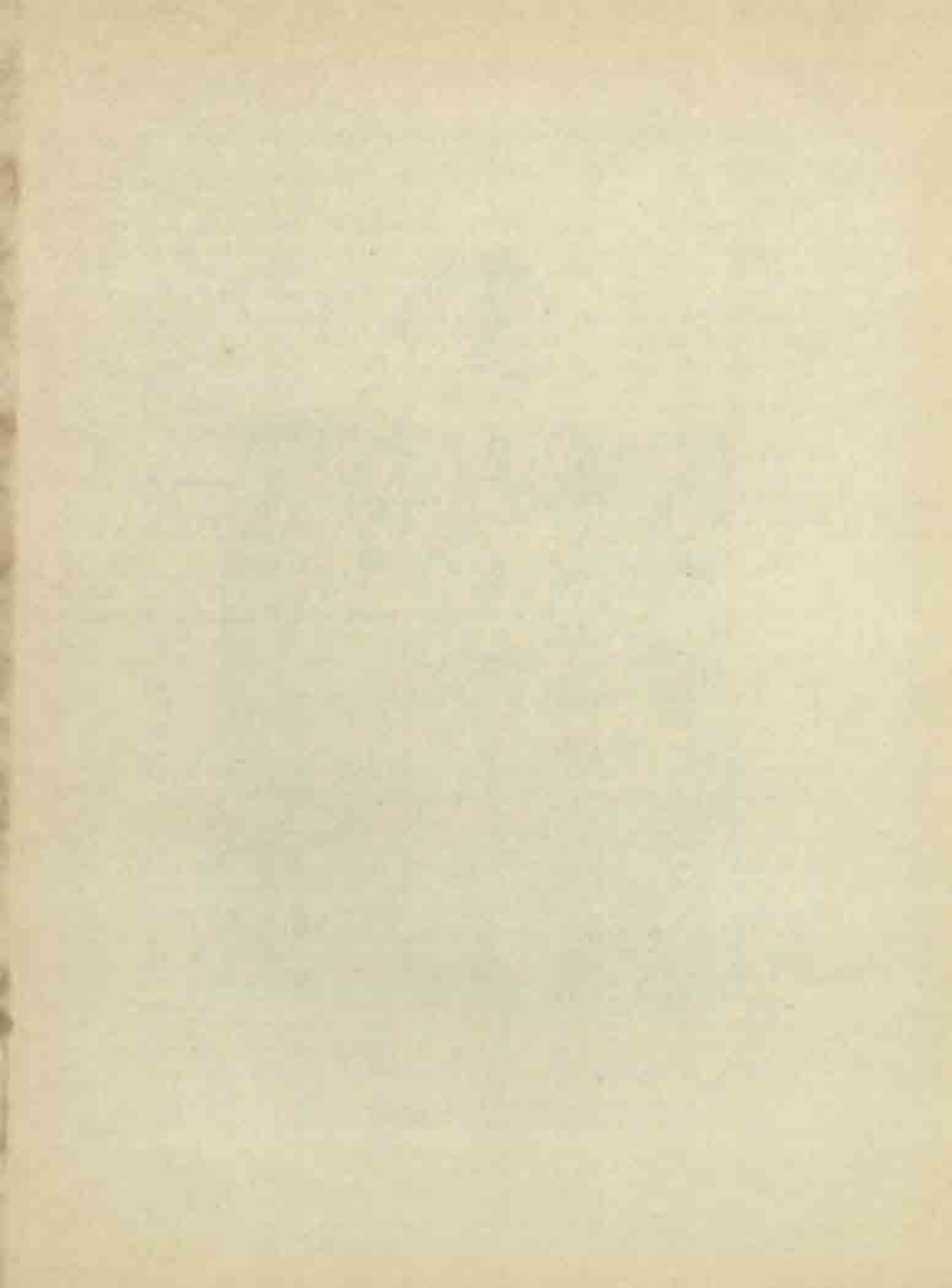
<sup>२२</sup> Read "वीविस्व".

<sup>२३</sup> Read "वीदपदेवरात्रिविन्वा".



- L. 40. मद्राष्ट्रेयदेवस्य भवत्सरे<sup>१</sup> स्नाते फाल्गुनव(व)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नेम्(च)रवासरे वैष्णवां  
स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देवं<sup>२</sup> विलोचन-  
41. मस(श)नम(म)भारयकनितपंचोपच(चा)र(प)<sup>३</sup> पंचेन परया भक्त्वा मसभ्यज्ञासमस(च)-  
वृ(व)या स्ना(चा)इ विधायोभयभोगेन<sup>४</sup> "सामत्वेन" यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमत्तः  
42. ऋग्वेदपाठाः<sup>५</sup> मुनीषामनिवांसिनः समस्तजनपदान्मादिम(य)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-  
(तां) यथा सामीयं<sup>६</sup> आभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा  
43. भागभोगकरजिरण्यदण्डादायकासौत्पन्ति<sup>७</sup> प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अश्वोपनया<sup>८</sup> इति  
तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न  
44. मन्तव्यमिति ॥ अथर्वना ॥<sup>९</sup>  
सर्वान्तेतामा(न्मा)विनी राजपुत्राभू(म्भू)यो भूयो वाचते रामभद्रः ।  
सामान्योच(यं) अग्नेसेतुनू(नू)पात्ता(णां) काले का-  
45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । (॥)<sup>१०</sup>—[32].  
व(व)हुभिर्व(वै)मुत्रा मुक्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिः ।  
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् । (॥)<sup>११</sup>—[33].  
अस्मिन्वयो<sup>१२</sup> हि[म्यो?]  
46. पि यमु(चा)न्यो नृपतिभवेत् ।  
तस्यापि हस्तलम्बोहं सा(शा)मनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].  
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा जरेन्द्रेद्रानानि धर्माद्ययस(श)स्कराणि ।  
47. नृसाल्यवात्सप्रतिमानि<sup>१३</sup> तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥<sup>१४</sup>—[35].  
अस्य(स्य)मेव(व)सहस्रेण राजसु(स)यमहतेन<sup>१५</sup> च [१]  
मया का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-  
48. तां न सु(य)ध्यति ॥ (॥)<sup>१६</sup>—[36].  
मुवर्णमैव(वै) गामे[का] भुमेरध्येकमहुत(सं) ।  
हरज[रक]माप्नोति वाक्पदाहुतसप्रवं<sup>१७</sup> ॥ —[37].  
संवत् ७८३ फाल्गुनवदि ८ सोम [॥<sup>१८</sup>]

<sup>१</sup> Read संस्कारपाठे.<sup>२</sup> Read देवदेव.<sup>३</sup> This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *śloka*s, especially ३ and ४, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be "वीरकसमेक".<sup>४</sup> Read वासुदेवेन संवत्सरे.<sup>५</sup> Read "वसुधामि".<sup>६</sup> I would suggest reading "दायाकरिणति".<sup>७</sup> Read "नृसाल्य".<sup>८</sup> Compare the Kumbhī copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 130.—अत्र वासुदेवा दायाकरिणि यथा.<sup>९</sup> Metre: Śālinī.<sup>१०</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>११</sup> Read अस्मिन्वयो द्वितीयो (१).<sup>१२</sup> Read विमर्शित.<sup>१३</sup> Metre: Indravajra.<sup>१४</sup> Read "यमनेन".<sup>१५</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>१६</sup> Read "वृत्तमंत्रवम्".





MATHURA SCULPTURES.

Plate I.



AN AVAKARSA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a).

## XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankālī Tīlā at Mathurā (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, reliefs, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stūpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Ayāgapaṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. XIX of the second Series of Mathurā inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Ayāgapaṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,<sup>1</sup> which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2' 8". At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Śaṅkha* and one or two *Trishūlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinās are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, e.g., Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurā (see, e.g., Dr. Bhagvānlāl's ancient slab,<sup>2</sup> where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stūpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pārśva, whose mark is Śeṣha. In an article in the *Wienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

<sup>1</sup> This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

<sup>2</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2. p. 144.



pointed out that on another slab Śeṣha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Trisūlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Buddhists, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, e.g., Cunningham's *Bharhut Stūpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotus, which the Buddhists usually place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Trisūla* on a pillar in the Indrasabha at Etura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Trisūla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Trisūlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Śaṣṭika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junāgadh, called Bāva Pyārā's Math (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, e.g., on those of the ruined city of Ghumli\* (Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Trisūla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *so*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a *Stūpa*, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyādharas*). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

\* An exception is found in Cunningham's *British Temples*, plate lxxii, Fig. 4.

\* Compare also Dr. Bhandarkar, *Actes du sixième Congrès ind. des Or.*, tome III, part 2, p. 137. The *Viedes Scripti* XIII, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the *Maṅgala*, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapandita most shrewdly adds that the rule refers to "beiled or fringed" (*paṭka*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus we read *Mah. I.* 109, 13—14.

भोभोग धर्मो राजन्यवतः परिरक्षिते[तः] ।

बभूव रमणीयं चैलदुपप्रताडितः ॥

म देवः . . . . .

"That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts."

The juxtaposition of the *Chaityas* and *Yâpas* shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jains has been discussed by Dr. Bhagrānlāl (*op. cit.*, p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tīrthamkars.<sup>4</sup> The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sūtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention *Chaitya* trees, which Brahmins and all Āryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mārga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jains and Baddhas from the Brahmins, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Āyāgapoṣas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, viz., that a portion of which has been given in fig. A of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.<sup>5</sup> A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see *Inscr.* No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

<sup>4</sup> The fact that each Tīrthamkar has his *Chaityavriksha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhānakośadīpani*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rien). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Ratanavāra*, vol. II, p. 708ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Iste*, pp. 198c.



rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagránál's Mathurá slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Ayágapafas*.<sup>7</sup>

From all these specimens it appears that an *Ayágapafa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Ayágapafas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists<sup>8</sup> nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhopafa*, i.e., *úrdhopafa*, (see, e.g., Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. 1, pp. 90f.). Even among the Jains they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshhipaṭṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, ante, pp. 34f.), *chaturimsatitirthamkarapaṭṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure A bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavā Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminátha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminátha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavā Nemiso* "divine Nemese," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemese with Indra's divine commander of the foot troops Hariṇegamesi, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.<sup>9</sup> The reading *Nemiso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Nemináthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Krishna tried to obtain for Satyabhāmā a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text<sup>10</sup> runs as follows:—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महासदृशं ताम्यन्ती ज्ञापयामि व ।

मामा क्रीपस्यहे मत्ता शिष्ये सर्वरमश्चक्रे ॥ ८ ॥

तथायातञ्च कंसारिष्याञ्जहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the word *dyaga*, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *dyaga*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate III.

<sup>8</sup> A Buddhist *dyágapafa* was excavated by me in January 1882 at the ancient site of Adhichhatrá (Rāmagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihāra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trifūlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.P.

<sup>9</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegamesi, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpasūtra*.

<sup>10</sup> The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagránál Kevādhā's store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. XCIX, p. 262ff.).

MATHURA SCULPTURES.



a.

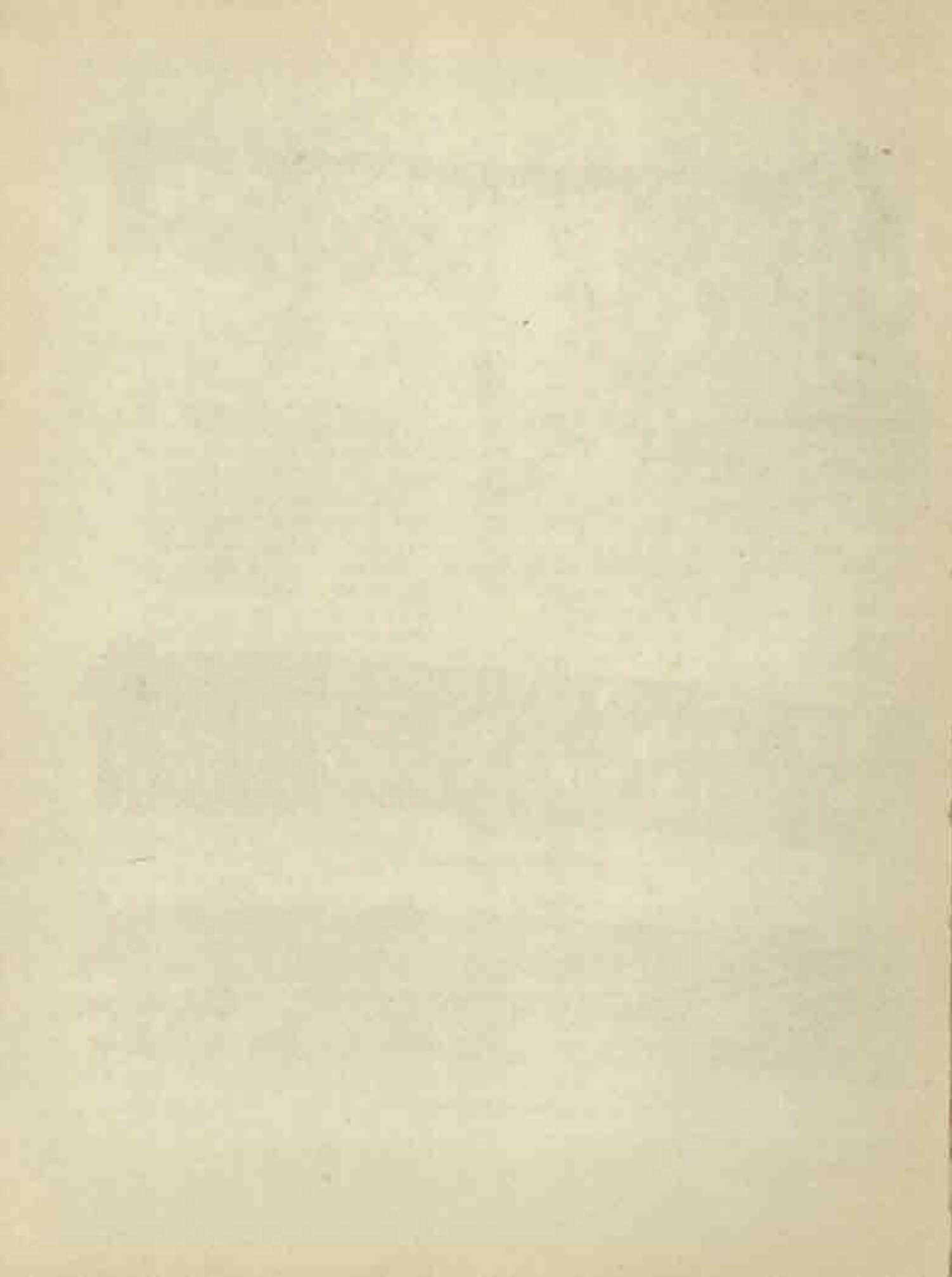


b) Obverse of doorstep.



c) Reverse of doorstep.





किनाप्रमानितासि त्वं येनैव[व] श[सु]म्भु ताम्बसि ॥ ८ ॥  
 भाम्युचे नास्व[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नमभिः ।  
 न चेन्मे भविता सुतुर्मरिष्यामि तदा घृ[ष्ट]म् ॥ १० ॥  
 कृच्छत[ण]स्तदापहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]मं नैगमेषिणम् ।  
 उद्दिग्धाष्टमन[भ]क्तिं पोषधं प्रव्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥  
 आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।  
 कृष्णोऽप्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवस्तुतम् ॥ १२ ॥  
 नैगमेषवदय[द्य]स्यां पुचेच्छा ते भवस्व ताम् ।  
 त्वममुं हारमामोष्य ततो भावोद्भूतः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥  
 अपयित्वा घृ[ष्ट]म् हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।  
 वासुजं वासुदेवोपि मत्वायै सुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhāmā went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kamsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhāmā answered: 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Kṛishṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him: 'What can I do for thee? Kṛishṇa answered: 'Give to Bhāmā a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied: 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vāsudevā joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyā."

The legend shows that the Jains worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegamesi, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasūtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the body of the Brāhmaṇi Devaṇḍā to the womb of the Kshatriyāni Trisālā. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegamesi means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasūtra* suggests, "the Negamesi of Hari," i.e., "Negamesi, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negamesi-Naigameshi and of Nemese, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one



ending in *ia*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,<sup>11</sup> which in the *Grihya Sūtras* and the medical *Saṃhitās* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,<sup>12</sup> particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *lepa* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Muller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the *Naigamesha* or *Nejamesha* of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease<sup>13</sup> and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging *Naigamesha-Naigameshin* of the Jains are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, *Naigameya*, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of *Naigamesha*. This *Naigameya* is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god *Skanda*, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, quoted in the Dictionary, *sub voce naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhāgavakra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the *Nemeso* of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.<sup>14</sup> Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of *Naigamesha-Naigameshin*, the Brahmans substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'<sup>15</sup> and the Jains a deer's head on account of the compound *Harinegamesi*, seemingly connected with *harina*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that *Naigameshin*'s position as *Indra*'s general offers another point of contact with *Naigameya*, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with *Skanda*, the field-marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, *Nemeso-Naigameshin*'s divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of *Krishna*), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a *Chauri*, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhatra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. *Nemeso*'s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,<sup>16</sup> and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga*—

<sup>11</sup> See the two Petersburg Dictionaries under these words. The identity of *Harinegamesi* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böhtlingk, *sub voce Harinaigamesha*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colucco in his *Essay on the Jains*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpasūtra*.

<sup>12</sup> For a representation of *Naigamesha*, as represented in the Elara sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

<sup>13</sup> See, in addition to the passages quoted in the Dictionaries from the *Sūtra Saṃhitā*, and the *Aśvādhyaśya*, *Uttarasthāna*, II, 63, and III, 15-16.

<sup>14</sup> *Āpātamba*, Dh. Sū. II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brahman crine the strongest sexual desire."

<sup>15</sup> I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhāgavānī's slab from Mathura.

as "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tirthankara, because, as far as my observation goes, *dhyaṇa* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears earrings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *śālī*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthankara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandā and Trisālā. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasūtra*,<sup>17</sup> is briefly this,—“When Indra became aware that Mahāvira had taken the form of an embryo in the Brāhmaṇ Devanandā's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karma an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Harinegamesi, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahāvira from the body of Devanandā to Trisālā, a lady of the Jāttri family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Harinegamesi then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kāṇḍagrāma, took Mahāvira from Devanandā, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Trisālā's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahāvira in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandā and placed Trisālā's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out.”

As our slab represents Naigameshi-Nemesho, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemesho had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,—who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesho's left knee, called in the inscription “divine” . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahāvira, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Trisālā, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

<sup>17</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223E.



In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurā, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshinis of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpasastra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Trisālā and No. 3 Devanandā, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Trisālā seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpasastra*, where Negamesh is said to have taken Mahāvira in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemesh, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two reliefs on plate II, B and C, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkāli mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. 1 of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. iv of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, *A*, represents the worship of a Stūpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kirmāras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stūpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stūpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stūpa, occurs on a relieve at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals<sup>19</sup> are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayā and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archaeology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a 'eyes,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pālanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi reliefs.<sup>20</sup> Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Torāṇa*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Fedikās*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

<sup>18</sup> Compare also ibidem, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

<sup>19</sup> See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscrip. Ind.*, vol. III, plate xxvii, and Dr. Harnack's new Gupta seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. 1, p. 266.

<sup>20</sup> Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxiv, Fig. 1, etc.



open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.<sup>22</sup> In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stūpa and by two platforms of stone (*pīṭhikā*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (*Pādukās*?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (*shighram*) very similar to that on plate *II*, *C*, which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses?) in their hands.

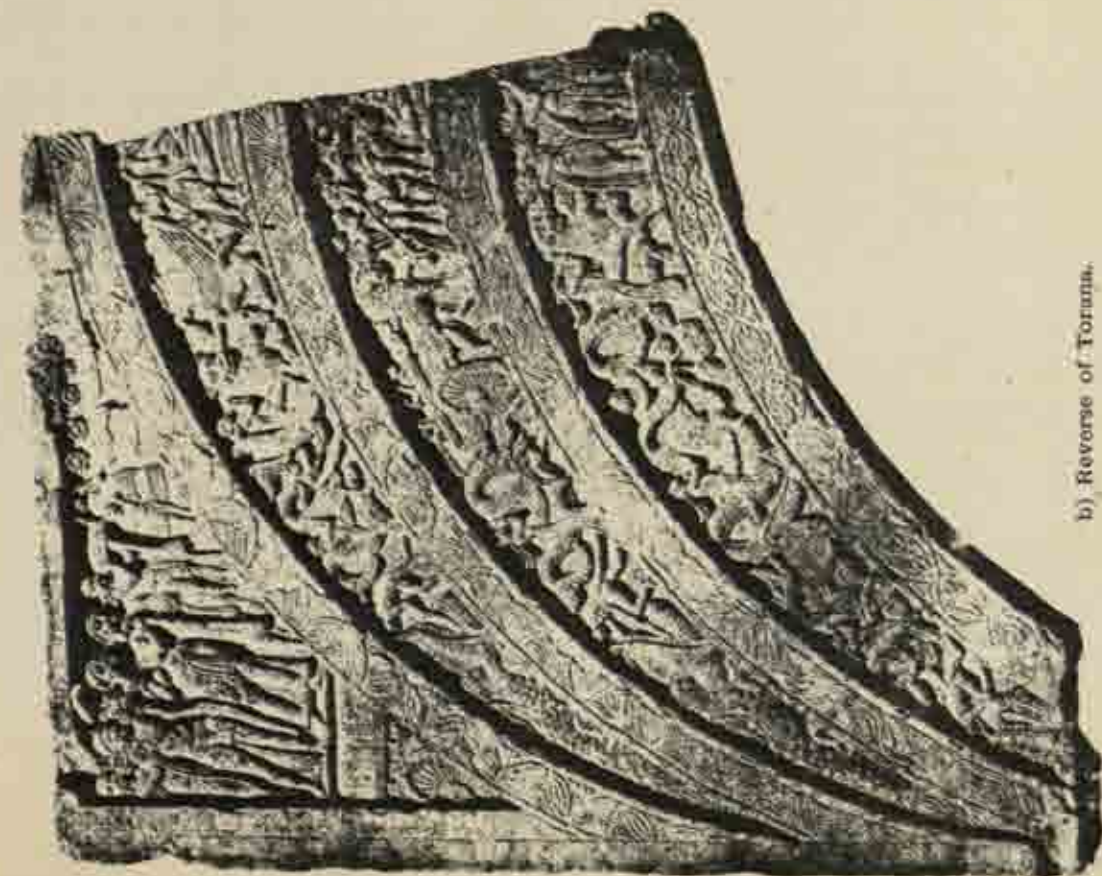
On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Hansa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the *Hansa* is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archaeology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stūpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyābha to the Ambasālavāṇa Chaitya mention them

<sup>22</sup> On the Amaravati Stūpa, *Burrow, Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a *Makara*'s tongue.



MATHURA SCULPTURES.



b) Reverse of Torana.



a) Obverse of Torana.

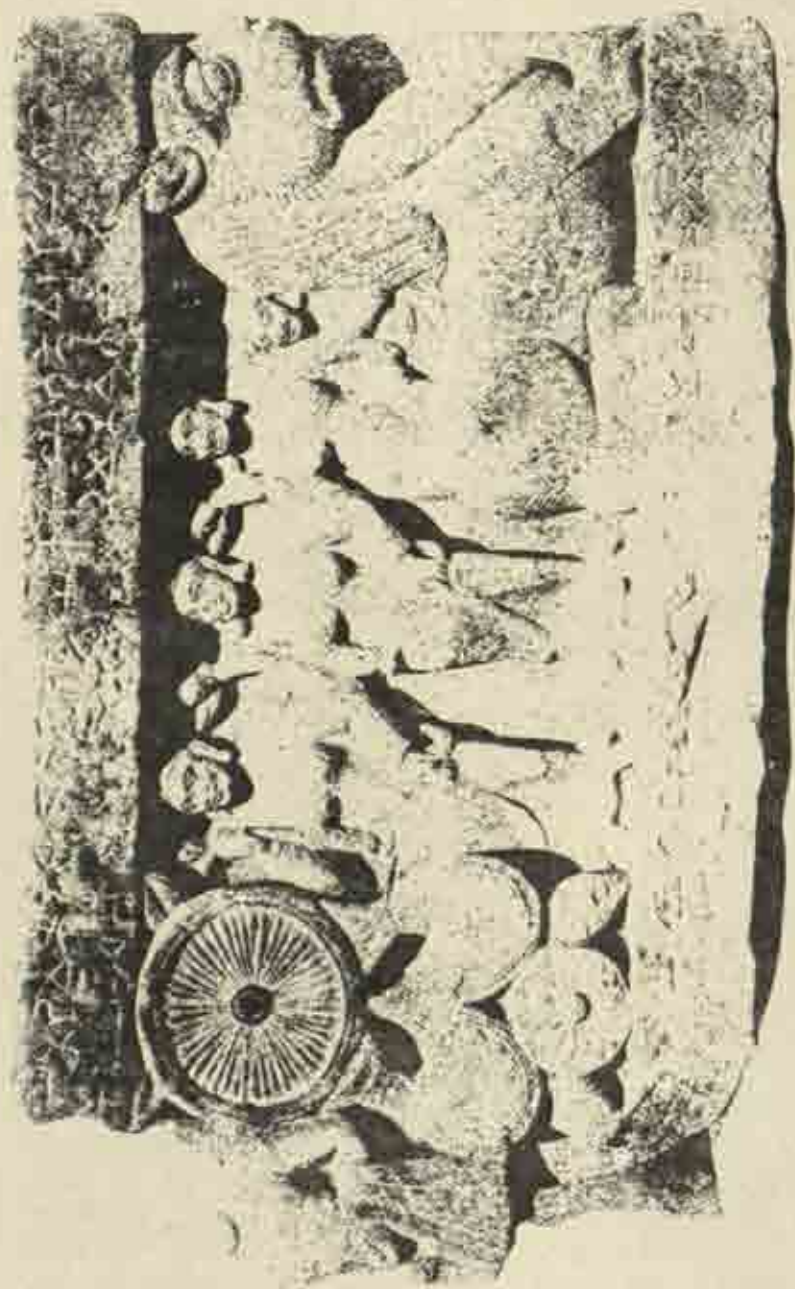








MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURE.



distinctly as requisites of worship.<sup>22</sup> Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.<sup>23</sup> Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stūpas,<sup>24</sup> where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyādhars, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tirthankaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of cars along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyādhars, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Torana must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tirthankaras, to their Stūpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. XXI of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions :—

"The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (date, specified as above, Aya-Vṛddhanastī, a preacher in the Kottiya gana and the Vairā śikhā gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandīyārta (Ara) . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dīnā (Dattā), wife of . . . was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Trisūla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarāvati Stūpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Saṅkhas*,<sup>25</sup> which lean against the base. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurā sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

<sup>22</sup> See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Bhāgavata-piṭha* Sutta, *Actes du Vème Cong. Int. Orientaliste*, tome III, 2, p. 500 and *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxi, 2-4, xii, 3, etc.

<sup>24</sup> *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xixiii, 2, xxiv, 1, xxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate 1, Fig. 1-2.

<sup>25</sup> *Actes*, vol. II, pp. 1055.

<sup>26</sup> The *Saṅkhas* have probably been added *magisterialiter*.



Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *rāshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, i.e., rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakras pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' i.e., 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahābhārata* where they occur. It is said of Bhishma, *Mah. I.*, 109, 14 :—

भीष्मस्य विहितं राष्ट्रं धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhishma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah. XII.*, 356, 2 :—

वच पूर्वोक्तिर्धर्मो वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।

नेमिसे गोमतीतीरे तत्र नागाक्ष्यं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nāga, lies on the bank of the Gomati in the Naimisha forest, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahābhārata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jains and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharma-chakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kankālī Tila teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvanīlāl's Mathurā slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jains did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic motives and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archaeology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archaeological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stūpas or Vihāras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jains and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barabar and Nagarjuni belonged to the Vaishnava Ajivikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Lepas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stupas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

## XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., O.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhattiprolu Stupa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Asoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows:—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *a, ā, u, o* and the consonants, *k, kh, chh, ñ, f, l, v, t, th, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Asoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *mogean* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *cā*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ç*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pāsaṇḍa* (Kāśī version of the Rock Edict XII, I, ll. 33—34) and in *ambirādika*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, I, 3. The dental media, *ḍ*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *ḍa* and that of the modern Devanāgarī. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *ḍā*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.* :—

(a) *gā*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *cāḥa*, *çāḥa* and *phā*, which have been formed in a

<sup>1</sup> See the plates. Preliminary notions, treating chiefly of the palaeographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 321, and in the *Pennsylvania Oriental Journal*, vol. VI, p. 148.



similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *ja* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghard*, i.e., *Vyāghrapād* (II. 2), *Salugha*, i.e., *Satrughna* (II. 5), *Chaghāna*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Chāgu* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Rikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(b) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rājā*, Girnar Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, minus the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majūsa*, i.e., *mañjūśā*.

(c) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samana* (III. 5), i.e., *Sramaṇa*, *Māho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Māgha*, etc.

(d) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍāla* or *Auddra*, *Gilāno* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glāna*, *Gosālakānam* (III. 16), i.e., *Gosālakānam*, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kāśī version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Karasha* (I, A, B), in the genitive plural *tesham* (VI), i.e., *teshām*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *śaṃudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *l*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *la* of a Sanchī inscription. It occurs in the word *phāṭiga* (I, A), i.e., *sphāṭika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

(a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *a* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anuvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anuvāra was considered equivalent to *am*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mātrikā*, or the alphabets.

(b) The long *a* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamā*, VIII. 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *atgohāni*, Pillar Edict, VII. 2. 2. Finally, in the syllables *et* and *et* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *e*, according to the analogy of *ya* and *ya*.

(7) The initial vowels *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* and the consonants *jh* and *qh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III. 10.

HHATTIPROU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.



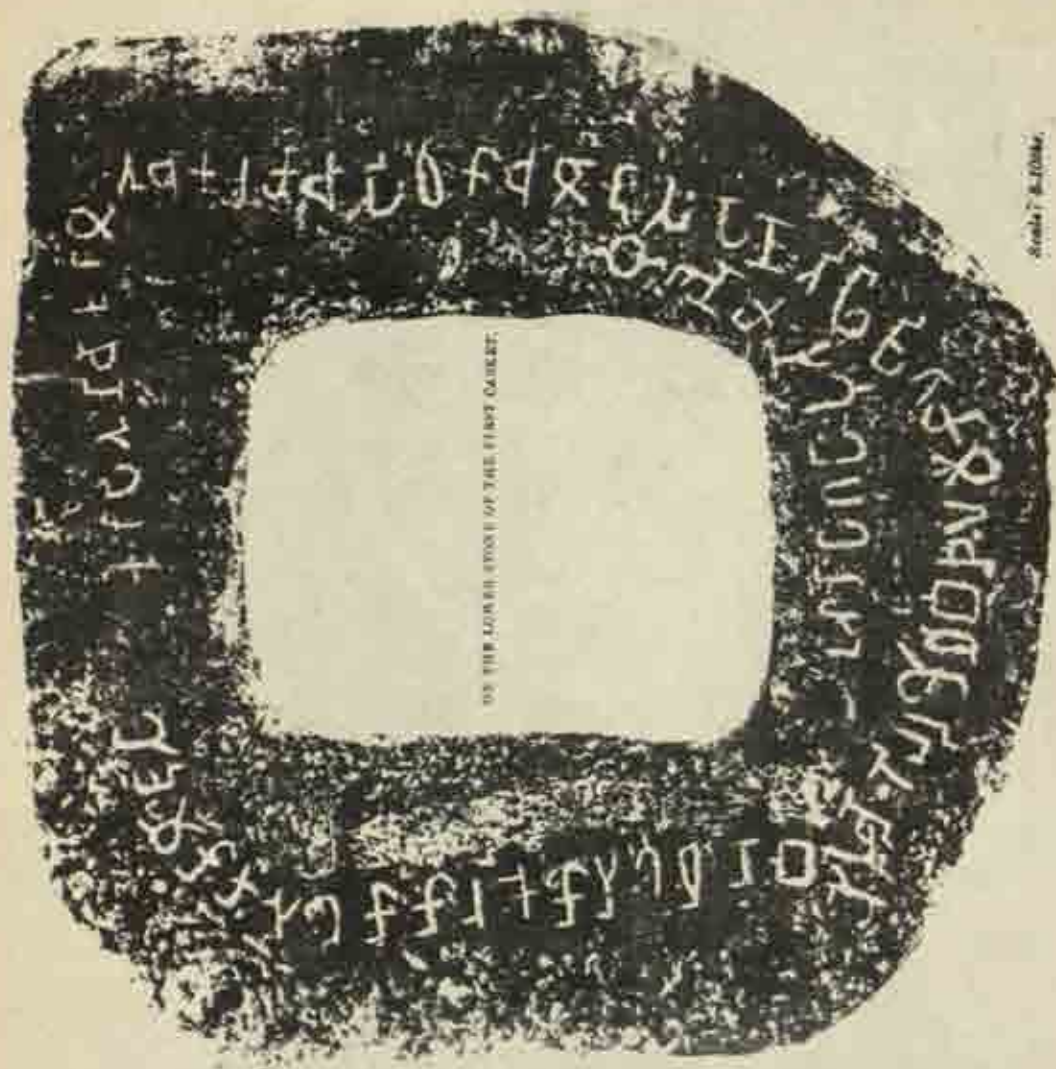
*A. R. M. 1011.*

ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



*B. R. M. 1012.*





Scale 7 B-Index.

ON THE CRYSTAL

[illegible]

1990

A. K. S. Smith, Jr.

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.



ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX  
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.



ALPHABET OF THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

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The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in *deśānāś* (l. 3) and in *dānam* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of *Aśoka's* Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Samayudeśānāś* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than *Aśoka's* Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *gothās* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the *Aśoka* Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāt, Hathigumphā and Bhārahut-Torāṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with *Aśoka's* Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the *Aśoka* Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that *Aśoka's* Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pāṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in *Aśoka's* times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pāṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for



good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhāṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *gha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhāṭṭiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *śh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *śh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhāṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

#### TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

##### I.<sup>2</sup>

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramā[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha]<sup>1</sup> majusam-panatī phāligashamugan<sup>2</sup> cha Budhusarirānam nikhetu [u].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [u].

<sup>1</sup> Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stem of the first casket.

<sup>2</sup> Looks like *śmasha* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *padhigam saumugam*.

## TRANSLATION.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Siva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*)\*

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

## II.

Utarō Pigahaputo kāṣṭhō\* [†]

## TRANSLATION.

"Utarā (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*)\*.

## III.

- L. 1 Goṭhī  
2 Hiraṇvaghavā  
3 V[ṛ]gāḷako K[ā]ḷaho  
4 Visako Thorasīsi  
5 Samāṇo Odalo  
6 Apaka . . . Shamudo  
7 Anuga[h]o Kuro  
8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Āḷinakā  
9 V[ṛ]ṇaṇo Piga[ḷ]ako Koshako  
10 Suto Pāpo Kabherakh[o] [Gā]o[ko]  
11 Samāṇa[d]āsho Bharado  
12 Odalo Thoratiso Tiso  
13 Gilāṇo Jambho  
14 Puḍara (?) [B]ābo  
15 Gālavata . . . (?) Janako  
16 Gosālakanam Kūro  
17 Uposhathaputo Utaro  
18 Kārahaputo [†]

## TRANSLATION.

"The Committee (*consists of*):—

Hiraṇvaghavā (*Hiranyavyāghrapād*) Vugāḷaka (*Udgāraka*), Kāḷaha, Visaka (*Vīcaka*), Thorasīsi (*Sthaulastīrshī*), Samāṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamudo (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Satrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Āḷinaka (*Ālinaka*?), Varāṇa, Pigaḷaka (*Piṅgalaka*), Koshaka (*Kauśika*?), Suta, Pāpa, (Kabherakha?) (*Kuberaka*?), Gāleka (?), Samāṇa[d]āsha (*Śramaṇadāśa*), Bharada (*Bharata*) (L. 12), Odala (*Udāra*?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilāṇa (*Gīlāna*), Jambha, . . . . . Bāba . . . . . Janaka, of the Gosālakas (*Gosālaka*), Kūra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposhatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Kāraha.

\* The positive evidence has to be taken as *positive pariform*.

† This seems to be meant for *kaṣṭhā*.

‡ For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pall. *paḍipati*, Sanskrit *prajñatī* and the inscriptional *lāṅgapati* for *lāṅgapati*, *piṭṭa* for *vijita*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

\* Nos. III-V are inscribed on the top cover of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-15 breadthwise on the right.



IV.<sup>8</sup>

Sama[nadā]sha[to hita] . . a . . . Budhasha sarirāni mahāyānukammā . . . .

*Remark.*

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.<sup>9</sup>

- L. 1 Gothissamano Kubo [1]  
2 Hiraṇakāragāmaṇiputo Bābo [2]

## TRANSLATION.

"Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."  
"Bāba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakāra (*Hiranyakāra*)."

VI.<sup>11</sup>

Shaga[th]inigamaṇiputānāṃ rājapāmukhā<sup>12</sup>[1] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako rājā  
Shihagoṭṭhiyā pāmukho [1] tesham amuṃm maj [ā-]s[am] phaligashamugo cha  
pāsānashamugo cha [2].

## TRANSLATION.

"By the sons of the Shaga[th]i *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shihā (*Sisāha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone."

VII.<sup>13</sup>

Samāno Chagha[ā]pato Utiaro Āramutara . . [3]

## TRANSLATION.

"Samāna (*Sramāna*), the son of Chaghaṇa (? *Jaghaṇa* ?). Utiara (*Uttara*) . . . .

VIII.<sup>14</sup>

- L. 1 Nogaṃā  
2 Vachho Chagho  
3 Jelo Javilho Telo  
4 Heto Achino Shabbhiko  
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho  
6 Bejo Chhadiko Okhabdo  
7 Sonutaro Samano  
8 Samanadāsho Sānako  
9 Kāmuko Chitako [4]

<sup>8</sup> Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.

<sup>9</sup> Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc. Possibly *Kābo* is to be read.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pāmukhānāṃ*.

<sup>13</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.

## TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (*ore*):—

Vachha (*Fatso*), Chagha (Changa?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jambha, Tisa (*Tishya*),  
Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achirya*?), Shubhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha  
(*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Kesa*), Māha (*Māgha*), Setra (*Sevitra*?), Chhadika  
(*Chhandika*?), Okhabūla, Sonutara (*Sucarnottara*), Samaya (*Śramaya*),  
Samaṇadāsha (*Śramaṇadāsa*), Sāmaka (*Syāmaka*), Kāmuka, Chitaka  
(*Chitraka*).

IX.<sup>18</sup>

Arahadinānam goḥiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [1] tens kama yena  
Kubirako rājā am[k]l [1]

## TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*, *was given*) a casket  
and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the  
carving to be done."

X.<sup>19</sup>

- L. 1 Mātugāmasa [Nam]dapurāhi<sup>20</sup>  
2 Suvanamāhā  
3 Śamaṇudeśānam cha<sup>21</sup>  
4 Gilāṇakerasa<sup>22</sup> ayaśaka  
5 [Sa]ṭhiya<sup>23</sup>  
6 gohiyā a-ga dānam<sup>24</sup> [1]

## TRANSLATION.

"An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śrāmaneras from  
Suvanamāhā, in the *Ayaśakasaphi gohi* of *Gilāṇakera* (?)."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha*  
after *Śamaṇudeśānam* and secondly by *dānam*. The latter word in all probability con-  
cludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something  
else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preced-  
ing *dānam* is mutilated and those from *gilāṇakerasa* down to *gohiyā*, though plain  
enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

<sup>18</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

<sup>19</sup> Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

<sup>20</sup> The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

<sup>21</sup> The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

<sup>22</sup> There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read \**śerasa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

<sup>23</sup> The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

<sup>24</sup> There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *dyāga*. The *da* of *dānam* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.



## XXVL—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mall's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.<sup>1</sup> Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *akṣaras* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *akṣaras* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between ⅜" and ⅙". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgari which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akṣara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinajpur plate of Mahipāla and in the Āmgaḥiḥi plate of Vigrahapāla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,<sup>2</sup> which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson<sup>3</sup> palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla.<sup>4</sup> In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvara* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *dh*, *m* and *s*.

<sup>1</sup> I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayā District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Mall's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

<sup>2</sup> See Bechell's *Catalogue*, plate II. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Conell and Eggeling's *Catalogue in the Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. VIII, plate I. 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1221 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 238.

*e* and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhūniya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgādharo 'bhāt* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namah Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śaka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *ṣ*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kaṣyapād*, line 6, and *prokṣayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śūriḍhīr*, line 29. Instead of *aunsvara* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vaṅśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatamsa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mītra*, lines 7 and 24, *amītra*, line 21, *moitri*, line 27, and *ātapatira*, line 31; and *dh* is similarly doubled in *acchriyān* (for *abdhriyān*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrīmatānākara*, line 17; and *u* before *y* and *v* in *saṃyāntau*, line 18, *saṃvāsāya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vīratāra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nīprabhārdham* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *dukkare* (for *duṣṭkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girā* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *maḥallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *ātman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirī* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śaka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śālapāni, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādharma, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *prāśasti*,<sup>1</sup> or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śākadvīpiya Brāhmanas.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishnu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Arupa (i.e. the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmanas are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

<sup>1</sup> According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādharma composed two *prāśastis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

<sup>2</sup> See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magas* of Kṛtyakāśa.



Śāmbha (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jāmbavatī). According to our author the first of these Maga Brāhmins was Bhāradvāja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dāmodara, Chakrapāṇi, who, compared as he is to Vālmiki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varnamāna of the Māna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihāra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,<sup>7</sup> piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kālidāsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Gāuḍī<sup>8</sup>] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgādhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahīdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgādhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Māna prince, the king Rudramāna (verse 24); that he married Pāsādevī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, an official of the king of Gāuḍa, and his wife Subhagā (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Māna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varnamāna and Rudramāna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgādhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgādhara himself, Chakrapāṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta*,<sup>9</sup> an anthology compiled by Śrīdharadāsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brāhmins mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brāhmins lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* also was compiled there,<sup>10</sup> I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrīdharadāsa with Gaṅgādhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, viz. his great-grandfather Dāmodara, his grandfather Chakrapāṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahīdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgādhara himself the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

<sup>7</sup> See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Parushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 124.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* to be an anthology, edited chiefly from Bengali poets. The compiler's father, Bānubhāṣa, lived under Lakshmanabāhū.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the *Saduktikarṇāmpitā* contains two verses," of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśāratha also four, and of Mahidhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgādhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Srimat-Purushottama-deva, one verse to Purushottama-pādāh, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075 :

Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100 :

Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125:

Gaṅgādhara, Mahādihara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEST. <sup>22</sup>



L. 5.

विलुप्तविलम्बिद्याधने धन्विनां

वीराणां धुरि चक्रपालिरभवहामोदरव्यामजः ।

यो वात्सीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विष्णुसि[न्धु]-

२१ ब्रह्मा ७ ७ - चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणिसामग्रीः ॥<sup>21</sup>-[5].धनिस्त्रिरा प्रपु . . .<sup>22</sup>

6.

लोत्तिर्गिरि[मास]द ।

दिज्ञातं यदि नाकटा तद्भूमव्यवधा कथं ॥<sup>23</sup>-[6].

जातो वासवजेशवाविव सतो तन्मात्रसन्नामरो

मारोवादिष कस्य(श्च)पादुपचितां धर्तुं कुले सत्कियो ।

आवांस्तव मनोरथो दमरयस्तस्यानुजया [ययो]-

7. विद्या[चा]रशचित्तमीलविलम्बलोको पवित्रं जगत् ॥<sup>24</sup>-[7]

मुच्यतेन सतां यत्रोभिरखिलोद्गीतैः श्वकर्णयुतैः

सन्निधौपगमेन तेरतिरुतेभोगैर्यत्रोप[सि] ।

आलोरेव दयोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस(च)ये-

8.

श्यामानि दिग्दाननानि विदधे शुभोप्यदम्बो गुणः ॥ -[8].

तो भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहराभिरामौ ।

सौहार्दं प्रवर्तितेभु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न खलितमाप कलिः कदाचित् ॥<sup>25</sup>-[9].

9.

चानोतो निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलितुं यज्ञात् प्रतोतात्मना

सम्भासाय<sup>26</sup>नरेखरेण शिविरे<sup>27</sup>चोत्कर्णमानेन तो ।

तस्याश्वासवलम्बा(श्च)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं

काचित् कोटिमनुसरां गुणभुवः कीर्तिर्विभूतेरपि ॥<sup>28</sup>-[10].

या

10.

सि[न्धु]सी[न्धु]नतीरगौरवतुलितैरेन [सि]न्धुसयो-

स्तस्मिन्मानपतेभ्योयसि शृङ्गे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।

चन्द्रेणापि पुनश्च[ञ्ज]कपुरा<sup>29</sup>व्यस्तोति<sup>30</sup>विस्तारिणा-

वेतो सज्जनयैर्वै(र्वै)भूवतुरिह प्रदीर्घविज्ञानिकौ ॥ -[11].

यत्वा यो-

11.

पुरुषोत्तमं [मम]वयोवृद्धः प्रतिष्ठापदं

पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रमहानेहमि ।

सर्वस्वस्मिततार<sup>31</sup>तन्मिथैतपितृस्त्रीमः करोन्नासिते-

स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्त पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप स्रवं ॥ -[12].

मात[त्वा]-

<sup>21</sup> Read ब्रह्मा. The next three asterisks are quite blurred in the rubbing and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>23</sup> The asterisks, here broken away, were probably नराच-

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭup).

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>27</sup> Read सहासाय.

<sup>28</sup> One would have expected the reader सिन्धु.

<sup>29</sup> Metre of verses 10-12: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>30</sup> The asterisk in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like च.

<sup>31</sup> This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be <sup>32</sup>परावर्तित.

<sup>32</sup> Read सर्वं प्रितहार.

- I. 12. शिवकृत्वा[हु]तिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलेश्चिकानं  
 स्वस्याभियंष्ट येषां नमसाङ्गितमङ्गान्धपूतान्तरण ।  
 एनः स्वेनोच्चगार सिञ्जति विदितदायया[न्]स्वदीपा-  
 दिनं धूमच्छलेनोच्चलश्चिरचिरात्रिभुतं हो-
13. मवङ्गिः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[13].  
 श्वेताहं तं ययति [पितृभो]त्वाकनो [निष्पु]भाधे<sup>13</sup>  
 चत्तनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां यत्तिमुच्युततर्कम् ।  
 यस्येभ्यः प्रययति विभीः कर्तुरित्यङ्गुतयो-  
 भ्रांतिं लोकस्त्रितु भजते भूयसीन्धुकोप्तिः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[14].  
 यस्य योमन-
14. श्वेतरौ [नयवशा]श्चोतिप्रयोगार्थि[श्च]ल-  
 प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरचुम्बि[स्व]तमतिव्यासाभिधानं श्रधात् ।  
 राजास्वानसरः सरोरुमिति स्वेरं पुरः आश्रतां  
 गोतो नूतनकालिदास इति यः कालेषु वैतानिकैः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[15].  
 यः सन्धन्विषु चा-
15. तुरीपरि[च]यैव्याचक्षतिः प्रस्तुत-  
 पञ्चासर्वविरिञ्चिश्चर[ति]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।  
 सद्भावप्रभवो गभोरिमष्टं र[ज]वयोतात्त्रिको<sup>15</sup>  
 भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकलासन्दर्भगर्भेश्वरः<sup>16</sup> ॥—[16].  
 श्वेरापारपरोपका<sup>17</sup>
16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-  
 व्याहारैर्जनतातुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचयोमुखः ।  
 धीरियः सुधियां सुधानिधिलामोलेः सदारोधन-  
 ध्याने जगन्निजं निनाय मुजगः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].  
 पञ्चो तस्य मनोरजस्र छ-
17. तिनहारित्रामु[दा]पदं  
 [चौ]डीदिगनरेश्वरसचिवथीदेवशर्मात्मजा<sup>18</sup> ।  
 मू[र्त्ता] स[त्त्व]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां पुरि<sup>19</sup>  
 योमत्तुष्टर<sup>20</sup>[या]वि[र]कुर[वि]तुं सत्पुष्पवोवा[न्]भूत् ॥ —[18].  
 [ना]पलं चिरमापतुयंदुचितं तेनैव तौ द-

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Śaṅgīharā.

<sup>14</sup> This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 15—19: Śārdūlakṛīṇīta.

<sup>17</sup> The akṣara in brackets, in the original, is ॥ rather than ॥.

<sup>18</sup> Read "दुम्भन्धो".

<sup>19</sup> The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to: योमप

<sup>18</sup> The first akṣara of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either हो or वी. Originally सपय was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.

<sup>19</sup> I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbing; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbing. In the place of the akṣara यो another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

<sup>20</sup> Read योमप.



L. 18.

पतो

सम्यक्तावपि नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।  
 मामाराधयतश्च धेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वां  
 गत्वति स्वयमादिदेव गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].  
 मुप्रीतयोर्ध्म(र्ध्म)यवतो भस नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-

19.

रित्वनुयासनेन ।

स्वाराधितस्वरस्वरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयमुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥<sup>a</sup>—[20]  
 गङ्गाधरास्त्रः स ततो जितात्मा यः श्रीशवादिभजनीनवृत्तः ।  
 विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्वा सदाकनीनं नयमातता-

20.

न ॥<sup>b</sup>—[21].

धमवदनुजो महीधर इति पुर्वी श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।  
 चाग्रीर्वैराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमौ दग्धरात्तु ॥<sup>c</sup>—[22].  
 सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[न] विष्णुमिरुद्राक्षिताः  
 सञ्ज्योतिर्मातयो निरुद्धविशदाश्चन्दोवि-

21.

धौ साधवः ।

[स्वा]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[ल्लु]षीमील[ना]-<sup>d</sup>  
 हेदाङ्गप्रतिभाः षड्व भुवने ते वि[शि]भ्यति स्वातरः ॥<sup>e</sup>—[23].  
 तदन्तरे भाननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भृशुजा  
 क्षमेदिनीमल्लभमादिकोलवह(ह)लादमिषा-

22.

स्व(स्व)निधेः समुद्धृत ॥<sup>f</sup>—[24].

पाणि[हो]नधनः प्रभौष[ल्ल]षी[री] वल्लभ यक्ष स्वयं  
 मर्यादास्वितिमात्र एव जगतां जीवातवशेक्षताः  
 तस्मिं कल्पवताद्यहोन्दकमठौ सा चित्रभातुहयो  
 पद्मेन्द<sup>g</sup>निधरोक्षसामिति विधेर्हिक् प्रकि-

23.

यानौरवं ॥<sup>h</sup>—[25].

सूक्ष्मं दिङ्गदिन्तकोटिमटितुं का[नौ] ॥ गि[री]णां ल[ल्लु]  
 व्याप्तुं ज्योम पृथुस्त्रिताविष्ट दिग्भि प्रोतं वक्षि भूान्तिषु ।  
 लीरायो[न्दु]मुधादिषु<sup>i</sup>प्रभवति ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डगवर्मा(व्मा)ह[शि]  
 त्रिंयांस्तस्मिं यधेत्[मो]शरगुणैरित्युद्धृतं<sup>j</sup>यद्यम-

24.

: ॥ —[26].

शुद्धे व(व)दीक्षावरिपुमटयेनि[सिद्ध]ः सदा यो  
 व(व)स्तुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।  
 येयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविज्ञासपात्रं  
 पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरोऽभूत् ॥<sup>k</sup>—[27].  
 आचाराभ-

<sup>a</sup> Read वृषभार्षि.<sup>b</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>c</sup> Metre: Upajitā.<sup>d</sup> Metre: Ūhi.<sup>e</sup> Originally वि was engraved, instead of श्री.<sup>f</sup> Metre: Śārāṅavikrīṭa.<sup>g</sup> Metre: Varāṇasī.<sup>h</sup> Read पदेन्दु.<sup>i</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śārāṅavikrīṭa.<sup>j</sup> Read श्रीराजी.<sup>k</sup> Read पदेन्दु(?)<sup>l</sup> Metre: Nandākrīṭa.

- L. 25. रणः सुभाषितचणः सचीतिरज्ञापणः  
 प्रागल्भीरभणः प्रयान्तकरणः काकणपारायणः ।  
 यः सौजन्यनिधिः श्रितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य सुखो विधि-  
 र्हीरत्नेनवधिर्निधूतवितयव्याधिर्हिवां सेवधिः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[28].
26. सौ-  
 इराजमुद्गदो जयपाणेरधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।  
 चात्मजामुदवहस्तुभगायाः प्रेयसां स किञ्च पासलदेवोम् ॥<sup>20</sup>—[29].  
 चाक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन् हीनाङ्गना  
 रौद्रो नाद्रियते स्मितिर्च गणितास्ता
27. गीतमिच्छद्वाः ।  
 यन्मोन्वास्त्विलासवञ्चितदुर्गोरेणं वपुर्वि(न्वि)भूतो-  
 स्तथायः शिष्योरपीदमनयोहीम्यत्वमत्वादृतम् ॥<sup>21</sup>—[30].  
 सन्तोषार्जवधैर्यमयमदभानुक्रोमयान्तिचमा-  
 मेचीसत्वसमाधिमन्मन-
28. सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।  
 दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्सर्यमायामद-  
 ह्येषांदिनिस्तदनस्य चरिते यस्यात्र माचो जनः ॥ —[31].  
 तेनात्र दुःशक्रमधीम सहस्रजलः कालं स्वभर्तृरुचितोव्रतये समाप्य ।
29. आवा(वा)[स्य]यौवन[मस्य]प्रतिरोधि व(व)भुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥<sup>22</sup>—[32]  
 [य]स्याहृतमते<sup>23</sup>स्वयविरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वयमः  
 स ज(ज)ज्ञोपनिबलकास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विशदोदया ।  
 भाष्यः शु(सु)रिभिरेव<sup>24</sup>चित्रकवि-
30. तायास स्तुति दुस्करे<sup>25</sup>  
 भारत्वाः कुक्षतेपरात्रिजगुपप्रस्तावनां जैन सः ॥<sup>26</sup>—[33]  
 धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विस्तरतरुप्रसादमज्ञादिक-<sup>27</sup>  
 व्यक्ताकारकदम्ब(म्ब)मम्ब(म्ब)रमनु स्तेनोद्वलज्जि(जिम्ब)यं ।  
 स्मिता तत्त्वगतो विपचमपुनर्भा(भा)वा-
31. यथेदं तथा  
 मत्वेव विजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्मधर्मादरः ॥ —[34]  
 पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना  
 कीर्त्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयतां शुभातपस्रं जगत् ।  
 कासारीयमकारि पारदर-

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.<sup>20</sup> Metre: Śrīgītā.<sup>21</sup> Metre of verses 20 and 21: Śārdūlavikrīṭa. At the beginning of verse 20 I would suggest reading चाक्रमेण न<sup>22</sup> Metre: Vasantasikā.<sup>23</sup> Originally ह्यसि<sup>24</sup> was engraved, but the initial ह may have been altered to य.<sup>24</sup> Originally दुर<sup>25</sup> was engraved, but the sign for i has been added afterwards.<sup>25</sup> Read दुष्करे.<sup>26</sup> Metre of verses 32-35: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.<sup>27</sup> The second svara of this line originally was clearly वा, but it seems to have been altered to य.



L. 32.

सञ्ज्ञायामृतमभ्रसं

यस्मिन्निमिषायगस्तदमर्त्तं मृतं बरो नृवते ॥ —[35].

सकीर्त्ता सरसस्तम्भ प्रतिहासमयीकवे ।

युष्माब्ध(म्भ)रपरीधानं यमजेनाङ्क आरितं ॥<sup>२८</sup>—[36].

आकाशः पवनः क्षयानुसृतं धावीति लोकाव-

33.

यी-

सुखं ब्र(ह्म)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् ।

मेतद्योजमानप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-

द्विष्टा सुदमानरेषु<sup>२९</sup> कृतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥<sup>३०</sup>—[37].

तत्र शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः

कवी-

34.

नां पद्मानस्तद्विष्टं ननु केषामनुसमः ।

स्वपूर्णे ज्येष्ठस्मिन् मुञ्जजलितोत्पङ्कगुण-

प्रशस्ती प्राशस्त्ये वितरति स मङ्गाधरशिराम् ॥<sup>३१</sup>—[38].

नन्देन्द्रिगामेन्दुभमे शकाब्दे(ब्दे) कदाकञ्चोदरवस्त्रं नत्ता ।

इमां शि-

35.

नामिन्निवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुत्तमान ॥<sup>३२</sup>—[39].

शाक १-१८ [३"]

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatī !

(*Verse 1.*) May the supporter<sup>27</sup> of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !—who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruna,<sup>28</sup> whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmaṇas are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,<sup>29</sup> whom Śāmbha himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts<sup>30</sup> familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

<sup>27</sup> Metre : Īkṣa (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>28</sup> Read "मन्त्र".

<sup>29</sup> Metre : Śākhāyikāṣṭa.

<sup>30</sup> i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.

<sup>31</sup> The story told in the *Purāṇas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence ( *Viśvakarman* III, 31 ), and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.

<sup>32</sup> In connection with *syāpṛiṣṭa* one would have expected the *lao*, not the *lao's* case.

<sup>28</sup> Metre : Śikharinī.

<sup>29</sup> Metre : Upajit.

<sup>30</sup> i.e., Vishnu.

sage Bhāradvāja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . like a garland of the great race of the Māga twice-born.

(F. 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . were headed by Chakrapāṇi, the son of Dāmodara. Like Vāṭaki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,<sup>16</sup> how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishnu have sprung from Kasyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapāṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright-excellence (which caused all this) rendered their enemies' faces dark (with envy).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (with one another) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varnamāna brought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Māna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratibhā*,<sup>17</sup> while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha<sup>18</sup> went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (and) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,<sup>19</sup> eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

<sup>16</sup> The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapāṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the universe.

<sup>17</sup> Literally 'dust-sweeper.'

<sup>18</sup> The verse 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 14.

<sup>19</sup> The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *satishā* and *dya* are in no way connected with each other.



times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.<sup>18</sup>

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyāsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kālidāsa.

(16.) He was a Vāchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,<sup>19</sup> was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devasarma, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Gharu] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhati in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṅkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents<sup>20</sup> who had well worshipped the destroyer<sup>21</sup> of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgādhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

<sup>18</sup> Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *gata* instead of *śam*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manuṣya to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

<sup>19</sup> I am not certain what *ratnavajra* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *śūddha*, *dharmas* and *śaṅkhā*, with Jains *śaṅkṣipta*, *śaṅkṣipta* and *śaṅkṣipta*.

<sup>20</sup> The original has *manas*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

<sup>21</sup> I.e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(22.) After him came another son, named Mahādharma. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Puruṣottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Sikshā*, well acquainted with the *Jyotiṣa*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedāṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,<sup>22</sup> of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, these two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgādharma was (*as if were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgādharma*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgādharma*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsāladevi, a daughter of Jayapāni who bore the title of *ādhikārika*,<sup>23</sup> a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Siva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgādharma*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>22</sup> Here, again, the two *śloka* lines of the original verses do not admit of a proper construction.

<sup>23</sup> *i.e.*, 'a superintendent of affairs.'



and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(F. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitakata* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.<sup>22</sup> Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgādhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in *Gaṅgādhara's* words.<sup>23</sup>

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

<sup>22</sup> Instead of the Abh. case *apamorbhārd* I should have expected the Dat. case.

<sup>23</sup> Literally 'will instow on this eulogy also the excellence of *Gaṅgādhara's* words.'

## XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIRLHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazaribagh district' (of Chutiā Nāgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayā and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' broad by 1' 2½" high. With the exception of about half a dozen *akṣaras* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ½". The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aṣṣaḍ inscription of Ādityasena,<sup>1</sup> and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aṣṣaḍ inscription,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parākkramair-yaḥ*, line 1, *aparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryena*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aṣṣaḍ inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmdntya* (which however is really like the sign for *sh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *ḥ* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal is used in *śiṅha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *anśaka*, line 5, and *mistriśka*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kaśmīnśāt*, line 2, *bhānśi* and *yaśānśi*, line 5, and even in *prītiś-śurendrā*, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (e.g., in *parākkramakramapadākkramāttrilokī*,<sup>3</sup> in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrī Ādisiṅha*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvāra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *dalta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chakhanuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achikarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prārabdho*, in line 6, *analogaka* and *avalogana*, in

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII.<sup>2</sup> See *ib.*, p. 202.



line 7, *vyutthānika* (derived from *vyutthāna* as *vijñānika* is from *vijñāna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palaeographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Ādisimha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*palli*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśālmali, Chhīngalā, and Nabhātishanḍaka.<sup>1</sup> Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamāna, Śridhautamāna, and Ajitamāna—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśālmali (verses 4–5). While they were there, the king Ādisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,<sup>2</sup> and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagaka* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamāna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śripatta*)<sup>3</sup> on him, but also, at Udayamāna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśālmali of his royal favour (verses 12–16). When Udayamāna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *rājā*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17–19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śridhautamāna and Ajitamāna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhātishanḍaka and Chhīngalā (verses 20–23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved<sup>4</sup> to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśālmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamāna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;<sup>5</sup> nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmalipti (Tāmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyā, is the modern Tamlūk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

<sup>1</sup> So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Nabhātishanḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhātishanḍaka*.

<sup>2</sup> These names are given below.

<sup>3</sup> The verses 6–11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

<sup>4</sup> This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *pradāśī-khalasa*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionary *pradāśī* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a noun) see Böttlingk's Dictionary only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody,' and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpavṛkṣa*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *āveśanika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> See Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpavṛkṣa*, quoted above, the word *śripatta* is explained by *Śridhātāśīlaka-samarpapatta-śāśikittottamāgā*; what the king gave to Udayamāna was apparently such a *śripatta*.

<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

<sup>7</sup> The names of Udayamāna and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Râpmârayan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.<sup>10</sup>

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

[चो<sup>12</sup>]

शोराकदेहपतिमामहसमालोक भोगो[न्दफ]णामनिसं<sup>13</sup> ।

ई[र्णाकु]ला कर[तले]न करे[७]प्रहा[र]मुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [स्वि]ये वः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[1].

व(व)भूय पूर्वमगधाधिराजः शोचादिसिद्धोरिगजै[क]सिद्धः<sup>15</sup> ।

पराक्रमैर्ये[७]प्रवितोद्वितीयः

2.

शोमल[राम]श्च इव द्वितीयः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[2].

अस्याश्च[म<sup>17</sup>]रयानमन्त्राञ्चिह्नलाय[न्त]वेव च ।

नभूतोष[ण]जे चापि व(व)भूवाधिपति[७]पुरा ॥<sup>18</sup>—[3].

अथ कश्चिन्मि[स]मये<sup>19</sup> वणिजो भ्रातरस्तयः ।

तामकिसि[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्वस्वनिष्ठया<sup>20</sup> ॥ —[4].

भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमायामं यियासयः ॥(1)

3.

प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चरुरिह क्षितिं ॥ —[5].

सुवर्णमणिमानिक्वमुक्ताप्रसूतिर्वैद्वनं ।

विस्तपस्वईशवासोदपर्यन्तमुपाजितं ॥ —[6].

सर्वभूतात्रयात्मत्वं दद्यादाच्चिह्नशालिनः ।

सहा[ष्टा]र इव लोकस्य जयः चितिसुप्रगताः ॥ —[7].

कलासः कठिनः कनकः

4.

मलिनचन्दस्तुषारावनः

प्रायसीत्यकरप्रहारविषयो नित्यज्ञानमेव हि ।

तारत्नञ्च समाचिता गुणवतो ज्ञारा इति प्रायगो

येषामस्य व(व)भूय निमलगुणैः शोभन्त्येवोपमा ॥<sup>21</sup>—[8].

दातृत्वेन समो व(व)भूय न पुरा कर्णोपि येषामसौ

शौर्येणापि जगज्जिगीषुरसमत्<sup>22</sup>

5.

नेवाञ्जनस्तुलता

येषामश्चपराक्रममपदाज्ञान्तसिलोकीतला

शोरानाहवमूर्धसु प्रव(व)लिन[७]पङ्कनिषोच्चिणिपुः ॥ —[9].

दिक्काम[मि]नीतमुविलिपनचन्दमानि [रा]ज्यश्रियं क्षततटोविकटाहुप्रानि<sup>23</sup> ।

अद्यापि चन्दकरहारतुषारमान्<sup>24</sup> सर्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यथा[स्त्रि]येषां ॥<sup>25</sup>—[10].

विद्यासमुच्चतगुणा

<sup>10</sup> See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.

<sup>11</sup> From Sir A. Conningham's rubbing.

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by 2 symbol.

<sup>13</sup> The two asterisks in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Indravajrâ; but the third Pâda of the verse is as if the metre were Vasantatilakâ.—Compare Vallabhadra's *Siddhântikâ*, verse 81.

<sup>15</sup> Observe the hiatus in 'सीधरि'; and read 'सिद्धो' and 'सिद्धः'.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Upajâti.

<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 3-7: Shikha (Anushubh).

<sup>18</sup> Read 'सिद्धि'.

<sup>19</sup> Read 'पूर्व'.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: Siddhantâtilakâ.

<sup>21</sup> Read 'इवमेव'.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'विकटाहुप्रानि'.

<sup>23</sup> Read 'भासि' and 'वसति'.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakâ.



- I. 6. अपि न [अयान्] नद्याः सुदूरमय चोद्यतिमूर्तिमाजः<sup>10</sup>।  
 निक्षिप्तनिहुरकराः<sup>11</sup> [अ]पयाकुलाश्च ये चार्थिकस्तत्रः शिवश्रीरिमक्ताः ॥ —[11].  
 स श्रीमानादिसिद्धो<sup>12</sup> कदाचिदटवोमिमा ।  
 मारुती (वी) श्वेतोद्युक्तः<sup>13</sup> प्रविवेशावनीश्वरः ॥<sup>14</sup> —[12].  
 आदिदेश
7. समाह्वय स पञ्चीक्षितयाजनं ।  
 वृयमद्यावलगनकमस्य<sup>15</sup> ददतामिति ॥ —[13].  
 अस्तस्यस्तमाकण्ठ<sup>16</sup> [तूष्ण]स्व(स्व)सपरिपहः<sup>17</sup> ॥(1)  
 वणिजां आतरं ज्येष्ठसुदयमानसुपागमत् ॥ —[14].  
 राज्ञोवलगनायां तमभ्यर्थं प्रयजतः ।  
 प्रियमास तस्योपि<sup>18</sup> वल्लभोभूत्तजोपतेः ॥ —[15].
8. अत्यैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपद्म(व)स्वमधिगम्य ततः कुर्मण ।  
 श्रीचादिसिद्धपतिमरिवो(वी)ध्व<sup>19</sup> [ते]न [स]न्धानितो<sup>20</sup> भ्रमरशास्त्रलिपिल्लोकः<sup>21</sup> ॥[16].  
 तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशास्त्रलिवास्मिन्स्ते भूयस्तमागतसुपेक्ष जनाः<sup>22</sup> प्रणम्य ।  
 राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पञ्चमेतामित्रा-
9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुचैः ॥ —[17].  
 एवञ्चाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते  
 तच्छे राज्यपदन्दुः क्षितिक्षताप्याज्ञापितास्तत्कृते ।  
 सोक्षिन्विद्रुमखण्डितारिसुभटवैणिः श्रुतार्थेश्वरं  
 राज्यखिर्जितसर्वपञ्चिकरोद्यान्वोदयाश्वो नृपः ॥<sup>23</sup> —[18].  
 यच्च स्वामनयान्वयोद्यतिगुणधामाधिपत्वाञ्जितां
10. कीर्तिश्चन्द्रकरापदातसुभनामद्यापि सोल्लिखिताः ।  
 मेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकतमीतिभुरेन्द्राक्षय<sup>24</sup>  
 ग्रान्तप्रोक्षितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति मिहस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].  
 आनन्दोदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्क्षितस्तदा ।  
 पञ्चीक्षोपि राज्ञार्थं आतरौ विसमर्थं सः ॥<sup>25</sup> —[20].  
 श्रीमाच्छ्रीधीतमानाण्यः<sup>26</sup> प्रख्यातो [न]भूति-<sup>27</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Read श्रीपद्मः.

<sup>11</sup> Read निक्षिप्तः.

<sup>12</sup> Read सिद्धो.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 12-15: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>14</sup> Originally "अमी" was engraved, but it has been altered to "अयं".

<sup>15</sup> Read "अयम्".

<sup>16</sup> Of the akṣaras in brackets the upper portion is broken away.

<sup>17</sup> Read श्री श्री ० सवीरः.

<sup>18</sup> Observe again the hiatus in श्रीचादि<sup>19</sup> and read "चिह्न".

<sup>19</sup> Read संधानितो.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>21</sup> Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śardūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>22</sup> Read "वीरि सु".

<sup>23</sup> Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>24</sup> Read श्रीमान्.

<sup>25</sup> The akṣara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

L. 11.

यस्यै ।

यश्चात्तोदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमधीकरत् ॥ —[21].

प्रचण्डसुमटाटोपदुष्टितामिन्नमण्डलः ।

अभूदजितमानोपि चिह्नलायां मञ्जीपतिः ॥ —[22].

पत्युर्भ्रमरशान्तमन्त्रान्निहन्ता[न]भूतिपण्डितौ<sup>१</sup> ।

यश्चैव(व)भूवत्, पूर्वमेवमेतौ यथाहम् ॥ —[23].

पारश्वोदयमानमादिपुरुषं गीत्त-

12.

हमोयन्महा-

नक्षत्राकम्परिवर्तमानमहिमेत्वालोक्ष्य ते पूर्वजाः ।

अथप्रोक्तमवाक्यदाचिदनाहुत्वा निम्नं<sup>२</sup> स्वादिदंसत्यजीइयमित्येव चण्डतु<sup>३</sup>प्रागस्यवर्णाभिमान् ॥<sup>४</sup>—[24].यावत्प्रान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्याप्तिलोकोच्छ्रयं<sup>५</sup>

चङ्गं चङ्गधरो वि(व)भर्ति गिरियो यावन्नानीपतिः ।

13. यावत्प्रोक्तमिष्टचयाकुलमिलचिन्ताकसचालभू-

मोक्षस्वोदयमानदेवनृपतेस्त्वावत्स्तिङ्गप्रताम् ॥ —[25].

## XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KĀMARŪPA.

BY ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnā and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, viz. the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kausuj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.<sup>1</sup>

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Gapeśa. The plates measure 9½" broad by 7" high, and weigh together

<sup>1</sup> Here again the asterisk in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to "चिरं नृप"; and I believe the intended reading to be "चिरं नृप".

<sup>3</sup> Metre of verses 24 and 25. Śardūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>4</sup> I am not sure whether the word रण of this line should be altered to रण.

<sup>5</sup> All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.



2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple inscription at Gayā (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanāgarī which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of ऋ, ए, ऌ. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śāntipātaka and Mandarā situated in the *viśaya* of Bādā, in the *bhuktā* of Prāgyotisha, in the *mandala* of Kāmarūpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrutihara, the son of Yudhiṣṭhira and Pāl his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *putra* of Viśvāmītra, in the village of Bhāva in Varendri. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratāpadevi his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Rāmapāla and Vīrahapāla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumārapāla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

*Sārgavaṇṣā Pālas.*

- I. Vīrahapāla.
- II. Rāmapāla (son of I).
- III. Kumārapāla (son of II).

*Mantrins.*

1. Yogadeva.
2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pālas than is given in the above table. Vīrahapāla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Rāmapāla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Rāmapāla conquered (or regained?) Mithilā, and killed a certain raja Bhīma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumārapāla is styled Lord of Gauda. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13-17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vāṅga (but see note 51); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kāmarūpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahārājādhirāja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at HamaAkōñehī, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *prabasti* was written by Manoretha, the son of the *vājaguru* Murāri and Padmā his wife. The *śāsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmaśhikāri*. It was engraved by Karna-bhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *ni*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śāsana*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulī* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upadāman* of Śrīdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulā* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulī* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahipāla from 1066 to 1069 A.D., and the accession of Govindapāla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pāla kings from Gopāla I. to Vīgrahapāla III., based on the Āṅgāchhī plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Āṅgāchhī and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vīgrahapāla, Bāmapāla and Kumārapāla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pāla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahipāla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vīgrahapāla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vīgrahapāla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.<sup>1</sup> Nayapāla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapāla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pāla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapāla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasankranti* fell (1) on *ekādasi* and (2) on *dvādasi* in Vaisākha (*kṛishṇa-pakṣa*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekādasi* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvādasi* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumārapāla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kielhorn confirms himself to proving that the Āṅgāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III. was issued after 1083 A.D.



whether Kumārapāla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapāla or not, we are not at liberty to count the years of Kumārapāla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapāla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumārapāla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pālas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pālas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pālas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhūmi (Mithilā) by Rāmapāla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pāla line. And thus, too, the Pāla culmination under Kumārapāla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pālas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pāla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

## TEXT.

## Plate I. (Inner side only.)

- Line [ 1. ] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ सक्ति ॥ चम्बरमानसुभाः कुम्भाः संसारबीजरक्षायाः । उ-  
रिदन्तर-  
[ 2. ] मितमूर्तिः श्रीहापोखी हरिश्चरितः\* ॥ (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो धर्मो मिहिरस्य  
जातवान् पुत्रं । विषयपा-  
[ 3. ] लो नृपतिः सत्पाकारविभक्तिः\* ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणामुल्लिख्यः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योग-  
देव इति ख्यातः  
[ 4. ] स्फुरदोर्ध्वविक्रमः ॥ (3). तस्योष्णसलपौरुषस्य\* नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुला-  
न्विनी-  
[ 5. ] तकिरणः साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक् । तेनैवैव जनप्रिये जनकभूलाभायपावकशः श्रीश्रीमा-  
यकभीम-

\* Read 'मूर्तिः' and 'हरिश्चरित'.

\* Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyākṛt.

\* Read 'जातवान् पुत्रं'.

\* Read 'सत्पाकारवि'.

\* Metre: Śloka. (Pathyākṛt).

\* Read 'तस्योष्णस्य'.

- L. [ 6. ] रावणवधाद्युवाणवोद्धवनात्<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup> (4) यस्य सचिवः पुराभवोधिदेव इति तत्त्वबोधुः  
विममेव वि-
- [ 7. ] दितोऽङ्गुतैम्भैरुष्कितकसदृशः चितावयं<sup>13</sup> ॥<sup>14</sup> (5). यस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्मविकीर्तिवि-  
द्यान्ति-
- [ 8. ] विद्यान्ति<sup>15</sup> । आसीदसीमकान्तिः समीपस्वाङ्गतिः पत्न्युः<sup>16</sup> ॥<sup>17</sup> (6). असूदमुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य  
विश्रुतः श्रीवि-
- [ 9. ] श्रीवैद्यदेवः<sup>18</sup> परया चिया युतः । यदुच्छलकीर्तिशरीररोद<sup>19</sup> पद्माङ्गरामः शिवसूधरो-  
भवत् ॥<sup>20</sup> (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्ककेषु च जनुहिदस्य दिष्टिदुतेरस्यद्रुपतीर्षाटित्वरिमटेरुभू-
- [ 10. ] भवत् ॥<sup>21</sup> (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्ककेषु च जनुहिदस्य दिष्टिदुतेरस्यद्रुपतीर्षाटित्वरिमटेरुभू-
- [ 11. ] च संसृष्टिर्त<sup>22</sup> । किञ्चित्तिजजम्भुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्धतहृदयाम्भुभिः पारस्वप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभू-  
दिनि-
- [ 12. ] आर्पणं<sup>23</sup> ॥<sup>24</sup> (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिवः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीकुपः प्रस्थातस्य कुमारपाल-  
रूपते-
- [ 13. ] चित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्मारातिकिरीटचाटककृतप्रामादकण्ठीरवधामन्त्रासवमादपेयति  
[ 14. ] विधोऽब्जिभ्याङ्कुरी<sup>25</sup> सगः ॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरीरजतिगमभातुः<sup>26</sup> प्रसरयजोऽम्भुधिरप वैद्य-  
देवः । स-
- [ 15. ] हज्जवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेशः सज्जनमनःकुमुदेषु शीतरश्मिः<sup>27</sup> ॥<sup>28</sup> (10). यस्मानुत्तरवह्नमङ्गरज्ये  
नौवाट-
- [ 16. ] श्रीश्रीरववस्त्रोद्दिक्किरिभिः<sup>29</sup> यज्ञ चक्षितं चेन्नास्ति तद्वभ्यभूः । किञ्चित्पातुककेनिपातपत-  
नप्रोक्षर्पिते-
- Plate II, A.
- [ 17. ] श्रीकैरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्वाविष्कलङ्कः शमी ॥<sup>30</sup> (11). गौडेशस्य कुमारपाल-  
रूपते-
- [ 18. ] होर्षोऽप्यतेजस्यते<sup>31</sup> वैलोम्बोदरपूरिभूरिवशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्यते । सप्ताङ्गचितिपाधिपत्य-  
ममितः
- [ 19. ] संचिन्तयसुधयोः प्राप्तेभ्योऽप्यतिवन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्रुचिधामणीः ॥ (12). एतादृशे<sup>32</sup> हरि-  
हरिद्रुवि स-
- [ 20. ] रक्तस्य श्रीतिसम्पदेव<sup>33</sup>रूपतेज्जितं निरयम् । गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव  
उरुकीर्ति-
- [ 21. ] रयं निरुक्तः ॥<sup>34</sup> (13). स्रजमिव शिरसादायात्रां प्रमोहरतेजसः । कतिपयदिनैहत्वा<sup>35</sup> किञ्च-  
प्रयाणमसौ

\* Read "राज". "जलपनात्"  
 \*\* Metre: Śārdhārikāṭī.  
 \*\*\* Read "स" विष्णवे "सावयम्"  
 \*\*\*\* Metre: Rādhālikā.  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "पुष्पदिक्कीर्तिविद्यान्ति".  
 \*\*\*\*\* Metre: Pāthyāryā.  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "श्रीवैद्यदेव".  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "श्रीवैद्यदेव". The R is supplied from a *traj* which is found at the bottom of the plate and is verified by the numeral sign for 9.  
 \*\*\*\*\* Metre: Upajati of Vamśasthā and Indrasena.  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "जनुहिदस्य", i.e. "of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva)."  
 \*\*\*\*\* संसृष्टिर्तम् "विष्णोपचयम्"

\*\* Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śārdhārikāṭī.  
 \*\*\* Read "विष्णोपचयम्"  
 \*\*\*\* Read "शरीर"  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "श्रीवैद्यदेव".  
 \*\*\*\*\* Metre: ?  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "पुष्पदिक्कीर्ति"  
 \*\*\*\*\* Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śārdhārikāṭī.  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "पुष्पदिक्कीर्ति"  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "एतादृशे".  
 \*\*\*\*\* This might be read "विष्णु".  
 \*\*\*\*\* Metre: Vamśasthā.  
 \*\*\*\*\* Read "पुष्पदिक्कीर्ति" and "हृदयम्". One would expect "पुष्पदिक्कीर्ति" and "हृदयम्".



- Lv. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपतिं जित्वा युद्धे बभूव महीपतिविजयभुजपारिषदः<sup>a</sup> साक्षाद्विजयति-  
क्रमः ॥ (14).<sup>b</sup> ए-  
[23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशुत्करैः स्फण्डितप्राये व्योमतले कंसनिकगणै-  
[24.] लम्बोद्भ्रियानयमः । किञ्चाक्षिदयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियाश्रयमः सुचामा नय-  
[25.] नानिर्भीलनकरं कर्मो शक्यं निन्दति ॥<sup>c</sup> (15) दोहशङ्कारणजे<sup>d</sup> हविर्भुजि भटप्रातेत्यनेनैरधिते  
[26.] मंघामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुयिरत्येकीलसत्चोफलेः ।<sup>e</sup> कृत्वा होमविधिं परचितिभु-  
[27.] जा दत्वाथ<sup>f</sup> पुष्पाङ्गुतिं लम्बोदयगो<sup>g</sup> मङ्गलमसौ यो वै ददेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुहसम-  
मध्यात<sup>h</sup> खड्गघातो-  
[28.] त्यतश्चिः परसुभटमिरोभिज्योम कीर्त्तं निरीक्ष । भटिति विस्तराहुव्याहरीविश्वदहः स्व-  
[29.] हचमपि रजोभिः प्रीच्छयन्<sup>i</sup> स्वं जुगोप ॥<sup>j</sup> (17). चन्द्रस्त्रीद्वयभूमौ होमसरणं सत्यप्रधानाग्रय-  
पा-  
[30.] चचीमहितः कुरद्रसमयः शीघ्रं गमोरः परः । रज्जानां निन्दयः यिवः कुलस्य हं स्नानास्नित-  
[31.] चीपतिः स्वादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुवेर्ध्वदि जलाधारोऽयवः सपितः<sup>k</sup> ॥<sup>l</sup> (18). ज्ञानैर्गीष्पतिरुजितै-  
हिनपतिः  
[32.] सत्वौहवीः चीपतिवेर्ध्वरम्भुपतिहनेहनपतिहानेः<sup>m</sup> स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चित्पि गिरोपमान-  
विषयाः

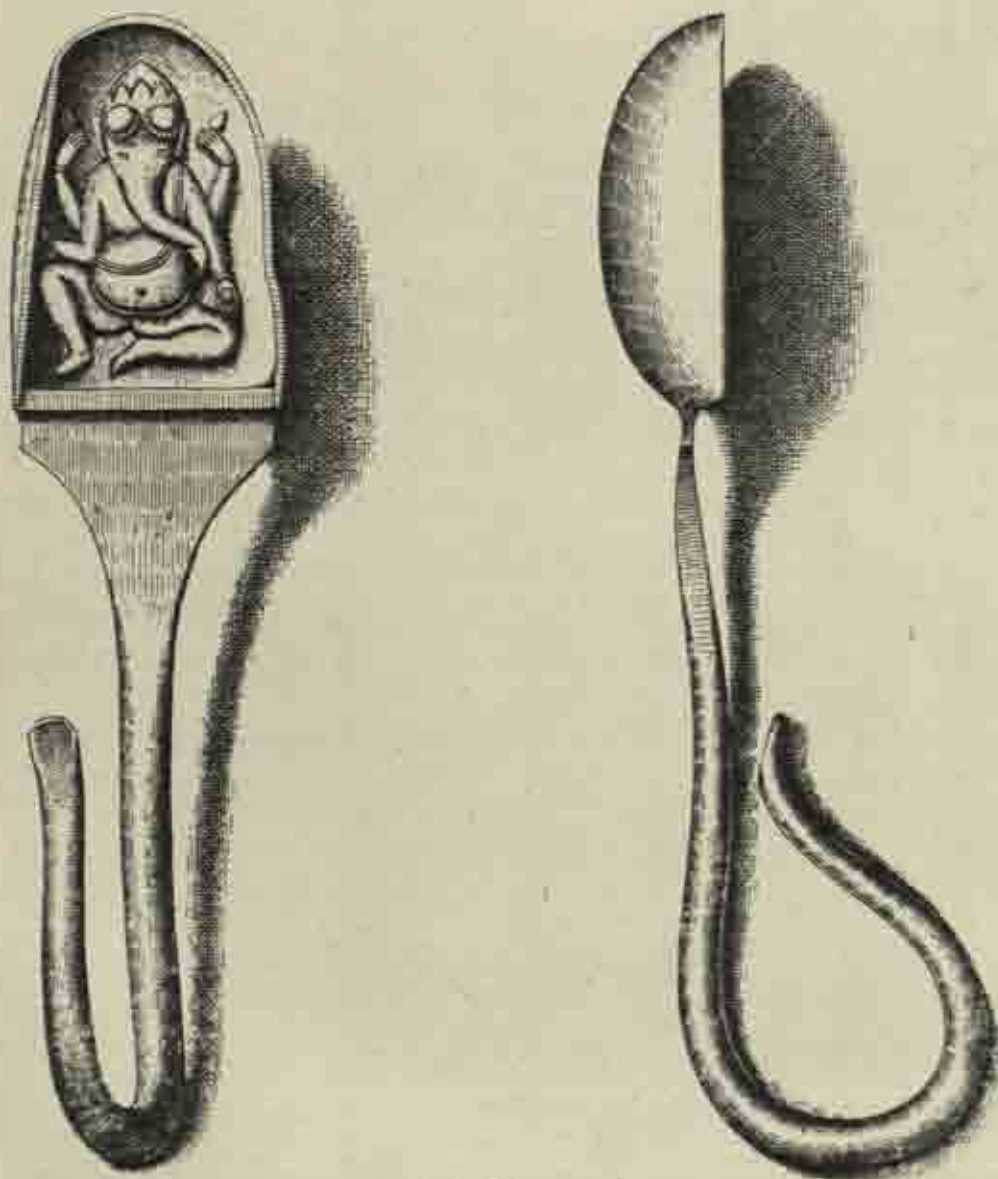
## Plate II, B.

- [33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्जलाद् जुम किन्तु ययं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्वैर्भूतानां<sup>n</sup> सर्वैः ॥ 0 ॥ (19) यस्य योवुध-  
देव इत्यनुजभूः  
[34.] योराममद्रानुजप्रायस्तदसोमनिष्कलगुणैर्दक्षिणोल्लिभुः<sup>o</sup> । दानैः शोभनपञ्चैर्द्विज-  
[35.] कुलप्रोतिप्रदानैरपि । स्वातः कथमरुहप्रतिक्लृप्तैर्विजुञ्जयसाः<sup>p</sup> ॥ (20). अघाम-  
[36.] पत कीदृक्सञ्जको सुनिमुनोन्दसुखी<sup>q</sup> निजगोचपूषवः । पयोवज्रव्यास्यचयभमममातु  
[37.] वदाक्षपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्मितं ॥<sup>r</sup> (21). एतदंमे मयति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजाति-  
भावप्राये  
[38.] प्रविस्तरयसाः शासनोये वरेन्द्रां अस्त्रामन्त्रदुषगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमावाद्यवाचोऽ-  
[39.] पि स्फुटति निम्बिलः किञ्चिधानां प्रपञ्चः<sup>s</sup> ॥<sup>t</sup> (22). अस्व विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-  
[40.] श्वमवस्तुधीमरः<sup>u</sup> । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुषोषभूः श्रीविद्यत्विजस्यश्रीनिधिः ।<sup>v</sup> (23). पाद-  
[41.] ति चर्मपञ्जी धीरवरस्वास्त्य चित्तविशान्तिः । असौदसोमकान्तिः श्रीनौदायचीयः<sup>w</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Read महीपतिविजयं.<sup>b</sup> Metre: Haripol.<sup>c</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 18: Śāntilārit-Mālin.<sup>d</sup> Read दोहशङ्कार.<sup>e</sup> Read "हविर्भुजः".<sup>f</sup> Read दत्वाथ.<sup>g</sup> Read लम्बोदयगो.<sup>h</sup> Read "मङ्गलम्".<sup>i</sup> Read "प्रिरीमिर्ध्वं" "दीम्बयन्".<sup>j</sup> Metre: Mālin.<sup>k</sup> Read महीपतिरपि मयः सचपितः.<sup>l</sup> Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20: Śāntilārit-Mālin.<sup>m</sup> Read "चर्मपञ्जीयः" योपतिर्द्वौ रम्भुपतिर्द्वौ हनपतिर्द्वौ.<sup>n</sup> Read जुमः and सर्वैः.<sup>o</sup> Read "हविर्भुजः" "हविर्भुजविजयं".<sup>p</sup> The var. loc. मयसदृशः (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate; and मयस<sup>q</sup> is not out in the text.<sup>q</sup> Read अस्त्रामन्त्रदुषगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमावाद्यवाचोऽ-  
not in the body of the plate, and मयस (with the sign 2  
affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.<sup>r</sup> Read "मयन् कीदृक्स" "सुनिमु".<sup>s</sup> Read "मयसमातु" and स्मितम्.<sup>t</sup> Metre: Yambuchak.<sup>u</sup> Read एतदंमे . . . प्रादुरासीत् . . . प्रविस्तरयसाः.<sup>v</sup> . . . वरेन्द्रां . . . शासनम् . . . चित्तविशान्तिः.<sup>w</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntik.<sup>x</sup> "मयसपञ्जीयः" is faulty metre.<sup>y</sup> Metre: Raktodhāntik.<sup>z</sup> Read महीपति . . . महीपतिविजयः.

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.



Scale: 1/40th of original.



[illegible]

- L. [42.] वसतिः ॥<sup>२०</sup> (21). पूज्यपूज्यजगन्नाथकर्मपाकदभूकुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीमपूज्यः<sup>२१</sup> श्रीश्रीध-  
 [43.] रः परः ॥<sup>२२</sup> (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताभ्यनतो दानात्तथाप्यापनाभ्युपानां<sup>२३</sup> करणादुत्ते-  
 कचरणात् सखी-  
 [44.] सरः श्रीशिवः ॥ प्रातश्चक्रमयाचितोपवसनैर्येन स्वयं गुम्फानोराकषांहरदः कृतोऽपि हि कलौ  
 श्री-  
 [45.] मीमनायः<sup>२४</sup> प्रभुः ॥<sup>२५</sup> (26). कर्मव्रजविदां मुख्यः सर्वाकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तरजस्येषु<sup>२६</sup>  
 वामीश इव वि-  
 [46.] द्युतः ॥<sup>२७</sup> (27). एतस्मै ग्रामेन प्रादाद्वैद्यदेवजीतीश्वरः । वैशाखे विद्युत्वाच<sup>२८</sup> सप्तमीं हरि-  
 वासरे ॥<sup>२९</sup> (28).  
 [47.] स्वस्ति चंमालीश्रीममावाहितश्रीमज्जयकस्यापारात<sup>३०</sup> । परमभाइश्वरः परमवैष्णवः महा-  
 राजाधि-  
 [48.] राजः । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान्<sup>३१</sup> वैद्यदेवदेवः कुमली । श्रीप्रान्ज्योतिषभुजौ ।  
 कामरु-

## Plate III, A.

- [49.] परमण्डले । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुजक । मान्तिवडामन्दराधामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-  
 वासि । चहभहविस-  
 [50.] विज्जकादिजनपदान कर्षकाश्च यथात्मानं मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति चः मतमस्तु  
 भवता । एतत् इयं  
 [51.] चतुःश्रीमार्गच्छिन्नं । परिबोधयत्<sup>३२</sup> अचहभहप्रवेसं सजलसलं । भूच्छिदश्च अकिञ्चितकर-  
 याश्च<sup>३३</sup> । चतुर्थाद-  
 [52.] सं वैशाखमयमादिना गुम्फानी श्रीधरगर्भणे<sup>३४</sup> चतुःप्रतिकं मासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमन्त्राभि-  
 तदेतस्मिन्<sup>३५</sup>  
 [53.] विधेया भवतेति । सं ४ सूर्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि १०१ सन्निवडामन्दराधामयोरे-  
 कीभूय अटसीमा-  
 [54.] चिनयकृतः ॥ पूर्वदिशस्तावत् दिग्भाण्डधरमादाय यावत् पश्चिमकुलमीमा ॥ ऐमा-  
 नदिशः शिष्टिचाप-  
 [55.] रशीमानेकवडामोर्ग्ये कंसपत्तम् १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टवाडोद्गीनडजोलीनवधरामीमा ॥  
 [56.] शिरवडामिलगुडिभोर्ग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयरातिपोला उल्लैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-  
 [57.] त्दिशः पिपासुष्ठा अख्यश्रीमा अमडाबौवोल । बुट्टिपोषिरिपूर्वधरकुलाचापडि च-  
 [58.] द्यवत्तपुराजगन्नालि पश्चिमावावत् पश्चिमदिशःश्रीमा किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य नैर्दत्तदिशो ध-

<sup>२०</sup> Metre: Pāthyākṛt.

<sup>२१</sup> Read पूज्यपूज्यजगन्नाथकर्मपाकदभूकुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीमपूज्यः । द्विजाधीमपूज्यः ।

<sup>२२</sup> Metre: Pāthyākṛt.

<sup>२३</sup> Read तथाप्यापनाभ्युपानां ।

<sup>२४</sup> Read गुम्फानोराकषांहरदः । श्रौतस्मात्तरजस्येषु । श्रीश्रीधरायः ।

<sup>२५</sup> Metre: Śāradāvarīṇī.

<sup>२६</sup> Read "निधिः । श्रीशिवः" ।

<sup>२७</sup> Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pāthyākṛt.

<sup>२८</sup> Read "निधिः" विपुलमात्रं ।

<sup>२९</sup> Read "श्रीशिवः" विपुलमात्रं ।

<sup>३०</sup> Read श्रीमान् ।

<sup>३१</sup> Read thus, omitting the unnecessary passage in the plate — वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुजकमान्तिवडामन्दराधामीयवडा-  
 यथाप्रधानप्रतिवासि । चहभहविस-  
 यथावति श्रीशिवः कर्षकाश्च यथात्मानं मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति चः मतमस्तु भवता । एतत् इयं  
 चतुःश्रीमार्गच्छिन्नं परिबोधयत् अचहभहप्रवेसं सजलसलं भूच्छिदश्च अकिञ्चितकर-  
 याश्च । चतुर्थाद-

<sup>३२</sup> Read "श्रीशिवः" With the परिबोध of the text (l. 2)  
 compare the Pāli form वाडिरीय = hindwoco.

<sup>३३</sup> Read उदितस्मिन् ।



- L. [59.] आलिमादाय नैपोद्धारयो विनादभूमिर्वात्सल्यमादाय सञ्जुवडास्वित्तिकावाटीसमितचाट-  
चम्पकः शोभा वे-  
[60.] सवलीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिग्ः कुम्भकारभोष्यवर्जिः शोभा कौण्डोडाडादृमवीलयावत  
हेलावणासुखमा-  
[61.] दाय दिवदाक्षियावत । अग्निदिग्ः शोभा । एष अष्टशोभा ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुर्दश-  
पङ्क्ताः ॥ सन्तिपाट-  
[62.] कसञ्जन्तु मन्दरायामसंयुत । वडाविजयसम्बद्धं भुक्त्विदेषति निवयात ॥<sup>19</sup> (29). सञ्जोपाय-  
संयुक्तं करोप-  
[63.] स्फुरवर्जितं । वावचन्द्राकसभोष्यं वावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलसलखिलारण्यवाट-  
शोवाटसंयुतं ॥ (30). कौण्ड य-  
[64.] य करिस्वति स्वयमिदं यः कारयिस्वत्यसौ पुत्रादिजयमभुदीक्ष निरये कल्यान्तरं स्वाचरति ।  
यः ज्ञात्राः परिपा-

## Plate III, B.

- [65.] स्थति सुतैज्जितैः स वविस्थते स्वलोके परिमुक्तं यास्वति विरादिच्छोर्वरेणं पदं ॥<sup>20</sup> (31).  
यावडास्फुरविमकर-  
[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधायाः । तावद्विलसतु नृपतेः कीर्तिः<sup>21</sup> श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य<sup>22</sup> ॥ (32). इमां  
राजगुरोः पुत्रः श्रीमुरारिर्द्वि-  
[67.] जगन्तः पद्मानभोद्भववक्त्रे प्रसक्तिं श्रीमनोरवः<sup>23</sup> ॥ (33). देवोयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रवर्ति-  
दोन्विभक्तः शम्भुद्विज-  
[68.] परिभक्तचयनवोन्मीलवयः श्रीधरः । एतच्छै सुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्माधिकारार्थितशो-  
गोनन्दनकीर्ति-  
[69.] दैववचसा प्रादादिदं सागनं<sup>24</sup> ॥ (34). कर्णभट्टेण भट्टेण शिल्पिनानस्यवृद्धिना । तामं  
विनयनस्येण निमित्तं  
[70.] साञ्जुक्कर्मणा<sup>25</sup> ॥ (35). एतादृशे मुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-  
ध्वरां । स पिठायां जमिर्भुत्वा  
[71.] पञ्चते पितृभिश्च ॥ शम्भुका स्वर्णमेकस्वा भूमिरण्यहंमहुलं हरहरकमायाति वावदाह-  
[72.] तमर्पवर् ॥ वहुमिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्त यस्त यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-  
[73.] लं ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vāsudeva! Hail!

*Verse.* (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (i.e. is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vīgrahapāla, perfect in every accomplishment.

<sup>19</sup> Read "कसञ्जन्तु" "संयुक्तं" "विजय" निवयात्.

<sup>20</sup> Read सञ्जोपायं "दक्षिणदिग्" वावचन्द्राकसभोष्यं "कसञ्जन्तु" "संयुक्तं".

<sup>21</sup> Read श्रीमे करिस्वति कारयिस्वति परिपासविधति  
पुत्रोन्मे वविस्थते स्वलोके पदम् ॥ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>22</sup> Read "नृपराजोधि" "वसुध्वरां कीर्तिः".

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Pāthyākṛta.

<sup>24</sup> Read प्रसक्तिः. Metre: Pāthyākṛta.

<sup>25</sup> Read "दीर्घे" "वचसाः" वासवम्. Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Pāthyākṛta.

<sup>27</sup> Read वरदत्तां वा वसुध्वरां शम्भुकां स्वर्णमेकं वा "महुलम्"  
वसुध्वरां वसुध्वरां.







(3.) His minister was Yogudeva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (produced) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathādeat*), Rāmapāla (*gena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,<sup>28</sup> (as Rāma gained Janakabhā, the child of Janaka, i.e. Sītā); and by killing king Bhīma,<sup>29</sup> as Rāma killed Rāvana; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Rāma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Rāmapāla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratāpadevi, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (i.e. Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumārapāla, who was the son of the king Rāma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from the adams of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Chāmpakā (i.e. Kāmpa); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*garga*) victory at the battle in Southern Vāṅga,<sup>30</sup> if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (i.e. the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumārapāla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory, filling the three worlds, and like Vrihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

<sup>28</sup> i.e. Mithilā. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

<sup>29</sup> I cannot identify the name.

<sup>30</sup> *Amuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." See *Yaśodita* see Dr. Hultsch, — *Ind. Antiq.* vol. IV, p. 302.



(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (*viz.* *Tingyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. - Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,<sup>22</sup> to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *aragat*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *silva* fruits; next, he offered the *pūrvāhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many *Rāhus* and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jalādharma*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala = jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jalādharma*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laughed at*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Rāma*)—(*for in other points the comparison holds, thus—*) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g.* *Manduka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahādharma*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pātra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmi, and he of wealth (*śrī*); Vishnu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was *Vrihaspati* as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishnu as regards his good actions, and Varuna as regards his stability, and Kavern as regards his wealth, and the king of Champā (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc.* *Vrihaspati* etc.) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*gītā*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother<sup>23</sup> was Budhadēva, who, resembling the younger brother of Rāma (*viz.* *Lakṣmaṇa*) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the *Kalpātaru* in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

<sup>22</sup> It is his *kravāṇa* = (*predrakṣa*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

<sup>23</sup> *Aṇajābhāṭa* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*aṇajā bhāṭa* (*utpatti*) *garja* = *aṇajābhāṭa*.





[illegible]

并

(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Śarasvatī rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (four) mouths of Brāhmā.

(22.) In his great *saṁśā*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhāva,<sup>28</sup> in Varendrī appeared Bharata, a Brāhmana, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhishtīra, chief of Brāhmanas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (study of) the Vedas and Śāstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pālī of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrīdhara, honoured among Brāhmanas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *līṭhna*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdhara was chief among learned Brāhmanas. Through Śrīdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (i.e. the *Karma-kāṇḍa* and the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrīdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vṛhaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden-things of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrīdhara, at the Vishuvatl (*saṁhrānti*) in Vaiśākha on Ekādaśī, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].<sup>29</sup>

(29.) As determined by the *bhūmicchhīdra* rule, the village Santipātaka<sup>30</sup> is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Badā-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kṛiṣā*) shall be arranged for us (the owner may) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishnu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

<sup>28</sup> *Śaṅkṛ* I take equal to *Ugratara*, the consumer *śaṅkṛ*.

<sup>29</sup> The sign of omission is found in the second plate (pale B) after *haridra*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *saṁhrānti* *chaturdaśapāṭikā*, to which I supply "or" to complete the construction.

<sup>30</sup> Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains *paṭaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Jed. Antiq.* vol. XVIII, p. 135), which I follow above. *Santi* would thus be the name of the *paṭaka* adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the *vishaya* Badā, and the correct form of the name would appear to be *Santi*: [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of *Santi* is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *saṁhrānti* *chaturdaśapāṭikā* an adjective to *Śaṅkṛ* in verse 29; observe also *idam* in verse 31.



(33.) Manoratha, son of the brāhmaṇa *rajaḡura* Murāri, and Padmā, his wife, composed this *prāṣasti*.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrīdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [The king] being pleased delivered this śāṣana to that brāhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmādhikārin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Harisākoṇḍi, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishnu, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śānti-Baḍā and Mandarā possessed by Gaṅgādharma Bhaṭṭa, in the *viśaya* of Baḍā, in the *maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa in the *bhukti* of Prāgyjyotiṣa, beginning with the principal residents . . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrīdhara Śarmā (surnamed) Guggul in ? ? . . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśākha by the movement of the sun.\*

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karpabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis<sup>†</sup> :—

## XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAU.

By ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>—Dated Samvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basāhi grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.<sup>2</sup> The plate is 1' 6" long by 11" broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basāhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śankha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nāgarī characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babūṭea*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayaachchandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ṣ* have two forms. In line 22 I

\* See above, p. 349.

† Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

‡ The usual impositions which follow are left untranslated.

<sup>1</sup> As to the finding of these plates see ante, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> See Bijendrakā Mītra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1883) for the Basāhi plates.

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basāhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahiyalasutah*:—conf. *Mahiala-sutah* or *Mahiala-sutah* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basāhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,<sup>2</sup> viz. Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kārttika, 1163 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishnupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithā (?), in the Jīāvati-pattalā in the Pañchāla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Lt. 12—18. The donee, Vilhākāya Dikshita, who came originally from Śārīthadeśa (?), was the son of Puravāsa and grandson of Nāgānanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula gotra with the three pravara of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvāmītra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Lt. 15—16 contain the well-known *crux* मत्वा यद्विद्यमान . . . दमय (३) धविमतिहववाचरे तुवक्कदण्डप्रसूति . . .

Lt. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadāsa, who also composed the Basāhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *pralīhara* Gautama, the *parahita* Jāgūka, the *mahattaka* Vālhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basāhi plate) and the Queen-mother Rālmudevi.

#### TEXT.

#### Front.

- Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाय सर्वदेवानां दामोदरसुपास्यते । खेतीर्णं यस्य वकीय  
क्रोडान्तर्णं वलिचयी ॥ (1).<sup>1</sup> वसे मातृदयालास्ये यभूव विजयो नृपः ॥<sup>2</sup>  
[2.] मकीयलक्षतः श्रीमाचलनाभागमन्त्रिभिः ॥ (2).<sup>3</sup> याते श्रीभोजभूषे विपुधवरवधुनेचक्षीमाति-  
वित्तं श्रीकण्ठं श्रीलिङ्गं यतवति च नृपे आत्मये जायमाने ।  
[3.] भर्तारं यं धरित्री विदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता पाता विमल्य पूज्ये समभवदिह स  
क्षापतिहृददेशः<sup>4</sup> (3).<sup>5</sup> ॥ तस्मादभूद्विदितार्पितदन्तिभिः श्रीभोजपति-  
[4.] मंदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त वसुधः समस्तवन्धाः सर्वातिमल्लतमपुत्रवन्धवाः<sup>6</sup> ॥  
(4).<sup>7</sup> तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृद्धवधापादारविंदयुगलो ज-  
[5.] क्षितप्रतापः । श्रीभोजपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र<sup>8</sup> इति विद्युतनामकीर्तिः (5).<sup>9</sup>  
तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्सौर्वैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणविजयेनी म-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—  
"For V. 1162 expired.—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105;  
the full moon *tihi* commenced 24. 22m. after moon sunrise  
and ended 04. 5m. after moon sunrise of the following day."  
<sup>2</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).  
<sup>3</sup> Read वसे . . . नृपः  
<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>5</sup> Read विपुध.  
<sup>6</sup> Read वधवन्धः  
<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śloka.  
<sup>8</sup> Read वृद्धः "वृद्धा" . . . वसुधवन्धाः  
<sup>9</sup> Metre: Vasantika.  
<sup>10</sup> Read "इन्द्रवज्राकारविपु" रिपुरगभंगी श्रीविपुधः  
<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantika.





- L. [21.] सुदारमुदाहरद्विरनैव दानमिदमस्य । शुभादनीयं । अस्माकमिदं कलिलमुदुदचलनाया  
दानं फलं परममः परिपालनं च ज<sup>०</sup> (12).<sup>२०</sup> धम्मभेदासनं  
[22.] अथ वराणां वरवारणाः । भूमिदानम् चिह्नानि यस्य \* \* पुरंदर<sup>०</sup> (13).<sup>२१</sup> अदत्तां पर-  
दत्तां वा यो दरेत वसंधरा । स विष्ठायां कृमिदत्ता<sup>०</sup> पित्रभिः स-  
[23.] च मज्जति (14). प्रतीहारमौनमात्रं<sup>२२</sup> आमुकस्य पुरोहितः । जननी रालदेवो च बाल-  
स्य सद्यस्तकः (15). एतेषां समर्पितं प्राप्य सम्यग्विहित-

Reverse.

- [24.] वानिदम् । नास्मा विजयदासायः वासनं राजसंमतम् (16).

No. II.—Dated Samvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3½" in length by 1' ¼" in breadth, and weighs 5lbs. 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal; and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapala grant (see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, p. 11): verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchandra (*ibid.*, p. 136).

L. 13.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevi-pura in the Rāna pattāḥ (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured).

Li. 16, 17.—Contains the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, viz. Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Āśvina, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 9th October 1139 A.D.<sup>23</sup>

19, 20. The donee was the *purahita* Jāgū Śarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant.

TEXT.

- L. [1.] अस्मि । अकुण्ठेत्तु यैककुण्ठेत्तु योऽनुत्तरः । संरथ<sup>२४</sup> सुरतारथं स विद्यः  
श्रेयसेत्तु नः (1).<sup>२५</sup> आसीदनीतयुतिवसज्जालम्नापालमासा-  
[2.] च<sup>२६</sup> दिवङ्गताह । आद्यादिवस्मानिव<sup>२७</sup> भूरिधाया नास्मा यमोविषह इत्युदारः (2).<sup>२८</sup>  
तज्जुतो भूषाहीचन्द्रचन्द्रधामनिभक्षिजं । देनापारम-  
[3.] कृपारपार<sup>२९</sup> आपारितं यम (3).<sup>३०</sup> तस्याभूतनयो नयेकरसिकः कानादिष्वक्षय्यो  
विष्वक्सीहतधीरसोधनिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः (4).<sup>३१</sup> देनो-

<sup>20</sup> Read "सुदारमुदाहरद्विरनैव दानमिदमनुदुदचलनाया । अस्माक-  
मिदं कलिलमुदुदचलनाया . . . परिपालनं"

<sup>21</sup> Metre: Yauntyāḥḥ.

<sup>22</sup> Read अत्र च वराणां वरवारणाः । अथ वराः  
पुराणः

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the three following

verses

<sup>24</sup> Read पुरंदर इत्युदारा । स विष्ठायां कृमिदत्ता.

<sup>25</sup> Read प्रतीहारमौनमात्रं

<sup>26</sup> Dr. Kishore again kindly notes,—"The year is the

northern expired year: the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h. 21 m.  
after mean sunrise."

<sup>27</sup> Read अकुण्ठेत् संरथः

<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>29</sup> Read आसीदनीतं "यम".

<sup>30</sup> Read आपारमि

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>32</sup> Read "पारि

<sup>33</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



1. [4.] दारतरप्रतापसमिताशेषप्रजोपदवं श्रीमहाधिपुराधिराजमसमन्दोर्विजमेणाजितं<sup>44</sup> ॥ (4).<sup>45</sup>  
तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलिन्दस्थानी-
- [5.] यकानि परिपालयतामिगम्य । हेमाशतुल्यमनिसन्दता द्विजभ्यो देनाद्विता वसुमती  
सतमसुलाभिः<sup>46</sup> ॥ (5).<sup>47</sup> तस्यास्यो मदनपाल इति जित्तीन्द्र-
- [6.] कामचिर्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्दः । यस्याभिवेककलसोन्नतितैः पर्योभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजः  
पटलं धरित्राः ॥ (6) यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयागस-
- [7.] मये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैलस्याधत्कुम्भिपदकमासमभरभस्वश्रीमण्डले । च्छदारजविभक्ततात्-  
गलितः स्वामासुगुहासितः<sup>48</sup> शेषः पियवभा-
- [8.] दिव<sup>49</sup> चणमसी कोडे निनीनाननः ॥ (7).<sup>50</sup> तस्यादजायत निजायतवाहुवद्विजयधारावहनव-  
रायगजो नरेन्दः । मान्द्रास्तद्रयमुचाममवो न-
- [9.] वो यो गोविन्दचन्द इति चन्द इवान्पुरामे<sup>51</sup> ॥ (8).<sup>52</sup> म जयमस्यलसन्त रत्नलगास्त्रिस्तनु  
दिष्ट गजानव दक्षिणः । ककुभि यन्मसुरभसुवज्रभमति-
- [10.] भटा<sup>53</sup> इव प्रस्य चटामजाः ॥ (9).<sup>54</sup> सोयं समस्ताराजचक्रसंविताचरणः स च परमभटारक-  
महाराजाधिराजपरमेष्ठरपरमसाहेवरानिजमुजो-
- [11.] पार्जितश्रीकान्तकुलाधिपत्यश्रीचन्ददेवपादात्तुध्यातपरमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेष्ठर-  
परमसाहेवर श्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यात-
- [12.] परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेष्ठरपरमसाहेवरान्प्रतिगजपतिनरपतिराजचयाधिप-  
तिविश्वविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमही-
- [13.] विरूचन्द्रेवो विजयी ॥ राजपत्तलायां<sup>55</sup> । जनकदेविपुरधामनिवासिनो निश्चिजजनपदा-  
नुपगतानपि च राजरात्रीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- [14.] तप्रतीहारसेनापतिभण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषग्भूमितिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपसनाक-  
रस्मान्गोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषान् समा-
- [15.] ज्ञापयति धोषयज्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितधामः सखलखलः  
सलोहलवणाकरः समस्याजरः समर्तो-
- [16.] परः समधूकाश्वनवाटिकाविटपतुण्यतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोप्राधचतुराघाटविमुक्तः क्षमी-  
मापयन्तः संवत् ११८३ आश्विनसुदि १५ सो-
- [17.] मदिने श्रीमहाराजस्यो राहुयस्तचन्दमसि गङ्गायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूत-  
पितृगणांस्त्रायित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-
- [18.] मुणारोचिषमुपस्थायीपधिपतिमकलसेपरं समन्वये विमुचनचातुर्व्योसुदेवस्त पूजाम्निधाय<sup>56</sup>  
प्रचुरपायमेन हविषा हविर्भुञ्जं हुत्वा साता-
- [19.] पिचोरात्मन च पुष्कयशोभिषुदयेऽस्माभिर्लोकपणकुग्रसतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वम् बहुलमोषाय  
वधुल । अघमर्थण । विष्कामिषचिप्रवराय दीक्षितपु-

<sup>44</sup> Read मृदः । "मताममिता" बाधिराधिराजमसमं<sup>45</sup> तम्

<sup>45</sup> Meiss: Śāradālikā.

<sup>46</sup> Read "गुल्लनमि" . . . इतम्

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā, and in the next verse.

<sup>48</sup> Read "रत्नलगा"

<sup>49</sup> Read according to Kielhorn उचः देववादिष and see Ind. Antiq., vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

<sup>50</sup> Metre: Śāradālikā.

<sup>51</sup> This verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachand-

ra; see Kielhorn, Ind. Antiq., vol. XVIII., p. 129; and read "राह" . . . "रवा" . . . नराजम् "रमरी" "राहः"

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>53</sup> Read "चमाम्" ति<sup>54</sup> इवम्

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Drutavilambita.

<sup>55</sup> Read "दोहल"

<sup>56</sup> Read "दीर्घा" विमुक्तः "आदिन"

<sup>57</sup> Read "अचरम्" . . . पूजा विषय

- L. [20.] रामपौत्राय दीक्षितवीर्यापुत्राय दीक्षितपुरोहितवीर्यागुसर्गणे ब्राह्मणाय आदित्याय वावत्  
 वासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तं मत्वा यथादीयमानभागमो-  
 [21.] गकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसमस्तादायान आश्राविषेयोभूय दास्यति ॥ \* ॥  
 भवन्ति वाच । शोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिपद्यति यच्च भूमिं  
 [22.] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुष्पाकर्मणौ नियतौ क्षम्यमानौ ॥ (10).<sup>4</sup> संखं भद्रासनं च्छ  
 वरास्त्रा<sup>5</sup> वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्परम्पर ॥ (11). सर्वावेता-  
 [23.] न् माविनः पार्श्वेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो वाचते रामभद्रः । सामान्यं धर्मसेतुपात्रा<sup>6</sup> काले  
 काले पावनयो भवति ॥ (12).<sup>7</sup> बहुभिर्बुधा सुका राज-  
 [24.] मिः समरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिदास्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ (13).<sup>8</sup> सुवर्णमेकं शमिकां  
 भूमिरप्येकमङ्गलं हरहरकमाश्रीति यावदाज्ञतसंज्ञ-  
 [25.] व<sup>9</sup> ॥ (14) तडागानां सङ्ख्येण चक्षमेघयतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न  
 सुख्यति<sup>10</sup> ॥ (15). खदताम्परदताम्बा यो हरेत् वसुधरा<sup>11</sup> । स विद्यायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा  
 पितु-  
 [26.] मिः सङ्ग मज्जति ॥ (16).

## XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

DATED SAMVAT 158.

BY A. FÖHRER, PH.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pālī,<sup>1</sup> close to Kosām, the ancient Kauśāmbī, the chief town of the Karāri pargana in the Mānjhanpur tahsil of the Allahābād district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahābād, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7½" by 6½". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ½"; they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

\* Read "कपीरकपूर्यम्" . . . "पुरातनपौरातन"  
 "अप्येव" . "वाचयताम्" . "वचनः" . and remove unnecessary  
 signs of punctuation.

\* Read "वाचयताम्"—The asterisk is represented in the  
 plate by a character like ॐ. (cf. *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII, p. 12).

\* Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the following verse.

\* Read वचनं . . . वचनं वराणां ।

\* Read "वृषाणां"

\* Metre: Śloka.

\* Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the three following  
 verses.

\* Read "कपूर्यम्" . "कपूर्यम्"

\* Read "वच" . . . वचयति

\* Read कपूर्यं वरवराणां वा . . . वचयताम्

\* See ante, vol. II, page 260



to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice: (1) the doubling of *dā* in conjunction with a following *y* in *māddhyamdiya*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *pittor*, line 4, and in *gottrāya*, line 5; (3) the doubling of *ṣ*, *g*, *th*, *bh*, *v*, and *śh* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *pauruṣamāsyām*, line 15; in *evargge*, line 13; in *artthā*, line 8; in *cidheyair bhbhavitavyam*, line 7, and *krimir bhbhūtrā*, line 10; in *parvatikā*, line 2, and *bahubhir evasudhā*, line 11; in *varśhā*, line 12; (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anuvāra* in *saṁvatsara*, line 15; (5) the use of *v* for *b* in *kufumvinaḥ*, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about 3½" by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right; below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend *brīmahārāja-lakṣmaṇasya*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is 37½ *tolas*, and of the ring and seal 27½ *tolas*; total 65 *tolas*.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyāishṭha. There is no indication as to the era; but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however, not be calculated as the week-day, *nakṣatra*, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, of an *agrāhāra* in the village Phelā-parvatikā,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pāli,—to the Brāhmaṇa Revatīśvamin of the Kautsagotra. The *dātuka* is the Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

### TEXT.

#### Obverse.

- I. [1.] श्री क्षास्ति जयपुरात्परममहादेवरः श्रीमहाराज-
- [2.] लक्ष्मणः कुमारी देवापर्वतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मणादी-
- [3.] गतिवामिकुटुम्बिनः सम्राट्पश्यति विदितं वीर्यं य-
- [4.] शैव धामो मया मातापितृराजनश्च पुत्राभिष्टुते
- [5.] श्रीसखीशाय राजसनेदिसब्रह्मचारिणे मादादिनाय
- [6.] ब्राह्मणैर्वतिस्वामिनेषां हारीतिष्ठत्सुयुक्ताभिर-
- [7.] स्वाध्यायवचविधेर्देभ्यो वितर्क्य समुचिताश्च प्रत्यायाः
- [8.] भयविषयादयो देवाः [a] यपि चाग्निवर्त्ते व्यासकृताः
- [9.] लोका भवन्ति [b] लदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वमुन्मरा [i]
- [10.] च विहाया कमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मन्वति [ii]

\* From the original plate.

\* Read "riddhantavyam."

\* Metres Anuṣṭubh, and the following two verses.

\* Read "riddhant."

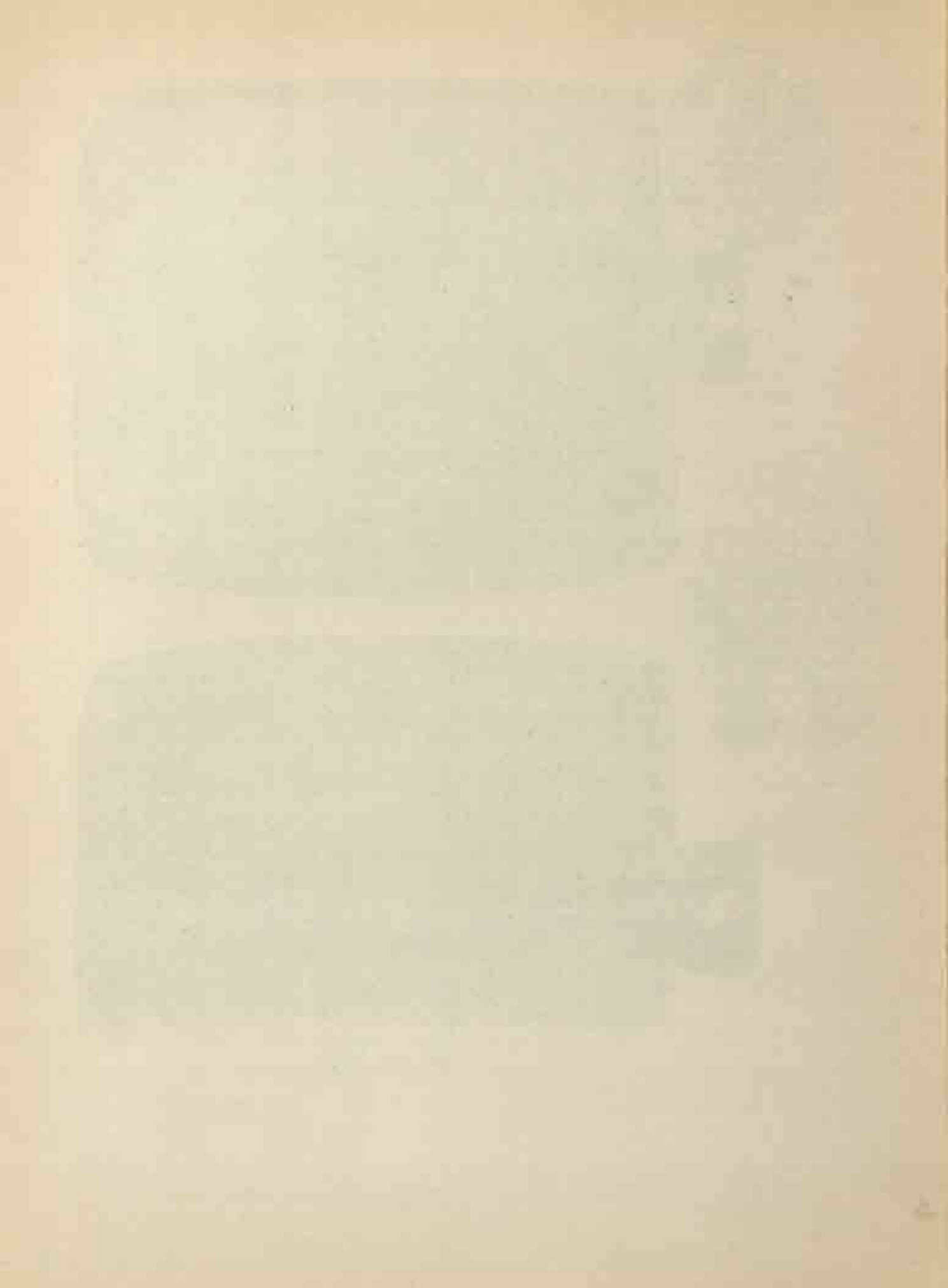
[illegible]

*Scaris - N-File*

[illegible]

Scale: 4-5ths of original.





## Reverse.

- L. [11.] बहुभिर्बहुधा दत्ता राजमित्रवरादिभिः [1] यस्य यस्य  
 [12.] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [2] वटिं वप्यंसह-  
 [13.] क्षाधि क्षम्ये मोदति भूमिदि [1] चाच्छेत्ता वानुमत्ता च तान्येव  
 [14.] नरके वसेत् [2] दूतकथाय श्रीमहाराजनरवाहनदत्तः  
 [15.] संवत्सरमतेष्टपंचामदुत्तरे ज्येष्ठमासे पौर्ण-  
 [16.] मास्यां लिखितं बलदेवेनेति १५८ [2]

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Māheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Pnelā-parvvatikā:—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrāhāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Revatisvāmin, of the Kautsagotra, a student of the Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina (*śākhā*). You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyāsa:—"He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!" The *dātaka* (*is*) the illustrious Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyāishtha, 158.



XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.<sup>1</sup>

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.L.E.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputana and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stūpas of Sānchi, *recte* in Sanskrit Kākānāda or in Prakrit Kākānāva (see I, No. 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stūpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered;<sup>2</sup> the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham's 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,<sup>3</sup> the latest of which shows the Nāgarī of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stūpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nāgarī inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word *devānām*, nor can the word *piya* have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either *gam* or *gām*. The *ya* is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvāra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly *ḍha*, and the syllable probably was *ḍhe*. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (*Bhilai Topes*, p. 280), the letters *mag*, but *moge*, and after it quite distinctly *kafe*. This new reading removes the possibility that the Saṃgha of Magadha can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, "a road has been made." The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct *kha*, and after two indistinct signs the syllable *ḍāi*. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel *i* appears and immediately after it *nam*. Then comes an indistinct sign and next *ti*. Thus, we obtain—*kha . . . ḍāi . . . nam . ti*. It is almost certain that the reading was *ḍhikkhūnam vā ḍhikkhūnām vā ti*, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

<sup>1</sup> Continued from note, p. 37.<sup>2</sup> In his letter Dr. Führer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a fragment of a stambha or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in

some museum in order to keep it safe. See plate of facsimile.

<sup>3</sup> About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.

of the edict (H. 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Samgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters *ta pa* are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters *ka* or *ke*, *ye*, as well as the word *sangham*, I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambi edict on the Allahabad Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Allahabad.				Sanchi.	
			sangham	y[an] bh[e]	mage kate [7]
bhokhati	bhikhu-va	bhikhu-ut	vā	khu[nam vā] bbi	inam [vā] ti [-] ta pa [8]
[p] chā	o—(2) dātā—ni	(4) usāni	nam dhāpa	[ ] lhi(?) ian)	m. : r) (?) [ke ?] ye
yitu	asāp-			maib/bati [5]	bhokhati bhikū vā bhikhuni vā odātā-
sa	.	.	.	ni du[s .]	i samam . . . yitu anā . [8]
	.	.	.	ssai v[i]s .	pelaviy . [.] lchā hi me kin- [9]
	.	.	.	ti sangham	mage chilathitke siyā ti [1]

## TRANSLATION.

... "A road was made both for the monks and the nuns\* . . . the community\* will dine, both monk and nun, (and), causing white cloth to be put down (for them), you will order it to be spread; for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (of the Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time."

It is now evident that the road (*mage*) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation" which surrounds the Stūpa (see *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stūpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos. 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes;

(2) Two,—II, No. 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word *dāna*, in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones;

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, *da* has frequently (see, e.g., I, Nos. 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there *ja*, too, is irregular. In *Ujainigā* (No. 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Girnār version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In *Rājāka* (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word *pajāvatī*, *ja* looks

\* The word *ti* indicates that the sentence is at an end.

\* I am inclined to take *sangham* as a neuter nominative with the *Upaseniyasaka*, so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text

has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.

\* Usually called *Pradāśakī* by the Brahmins and *Bhāvatī* (*Bhramavati*) by the Jains.



almost like *śa*. In *Yakkhadāyā* (I, No. 194) the letter *śa* has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels *ā* and *e* often slant upwards, as in the Kāśī version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel *i* very commonly consists, as in the Girnār version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, e.g., I, Nos. 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel *ā* is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of *ma* in the word *Māhāsatiya*, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel *i* occupies a similar position in *Sirimitāyā* (I, No. 355).

The unusual *cha*, with a little tail, known from Mr. Ren's Bhattiprolu Stūpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A *ja*, intermediate between the form of the Bhattiprolu Stūpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name *Vāṭṭasahana*, a vicarious form for *Vādṭasahana* in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of *ja* north of the Narmadā before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

- (1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like *ka*, the angular *gha* and a peculiar short *da*, with a shallow curve, but has no *serifs* or nail-heads;
- (2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos. 288, 334, 377;

(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237; II, Nos. 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to *ka* and *ra*, while the third offers an almost circular *ka* and the looped *ja*, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stūpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pāli of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavattī; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vādīvahana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Navagāma and of Ejāvattī; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No. 366 one by the family of Ajitigata. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No. 59) another *sulātika* or teacher of the Sūtras, a *thero* (I, No. 266), and, it would seem, a *tāpasa* or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhamduta, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kana and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations

STUPA I, 91.—p. 99.



*A. D. 1000.*

Scale: 1-514.

ST. I, 230.—p. 981.



Scale: 1-514.

ST. I, 80.—p. 102.



*A. D. 1000.*

Scale: 1-514.

ST. I, 206.—p. 284.



Scale: 1-514.

ST. II, 1.—p. 110.



Scale: 1-514.

ST. I, 227.



Scale: 1-514.

ASOKA FRAGMENT

p. 307



*A. D. 1000.*

Scale: 1-514.

ST. I, 205.—p. 347.



Scale: 1-514.

ST. I, 208.



Scale: 1-514.



now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Saṅgha, see, e.g., I, No. 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name. Thus, I, No. 140, records the gift of "Nāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamhādīgāma," and No. 167 that "of the mother of the Sheth." Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a *soṭika*, i.e., *sautrika*, "weaver," in I, No. 195; *codaki*, i.e., probably *cardhakin*, "carpenter" in No. 311, and a *rajuka* in No. 229. The term *rajuka* or *rājuka* is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the *Kalpasaṅgraha* of the Jains, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form *rajjuṇa*, and is explained to mean 'a clerk or accountant,' what is now called in India a *karkun*.<sup>1</sup> The word is an abbreviation of *rajjuṇādhaka*, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. *Rājālipikara* "a royal scribe" (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from *lekha* (I, No. 143), which latter means "a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist." Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the *Nakṣatras*, and a few like *Ajarāni*, i.e., *Ajira* or *Durgā*, indicating the existence of Paurāṇik worship.

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times. It would seem that the inhabitants of Arāpāna, Bhogavādhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara, Navagāma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stūpas, the lion's share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikā, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihāra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [mahārāja] rājatirāja [dena]putra Shāhi Vāsushka. The name Vāsushka is new. But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vāsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Huvisaka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vāsushka with Vāsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 78 certainly falls within Vāsudeva's reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:—

L. 1. . . . . sya\* rājatirājasya . . . putrasya\* Shāh[i] Vāsushkasya"  
sam [70]<sup>1</sup> 8 he l [di 5] [e]tasy[ām] [p]u[r]v[āyām] bhagava—

<sup>1</sup> For my notes on the Pillar Edict IV, and the Kops Edict III, *infra*, and my article in the *Deutsches Morgenländisches Zeitschrift*, vol. XLVII, p. 366.

\* *Kashira*, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, *Mahārāja*, or perhaps *Siddham mahārāja*.

\* *Rastor Socopetranga*.

\* I read this sign first as 20, Sir A. Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70. I agree to this, as the Mathurā *Ins.*, No. XX (*Epigr. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)

- L. 2. . . . . sya<sup>12</sup> jambuchhāyāsailāgra . sya Dharmadevavihāre  
 pratishāpitā<sup>9</sup> Kharasya<sup>13</sup> dhitaro<sup>14</sup> Madhurikā.  
 L. 3. . . . . [pa]m deyadharma . . . i . . . . .

The second novelty, which shows letters of the 8th or 9th century need not be transcribed, as it contains nothing but the Buddhist creed. The third inscription, which, as already stated, is in Nāgarī characters of the 9th or 10th century, originally consisted of a Śraṅgāharā verse, of which only two Pādas are at present completely legible :—

- L. 1. Om Prā—, āyushy — — — — —  
 — — — — — [Ta]syākhyāyāḥ kilānte Sugatagunavritāḥ samsthito  
 bhadra. . . . .  
 L. 2. śavdaḥ [1]  
 o rā o — — — — — sam  
 sam— — — — — dedharmoyan<sup>11</sup> k[ri]tasya pravarasukhakarajñānasath—  
 L. 3. prāptayo sah [11]

## DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.

## Type I.

No. 124 = Q. 2.

[जाडि"]इच्छा भिक्षुनिना दानं [४"]<sup>१४</sup>

The gift of the nuns from [Vāḍi] vahana.

No. 135 = C. 6.

वज्रिसूत्रस्य दानं [१५]॥

The gift of Vajiguta (*Fejrigupta*).

No. 126 = C. 7.

देवभागाय [म]धुबनिष्ठ[१ य] मिलुनिय दानं [१०]

The gift of the nun Devabbāgā, inhabitant of Madhuvana.

No. 127 = 0.8,

वाकलाये देविये अहिमितम्[सु\* ४\*] ११

(The gift) of the Vākalā queen, the mother of Ahimita (*Ahimitra*).

\* Probably to *adipennivora* to be restored.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pentastichus* *Aspid.*

# Of Verona.

vi. *Paul Atterbury*

<sup>11</sup> This seems to be a contraction of *degnidhureo*, made for the sake of the metre.

<sup>16</sup> Sir A. Cunningham has only *Haud MicMeniya*. Dr.

Führer's impression shows a faint ex before 1940. The restoration is not doubtful, as Fälschung is mentioned in Nos. 101, 116 and so forth.

"The letters are beautifully carved and about half an inch high. *Fayrin* may be,—*Iudra*, a Buddha, or one of the *Vidya Devas*.

\* Possibly वाचिजायि.



No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिनस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of Nagadina (*Nagadatta* or *Nagadatta*), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सोषदेवाय [प]रिजय अगिदेवा[य च दानं] [१\*]

The gift of Sopadevā (*Sucarnadevā*),<sup>19</sup> Parijā (?) and Agidevā (*Agnidevā*).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभगाय समग्निकाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Subhagā and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 31 (?).

पुसगिरिनो नाव[गाम]कस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyogiri*), inhabitant of Navagāma (*Navagrāma*).

No. 132 = C. 26.

ओद[र]तिकाये भिक्षुनि वेदिसिकया<sup>20</sup> दानं [१\*]

The gift of Odātikā (*Avadātikā*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

यसोपालस दानं मद[त]कवि[य स] (१) [१\*]

(The gift) of Yasopāla (*Yasāhpāla*), pupil of the venerable Kāḍa (?).

No. 134 = C. 28.

माहम[१]रगिन्ना सीहगिरिनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sīhagiri (*Sinhagiri*) from Māhamoragī.<sup>21</sup>

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसस चहटियस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of Pusa (*Pushya*) the Chahatīya<sup>22</sup> monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[न]वपतिनो बुधिलस दानं [१\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Buddhila (*Buddhila*).

No. 137 = C. 37.

अय[र]हिलस माफिनेयकस<sup>23</sup> मातु दानं [१\*]

The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sāphineyaka.

<sup>19</sup> *Sucarna*, i.e. the Gandharva of that name.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the note to II, No. 33.

<sup>21</sup> See note, No. 77.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly "inhabitant of Chahata."

<sup>23</sup> This might be read माहमोरगस, but below (in No. 161), the *fi* is distinct.

No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिशरक्षि-

L. 2. तस्य दानं [१\*]

The gift of Disārakhita<sup>24</sup> (*Dīśārakhita*) from Navagāmaka (*Navagrāma*).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोठदेवाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Pothadevā (*Prosthadevā*).No. 140 = C. 45 (?)<sup>25</sup>.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पञ्चावतिया नागाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Nāgā, the wife of the Sheth of Kamdāḍigāma (*grāma*).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पञ्चावतिय पुसाय दानं [१]

The gift of Puśā (*Pashyā*), wife of the Sheth of Kamdāḍigāma.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंदडिगामा वडस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Vadhā (*Vridhā*) from Kamdāḍigāma.

No. 143 = C. 48.

मुलगरिनी दानं लेखकस्य [१\*]

The gift of Mulagiri (*Mūlagiri*), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

उज्जैनिय — — — —

From Ujjain . . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

यखदिनस भिक्षुनी दानं [१\*]

The gift of Yakhadina (*Yakshadatta*), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

उज्जैनिया उपासिकाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain.

No. 147 = C. 53.

नावगामिकाना उपासिकाना दानं [१\*]

The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagāma (*grāma*).<sup>24</sup> The deities meant here are the *dīśā*, the nymphs of the quarters of the heaven.<sup>25</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in our line. Hence this may be a different one.



No. 148 = C. 55.

उज्जेनिया रो[ह]विद्य दानं [१\*]<sup>m</sup>The gift of Rohani (*Rohiṣṭ*) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

उज्जेनिया धम्मगिरिणी दानं [१\*]

The gift of Dhamagiri (*Dharma<sup>o</sup>*) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

उज्जेनिया सोनस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sona (*Suearna*) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

उज्जेनिया तापसियानं [ह]मानवाय<sup>m</sup> दानं [१]

The gift of Najā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

उज्जेया तापसियना इक्षिमित्त दानं [१\*]<sup>m</sup>The gift of Isimīta (*Rishimitra*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

उज्जेनिया मुलदत्तये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Muladattā (*Mūladattā*) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

उज्जेनिय बलकय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Balakā from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

[उज्जे]निय ओपेददत्तस पञ्जावतिय वयुदत्तव दानं [१]

The gift of Vayudattā (*Vāgudattā*), wife of Opedadata (*Upeṇdradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

उज्जेनिय उपेददत्तस भगिनिय हिमदत्ताये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Himadattā (*Himadattā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upeṇdradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

[उज्जे]निय उपेददत्तस भगिनिय बुधायै दानं [१\*]<sup>m</sup>The gift of Buddhā (*Buddhā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upeṇdradatta*), from Ujjain.

<sup>m</sup> The reverse shows clearly that the apparent v-stroke under १ is due to an accidental scratch.

<sup>n</sup> The little horizontal stroke, denoting the १ is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.

Read उज्जेनिया.

Possibly बुधायै to be read.

No. 158 = C. 65.

उज्जेनिया काडिये भित्तुनिये दानं [४\*]

The gift of the nun Kāḍi (*Kāḍi*), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

उज्जेनिया छेतमातु दानं [४\*]

The gift of the mother of Chheta (*Chheta*), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

उज्जेनिया तापसियना सिद्धदत्तये दानं [४\*]

The gift of Simhadatā<sup>20</sup> (*dattā*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

उज्जेनिया सफिनियकाना शमिकस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Isika (*Ishika*) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

कुरघरा इसिमित्तये दानं [४\*]

The gift of Isimīta (*Ishimītrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

उज्जेनिया वा[सु]लाया दानं [४\*]<sup>21</sup>

The gift of Vāsulā (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

कुरघरा नरय दानं [४\*]

The gift of Narā<sup>22</sup> from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

कुरघरा नगमित्तये दानं [४\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga*<sup>23</sup> or *Nāgamitrā*), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

अश्वदेवाय समिकस मातु दानं [४\*]

The gift of Aśvadevā<sup>24</sup> (*devadevā*), mother of Samika (*Svāmika*).

No. 167 = C. 85.

शेथिनी मत्तु कनिय[सि]ये<sup>25</sup>— —(The gift) of Kaniyāsi (*Kaniyāsi*), the mother of the Sheth.<sup>20</sup> In this and similar compounds *Sikka* may possibly stand for *सर्पिक*, shortened *śikhamat*.<sup>21</sup> Possibly *विपुला* is to be read.<sup>22</sup> i.e. probably *Naradatta*.<sup>23</sup> In this and similar compounds *अश्व* probably stands *śikhamat* for *अश्व*.<sup>24</sup> The vowel of *शे* is indistinct.



No. 168 = C. 88.

वसुलाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 169 = C. 89.

इंददत्तस्य पाविहकस्य दानं [१\*]

The gift of Indadatta (*Indradatta*), inhabitant of Paviḥa.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजवरस्य श्वश्रुभातु दानं [१\*]

The gift of Kujara (*Kuñjara*), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[सि]दताय सकदिन पञ्चाव—

L. 2. —य दानं [१\*]<sup>20</sup>

The gift of Isidatta (*Rishidattā*), wife of Sakadina (*Sakradatta*).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भद्रगुप्तस्य सानुकगामोन्नस्य दानं [१\*]

The gift of Bhadraguta (*Bhadragupta*), inhabitant of Sānukagāma (*grāma*).

No. 173 = C. 98.

धरकिना सानिलस्य दानं [१\*]<sup>21</sup>

The gift of Sātīla (*Sātila* or *Sātīla*)<sup>22</sup> from Dharakina (*Erakina* or *Erān*).

No. 174 = C. 106.

स[घ]ाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Saghā (*Saṃghā*).

No. 175 = C. 118.<sup>23</sup>

वाघुमता काचा—

(The gift of) Kāchā . . . . from Vāghumata.

No. 176 = C. 110—21.

L. 1. समिकस्य वानिकस्य

L. 2. पुत्रस्य च सिरिपालस्य

L. 3. दानं ३ [१\*]

Three (*raṭṭis*)<sup>24</sup>, the gift of Samikā (*Sāmika*), the trader, and of his son Siripāla (*Sripāla*).

<sup>20</sup> *Ekasore* इतिहास and पञ्चावस.

<sup>21</sup> Probably धरकिना to be read.

<sup>22</sup> Diminutive from *Sātā* or *Sātā*, *Sātā*, or *Sātā*.

<sup>23</sup> As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.

<sup>24</sup> As Sir A. Cunningham (*The Stupa of Sanchi*, p. 262) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, which probably were given by the two persons named.

No. 177 = C. 122.

भादतराजुकस [दा]ना [३\*]

The gift of Bhādata-Rājuka (the venerable Rājuka

No. 178 = C. 123.

विशाखस भिक्षुनो दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk Visākha (*Viśākha*).

No. 179 = C. 130.

नंदस कुररतो — —

(The gift) of Namda from Kurara.

No. 180 = C. 132.

मधुव[ना] र[शि]दतये भिक्षुनिये दानं [३\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidattā*) from Madhuvana

No. 181 = C. 133.

[र]सिदताये भिक्षुनिये कुररिये दानं [३\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidattā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 182 = C. 134.

धमपालस कोशुकपदियस दानं [३\*]

The gift of Dhamapāla (*Dharmapāla*), inhabitant of Kuthukapada.

No. 183 = C. 147.

नदिनागारिक्य रसिदिनाये भिक्षुनिये [३\*]<sup>a</sup>(The gift) of the nun Isidinā (*Rishidattā*), inhabitant of Nandinagara.

No. 184 = C. 151.

धयधनकस भिक्षुनो दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka.

No. 185 = C. 157.

धनगिरिगी दानं [३\*]

The gift of Dhanagiri.

No. 186 = C. 159.

L. 1. बलिनाये भिक्षुनिये मदलाहिक-

L. 2. टिकाय दानं [३\*]

The gift of the nun Balikā, inhabitant of Madalāhikata.

<sup>a</sup> Or Kothukapada, i.e. either Kothukā or Kothukapada or padra.<sup>b</sup> Read रसिदिनायिक



No. 187 = C. 163.<sup>a</sup>

L. 1. भञ्जिकियस

सञ्चिलस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Saṅghila, a pupil of Bhaddika.<sup>a</sup>

No. 188 = C. 164.

अरहतपालितस भि— — — — [१\*]

(The gift) of the monk Arahatapālita (*Arhatpālita*).

No. 189 = C. 165.<sup>ab</sup>

L. 1. अरहकस परि-

L. 2. पनकस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Arahaka (*Arhaka*), the Paripansaka.<sup>a</sup>

No. 190 = C. 166.

धम्मगिरिकमातु दानं [१\*]

The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (*Dharmagiri*).

No. 191 = C. 168.

सिधसस वि— — —

. . . . of Sidhatha (*Siddhārtha*) . . . .

No. 192 = C. 169.

रुक्मिणीयै नादिनागरिकायै भिक्षुनियै दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Rukhmiṇī (*Rukhiddai*), inhabitant of Nandīnagara.

No. 193 = C. 170.

नदिनगरा दुपससभिक्षुनियै दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Dupasahā (*Duṣprasahā*?) from Nandīnagara.

No. 194 = C. 171.

यसदासिया दानं [भिक्षुनिया] [१\*]

The gift of Yakhadāsi (*Yakhadāsi*), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172.

इतकलिवतस दानं [१\*]<sup>ac</sup>

The gift of Datakalivata (?)

<sup>a</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different.

<sup>b</sup> Compare No. 206.

<sup>c</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.

<sup>d</sup> This possibly means an inhabitant of Paripasa, i.e., *Paripasa* or *Paripasa*?

<sup>e</sup> The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.

No. 196 = C. 174.<sup>u</sup>

L. 1. दमकस सोति-

L. 2. कस कुसुवपितु

L. 3. दानं [३\*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.<sup>u</sup>

L. 1. इमिपालीतस च

L. 2. समणस च दानं [३\*]

The gift of Isipālita (*Rishipālita*) and of Samana (*Sramana*).

No. 198 = C. 186.

५ वीरस भिक्षुनी दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk Vira.

No. 199 = C. 187=88.

L. 1. यक्षिय भिक्षुनिया वाळीय =

L. 2. ५ वनिकाया दानं ५

The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakshi*), inhabitant of Vāḷivahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसकेहि दंतकारेहि रुपसंमं कनं [३\*]

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving. ✓

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुरराय नागपायस चक्रावडे सेथिम पुतस च संघस [दा]नं [३\*]<sup>u</sup>The gift of Nāgapiya (*°priya*) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhāvāḍa, and of (*his*) son Samgha.No. 202.<sup>u</sup>

चक्रावाटा चिरातिमातु दानं [३\*]

The gift of Chirāṭi (*Kirāṭi*) from Achhāvāḍa (*°Ma*).

No. 203.

अज[रा]निय दानं [३\*]

The gift of Ajarāni (*Ajird*).

No. 204.

[च]ठकनगरस गगं[द]तस भिक्षुनी दानं [३\*]

The gift of Gagandata (*Gangadatta*), the monk, inhabitant of Athakanagara.<sup>u</sup> There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.<sup>u</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.<sup>u</sup> Read कुररिय नागपियस.<sup>u</sup> As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.



No. 205.<sup>a</sup>

अप — यज्ञ दानं [१\*]

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

अपा[का]निय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Apākāni.

No. 207.

अयकनस भिक्षुनो दानं अयमंडुकिवस [१\*]

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhamḍuka.<sup>a</sup>

No. 208.

अयजे[र]स भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (*Jayanta*).

No. 209.

L. 1. अयफलुनस साधिविहारिनो

L. 2. खेमकम भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk Khemaka (*Kshemaka*), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (*Phalguna*).

No. 210.

अरपना असाहस दा[नं]व — —

The gift of Asāḥa (*Aśhāḥa*) . . . from Arapana.

No. 211.

अरपना पदा — — —

From Arapana . . . .

No. 212.

[अ]रपानिया सिहय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Sihā*), inhabitant of Arapāna.

No. 213.

असगुतस दानं [१]

The gift of Asaguta (*Asagupta*).

No. 214.

असभये उज्जिनिकाये भिक्षुनिये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Asabhā, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215.

[अ]स्ववतिय ग्रामस — —

(The gift) of the village of Asvavati (*Asvavati*).<sup>a</sup> Incised on the processions path.<sup>b</sup> See ante, p. 98, No. 15, and below No. 256.

No. 216.

L. 1. इमिदमिणे नादिनागरिकायै भिक्षु[निये]

L. 2. दानं [४\*]<sup>12</sup>The gift of Isidasi (*Rishiddasi*), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. इमिनदनस दानं [४\*]

L. 2. [पु]अवदनियस [४\*]

The gift of Isinadana (*Rishinadana*), inhabitant of Puānavadhana (*Punyavardhana*).

No. 218.

इमिरक्षितस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakhita*).

No. 219.

उज्जेनिये अस्वरक्षितायै दानं [४\*]

The gift of Asvarakhita (*Asurakhita*) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

उज्जेनाया उपसिकायै सिरिकायै दानं [४\*]<sup>13</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikā (*Śrikā*) from Ujjain.No. 221.<sup>14</sup>

उज्जेनिया ओपेददतस पञ्चावतिय वा[पु]दताय दानं [४\*]

The gift of Vāyudatā, wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [\*उ]ज्जेनिय कलुरप-

L. 2. तस बुसुस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Bamu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.\*

No. 223.

L. 1. उज्जेनिया तापसिया-

L. 2. नं — — — धम

L. 3. [दता]य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Dhamadattā (*Dharmadattā*), . . . of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[उ\*]ज्जेनिया धमयसाया मत्तु भिक्षुनिया दानं [४\*]

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasā (*Dharmayasas*) from Ujjain.<sup>12</sup> This is identical in words with No. 192 (C. 169), which however is in our line.<sup>13</sup> Read एज्जेनिय.<sup>14</sup> This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 142 (C. 62).



No. 225.

L. 1. उज्जेनिया बलिकाया

L. 2. मातु दानं [१\*]

The gift of the mother of Balikā from Ujjain.

No. 226.

उज्जेनिये मितये भिक्षु — — —

(The gift) of the nun Mitā (*Mitrā*) in Ujjain.

No. 227.

उज्जेनिया वसुलय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Vasulā from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उज्जेनिया संघदत्तस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Saṃghadatta (*°datta*) from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उज्जेनिया सुलासस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sulāsa from Ujjain.

No. 230.

उत्तरस रज्जुकस दानं [१\*]<sup>a</sup>

The gift of Utara (*Uttara*), the *Rajuka*.

No. 231.

एजावतिव व[पा]मिकाना — —

(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejāvatī.

No. 232.

एजावतिया वाहिलस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Vāhila from Ejāvatī.

No. 233.

कटकमु[य]कस [१\*]इदेवस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Idadeva (*Indradeva*), inhabitant of Katakāṇu.

No. 234.

कटकमुया अरहस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Katakāṇu.

No. 235.

कटकमुया ध — — —

From Katakāṇu . . . . .

<sup>a</sup> See facsimile on the plate.

No. 236.

कंदडिगामा सेवि — —

From Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*), of the Sheth . . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेठिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिया देवभावाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भिक्षुनी

L. 2. दानं [१०]

The gift of the monk Kāṇa.

No. 239.<sup>17</sup>

कुरवरा घोसकस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Ghosaka (*Ghoshaka*) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुरवरा नगमिताय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga* or *Nāgamitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]र वरिव स[१ ति]सिरिय

L. 2. — सुनि — — — —<sup>18</sup>(The gift) of the nun Sātisiri (*Sāntisiri* or *Sodtisiri*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुररातो अरहगुप्तस

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

The gift of Arhaguta (*Arhagupta*) from Kurara.No. 243.<sup>19</sup>

L. 1. कुररातो अरह[गु]प्तस

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

No. 244.

L. 1. कुरराय अञ्जावतिय

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दानं [१\*]<sup>20</sup>The gift of the nun Achhāvati (*Rikshavati*) in Kurara.<sup>17</sup> There are two illegible lines above that given here.<sup>18</sup> Restores भिक्षुनिय दानं.<sup>19</sup> The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs.<sup>20</sup> It is not impossible that the कुरराय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुररिय.



No. 245.

कुरराय नागादिनाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>१</sup>  
The gift of Nāgādina (Nāgadattā) in Kurara.

No. 246.

कुरराय धम्मकस दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Dhamaka (Dharmaka) in Kurara.

No. 247.

कुरराय वल्ल — — — —

No. 248.

L. 1. कुरराय सघारखिताया<sup>२</sup>

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Saghārahita (Sangharakhita) in Kurara.

No. 249.

कुररिय अरहगुता [य दा]—

The gift of Arahagutā (Arahagutā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[रि]य [अर]हदिनाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahadinā (Arahaddattā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]ररियस सदा — — — —

No. 252.

L. 1. गढाय भिक्षुन-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gadā (Gaddā?).

No. 253.

गड[र]या भिक्षुनया वेदिसिकाया दानं [॥\* ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gadā (Gaddā?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

. . गिरिकस पत्न्यायति—सिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . ti, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

गौतमिये इसिनिका — — — —<sup>३</sup>

(The gift) of Isinikā (Rishikā), the Gotamī (Gautamī).

<sup>१</sup> Read नाग.

<sup>२</sup> Read सघर.

<sup>३</sup> There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.

No. 256.

मोतिपुत्र भद्रक भिक्षुनो दानं [४\*]<sup>44</sup>The gift of the monk Bhaḍuka, son of the Goti (*Ganpti* mother).No. 257.<sup>45</sup>

जितमित्र दानं [४]

The gift of Jitsmitā (*Jitāmitra*).No. 258.<sup>46</sup>

जोहक भिक्षुनो दानं [४\*]

The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnakā*).

No. 259.

ताकारापदा संवरखित दानं [४\*]

The gift of Saṃgharakhita (*rakṣita*) from Takārāpada.

No. 260.

गोणमस गोनंदक दानं [४\*]

The gift of the ascetic Gonamdaka.

No. 261.

तिरिडपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [६] नं [४\*]

The gift of the female lay worshipper Nāgā from Tiridapada.

No. 262.

तिस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Tisa (*Tishya*).

No. 263.

तुडस फुजाकप[त्रि]यस दानं [४\*]<sup>47</sup>The gift of Tuḍa (*Tuḍa*), inhabitant of Phujākspallī (?).No. 264.<sup>48</sup>

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Gahapati Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>49</sup>

No. 265.

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस भातु [जा]याय ध[जा]य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Dhañā (*Dhanyā*), wife of the brother of the gahapati Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>50</sup><sup>44</sup> This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (*ante*, p. 36), which however has three lines, see facsimile.<sup>45</sup> See facsimile.<sup>46</sup> Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, *ante*, p. 106.<sup>47</sup> The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.<sup>48</sup> Identical in words with No. 23, *ante*, p. 99.<sup>49</sup> Tumbavana occurs in Hemachandra's *Pratishthā Parva*, (see Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p. 71).



No. 266.

देवस भयनागस भिक्षुनो उज्जैनिकस दानं [१\*]

The gift of the *Thera*, the venerable Nāga, a monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

L. 1. दत्ताये भिक्षुनिया स — — कटिकाये<sup>12</sup>

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Datā (*Dattā*), inhabitant of [Maḍalacchh]ikata.

No. 268.

देवरक्षितस मीरजहकटियस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk Devarakhita (*rakṣita*), inhabitant of Morajahakata.

No. 269.

धनगिरिनो [चडि]पियस<sup>13</sup> च भिक्षुनं दानं [१\*]The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chāḍipiya (*Chāḍīpriya*?).

No. 270.

L. 1. धमकस वेजजक-

L. 2. स दानं [१\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

धमगिरिनो च धमसेनस च दानं [१\*]

The gift both of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*?) and of Dhamasena (*Dharma*?).

No. 272.

धमदिनाये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Dhamadinā (*Dharmadattā*).

No. 273.

L. 1. धम्मपालस

L. 2. म[हि]पालस<sup>14</sup> दानं [१\*]The gift of Dhammapāla (*Dharma*?) and of Mahipāla.

No. 274.

L. 1. धमरक्षितस

L. 2. — रकरकस दानं [१\*]

The Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakhita*), inhabitant of —rakara(?).

No. 275.

धमरक्षिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakhita*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.<sup>12</sup> Restored मद्रकटिकाये<sup>13</sup> This may also be intended for चडिपियस or चडि<sup>14</sup> The second vowel has been obliterated.

No. 276.

L. 1. धमु — — —

L. 2. कुलस द[न ॥<sup>2</sup>]The gift of the family of Dhamu[ta] (*Dharmottara*).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर चचल—

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय द[न ॥<sup>3</sup>]The gift of the nun Achala from Nadinagara (*Nandi*).

No. 278.

L. 1. नदिनगरा चम[न य]

L. 2. दान [॥<sup>4</sup>]The gift of Amaga (*Amala*, i.e., *Amytā*?) from Nandinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. नदिनगर[र] उत्तरदत्त

L. 2. दान [॥<sup>5</sup>]The gift of Utarsata (*Uttaradatta*) from Nandinagara.

No. 280.

नदिनगर [उत्तर]मित्य दान [॥<sup>6</sup>]The gift of Utaramita (*Uttaramitra*) from Nandinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [न]दिनगर उपास-

L. 2. [कम] यमदस दन [॥<sup>7</sup>]The gift of the lay worshipper Yamada[ta] (*°datta*) from Nandinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. नदिनगर रोहणदेव-

L. 2. य [दा]न [॥<sup>8</sup>]The gift of Rohanadeva (*Rohinideva*) from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 283.

न[दु]तरय दन वे[दि]सिख्य भिक्षुनिय

The gift of Namdutarā (? *Nandottara*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदत्तस सघराखितस च कोरघरानं

L. 2. दान [॥<sup>9</sup>]The gift of Nāgadatta (*°datta*) and Sagharakhita (*Saṃgharakṣita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.<sup>2</sup> Probably धमुसस to be restored.<sup>3</sup> Above the first syllable stands another न.<sup>4</sup> Head दमदत्तस<sup>5</sup> This inscription has to be read from below, see *supra*, p. 107, No. 93.



No. 285.<sup>77</sup>

ना[मिल]स सेठिनो दानं [३\*]

The gift of *Sheth Nāgila*.

No. 286.

नाटिय भिक्षुनिय [की]रघरिय द[नं ३\*]

The gift of the nun *Nāṭi*, inhabitant of *Kuraghara*.

No. 287

नादिनगर कावोज -

स भिक्षुनो दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk *Kāboja* (*Kāmbōja*) from *Nādinagara* (*Nandi*).

No. 288.<sup>78</sup>

L. 1. पद्यकस भिक्षुनो उ[भे]यका — —

L. 2. बुधपालीतस भिक्षुनो दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk *Panthaka* (*Pānthaka*) . . . . (and) of the monk *Bādhapālita* (*Buddhapālita*).

No. 289.

[पा]तिदानस दानं [३\*]

The gift of *Pātithāna*.

No. 290.

पुरुविहा दिसामिरिपुतान द[नं ३\*]

The gift of the sons of *Disāgiri* (*Disāgiri*) from *Puruviha*.

No. 291.

पुसकस दन [३\*]

The gift of *Pusaka* (*Pushyaka*).

No. 292.

पुसदतस नवमभकियस दन [३\*]

The gift of *Pusadatta* (*Pushyadatta*), inhabitant of *Nāvagāma* (*grāma*).

No. 293.

पेमूतिक्काय सुपठामाये भिक्षुनिये दानं [३\*]

The gift of the nun *Supaṭhāmā* (*Suprasṭhāmā* ?), inhabitant of *Pemuta*.

No. 294.

[पा\*]खरालो इसिदताय लोवस पकावतिद्या दानं [३\*]

The gift of *Isidatā* (*Īśhidattā*), the wife of *Lovā* from *Pokhara* (*Pushkara*).

<sup>77</sup> See facsimile.

<sup>78</sup> Given among the facsimiles.

<sup>79</sup> See above, note 34 to No. 138.

No. 295.

पोखराती इसिदताय दानं — — — — —  
The gift of Isidatā from Pokhara . . . . .

No. 296.

[\*पी]खराती तुडाया तुडम व दानं से — — — — —  
The gift of Tuḍā and Tuḍa (*Tuḍa*) . . . from Pokhara.

No. 297.

पोखरा संघ[खि]स<sup>१</sup> दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Saṃgha[ra]khi[ta] from Pokhara.

No. 298.

पोढविभक्तस इसिदिनस दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Isidinna (*Ṛishidatta*), inhabitant of Poḍavijha.<sup>२</sup>

No. 299.

बधकस भिहुना को[वि]जिलकस — —  
(*The gift*) of the monk Budhaka (*Paddhaka*),<sup>३</sup> inhabitant of Koḍijila.

No. 300.

L. 1. बलदताया चुड[फ]  
L. 2. लनिरियाय दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Baladatā (*ḍatta*), inhabitant of Chudaphalsgiri (*Kshudra*).<sup>४</sup>

No. 301.

[को]हु मुलपितु<sup>५</sup> दनं [॥\*]  
The gift of Bohu (*Bhoddhi* ?), the father of Mula (*Mūla*).

No. 302.

बुधरखितस [दानं] [॥\*]  
The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakhita*).

No. 303.

बुधरखितस [भिहुना व]य भट्टकिट्टस दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*pupil*) of the venerable Bhamḍuka.

No. 304.

L. 1. बुधरखताय भिहु —  
L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of the nun Budharakhatā (*Buddharakhita*).

<sup>१</sup> Read संघसित्त.

<sup>२</sup> Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound पुढविभक्ता.

<sup>३</sup> This may be a misspelling for दीपक or दीप.

<sup>४</sup> Perhaps meant for बहूपित. See the facsimile.



No. 305.

बोधिदा दान [१\*]

The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भद्रिकस भिक्षुनो

L. 2. कुरघरा-

L. 3. स दानं [१०]\*

The gift of the monk Bhadrīka, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 307.

भद्र — — — खुनो कौरघरस दन [१\*]\*

The gift of [the monk] Bhadr[īka], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भद्रुनो पञ्चावतिय दानं [१\*]

The gift of the wife of Bhadrū (Bhadrū).

No. 309.

[भो]मवदना धविकाय — —

(The gift) of Dhāṇikā (Dhanyakā) from Bhogavaḍhanā ('cūrdhana).

No. 310.

महवटा नादिनिदा दानं [१\*]

The gift of Nādinī (Nandini) from Maḥhavata (Matahavata).

No. 311.

मनोरमस वडकिनी यो — — —

(The gift) of the carpenter\* Manorama . . . . .

No. 312.

महानामस

Of Mahānāman.

No. 313.

माहिसतिय अरिहदताये दानं [१\*]\*

The gift of Arihadatā (Arhadattā) from Māhasati (Māhishmatī).

No. 314.

माहिसतिय जि — — — स दानं [१\*]

The gift of Ji . . . from Māhishmatī (Māhishmatī).

\* Probably कुरघरस to be read.

\* Restore मद्रिकस भिक्षुनो.

\* I take exceptions to stand for coddling, just as we have in No. 310. Address for Arhika.

\* Must for माहिसतिय; the blotted letters of the inscription might be taken to represent माहिसतिय.

No. 315.

मितसिरिया दानं भिक्षुनिया करारिया [१\*]

The gift of Mitasiri (*Mitrasiri*), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.

यखिय भिक्षुनिये वेदिसा दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakhī*) from Vedisā.

No. 317.

रतिनय<sup>१</sup> माहिमतिय दानं [१\*]The gift of Ratina from Māhismati (*Māhishmati*).

No. 318.

L. 1. रविलस नंदिनगारकस<sup>२</sup>

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

The gift of Robila,<sup>३</sup> inhabitant of Nandinagara.

No. 319.

L. 1. रवतिमिताय बलक-

L. 2. स पञ्चावति[या दानं] [१\*]

The gift of Revatimitā (*Revattmitā*), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.

L. 1. वजिनिय भिक्षुनिया

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Vajini (*Vajini*).

Nos. 321-22.

L. 1. वरदत्तस दानं

L. 2. भनिनिया वरसनाय

L. 3. दानं

The gift of Varadata (*datta*); the gift of (*his*) sister Varasena.

No. 323.

L. 1. वरदत्तस पञ्चावतिय

L. 2. इसल<sup>४</sup> दानं [१\*]The gift of Isalā (*Rishilā*), wife of Varadata (*Varadatta*).<sup>१</sup> Means for रतिनि, diminutive from रति or रत्न.<sup>२</sup> Probably meant for वेदिनगरकस.<sup>३</sup> This probably stands for Robila, like *Asila* (No. 310) for *Asila*.<sup>४</sup> Means for रश्मिनाय.



No. 324.

L. 1. वरदत्तस्य पञ्चवत्या

L. 2. रोहाय दानं [४\*]

The gift of Rohā, wife of Varadata ("datto").

No. 325.

वरुणस्य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Varuṇa.

No. 326.

L. 1. [व]सुमिताय भि-

L. 2. कुनिय [दानं]

L. 3. उज्जेनिकय

The gift of Vasumitā ("mitrā"), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दानं [४\*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 328.

वाडीवहनातो चीडकस्य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Oḍaka (*Ardraka*) from Vāḍivahana.

No. 329.

वासवये नंदिनगरा भिक्षुनिये दानं [४\*]

The gift of Vāsavā, a nun from Nandīnagara.

No. 330.

L. 1. [वि]तिरिण्हिय भुत-

L. 2. रक्षितस्य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhūtārakhita*) from Vitirīṇahā(?).

No. 331.

L. 1. वितिरिण्हिय महि-

L. 2. रक्षितस्य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Mahirakhita (*Mahirakhita*) from Vitirinahā(?).

No. 332.

L. 1. विपुलाय कापासिगा—

L. 2. मयू भिक्षुनिया दानं [४\*]

The gift of Vipulā, a nun from Kāpāsīgāma ("grāma").

No. 333.

विरोहकट घरिनिये [सि]भाये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sijhā (*Saikhṣā*), a house-wife from Virahakata.

No. 334.

विसाखरखितस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Visākharakhita (*Viśākharakṣita*).

No. 335.

विसखरखितस भिङ्गुना दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (*Viśākharakṣita*).

No. 336.

वीरसेनाये दानं [१\*]

The gift of Virasenā.

No. 337.

वी[राये] भिङ्गुनिवा तीववनिकाय दानं

The gift of Virā(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No. 338.

वेदिमा अरहतरखित — दानं [१\*]

The gift of Arahatarakhita (*Arhadrakṣita*) from Vedisa.

No. 339.

वेदस<sup>१</sup> दत्तस कलवडस दानं [१\*]

No. 340.

वेदिस दत्तस कलवडस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Data (*Datta*) Kalavaḍa from Vedisa.

No. 341.

वेदिमा मोहिकाये भिङ्गुनिये दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Mohikā from Vedisa.

No. 342.

सकरखितस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sakarakhita (*Sakrarakṣita*).

No. 343.

संवरखिताय कोरमिकाय भिङ्गुनिवा [दाने] [१\*]

The gift of Saṃgharakhitā (*ṛakṣitā*), a nun of Kurama.<sup>१</sup> Meant for वेदिमा.



No. 344.

संघायि — — — —

Of Saṃghā.

No. 345.

संघायदासकमातु दानं [१\*]

The gift of Saṃghā, mother of Dāsaka.

No. 346.

सतिगुप्तस दानं [१\*]

The gift of Satiguts (*Saktigupta* or *Scatigupta*).

No. 347.

L. 1. समणस भिक्षुना षडुत्तरस अलेवसिना

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk Samaṇa (*Sramaṇa*), pupil of the venerable Utara (*Uttara*).

No. 348.

समिक्षस षडनगस अलेवसिना दानं [१\*]

The gift of Samika (*Scāmika*), pupil of the venerable Naga (*Nāga*).

No. 349.

L. 1. समिक्षस वनि[क]स

L. 2. पुत्रस च सो[हदे]व-

L. 3. स [दानं] [१\*]

The gift of the trader Samika (*Scāmika*) and of (his) son Sihadeva (*Sihada*).

No. 350.

समिक्षया भिक्षुनि-

L. 2. य दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Samikā (*Scāmikā*).

No. 351.

समिक्षाय भिक्षुनया दानं

The gift of the nun Sāmikā (*Scāmikā*).

No. 352.

[सा\*]मिदत्तस भिक्षुना दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk [Sā]midatta (*Scāmidatta*).

No. 353.

सिरिदिनाय भिक्षुनया नादिनागरिणाय दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Sridattā*) of Nandinagara.

No. 354.

सिरिभागस संवु — — —

Of Siribhāga (*Sribhāga*) . . . . .

No. 355.

सिरिमिताया नादिना[ग]रिकाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Sirimitā (*Scimitra*) of Nandinagara.

No. 356.

सिरिया भिक्षुनिया दानं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Sīri (*Srī*).

No. 357.

सिवतिये

Of Sivati.

No. 358.

सिहय<sup>१</sup>Of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 359.

- L. 1. सिह्याय देवदत्ताय  
 L. 2. च दानं [कु]रवरा भिक्षु-  
 L. 3. निनं [१\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*) and Devadattā (*°dattā*), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.

सिह्याय समातिकय वज्रिनिकय दानं [१\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), Samātikā<sup>२</sup> (*Samāptikā*?) (and) Vajrinikā (*Vajrinikā*).

No. 361.

सुबाहितम पत्नीव[तिय]<sup>३</sup> — — —

Of the wife of Subāhita . . . . .

No. 362.

- L. 1. सुरियय बुधदेवय पैमतिक-  
 L. 2. य दानं [१\*]  
 The gift of Suriya (*Sūryā* and) Buddhadevā (*Buddhā*) of Pemata.

\* Inserted on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right hand looks like a large M. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>२</sup> Possibly *samāptikā* may stand for *samāptikā* and be intended to indicate that Vajrinikā was the mother of Sihā. If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.

<sup>३</sup> Compare No. 46, ante, p. 302.



No. 363.

L. 1. सुरियाय भिक्षु-

L. 2. निया दानं [४\*]

The gift of the nun Suriya (*Sūryā*).

No. 364.

L. 1. सेतपथियस

L. 2. योनस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Yona (*Yavona*), inhabitant of Setapatha (*Settā*).

No. 365.

L. 1. हलाय दक्षिणात्रि-

L. 2. य दानं [४\*]

The gift of Hālā, the Southern (?).

No. 366.

— — — — कस भजितियुतकुलस — —\*

No. 367.

[स]ककस अस्तदे[वाय\*] — —

No. 368.

सिधस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369.

— — — — [सतिनी] [१] कुरस दानं [४\*]

No. 370.

— — — — नामिलस दानं [४\*]

No. 371.

L. 1. — — — — तय सजावति[य]

L. 2. पू — न

No. 372.

— — डस दान सपजावतिकस [४\*]

No. 373.

— — — — स कुमुपदकस [दानं]†[४\*]

No. 374.

L. 1. — — — — रा संवपालि[ताय\*]

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दा[नं] [४\*]

\* The explanation of दक्षिणात्री by दाक्षिणात्री is, of course, merely tentative.

\* On the analogy of Gujarati *Vikramaditya* for *Vikramāditya*, *Ajitagata* may stand for *Ajitagata*.

No. 375.

L. 2. — — — य सुभगाय पुसाय नागदत्तस सधरखितस कोरव[रका][ना?]

L. 1. दानं [५\*]<sup>m</sup>

The gift of . . . Subhagā, Pusā (*Pushyā*) Nāgadata (*“datta”*) Sagarakhita (*Saṃgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.

— — — — — उत[राय] ट — — —

No. 377.<sup>m</sup>

L. 1. [यो] इतो काकणा — तो तोरण वा वेदिक वा

L. 2. उपादेया उपादा — — या वा चान वा (vā) चाचरियकु —

L. 3. संकामिय सो म — — — तिन पितिचा — न

L. 4. चरहतघातिन — — — — — [म सो]

L. 5. [कम] उपायकान — — — — — [स पापा]

L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kākanā[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred<sup>1</sup> to another temple of the teacher [shall incur the guilt] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . . .

No. 378.<sup>2</sup>

धमो ५ पौ[च]नगरियकारकान [न]त महेय यो इतो काकणापातो से[ल]कमे उपादे[य\*]

[उपा]दापेय वा

चन वा चाचरियकुलं संकामेया तस ते पातका भवेयु [५]

A pillar (*the gift*) of the workmen, inhabitants of Pañchānagara (?) . . . . on him who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kākanāva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fall (*the guilt*) of those mortal sins.

TONE II.

No. 22 = C. 1.

नागिलस दानं अयस अंतेवासिनी [५\*]

The gift of Nāgila, the pupil of Aya (*Arya*).

No. 23 = C. 2

धम्मरखितस सेभस कु — —

. . . of Dhammarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), the pupil.

<sup>m</sup> The inscriptions must be read from below.

<sup>n</sup> Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 188. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restores L. 1 चाकणापाती; L. 2 उपादापेया चाचरियकुलं, L. 3 नागाचरिय निविधातिन. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>1</sup> This explanation, which requires संकामेया to be taken in the sense of संसाधयेया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacob. With चाचरियकुलं in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare टोपकल.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 198, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.



No. 24 = C. 7.

सघमित्तम भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Saghāmitta (*Saṅghamitra*)

No. 25 = C. 8.

बुधपाळितस सेठिनो पदुकुलिकियम दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sheth Budhapālita (*Buddha*), inhabitant of Padukulika (*Pāṇḍukulika*).<sup>1</sup>

No. 26 = C. 15.

L. 1. वलाय कोररिये भिक्षु-

L. 2. निवे दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Valā, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.

L. 1. बलकस अयस अरहगुप्तस मासा-

दकस अनेवासिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahagutta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsāda.

No. 28 = C. 21.

मुलाया दान अमो गडाय अनेवासिनिया [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of Mula (*Mūla*), the pupil of Gaḍa.

No. 29 = C. 22.

L. 1. सघरखिताया मातु — — खडिकावा<sup>2</sup>

L. 2. इसिदासिया भिक्षुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidāsa (*Isidāsa*), inhabitant of — — kaḍa, mother of Sagharaḥita (*Samgharakṣita*).

No. 30 = C. 23.

अयस बुधरखितस पोखरियकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Budharakhita (*Buddharakṣita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Puṣkara*)

No. 31 = C. 26.

सिदकडा टिकिसस दानं [॥\*]<sup>3</sup>

The gift of Tikisa (T) from Sidakaḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.

— य सिदकाडिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . . 1, inhabitant of Sidakāḍa.

<sup>1</sup> See ante, p. 110, No. 1.<sup>2</sup> The syllable *ga* stands in L. 2 after दान.<sup>3</sup> The letters *ḍa* and *ka* look rather modern, the *ḍa* is of the Andhra type.

No. 33 = C. 28.

बुधपालिता सिदकडियाय दानं [३\*]<sup>१</sup>The gift of Budhspālita (*Buddha*), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 34 = C. 29.

सदकडियाय गोलाय दानं [३\*]

The gift of Golā (*Godācarī*), inhabitant of Sadakaḍa (*Sidakaḍa*).

No. 35 = C. 31.

बुधगुताय सिदकडिय दानं [३\*]

The gift of Budhagutā (*Buddhagutā*), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 36 = C. 34.

अरहकस भिक्षुनो आणकस दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk Arahaka (*Arhat*), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दानं [३\*]

The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.

नागरखितस भिक्षुनो पीखरियकस दानं [३\*]

The gift of the monk Nāgarakhita (*rakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 39 = C. 40.

L. 1. सगरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं कौरर-

L. 2. स [३\*]

The gift of the monk Sagarakhita (*Saṅgharakshita*), an inhabitant of Kurara

No. 40 = C. 43.

ओडिय भिक्षुनिय यमो दानं [३\*]

A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi.

No. 41.

अयस पोखरियकस दानं [३\*]

The gift of Aya (*Arya*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 42.

असदेवाय भिक्षुनिय द[१]नं [३\*]

The gift of the nun Asadevā (*Asadevā*).

<sup>१</sup> This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above.  
I. No. 132



## No. 43.

L. 1. आजनावा आवासि-

L. 2. कस दानं [४\*]

The gift of Āvāsika from Ājanāva.

## No. 44.

इसिदतय भिक्षुनिय दन [४०]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidatta*).

## No. 45.

इददतस उपसकस दन [४\*]

The gift of the layman Idadata (*Indradatta*).

## No. 46.

गंधारस भिक्षुनो दानं [४\*]

The gift of the monk Gaṇḍhāra.

## No. 47.

गोतमिया भिक्षुनिवा दनां [४\*]

The gift of the nun Gotamī (*Gautamī*).

## No. 48.

चिरतिय भिक्षुनिय दय [४\*]

The gift of the nun Chiratī (*Kirātī*).

## No. 49.

चु[व]मोरगिरिनो ग्रामस द[१]न [४\*]

The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (?)

## No. 50.

दानं मोरयहिकटियस [४\*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

## No. 51.

L. 1. धम्मरसिरिय उपसिक्क-

L. 2. य दन [४\*]

The gift of Dhammasiri (*Dharmasiri* ?),<sup>12</sup> a lay worshipper.<sup>12</sup> The letters are somewhat blurred.<sup>13</sup> The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.<sup>14</sup> The *u*-stroke of ४४ is very faint, and there is also an *ā*-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.<sup>15</sup> Read दान<sup>16</sup> The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that चुमोरगिरिणी is intended.<sup>17</sup> This is probably intended for धर्मरसिरिय; compare धम्मरसि in the Maithili inscriptions, —*op. cit.*, p. 210, No. 37.

No. 52.

[ध]मसेनस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>12</sup>The gift of the monk *Dhamasena* (*Dharma*<sup>13</sup>).

No. 53.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. असदवय भिक्षुय दन [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>The gift of the nun *Asadava* (*Asadevā*), from *Nadinsgara* (*Nundinagara*).

No. 54.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. — िमितय भिक्षुनय दन [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>The gift of the nun . . . *imitā* from *Nadinsgara* (*Nandinagara*).

No. 55.

न[दु]कस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>The gift of the monk *Namduka*.

No. 56.

पलस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>The gift of the monk *Pala* (*Pāla*).

No. 57.

L. 1. ब[ध]कस कुररस भिक्षु—

L. 2. दन [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>The gift of the *Badhaka* (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of *Kurara*.

No. 58.

बु[ध]गु[त]स उदुवरघरियस [दा]न [॥\*]

The gift of *Budhaguta* (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of *Udubaraghara* (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 59.

बुधरखितकस सुतातिकस अर[पा]नकस दान [॥\*]

The gift of *Budharakhitaka* (*Buddharakṣhitaku*), the *Sutātika* (*Santrāntika*) inhabitant of *Arapāna*.<sup>12</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.<sup>13</sup> Meant for असदेवस्य भिक्षुनिव.<sup>14</sup> Restore िमितय.<sup>15</sup> Possibly बद्धकस, but compare above, No. 18.<sup>16</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been ब.<sup>17</sup> The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for *Balska*,—see above.



No. 60.

बुधरखित [कु]— —<sup>12</sup>

No. 61.

L. 1. बुधरखितस भिक्षुनि[य]

L. 2. दनं [१\*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakshitā*).

No. 62.

बुधरखितस भिक्षुनो दन [१\*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 63.

बोधिदा भू— —

(The gift) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]भूतिनो भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

The gift of the monk Bharanabhūti (?) (*Bharanabhūti*).

No. 65.

भिक्षुनिकाय दानं [१\*]<sup>13</sup>

The gift of Bhichhunikā (*the little nun* ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस उदुवरघरियस दनं [१\*]

The gift of Rohanika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 67.

विपुलस भि[क्षु]नो [दा]नं [१\*]

The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस रोहणिपदियस

L. 2. दनं [१\*]

The gift of Visaka (*Visaka*), inhabitant of Rohanipada.

No. 69.

सघव मातु साफिनेयिकाय[१\*]

(The gift) of the Sāphineyikā, mother of Saghā (*Saṅghā*).

<sup>12</sup> The ॠ is made circular, the ॡ has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurā inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.

<sup>13</sup> All the lines of the letters are double.

No. 70.

सोषसिरिव भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥<sup>३</sup>]The gift of the nun Soṣasiri (*Sucarvadri*;

No. 71.

— — — तव सगिरिविकाय धम — — [सक]सय दानं [॥<sup>३</sup>]

No. 72.

L. 1. — — — — रस भिक्षुनो मातु कोडुय

L. 2. — — — — या दानं [॥<sup>३</sup>]

The gift of Koḍu, mother of the monk . . . . ra, . . . .

No. 73.

L. 1. — [म]र[स्मि]ताय<sup>३</sup> — — — —

L. 2. दा[नं] कोर[मि]काय [धत्ते]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā.

No. 74.

— — — — रस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥<sup>३</sup>]

The gift of the monk . . . . na.

No. 75.

— — — — कुनय स — — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — — य भिक्षुनिय

L. 2. — — [को]र रिय [॥<sup>३</sup>]

(The gift) of the nun . . . . inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

— — — — भिक्षुनो दानं [॥<sup>३</sup>]

No. 78

— — — — तवा धवदेवय दन [॥<sup>३</sup>]The gift of . . . . tā, Dhavadēvā (*Dharmadevā*).<sup>३</sup> Restore धम्मसिद्धाय.



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<sup>22</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression.



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<sup>a</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, —compare ante (Note).

<sup>b</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of Namda<sup>2</sup> (?).

<sup>c</sup> According to Dr. Führer's new impression it is possible to read *Separa*.

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<sup>o</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of *Poravijhaka*. It is confirmed by the form *Podavijhaka* in No. 298.

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Vittrīṇahā I, 339.

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### XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

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Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewad, which are at Chitorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rajputana. Of the earliest<sup>1</sup> of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1331—I have already given an account<sup>2</sup> in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, p. 80, from a rubbing of Mr. Garrick's that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokali.<sup>3</sup> It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4' 3" broad by 2' 8" high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, 5½" square, enclosing a circle which is about 3½" in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other *akṣaras* are engraved, three of which clearly give the name *Mokala*. The writing of the inscription is generally

<sup>1</sup> A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, plate xxv.

<sup>2</sup> In Dr. Führer's impressions the name of the 14th prince, *Amraprasāda*, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription.

and I do not think that it would be worth while re-publishing the text of it.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 106, and plate xxiii.



well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen *aksharas*, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory words *Oṃ Oṃ namah Śivāya* and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Sanskrit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakūṭa (the modern Chitorgadh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhiśa\*) by the prince Mokala of Medapāṭa (or Mewād). After the words "Om, Om, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajāsya (Gaṇeśa), Ekalinga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Śiva's consort Pārvatī) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila.<sup>†</sup> In that family was born the lord of Medapāṭa Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammira (*Hammira-citra, Hammira-deva*; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (*Kshetra-mahipati, Kshetra-kshittā*; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasimha (*Lakshasimha-ciripati, Laksha-kshittā*; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayā from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (i.e. the Muhammadans). And Lakshasimha's son was Mokala (*Mokala-kshmapati, Mokalaendra*; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas<sup>‡</sup> (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvārakā' (i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakūṭa, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhiśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the *Prāśasti* closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding *Prāśasti* was written<sup>§</sup> (i.e. composed) by Ekanaṭha, a son of Bhaffa Viṣṇu, of the Daśapura clan;<sup>||</sup> that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vijala; and that the inscription was written on the stone by Visala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Visa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Visala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

\* The text, in verse 72, actually has *Samiddheśa*, which must be altered to either *Samiddheśa* or *Samādhiśa*. *Samādhiśa* occurs, as a name of Śiva, in line 63 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgadh and Mount Abū; and *Samiddheśa* I find in another Chitorgadh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.

† See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 340.

‡ Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Angas, Kāmarūpas, Vangas, Nishādās, Uṭtas, and Turushkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been

put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

§ The original has *alīkāt*, which must here mean 'composed,' because the writer's name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.

|| *Daśapura-jāti* occurs again in the Nāgarī inscription of Mokala's grandson Rājamalla; *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* vol. LVI, part I, p. 82, v. 35. On the town Daśapura see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79, note 2.

Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, i.e. on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, i.e. Phālguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), i.e. 1485, under the *nakshatra* of Aryaman, i.e. Pūrva-phalgunī, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghāṭa, i.e. Kumbhā. Here the statements that the sun (on Phālguna-rātri 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbhā, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the *pāruśmanta* scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (i.e. in the Jovian year Rākshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system); and accordingly the true equivalent for Phālguna-rātri 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 18h. 29m. after mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pūrva-phalgunī, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbhā, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.—The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Kumbho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1410, as was stated by Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* vol. I, p. 236. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Peroja, who could only have been the Sultan Firōz Shāh (A.D. 1351-1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala's predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*<sup>10</sup> and in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 237.

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. I.

श्री<sup>12</sup> । श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

सिद्धार्थामरमुंदरीकरवलसिद्धरधारारुण-

श्रीसंडखलसंडनीयुगलसहानांयुपूरोज्ज(स्व)लः ॥(1)

संध्याभ्यर्चुरितापसासुनिपतबाजापगौषधयः

स्रज्योर्ध्वसिद्धिदिव प्रयच्छतु शिवं देवी गजाश्लोचयं ॥ १ ॥<sup>13</sup>

वेदा वार्जिति शिष्टतामुपगतो यः कर्मणामोक्ष-

<sup>10</sup> The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492; see Peterson's *Third Report*, Appendix, p. 203.

<sup>11</sup> The names given by Tod are Ural, Hamir, Khalai.

Lakha-Rana, and Mokul. *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 267-277.

<sup>12</sup> From an impression, prepared by Dr. Führer.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 1-4: Śārdūlavikīrṣita.



L. 2.

ता

साची तत्प्रातिभूः पुनर्भवति सन्निवार्धसंदर्शनः ।  
 जाल्येवे<sup>17</sup> विनयरेषु सकलं दाता विविक्तः फलं  
 देवः स्वस्तिकरः परः स सततं स्नादेकस्निगाभिधः ॥ २ ॥  
 भूमीमल्लयमं(धि)तस्मिन्निरियं मुनीं नमा वंधवो  
 विध्योमल्लचरितो न चकितः मास्त्रापयद्वापान्<sup>18</sup> ।  
 कन्या मान्यतमा मणीमवविधा-

3.

पिल्लिकमंतोक्तितो

यामानीनयदचैनाय मिरिला विध्यालया सावतात् ॥ ३ ॥  
 कालिंदीतटकुंजवदवसतिः सेयं प्रिया राधिका  
 क्षतं ननु रुक्मिणी न भवती कुं जाकृष्टासिन्धुभिः ।  
 युक्तं ना[सि] कलावती सुविदितं त्वं मत्वमामेनवा  
 नोक्तासोति विनिहृतीतमुदितमेधोभुतः पातु यः ॥ ४ ॥  
 स्फारन्यायोन्ववायो मुहिलनरपतेर-

4.

स्ति जाघतमस्ति-

ज्योतीभूतांतरायो वसतिरिह युगे धर्म्यकर्मादियस्य ।  
 प्रमयागान्तरामे(ग)स्त्रिविमलनिधौ भुरिभोगीनभामा<sup>19</sup>  
 भूयोनुनां विधत्ते सपदि शतमसी<sup>20</sup> यत् संभूय शक्रः ॥ ५ ॥  
 वाक्सेतोरचलव्यतिर्दिशि दिशि प्रख्यातमानोवति-  
 निर्युद्धिन्नवाङ्मनीपरिपृतो नानाधनैकाकरः ।  
 अत्यलक्षितिविषयो मुनिकयासीतादिभोवस्त्रिति-  
 विधौ वं-

5.

धुरंधरतां पितृभुते यस्मिपपञ्चयः ।[॥] ॥ ॥<sup>21</sup>

वंशे सदाचिंसिहः क्षितिपतिरजनि अवनचलसली-  
 बीषादचौरुत्तमावचुलकरलनिधममास्त्रमस्त्रिः ।  
 विध्यावधप्रदेशम्पूरदमलसनिचक्रद्वारकरत्न-  
 स्फारयोमेदपाटक्षितिच(य)लयवलद्वयपाघीदचंद्रः<sup>22</sup> ॥ ७ ॥  
 नरपतिरिंसिहः यस्त्रशास्त्रीपट्टेष्टा वितरनर-

6.

एकपणो विस्त्रविस्त्रातवर्षः ॥ (1)

स्फूरदमलमुषीचः पुच्छमस्योरुनामा नयविनयविधेकोद्यानपुंस्कोकिलः सन् ॥ ८ ॥  
 विभ्यसिहपदादमुष्य सकरी नूनं मघीनी यती  
 वाजी सत्र(च)हविष्टताध्वरभुव<sup>23</sup> नोद्यैःनया मण्यति ।  
 आहृतः कथमेह<sup>24</sup> वाहनस्यते देवायणीज्वलवा

<sup>17</sup> Read जाल्येवे.<sup>18</sup> I should have expected वन्यापयका.<sup>19</sup> The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.<sup>20</sup> Read प्रसमसी.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Scagitharā.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Śāstīlārikrānta.<sup>23</sup> वाजीह 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of वापीधि 'ocean.' Originally 'हुन्वा' was engraved.<sup>24</sup> Metre: Scagitharā.<sup>25</sup> Metre: Mallin.<sup>26</sup> Originally 'सतीधर' was engraved.<sup>27</sup> Read कथमेह.

सिधं वाहनमातनोदयमतः सधोमधुमोदयं ॥ ८ ॥  
कीर्तिः कौतुकिनी दिगंतमगमत्कपू-

1. 7.

रपूरीव(क्य)ला

खिलंती निजवासिताम्बमवशादानिगिता दिग्मलैः ।  
ओरांभोनिधिगाहनं तु विधिना कृत्वादरादुल्लिता  
ब्रह्मादीनतुयीकुमुत्तमगुणध्यास्य प्रगल्भा दिवं ॥ १० ॥  
विशिष्टजनसंगतौ व्यतरदेकलक्षं यतस्ततोधिकतरं यशोलभत भोजभूमीपतिः ।  
अयं कथमदःसमः कविमिच्छते याददादिशेषविधिनाम्बु<sup>३३</sup> विविधनचभोजानपि<sup>३४</sup> ॥ ११ ॥  
निर्वीडो न महेन्द्र-

8.

रोन कठिनो नाचेतनचितित

दातानेकगवीश्वरः परिवृढो नो भारती दुर्भंगा ।  
सैनानीर्न विपक्षसंगतिरतो नोचैः अथा वा हयो  
नारामः कतिचित्तदः कथमदः पुर्वाः स धुर्या दिवः<sup>३५</sup> ॥ १२ ॥  
शूरः सृष्टवाननूनविम[बो] संभावतंसः हत-  
क्षस्य अक्षतरक्षभानुसरिमा हृद्योरवीरो जयी ।  
विख्यातः अरकपजित्वरवपुर्लक्ष्मीनिवासाश्रुतो  
वाग्देवीचतुराननो रियु-

9.

कुलप्रोषोषरूपो महान् ॥ १३ ॥

हृद्योरः किल वमयोचितविधिर्दिशुः सङ्घसं गवा-  
मित्राकर्ण्य सङ्घसंगू रविमयीनाथौ मयं जग्मतुः ।  
यज्जतद्रहसि स्निताश्रुररिपोः श्रुत्वा सङ्घसं पुन-  
र्धनूनां समुपागतावतिमुदा तद्दानमेवेचितुं ॥ १४ ॥  
अर्णादीनतिमय्य दिग्जयविधावादाय दिग्मंडली-  
दंष्टं दूरभयास्य कालमसक्तहाता अयं दक्षिणां ।  
इत्याकर्ण्य

10.

जनश्रुतीः परिभवं स्रं शंकमानोतक-

बुद्धं न जसते प्रजा मनुजैः यस्मिन्मूर्ध्नी शसति ॥ १५ ॥  
प्रासादभासादितयातकुंभकुंभं यस्यैवमचोकरथः ।  
अचीखनकामरकथमत्येतरसरदूतवनीभिरिह ॥ १६ ॥  
संघामघामभूमौ सदिदमसिलता संसता पंचशास्त्रे  
सञ्चायि श्यामलांगो अतज्जलवत्पुष्टिरिष्टप्रचारा ।  
विश्वं सृते विश्वीया कुसुम-

11.

मतिमहत्कीर्त्तनीयं दिग्मते

धा[शा]न्वाता नितांतं दक्षयति नियतं वारणां प्रतर्ति<sup>३६</sup> ॥ १७ ॥

<sup>३३</sup> Metre of verses 9 and 10: Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭita.

<sup>३४</sup> This may have been altered to "अप".

<sup>३५</sup> Perhaps altered to "याददादि" ; read "वीददादि" (?).

<sup>३६</sup> The meaning of this is not clear to me.

<sup>३७</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>३८</sup> Perhaps the original has दिवः. Read पुर्वी दिवः (?).

<sup>३९</sup> Metre of verses 12-15: Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭita.

<sup>४०</sup> Metre: Uṣṇīṭi.

<sup>४१</sup> Read भावा (?) and पदवी.

<sup>४२</sup> Metre: Brāhmarī.



हृन्मीरवीरो रणरमधीरो वाङ्मात्रुरीतज्वितकेकिरीः ॥ (1)  
 धरापवालंकरौकहीरस्तनदनीभूषितकिंधुतीरः ॥ १८ [॥\*] ॥  
 एतत्पाथौ जपाथौ द्विदसुपवनाहारतीर्थं दधाना  
 कालाकारोरीगोव स्फुरति सचकितं वीचिता भीतिहेतुः ॥ (1)  
 ना-

L. 12. धः काये कर्षचिह्नयति बहुमता नो विभीते विपक्षा-  
 त्स्वर्गे धार्धं च[ता]नां वितरति रमते न द्विजिह्वेन चित्रं ॥ १८ [॥\*] ॥  
 पायं पायं सुपीनः परभटवधिरं तन्महोगमंजाता  
 खड्गः कालः कुतोयं कयमियमपरा कीर्तिरत्नज्ज(ज्ज)लास्य ॥ (1)  
 एकेनास्त्रायि नूनं बटदरिपनितानेवतोयंजनादेः  
 तासासुहृत्सितेयं सदुभुजव(ध)लयस्वच्छचूर्णैरजस्रं ॥

13. २० [॥\*]  
 उद्यमप्रौढमतापानलसुषितमहाविंशयो विपक्षा-  
 त्पञ्चादुद्दामकीर्तिचरिततरतुः शीतरश्मित्वमेति ॥ (1)  
 शङ्के कृपांतरं स्व कलयति स वपुर्मंदमोतो रणक्ष्मा-  
 धीरे हृन्मीरवीरे वृत्ति परस्तुभटाशंगरे संमुखस्त्रान् ॥ २१ [॥\*]  
 कुर्वन्पद्मे जतुः स्व विधिरिति विधिदम्बृष्टदृष्टदृष्टिदो  
 नो पंके जम्ब दोषं व्यजगदतुल्यं तस्य रज्जोतरस्य ॥ (1)  
 मूला ५-

14. शीरदेवचितिपतियशसः स्वच्छवर्णोपमेयो  
 मंता पुष्पोपमानं दिशि दिशि सुधिरं सत्कवीनां मुखेडु ॥ २२ [॥\*]  
 मोरी गौरीयहासादपि वचिरवचिधंदनाशंदती वा  
 कांवा कर्णाटकांतासितदशन[च]तुष्कानुमेया सुगोया ॥ (1)  
 शिवस्वामेयवेषम्भुरदमृतवचचाकसौदयधंर्या ॥  
 कीर्तियंस्त्रेदुमूर्त्तः किञ्च चरति दद्यादांतविनांतयावा ॥ २३ [॥\*]  
 तस्मात्स्ये-

15. जमहीपतिः समभवत्स्थातो गुणांभीनिधिः  
 शौर्योदायमहत्त्व(च)सत्त्व(च)महितो ॥ धर्मो वपुश्चानिप ॥ (1)  
 यक्षावधनभावि येन जनके रक्षाकरासंज्ञति-  
 भृशुक्ता जितपूर्वराजगरिमप्राप्तप्रभायालिना ॥ २४ [॥\*]  
 हृदि विनिहितरामो योष्ठाविद्याभिरामो मदनसदृशमूर्तिर्विष्णुविष्वातकीर्तिः ।  
 समरहतविपक्षो जलया दत्तनक्षी नयनजित-

16. सरोजः प्रक्रियाज्ञांतभोजः ॥ २५ [॥\*]  
 संप्रामे दंतिदंतज्वलनकणसुचि प्रीतिरहीरयोध-  
 क्लारोन्मुक्तायनालीनिविडकजलिताशेषकाहांतरालि ॥ (1)

\* Metre: Upajāti.

\* Metre of verses 19-23: Sragdhara.

\* Read 'वैपक्ष'.

\* Read 'हीरौ'.

\* Metre: Śrīgīrīkṛāṇṭha.

\* Metre: Malinī.

जित्वा दुर्म समर्थ नरपतिमहितं साधुवादस्य सम्य-  
 क्त्वं यौधावरित्तामरिकसप्तमन्त्रेणित्तं प्रदीपः<sup>११</sup> ॥ २४ ॥<sup>१२</sup>  
 आकांता ह्यपुंगवेन विलसद्भासा चतुर्भिः पदैः  
 सम्यन्वीक्ष्यपालिता

- L. 17. नवनवपात्रप्रकर्षः दया ॥ (i)  
 प्रासोष्टामरनैचिकीव बहुगो रजान्यनघांषि मौः  
 शूरे कीर्त्तिपयो धराशतमखि यन्मिन्नही यासति ॥ २७ ॥<sup>१३</sup>  
 कीर्त्तिंभीरोदपूरे बहुविधविरुद्धप्रोक्षलहीचिमाले  
 लणः येतेस्व खड्गः सुखमुत्समरे येपमासाय गतो ।  
 दृश्यते राजहंसा दिशि दिशि न ततो मानसे लोयमा-
18. नाः  
 सीदत्पक्षा विलखाः स्फुरति न कमलोन्नेपितापेक्षितेषां ॥ २८ ॥<sup>१४</sup>  
 यस्यासिः कालरात्रिः स्फुरति किल भवच्छङ्खले वैरि- —<sup>१५</sup>  
 — [प्रो] ह्यासियेभ्यः प्रभवदक्षिभयं भूतराजोरुतापं ॥ (i)  
 पद्मोद्गोची न चैषा भवति विघटते चक्रयो[गो] नियोगा-  
 हरिर्जागर्त्तिं भीतिः पतति निजपयो
19. नोन्मिलतः प्रकपातः ॥ २९ ॥  
 भ्रातः कल्पतरो किमाल भगवन्नेमाचल न्युयतां  
 कर्तुं खेत्तमहीपतिः प्रयतते दानानि पुष्पाश्रयः ।  
 वर्त्ते[त्] स्फ[?] करे यज्ञीगणभुवि त्वं वरुणे नित्यशः  
 कीडार्थं यदि [वा] ददाति हि तदा गुरुं क ईदं जनः ॥ ३० ॥<sup>१६</sup>  
 इत्थं दानकथा मिथो विजयते चिन्तामणिस्त्रयंभी-  
 सुखा-
20. नामपि दानशास्त्रविलसत्तास्त्राममुच्य प्रभोः ।  
 उन्मीलच्छरदंतु(दु)जामलदलस्त्रायायताचिस्फुर-  
 लोषेस्त्रायुकमित्तवैरिपरिषत्संप्रतिपहतर्मनः ॥ ३१ ॥<sup>१७</sup>  
 माद्यतेतंतद्वचं ध्वनिभरविगलहीरवर्मांश्चैव  
 स्फूर्जत्कोदंडदंष्ट्रप्रपतदिशुचयच्छस्येनोध्यमन्त्रे ।  
 जन्मे प्राणैकपक्षे गद्यवति न गद्यं विहितां पु-
21. क्षरादि-  
 र्धन्वः खेत्तजितीशः प्रतिभटनृपतिश्चाकराजद्विद्विः<sup>१८</sup> ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>१९</sup>  
 शूर्पार्त्तं तु जडोभवच्छ्रुतिपथं संश्रुतिर्त्तकत्वचं  
 मोक्षतं च सुहृद्भुः शिबिलितं दातं न[वा] सुखितं ॥ (i)

<sup>११</sup> Read "हृत्", and "पदीप".

<sup>१२</sup> Metre: Śrīgīharā.

<sup>१३</sup> Metre: Śkandāvikrīṭa.

<sup>१४</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29: Śrīgīharā.

<sup>१५</sup> Here four aksharas are broken away.

<sup>१६</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śkandāvikrīṭa.

<sup>१७</sup> Perhaps altered to "जटद्विः".

<sup>१८</sup> Metre: Śrīgīharā.



दारिद्र्योपहतं विबोधयति यदुष्टादिदटं यथा  
आप्यं कण्ठपयान्वितं सुविमलं यन्माममंवा-

L. 22.

अरं ॥ ३३ ॥<sup>१०</sup>

तत्सूनुः किं लक्ष्मिंश्चरति.<sup>११</sup> स्यातो गुणधामणी.<sup>१२</sup>  
सद्यमानलामलाजुनययोवलीमतलीतरुः ।<sup>१३</sup>  
यत्नेनःशिशिनो [वि]पचयानितागङ्गावुजातसुतेः  
काठांताक्रमणं [क]टिखनुदिनं नाभूद्विचारस्यदं ॥ ३४ ॥  
रामः किं जितदूषणः सुभरती रामानु-

23.

रामास्यदं

यदुष्टः किमु लक्ष्मणोदयभरः सुधीव रत्नांगदः ।  
तारावह्नभ उलमेन वपुषालंकारमा[या]दतो  
यो रामावणनायकैकतनुतां द्रष्टुं विधाया कृतः ॥ ३५ ॥  
दानादुहामसामा शरत्सतजनवाणपाषाणसीमा  
भीमासीमैकधामा शतमण्डपुरतो विद्विषा नी-

24.

तनामा ।

अलामारामदामा मण्डसुखविलसद्भूमौषसामा<sup>१४</sup>  
सज्जामाशेषरोमा धरणिचुरतर्लक्षमिंश्चः स धीमान् ॥ ३६ ॥<sup>१५</sup>  
वैरिषोपींद्रमत्तजिरदमदनुदा<sup>१६</sup> सिंहतः शृङ्गसारा-  
दारादुहीतकीर्त्तनमरपुरभिय[जाति]निष्पीतमूर्तेः ।  
दाने माने कृपाये यमसि

25.

महसि [वा] साधुवाण्यां कृपाण्यां

वीराज्जचितीमाज्जगति न हि परः स्यातमक्तिः सु[भु]क्तिः ॥ ३७ ॥  
नीतिप्रोतिभुजाज्जितानि [लक्ष]मी रत्नानि यज्ञादयं  
दायं दायममायया ज्ञतनुत अस्तांतरायां गयां ।  
तीर्थाणां करमाकलय्य विधिनाम्यवापि युक्ते<sup>१७</sup> ध-

26.

नं

प्रौढप्रावनिवहतोर्ध्वसरसीजागयमोभीरुहः ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>१८</sup>  
संधामिषु गतागतानि विद[ध]ञ्च परैर्लक्षितो  
दत्ता[ञ्चा] लक्षमपि स्त्र[यं न] तनुते संतोषमकेचनः ।  
कुर्वाणः किं कानकीमपि तुलां तत्खंडविष्यला-  
[ञ्च]ञ्च स्त्री तनुभातनोदिति वृषो लक्षप्रयो-

27.

जायत<sup>१९</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

दाने ऐश्वर्यस्तुलायां मण्डसुवि बहुधा रुद्धिमापादि[ता]नां  
मास्रज्जावनदानां कुतुकिजनभरैस्तर्किता रागवीर्य ॥ (1)

<sup>१०</sup> The word यद before युष्टा appears rather superfluous.

<sup>११</sup> Meter of verses 33-35: Śāṅkharikāṣṭha.

<sup>१२</sup> Originally लक्ष्मि was engraved.

<sup>१३</sup> One would expect युधि.

<sup>१४</sup> Originally "वदन्ते" was engraved.

<sup>१५</sup> Read "लक्ष्मणी".

<sup>१६</sup> Meter of verses 36 and 37: Śāṅkharikā.

<sup>१७</sup> Read "युष्ट".

<sup>१८</sup> The sign of anuvāda of ३८ is very faint.

<sup>१९</sup> Meter of verses 38 and 39: Śāṅkharikāṣṭha.

<sup>२०</sup> Read "जायत".

संघा[मि] लुटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते  
विष्वं वधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगताः साधु हेमाद्रिपादाः ॥४०॥<sup>१०</sup>

इहा-

- L. 28. शेषपदां मकाधिपकरज्यधीभवज्जीवनानां  
धीरोभुसुचदर्थनीमिव यथां भावाविमुक्तायवः ।  
धर्मदास्य समस्तलोकमहितः [का]ठा परामागतो  
निः[सृज्य] कृतधर्मराजवसतेः पद्मालयासन्नः ॥४१॥<sup>११</sup>  
मसुत्वा [न\*] तु नामवत्किञ्च तुला पूर्वति गर्व तुला-  
सुख

29. शीणिपतेधुर्वं कृतयती गर्वांसहिष्णोः पुरः ।  
तस्यास्तस्य सुदासदां विदधता धीरिण दत्तापरा-  
सौ मानादधिकाधिकीकृतवित्तिस्रयो वियद्वाटका<sup>१२</sup> ॥ ४२ ॥  
संख्यातुं कयमीमते कविजना दानानि नानाविधा-  
न्यस्माकृष्टमस्ताराजपसुधावित्तस्य वित्तोद्धतेः ।  
30. लब्धा<sup>१३</sup> नोद्विजते वनीपकमगान्दत्वा[चा] न यत्कीर्त्यै-  
त्यात्रं प्राप्य सुदान्वितस्यतुला<sup>१४</sup> क्षणं समारोपयेत् ॥ ४३ ॥  
तस्य आवलयं नयेन नयतः संतीपमायु[क]तः  
[म]भूतः स्वरसुंदरो गुरुनतः पुत्रः सुधीर्भोजनः ।  
यत्तथा भुञ्जति दारुणं वित्तु[मि] यत्तत्कुमारः पुरः  
सर्वज्ञोऽस्ति यतस्ततोऽप्यनुभूयो नाय-

31. स्तु पिता कृतः ॥ ४४ ॥

पासादा दृष्टः समुच्चतियुजः शीणीभुजा कारिताः  
यद्वाभुर्वसु राजमानकनकप्रस्कारकुंभस्थितः ।  
नामोद्गा तु शिरसु द्वाटकचटाना[धा]व सोलसुधान्  
यातुं नाकमिवोत्थिता मल्लभुजां पीयूषपानोत्सुकाः ॥ ४५ ॥  
धंगाः संप्राप्तभंगाः श्रुतधनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा  
धंगा

32. रंगैकभंगा गतविरुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ।  
चीनाः संघामदीनाः खलदसिधनुषो मोतिमुष्कास्तुक्का  
भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि आपतेर्भोजनस्य ॥ ४६ ॥<sup>१५</sup>  
मृदुः<sup>१६</sup> सिंदूररेखागतमखधनुषा राजमाना गभीरं  
कुर्वतः शब्दमुक्ते रदरुचिचपलाः स्निग्धतया कथाभाः ।  
संघामघामयाता रि-

<sup>१०</sup> Metre: Sargilika.

<sup>११</sup> Metre of verses 41-45: Śākhāvikṛtita.

<sup>१२</sup> I should have expected here वसासि, but am doubtful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse.

<sup>१३</sup> This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent.

<sup>१४</sup> Here again the exact construction of the line is not clear.

<sup>१५</sup> Read 'सुखमुष'.

<sup>१६</sup> Metre of verses 46-51: Sargilika.

<sup>१७</sup> Read 'दृष्ट'.



L. 33.

पुकरिजलदा<sup>१०</sup> प्रातःकालीपयोमायस्येषुप्रातभिवाः खलु रुधिरवर्णं पुरि<sup>११</sup> वर्धति सदा ॥ ४७ ॥यस्य प्रौढप्रयाणवर्णरणर[ण] कष्टेप्रमानोदमान-<sup>१२</sup>

स्पर्शवर्णवर्ध[य]कमणभरभवदुलिधाराधकार ।

ना[शं नेः]ता विवस्त्रानिति तु विरमत्तु ध्वस्तनेत्रप्रकाशः

स्नानस्नानस्ववर्णान्यदि परिचिनुते तस्य भाग्यं महीया

34.

॥ ४८ ॥

वाचो नाम्नासु भास्वत्कररुधिररुचाभासितास्त्रस्त वैरात्

पारावारांतरायादपि न हि समनं दूरमस्मादकस्मात् ।

मेवाहिवाकमेवाधरत बहुमतं दत्त वित्तं नितांतं

[म]हीमास्त्रैरकारि धतिविमतसदो भूपतेमोकलस्य<sup>१३</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥

पुष्टप्रौढारिवर्णप्रथितपुरव(म)लद्वमधूमप्रचारे-

ध्वंसं म(म)द्या-

35.

इमांहीवरमतिविपुलं वीक्ष्य दक्षेपु सुखः ।

कीर्त्तिलिपं सुधीजं कलयति बलवान्निम्बधुकिंकरामि-

स्तारातर्हिदुर्वृद्धकुरणववुरुचा योवरणावृताभिः ॥ ४९ ॥

नेता पातीत्तराग्रां यवननरपतिं सुटिताशेषस्तनं

परीजं कीर्त्तिवज्रीकुसुममुकमतिर्योकरावंगरस्य ।

पञ्जीयाकांतिकार्या<sup>१४</sup>

36.

कलयति कलया कीर्त्तिता यस्य हेला<sup>१५</sup>

पंचास्त्रस्येय माद्यह्वदलनक्षत्रेर्ललाया रंजुमंगः ॥ ५० ॥

आकटः सविता तुलां कलयति द्राक्षीचतां कन्यया

दूरं सृजपरिषहो बहुकृपा चित्तीलसद्वस्तया ।

धोरोयं यदसुप्तमं तु विधिना प्राप्तसुलां गच्छते

कन्याभिर्त्रिंशत्तमां चितिसुजां श्रीमोकलस्यपतिः ॥ (॥) ५१ ॥<sup>१६</sup>

37.

मानताणमना मनागपि मनोरन्ध्रननीतिप्रतो

नी जानाति निजप्रतापमतुलं मिहो यथा विक्रमं ।

मन्वे भास्वरहेमराशिमिपतो धाता तुलाग्रामधा-

देतस्मादपि सीगमय मुक्तामयापि जा[ना]ति किं ॥ ५२ ॥

दृष्ट्वा घाटककीटकूटमतुलं दानाय मानाधिपं

मया श्रीधित[स्त]तैकमतयः संशिरते यादिकाः ।

शक्रपार्षित-

38.

हेमदे सुरतरौ किं किं तु चिंतामणौ

हेमादौ शकलीकते किमु तुलाशब्दसु संकेतितः ॥ ५३ ॥

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'जलदा'.<sup>११</sup> Read भरि.<sup>१२</sup> Read 'दुग्धमापी'.<sup>१३</sup> Read 'भूपतेमो'.<sup>१४</sup> Here again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense

is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be 'वारारवि'.

<sup>१५</sup> This is not quite clear in the original.<sup>१६</sup> Perhaps altered to 'हेला'.<sup>१७</sup> Metre of verses 53-54: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

दीव्यस्तदीरतुंगतरतुरगवरजातजातोस्वात-<sup>22</sup>

सुभ्यस्तच्छीत्यरेणुचतनयनरुजाव्ययसुताः खरांगोः ।

मंदावर्ते मतेष्वास्त इव यनिता वैरिणां तद्दिनानां

यामास्जानन्ति<sup>23</sup> दीर्घान्वितयविक्रदे मोकलद्रे रणस्ये ॥५५॥<sup>24</sup>

को वा नो

L. 39.

वेद विद्यांवरममुगकलावेकपादेव धर्मः

खञ्जलप्रावलंबः किल चरतु कायं पीनपंके जनेष्मिन् ।

सीयं सङ्गयष्टिं वक्षिरवहिरयो शुद्धसारोपपन्नं

प्राप्य श्रीमोकलद्रे प्राविशति विपुलां मंडलीं पंडितानां ॥५६॥

नूनं द्यूतविधावधाकखभुजामीयः सुमेरं पणं

गच्छस्तत्र मनस्विनां व्यजयत श्रीमोकलप्रापतिः ॥१॥

तादृ-

40.

थाः क[च\*]मन्धयावजितले हेष्वाप्तमी<sup>25</sup> राशयो

मेयां दानविधायमुष्णं च मनःपीडाकलापि क्वचित् ॥५७॥<sup>26</sup>

वज्रावज्जाय सूर्यः पतननवस्वौ भूमधूमायमाने<sup>27</sup>

दूनां—म[चि?]पंतौ कथमुपकुर्वते यागभागी मघोनः ।

पुष्पेनास्येव ज्ञाने दिनमग्निरयते मत्कराणां सङ्गं

विभ्रत्सद्योस्ततः स्रगयति विधिना दीयम-

41.

स्वां सङ्गं ॥५८॥<sup>28</sup>

पारुष्णामलमंडलीकृतं तुलां यः पुष्करयोतनं

पुष्पयोः स कथं तथा प्रथमतो यच्छो न तेजस्विनां ॥ १॥

निःपंका<sup>29</sup> करलालिता वसुमती सद्राजहंसा यती

वं(वं)धूनामुदयस्ततस्तदुदये स्वात्संपदामौचिती ॥५९॥<sup>30</sup>

पारावारस्य वेलातटनिकटमनु प्राप्तयैलाधिवासा

मत्तुयेणी समथा नि-

42.

वसति सततं भोतभीता नितान्तं ।

जितुं यात्रादसीया यदि भवति तदा वाजिराजीसुरास-

मुष्यत्प्राधूलिधारा स्खलयति जलधिं पारयामाय तत्र ॥६०॥<sup>31</sup>

प्रासाद्यातिथिमात्रयं त्रिजगतां श्रीहारकानायक

प्रासादं रचितोपचारमकरोद्भूमीपतिर्भोक्त्रः ॥१॥

देवेनांनुजवांभवेन चकितं यी दीक्षितः शंकया

विध्वादेनि-

<sup>22</sup> The word तुंगम् is apparently used here in the sense of संगम्.

<sup>23</sup> Read यामाया<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 55 and 56: Śragdhark.

<sup>25</sup> Read हेष्वाप्तमी.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Śāridāvarikṛdita.

<sup>27</sup> Read भूमिधूमाय.

<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śragdhark.

<sup>29</sup> Read निपंका.

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Śāridāvarikṛdita.

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Śragdhark.



L. 43.

रिसत्तमस्व नियते<sup>१</sup> सुकस्व वाग्वंधनात् ॥६१॥<sup>२</sup>यस्मिन् प्रत्युपकर्मद्रवदखिलमहाधातुसंभारधारा<sup>३</sup>पातस्मातापशुहलिविलविलसज्जोललासा<sup>४</sup> फणीद्रः ।

व्याचष्टे स्पष्टमिष्टं भुवमयमधुना भावमाभाष्य शिष्यं ।

स श्रीमत्तुः परस्ताज्जयति<sup>५</sup> सगपतिर्मीकलेद्रस्व कीर्त्तिः<sup>६</sup> ॥६२॥<sup>७</sup>

सोढुं नेमः पयोधिः सचमपि वि-

४४.

रहं हारकानाय(य)कस्व

प्रेमणा पादोपमूलं स्वयमुपगतवान्यत्तडागच्छलेन ।

नोदय्या कंभयोनेरतिपतिततरामंतरं नैमेष्यन्

शापातिं<sup>८</sup> मे विदध्वाद्यमिति विनयाद्विध्य<sup>९</sup> एवानययं ॥६३॥

विध्वस्वधैकबंधुनिजविततिभरादधुताभीतसिंधु-

मौरिक्रीडत्यरं प्रिप्रसभकुचतटाघातसोदसरंगः ।

सतुषत्तोयजंतुर्विविधनगनः<sup>१०</sup>

45.

दोवेमसरीधतंतुः<sup>११</sup>

सस्योतुर्नेतुरस्व स्फुरति वसुमतोसिद्धिहेतुः सुकेतुः ॥६४॥

अमुच धरणीमृतो विषयमध्यवर्त्ती महादरीवृतवपुष्टया [वि]पूतदूरगंभीरतः ।

म[ही]दर इवापरः परमनोनगम्यांतरः<sup>१२</sup> पवित्रतरकीर्त्तनो जयति चित्रकूटाचलः ॥६५॥<sup>१३</sup>

जायंतां नाम कामं कुलधरणिभूतः सप्त शृंगीषतुंसा

वेचित्रा चित्रकूटं तुलयि-

46.

तुमनलं तीर्थभूतप्रदेशे ।

मा भूवनिर्भरिणो<sup>१४</sup> मदुदितजनुषो नीचगामानशौडः<sup>१५</sup>शुंगे यः चीरवारांनिधिप्रधिततरामुखदंभोजवासं ॥६६॥<sup>१६</sup>उद्दामपावनियंज्जरभरकाणिकोजातमेकातरकः<sup>१७</sup>

खिण्वाच्छालप्रवालप्रभधदुस्तराभोगसूनप्रसृतात् ।

मज्जासारादपारादुप[हृ]तजनुषो दाक्वच्छेर्निदाघे

विष्वग्द्रीचो<sup>१८</sup> वनानि प्रसभपरिभवं ने-

47.

ह शैले विदति ॥६७॥

एतस्मिन्सरिदस्ति निर्मलजला यस्यां निवापांजला-

पुष्कोललिलजातपातकवलज्जपाः शफर्यजलाः ।

कीडासंभ्रमविष्मृताम्बुवहूषो मज्जदधूनामहो

नेवापीव विलोपिकज्जलकणाद्येतुं स्फुरति स्फुटं ॥६८॥<sup>१९</sup><sup>१</sup> Read नियते.<sup>२</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>३</sup> Originally प्रमुनि<sup>३</sup> was engraved.<sup>४</sup> Read "हलविल" and "जाल".<sup>५</sup> Read पर.<sup>६</sup> Read श्रीते.<sup>७</sup> Metre of verses 63-64: Śaṅgīhark.<sup>८</sup> Read शापाति.<sup>९</sup> Read विध्य.<sup>१०</sup> Read सतुष.<sup>११</sup> Originally "शरीधरांतुः" was engraved.<sup>१२</sup> Read परमनाम<sup>१२</sup>(?)<sup>१३</sup> Metre: Pīthvī.<sup>१४</sup> Read मूषधि.<sup>१५</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>१६</sup> Metre of verses 66 and 67: Śaṅgīhark.<sup>१७</sup> Read "काविरक".<sup>१८</sup> Read विष्वग्द्रीचो.<sup>१९</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

लंका किं नाम दुर्मं जलनिधिरविता यत् सा काल[काका?]<sup>1</sup>  
[प्रा]वृट्का[लि] विवर्गेरपि मलितमदैर्घ्यं त्रिवेनेति मा-

L. 48.

नी ।

यो धत्ते चीरवारानिधिमुपरि परै राजसंसेरगन्ध-  
स्वपुर्न चिवकृटी जयति वसुसतीमंडलं भूरिभूमि<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३८ ॥  
सोभायैकमहीधविभंगपती यस्मिन्भवानी स्वयं  
लागर्शि प्रियमब्धिधानवसतिः सार्धोन्नतानां गुरुः ॥(१)  
देवः सोपि समस्तनाकरमणीसंतानदामव्रज-  
प्रद्योतककरदविंदुसुरभिप्रस्कारनृत्तांगणः ॥ ३९ ॥  
सेवा-

49.

ईवाकदेवस्तुतहरचरितप्रोक्तसद्भावसंय-<sup>3</sup>  
क्षयःरितद्वयानीकृतसुरवभवनस्कारसौरभ्यहारि<sup>4</sup>।  
यहारि प्रातिभाष्यं वहति स्रग्दृशां मज्जतीनासज्जं  
पातिप्रत्वे समंतात्समविकसुभनंभातुकलेपि शम्भत् ॥ ३९ ॥<sup>5</sup>  
निरिः कैलासो यद्गमुक्षुमुजोच्छासन्दिनाइलक्ष्मणश्यामा प्रभवति न नायं विषदितं ॥(१)  
50. प्रदेशप्राग्भारप्र[क्ष]<sup>6</sup>तिरमणीये तदधुना समिधैः<sup>7</sup> श्रीमानिह वसति योरोसहचरः ॥३९॥  
एकैकधावतापत्कृतिमुधितमहासर्वतर्भोगमानं  
कृत्वा प्रासादमागामुखसुखमतिज्योमसोमानसस्य ।  
यथाशेषोपचारसमधनमुदितारी<sup>8</sup>।  
होरः श्रीमोकलेंदो धनपुरमुचितं घाममायामिसीमं ॥ ३९ ॥  
अष्टे वाणाष्टवेदक्षितिपरिकलिते

51.

विष्णुमांभोजवंधीः

पुष्पे मासे तपस्ये सवितरि मकरं याति लोचै चटस्य ॥(१)  
पथे यत्नेतरक्षिपूरगुरुदिवसे चायंमत्तं तुतोया-  
तिष्ठा देवप्रतिहामयमज्जततरां मोकलो भूमिपालः ॥ ३९ ॥  
उच्छीलधामयात्रीयातसुरतस्वीगीतसंघामधामा  
सुतामा यावदीष्टे त्रिदशपरपरीपालनचष्टनीतिः ।  
पर्यायोपात्तभूनां स्मरति दशशती रोषमूर्त्तां च याव-  
52. नावप्रस्कारलक्ष्मीरवतु<sup>9</sup> वसुमती मोकलेंद्रस्य बाहुः ॥ ३९ ॥  
श्रीमह्यपुरश्चातिर्भट्टविष्णोस्तनूद्वयः ।  
नायैकनायनामायमलक्षत् कतिमुज्य(ज्य)तां ॥ १ ॥<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read "रविना".<sup>2</sup> The aksharas in these brackets are damaged.<sup>3</sup> Read भूरिभूमि(र).<sup>4</sup> Metre: Brughārā.<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śāddūlavirjita.<sup>6</sup> Read "संशुद्धादि"; originally "संशुद्ध" was engraved.<sup>7</sup> Read "जयपुत्रस्य".<sup>8</sup> Metre: Brughārā.<sup>9</sup> Read यमिद्वयः or यमापीद्वयः, which are both names of Śiva.<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śūkhari.<sup>11</sup> Six aksharas of this line are omitted; the last word of the line must have been यमापीद्वयः.<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 73-75: Brughārā.<sup>13</sup> Read "यावत्".<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



अनेकप्रासादेः परिवृतमतिप्राशस्त्यं मिरीशप्रासादं अरचयदनुनैरनुचरे ॥ (1)  
मनाखी विख्यातः सकलगुणवान् बोजलसुतः सुतः शिखी जातो गुणमचतुतो वीरल  
इति ॥ २ ॥<sup>18</sup>

अतिप्रमत्तोरलित-

L. 53. त् प्रमत्ति<sup>19</sup> वल्लभं वल्लभं बहिःकृतैः<sup>20</sup> ।  
मीमलमाधोयमहेश्वरस्य प्रसादतोमो चिरवीरनो<sup>21</sup> ॥ २(२) ॥<sup>22</sup>  
बोजलसुतः सुतः शिखी मनाखः सुखधारकः ।  
तस्यालजेन वीसेन प्रमत्तिरियमुत्कृता ॥ २(३) ॥<sup>23</sup>  
बहिःकृतैः वीरकीर्णं प्रमत्तिरियमुत्कृता ॥  
लिखितं वीरलः शिखी मनाधीशप्रसादतः<sup>24</sup> ॥ २(४) ॥  
संवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघसुदि (३) शुद्धदिने . . . .

### XXXIII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1207.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble which is preserved in the temple of Mokajī<sup>1</sup> at Chitorgadh, in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. I edit it from Dr. Führer's impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8" broad by 1' 3" high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved; but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side; and from the same cause a number of *aksharas* has also disappeared on the left side, in lines 24-28. In the midst of the writing causing a break in lines 17-23, is an ornamental drawing, about 3½" square, which encloses a circle about 3½" in diameter. Near the periphery of this circle and across the square, both vertically and horizontally, there is some writing (apparently a verse) the greater part of which is too faint to be made out. The size of the letters is between ½" and ¾". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit; and nearly the whole inscription is in verse. It is carefully written and engraved, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that *ḷ* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is

<sup>1</sup> Matra: Śikhastīl.

<sup>2</sup> Read वल्लभ.

<sup>3</sup> Read वल्लभ.

<sup>4</sup> Originally वीरवीर्य was engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Matra: Upakṣi.

<sup>6</sup> Meter of verses 4 and 5: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>7</sup> Read वल्लभ.

<sup>8</sup> Read वल्लभ.

<sup>9</sup> This word is engraved beneath the preceding वल्लभ and

appears to have been followed by three or four other *aksharas*, which are illegible.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 428. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgadh in January 1873; Mr. H. B. W. Garrick copied several of them in 1884 (*Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XXIII, pls. 22, 23); and again Dr. Führer on a tour in Rājputāna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J. B.]

several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla to Mount Chitrakūṭa, the modern Chitorgadh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill.—After the words "Om! Adoration to the Omniscient," the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛḍa, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mōlarāja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharāja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śākambhārī (line 10) and devastated the Sapādalakṣha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śālipura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakūṭa mountain; the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumārapāla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a *ghāṇaka* or 'oil-mill' for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27; and line 28 tells us that this *Praśasti* was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmākīrti, a pupil of Jayakīrti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance; but it shows at any rate that Kumārapāla's well-known victory<sup>1</sup> over (Arnorāja), the ruler of the Sapādalakṣha country, whose capital was Śākambhārī (Sāmbhar) in Rājputāna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it.—The place Śālipura at which Kumārapāla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakūṭa, I am unable to identify.

#### Text.<sup>2</sup>

- L. 1. ओ३ ॥ नमः सर्व॑[वा]य॒ ॥ नमो॑ . . . [स]त्ताचि॑र्द॒श्व(श्व)संक॑त्यज॒ज्जने॑ । म॒ज्जाय॑ परम  
ज्योति॑[र्वा]ससंक॑त्यज॒ज्जने॑ ॥ जय॑ता॒म स॒वः योमा॑भृ॒डा . . .<sup>3</sup>  
2. द॒नाम्बु॑(म्बु)जे । य॒स्य क॑ष्ठ॒प॒थ्यी रेजे॑ से(शे)वा॒ल॒स्येव॑ व॒ह्वरी॑ ॥ यदी॒यश्च॑र॒स्वितो॑ज्ज॒मदन॑-  
स्वदि॒व्यज॑ज॒ सम॑उ॒पम॑ही दृ॒षाम॑पि वि॒दू॒]॥  
3. रतः॑ प॒द्मता॑ । अ॒नेक॑भ॒वसं॑चितं॒ ज्वमि॑यति॒ पापं॑ द्रुतं स॒ पातु॑ प॒दप॑ञ्चानत॒ह्रिः समि॑त्रे  
श्वरः॑ ॥ य॒जो॒ज्जस॑त्त्व॒त्तु त॑कारि॒वाचः॑ स्फुर॑[न्ति वि]  
4. जे जि॒दुषा॑ सदा तत् । सार॒स्वतं॑ ज्योति॒रनंत॑मंतवि॒स्फूर्ज॑तां मे॒ सन॑जा॒द्यवृ॑त्तिः ॥ जय॑त्य॒ज  
श(त्र)पो॒षवि॑दुनि॒षदि॑नोम॒साः॑ ॥ कवी॑नां [सम

<sup>1</sup> See ante, vol. I. p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Read "वाय".

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) and of the next verse

<sup>1</sup> The missing akṣaras are नीव.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three verses



- L. 5. कीर्त्ती(की)नां वाञ्छितासा महीदयाः ॥ न वैरस्त्वितिः<sup>11</sup> श्रीमाद्य जलानां<sup>12</sup> समाश्रयः ।  
रत्नराशिरपूर्वांश्चि चोलुब्धानामिहाश्रयः ॥ ततो-
6. दपयत श्रीमाद्यदृष्टस्तेजसां निधिः । मूलराजा(ज)महीनाथो मुक्तामणिरिवीज्य(ज्य)-  
जः ॥ वितन्वति भूयं यत्र जेम(मं) सर्वत्र सर्वथा । प्रजा राजन्वती नून(नं) ज-
7. प्रेसी चिरकामतः ॥ तस्यान्वये<sup>13</sup> सञ्जति भूपतिषु क्रमेण यातेषु भूरिषु सुपर्वपतेर्विवामं ।  
मोक्षेत्वं वीज्ययशा ककुभां मुखाणि श्रीसिहरा-
8. जनृपतिः प्रथिती व(व)भूव ॥ जयन्तिया<sup>14</sup> समाञ्जितं यं विलोक्य समंततः । धात्वा जगति  
यत्कीर्त्तिज(र्ज)गा[ह]मरमंदिरम् ॥ तच्छिवमरसाभा-
9. जा(ज्य) संप्राप्ते नियतेज्जसात्<sup>15</sup> । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्पुतापाकांतशाखः ॥ सतजसाप्रसङ्गेन  
न परं येन शाखवः । पदं भूधच्छिरश्चुचैः कारि-
10. तो व(व)धुरध्वलं ॥ आञ्जा यस्म महीनाथैश्चतुरभ्यु(भ्यु)धिमध्यमैः । ध्रियते सूर्ध्वभिर्ध्वजे(ध्वे)-  
द्वयेयेव सन्ततम् ॥ महीध्विजु(कु)जिषु<sup>16</sup> शाकभरी-
11. यः प्रियापुत्रलोके न शाकभरीशः । अपि प्रास्तयवर्भयात्प्रभूतः श्रुती यश्च मनेभवाजि-  
प्रभूतः<sup>17</sup> ॥ सपादलक्षमामयं<sup>18</sup> नक्षीक-
12. तभयानकः । [स्त्र]य[म]याश्चहोनाथो यामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥ सजिवेश<sup>19</sup> सि(शि)विरं द्रमु  
तत्र त्रासितामहमभूपतिचक्रम् । चिवकु-
13. टगिरिपु[ष्क]लशोभां द्रुमार नृपतिः कुतुकेन ॥ यदुच्चपुरमद्वाघोपरिष्ठात्प्रपतन्मदा<sup>20</sup>  
रघं नयत्वंलं मंदं मंदं मंगमयादृषिः ॥ य-
14. लौघशिश्वराहकामिनीमुणसविधौ । वर्त्तमानो निग्रानाथो लक्षते लक्षलोखया ॥ प्रफुल्ल-  
राजीवमनोहरानना<sup>21</sup> विपुलपाटीनपिलोललोच-
15. — १<sup>22</sup> — स[स्त्र]गावलिरोमराजयो रधांगवचोहृदमंदलत्रियः ॥ परिभ्रमत्सारसहंसनि-  
क्षणाः सविभ्रमा हारिस्त्रालवा(वा)हुकाः । वृ(वृ)हन्तिवा(वा)मलवारि-
16. — ७ — सुदे सतां यत्र सदा सरोवराः ॥ स(सु)रभिकुसुमगंधाच्छटमत्तानिमालाविहित-  
मधुररावो<sup>23</sup> यत्र चाधिलकायाः । खलिततरणिभातः सज-
17. — ७ — मयिपति शश्वत्कामिनः कामिनीभिः ॥ शुभे<sup>24</sup> यदने शाखियाच्छांत  
राले प्रियाः क्रीडया सखिलीना निकामं । वने [प]-
18. ७ — ७ — [र्जा] [त]नृगंधसत्तालयः स्रव(व)धति ॥ प्राप<sup>25</sup> कदापि न या  
हृदये यं सानुनयं समया हृदयेयं । यदनेमेत्वं सु[सं]-
19. ७ ७ — ७ ७ — [र]तरासं ॥ एवमादिगुणे<sup>26</sup> दुर्गे स्वर्गे वा भुवि [स]-  
स्थिते । राखा जिष्णुः परपीत्वा संवरविजलोल-

<sup>11</sup> Divide, also, वैरस्त्वितिः.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., जलानां.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three

verses.

<sup>15</sup> Read "नक्षीकान्."

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Ikṣvāṅgoprayāsa.

<sup>17</sup> Originally "सर्वम" was suggested.

<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Svāgatā.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse.

<sup>21</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>22</sup> The *śloka*s, here broken away, are probably वा. १ पम.

<sup>23</sup> The *śloka*s, here broken away, are probably राजसी.

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Ikṣvāṅgoprayāsa.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Dvādaśī.

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of all the following

verses.

- L. 20. या ॥ ति . . . . . [ता] श्रयमंकुलम् । ददर्शागाधगंभीरस्तब्धं स्वमिव मान-  
सम् ॥ निधोलं सलिलं यत् पि-  
21. हितं प[रि] — ७ — । . . . . . जे मीनाज्ज[न]राग[भू]त्रियम् ॥ विमुक्तं श्रीम  
पातालरसा यत् विभायमा । लोका-  
22. न् पु[न]ति . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ [त]स्मिन्नरतटे द्राक्षीवसामरसमंचितं । श्रीम-  
मिदेश्वरं देवं प्रसिद्धं  
23. जगतो ७ — ॥ . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ ते । वेसंथ[त]यनादेन कलि[नि]  
निर्मलं यच्चिव ॥ य[त्पु]न[र]वध्याचिपलेखात्परा भ-  
24. शरिक्तोत्त[मा] . . . [वी] नृपाभ्य[चर्गा] . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ तस्याः शिष्याभवसाध्वी  
सुव्रतव्रातभूषिता । श्रीदेवीति वि[ष्णु] . . . [ता] कृतीयमा ॥ सु[मनो] . .  
25. संसेवा [मा] . . . यविनाशिनी । दुर्गा च . . . . . ७ — ७ — [ता] ॥  
यत्तपः पावनं वीक्ष्य पवित्रीकृतसज्जनं । सध्वजः पुर्ययसि . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥  
शिवं प्रपूज्य त[स्य] . .  
26. . . [म]नमत्पु[न] . . प्रणम्य [तावुभौ] भक्त्या सि[मि]रसा ७ — ७ — ॥ . . . . .  
[तत्ता]तः पूजार्थं चरणपादयोः । कुमारपालदेवीदादामं श्री . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ . . .  
दिश्वाराम . .  
27. . . टा दक्षिणपूर्वोत्तरपश्चिमतः सरपालो भूणादिष्व . . . राज . . . दीपार्थं प्राक्-  
कमेकं सज्जनोष्णदातु दंडनाय . . . . . मेतहानम . . .  
28. श्री[य]कीर्तिमिषेण दिगंवा[व]रमणेशिना । प्रमस्तिरीदृशी चक्रे . . श्रीरामकीर्तिना ॥  
संवत् १२०० सुतेथा . . . . .

# XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SERA OF DELHI.

## No. II.

By PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *ante*, pp. 139 *seq.* I begin with Pathābād, which was there represented by the inscription from Firōz Shāh's famous pillar.\*

## PATHĀBĀD.

1. To the left of the *mihrāb* of what is now an '*Idgāh*' in the fort of Pathābād, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2'3" by

\* In the press passage, from here up to the end of line 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many *shakaras* are broken away in each place.

\* Metre: Śloka (Anuśṭubh).

\* Below this line some more *shakaras* have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

\* Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, in General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XXIII, p. II, remarks that Muntawī Ziyā-oddin Khān has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there); but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.



1' 2½", of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (*Arch. Sur. India Rep.* vol. XXIII plate iii).—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَإِنَّ الْمَسْجِدَ [الله] فَلَا يَدْعُوا [etc]  
 مع الله لَحْدًا وَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا قَامَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ يَدْعُو [الله] كَأَنَّهُ [الله]  
 عَلَيْهِ أَبَدًا وَإِنَّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامَ [من] يَدْعُو اللَّهَ [etc] مَسْجِدًا يَنْتَعِي بِهِ وَجْهَ اللَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ فِي  
 الْحَقِّ مَلَكًا تَمَامَ شَدَائِزِ مَسْجِدِ نَبِيِّهِ قُرْبَاتِ سَائِلِ الْعِظَمِ وَالْحَقَائِقِ الْمَعْظَمِ  
 بِمِثْلِ الرُّقَابِ طَوَائِفِ الْعَمَمِ مِنَ الْهِنْدِ وَالْأَرَبِ وَالْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ رَافِعِ رَايَاتِ [الله]  
 وَالْمَغَارِي مُحَمَّدَ هَمَائِي بِأَمْرِهِ عَزَّيَّ تَحْتَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مَلَكًا فِي بَحَارِ الطُّفِّ [etc]  
 فَلَهُ بِسْمِ [etc] جَدَابِ سَعَادَةِ فَرْجَانِ زَيْدَةِ نَصَاةِ الْإِتْمَانِ لَتَبْعَةِ الْأَمْرَاءِ الْعِظَامِ أَمِيرِ رِسَالَتِ بَيْتِ  
 جَدَابِ الْمُغْتَفَرِ الْمُدِيرِ الْمُخْتَلَصِ أَمِيرِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مُحَمَّدٌ . . . . . فِي الثَّلَاثِي: . . . . . رَمَضَانَ  
 سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ [الله] أَرْبَعِينَ وَتَسْعَمِائِيَةِ لَكْرُمَاءِ فَكِيرِ عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ دُرُودِ بَرَاءِي جَوَارِحِ بَرِ مَوْرَمِ [الله] تَعَالَى كَرَمُهُ شَدَّ  
 طَائِقِ اسْتِ أَوْزَا هَرَكَةِ مَتَعِ كُنْ .

"In the name," *etc.* (*Qaria, Sura lxxii, 18, 19*). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, *etc.*' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humáyún, *Badishah-i-Ghāzi*,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [*and guide*] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amir Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amir Muhammad 'Alí,—God Almighty. . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramazán A. 945 (*the 22nd January, 1539*). The superintendent of the work (*was*) the poor 'Abdul-Karim."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amir Muhammad's mosque at Hissar (*ante*, p. 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathábéd a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Alí in Arabic, in four lines, size 1' 2½" by 6¾"—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ يَا عَلِيًّا مَظْهَرِ  
 الْعَجَائِبِ سَيِّدِهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ فِي الْقُرَائِبِ كُلِّ  
 هَمٍّ وَغَمٍّ سَيِّدِي بِبَيْتِكَ يَا مَوْلَايَ  
 يَا عَلِيَّ يَا عَلِيَّ يَا عَلِيَّ تَمَّ تَمَّ تَمَّ

"In the name, *etc.* Invoke 'Alí, the manifestor of miracles; thou wilt find him

for thy help in adversities. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī!"

### HİŞÂN.<sup>3</sup>

3. Near the Nāgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4'), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtī, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

نقل ابن حنبل المشايخ والزهاد شيخ محمد بن شيخ محمد بن يحيى في التاسع من شعبان سنة اثنى  
وتسعين وثمانمائة

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmūd, the Chishtī,<sup>4</sup> (took place) on the 9th Sha'bān, 892 (31st July, 1487)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtī was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

يا من ينديه اشتغل قد غره طول العمل الموت يأتي بغتة والقبر صدوق العمل

Metre: *Rajaz*.

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (*i.e.*, his *hoped life-time*) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
وآله وسلم الدنيا كمنزل زكيت اينام ميثاقا وهو في المنبع زائل

"In the name, *etc.*, there is no God but, *etc.* Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nāgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

<sup>3</sup> This formula is very popular for sunnets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see *Traces*, *etc.* *As. S. Europ.* for November 1872, p. 100). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his *Lines Akbari* Translation, p. 207, with an unsymmetrical alteration in its second line. But see also *Proceedings As. S. Europ.* (for '02.)

<sup>4</sup> Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in *Proceedings As. S. Europ.* for April 1877, pp. 94 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishtī Saints (see note, p. 145) is in the *Sandir al-saudr*, a copy of which work is in India Office library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof. C. H. Ebel in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. E. Hot. It is known that biographies of single Chishtīs are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the *Maṭlūḥ as-siddiqīn*, which is restricted to the life and deeds of *Nisāmuddīn Anṣārī*. Compared with such books those of the princess Jalāluddīn about Shaikh Mu'īnuddīn and of her brother Dārā Shukūh (*Safinat al-salīq*) are very dilatory. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two principal authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dārā Shukūh's, which pretends to be more serious than Jalāluddīn's unassuming work. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtīs, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'īnuddīn.



born at Ajódhan,— the name for Dīpālpār,— too striking an accord.\* But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the *Khasinat ul-afsyá*, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7' 6" by 7", and 6' by 4½", respectively.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الغرة من ربيع الاول سنة سبع وعشرين وتسع مائة بالية جنيد بن چندان

"In the name, etc. On the first Rabi'ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder of it (was) Junaid, son of Chandan."

الغرة من شهر ذي القعدة سنة إحدى وثلاثين وتسع مائة بالية جنيد بن چندان بن محمود ابودهنی

"On the first Zi'l-Qa'da, 931 (20th August, 1525). Its builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan, son of Mahmūd, of Ajódhan."

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2' 1½" by 6", contains, in two lines, the *Hismillāh* and the *Kalima*; two others from the north and west sides of the N.W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1' 1" square, bear *Qordā*, *Sāra exil*, adorned with flowers.

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hissar to Dāna Shēr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihli-Gate, is an inscription in *stucco*; it measures 1' 2" by 1' 1½", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله . . . .  
 در عهد میمن و دیانت  
 هلالین . . . . خلد ملکه و سلطانه  
 واعلی امره و شاهه این  
 عمارت ازین والدین  
 . . . . . بن میر . . . . .  
 سلطان ملک در حیم [۲] ماه رمضان  
 . . . . . سنة ثلاث واربعین وتسعمائة تمام شد

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humāyūn (*the king, etc.*)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wālitū Khān . . . . . son of Mir . . . . . son of Sultān Malik Bēg, was finished on the third [۲] of month Ramzān, A. 943 (13th February, 1537)."

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:—

این . . . . . بادشاه . . . . . بیست هزار تکه سیه [۲] باهتنام شیخ متیر بن قاسم [۲] تمام شد

\* Shaikh Farīd ud-dīn Mas'ūd was also born at Ajódhan.—see W. Perich, *Festschrift der preussischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 586, p. 558.

Mr. Ghulām Hussain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjāb series, remarks that both have been published by Anfin Chaud in his *Settlement Report*, a work which is not to hand.

In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre-Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W. Brown, *Journal of A. & B. Soc.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 429,—"has the appearance of having been partially worked by Perce's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface." Cf. Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. V, p. 146 et seq.

" . . . . . 20,000 copper-tankas (1,000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qâsim."

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain.

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No. 5. Their sizes are 3' 1½" by 1' 9", and 3' by 1' 6", respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم في عهد ميمون ونزلت هماين سلطان  
الهند و الخراساني رافع رايات المجاهدات والمغازي محمد هماين  
بادشاه غازي خلد خلفه اين عمارت بذيح ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه  
اربع واربعين وتسعمائة تمام شد واين گنبد  
بر توقي كرجك بن مير برلطق مغل شده است  
واين جوان در لشكر گجرات شهادت يافت  
و مبلغ يازده هزار تنكه سياه خرج شده است

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May (God) magnify its dignity!—of the year 944 (*began the 11th December, 1537*). And this cupola (*was made*) for the sake of Tardi Kuchuk, son of Mir Baranîaq, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 15,000 copper-tankas (750 rupees)."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم في عهد ميمون ونزلت هماين  
سلطان الهند و الخراساني رافع رايات المجاهدات والمغازي  
طهر الدين محمد هماين بادشاه غازي خلد خلفه بذيح ماه  
رمضاني سنه اربع واربعين وتسعمائة اين عمارت از برای [؟]  
مير عاشق محمد بن مير شاه علي شد واين  
جوان در لشكر گجرات شهادت يافت  
و مبلغ يازده هزار تنكه سياه خرج شده

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, *Takîr* Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazân of the year 944 (*began the 1st February, 1538*). It was made for the sake of Mir 'Ashiq Muhammad, son of Mir Shâh 'Alî," and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 12,000 copper-tankas (600 rupees)."

\* Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humâyûn's common name *Nasir addin*; but here *Takîr addin* has been engraved. *Takîr addin* was Bâkur's surname.

\* Here 'Alî has been engraved, but this is no name.



Both youths probably served in the Gujarāt war that ended with Bahādur Shāh's victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamān Mirzā's attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarāt being lost to Humāyūn.

7. Over the *mihrah* of an 'Idgāh at Dāna Sher, one mile south of Hīsar on the old Hānsī road, is an inscription of four lines in *stucco*, measuring 1' 9" by 4½". It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

این مسجد [؟] . . . . . بک ابن بیلان سروانی . . . . . سروا [نی] بن  
 ادریس سروانی . . . . . مسند عالی در لشکره در عهد شیخه  
 سلطان سنه تسع مع [sic] اربعین سبع . . . . . امام شد . . . . .  
 . . . . . خرج شد مبلغ درازده [؟] هزار

"This mosque of . . . Bēg, son of Pālad Sarvānī . . . son of Idrīs Sarvānī . . . the high *Mansab* of the *Daulatkhāna*, was finished in the reign of Shēr Shāh, the king, in the year 947 (*began the 8th May, 1540*) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . ."

With Messrs. Ghulām Husain and the late E. Rehatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. مع would then be for مائة 'hundred', scarcely for مع; so I read the monarch's name as Shēr Shāh, which is possible. And surely, if مع were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated *tis*, only with a shortening of the long stroke of the *sin*, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king's name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after *sub* as *ma'at*. Besides, there are some words, especially 'in masjid', that I cannot warrant as certain."

#### HANSI

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (*ut sup.*, pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hānsī. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dini mosque, also *ante*, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick's list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers's collection."

Because Hānsī was an important place in the times of the early Pathān Sultāns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

"In the *Ma'dakar al-Dinard*, vol. I, p. 282, it is mentioned by the way that the *dārghāgi* of the *dawlatkhāna* was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the *Tārīkh-i Shāh-Jahān*, 'Abdū Khān, son of Shāhkh 'Alī, was also a *Sarāhid*, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythical Bātan (see *Āin-i Akbarī*, I, 591), likewise 'Azam Humāyūn (who lived in Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's time, cf. *Bābar's Memoirs*, pp. 347, 352; *Āthār-e-din*, vol. I, p. 105) and thereafter also his son Path Khān Khānjahān (*Bābar's Memoirs*, pp. 260, 292; *Āthār-e-din*, vol. I, pp. 102, 104), and grandson Mahmūd Khān (*Bābar's Memoirs*, p. 223; *Āthār-e-din*, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahādur Khān, whose tomb Bābar visited at Sogandpur (*Memoirs*, p. 421), and others. For another Shēr Shāh inscription of the same year (at Sakhi) see *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for May 1874, p. 105.

"*s.p.* Nos. 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr. Garrick's little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.

not take into account the Dihli inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, V<sup>e</sup> série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 24, and *Jour. Asiat.*, p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, viz. of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihli inscription,—see *Jour. Asiat.*, u.s. p. 240). Shaikh Ni'mat Ullāh's tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A.H. became a martyr in Sultan Shihāb uddin Ghōrī's attack upon the fort of Hānst (see Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 13). Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates.

8. The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4' 11" by 6", serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullāh's tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by 'Alī, son of Isfandiyār; it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sām's reign:—

امر بنا هذا المسجد العبد علي بن اسفنديار في عشر ذي الحجة سنة ثلث وتسعين وخمسين مائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) Alī, son of Isfandiyār on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197)."

9. The *masjid* walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullāh's tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3' by 1'), and mentioning the monarch's name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible:—

..... [ابو] المظفر محمد بن سام ناصر امير المؤمنين

"[Abu'l] Muzaffar Muhammad, son of Sām, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful."

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3' 7½" by 11"); the lintel has not been found:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجداً في الدنيا بنا الله له [قصر] في الجنة

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise....."

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sām's reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihli ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, pp. 24 (A.H. 594) and 25 (A.H. 596).

Of no historical value are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1' by 11"), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king's title *نور الملك*; over the northern window in the outer wall (3' 5" by 3½"), the first half of *Qorān*, Sūra II, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1' 7" by 6"), a fragment, *السموات والارض من نعم الله* (*Qorān*, Sūra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four *Qutbe* or Saints (cf. Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the



enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4' 3" by 11"—

تمت القبر المسطور الجليل نور الله فيها وغفر الله لها في جنة العارفين  
يا ارحم الراحمين [sic] وذلك بالتاريخ الحادي عشر من القعدة سنة التي تشرى سنه

"Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allāh illuminate her tomb and may Allāh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (*Paradise*)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (*4th November, 1225*)."

It is curious that the word *qabr* is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-uddin Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1' 10½" by 1' 1½"). A complement of it must be Mr. Garriek's sixth one—

كامل [قائي] ربه برس سلطاني  
بندا مسعود محمد سلطاني بود

"[G]lāni and to Firdaus Sultāni. He was a slave of Mas'ūd Muhammad of Isfahān."

In the wall of the mosque of the four *Qufas* is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4" by 1"—

بقرين حضرت  
كمال [جمال] ابن . . . .

"By the grace of his highness Kamāl, son of....."

11. At the mosque of Bū Ali Bakhsh in the Moghulpāra-Quarter of Hānsi is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 3' 6" by 6", with two lines—

هذا عمارة السيد العبد الضعيف احمد بن محمد اسمعدي  
في المصنف ربيع الآخر سنة ثلث والعشرين وسنة

"This building (*is*) the mosque of the feeble slave (*of God*) Ahmad, son of Muhammad, of Asmand. In the middle of Rabi' II, 623 (*began the 1st April, 1226*)."

Mr. Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samargand.

There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' ½" by 7½") containing the *Bismillāh*, with the *Katima*, the second (1' by 7") being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an *'Idgāh* and on the left of its central arch (*mihrab*) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10½" by 1'), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم ربنا انزل علينا مثله  
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر [?] محمود بن السلطان . . . . .

"In the name, *etc.* Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, "O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [*to be to us as a festival, etc.*].—*Qorān*, Sūra v, verse 114.

Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nāṣir uddin Mahmūd, second son of Altamsh of that name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, viz. by Blochmann in the *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XLII, p. 248, note [A.H. 652; at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathān Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same 'Idgāh another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 3' 9½" by 1'.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bū 'Alī Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1' 4" by 1' 2½".—

شاه گیتیال معزالدین

سلطان خلد ملکه در نوبت

بهلول بن مهربان الکی بر . . . . . محرم سلخ سبع وثمانین وستمائیه

"The king of the world Mu'izz uddunya,.....the Sultān,—May (God) perpetuate his reign!—in the time of.....Bahlūl, son of Mihrā (?) Bég, Alānī... Muharram, 687 (began the 6th February, 1288)."

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kaiqobād see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hānsi is the tomb of Walāyat Shāh Sultān Shahid. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1' 10½" by 1' 2½", in three lines, the other measuring 1' 10½" by 5½", in one line, being a portion of *Qorān*, Sūra li, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the *Qutbs* (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3' 8" by 11":—

الملک لله

بیتینق الله تعالى بلده درگاه شجاعی ابا بکر نام جلوالی که یکی

از مریدان یزد دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابوالفتح قدس الله سره العزیز است

در یاران قطب افطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق والشرح والدين طاب تراه وجعل

الجنة منزله وقرآن الله مراقبه در وقت چلوس سجاده پندگی سلطان المشایخ

شیخ فرید عبد الله عمده این مسجد راس کلانید درگاه درین مسجد نماز وگذارن بدعا

اینان [?] یاد کند کاتب حریف رحی قطب الایب فاضل هاشمی . . . . .

الخمیس والعشرین من ماه رجب رجب قدره سلخ ست و تسعین و ثمانمائة سنکترش امین [?] بهلول [?]

لاکړي

"The Kingdom belongs to God!

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abā Bakr by name, Jalwānī," one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

<sup>19</sup> In *Edgar's Memoirs* occur also Jalwānī, by name Isma'īl (pp. 338, 486, 487) and Muhārab Khān (p. 421), or Rāi Hussin, a partisan of Shāh Khān (vide *Akhbar-nāma*, vol. I, p. 104), and others. I have read *Jada* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *Ida*, as has been engraved on the stone.



Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh Jamāl ul-haqq wa-shahar' uddīn (i.e. Shaikh Jamāl uddīn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farid,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

"The writer of the words (was) Razā Quth, the representative of the judge of Hānsī . . . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (3rd January, 1491). The stone-cutter (was) Amin (?) Bir Lal of Nāgār."

In the first line, to the left of the words "The kingdom belongs to God," in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

در عهد پادشاه (ملک) [?] سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

"In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shāh, son of Bahlul Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!"

16. In the north inner wall of the Barsī gate in Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1", on which are five lines—

بنامه عمارت این دروازه متین علی با مرمت حصن حصین علی

که مرخست سنه اثنی و سبعماية در عهد سلطان السلاطين ابرالمظفر

ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و در عمل مستند علی حمید علی

[1] مالتخلی کمال و در شتادری خواجه شیع [2] محمد و فرمایش مرکل بن کمال

. . . . . فی الخامس من شهر ذی القعدة سنه ثمان و عشرين و تسعمماية کاتب خزانة نصر مفتي هانسي

"The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort," dated 702 A.H. (began 26th August, 1302), (took place) in the time of the king of kings, Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrahim Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high Masnad Hamid Khān, son of Amānat Khān Kamāl and during the shiqdārī of Khwāja Shaikh Muhammad, and by order of Muwakkal, son of Kamāl . . . , on the 5th Zi'l Qa'da, 928 (26th September, 1522). The writer (was) Khānzāda Naṣr, the Mufti of Hānsī."

Hamid Khān is known to have been governor of Hīār Firōza; he was defeated in battle by Prince Humāyūn A.H. 932 (*Akbarnāma*, vol. I, p. 94, and *Bādar's*

"As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for May 1877, p. 122, and mentioned by Mr. Garrick (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hānsī was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which most probably Muhammad Shāh had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.

*Memoirs*, p. 389, where he is styled *Hamida Khān Khāssa Khānī, shiqdār* of Hishār Firōza).

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shāh's fortification of the place.<sup>14</sup> Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate; a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3' 3" by 1' 6"—

بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دروازه متین در عهد [ سلطان السلاطین ]

جم نشان رسالیدان تمکین ساندردر زمانی ابرالمظفر محمد شاه السلاطین

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (was) in the time of (the king of kings) celebrated like Jamahūd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh*, the king....."

17. Inside of the *mihrah* of the mosque of the Makhdūm Shāh Ashraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hānsi, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathān period. It measures 1' 1" by 9" and consists of the *Katima* only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½" by 6"), giving the date, "Month Safar 989," (*began 7th March, 1581*). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Bēg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1' 9½" by 1' 7"). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:—

بغایت . . . .  
در عهد و دولت سلطان السلاطین  
ابرالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحب

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps also to the Barid Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

<sup>15</sup> Other inscriptions of 'Alā uddīn Muhammad Shāh's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayāna), by E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihlī), and by Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Hānsi), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another branch of the Khilji tribe, viz. of Mahmūd Shāh I. of Mālwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique; at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Schatzsch did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is *Ma'ādhira-i Mahmūdshāhī wa asār-i Khilfat-pandī*, written in the lifetime of Mahmūd Shāh I. of Mālwa, as the author 'Alī ibn Mahmūd al-Kirmānī states, by Mahmūd's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully those inspiring divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Mālwa. Mahmūd is related to have been always a favourite of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid *Madrasa Dām-i Bihisht*, built by Shāh Mahmūd A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the *thuluth* and *wadappay* kinds of writing (Vol. 89). This may be a hint to cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the "modern" Indian calligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the *Asat-i Akbari* (cf. also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, at seq. and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some stunted flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islam in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the calligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the *Journal of As. & B.*, vol. XL, p. 257-8, and in Ravenshaw's *Genr.*



قرآن ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی  
 خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه  
 . . . . . این جاء زنل شد . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 بنارین عظیم ماه شعبان المعظم  
 سنه سبع و خمسين و الف

"By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, *Abu'l Mu-saffar Shihāb uddīn Muhammad*, second lord of the conjunction, *Shāhjahān*, *Bādishāhi Ghāst*—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . . of this well for women . . . on the 7th of the honoured month *Sha'bān* in the year 1057 (7th September, 1647)."

The words *chāh-i sanān*—"well for women," seem to be certain, so that there can be no uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the third book of the *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of the *Kotwal*, to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Mahmūdān Shāhī Ashraf's* mosque is an inscription, measuring 1' 2" by 8½", in a very bad condition; only the date الف در سنه سبع و ثمانين الف 'A.H. 1087' (began the 16th March, 1676) and the name of the architect بسعي معمار شريف 'by the effort of the architect Sharif' are legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzēb Ālamgir.

20. There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hānsī, that for want of any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, *s.g.* a portion of the so-called throne-verse (*Qordā*, *Sura ii*, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or a part of the well-known *hadīth* about the building of mosques, on the well in the *Dāk Bangla* compound (size 8" by 20", one line).

#### BHATINDA.

21. Bhatinda, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr. Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort.\* There is preserved a large cannon of Aurangzēb's time bearing two inscriptions:—

هو الغالب  
 در عهد ابوالظفر محی الدین محمد  
 اورنگزیب بہادر عالم گیر  
 بادشاه غازی قرب اورنگ شاہی  
 مرتب شد سنہ یکہزار و ہفتاد و سہ ہجری  
 باعلیہام مرید ندوی بالحق  
 معتمد خان فی سنہ ۱۰۵۰ جلوس  
 مبارک و

\* Bhatinda is mentioned in the *Āin-i Akbarī* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I, 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 142.

"He (God) is the conqueror! In the time of *Abu'l Zafar Muhyiddin Muhammad Aurangzâb Bahâdur 'Âlamgir, Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*, the *Aurangshâh*-cannon was set up in A.H. 1073 (*began the 16th August, 1662*). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject *Mu'tamid Khan*, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

در عمل متبرکاداس دلازمی

..... قرب .....

در قلعه گوالیار مرتب شد

"During the office of *Mathurâdas Dilârâmjî*,..... the cannon has been placed in the fort of *Gwâliâr*."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at *Gwâliâr*, where *Mu'tamid Khan* was commandant from the 24th *Jumâdî I*, 1071.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards it was brought to *Bhatînda*.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—*Shâhjahân's gun Jahânkushâ* by name, see *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A.H. 1186 (*began 4th April, 1772*),—see *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for November 1872, p. 169.<sup>18</sup>

#### ROHTAK.<sup>19</sup>

22. Over the *mihrâb* of the *Âdina* mosque in the town of *Rohtak* are two lines, size 4' 6" by 1' 2"; the letters partly are very much damaged:—

بدرمفع حصرت بردای در خراب ..... محمدي ..... دالمه مسلمانان ..... هاء [عبد] خلعي

ملک جمالی علی الدین والدین ..... سلطان جهان

نامب نهار ابراطور محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه ..... ابن مسجد مومنان ویر ..... خلعي اهل ابدل

عمارب فرمود بنام عمره ماه رمضان سال هفتمد هجری

"Through the grace of the sublime God.....  
*Alâ uddunyâ waddîn*,..... of the kings of the world,..... *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and..... place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st *Ramazân* A.H. 708 (*12th February, 1309*)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of *Rohtak*, near the *Dihli* Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3' 0½" by 8½", the right end of which is missing:—

بادشاه غازي سلطان السلطان غياث الدین سکندر زمان ابرالمظفر تغلق شاه السلطان

[خ] دایگانی محمد علی سلطان غیا ماه مبارک رمضان صم برکات سال بر هفتمد بیست و چهار

"(In the time) of the *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*, the king of kings, *Ghiyâth uddunyâ waddîn*, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Tughluq Shâh* (this mosque has been

<sup>17</sup> See the particulars concerning this office given by Blochmann from the *Mo'âthir-i 'Âlamgir* in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for August 1874, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the *Mughals*, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (K. J. Holl, Leiden).

<sup>19</sup> See *E. I.*, vol. II, pp. 143 et seq.



built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muhammad 'Alī Sultānī. On the first of the blessed month Ramazān,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (22nd August, 1324)."

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shāh's reign (see Blochmann, *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 137; A.H. 722, at Mahōbā).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bābar's time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1' 10" by 1' 1") outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

..... مسجد ..... در عهد ..... حضرت قطب الدین محمد بابر پادشاه غازی خلد الله ملكه

..... روضه ..... نکلین و تعمیله ..... . . . . .

"This mosque.....in the time of.....His Majesty *Zahīr uddīn Muhammad Bābar*, *Bādīshāh-i Ghāzī*.....Ramazān.....93."

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

### XXXV.—SRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRASASTI.

By DR. G. BÜHLER AND VAJESHANKAR G. OZHA.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his *Travels in Western India*, p. 513 f. and by Mr. Postans in the *Journal Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 16 f. According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somnāthpāṭan near Verāval on a pillar near the Qāzī's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, "with the assistance of a learned Jain priest," by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Rāmdatt Krishnadatt Purāṇī. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjāshankar Sāmājī, which Mr. V. G. Ozha forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,<sup>1</sup> a Gujarātī translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

<sup>1</sup> This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing. All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature V. G. O.—[G. B.]

lines have been half or entirely effaced,<sup>1</sup> the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription.

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the *ausadras* have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a *mātrā* is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that *va* does duty for *ba* and *va*, and that the groups like *jy*, *tea*, *dyā* are invariably spelt *jy*, *tea*, and *dyā*. In verse 45 we have the curious word *Gārjarātrāh* corresponding to the modern *Gujarāt*. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like *Suratrāna* out of *Sultan* and *Garjanaka* out of *Ghaznav*. *Gujarāt* itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix *āt*, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows:—

(1) A *maṅgala*, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahman.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdhara, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Samvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalasīva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57.

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date.

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mālarāja I. to Bhīmadeva II, with the exception of Bhīmadeva I, whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pāda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II built a *Someśvaramandapa*, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrākula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gōtra was that of Śāndilya, and that its home was Nagara, i.e. Vāgnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Ūyābhatta (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Māla, i.e. Mālarāja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Indra's breast. Possibly this may mean that Ūyābhatta was Mālarāja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lāla and Bhābha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

<sup>1</sup> These letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—(G. B.)



refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaffs, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-fountains and halls (verses 9-10). King Chāmuṇḍa continued to show them favour and bestowed "the village of Kanbeśvara on the great councillor (*maḥāmantrin*) Mādhaṇa," "his father's friend" (verse 12). The line of the Vastrākulas was continued further through the offspring of Ūyābhata's second son, Lāla. The latter had a son, called Bhābha or also Lāla(?) (verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhīmadeva I. Bhābha-Lāla begat Śobha, "the dear friend of him who was called Jayasimha" (verse 25). His son Valla became an official (*śuchi*) under Kumārapāla (verse 25) and married Rohini. "She bore to him Śrīdhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms" (verse 36), and "was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhīma," i.e. of Bhīmadeva II. (verse 27). The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements. Verse 40 informs us that Śrīdhara was much married and had three wives, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Saubhāgyadevī. According to verse 42: "He quickly made again stable by the power of his *mantra* (i.e. his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [impetuous] war elephants of Mālvā resembling a forest of dark Tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A.D. 1216 effected the *bhāṅga* of Gujārāt, and that he was governor of Devapattana. The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that "Śrīdhara the pride of the fort" made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammīra, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth."

"Heroic Hammīra" is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujārāt during Bhīmadeva's reign. How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of *Prasastis*. Verse 44 informs us that Śrīdhara built in Somnāthpātan two temples, at Rohiṇīsvāmīn, sacred to Vishnu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla. The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents. The date Vikrama Samvat 1273, Vaiśākha sudi 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi's Tables (*ante*, volume I, p. 403, ff.) to Friday, April 22, A.D. 1216.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. — — — शिवाय ॥

मनीमन्वादिभ्यस्तत्त्वमालावर्त्तनं ।

उपास्यते परं तत्त्वं पंचकलैककारणं ॥ १ [३\*]

विद्यदातुर्वज्रैर्जलमवनिर्दिदुर्दिनकर-

चिदाधारवेति तिसुवनमिदं यन्मयमभूत् ।

स वः मेयो देवा-

\* Or, possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."

Restore ॥ मन्वादिभ्यः शिवाय । Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

I. 2.

— — — — रनाथः सुरनर्दः।

मरुपां विभ्राणः गिरसि गिरिजाशेषविषयः ॥ २ [॥<sup>१</sup>]  
 पुण्यातु स्मरदम्बविम्बमधतः कथास्य वचस्वत-  
 प्रेक्षलौस्तुभकांतिभिः कवचिता लक्ष्मीकटाश्रवलिः ।  
 वा संभोगभरालसा तनुत-

" 3.

— — लक्ष्मिविन्वासभू-

दार्द्रिद्रादुमदावपावकमिषाकारानिधं वः विधं ॥ ३ [॥<sup>२</sup>]  
 श्रीसौमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भूमेरिवीहीनुक्तिरत्र भाति ।  
 धनन्यासाधारणशोभमैतत्पुरं पुरारैरिति सूचयंती ॥ ४ [॥<sup>३</sup>]  
 महीवदनपंकजं भुवन-

" 4.

— — भुवाविधि-

मिधिः सकलसंपदां त्रिपुरवैरिणः सन्धतं ।  
 तदेतदतिदुःसहस्यविनाशसिद्धौ पुरा  
 यथांकरचितं पुरं जयति वारिधेः सन्धिधौ ॥ ५ [॥<sup>४</sup>]  
 यस्ति स्वास्तिमदं बुजामननिभैरध्यासितं यज्जमि-  
 धूमध्यामनित-

" 5.

— लांवरतलं स्नानं त्रयीकेलिभूः ।

यम्यथां द्विजपुंगवात्मनर्मित्वर्द्धदुःखमणिः ।  
 मादादटकुलान्वयापरचतुःषष्ट्यस्तुष्टौ च यत् ॥ ६ [॥<sup>५</sup>]  
 शाङ्किषाख्यौदयधाराधेतुर्गोत्रं स्वातं नाम वस्त्राकुलं यत् ।  
 लया-

" 6.

— हा देवयुक्तं जगत् देवचलं यस्य सान्धयमासीत् ॥ ७ [॥<sup>६</sup>]<sup>१०</sup>

यदोयाग्रीर्षादेरमरपतिकार्यस्याजमकं  
 भुनक्ति क्वायत्तं निहततरिपु राज्ञं चिरतरं ।  
 निहत्य श्वापात्तानलज्जितपुरं भूकनुपतिः  
 प्रभुत्वं तत्पुत्रेष्वलत सुकृतार्थव्यवसितं ॥ ८ [॥<sup>७</sup>]<sup>११</sup>  
 मंगलग्राह-

" 7.

प्रतिभा यमनुस्तस्यात्मजा भाववल्लभाभाः ।

ते भूस्तराजं पुरस्कृताश्च भगोरथेनेव यमोऽवतसाः ॥ ९ [॥<sup>८</sup>]<sup>१२</sup>  
 बापीकूपतडागकुहिसमठप्रासादसमालयान्  
 मीवर्णध्वजतोरणापण्यपुरचामप्रपामंभपान् ।  
 कीर्त्तिनीसुलतप्रदाशरण-

<sup>१</sup> Metre, Śikharipi.— Restore देवापरमपुर्.—[V. G. O.]  
<sup>२</sup> देव-विषयं erroneously.—[V. G. O.]  
<sup>३</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore सुवृद्धे लीलक.—  
 [V. G. O.]  
<sup>४</sup> Metre, Upajkti.— Read "दीर्घादीनि".  
<sup>५</sup> Metre, Prithvi.— Restore सुवर्णवाह.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>६</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore "भाववितानवा".—  
 Dale stop after "भुवाविधि".  
<sup>७</sup> Metre, Śālini.— Restore कथा(र)प्य erroneously  
 —[V. G. O.]  
<sup>८</sup> Metre, Śikharipi.  
<sup>९</sup> Metre, Upajkti.— Dale Avagraha in पञ्चमसंवाः



- L. 8. तः श्रीमूलराजस्त्रिभि-  
स्तरासनिभेर्ध्यापयदयं चोत्तुष्वचङ्गामणिः ॥ १० [११]<sup>14</sup>  
यथावास्तु तुरंगमोत्तुरस्त्रसुखमामिडल-  
चोदच्छब्ददिगंतमंवरमभूदेकातपत्राकृति ।  
आग्रावुजरकर्णकोटरतटीरपु-  
११ 9. श्वगंडोपला-  
न्मिंदानः पट्टाञ्जलिः क्षितिधरयेचोषु वभ्राम च ॥ ११ [११]<sup>15</sup>  
तस्मिन्भूभुजि नाकनायकसभासध्यासिते भूपतिः  
प्रत्यर्धिक्षितिपालशैलकुलिशवासुंडराजो ऽभवत्  
प्रीत्या वामवरं ददौ निजपितुर्मित्रा-  
११ 10. य कश्चिच्छरं  
यः श्रीमाधवनामधवज्जातमे तस्मै मङ्गलमिच्छे ॥ १२ [११]<sup>16</sup>  
यस्योत्तुंगतुरंगताडवभवः पांशुल्लरः सैनिकः  
स्वःसीमासु मरुहणाभयमहावप्रकारोभवत् ।  
शक्तेनासुर - [कप्रगमनं दृष्ट्वातिमुष्टा-  
११ 11. क्षमा  
निःशङ्कं मिदधे यचोक्तुचतटे चेतधिरेश भूव ॥ १३ [११]<sup>17</sup>  
तस्याज्जस्तदनु दुर्लभराजनामा  
यस्मारिराजमकरज्वयंकराणां ।  
सुर्वी वभार परिपंथि - - - - -  
- - - - - गितमदपीठः ॥ १४ [११]<sup>18</sup>  
तदनु तदनु-  
११ 12. जौभूदक्षमो भूभुवःस्व-  
क्षितयपठितकीर्तिर्भूतिर्महिमवीः ।  
यदरिनुपपुत्रेण स्वस्त्याफलाका  
स्वगपतिपदपंक्तिर्लक्षते चत्वरेषु ॥ १५ [११]<sup>19</sup>  
लोणीवर्कैक्यके - - - - -  
- - - - - प्रेक्ष्यतापप्रतिज्ञतनि-  
११ 13. विशाराराराजन्मैवः ।  
तस्मिन् देवांगनावास्त्रिविधतरपरीरुभार्जि क्षितीये  
कर्णः कीर्णाभियातिभुवमस्तु भुजे भोगिरन्मसरेण ॥ १६ [११]<sup>20</sup>  
तस्मिन् - - - - -  
- - - - - रभूज्यसिंहदेवः ।  
यस्य चपाक-

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.—Read "हरमणिः"—[V. G. O.]  
<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.—Read "सुख"—[V. G. O.]  
"सीतर" strenuously.—[V. G. O.]  
<sup>16</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.—कपदेरे strenuously.—[V. G. O.]  
<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.—महेनासुरोदितं.—[V. G. O.]  
"सीधर" to be read.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Vamśatīkṛd.—परिपंथि टिकरीटरपुत्रिचरित  
सीधर" [V. G. O.], which is against the metre.  
<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—Read अस्त्रवृत्ताफलाका.—[V. G. O.]  
<sup>20</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.—V. G. O. reads after "महे [मृव -  
- - - - - चंदरति - - - - -] Read "चदरेण"—[V. G. O.]. The same correction strenuously कर्णाभियां.

- J. 14. रकप्रतिमज्ञमूर्तिः  
कीर्तिर्जगत्सु भरिर्नासि नटांगनेव ॥ १० [॥ \*]<sup>१०</sup>  
पाणौक्य जयविजयं चितिभुजामये समया मञ्जी-  
मेकच्छत्रपरिच्छदा विदधता वीरिण वि-रितः ।  
येनारातिनृपा — — — — — तटाभिर्भुजं  
संयुज्य शुभि-
- " 15. तौर्वसनिभसमुत्तेपः प्रतापानलः ॥ १८ [॥ \*]<sup>११</sup>  
तस्मिन्नुपेद्रत्वमनुप्रवृत्तिं त्रेलोक्यरत्नाचमविक्रमांकः ॥  
लोकप्रणैरात्मगुणैरलंघ्यः कुमारपालः प्रवभूव भूपः ॥ १८ ॥ \*]<sup>१२</sup>  
यदरि — — — — — स-त-  
प्रसमरपटुकी-
- " 16. लालीठदिकः प्रतापः ।  
जययति घनफेनस्कारकजीललोचं  
जलनिधिजलमध्याप्यत्यतिष्ठु प्रकाशं ॥ २० [॥ \*]<sup>१३</sup>  
आखंडलप्राङ्गणिते च तस्मिन् भुवं कभाराजयदेव — ।  
— — — — — तवप्रकांडातुचापयो
- " 17. नैगमधर्मज्ञान् ॥ २१ [२१ \*]<sup>१४</sup>  
एतच्छ्रद्धाराजलमम्बनानानुपेद्रविकांतिप्रमः प्रशक्तिः ।  
वम्बाज तत्पुष्करमालिकेय श्रीमूलराजस्तदनुदियाव ॥ २२ [ \* ]<sup>१५</sup>  
[तस्यानुजया जयति चितीशः श्रीभोमदेवः प्रवितप्रतापः ।  
य-
- " 18. कारि सीमेश्वरमंडपोयं येनाऽह मेवध्वनिनामधेयः ॥ २३ [॥ \*]<sup>१६</sup>  
लूलात्मजः समजनिष्ट विशिष्टमान्द्यो  
भाभाष्यया सुमटभोमनृपस्य मित्रं [ । ]  
लूला — — — वजीवन — — —  
— — — — — यतिमभाष्यवपुर्णवैभवं ॥
- " 19. २४ [॥ \*]<sup>१७</sup>  
तस्याभयवृद्धवनमंडलमंडनाय  
श्रीभाभिषः प्रियसुहृज्यसिंहनाथः ।  
यस्यात्मजः सचिवनामधिगम्य वरः  
स[न्धान]यां सुचिरमास कुमारपाल ॥ २५ [॥ \*]<sup>१८</sup>  
अघोष — — — — — द्वितीय-  
सुमाभिषेयः कम-

<sup>१०</sup> Metre, Vasanttilakā. — V. (i. e. reads after मणि-  
[मणिभुजवि जय — — — ] ; and अवावरवर — [V. G. O.]

<sup>११</sup> Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛitika. — V. G. O. reads विजा(का)  
विज. १पा — — — — — वि — — —

<sup>१२</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>१३</sup> Metre, Māhāt. — यदरिपुरेणु आरविनामधेयः — [V. G. O.]

<sup>१४</sup> Metre, Upajāti. — "राजयदेवभूषः । अकारयदेवभूषः" —

[V. G. O.]

<sup>१५</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>१६</sup> Metre, Upajāti. — The first Pāda is very indistinct.

<sup>१७</sup> Metre, Vasanttilakā. — लूला(का)या तु अरवीरपुष्पकुम्-  
रीसीमपुष्प — [V. G. O.] The same occurs लूला(का)या : to  
सुधावधः ।

<sup>१८</sup> Metre, first three Pādas Vasanttilakā. सुचिर stands at  
the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.



I. 20.

सामिवाचुतः ।

अजायतास्वा कुलकैरवाकर-

प्रबोधकः श्रीधरनामचंद्रमाः २६ [ ४ \* ]<sup>20</sup>

चीरोदपूरपरिपांडुरपुष्पकीर्ति-

नीरोगमेव पुष्ट — — यमातनोति ।

— — — — — तमं वयसि-

श्रीभीमभुः

" 21.

पतिनियोगिजनैकमान्यः २७ [ ४ \* ]<sup>21</sup>

आग्नीः परंपरा मेयमूयामहस्य तावते [ १ ]

चौलुकवन्धुकुलयोराकल्पं प्रीतिरचता ॥ २८ [ ४ \* ]<sup>22</sup>

कात्या चंद्रति तेजसा — — — — —

— — तानपदाकवत्वसि-

" 22.

ससंपत्त्वा धनाध्वजति ।

[ मूल्या ] सागरति प्रभावविधिना नित्यं विरचत्यसौ

कीर्त्त्या रामति रूपसंदरतया कंदर्पति श्रीधरः ॥ २९ [ ४ \* ]<sup>23</sup>

निःसीमसं — — — — —

— — — — — मुखाभिर्निवहः ।

श्रीजन्मनी-

" 23.

रनिधिरुन्नतसत्वसीमा

आगर्त्सि चास्म दृढये पुरुषः पुराणः ॥ ३० [ ४ \* ]<sup>24</sup>

श्रीधरोपि न वै कुंठः सर्वज्ञोपि न नास्तिवित् ।

ईश्वरोपि न कामारिणि — — — — — [ ३१ ४ \* ]<sup>25</sup>

त[ आनिधं विमुच ] पादपकामधेतु-

मुखाः स-

" 24.

मभ्यजमयाहितदा भवतु ।

कितव्यं सत्यमयदानवर्गपदत्व-

विष्णोरवक्त्रविनयममुखा विशेषाः ॥ ३२ [ ४ \* ]<sup>26</sup>

अंवालसुहिमायते [ पिकततिः श्रीराजहंसायते ]

[ कालिंदी ] — — दायते हरमलः श्रीरोदवेला-

" 25.

यते ।

श्रीरिः सीरधरायते ॥ अंनगिरिः प्राज्ञेयशैलायते

वल्कीर्त्त्या सुपयस्यते चित्तिगवो राघुः शशांकायते ॥ ३३ [ ४ \* ]<sup>27</sup>

निर्माळं [ चंद्रदेवी ] — — — — —

चीरोदः पादश्रीवाच-

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Vamśatikā.—अजीवनेन दधिमा च दीविषी.—  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vamśatikā.—दृष्टपादुपमा,—धुवाजराजपरि-  
नतमर्म—[V. G. O.]

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Anuśtubh.—सर्वज्ञपादुपमायते (मयाभूति  
दयते)—[V. G. O.]

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—मुखाभिर्निवहः—[V. G. O.]

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Vamśatikā.—निःसीमसंपदुदयेन विधानेन त-  
त्त्वमानन्दमतादयः—[V. G. O.]

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Anuśtubh.—रिदीपि न च इवहा.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Vamśatikā.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—अविंदी नवरायते.—[V. G. O.]

L. 28.

तमचलपतिर्द्वसंवाहपंकः ।

उच्छिष्टं पांचजन्यं सुरसरिदमलस्येदतोयोदयसो-

रिल्लेवं यस्य कोर्ते स्वयमकृतं नृतिं सोम — — — — [३४ \*]<sup>१</sup>

— — — — — सीं तिलोकोमालोक्

" 27.

संकीर्णनिवासमत्वाः [ \* ]

वेधा विल्लत नृतिमाततान तवास्ति नान्धा सदुमीति नूनं ॥ ३५ [ \* ]<sup>२</sup>

असौ वीरो दान्तः सुचरितपरिच्छेदसुभगः

— — — — — परिणवगिरां कोपि सुकृती [ १ ]

अमुं पूर्वं ज-

" 28.

अन्यस्त्रिलगुणविस्तारमधुरं

मुनाव स्रष्टुं विमलसिप - तमीकिरमकत् ॥ ३६ [ \* ]<sup>३</sup>

यदीयगुणवर्णनचयनकौतुकोच्छेदया ।

— — — — — यमा ।

मनः किमिव रज्यते-

" 29.

नृचितर्पदिभिर्वेधस-

स्तदस्य कपिमानिभिर्न च चरितमुद्योतते ॥ ३७ [ \* ]<sup>४</sup>

दिग्दन्तावलकस्यतालविलसतत्कमरगंगणे

यत्कोर्तिर्धर्मदमत — — — — — नृद्यति [ \* ]<sup>५</sup>

रोद-यंदरपूरक-

" 30.

प्रणयिनो निर्यकमाकमरि-

भिंदती तमसां कुलं कलिमलप्रण्यंसवदीप्तिवा ॥ ३८ [ \* ]<sup>६</sup>

लोकालोकासवासा जलनिधिसलिलासिक्तमुक्ता वचंती

[ग्रंभोमंदा]यलंविन्यस्त्रिलगुणमयं-

" 31.

रंजुते कोर्तिवहो

यस्य प्राणिवभानुप्रायकचकुसुमोदारतारापरामै-

दिक्कलं व्यापयंती जयति फणिपतिप्रांयमुक्ता जगत्वा ॥ ३९ [ \* ]<sup>७</sup>

— — — — — सावित्रीलक्ष्मीसौभाग्यदेव्याख्याः [ १ ]

" 32.

इच्छाहानक्रियाच्येया यद्दीयस्य यत्तयाः ॥ ४० [ \* ]<sup>८</sup>

ताभिर्भुवगवंध्याभिः संख्याभिरिव वासरः [ १ ]

[योधरः शोभते मण्डलोकव्याभ्येकदीपकः ॥ ४१]

— — — [मासवतभाल]वमाचमान-

सेनामज-

" 33.

प्रकरमंगुरितां भुवं यः [ १ ]

[भू]यः सिरां सपदि भेदवलेन कृत्वा

\* Metre, Sragdhara.—यद्दीयं रूपपरिचितः सेवयः प्रवाही  
—[V. G. O.] कोर्ते: — — — श्रीमगादी: लिपि— [V. G. O.]

\* Metre, Ujjah.—(परकीर्णानाम्) दयसी (चि) तिलोकी  
वासी.—[V. G. O.] Read तिलकः—

\* Metre, Sahasini.

\* Metre, Pithari.— — — कस्य — — — नाभी — — — ययता

— तिसमान्.—[V. G. O.] Read "सुरचीवते.

\* Metre, Sādhavikrājita.—"अप(वारमनिसातस्यपवा)-

[V. G. O.]

\* Metre, Sragdhara.

\* Metre, Anahatubb (सक मयस्य) सावित्री.—[V. G. O.]



श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मगत्या ॥ ४२ [१\*]<sup>44</sup>

पलयवत्तधिवेलोन्नोलकन्नोलन्नोल

----- संपिष्टयैसं [1×]

दक्षितधरणि-

L. 33.

चक्षं वीरहमीरचक्षं

वहृत्पमकरीयः श्रीधरो दुर्मदप्यः ॥ ४३ [१\*]<sup>45</sup>

मातुः कीवत्तहेतोर्भूरिपुमवनं रोहिणीस्वामिनाम्ना

----- वैशवाद्याः [१\*]

नाम्ना ता-

" 35.

तत्त तद्विचित्रवभवनमपि -----

[धाम] श्रीमच्छिवस्य प्रतिहतदुरितं कारितं भूरियोमं ॥ ४४ [१\*]<sup>46</sup>

यज्ञो दीवारिकोभूद

----- गूर्जराद्या निजनिपुण-

" 36.

गुणैः सुतुला - - - - [१\*]

[धिन[ह] श्रीधरीयो ह]रनगरपदे योजितस्तस्य नाम्ना

प्रासादः श्रीधरेणाप्ययमवनिजयः कारितः - - - [४४४\*]<sup>47</sup>

----- वनस्तीमाशमत्कारिणः

" 37.

किंचिच्छ्रीनृपनायिकाभिरमित - - - - [१×]

गोर्वाणाधिपया[पसा]दरमहारमस्तुरज्योतिषा -

मैते मेदमहीधर - - - - [४४४४\*]<sup>48</sup>

- - - मा-द्विजवृद्धिमाशः

" 38.

समानदायाः सगुणाः - - - [१\*]

----- माद्विज्वरखावरणोपमानाः ॥ ४५ [१\*]<sup>49</sup>

----- - - - [१\*]

----- वैश्वयिका इव ॥

४४८ [१\*]<sup>50</sup>

" 39.

चित्तवृत्ति - - - - [१\*]

----- मूनयो यवा ४० [१\*]<sup>51</sup>

वि - - - - गौः

सततविहित-

40.

धूपीकृतधा - - - - [१\*]

----- देते ॥ ५० [१\*]<sup>52</sup>

----- [कथाचयाय मठं वि - - - - [१]

----- चेतः ॥ ५१ [१\*]<sup>53</sup>

यद्य क-

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Yaṁantailakā - "यमानवाचकम्" - [V. G. O.]  
Probably "यमान" to be read, "मंदरितानुदं वः दुर्मदप्यः" (V)  
erroneously - [V. G. O.]

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Mālinī - "मलिनमालापातसंविष्ट" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Śrīgāthā - "श्रीगाथा" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrānta - "शार्दूलविक्रान्त" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrānta - "शार्दूलविक्रान्त" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Uṣṇī - "उष्णी" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Uṣṇī - "उष्णी" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Uṣṇī - "उष्णी" - [V. G. O.]

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<sup>52</sup> Metre, Uṣṇī - "उष्णी" - [V. G. O.]

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Uṣṇī - "उष्णी" - [V. G. O.]

- L. 41. यमवि देवादागतः — — — —  
 — — — — — श्रीधरेण [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — जलधि — — — — — [ १५२ १ \* ]<sup>११</sup>  
 — — — — — भूपालकुलसङ्ग-  
 „ 42. ऋ [ १ \* ]  
 जीमूतवाहन — — — — — [ १५३ १ \* ]<sup>१२</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — — पावनो यतिपति-  
 „ 43. यस्याङ्गिपूजाविधिः  
 — — — — — ॥ ५४ [ १ \* ]<sup>१३</sup>  
 श्री — — — — — दूरे प्रसरपरिणते — — — — —  
 — — — — — चणिकमतमहाप्याल-  
 „ 44. संरमसिधुः [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [तदादिर्विमलशिपसुनि]माननोयो [नवेदुः] ॥ ५५ [ १ \* ]<sup>१४</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — च पादप-  
 „ 45. श्री [ १ \* ]  
 र्चगीकृता — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १५६ १ \* ]<sup>१५</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 [निःशेषपार्थङ्गिस्तालपङ्कः]  
 [भक्त्यास्तु तृष्टः प्रतिपन्नद्वयः]  
 [प्रगस्तिमेतामयमुद्धारः] ॥ ५७ [ १ \* ]<sup>१६</sup>  
 याव-  
 „ 46. द्विषोकरसि — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १ \* ]  
 [यावद्वाणी विहरतिवि] — — — — —  
 ता — — — — — ॥ [ ५७ [ १ \* ]<sup>१७</sup>  
 [एते] — — — — — वेन प्रमादाः  
 „ 47. सुविताः युभाः ।  
 लिखि — — — — — [ १६० १ \* ]  
 श्रीमद्विजयनृपसंवत् १२७३ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ४ शुक्रे [निःपा]दितमिति शिवमस्तु ॥ ५८ ॥  
 मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

<sup>११</sup> पदा (श्रीनिवासी), यतिपूजितमः यः संज्ञितमन्त्र—(ibid pda) ; निरुपपत्ति—[V. G. O.] Metre, Mallat

<sup>१२</sup> Metre, Anushtubh—

<sup>१३</sup> Metre, Śāradhārīkṛdita—

— — — — — द्विषति  
 — — — — — चणिकः श्रुतिः चणिका — — — — — कलीकित  
 —[V. G. O.]

<sup>१४</sup> Metre, Śāradhārī— दशरुद्रः ; चणिकमत—[V. G. O.]

<sup>१५</sup> Metre, Vasantatīlaka— श्रीकृष्णपारपदी—[V. G. O.]

<sup>१६</sup> Metre, Upajāti. At the end of pda 1 वस्तु—[V. G. O.]

<sup>१७</sup> Mandākrāntā विहरति विपुलविजयितारोहो — — —  
 यममन्त्रिकं यमवती यमक—[V. G. O.]



# XXXVI—ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR, SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ, KĀLSĪ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used:—

(1) *Girnar*, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess during the working season 1887-1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

(2) *Shāhbāzgarhī*, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,<sup>1</sup> and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888. Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly.

(3) *Mansehra*, an estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in March 1887,<sup>2</sup> as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results.

(4) *Kālsī*, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relief and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes.

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the *Kālsī* version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as *ā*-strokes, *Annsvāras* and the like. In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense. The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation. Thus, in Edict V, l. 14, the position of the syllables *deśam-pi hāpessati*, proves that we have to transliterate *deśam api hāpayishyati*, not *deśam apihāpayishyati*. Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together. Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of *Shāhbāzgarhī* version. Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain's squeeze B. of the *Mansehra* version. It is now perfectly certain that the *Mansehra* version is most closely related in its wording to that of *Kālsī*.

<sup>1</sup> This was used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 128ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 274, and XLIV, p. 702ff.

The new facsimiles of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the palaeography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial *a*, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kālsī inscription (see, *e.g.*, Ed. XIII. 2, l. 15 *pāpāś me a*). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī *a* of Western India. Andhra forms are found in *ka*, which has the dagger-like form, (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. IV, l. 11, *puḍ-cha ka*); in *chha*, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (*e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14, *kachhali*) in *ja*, which is angular (*e.g.*, Gīrnār Edict IX, l. 1, *rāja*); in *ḍa*, which is round in *atapḍamḍe*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line; in *ta*, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Gīrnār and in the Kālsī inscriptions; in *sa*, which is triangular in the superscribed *riyase* Kālsī Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) *ā*-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*, (2) *e*-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern *mātrās* (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIII 1, l. 39, *śatabhāge*, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*); and (3) a looped *o* in *no hutapuluḍā*, (Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anuvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, *e.g.*, the first of *dhammam*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 33, *dhammamahāmāḥā*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (*e.g.*, in the third syllable of *sālavadhī*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34, and in the second syllable of *śatabhāge*, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are *serifs*. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.\*

## TRANSCRIPTS.

## EDICT I.

## Gīrnār.

fyam dharmamāpī devānam priyana [1] Priyadanā  
rāṣā lekḥapitā [2] idha na kimb- [3] ehi jivam  
ārabbhitā prajūhitayam [3] na cha samāje  
katayvo [4] Bahukam hi domam [4] samājanhi pamā

## Shāhbāzgarh.

[A]ya[ḥ]\* dharmadipi devana priam  
raṣo lekḥapita[ḥ] hida na kibi jive  
ara[hi]t<sup>†</sup> prayahotave<sup>†</sup> na pi cha samaja  
kata[va]t<sup>†</sup> [Ba]huka hi domam sama. na

\* For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 128, and 276 ff., where some remarks on the Kharoṣṭhī script have been published.

† The Anuvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

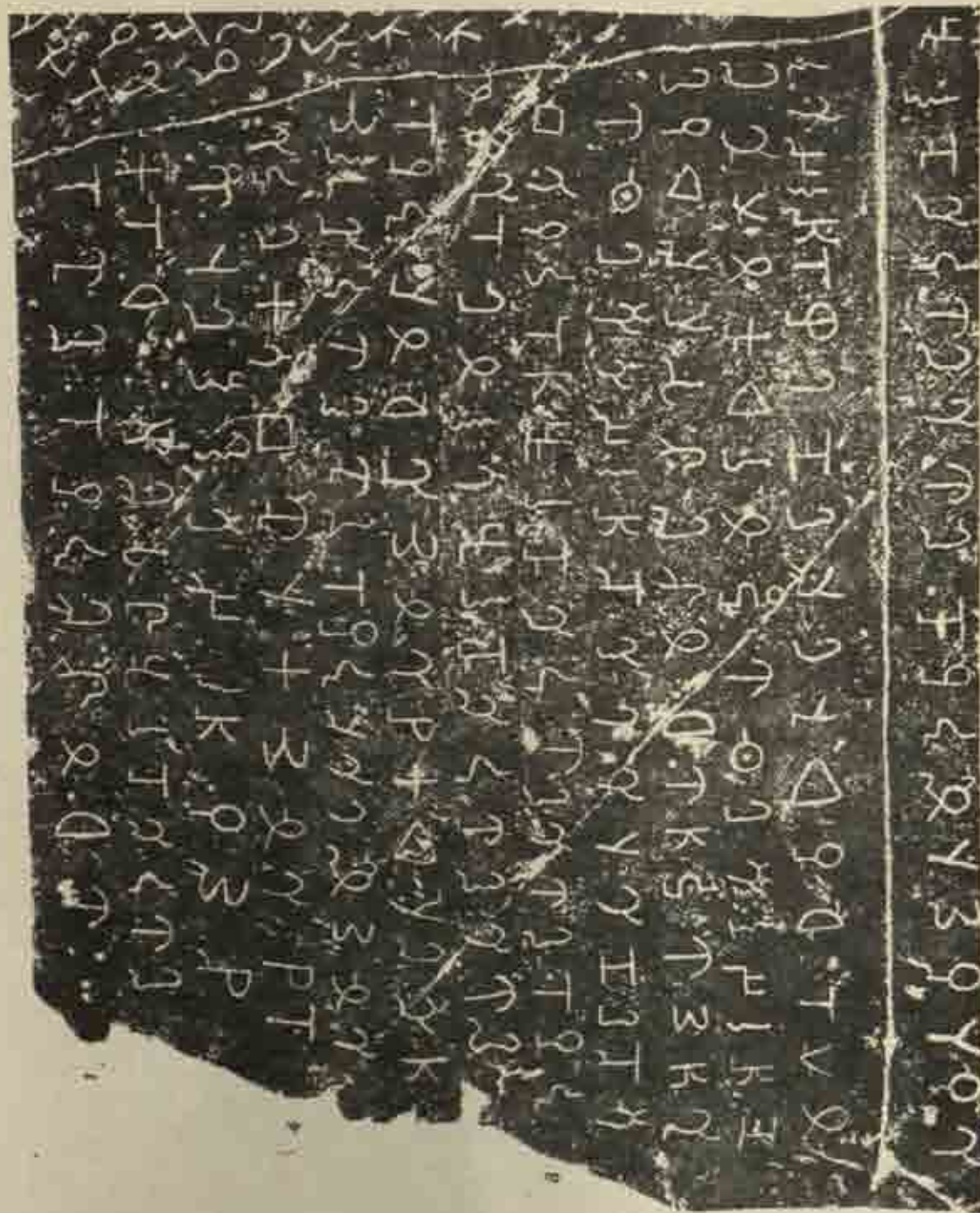
\* Read *arabbhitā*; the last vowel has been lost.

† The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read *ya* is not correct.

† Possibly *āraḥotave*.



GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: No. 1.



Mag. 1. 1. 1.

J. B. B. B. B.





## Girār.

devānam priya Priyadasi rājā[5] Asti  
pi tu ekasā samājā śādhimattā devānam [6] priyasa  
Priyadasino rājā[.] Purā mahānasa[7] devānam  
priyasa Priyadasino rājā anudivasam ha-[8] bhūni  
pānasahasasāśoi ārabhisa  
sūpāthāya[9] Se aja yadā ayam  
dhammalipi<sup>14</sup> likhitā ti eva prā-[10] pā<sup>15</sup> ārabhase  
sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mugo[.] So pi [11]  
mago na dhuvā<sup>16</sup>[.] Ete pi tē prāpā paelhā  
na ārabhisu<sup>17</sup>[12]

## Manasra.

Ay[7] <sup>18</sup> dharmadipi [de]vāna [pri]yena [Pri]yadra-  
[si]na<sup>19</sup> ra. na. ikhapita[.] hida no kichi jiv[.]  
arabhi[.] pr[.]ya[.] [1] [ho]taviye no pi cha  
sama[.] ka[.]vāya[.] Bahuka hi [dasa]  
samajasa<sup>20</sup> devānam priya Priyadasi rājā  
kha. [.] Asti pi chu[3] [aj]katiya samaja  
sa[dhu]ma[ta] devāna priyasa [Pri]yadasi[no]<sup>21</sup>  
rajasa[.] Pura maha[nasa]si [devāna] pri. sa  
Pri . . . lisa ra-[8] jina anudiva . . . bahuni prapā-  
[asa]harsaui . . . a[ra]si supa[th]āya[.] Se[.] [2] [si]  
[.] . . . ayi dharmadipi. ikkhita ta[da] ti[ui]  
yo. prapant a . . . bhū. ti du[re] 2 maju-[4] ra  
eke 1 m[r]ige[.]<sup>22</sup> Se[.] pi chu[m]ige<sup>23</sup> no dhuvā[.]  
[Etam] pi chu [tini] prapanti pacha no arabhi . . . [.]

## Shāhāgarhi.

devāna priy[o] Priyadasi rāja śikhati<sup>24</sup>[.] Asti  
pi cha śikhati<sup>25</sup> samayo vrostamati devāna priasa  
Priyadasi rājā[.] Pura mahānasa<sup>26</sup> devānam  
priasa Priyadasi rājā anudivase bahuni  
pra[.]pāsa[.] hsa[r]ani<sup>27</sup> a[rabhi]i[yen] su-  
[pāthay]e<sup>28</sup>[.] So ida[n]i yadā a[ya]i<sup>29</sup> [2]  
dharmadipi likhita tādā tra[ya] vo prapā  
hastanti majuta dui 2 mugo 1 [.] so pi  
mugo no dhuvam[.] Eta pi prapantayo pacha  
na arabhiasthi [.]

## Kāst.

Iyuni dharmadipi devānam-priyasa Priyada-  
sin[ā] lekhi[.]tā [.] hida nā-kichhi<sup>30</sup> jive  
ārabhi[.]tā pajohitaviye [1] no-pi-chā  
samāje hutaviye [.] Bahuk[ā]-hi<sup>31</sup> doka  
samajasa[.]<sup>32</sup> devānam-priya Priyadasi lājā  
śikhati [.] Atha-pi-cha śikhati<sup>33</sup> sa[m]āje  
śādh[.]imattā devānam-priyasa Priyadasi[ā]  
lājir [2] Pura-mahānasa<sup>34</sup> devānam-priyasa  
Priyadasi lājina anudivasam bahuni  
pānasahasāni ārabhiyisu supāthāya[.] Se-iddāni  
yadā [ya]m dhammalipi likhita tadā timni<sup>35</sup>  
yevā pānāni ārabhi[.]yanti [3] duve majutā  
eko migo[.] Se-pi-cha migo no-dhuvā[.]  
Etāni pi-cha<sup>36</sup> tini pānāni no-ārabhiyasthi[.]

## EDICT II.

## Girār.

Sarasta vijitāhi devānam priyasa Priya-  
dasino<sup>37</sup> rājā[1] evamapi prachamtesu yathā  
Chodā Pādā Satiyaputa Ketlaputā  
ā Tāmba- [2] pama<sup>38</sup> Amtiyako Yonarājā ye rā  
pi tant Amtiyakasa sāmipath<sup>39</sup> [3]

## Shāhāgarhi.

Savratra vijita devānam priyasa Priyadasi  
ye cha [a]jita<sup>40</sup> yatha [Ch]odā [3]  
Pamdiya Satiyaputra Keralaputra  
Tambapathui Amtiyokon nama Yonaraja ye cha  
stino tana Amtiyakasa samachala[ra]jano

\* The top of the letter da has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was śikhati or śikhati.

\* The obverse seems to show śikhati, while the very thin v-stroke is visible on the reverse.

\* The sa has a serif which makes it look like se. At the end of the line a second māl has been scratched in.

\* The second va-stroke is not certain.

\* Possibly supāthāya.

\* Possibly apak.

\* The long ā is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.

\* Owing to an abrasion the second ā-stroke is somewhat abnormal.

\* Possibly śādhā is to be read.

\* It is possible to read śādhimattā, as there are two deep holes after sa. But both are probably accidental.

\* The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent i-stroke (abnormal) and low deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been uyo.

\* Only the right half of the śa of Priyadasi is visible on the reverse.

\* Possibly sa or se to be read.

\* Possibly śādhā to be read.

\* Devāna samajasa is very indistinct.

\* Samajasa is more probable than samajasi.

\* The last syllable of Priyadasi is not certain; it may have been sa.

\* I.e., i.e. śādhā is uncertain; the reading may be a. a. i.e. śādhā.

\* The Anuvāsa is at least probable.

\* The va-stroke of vāra is not quite certain.

\* The sa has besides the i-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the non-sensical form savāra. The left one has probably been added by mistake.

\* Kāst-pā-cha is distinct on the reverse of the impression.

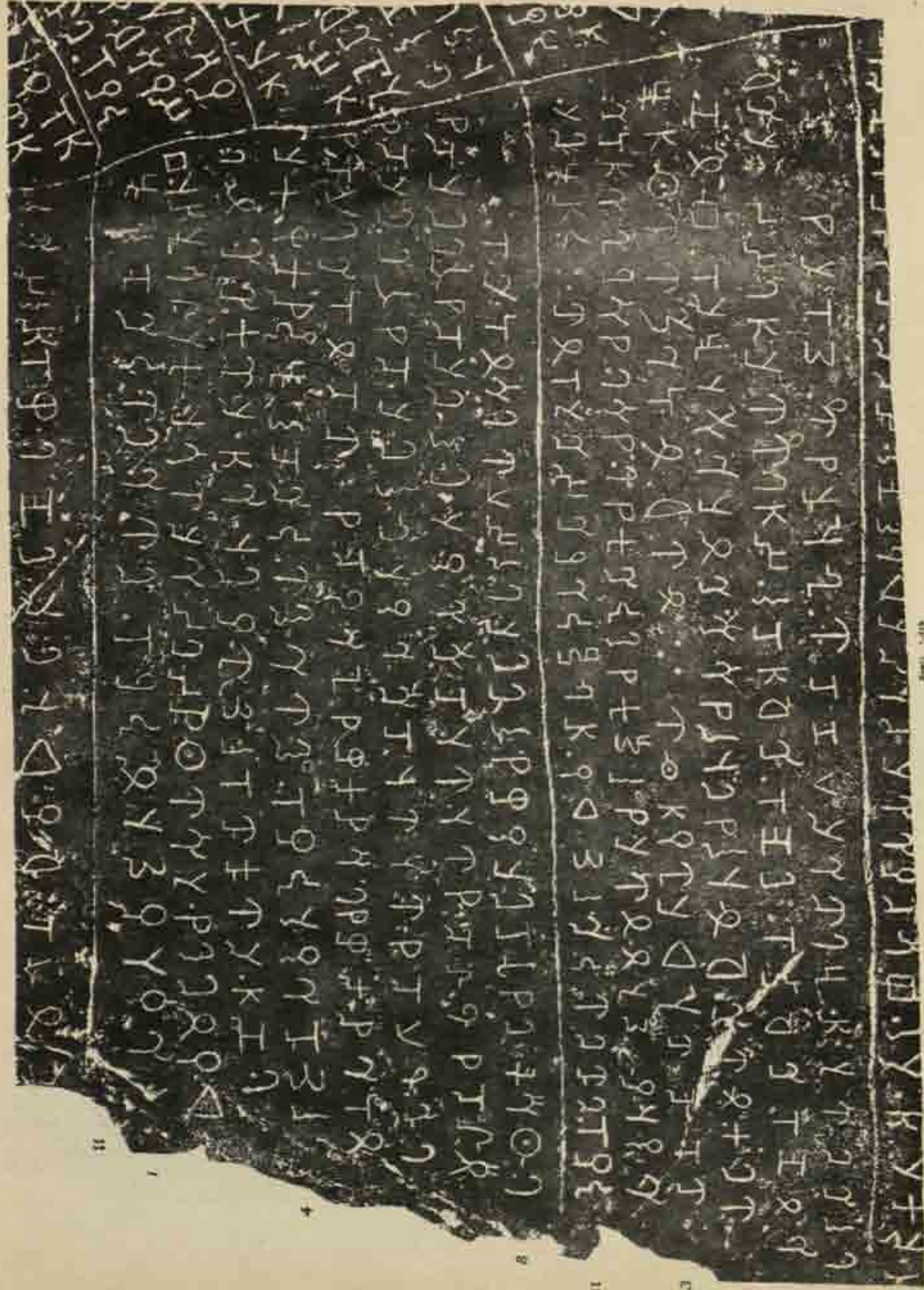
\* Possibly Priyadasi is to be read.

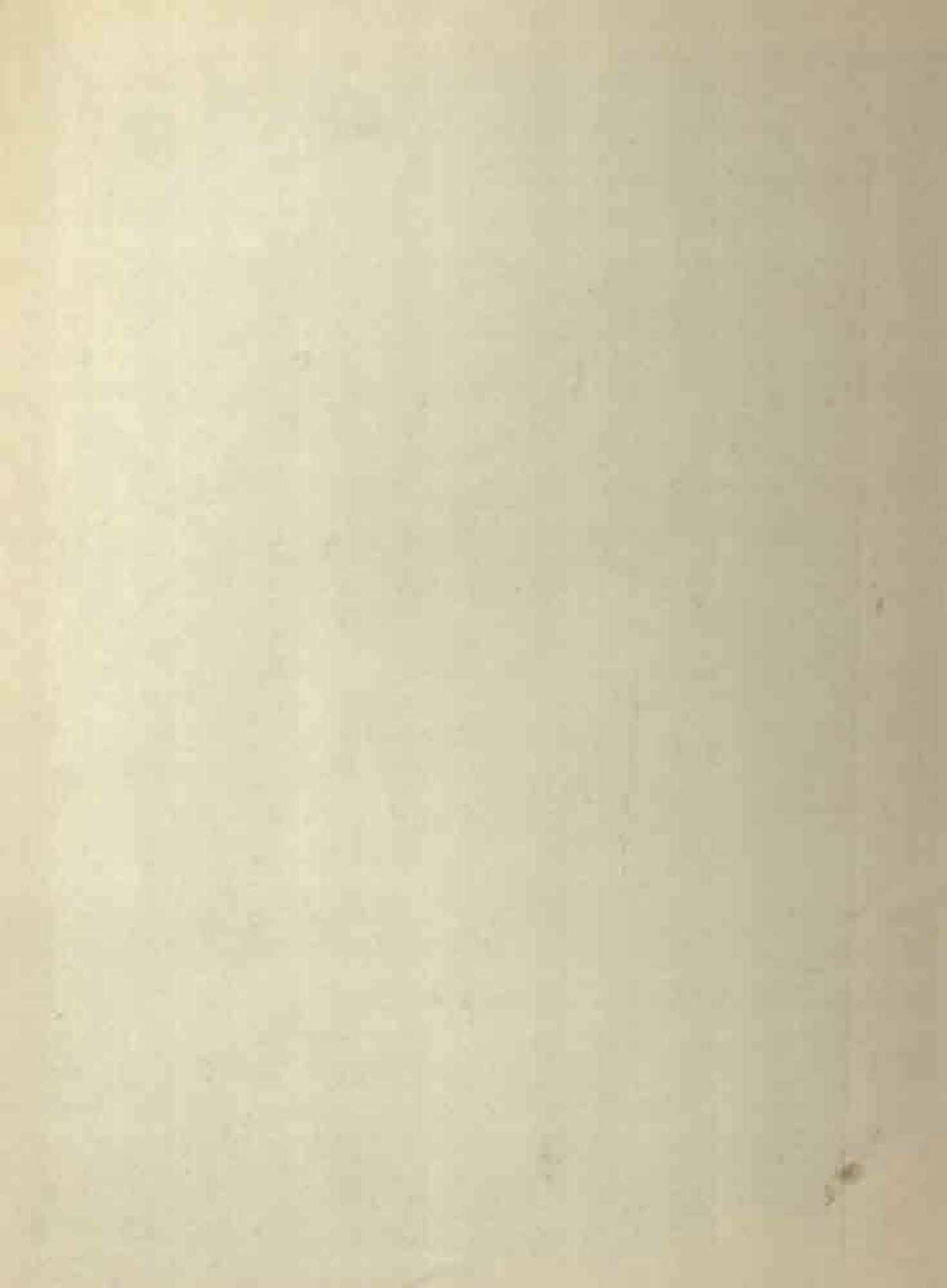
\* Only the lower part of the first sign of śādhā has been preserved.

\* The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is pacha.











Edict I.

Ed. II.

Ed. V.

Ed. VI.

Ed. VII.

Ed. VIII.

Ed. IX.









## Girnar.

dānath prāpānath sādhu anārambho  
apavyayātā apabhāthātā sādhu[.5] Parisa pi  
yuta ānapayimāi gūṇānāyath hetuta cha  
vyamjanato cha[.6]

## Mausheira.

[De]vāna piye [P]riyadasi raja eva aha [.]  
dava[da]śasasabhisetena<sup>41</sup> me ayath  
[a]napayite [.] savatā vijitani [me]. ta raja.  
[pa]desāke . chaṇṇa parā[chaṇṇa] 5 vasheshu [9]  
anussatryanath nikrama[m]ta<sup>42</sup> etāye<sup>43</sup> vath athāye  
[maye dhammanussatīye] ya . aṇṇa aṇṇe pi  
kramase [.] aa . matapi . aṇṇa  
sūru[cha] [mi]traśastatā[.10] satikanam cha<sup>44</sup>  
bra[ma]ṇṇasamānāyath sādhu dāne prapana  
a . rabhe sādhu apa[va]yuta<sup>45</sup> apabhāda[ta]  
sādhu[.] Parisa pi cha yutani gūṇānāsi  
[ana]payimāti hetu[te] cha viya . [11] nate cha[.]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

[6] apavayata apabha[m]data<sup>46</sup> sādhu[.] Pari[pi]<sup>47</sup>  
yuta[ni] ga[ṇ]anāsi anapayimāti hetuta cha  
vaṇṇato cha[.]

## Kāli.

Devānam-piye Priyadasi lā[ā] [ho] vath<sup>48</sup> āhā [.] 6]  
dava[śasasabhisetena-me] iyaṇ  
ānapayite [.] savatā vijitani mama yutā lajaka  
pālesiko pūṇṇasa pūṇṇasa vama  
anus[a]jyānath<sup>49</sup> nikhamasitū etāye-vā athāye  
imā[ya]<sup>50</sup> dhammanussatīyā<sup>51</sup> yathā amāya-pi  
kammāye [.] sādhu [7] mātapitissa<sup>52</sup>  
sussā<sup>53</sup> mītasath[hetu]nātikyānath-cha  
bambhannasamānāyath-cha sādhu dāne<sup>54</sup> pāṇānā  
anārambho[.] sādhu apavayātā<sup>55</sup> apabhāthātā  
sādhu [.] Palisa-pi-cha yutā[ni] gūṇānāsi  
anapayimāti hetuvatā-cha viyamjanat[ā]-cha[.]

## EDICT IV.

## Girnar.

Atikātam añtaram bahūni vāsasatani vadhito eva  
prāpārambho vibhāsa cha bhūtanam āstinam [1] aṇṇa-  
patipati brāhmaṇasamānāyath aṇṇapati-  
pati<sup>56</sup> [.] Ts aja devānam priyasa Priyadasi-  
rāṇo [2] dhammacharassana bhavighosa aho  
dhammaghosso vimānassanā cha bhūtidassanā cha [3]  
agikkhamāttāni cha sādāni cha divāni rūpāni  
dāmyitpā janatā[.] Yārie bahūni vāsasatehi [4]  
na bhūtapruve tādise aja vadhito devānam priyasa  
Priyadasi-  
rāṇo dhammanussatīyā<sup>57</sup> anāram-  
bho prāpānāni avilāsa<sup>58</sup> bhūtanam āstinam  
sāmpatipati brāhmaṇasamānāyath  
sāmpatipati mātari . pitari [5] sūruṇā thair-  
sūruṇā[.] Esa aṇṇa cha bahuvidhe dhamma-

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Atikratam añtaram bahūni vāsasatani vadhito vo  
praparambho vibhāsa cha bhutanam āstinam [aṇṇa] m-  
pa[ti] pati<sup>59</sup> sramasath[ā] amasasath[ā] [aṇṇapati]-  
pati<sup>60</sup> [.] [So aja devānam] priyasa [Pri]ya[dasi] rāṇo  
[2] dhammacharassana bhavighosa aho  
dhammaghosha vimānassanā dānassanā [ha] etino  
jotikamdhani aṇṇa cha divāni<sup>61</sup> rūpāni  
dāmyitpā<sup>62</sup> janatā[.] Yādise [m]<sup>63</sup> bahūni vāsasatehi  
na bhutapruve tādise aja vadhito devānam priyasa  
Priyadasi-  
rāṇo dhammanussatīya<sup>64</sup> anāram-  
[bho] p[ra]pānāni avilāsa bhutanam āstinam  
sa[sāmpatipati] bramaṇa[.]-[5] sramasasath  
sāmpatipati mātapitushu [vadhasam]  
vāruṇa[.] 6[ta] aṇṇa cha bahuvilāsa [m] dhamma-

<sup>41</sup> The Anuvāsa is not certain.

<sup>42</sup> Read *parāśa pi*.

<sup>43</sup> *Āā*, not *āā*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>44</sup> The third letter of *dassanā* is not certain and may have been *da* or an abnormal *ra*. Perhaps "*dassānā*" to be read.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly *anussatīyā* to be read.

<sup>46</sup> Possibly *indga* to be read.

<sup>47</sup> The Anuvāsa is very probable, but not absolutely certain.

<sup>48</sup> The second sign is abnormal and might be read *ra*.

<sup>49</sup> Read *dhammanussatīyā*.

<sup>50</sup> The last syllable of *mātapitissa* is distorted on the reverse.

<sup>51</sup> *Sassat* alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression.

<sup>52</sup> *Cks* ought to stand, not *before*, but *after* *bramaṇasamānāyath*.

<sup>53</sup> *Dāsa*, not *dāsa*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in favour of *id*, not of *ā*.

<sup>55</sup> The vowel of the third syllable is not certain.

<sup>56</sup> Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct; the fourth looks like *ā*.

<sup>57</sup> The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed words and syllables with exception of the vowel of *sa*, of the word *aṇṇa* and of the last vowel of *rāṇo*.

<sup>58</sup> The syllable *pa* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>59</sup> The syllable *da* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>60</sup> The syllable *ā* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>61</sup> To the right of the lower end of *da* appears a curve, and the letter is probably the fore-runner of the later *da*, which looks like *ra*.

<sup>62</sup> The ending *dāmyitpā* is not impossible, but a combination of the *ra*-stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable.

<sup>63</sup> The Anuvāsa is not certain.

<sup>64</sup> The form *dhammanā*, which occurs also below Ed. I. 1. 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern *dhamma* and the Magadhi *dhamma*.

## Giruar.

churam vadhite vadhayasati chava devanam  
priya [7] Priyadasa raja dhamma[cha]raam idam [.]  
Putra cha pota cha prapota cha devanam  
priyasa Priyadasa idam [8] vadhayasati idam  
dhammachararam aya samajakapa [.] Dhammamhi  
silamhi tisattho dhammam amassasanti [.]  
Ea hi seete kudma ya dham-  
mamasanti [.] Dhammacharame pi  
na bhavati silasa [.] Ta imamhi atthamhi [10] vadhi  
cha atthi cha atthi [.] Etaya atthaya idam lekha-  
pita [.] Imasa atthasa vadhi yujanta hini cha [11]  
ma lobetayva [.] Dhammasvassabhissena  
devanam priyasa Priyadasa raja idam  
lekhapitam [12].

## Manshra.

Atika[ra]tam<sup>77</sup> a[m]ta[ra]m<sup>78</sup> bahuni vassana  
vadhite vab prasa[m]bhe<sup>79</sup> vi[h]i[sa]<sup>80</sup> cha bhu-  
tanam siatana asapa[ra]pati samasammasanam  
asampa[ti]pati [12] So aja devana priyasa  
Priyadasa rane dhamma[cha]raam bhavighosa  
aho dhammagosa<sup>81</sup> vinnasasana hastina agika-  
dhami aha[ni] cha divani rupani drasati  
janasa [13] [A]disa bahuni [va]sa[ra]ti na hu tu-  
prava tadise [a]va[ra]dite [de]vama priyasa  
Priyadasa rajase dhammasammasiya amarabhe  
prasanati avihisa bhutana siatana [14] sampati-  
pa[ra]m[asana]m[ati] sampati[ti] matipitasa  
sura[ra] vadhana surasita [.] Eha aha cha ba-  
huvide dhammacharame vadhite [.] Vadhamyati yava  
devana priya [15] Priyadasa raja dhammachara-  
ma [.] Putra pi cha ku natara cha prapota  
devanam priyasa Priyadasa rajase  
pavadhayisanti dhammacharame imam ava-  
kapa dhamma aha [cha] [16]  
[ti]stite [dhamma] amassasanti [.] Eha hi  
se[te] am dhamma[ra]ma[ra] [.]  
Dhammacharame<sup>82</sup> pi cha na hoti silasa [.] So

## Shshhsparhi.

chamam vadhitati vadhiati chava devanam  
priyasa Priyadasa raja dhammacharame [.]  
Putra pi cha ku natara cha prapota cha devanam  
priyasa Priyadasa raja vado vadhi[ti]  
ma[ra]m[asana]m[ati] avakapa dhamma  
si[ti] cha [9] [ti]stite dhammam amassasanti [.]  
Eha h[ti] are[ti] [ti]stite k[ti] [ti]stite ya[ti] dha-  
[ma]n[ti] [ti]stite [.] [Dhamma]charamam pi cha  
na hoti silasa [.] So imasa atthasa vadhi  
ahini cha vadhi [.] Etaya atthaya imam [ti] dipi-  
sa [.] Imasa atthasa vadhi yujanta hini cha  
ma lobetayva [13] Ba[ra]daya[ra] vadhi[ti] [ti]stite<sup>83</sup>  
devanam priyasa Priyadasa raja [ti]stite<sup>84</sup>  
dipa[ti]tam [.]

## Kdlsf.

Atikantam antalan bahuni vassantani va[ra]d-  
te-va pashantabhe vihi[ti] cha bhutanam  
siatana<sup>85</sup> sampati[ti] samasammasanam  
asampa[ti]pati [.] So aja devanam priyasa Priyadasa  
rajase dhammacharame bhavighosa aho dhamma-  
gosa vinnasasana<sup>86</sup> [9] [ti]stite agikantadhami  
ahini cha divani rupani drasati  
janasa [.] Adisa bahuni vasa[ra]ti na hu tu-  
prava tadise aja vadhite devanam priyasa  
Priyadasa rajase dhammasammasiya amarabhe  
prasanati avihisa bhutanam siatana [14] sampati-  
pa[ra]m[asana]m[ati] sampati[ti] matipitasa  
sura[ra] vadhana surasita [.] Eha aha cha ba-  
huvide dhammacharame vadhite [.] Vadhamyati yava  
devanam priya Priyadasa raja dhammachara-  
ma [.] Putra cha ku natara cha prapota  
devanam priyasa Priyadasa rajase  
pavadhayisanti dhammacharame imam ava-  
kapa dhamma aha [cha] [16]  
[ti]stite [dhamma] amassasanti [.] Eha hi  
se[te] am dhamma[ra]ma[ra] [.]  
Dhammacharame<sup>87</sup> pi cha na hoti silasa [.] So

<sup>77</sup> It is impossible to read etc.

<sup>78</sup> The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very indistinct.

<sup>79</sup> The Anuvrasa of this and of the two preceding words are uncertain.

<sup>80</sup> The second and third letters are not distinct; the fourth may have been vva.

<sup>81</sup> The first omitted sign looks somewhat like aha, as in *ah*, but I am unable to find a suitable word. The Dhani version has in the same place two illegible signs.

<sup>82</sup> Possibly *atikantam*.

<sup>83</sup> The two Anuvrasa are not certain.

<sup>84</sup> The third sign of *siatana* is not quite distinct and the reading *siatana* not absolutely impossible.

<sup>85</sup> Possibly *aditad* to be read, but the abnormal shape of the apparent *ti* stroke points to its original form, an Anuvrasa joined with the *sa* by an exfoliation of the rock.

<sup>86</sup> Read *vinasasana*.

<sup>87</sup> The unscripted *pa* is very distinct.

<sup>88</sup> Read *atikantam*.

<sup>89</sup> The new impression seems to offer *aditad*, instead of *aditad*.

<sup>90</sup> *Eha-cha*, not *aha-cha*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>91</sup> *Idid* looks exactly like *idid*.

<sup>92</sup> *Kah*, not *ka*, is the distinct reading of the new impression.

<sup>93</sup> The additional *pa* is badly mutilated, but certain; compare also the Manshra version.

<sup>94</sup> *Chava*, not *cha*, seems to be the reading of the impression.

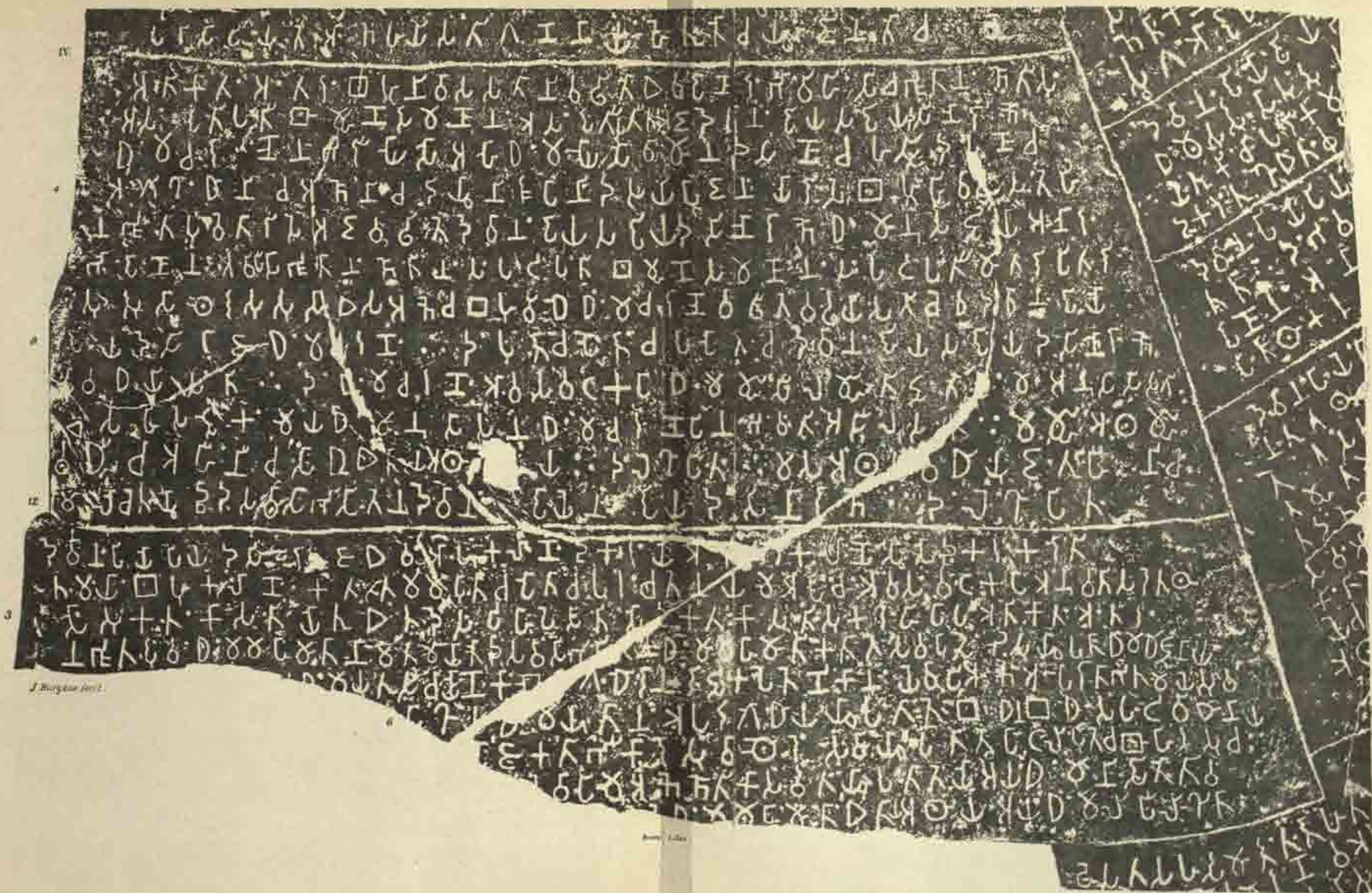
<sup>95</sup> The first badly mutilated syllable may have been *cha*; the second is something in the reverse of the impression distinctly *cha*, not *cha*; the third seems to be *sa*. Compare the reading of the Manshra version.

<sup>96</sup> *Kantam* is now more probable than *ka*.

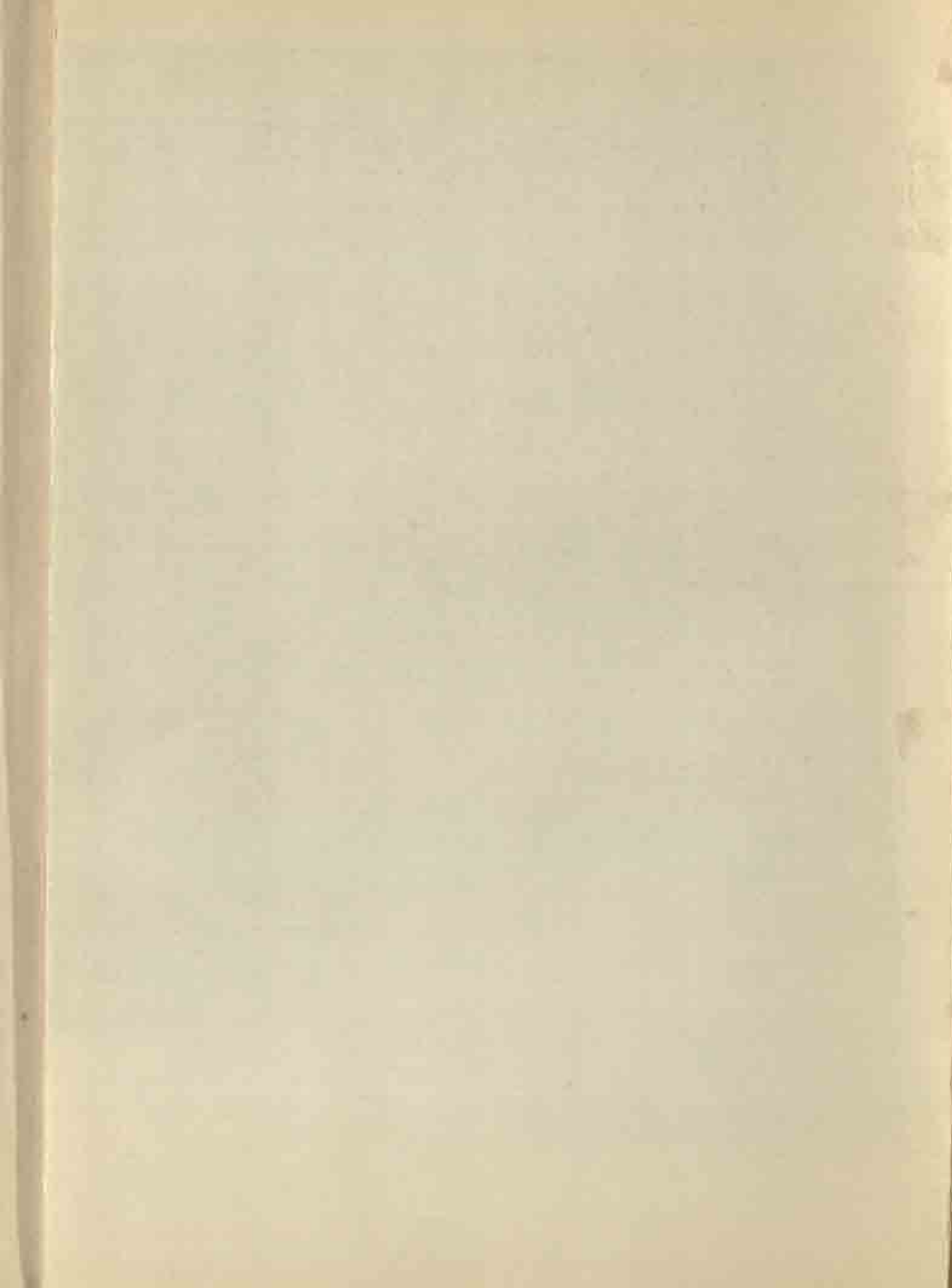
<sup>97</sup> The Anuvrasa is doubtful.

<sup>98</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and similar to a *na*.











## Manshro.

imasa aihraa vadh[r]i ahini cha sadhu[.]  
 Etaye[17] aihraa i[mah] li[kh]ite[.] e[ta]sa [a].  
 va vadhra<sup>12</sup> yujanta hini cha ma ann[te] chayira<sup>13</sup>[.]  
 Duradrasina rajina iyad<sup>14</sup> likhapata [15]

## Kāśi.

imasa aihraa vadh[.] ahini-cha sadhu[.]  
 Etaye aihrae i[ya]m likhite[.] 15 imasa a[th]raa  
 vadh[.] yujanta hini-cha ma alochayira[.]  
 Duradrasina rajina iyad<sup>14</sup> likhite[.]  
 Piyadasina rajina iyad<sup>14</sup> likhite[.]

## EDICT V.

## Girnar.

Devānam priya Priyadasi sūja evam āha[.]  
 kalāma dukaram[.] ye<sup>1</sup> a . . .<sup>2</sup> kalāma<sup>3</sup>  
 so dukaram karoti[.] Ta mayā bahu kalāma  
 katah[.] Ta mama putā cha putā cha parah  
 cha tena ya me apocha āva anuvatsakā  
 anuvatsare tathā [2] so sukatah  
 kāsati[.] Ye tu eta desam pi hāpanti so  
 dukatah kāsati[.] Sukaram hi pāpam[.]  
 Atikātam anuram [3] na bhūtapurvāh<sup>4</sup> dhamma-  
 mahāmātā nama[.] Ta mayā traidasavāsābhiseit na  
 dhammamahāmātā katā[.] To savapāsa-  
 deva vyāpatā dharmadhiśānāya<sup>5</sup> [4] . . .  
 . . . . . dhammayutasa  
 cha Yona-Kambho . Gandhārānam Rastika-Potolika-  
 nam ye vā pi aparātā[.] Bhātama<sup>6</sup> en va [5] .  
 . . . . . [s]khāya  
 dhammayutānam aparigrothāya vyāpatā te[.]  
 Bāridhambadhasa<sup>7</sup> pavivāhanāya [6] . . .  
 . . . . . [pr]ākātā-  
 bhāreṣu vā thareṣu vā vyāpatā te [.] Pālipute  
 cha bhāreṣu cha [7] . . .  
 . . . . . vā pi<sup>8</sup> me aṇe nātikā  
 surata vyāpatā te[.] Yo ayaṁ dhammanisīto  
 ti va [8] . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 dhammamahāmātā[.] Etāya<sup>9</sup> atthāya syadā dham-  
 malipi likhita [9]

## Shāhāzgarh.

Devāna priya Priyadasi<sup>1</sup> maya evam āha ti [.]  
 ka[lyan] . . . . . [ro] ka[lyan]  
 so dukaram karoti[.] So maya bahu kalāma<sup>2</sup>  
 kīram[.] Tam ma[ha] putra cha natara cha parata  
 cha t . . .<sup>3</sup> [va] me apocha [a]bhānta avaka-  
 jant tathā ye anuvatsanti<sup>4</sup> to sukā[ra]  
 kāsati[.] Ye chu sto . . . . .<sup>5</sup> so  
 [du]katah kāsati[.] Pāpam hi anuram[.] So  
 atik[ra]nta aratara na [bh]ūtapreva dhamma-  
 mahāmātra nama[.] So [trid]asavāsa bhānta<sup>6</sup> [11]  
 maya dhammamahāmātra ki[r]i<sup>7</sup> [.] To savap[ra]-  
 śamāyeshu<sup>8</sup> apat[ra] dhammadhiśānāya [cha]  
 dhammavādhi[ya] hidasukhaya cha dhammayutasa  
 Yona-Kambho-Gandhārānam Rastikanam Pitini-  
 kanam ye vā pi aparātā[.] Bhātama[ya] cha  
 bramañbheshu<sup>9</sup> anuvatsanti v[ā] dhamma<sup>10</sup> hidasukhaya  
 [dha]rma[ya] tana aparātā[.]<sup>11</sup> vyāpatā te [.] [12]  
 Bāridhambadhasa pavivāhanāya apa[ra]hādhaya  
 me [cha]y<sup>12</sup> e<sup>13</sup> iyadā a[n]ubhā[sa]m<sup>14</sup> prajava kī-  
 bhikaro va mahālakā<sup>15</sup> va vyāpatam[.] I<sup>16</sup> bhāreṣu  
 cha nagareṣu savareṣu orolhanareṣu bhāratam  
 cha me apasamā<sup>17</sup> cha ye vā pi aṇe nātika  
 savara vyāpat[ra] [.] Y[am] i<sup>18</sup> yam dhammanisīto  
 ti va dhammadhiśānā[ra] ti va dhamma[ra] yate<sup>19</sup> ti va  
 savatra v[ā]te mā[ha] dhammayutasi vyāpatā te  
 dhammamahāmātra[.] Etāya aṭṭhaya ay[am]  
 dhammalipi dipat[ra] [.] chirañhita  
 bhota tathā cha prajā<sup>20</sup> anuvatsanti [13]

<sup>1</sup> Read *evadasi*.<sup>2</sup> Read *alochayira*.<sup>3</sup> The reading *Piyadasi* is distinct also on the rubbing.<sup>4</sup> The form of the Anuvatsanti is abnormal.<sup>5</sup> The second re-stroke of *Priyadasi* is abnormal.<sup>6</sup> Possibly *yo* to be removed, as there is an abnormal at the top of the *yo*.<sup>7</sup> The tails and tops of the last letters are visible, and it is not difficult to see that the first was *at*.<sup>8</sup> Read *kalāma*.<sup>9</sup> Read *kalāma*.<sup>10</sup> Read *tena*.<sup>11</sup> Read *anuvatsanti*.<sup>12</sup> Read *evam*; last and the following bracketed letters are very indistinct.<sup>13</sup> Read *śāhāzgarh* or *parvata*.<sup>14</sup> The first and second letters are doubtful. The reading *śāhā* or *śāh* is possible.<sup>15</sup> The re-stroke is doubtful.<sup>16</sup> The second re-stroke is doubtful.<sup>17</sup> Possibly *apavata*.<sup>18</sup> Read *dhammadhiśānāya*. The single *na* is to be read as double.<sup>19</sup> Possibly *evadasi*.<sup>20</sup> The last sign has apparently also an Anuvatsanti.<sup>21</sup> The *na* has been added later as a correction.<sup>22</sup> The second sign of *evadasi* is not quite distinct.<sup>23</sup> The last syllable of *anuvatsanti* stands lower than the others.<sup>24</sup> Possibly *evadasi*.<sup>25</sup> Possibly *śāh*.<sup>26</sup> Regarding the first sign of *apavata*, see the note to the German edition.<sup>27</sup> Restore *yo* *at* *pi*. Before *e* there is only a vertical stroke, not a *na*.<sup>28</sup> The vowel is not certain.<sup>29</sup> The last vowel is not certain.<sup>30</sup> The third vowel is not certain.<sup>31</sup> The *yo* has been added later.<sup>32</sup> The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.<sup>33</sup> The re-stroke is abnormal.

## Masehra.

[Devānam] priye Priyadasi raja evam sha [:] kalsam  
 dukaram [.] Ye adikare kayanam se dukaram  
 karoti [.] Tam maya bahu kayane kate<sup>21</sup> [.] [tam]  
 ma[a]<sup>22</sup> putra [cha] [19] matar<sup>23</sup> param cha tena ye  
 apatiye me ava-pam tatham anuva[ti] [20] se sukata  
 kashati [.] Ye cha atra dēsa pi hapesati se  
 dukata kashati [20] Papehi nama supadarev[a]<sup>24</sup> [.]  
 Se atikranta antaram na bhutaputra dhamma-  
 mahamatra nama [.] Se trefuśevashabhistena maya  
 dhammamahamatra kafa [.] Te savrapushadeshu [21]  
 vaputa dhammadhihanaye cha dhammavadiya  
 hidasukhaye cha [dham]mayutam Yona-Kamboja-  
 Ga[m]dharanam Ratrakra-<sup>25</sup> Pitinikana ye va [p]i aśe  
 aparuta [.] Bhatamaye [22] sha bramanibhyeshu an-  
 theshu vudhreshu bidarishu [kay]e dhammayuta apalibo-  
 dhaye viyaputa te [.] Badhanabadhasapativ[il]dhana]ya  
 apalibodhiyemochhaye [cha] iyath<sup>26</sup> [23] anuladhapa  
 ti va kushabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyaputa te [.]  
 Hidarū bahiroshu cha nagreshu savreshu [o]rodha-  
 neshu<sup>27</sup> bhatana cha spasuna cha [24] ye va pi aśe  
 fiatike savratra viyaputa [.] E iyam dhammanisiti ti  
 va dhammadhihane ti va dhammayuta ti  
 va savratra vijitasī mas dhammayutai  
 vaputa [te] [25] dhammamahamatra [.] Ktaye  
 athaye syi dhammalipi lakkita [.]  
 chirañhika hotu tatham cha me raja  
 anuvata [.]

## Kālet.

Devānam-piye Priyadasi jāja aśa<sup>28</sup> [.] kayāne  
 dukale [.] E-adik[ai]e<sup>29</sup> ka[ya]nash se-dukalah  
 kaleti [.] Se-mamayā bahu kayāne kate [.] T[ā]-ma-  
 ma [ya]tā-cha matāle-[chā] [3] palam-[chā] te[bi]  
 y[e]-apatiye-me āvakapam tathā anuvāsinanti se-  
 sukata kachhanti [.] E-cha betā dham-pi [hā] pa-  
 [y] isanti<sup>30</sup> se-dukata kachhati [.] Pāpo-bi-nāma  
 supadālaye [.] Se-atikantam antaram no-buta-  
 pulavā dhammamahamātā-nāma [.] T[ā] dāvasa-  
 bhiseka mama[ya] dhammamahamātā [ka]tā [.]  
 Te-savapushadesu viyā[pa]tā [14] dhammadhi-  
 thānaye-chā dhammavadiyā hi[da]nukhaye-chā<sup>31</sup>  
 dhammayutā Yona-Kamboja-Gomdhā [lā]nam<sup>32</sup>  
 e-vā-pi amne apalantā [.] Bhatamaye anubhāni-  
 bhese anthesu vudhesu hidasukhaye  
 dhammayutāye apalibodhāye viyaputā-te [.]  
 Badhanabadhasā pativādhāye apalibodhiye  
 mokhāye-chā syam anubā[dhā] pājāva-ti-  
 vā [16] [ka]tābhikā] le-ti-vā mahālake-ti-vā viyāpa-  
 tā-te [.] Hida lāhilem-chā na [gu]lesu savesu [olo]-  
 dhanesu bhātinam-chā [a]-ne<sup>33</sup> bhaginina<sup>34</sup> e-vā-pi  
 amne ātikye savatā viyāpatā [.] E-iyam dhamma-  
 nisite-ti-vā dhammayuta-ti-vā savatā vijitasī mamā  
 dhammayutasi viyāpatā-te dhammamahamātā [.]  
 Ktāye athāye<sup>35</sup> [18] [i]yam dhammalipi  
 lekhitā [.] chīlathitikyā hotu [ta]tā-  
 ch[a]-me pa[jā] anuvata [du]tu [.]

## EDICT VI.

## Girnār.

Devānam pri<sup>36</sup> . . si rājā evam āha [:]  
 atikranta antaram [1] na bhūtaputra sava . .<sup>37</sup>  
 athakantam va pativedanā vā [.]  
 Ta mayā evam katam [3] sava kālo bhūtmajāmāna

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Devānam priyo Priyad[ra]si<sup>38</sup> maya eva[m] aha  
 ti [:] atik[ra]tam<sup>39</sup> antaram na [bhuta]pravam  
 savram kalam atikramam va pativedana va [.]  
 Tam maya evam katam [3] savram kalam atikramam

<sup>21</sup> The new impression gives distinctly *add* for *ādā*.

<sup>22</sup> The reverse of the impression gives *adikāle*, which is supported by the reading of Masehra *adikare*.

<sup>23</sup> Possibly *haya* to be read.

<sup>24</sup> Only the foot of the second sign of *mas* has been preserved.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly *matarā* to be read.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly *anuvāsinanti* to be read.

<sup>27</sup> The impression has the *Annerāta* distinctly, which must probably be deleted.

<sup>28</sup> There is a stroke above *ay* which, however, seems not to be a real *o*-stroke, but an accidental scratch.

<sup>29</sup> The impression seems to offer *āda*, with a badly blurred *da* instead of *āda*, and *ādā* instead of *ad*.

<sup>30</sup> The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between *yutad* and *Yona*.

<sup>31</sup> Read *Rastika*, the second letter has not been written completely.

<sup>32</sup> *Cha* is much defaced and looks like *cha* or *ja*; the Anuvaka of *ayam* is not certain.

<sup>33</sup> The first letter is much defaced by several scratches and looks nearly like a defaced *cha*.

<sup>34</sup> The impression offers distinctly *me* (i.e. *ma*) instead of *me*, and according to the reverse *cha* is more probable than *ada*.

<sup>35</sup> *Bhaginina* is more probable than *nam*.

<sup>36</sup> The lingual of *ajāya* is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression.

<sup>37</sup> Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct.

<sup>38</sup> Possibly *Prīyadanti*, but see the notes to the German edition.

<sup>39</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

<sup>40</sup> The tops of *ma*, *na* and *la* are gone. Restore *Yona* instead of *āda*.



14

10





## Girnar.

me orodhanaspi gabbhagāraṇaṇi vachaspi viṇṭaspi  
 uyanaspi<sup>17</sup> savatra paṭivedaka<sup>18</sup> aṭṭha aṭṭha  
 me janasa [4] paṭivedakā itī[.] Sarvatra cha janasa  
 aṭṭha karomi[.] Ya cha kiñchi mukhato [5] āṇapayāmi  
 svayam dāpakam vā vāḍḍapakam vā ya vā pana  
 mahāmātreṇa [6] ācchāyika<sup>19</sup> ācchāyitani bhavati tāya  
 aṭṭhāya vivāḍo nijhāti va samto paṇṇāyāmi [7]

ānamāraṇaṇi paṭivedetayāmi<sup>20</sup> me sarvatra sarve kulle[.]  
 Evaṃ mayā āṇapitam[.] Nāsti hi  
 me toso [8] uttānamhi aṭṭhasamāhāraṇāya va[.] Kata-  
 yamāte hi me sarvalokahitāni[.] Tasa cha pana  
 esa mūḷo uttānamhi cha aṭṭhasamāhāraṇāya cha[.] Nāsti  
 hi kammatarāni [9] sarvalokahitāni[.] Ya cha  
 kiñchi parākramāmi aṭṭha[.] kiñti [?] bhūttānam  
 ānamāraṇaṇi paṭivedetayāmi [10] idha cha nāhi mukhapa-  
 yaṇi paratā cha svagāṇi āṇḍhāyāmitu[.] Ta etāya  
 aṭṭhāya [12] ayāmi dhammalipi lekhaṇāya[.] kiñti [?]  
 chiraṇi tīṭṭhāya itī tathā cha me putā potā cha  
 prapotaṇā cha [13] anuvataṇā<sup>21</sup> sarvalokahitāya[.]  
 Dukkaraṇi tu idam añāsa agena parākramena [14]

## Mausheira.

Devānaṇi piye Priyadrasī raja eva[m]<sup>22</sup> ala[.]  
 atikāntāni aṭṭhāni [25] u[p]<sup>23</sup> hutapruve savaraṇi kālā  
 aṭṭhakāraṇaṇi<sup>24</sup> va paṭivedana va[.] Ta mayā evaṃ  
 kiṇṇa [ ] savarakāraṇi nāsaṇa me  
 orodhanaspi gabbhagāraṇaṇi vachaspi viṇṭaspi uyanaspi  
 savatra pa[ ] i[veda]ka aṭṭha janasa [27] paṭivedetu  
 me savatra cha janasa aṭṭha karomi aṭṭha[.]  
 Yaṃ pi kiñchi mukhato āpāpemi aṭṭha dāpakam  
 va vāḍḍakam va yaṃ va pana mahāmātreṇi

## Shahbazgarhi.

sa me orodhanaspi gabbhagāraṇaṇi vachaspi viṇṭaspi  
 uyanaspi<sup>25</sup> savatra paṭivedaka aṭṭha janasa  
 [m] i[ ] vedetu me savatra cha janasa aṭṭha karomi[.]  
 Yaṃ pi [cha] kiñchi mukhato āpāpami  
 [aṭṭha dā]pakam va vāḍḍakam va yaṃ va pana<sup>26</sup>  
 mahāmātraṇam v[o<sup>27</sup> achāyika a. pitarā<sup>28</sup> bhōti  
 taye aṭṭhāya vivāḍo va n[ ] i[ ] ti<sup>29</sup> va samātaṇi parisa-  
 ya anāntariyena paṭivedetavo me [14] savatra<sup>30</sup> cha  
 aṭṭha janasa karomi a[ ] [ham] [.] Yaṃ cha ki  
 [chi]<sup>31</sup> mukhato āpāpemi aṭṭha dāpakam va vāḍ-  
 ḍaka va ya va pana mahāmātraṇam achāyikam  
 āpāpami bhōti taye aṭṭhāya vivāḍo samātaṇi nijhāti<sup>32</sup>  
 va parisaṇa anāntariyena paṭivedetavo  
 me savatra sav[ ] aṇi kālāni[.]  
 Evaṃ āpāpami mayā[.] Nāsti hi me toso ut-  
 tāsāni aṭṭhasamāhāraṇāya cha[.] Kāṭavamātaṇi hi me  
 sav[ ] alokahitāni[.] Tasa cha mūḷo et[ ] [m]  
 uttānamhi aṭṭhasamāhāraṇāya cha[.] Nā[ ] [ ] hi  
 kammatarāni [15] u[p] alokahitāni [na]<sup>33</sup> [.] Yaṃ cha  
 kiñchi parākramāmi [ ] ki[ ] [?] bhūttānam  
 ānāyāmi vachaspi i[ ] cha [sha] sukhaṇi  
 paratā cha svagāṇi<sup>34</sup> āṇḍhāyāmitu[.] Etāya aṭṭhāya  
 ayi dhamma<sup>35</sup> dipiṭa[.] chiraṇi tīṭṭhāya bhōti  
 tathā cha me putā mātā parākramāmitu  
 sarvalokahitāya [.] [D]ukkaraṇi tu [kho] imāni  
 aṭṭhāni agre<sup>36</sup> parākramena [16]

## Kāśī.

Devānaṇi piye Priyadasi lājā havam āhā[.]  
 atikāntāni aṭṭhāni me hutapruve savaraṇi kālāni  
 aṭṭhakāraṇaṇi vā<sup>37</sup> [pat] ivedana vā [.] Se-ma[m] ya  
 havam kate [ ] savaraṇi kālāni aṭṭha [a] nāsi me<sup>38</sup> [18]  
 orodhanaspi gabbhagāraṇaṇi vachaspi viṇṭaspi uyanaspi  
 savatra paṭivedaka<sup>39</sup> aṭṭha janasa [pat] ivedanitu  
 me<sup>40</sup> [.] Savatā<sup>41</sup> janasa aṭṭha karomi aṭṭha[.]  
 Yaṃ pi cha [kiñchi mukha] te āna[m] yaṇi ha-  
 kaṇi<sup>42</sup> dā[pakam] vā [vāḍḍakam vā] ye vā pana

<sup>17</sup> Helen (1) stands a 2-stroke.

<sup>18</sup> The final sign is probably intended for *spi* :—see the notes to the German edition of the Mausheira text.

<sup>19</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly *śāṇapitam* or *śā* to be restored, as there are two large abrasions on both sides of the *śā*.

<sup>21</sup> The vowel of *anuvataṇa* is very indistinct.

<sup>22</sup> Complete *arepita*.

<sup>23</sup> The *śā* is indistinct.

<sup>24</sup> The passage from *savatra* down to *parisāsa* has been repeated by mistake.

<sup>25</sup> It looks, as if another sign had stood between *śā* and *chā*.

<sup>26</sup> A remnant of *va* below the *ya* is visible.

<sup>27</sup> The stroke indicating the aspiration of *śā* is indistinct.

<sup>28</sup> The 2-stroke of *avaraṇa* is not quite certain.

<sup>29</sup> The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in *orodhanaspi*, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for *spi*.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *spi* to be read : read *dhammalipi*.

<sup>31</sup> Read *anuvataṇa*.

<sup>32</sup> Read *agrena*.

<sup>33</sup> The *Anantāras* of *danda* and *evam* are not quite distinct.

<sup>34</sup> The vowel is doubtful.

<sup>35</sup> Possibly *śāṇḍhāyāmitu* to be read.

<sup>36</sup> The lingual in *śka* is more probable than the dental.

<sup>37</sup> The new impression above a tolerably distinct *me* at the end of line 17, and only a stroke at the beginning of line 18. In the third syllable of *adamaṇḍa* a short *a* is more probable than *ad*.

<sup>38</sup> The last sign of this word and the next two show the abnormal form, which probably stands for *spi*.

<sup>39</sup> No letters seem to have been lost between *me* and *anuvataṇa*.

<sup>40</sup> At least one syllable, probably *cha*, has been lost after *avaraṇa*.

<sup>41</sup> *Havam*, not *śavam*, is the reading of the new impression.

## Manshra.

sachayike aropita hoti[28] taye athraye vivula nijhat  
va sathia paribhaye a[anah]taliyena patirelitaviye  
me savatra savra kala[.] Eva[hi] anajita naya[.]  
Nasti hi me tosha u[thunasi] athrasanirapaye  
cha[29] Kutaviyamate hi me savralokahite[.]  
Tasa chu[putra] esse muie u[thane] athrasatirasa cha[.]  
Nasti hi kramatara savralokahitena[.] Yam cha  
[ki]cha para[kra]mami ahum[.] kiti[?] bhata-  
nam[30] anapiyam yeham is cha cha sukhasami  
paritra cha yagran<sup>27</sup> arudhetu ti[.] Se etaye athraye  
iyath dharmadipi lāhita[.] eirasthitikam botu tatlam  
chu me putra[unta]re pam[te]ramanite<sup>30</sup>  
savra-[31] lokahitaye[.] Dukare chu lho anatra  
agrena parakramena[.]

## Kāśī.

mahāmātehi[18] atiyāyike[8, pīam] hoti tāyethāye  
vivula nijhati-vā<sup>28</sup> sathatā palāyaye amhataliyenā  
poti . . . viye me savatā savam lālati hevam  
ānapayite mamayā[.] Nathi-bi-me dose-va u[thāna]-ā  
athasamtīlanāye[.] e[hi] [.] Kat[sa] viyamante<sup>29</sup> hi-me  
savaloakahite[.] Tasa-puta<sup>30</sup> es[te]-muie u[thāne][19]  
athasamtīlanā[.] e[hi] [.] Nathi-bi kammatalā sava-  
[loka]hitena[.] Yam-cha-kichi palakamāmi hākam  
[.] kiti[?] kūtānam[.] a[.] naniyam yeham hida-cha-  
kāni mukhāvāmi palata-cha<sup>31</sup> avagathā lādhayitu<sup>32</sup>[.]  
Se-etāye[thāye] iyam dharmadipi lekhitā[.] Chila-  
thitikyā botu tatlā cha me putadāle palakamātu  
savaloakahitā[ye][20] Dukale-cha[.] a[.] iyam anata  
agenā palakameu[.]

## EDICT VII.

## Girnār.

Devānam piye Priyadasi rājā savata ichhati  
savra pāsāndā vameyu[.] Savra hi te sayama  
bhavaśudhi cha[.] [32] ichhatī[.] Jane chu  
uchavuchachānde uchavucharāgo[.] Te savram  
va ekadeśam va kaścham[.] [2] Vipule<sup>26</sup> pi  
pi dane yasa nāsti sayame bhavaśudhitā va  
kāmanitā va dāḍhabhatitā cha<sup>27</sup> niche lādham[.] [3]

## Shāhbāgarhī.

Devānam piye Priyadasi<sup>28</sup> rājā savatra ichhati  
savra [1] prāsāndā vameyu[.] Savra hi te sayama  
bhavaśudhi cha ichhatī[.] [2] Jane chu  
uchavuchachānde uchavucharāgo[.] Te savram  
va ekadeśam va [3] pi kaścham[.] Vipule  
pi chu dane yasa nāsti sayama bhava-[4]śudhi  
kāmanitā dāḍhabhatitā niche padham[.] [5]

## Manshra.

Deva[na priya] Priyadasi rājā savatra ichhati  
savra pāsāndā vameyu[.] Savra hi te sayama  
bhavaśudhi cha[.] [32] ichhatī[.] Jane chu  
uchavuchachānde uchavucharāgo[.] Te savram  
ekadeśam va pi kaścham[.] Vipule pi chu  
dane yasa nāsti sayame bhavaśudhi  
kāmanitā dāḍhabhatitā<sup>29</sup> cha [33] niche lādham[.]

## Kāśī.

Devānam piye Priyadasi lājā [sa]vatā [i]ichhati[.]  
sav[ra pā]sāndā vameyu[.]<sup>30</sup> Savra-bi-te sayama  
bhavaśudhi-cha<sup>31</sup> ichhatī[.] Jane-chu  
uchavuchachānde<sup>32</sup> uchavucharāgo[.] Te-savram  
ekadeśam-pi kaśchamti[.] Vipule-pi-chu  
dā[am]<sup>33</sup> sath nāhi [21] sayame bhavaśudhi[.]  
kāmanitā<sup>34</sup> dāḍhabhatitā cha<sup>35</sup> niche lādham[.]

## EDICT VIII.

## Girnār.

Atikratnam antaram rājāno. vihar-  
yātām śayānam[.] Eka magayā añāni  
cha etāriani[1]<sup>24</sup> abhivrasāni śayānam[.] So

## Shāhbāgarhī.

Atikratnam<sup>25</sup> antaram devānam priya vihar-  
yatra nama nikramishu[.] Atra mrugaya añāni  
cha [b]edāni a[hi]ramani abhivrasa<sup>26</sup>[.] So

<sup>24</sup> Nijhātī, not vikatī, is the distinct reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>25</sup> The absence of the Anusvara and the reading issue are certain from the reverse of the impression.

<sup>26</sup> Tasa is more probable than tase.

<sup>27</sup> Pa'āta, not palatā, is distinct.

<sup>28</sup> Read śāhāgarhī.

<sup>29</sup> Read parakramanā.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly chu.

<sup>31</sup> The initial sa is again abnormal and the sign must be read sva.

<sup>32</sup> Read Priyadasi.

<sup>33</sup> The apparent second s-stroke which makes the word look like vipulā is, to judge from the impression, an accidental scratch.

<sup>34</sup> The short final of [j-d] is quite common, as there is

no stroke or abrasion to the right of the ga.

<sup>35</sup> Cā, not cha, is distinct.

<sup>36</sup> The impression shows everywhere distinctly u[thāna], not u[thāna].

<sup>37</sup> Dāśam is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than dāre.

<sup>38</sup> According to the impression the reading is śāpāndā, for which śāpāndā must be read.

<sup>39</sup> One of the re-strokes in dāḍhabhatī is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably dāḍhabhatī, i.e. dāḍhabhatī.

<sup>40</sup> This stands for atikratnam just like savra for sarva.

<sup>41</sup> Read śāhāgarhī.

<sup>42</sup> The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading śāhāgarhī is perhaps possible.



7 Bureau Post.

Points: 3,000 of original















## Girnar.

devānam piyo Priyadasi rājā dasavaśhabhito.  
santo ayāya sambodhi<sup>1</sup> [3] Tenasā dhamma-  
yāsi [4] Itayam<sup>2</sup> hoti bhikkhūsamāgānam  
dasane cha dāne cha dhammānam dasane cha [5]  
himsapapatividdhāno cha jāṇapāso cha jāṇas<sup>3</sup>  
dasanāthi dhammānanta<sup>4</sup> cha dhammapapucchā  
cha [6] Tatopaya<sup>5</sup> esā bhūya rati bhavati devānān  
piyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhāge amhe [7]

## Munshira.

Atikrāntam amātarām devana piya viharayatra  
nama nikramisū [1] I[ha]<sup>6</sup> mrigaviya ānani  
cha odāni abhīramani bhesu [2]  
Se devana piye Priyadasi [34] rāja<sup>7</sup> dasavaśhabhi-  
site samānta nikrami sambodhi [3] Tasa [am]<sup>8</sup>  
dhammayatra [4] Atra iya hoti [5] āramā-  
bramanāna draśāna dāne cha vadhrāna draśāna  
[cha] himsapatividdha<sup>9</sup> [11] cha [35] jāṇapāso  
jāṇas draśāno dhammānanta<sup>10</sup> cha dhammapa-  
pucchā cha [6] Tatopaya esā bhūya rati ho [11]  
devana Priyasa Priyadasino [38] rajase bhag[e]<sup>14</sup>  
amhe [37]

## Girnar.

Devānam piyo Priyadasi rājā svam āha [1] asi  
jano uchāvacham māṅgalam karote bhāṇimā vā [1]  
ābhavāśhabhesu vā pūtrāśhabhesu vā pravāṇamhi vā [2]  
Etamhi cha ānani cha jano uchāvacham  
māṅgalam karote [3] Eta tu mahāyāyo bahukam  
cha bahuviddham cha chudam cha nīratam  
cha māṅgalam karote [4] Ta katayvameva tu  
māṅgalam [5] Apaphalāni tu kha [6] etarāsam<sup>15</sup>  
māṅgalam [7] Ayam tu mahāphala māṅgala  
ya dhammamāṅgala [8] Tata dāmalastakamhi samya-  
pratipati gurānāni apachiti a[ā]dhu [4] pāṇesu  
ayamo sādhu bahūpāsamānānāni sādhu dānāni [5]  
Eta cha āha cha etācīnāni dhammamāṅgalam nāma [6]

<sup>1</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>2</sup> The impression makes the second *Anuvāsa* very pro-  
bable.

<sup>3</sup> *Itayam* stands for *Ita ipam*. According to the analogy,  
*gacame* for *gama* *ānt*, etc. — see E. Müller, *Simplified Pāli*  
*Grammar*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> The *Anuvāsa* is doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *tanudra* to be read.

<sup>6</sup> Read *janasa*.

<sup>7</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly *ake* to be read.

<sup>9</sup> The upper part of the *i*-stroke is very faint.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly *is* to be read.

<sup>11</sup> *Chā*, not *aka*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>12</sup> The impression shows no *Anuvāsa*.

<sup>13</sup> This looks like *rajase*.

## Shāhāzgarh.

devānam piyo Priyadasi<sup>16</sup> rāja dasavaśhabhito  
santo nikramisobodhi [th]<sup>17</sup> [1] Tenasā [a]<sup>18</sup> dhamma-  
yatra [2] Atra iyam hoti [3] āramābramanānāni  
draśāna danam vu [thi] nam draśāno<sup>19</sup>  
[h] [ra] pa pati vāha [ne] cha [juna] padasa jāṇas  
draśānani dhammānanta<sup>20</sup> dhammapa [ri] pucchā  
cha [1] Tatopaya<sup>21</sup> esā bhūya rati hoti devānān  
piyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhag [i] a [mhi] [17.]

## Kāist.

Atikrāntam amātarām devānam piyā viharayātam,  
nāma viharisū [1] Hida mrigaviyā ānāni,  
chā<sup>22</sup> bhesu [1] abhīramāni [2] hmesā [3]  
Devānam piye Priyadasi rājā dasavaśhabhi-  
site samānta<sup>23</sup> nikrami [th] ā<sup>24</sup> sambodhi [22] Tenasā  
dhammayāsi [4] [He] tā iyam hoti āramā-  
bramanānāni draśāna chā dāne cha vuddhānāni  
dānāna cha himsapatividdhāna chā jāṇapāso  
jāṇas draśāno dhammānanta<sup>25</sup> chā<sup>26</sup> dhammapa-  
pucchā cha [12] [1] Tatopaya<sup>27</sup> esā bhūya rati hoti  
devānān piyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhāge  
amhe [23]

## EDICT IX.

## Shāhāzgarh.

Devānam piyo Priyadasi rāja svam āha te [1]  
jano uchāvacham māṅgalam karoti ābhe  
avaha vāha pajapadane pravasa [2]  
Itaye āyasa [cha] editi<sup>28</sup> ja [n] o [ha]<sup>29</sup>  
māṅgalam karoti [3] Atra tu āriyaka bahu  
cha bahuviddham cha putika [m] cha nīratayam  
cha māṅgalam ka [rota] [17] [4] So katasa [cha] kha  
māṅgala [5] Apaphalāni tu kha etam [6]  
Imam [te] kha mahāphala ye māṅgala-  
ni [m] [18] [4] tra ima [7] dasabhiṭakasa samma-  
pratipati gerana apachiti pravasa  
samyama śramaṇaṇamāṇasa dāna [8]  
Etam āha cha dhammamāṅgalam nāma [9]

<sup>16</sup> Possibly *tanudra* to be read.

<sup>17</sup> The obverse of the impression seems to give *ate*, but  
the reverse shows evidence to be the right reading.

<sup>18</sup> Possibly *ābhavāśhab* to be read.

<sup>19</sup> The impression shows no *cha* after *janas*, only con-  
spicuous *amhe*.

<sup>20</sup> Read *himsapatividdhāna*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *dhammānanta*.

<sup>22</sup> There is no *Anuvāsa* in *dhammapapucchā*.

<sup>23</sup> Possibly the reading may have been *bhāge*.

<sup>24</sup> Read *editi*.

<sup>25</sup> Read *kha*; only the lower half of the first letter has  
been preserved; the second has been omitted.

<sup>26</sup> *Karote* stands for *karanta*.

<sup>27</sup> For *editi*.

<sup>28</sup> Read *dhammamāṅgalam*.

## Girnar.

Ta vatayvāṁ pitā va [5] putena vā bhātrā vā  
svāmikena vā [6] idamāśdhuidar katayvāṁ māṅgalam  
āva taa athasa nivutāṁ [7] Asti cha pi vutam [8]  
Sādhu

lanam<sup>22</sup> iti [9] Na tu etāṁ amāśti dānāt va anagaho<sup>23</sup>  
va yāṁ amāś dhammadānam va dhammānagaho va [10]  
Ta tu kho mitrena va mahādayena vā [7] itthikena<sup>24</sup>  
va sabbāyena<sup>25</sup> va ovāditayvāṁ tamhi tamhi pakarone [11]  
idam kacham idam sādha<sup>26</sup> iti iminā vakam<sup>27</sup> [8] eva-  
gah āśādheto iti [9] Ki cha iminā katayvatarum  
yathā evagāradhi [9]

## Manchra.

Devana priye Priyadarśi raja evam aha [1] jano neha-  
vucha<sup>28</sup> ma [gala] [m] karoti [1] abadh [a] [e] ava-  
[ba] [e] vivahasi prajopadaye pravasa<sup>29</sup> [2] Etaye  
āśaye cha [vā] [śa] [ye] [a] [ne] [2] bahu māṅgalam  
ka [ro] [ti] [3] A [tra] tu balika janika bahu cha  
bahuviddh [a] [4] cha khud [a] [4] cha nirathriya cha  
magala [m] [4] karoti [3] Se ka. vi. cha kho [3]  
[ma] [gale] [5] Apaphale chu kho e [a] [5] Iyam  
chu kho mahapale y [e] dhammamagale [5] Atra  
iyam [6] dasabhatkasi samyapātipati guru [na  
apa] [chili] [6] prapana sa [ya] [me] āramasramasa-  
na [dama] [7] Eha ago cha edise dhamma-  
magale nama [7] Se vataviy [e] [pit] [a] [na] [4] pi putena  
pi bhātuna pi svāmikena [5] mitrasamstatote [na  
a] [va] paṭivesiyena pi [1] Iyam sadhu iy [am] [4]  
kataviye magale ava taa athasa nivu [t] [ya] [5]

<sup>22</sup> The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed. VI in *orodhanapī* and so forth, and is probably meant for *apa*.

<sup>23</sup> The last sign is the same as in *orodhanapī* and so forth.

<sup>24</sup> Read *idam*.

<sup>25</sup> Probably a mistake for *ovagaha*.

<sup>26</sup> The *va*-stroke is not quite certain.

<sup>27</sup> The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct, and one might possibly read *neufeyeti*.

<sup>28</sup> The last vowel is not quite certain.

<sup>29</sup> The two signs of this word stand the one above the other.

<sup>30</sup> Read *śādhana*.

<sup>31</sup> Read *saddhama*.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly *puna* to be read.

<sup>33</sup> Possibly *sa* to be read.

<sup>34</sup> Read *addha*.

<sup>35</sup> The Anuvāsa of *anāṁ* is at least very probable.

<sup>36</sup> Possibly *puna* to be read.

<sup>37</sup> Read *dhammamagala*.

<sup>38</sup> The Anuvāsa is uncertain.

<sup>39</sup> The Anuvāsa is uncertain.

<sup>40</sup> Thus distinct in B, instead of *prasaṁsa*.

## Shāhāzgarh.

Se vatavo pituna pi putena pi bhātuna pi  
[epa] [mikena] [2] pi mi [tra] [samstatena] ava prati-  
vesiyena [1] imam sadhu imam katavo [mā] [gala]  
yava taa athasa nivutāṁ [1] Nivutāpi<sup>41</sup> va pana  
[10] imam ko [cha] [7] Ye hi et [ra] [ka] [4] magala  
sa [m] [ayike] [tām] [1] Siya vo tam attham  
niv [a] [tey] [a] [4] ti [1] siya pana ialokach [e] [4]  
vo tithe [1] Iya<sup>42</sup> puna dhammamagalam  
akalikam [1] Yadi p [u] [na] [4] tam attham na  
nivāṇe [h] [i] [a] [4] [a] [tha] paratra anamāṇam pūṇam  
prasaṁsa [1] Hamahe p [u] [na] [4] [a] [tha]  
nivāṇe ti taso ubbhayassa laddham bhōti  
ihachaso attho paratra cha anamāṇam pūṇam prasaṁsa  
teva dhammamagala<sup>43</sup> [20]

## Kāśī.

Devānām-piye Priyadarśi lājā āhā [1] jano nobhā-  
vucha<sup>44</sup> māṅgalam [ka] [ro] [ti] [1] Āśādhāsi avā-  
hasi vivahasi prajopadaye pavāsa<sup>45</sup> etāye amhā-  
re-chā edisāye jano bahu māṅgalam  
ka [ro] [ti] [1] Heta-chu abakajani [yo] [4] bahu-chā  
bahuviddham-chā khudā<sup>46</sup>-chā nilathiyām-chā<sup>47</sup>  
magalam kalasiti<sup>48</sup> [24] Se-katavi-chava-kho<sup>49</sup>  
magale [1] Apaphale-va-kho sa [e] Iyam-  
chu-kho mahāphale ye-dhammamagale [1] He [tā] [5]  
iyam dāśabhatkasi samyapātipati-gulunā<sup>50</sup>  
apachiti pā ānath sayama samanabhatkasi-anānath  
dāne [1] Eha amhe-chā hedise tathā-dhamma-  
magale-nāma<sup>51</sup> [1] Se-vataviye pitinā-pi putena-  
pi<sup>52</sup> bhātina-pi svāmiken [a] [4] pi mitrasamstatote  
āva-paṭivesiyenā-pi [25] Iyam sādhu Iyam  
kataviye [ma] [gale] āva-taa athasa nivutā<sup>53</sup> [1]

<sup>41</sup> The *va* in the third syllable is distinct.

<sup>42</sup> The lower stroke is nearly straight and *pajopaddae* a possible reading, but see the *Manchra* version.

<sup>43</sup> The first and last syllables of *edise* are very indistinct.

<sup>44</sup> This is the reading of the reverse, distinct except in the last syllable.

<sup>45</sup> *Khudā*, not *khudach*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>46</sup> Read *nilathiyā* or *nyam*.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly *bakulika* to be read.

<sup>48</sup> Possibly *khada* to be read.

<sup>49</sup> The Anuvāsa is uncertain.

<sup>50</sup> *Kalasiti*, not *kalasiti*, is distinct.

<sup>51</sup> Read *kataviye*.

<sup>52</sup> The existence of this word is certain, the quantity of the last syllable doubtful.

<sup>53</sup> *Gulunā* not *gula*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> *Nāma*, not *nāma*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>55</sup> *Putena*, not *putenā*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>56</sup> Possibly *pitina* to be read.

<sup>57</sup> The *pa* has besides the Anuvāsa an apparent *astroke*, which must be accidental.

<sup>58</sup> The third syllable of *nilathiyā* is superficially damaged. The reverse leaves no doubt regarding the reading.



*[The page contains several columns of handwritten text in Ge'ez script. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the page. There are some marginal notes or numbers visible on the right side, such as "x", "xi", "xii", "xiv".]*





Fragment XIII

Fragment XIV



## Mansehra.

Nivṛṇaṇi va puna ima k[ā]h[a]m[iti] [?] E bi  
[a]trake<sup>25</sup> wa . . . [6] śāśayike<sup>26</sup> se[.] [Si]ya  
[va] ta[m] aṭṭhaṇa nivaṭṭe[.] siya pana no  
i[ha]h[ā]loki[ha] vasa[.] Iyaṇ puna dhama-  
magal[e] akalike[.] Haṇhe pi taṇ aṭṭhaṇa na  
nivaṭṭe[.] ti [hida] [a . . . paratra . . .] [7]  
an[ā]h[ā]t[ā]m pūṇaṇ<sup>27</sup> prasaṇaṇi[.] Haṇhe [puna  
taṇ a] ra nivaṭṭe ti hida tato ubhayaṇa [va  
la]dhe [ho]ti hida cha se aṭṭhe paratra cha  
ana[ṇ]ta[ṇ]i<sup>28</sup> ponam prasa[va]ti tena  
dharmagalaṇa<sup>29</sup> [8]

## Kāśi.

Imaṇ ka[ṭṭha]m-iti [?] E-b  
ivale<sup>30</sup> magale māsāyike<sup>31</sup> se [ho]ti<sup>32</sup> [.]  
Siya-va-taṇ aṭṭhaṇa<sup>33</sup> nivaṭṭe<sup>34</sup> siya-punā-no  
hidulokike-cha-vasa[.] Iyaṇ-punā dharmamagale  
akālikye[.] Haṇhe-pi taṇ-aṭṭhaṇa no-niṭṭe-ti  
hida aṭṭhaṇa<sup>35</sup> palata anantam-ponā pavasati<sup>36</sup> [.]  
Haṇhe-punā-taṇ aṭṭhaṇa nivaṭṭe-ti hida<sup>37</sup> tato<sup>38</sup>  
ubhaye<sup>39</sup> [26] [la]dhe hoṭi hida-chā<sup>40</sup> se-aṭṭhe  
palatā-chā anantam-paṇṇam prasaṇaṇi  
tena dharmamagalaṇa[.]

## EDICT X.

## Girnar.

Devānaṇ piya Priyadaṇi rājā<sup>41</sup> yaso va kiti va na  
mahāthavahā maṇati aṇatra tadātpano dighāya cha  
me jano [1] dharmasusruṇa<sup>42</sup> susruṇaṇa dharmā-  
vutaṇ cha anuvīdhiyātāṇi[.] Etakāya devānaṇ piya  
Priyadaṇi rājā yaso va kiti va icchati[2]  
Yaṇ tu kiṇchi parākramate devānaṇ piya-  
daṇi<sup>43</sup> rājā ta savam parātrikāya[.] kiṇti [?]   
sakale appariarave asa[.] Eṇ to pariaraṇe ya  
apūṇam<sup>44</sup> [3] Dukaraṇ tu kṇo etam khudakena  
va janaṇa netaṇa va aṇatra agreṇa parākramaṇa<sup>45</sup>  
savam parichajjita[.] Eṇ tu kṇo netaṇa  
dukaraṇ [4]

## Shāhbāgarh.

Devana piye Priyadaṇi rāja yaso va kiti va na  
mahāthavahā maṇati aṇatra ya pi  
yaso kiti va icchati tadātpaṇe<sup>46</sup> ayatiya cha [jan]e  
dharmasusruṇa<sup>47</sup> susruṇaṇa me ti dharmavuta-  
ṇa cha anuvīdhiyātāṇi[.] Etakāya devanaṇ piye  
Priyadaṇi rāja yaso va kiti va [21] icchati[ti]  
Yaṇ tu kiṇchi parākramate devanaṇ piya Priya-  
daṇi rāja taṇ savam parātrikāya va [1] kiti [?]   
sa[kale]<sup>48</sup> aparāraṇe siya ti[.] Eṇ tu pariaraṇe  
yaṇ apūṇam[.] Dukaraṇ t[ā] kṇo eṇa khudra-  
kena vagreṇa netaṇa va aṇatra agreṇa parākramaṇa  
savam parichajjita[.] Etam cha netaṇe<sup>49</sup>  
[22].

## Mansehra.

. . . [8] piya Pri . daṇi rāja yaso va kiti va  
n[a] mahāthavaham maṇati aṇatra yaṇ pi ya[so  
va] kiti va icchati tadātpaṇe<sup>50</sup> ayatiya[ā]<sup>51</sup> cha jano  
dharmasusruṇa<sup>52</sup> an . [ā]n[ā]tu me ti

## Kāśi.

Devānaṇ piye Priyadaṇi<sup>53</sup> rājā yaso-vā kiti-va  
no-mahāthā-vā<sup>54</sup> maṇati aṇatā yaṇ-pi yaso  
vā kiti-vā icchati tadātpaṇe<sup>55</sup> ayatiya-chā jano  
dharmasusruṇa<sup>56</sup> susruṇaṇa-me-ti<sup>57</sup>

<sup>25</sup> This may be read *icāle*.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly *strake* or *stake* according to B., which also shows the root.

<sup>27</sup> This is plain in B.

<sup>28</sup> The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.

<sup>29</sup> The ligature of *āṇ* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentence.

<sup>30</sup> This may also be read *āṇ* *loki* *cha* or *āṇ* *loki* *loki*.

<sup>31</sup> Read *vasati* and *āṇ*.

<sup>32</sup> Thus according to B.

<sup>33</sup> Read *prasaṇaṇi*, as suggested by M. Senart.

<sup>34</sup> *Hida*, not *āṇ*, is the distinct reading of the impression.

<sup>35</sup> *Tato*, not *tatā*, is the reading of the impression, though the *a*-stroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shāhbāgarh).

<sup>36</sup> *Ubhaye* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *ma* or *āṇ*. I would conjecture *āṇ* *prasaṇaṇi* in accordance with the Mansehra and Shāhbāgarh versions.

<sup>37</sup> *Hida*, not *āṇ*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>38</sup> The two Anuvāsa are probable, but not certain.

<sup>39</sup> Read *dharmasusruṇa*.

<sup>40</sup> The syllable *de* has been inserted between *si* and *rd* and the syllable *rd* between *rd* and *ja*.

<sup>41</sup> The apparent Anuvāsa after *ve* is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.

<sup>42</sup> Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read *tadātpaṇe* or *tadātpaṇe*.

<sup>43</sup> Read *dharmasusruṇa*.

<sup>44</sup> Restore *piya* before *Priyadaṇi*.

<sup>45</sup> The Anuvāsa is faintly visible on the impression.

<sup>46</sup> The *ā* has been added as a correction.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly *parākramaṇa* to be read, as the top of the *ā* is slightly bent towards the right.

<sup>48</sup> The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised.

<sup>49</sup> Read *Priyadaṇi*.

<sup>50</sup> Possibly *mahāthā-vā* to be restored.

<sup>51</sup> It is, of course, possible to read *tadātpaṇe* or *tadātpaṇe*.

<sup>52</sup> Possibly *ayatiya* is to be read.

<sup>53</sup> A Vedic imperative.

## Manshira.

. . . [9] [tom] a[ou]vidhiyatu ti[.] Etakayo  
devana priye Priyadra[ti] raja yaso va kiti va  
ichhati[.] [E to] kichi parakrama. ) devana priye  
Priya[dra]si [raja tam]avram para[trikaye va] [.]  
[kiti] [?] . . . [10] [a]papatisava siya ti ti<sup>21</sup>[.]  
Ehe tu parissava e[su]s[is]a[ti] [.] Dukaram chn [kho]  
ehe khudrakena va vago[za] usa[te]na va a[sa]tra  
a[gro]na parakramena savram pati. tu[.]  
E. [tu kho] nastena va duka[ra] [.]

## Kāśi.

dhammaratath-vā anuvihiyatu-ti[.] Etakāye  
devānath piye Priyadasi [27] lājā yasho-vā<sup>22</sup> kiti-vā  
ichhat<sup>23</sup>[.] An-chā-kichhi-lakamati<sup>24</sup> devānath-piye  
Priyadasi<sup>25</sup> lājā<sup>26</sup> ta shavam palatikiyāyo-vā [.]  
kiti [?] Sakalo apapāśhava shiyā-ti-ti<sup>27</sup>[.]  
Ehe-chn-palissava<sup>28</sup> e-apurine[.] Dukale-chn-kho  
ehe khudrakena-vā varena uhuṭena-vā<sup>29</sup> anat[a]<sup>30</sup>  
agenā palakamena shavath palatiditu[.]  
He[ta]-cho-kho [28] uhatena-vā dukale[.]

## EDICT XI.

## Girnar.

Devānath piye Priyadasi tājā evam āha [.]  
nasti etiriam dānam yāsam dhammadānam  
dhammasamutave vā dhammasamvibhāgo vā dhamma-  
samādhe va [.] Tata idam bhavati dāmbhatatāmbhi  
samayapratipati mātari pitari sādhu suruṣa mita-  
samutafatikānath bāmbhamasamānam sādhu  
dānam [2] prānamh anāmbho sādhu[.]  
Eta vatayvati pitā va putrena va bhātā  
va mitasamutafatikena va āva pativesi-  
yehi [.] idam sādhu idam katayvati [3] So tathā<sup>31</sup>  
kam palatkena āradhe hoti parata cha anuṣatitā<sup>32</sup>  
puṇam bhavati tena dhammadānena [4]

## Shābbāgarhi.

Devānath piye Priyadasi raja evam āha ti [.]  
nasti ediam dānam yadānam dhammadānam  
dhammasamutave dhammasamvibhāgo [dha]ma-  
samādhe [.] Tata etam [.] dāmbhatatānath  
samayapratipati matapitushu suruṣa mita-  
samutafatikānath samapabramanānam [23]  
dānam prānamh anarūbho [.]  
Etam vatavo pituna<sup>33</sup> pi putrena pi bhātuna pi  
[sa]mitena pi mitrasamutafatena ara pativesi-  
yena [.] [i] mam sādhu imam katavo [.] So tatha  
karamam taloka[ni]<sup>34</sup> cha aradheti paratra cha  
anath puṇath pravavati [24] [te]na dhamma-  
dānena [25]

## Manshira.

. . . [pri]ya Priyadasi raja evam āha [.]  
nasti. āha dane adise dhammadāne dhamma . . . ve  
dha[mma]na[ni]vibhāgo<sup>35</sup> dhamma . . . dhe [L]  
Tatra ehe [.] dāsa[ba]ta . . . sa sa[mya]samipatipati<sup>36</sup>  
matapitushu . . . [12] sadutafatikā-  
na samapabramanāna dane prāna ana-  
mbho[.] Ehe vataviyo pituna pi putrena pi  
bhātuna pi epam . . . pi mitrasam-  
utafatena ara pativesiyena . [13] iyam sādhu iyam  
kataviye [.] Se ta[tha] karamam hida . ka cha<sup>37</sup>  
aradhe . . . ratra cha . a. tam puṇath  
pravavati . . . [dha]madānena [14]

## Kāśi.

Devānath-piye Priyadasi lājā havam hā<sup>38</sup> [.]  
nathi hoṣiṣhe dāne [ā]dichet<sup>39</sup> dhammadāne  
dhammasamvibhāgo<sup>40</sup> dhammasamādhe<sup>41</sup> [.]  
Tat[a] ehe [.] [dāshabbhatatāsi] shamyāpatipati  
mātāpitushu [shushuṣā] mitasamutafatā[ti] kya-  
sati samapabramanānam dāne [20] pādānam anā-  
mbho [.] Ehe vataviye pitinā-pi pute-pi<sup>42</sup>  
bhātā-pi [sh]avāmiyena-pi<sup>43</sup> mitasam-  
utafatā<sup>44</sup> ara pativesiyenā [.] iyam sādhu iyam  
kataviye [.] Se tathā kalamta hidalokāye cha kam  
āradhe hoti palata-cha anarū<sup>45</sup> puṇā  
pravavati tenā dhammadānenā [.]

<sup>21</sup> Yaeto, not yaso, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>22</sup> Read ichhati.

<sup>23</sup> Read palakamati.

<sup>24</sup> Priyadasi, not 'si, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>25</sup> Read lājā.

<sup>26</sup> Sign ti is also the reading of the Kāśi version. It stands for tīti, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.

<sup>27</sup> Read apapāśhava; shiyā, not siyā, is the reading.

<sup>28</sup> Ehe, not en, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.

<sup>29</sup> The evreṣhe is distinct.

<sup>30</sup> A short final is more probable than a long one.

<sup>31</sup> This looks like pīṭha, with two a-strokes.

<sup>32</sup> The two apparent ā strokes after ka are due to flourish in the rock.

<sup>33</sup> Probably ananta.

<sup>34</sup> This may possibly be ālaka.

<sup>35</sup> Read ād.

<sup>36</sup> Possibly ananta is to be read.

<sup>37</sup> Dhammasamvibhāgo, not 'vibhāgo, is the distinct reading.

<sup>38</sup> The impression shows no Anuvāsa in 'hāda.

<sup>39</sup> The Anuvāsa is uncertain.

<sup>40</sup> Possibly ananta is to be read.

<sup>41</sup> Read putra-pi.

<sup>42</sup> Read shavāmiyena.

<sup>43</sup> Read mitasamutafatā; the ta stands below the line.

There is no pi after this word.

<sup>44</sup> Possibly a sign (ka?) may have stood between cha and aradhe.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly ananta is to be read.



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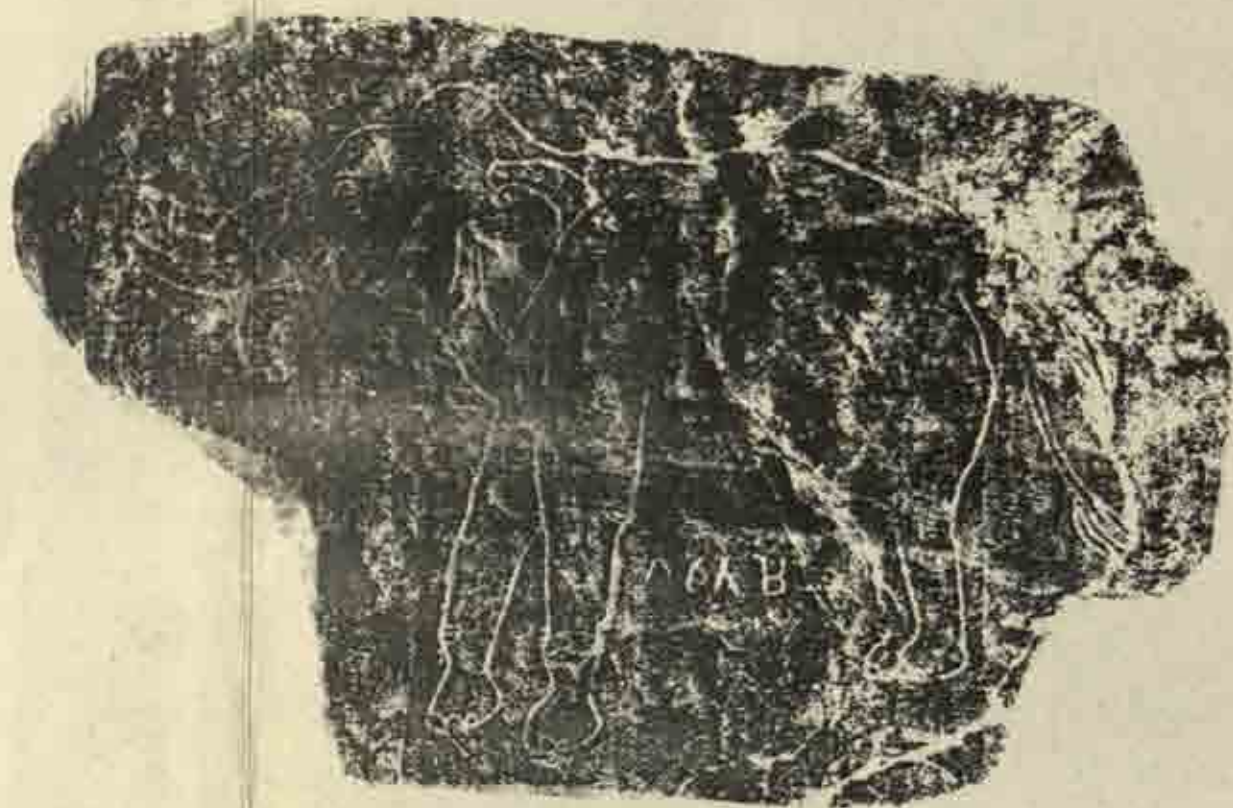
E4 XIV

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KĀLSI AŚOKA INSCRIPTION,—(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE.





## EDICT XII.

## Gienār.

Devānam piye Priyadasi rāja savvapāsahādāni  
cha<sup>11</sup> pavajitāni<sup>12</sup> cha gharastāni<sup>13</sup> cha pūjayati  
dānena cha vividhāya cha pūjāya pūjayati na [1]  
Na tu tathā dānam va pūjā va devānam piye  
manāte yathā kiti[?] sāvavādhi<sup>14</sup> aṣa savvapāsah-  
ādānam [2] Sāvavādhi<sup>15</sup> tu bahuvividhā [3] Tasa<sup>16</sup> tasa<sup>17</sup>  
tu idam mūlam ya vachiguti [4] kinti [?] ātpa-  
pāsahādapūjā va parapāsahādagarahā<sup>18</sup> va no bhava  
apakaranaṇi loka<sup>19</sup> va aṣa [5] tamhi tamhi  
prakaraṇaṇi [6] Pūjetayā<sup>20</sup> tu eva parapāsahādā tana  
tana<sup>21</sup> prakaraṇena [7] Svam karuṇa ātpapāsahādāni  
cha vadhayati parapāsahādāni cha  
apakaroti [8] Tadasmūnāthā karoti ātpapāsahādāni  
cha chhayati parapāsahādāni cha pi apakaroti [9]  
Yo hi kochi ātpapāsahādāni pūjayati parapāsahādāni  
vā garahati [10] savam ātpapāsahādāni<sup>22</sup> [11]  
kinti [?] ātpapāsahādāni dipayama iti so cha  
puta tatha karoti<sup>23</sup> ātpapāsahādāni  
bādhitarāni upahanti [12] Ta samavāyo  
eva sādhu [13] kinti [?] aṣamaṇi<sup>24</sup> dhamma  
rupam cha samvera cha [14] Kvam hi devānam  
piyasa ichha [15] kinti [?] savvapāsahādāni bahuruta  
cha aṣa kalāṅgamā cha aṣa [16] Yo cha tatra  
tata<sup>25</sup> prasanna tahi vatavyam [17] devānam piye  
na tathā dānam va pūjā va manāte yathā kinti [18]  
sāvavādhi aṣa savvapāsahādāni bahuruta<sup>26</sup>  
cha [19] Etāya [20] athā vyāpatā dhammamahamāta  
cha itihhahamamahamāta cha vachahhūmika aṣa  
cha<sup>27</sup> nikāya [21] Aya<sup>28</sup> cha etasa phala ya ātpapāsah-  
ādavādhi cha bota dhamma cha dipana [22]

## Manshra.

Devana piye Priyadasi raja savra prasha-  
dani pravrajitani gahadhani cha pujeti danena  
vividhaya<sup>29</sup> cha pujaya [1] No [chu] tatha  
dana va puja va [2] devanam piye manati  
atha kiti [3] Sāvavādhi aṣa savvapāsahādāni ti [4]

## Shāhāzgarhi.

Devanam piyo Priyadasi raya savra prashadani  
pravrajita<sup>30</sup> graha[tha]ni cha pujeti  
danena vividhaya<sup>31</sup> cha pujaya [1]  
No chu tatha dana[ra] va puja va [2] devanam piyo  
manati yatha kiti [3] Sāvavādhi aṣa savvapāsahādāni  
dama[m] [4] Sāvavādhi tu bahuvividhā [5] Tasa  
tu iya mula yam vachiguti [6] kiti [7] ātpa-  
pāsahādapūja va parapāsahādagarana<sup>32</sup> va no  
aṣa apakaranaṇi [8] loka va aṣa tasi tasi  
prakara[na]ni [9] Pūjetaviya va chu paraprasahāni [10]  
[da] tana tana [a] karana<sup>33</sup> [11] Evam kara[na] tam  
[a] ātpaprasahādāni vadhati paraprasahādāni pi cha  
apakaroti [12] Tada aṣaṭha ka [ra] cha ātpaprasahādāni  
[4] chhapati paraprasahādāni cha apakaroti [13]  
Yo hi k[iti] ehi ātpaprasahādāni pujeti paraprasahādāni  
garahati savra ātpaprasahādāni<sup>34</sup> va [14]  
kiti [15] ātpaprasahādāni dipayami [16] so cha  
puta tatha karanti<sup>35</sup> so cha puta tatha karanti<sup>36</sup>  
bādhitarāni upahanti ātpaprasahādāni [17] So anyam  
va sādhu [18] kiti [?] aṣamaṇi<sup>37</sup> dhamma  
rupam cha samvera cha [19] Kvam hi devanam  
piyasa ichha [20] kiti [?] savvaprasahādāni bahuruta  
cha kala[ṅ]gama cha piyasa [21] Yo cha tatra  
tatra [22] prasanna tatham vatavo [23] devanam piyo  
na tathā dānam va puja va manati yathā kiti [24]  
sāvavādhi aṣa ti savvaprasahādāni bahuruta cha [25]  
Etāya a [26] rapata [dha]mama[na]matra  
[etridhi] yachhamamahamatra vachahhūmika aṣa  
cha nikāya [27] Imamahāetasa phalam yathā ātpaprasah-  
ādavādhi [bota] [28] dhamma cha dipana [29]

## Kāli.

Devana-piye-Priyadasi [30] raja savra prasha-  
dani<sup>31</sup> pavajitani gahadhani va pujeti-danena-  
vividhena<sup>32</sup>-cha-[puja]ya [1] No-cha-tatha<sup>33</sup>  
dana-va puja-va devanani-piye manati atha  
kita<sup>34</sup> [2] Sāvavādhi aṣa ti savvapāsahādāni<sup>35</sup> [3]

<sup>11</sup> Dele cā.<sup>12</sup> Possibly pravrajitani to be read.<sup>13</sup> Possibly gharastāni to be read.<sup>14</sup> Pravrajita, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before prakaraṇaṇi.<sup>15</sup> The apparent d-difference after va is probably an accidental scratch or a scrib.<sup>16</sup> The first ta and the second sa of tasa tana have been obliterated, as the sense requires.<sup>17</sup> The syllable aṣa has been added as a correction.<sup>18</sup> Read "paravā."<sup>19</sup> Probably a mistake for pūjetayā.<sup>20</sup> Read tana tana.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Burgess' new facsimile shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading. My former reading prakara-

ṇaṇi is impossible; so is M. Senart's prakaraṇa.

<sup>22</sup> Read karoti.<sup>23</sup> Dele the repeated words.<sup>24</sup> The syllable ti has been inserted as a correction.<sup>25</sup> Possibly the reading was tatra tatra.<sup>26</sup> Read bahuruta.<sup>27</sup> The word cha has been added as a correction.<sup>28</sup> The letter a has been added as a correction.<sup>29</sup> Only the right half of the enclosed is distinct.<sup>30</sup> Read pāsahādāni.<sup>31</sup> Meant for vividhaya.<sup>32</sup> Possibly vividhaya to be read.<sup>33</sup> Cha, not cā, is the reading of the inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> Possibly kiti to be restored.<sup>35</sup> Tasa stands, as a correction, above the line.

## Manshira.

Salavudhi<sup>26</sup> tu bahuvridha[.] Tasa chu iyam mule  
am vachaguti [2] kiti [?] atapashada-  
puja va parapashadagamha va no siva  
apakaragasi[.] laluka va siya tasi [ta]si pakaragasi[.]  
Pujataviya va chu parapashada tena tena [3]  
skarena[.] Evam karatam atmapashada<sup>27</sup> badham  
vudhayati parapashadassa pi cha upakaroti[.]  
Tadanatham karatam atmapashada cha chhagati  
parapashadassa pi cha [4] apakaroti[.] Ye hi kechi  
atmapashada pujeti parapashada va garahati[.]  
savre atmapashadabhatiya va [5] kiti [?]  
atmapashada dipay[sa]ma<sup>28</sup> ti[.] . . . puna tatha  
karatam [6] badhamitarani upah[na]ti<sup>29</sup> atma-  
pashada[.] Se samavaye v[sa] sadhu [7] kiti [?]  
anamasama dhammam srupay[u] cha sustraseyu  
cha ti[.] E[v]am hi devana[ra] priyasa ichha [8]  
kiti[?] savrapashada bahuvridha cha [9] kayapagana  
cha havya ti[.] E cha tatra tatra prasana  
tehi vataviye [3] devana priye n[sa]t[sa]tha dana[ra] va  
pujan va magati stha kiti [?] salavudhi siya  
savrapashada[na][?] [bahu]ka cha[.] Etaye athraye  
vaputa dhammamahumatra istri[h]achhamaha-  
matra<sup>30</sup> vrachabhumika aho cha vikaya[.] Iyam  
cha etisa phale [8] yam atmapashadavudhi cha bhoti  
dhamma cha dipana[.]

## Kāśī.

Śālavudhi-nā bahuvridhā<sup>31</sup> [.] Tasa-chu iyam-mule  
[a]-vachaguti [7] kiti [?] ta atapāśada-  
pujā<sup>32</sup> palapāśada-galahā-vā<sup>33</sup> no śayā<sup>34</sup> [31]  
apakalanāsi lalakā-vā<sup>35</sup> śyā tasi-tasi-pakalanāsi<sup>36</sup>  
[.] Pujataviya chu palapāśada tena-tena  
akālana<sup>37</sup>[.] Hevam kalata atapāśadā bādham  
vadhīyati palapāśada-pi-vā upakaleti[.]  
Tadā-śmāthā<sup>38</sup> kalata atapāśada-cha chhanati  
palapāśada pi-vā apakaleti[.] Ye-hi kechiha  
atapāśada-puneti<sup>39</sup> [32] palapāśada-vā [ga]la[.]hati  
shave atapāśam[da]bhatiyā-vā[.] kiti [?]  
Atapāśam[da] dipayema she-cha-punā tathā  
kalantam [bā]hatale upahanti[.] at-  
pāśam[da]si [.] Samavāye-va śādhu [7] kiti [?]  
anamasanāśādhammam[shuneyu-cha]shushubheyu  
chā-ti [.] Hevam-hi devānam-piyasā-ichhā[.]  
kiti[?] [33] Savrapāśam[da] bahuvridhā-cha kuyānāgā  
cha<sup>40</sup> havya-ti[.] E-va-tata-tatā pasham[na] te-  
[hi] vataviye [3] devānā-piye-na-tathā dānam-vā  
pujā-vā [magati] sthā-ki[.] śālavudhi śyā  
savrapāśam[da]tim<sup>41</sup> [bahu]ka-cha [.] Etāyādhāye  
viyāpetā dhammamahāmatā [sthū]biyāshamā-  
matā [vachabhumikyā]ane-vā nikā[34] [34] Iyam  
cha-etisā [phale] yam atapāśam[da]vadhī-cha hoti  
dhamma-cha-dipana[.]

## EDICT XIII.

## Girnār.

. . . . .  
dhe satasahnera-  
mātram tatā hatam bahuvridhākatam matam[.]  
Tatā pashā adhanā<sup>42</sup> badhena Kalingesu  
tiro dhammavāy[sa] [1] . . . . .  
vadhō va maranam va aparāho va janasa[.]  
Ta[h]bāisham vrdanumatam cha g[u]matam  
cha devā[na]m [va] [2] . . . . .

## Shahbāgarhī.

A[stava]sha<sup>43</sup> abhisita[sa]de]vāna priasa Priadra-  
si[sa] rāso Ka[liga] vijita[.] [Diyalha]mure  
[prasa]sata[sa]haare yetato apavudhe satasahnera-  
[ma]tre tatra hata [bahu]vatatake] mure[.] [1]  
Tato [pa]chha adhana badhena [Kalingeshu]  
tiro dhamma[pa]sasti<sup>44</sup> dhamma[ka]mata dham-  
manasti cha devana pri[ya]ma[.] So asti anaso-  
chan[am] devana priyasa vijit[sa] [Ka]liga-  
[na] [2] Avijitam bi [viji]naman[ī] ye]tatra  
vadh[sa] va [ma]namam va apava[bo] va jana-  
sa[.] Tasm badham vedaniyamatarā gurumatam  
cha devanam priyasa[.] Imam pi chu<sup>45</sup> tato

<sup>26</sup> Read *ta* for *ad*. *Pi* stands above the line. In the next sentence *śā*, not *cā*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the third sign of this word see the note to the German edition.

<sup>28</sup> Thus corrected by the scribe from *ta apitandē* or *paja*; *de* is first *ta* and change *de* to *da*.

<sup>29</sup> Thus corrected by the scribe from *atā ad anagahā* or *ad*.

<sup>30</sup> Read *śyā*.

<sup>31</sup> Read *lakā*.

<sup>32</sup> The *ta* of the first *tasi* is imperfect.

<sup>33</sup> Read *ādāna*.

<sup>34</sup> It is, of course, possible to read here and in the sequel instead of *atna*, *atna* or *atta*.

<sup>35</sup> *Dā* stands above the line.

<sup>36</sup> Read *pejati*.

<sup>37</sup> Possibly *dipayema* to be read, if it may be assumed that the *e*-stroke can stand at the top of *ga*.

<sup>38</sup> The *na* is a little indistinct and seems to be a correction as it has been put quite close to the following letter.

<sup>39</sup> Read *śyāśadgand*.

<sup>40</sup> Read *śavrapāśam[da]tim*.

<sup>41</sup> Possibly *istrijacāka* to be read; at all events the stroke denoting the aspiration is very faint and short.

<sup>42</sup> *śta* is probable according to B.

<sup>43</sup> Read *adāna*.

<sup>44</sup> The last three letters are not recognisable in B.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly *vijitā* in B.

<sup>46</sup> Thus B. instead of *śādha*.

<sup>47</sup> Thus B. for *ima pi cha*.



**Giraffe.**

sā mātīpātari suva<sup>7</sup>in]sā  
 gurusuśā nūtasamhetutacchāyafātikesu dāsa[bha]  
 [3]  
 [h]āyūñitīkā vyasanān  
 prāpuneti[.] Tatra so pi tesān upagātō  
 hoti[.] Pañbhūgo chesā su[va] [sāu]  
 [4] [mh]i yatra  
 nōti manasānam ekatarāmhī pāsarhānhi na nāma  
 praś[d]o[.] Yāvatako jan . tadā [6]  
 na ya sakam  
 chhamitave[.] Yā oha pi ataviyo devānān  
 priyasa piṇṇe pāti [6]<sup>48</sup>  
 . savabhūtānān  
 aśhatim cha saṃsāraṇān cha samacherān cha mādavān  
 oha [7]  
 Yamarājā parān cha tena chatpāro  
 rājāne Turamāyo cha Arutkīn<sup>49</sup> cha Magā cha [8]  
 . indha-P[1] rādesu savota  
 devānān piyasa dhammānusa<sup>50</sup>in suvatara[.]  
 Yata pi dhū<sup>51</sup> [9]  
 . vijayo savathā puna vijayo pītāra  
 so[.] Indhā sā pīti hoti dhammanavijayānhi [10]  
 . m vijayān mā vijetayvān mā<sup>52</sup>[.]  
 saraṇke eva vijayo oḥhātī[m] oha [11]

*Shāh bāzārī.*

gurutata. ram [deva]nam priyasa[.] Tatra h[1]  
[8] vasanti hrāmāna va śrāmāna va amīna va  
prashāṇḍa gra[ha]tha va yasa vihita<sup>11</sup> eśha agra-  
blu[ti]<sup>12</sup> suśroṣha matspitishu suśuśha guru-  
nam suśruśha [mitra]satistutasaḥaya[4] śati-  
keśhu [da]śabha[ta]kanam. anamapratipati  
digha[bhātita][.] Tesham tatra bhōti apagra-  
tho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramam[.]  
Yesh. va pi samvihitanam [ne]ho aviprahino  
o[te]sha [mi]trammatulasaḥayaśatikā vasaṇa  
[5] prapūṇat[.] Tatra tam pi tēsha vo apagra-  
tho bhōti[.] Pratiḥlagad[.] cha etam savnam  
manuśanti<sup>13</sup> gurumatam cha devanam priya-  
sa[.] Nasti cha ekatamapi<sup>14</sup> pi<sup>15</sup> prashāṇḍamapi  
na nama<sup>16</sup> [rasado[.] So yamtro [janō]tada Kalige  
hato cha mut[o] cha apavudb[o]cha[ra]to [6] śa-  
tābhaḥ<sup>17</sup> va sahaśrabhaḥam va aja gurumatam  
vo devanam priyasa[.] Yo pi cha apakavya ti  
chhamitaviyamata vo devanam priyasa yam śako  
chhamanaye[.] Ya pi cha atavi devanam  
priyasa [vi]jite bhōti ta pi anuneti anunij[5]ape  
ti[.] anutape pi cha p[ri]abhava devanam priyasa[.]  
Vachati tēsha[.] kiti[?] avatrapeya na cha ladhā-  
yasa[.] Ichhati bi devanam priyo savrabhūtaṇa  
achhati satvismam sarascharyam rabhasiye[.]  
Eśhe cha mu[kha]mute<sup>18</sup> vijaye devanam priyasa  
yo dhramavijayo[.] so cha puna lādho devanam  
priyasa lha cha sa[vre]śhu cha anteshu [8] a  
śaśhu pi yojanaś[te]śhu yatra Amtiyoko nama  
Yonaraja param cha tena Amtiyokena chature 4  
rajani Taramaye nama Amtikini nama Maka  
nama Alikandaro nama[.] nisha Choda Pamde  
ava Tambapadimiya evameva Hidaraja[.] Visha-  
Vajri-Yona-Kamboyeshu Nabhake Na[bhi]tina [9]  
Bhoja-Pititikeshu Amdhura-Puli[de]śhu savatra  
Devanam priyasa dhramanuśanti anuvāṣanti[.]  
Yatra pi devanam priyasa dūta na vrachanti te pi  
śru[ta] devanam priyasa dhramavutām vidhenam  
dhramanuśanti dhramam [an]uvidhiyamti anu-  
vidhiyamanti cha[.] Yo [cha] lādho etakena bhōti  
savatra vijayo sa[vatra] puna [10] vijayo pritaraso  
so[.] Lādha [bhōti] pūti dhramavijayam[.]<sup>19</sup> Im-  
huka tu kbo sa priti[.] Paratrikameva mahapala  
mañati devanam priyo[.] Etya cha atiyae ayo  
dhramadip[.] di[pi]ata[.] kiti[?] putra papotra me  
asa namam vijayam na vijetavi[ya]m mañishu [i]  
ka. vo<sup>20</sup> vijaye [chham]ti cha labudam[da].

<sup>22</sup> Possibly *whitish* according to B.

<sup>22</sup> This is probably according to H., instead of \**δānti*.

<sup>40</sup> Thus both A. and B.

<sup>22</sup> Thus H. plainly for signature.

10 Looks like you

\* Thus plainly H. instead of *proclivus* (*proclivus*).

<sup>22</sup> Thus both A. and the im:ond of "Idagoo."

\* Bond Lock. With plate for white counters. P. 11

maßhalt (or wasshalt).

<sup>a</sup> Possibly underestimate according to 11.

as possible, intended to be read

<sup>18</sup> Band 31/1d.

\* Thus it stands for *adversus*.

18. Read the instructions.

<sup>44</sup> Not possible with certainty in the where the first syllable

looks like you.

28. *Alnus glutinosa*



## Kāśī.

[eteśhu a shashu [p]i yojanashateshu at[a]<sup>74</sup> Atiyoge  
nāma Yona . . . palam chā tenā [8]  
Amtiyogonā chatāli 4 lajāno<sup>75</sup> Tulu-  
maye nāma Amtokino<sup>76</sup> u[a]ma Makā nā-[7] ma  
Alīkashudale nāma [.] mihanā Choḍa-Pamdiyā avan  
Tanibapathaiyā bevanogva bevanovā<sup>77</sup> [8] [Hi] dalājā [.]  
Vira-Vaji-Yona-Kamhojeshu Nābhake<sup>78</sup> Nābhapa-  
tishu Bhoja-Pitiniye[shu] [9] Adha-P. [a]deshu  
shavatā devānash pi[ya]chā dhammānoshathi amva-  
yanti [.] Y[a]ta<sup>79</sup> pi dutā [10] devānash piyasa no  
yanti te pi sutu devānash piyashya<sup>80</sup> [dham]mavutath  
vidhanam [11] dhammānoshathi dhammānash anuvādi-  
yanti anuvādiyanti chā [.] Ye ee [la]dhe [12]  
etakmā hoti savatā [vi]ja<sup>81</sup>yo<sup>82</sup> pitilase so [.] Gadhā  
nā hoti piti piti dhammavijaya-[13]shū [.] Lalukā va  
klośā piti [.] Pālanthikyamore<sup>83</sup> mahaphalā manosh [14]  
devanam pine<sup>84</sup> [14] Etāye chā nāhāye iyaṁ dhamma-  
līpi likhitā [.] kiti [7] putā pāpotā me a . . . [15] navam  
vijaya ma vijayantaviya manishu [.] Shay [a]kashi  
no<sup>85</sup> vijayashi khamti chā lāhu-[16] dhamdātā chā locha-  
ta tamova chā vijayash manatu ja dhammavijaya [.]  
Sho bidalokikyapalo-[17] kiye<sup>86</sup> [.] Shavā cha  
nīlati hotu uyāmalati [.] Shā [h]i bidaloki [k]apalalo-  
kikyā [18]

## Maushehra.

amteshu a shashu pi y . . . t . shu . . . yok .  
nama . na . . . [9] . . . . .  
[Maka nama]  
Alīkashu [dare] nama [ni] chān chā Choḍa-Pamdiya  
a Tanibapadhiya evamova . . . roja [.]  
Vishu-Vaj [d]i-Yona-K . . . shu [Nalika]ke<sup>87</sup> [Na]-  
bhapatishu . oja-Pitini . shu Amika-P . . . [10]  
[na priyasa] no  
y . ti te pi sutu devanam priyasa dhammavutath  
vidhanam dhammānoshathi dhammānash anuvādi-  
yanti anuvādi [yanti] chā [.] Y . . .  
[hoti vija] . . . [11]  
[priya] . [Etāye] ahi [ra]ye iyaṁ dhamma . .  
likhita [.] kiti [7] putā pāpotā me a . . . nava . .  
[12]  
[lokika] [.] Savra chā nirati  
hotu ya [a]rama [rati] [.] Sa [hi] lāla [lokika] paraloka-  
kika [.]

## EDICT XIV.

## Girnār.

Ayam dhammalipi devānam priyena Priyadasi-  
nā rūfā lekḥapitā seti eva [1] satikhitena seti  
majhamena seti vīstātana<sup>88</sup> [.] Na cha sar-  
vath sarvata ghaṭitā [2] Mahālake hi vijitān  
bahu cha lāhitān likḥapayam chova [.]  
Asti cha eta kam [3] puna puna vutām tase  
tasa athenā<sup>89</sup> māhūrātāya [.] kinti [7] jano tathā  
pātipajetha [4] Tatra ekadā asamātān likhi-  
tān aṁ dhammān va sachhāya kārmanā va [5]  
alocheti<sup>90</sup> lipikarāparadhena<sup>91</sup> va [6]

## Shāhbāzgarh.

Ayo<sup>92</sup> dhammalipi devānam priyena Priyasa<sup>93</sup>  
rūfā dipapito seti vo satikhitena seti  
yo vīstātena [.] Na hi sarvatra  
[so] sarve ghaṭiti [.] Mahālake hi vijite  
bahu cha likhite likḥapeesami chova [.]  
Asti cha atra puna puna [la]pitāt tase  
tasa [a]ha[ra] madhuryāya [y]e[na] ja[na] tatha  
[13] pātipajeya ti [.] So siya va atra kinti as-  
matān likhitān dhammān va satikhaye karasa va  
alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena [14]

## Kāśī.

Iyaṁ dhammalipi devānam piyasa Piyadashinā lajina likḥapitā athi yovā sukhi-[19] tenā  
athī majhimena<sup>94</sup> athī vithaṇenā [.] No hi savatā sarve ghaṭite<sup>95</sup> [.] Mahālake hi vi-[20] jita

<sup>74</sup> The apparent e-stroke in the second syllable is accidental.

<sup>75</sup> Read *lajāno*.

<sup>76</sup> The last syllable is perfectly distinct on the reverse.

<sup>77</sup> Dots *bevanova*.

<sup>78</sup> The last vowel is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>79</sup> The older impression reads (Naḍha)ka.

<sup>80</sup> The apparent d-stroke in the first syllable is accidental.

<sup>81</sup> Read *piyasa*.

<sup>82</sup> *Vijaya* stands above the line, the *vi* is triangular, the *ja* badly formed.

<sup>83</sup> Read *maye*.

<sup>84</sup> Read *manusha dhammān piya*.

<sup>85</sup> Restore *ana*.

<sup>86</sup> Probably *stayaśushabasi go* (i.e. [s]oo for *eva*) to be read.

<sup>87</sup> Probably *\*kika* to be read.

<sup>88</sup> *Ayo* according to B.

<sup>89</sup> Read *vīstātana*.

<sup>90</sup> Read *Priyadrasina*.

<sup>91</sup> The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction.

<sup>92</sup> Probably a mistake for *lipikarāparadhena*.

<sup>93</sup> The syllable *ji* stands above the line.

## Kāśī.

babu oha lkhite lekhaṣeṣi chera vikram [...] Athi chā heta panachpuna lapi-[21] to tashā  
 tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jano tathā patipajeyā [...] She shiyā<sup>1</sup> ata kichhi a-[22]samat  
 lkhite dīhā vā shaukheye kālasam vā alochayitu lipikalapalādhana vā [...] [23]

TRANSLATION OF THE SHĀHBAZGARHĪ VERSION.<sup>2</sup>

## EDICT I.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods:—No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to *prepare* curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain *daily*, two (2) peacocks and one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will *no longer* be slaughtered.

## EDICT II.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as *among those nations and princes* that are his neighbours, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tambapāṇṇi, the Yona king, called Amṭiyoka as well as *among those* who are the vassal-kings of that Amṭiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) *kinds of* hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by *the king's* order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.<sup>3</sup>

## EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—*When I had been anointed twelve years [this following order was given by me]:*—“Everywhere in my empire both my loyal Rajukas<sup>4</sup> and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

<sup>1</sup> Shi stands above the line.

<sup>2</sup> The subjoined translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, *Arch. Survey, South Ind.*, vol. I, p. 121ff. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 172f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> The Choḍas are the Cholas of Kāśī; the Pāṇḍiyas are the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats; the Keralaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabar; Tambapāṇṇi, or Thāmapāṇṇi, is Ceylon, the Yona are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Amṭiyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

<sup>4</sup> Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhauḷi version).

<sup>5</sup> Rajuka, in Pali *rajjuka*, literally, “rope-holder,” means “Revenue Settlement officer,”—see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLVII, p. 406f.



is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying):—Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father [meritorious is the liberality] towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmins and ascetics; [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox men. Moreover, the teachers and ascetics of all schools will inculcate what is befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit."

## EDICT IV.

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, during which the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives and the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmins have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums,<sup>1</sup> or rather the sound of the law, has been heard, while the sight of cars of the gods,<sup>2</sup> elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin's preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmins, the obedience towards parents, the obedience towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow still more. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, and will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, viz. the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not possible for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, viz. that they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this edict has been written. This edict has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

## EDICT V.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—Good works are difficult of performance. He who is the originator<sup>3</sup> of good works does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. If then, my sons and my grandsons and those among my descendants who may come after them until the end of time, will thus follow my example, they will do what is meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these virtuous acts will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, and the officials called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of my

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Jātaka*, iv, 269-76: *dharmadharinā dharayati*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare F. Hsu's account (*Bull.* p. 106.) of religious processions at Pataṇ.

<sup>3</sup> The word *adhikāra*—*adhikāra* has been completely preserved in the Maueshī and Kāśī versions alone.

loyal subjects, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhāras, Rastikas, Pitinikas,\* and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaiśyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of unjust imprisonment and of unjust corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, considering that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he is aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with pious gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, viz. that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

#### EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—A long period has elapsed, during which formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made the following arrangement, that the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by word of mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing matter is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of any caste or sect, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with my exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion\* and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than to secure the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt which I owe to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult to carry out without the utmost exertion.

#### EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men possess various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of what they profess. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man,† to whom even great liberality is impossible.

\* The Rastikas I identify with the Rasthikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas or Pitinikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.

† Compare *Mahābhārata*, XII. 56, 14 and 58. 14, where *asthikā* "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.

‡ The form *nichā* in the Girār version instead of *nichā*, may be explained as a contraction of *nichāya* i.e. *nichāya* : compare Pillar Edict iv, note on *nyāyapayid*.



## EDICT VIII.

A long period has elapsed, *during which* the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours.<sup>11</sup> On such occasions the chase and other similar amusements used to be pursued. Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth *in search* after true knowledge. Owing to this event, religious tours have become a regular institution here in my empire. On that occasion the following happens, *viz.* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. *It is thus that, in exchange for past pleasures, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which these virtuous actions procure.*

## EDICT IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,<sup>12</sup> on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such times the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of the Sacred Law*, produces, indeed, great results.<sup>13</sup> That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar virtuous actions are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak as follows :—“This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired* aim is attained.” To the success of which *auspicious rites* does this refer? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the *desired* object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the *desired* object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the *desired* object both are gained; here that *desired* object, and endless merit is produced<sup>14</sup> in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

## EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame *with the view* that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this purpose King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the results for a future life. How so? *It is his wish* that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

<sup>11</sup> The word *siddhanta* occurs in the sense of “pleasure-tour” in *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita*, III, 3, and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> For the use of *śuddha* and *śuddha* compare the *Amṛtaka Sūtra* 2-1 (*Dīghanikāya*, vol. I, p. 99).

<sup>13</sup> Compare the beginning of the Jaina *Uttaravārtika* sūtra, — *dharmā mānasaṃ akkhaṇam*, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Compare *Jātaka*, IV, 230, 2, *maṇḍanāṃ pāṇināṃ pāṇināṃ*.

to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great.

#### EDICT XI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, nor anything like the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law and the connection through the law." This law includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, and the non-destruction of living creatures. Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, saying:—"This is meritorious; this ought to be done." He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law.

#### EDICT XII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds. But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials may happen in various ways. But this is its root, viz. guarding one's speech—how so? "Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point." But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed thinking "I promote thereby the interests of my own creed," however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint alone is commendable. How so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it."<sup>1</sup> For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What?—"that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. And to those who adhere to this or that faith it must be said: "The Beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the *Vachābhūmikas*" and other bodies of officials. And this is its result, viz. the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

#### EDICT XIII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Itivuttaka*, p. 98 (Wundlich), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the other three versions amends: "unmoved, harmony" is better than *anyama* "self-restraint," i.e. with respect to opponents.

<sup>3</sup> Or, possibly, (they shall obey (it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed).]

<sup>4</sup> As the *Mamela* version offers *Vachābhūmika*, the term may mean either "Overseers of the lairies," or (*vraja*-*śāstra*) "Overseers of cowpats," see *Edwards*, p. 230, l. 1 (*Durgaprasāda*).



hundred thousand were slain, and many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, are found with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a zealous love for the Sacred Law, a zealous teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered "there happens both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmanas, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz.* obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such men suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, but whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those unhurt ones. All this falls severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And men have faith not merely in a single creed."

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods a matter of deepest regret. Even, if a man does him an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on the inhabitants of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, if he is told that he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment them. Unto them it is said—what? "Let them shun doing evil, and they shall not be killed;" for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, *viz.* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here in his empire and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Antiyoka dwells, and beyond this Antiyoka, where the four (4) Kings dwell, *viz.*, he called Turamaya, he called Antikini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara<sup>11</sup> further in the south, where the Chodas and Pandas dwell as far as Tambapanni, likewise where the Hida-king dwells. Among the Visas, Vajris,<sup>12</sup> Yonas, Kambojas, in Nabhaka of the Nabhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Amdhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

<sup>11</sup> For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage *Jātaśa*. III, p. 275—*Sevako adā eṣṣaśa kṛvanto Boddhante Sakkhattaṃ Idhanti*.

<sup>12</sup> The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kāśī version, with which that of Girāśa seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: "And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmanas and ascetics are divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone."

<sup>13</sup> According to Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. II, p. 254 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos II., king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemaios II., king of Egypt (died 246 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Mago, king of Cyrene (died 238 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epirus (died between 202 and 246 B.C.).

<sup>14</sup> The Visas are probably the Bala Balouts, the Vajris the Vajjis of Eastern India.

heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only *something* small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? "In order that my sons and grandsons *as many as they may be*, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that *on the occasion of* a conquest, only possible by the sword," they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a *real* conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next.

#### EDICT XIV.

These religious edicts<sup>22</sup> have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, *under a form*, whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write *still more*. Certain sentences have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose *has that been done*? *It is with the intention* that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *specially* determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

### XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

By PAUL HOEN, Ph.D., STRASSBURG.

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the 19th chapter of the second book on the *Sayurgahs* is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy *sanads* discussed here may therefore claim some interest<sup>23</sup> as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information.

The general points concerning the granting of *Sayurgahs* being well known, I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the *sanads*, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation. They belong chiefly to the *pargana* of Batāla (spelt Batālah or Batālā, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watālah) in the Panjāb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarābād, Jalālābād, Biāh, Chamāri, Dābhāwāla, and Patihāibatpūr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwānpūr, Faizuddinpūr, Harpūr, Kartārpūr, Rahimābād, Rasūlpūr

<sup>22</sup> The translation gives a free rendering of the Gurmukh reading; *sanads* *asa*, literally "only possible by arrows."

<sup>23</sup> The word *dharmaśāstra* or *dharmaśāstra* has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of *Śaṅkṣi*, *Śruti* and similar terms in Sanskrit.

<sup>24</sup> These *sanads* were obtained by Mr. C. J. Rogers, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjāb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lucknow Museums.



and Shāhjahānpūr, belonging to the *pargana* of Batāla, or Pādishāhpūr *alias* Kalānkhurdpūr, belonging to Patlhaibatpūr, or with localities in Batāla as the *masjid-i-jāmi-i-kalān* 'the large jāmi-mosque' and the *maḥalla-i-qāzī Isma'īl Muhammad* 'the quarter of judge Ism'ail Muhammad.' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bābar, Jahāngir, Shāhjahān, Aurangzēb, Shāh 'Ālam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shāh, Ahmad Shāh, and Timūr Shāh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qāzīs that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred *big'has*, an allowance that Badāuni (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 *big'has* or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The *big'ha* is defined as a *jarīb-i-shastgāzī*, i.e. 60 *gāz* long and by 60 broad;† If fractions of *big'has* occur we find *bisṭas*, but no *bisṭānas*. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements in question are given on the back, written in *siyāqat*-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words *wa ghairuhū*, *wa ghairuhā*, or seldom *wa jamā'atuhū*, with or without the added *sharikā-i* (for men and women), viz., *sharikahā-i farman*. A *farman*, e.g., generally concerns *musammāt Maulānā Khātib wa ghairuhū*, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulānā Hāmid, Maulānā Ahmad, and Maulānā Ya'qūb; or it is about *musammāt Daulat Khātūn wa ghairuhā*, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khātūn, Bibi Aima, Bibi Fātima, and Maryam Khātūn, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a *mushār ilāhī*. A *farman* of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (*paimādan u chak bastan*) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned. We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (*batawārīk u sanīn-i mukhtalifa*).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word *sayārghāl* is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bābar's time, and the Arabic *aima* seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian *madad-i-usūl* is used. If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family. Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makka and Madina. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new *farman* therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A sanad of Shāhjahān's reign mentions

† Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badāuni (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenue of a thousand *big'has*.

an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the *Sūba* of Lāhōr to part of the property of the testators in *sayūrghāl*-land, viz., to 58 *big'has* 8 *biswas*; in one case the number of 107 *big'has* 8 *biswas* is diminished therefore by 49 *big'has* that were again made domain lands (*khālīsa sharīfa*), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the *śadre* and *qāzis*—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (*Ain-i Akbari*, vol. I, p. 108)—I may mention here that *sayūrghāls* are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called '*Institutes of Amīr Timūr*,' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305). Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batāla often by the *mudarras* of the *jāmi'*-mosque and the *mufli*. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a *yāddāsh-i waqf'a* was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire.' This was also the common benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. '*Alamgir-nāma*, p. 591).

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all *sayūrghāl*-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (*zamia-i aḥḍā-i lā'iq-i-cirā'at*) and sometimes *banjar*-land, i.e., such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (*Ain-i Akbari*, vol. I, p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these *farmanhā-i thābit*—such were issued for conferring *sayūrghāls* according to the *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bābar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (i.e., 250 rupees) to Qāzi Jalāl, judge of Batāla, in A.H. 923, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words *Zahīr-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābar* and the date 923, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amīr Timūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first *sayūrghāl*, besides the *tughrā*, bear only the seals of the emperors, viz., Jahāngīr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allāh; 'Ālamgir—a square exactly like that of Jahāngīr's, only larger; and one with the seal of prince Aurangzēb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th *Jumādī'l awwal* 1069 (30th January 1659), the *fulūs* being on the 24th *Ramazān* (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words *Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādūr Ghāzi thānī-i Shāhī-qirān thānī*.<sup>2</sup> These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 147, note 22.—A drawing of Aurangzēb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Row's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (*cf. Histoire générale des royaumes Pers 1740 sup. vol. XI, p. 57*).



now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair *ta'liq*, except Bābar's one (that measures 13 by 7½ inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar's and Jahāngir's time we find the *Hīshī* era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed.

There are also some sanads granting *saydārghāts* sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter.\* The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch's; it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about 8½ inches; the writing generally is very irregular. Sometimes the *Sadr ul-sudūr* commands the performance of an imperial *farmān* and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in 'Ālamgir's time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahāngir and Shāh 'Ālam the seals also of the *Dīwān* or of the *Khān Khānān* were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar's reign in these cases the Qāzi's seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people. If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals.

There occur as sealing *Sadr ul-sudūr's*:

Rizawī Bukhārī, 24th year of 'Ālamgir (who died in the same year,—conf. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgirī*, p. (207) and *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharif Khān, 25th year of 'Ālamgir (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgirī*, p. 219);

Asad Khān, 15th and 32nd years of 'Ālamgir (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Āsāf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khān. He is styled *Tarkhān* in another *farmān* (16th year); and

Amjad Khān *Sadr Jahān*, 49th year of Shāh 'Ālam.

Not bearing the title of *Sadr ul-sudūr* on their seals, as also Asad Khān does not, but in that function, appear:

Siyādat Khān, 38th year of 'Ālamgir (with the date 1096, 29 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, cf. *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. II, p. 495);

Amin Khān Bahādur, 47th year of 'Ālamgir (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amir ul-Umarā, 48th year of 'Ālamgir (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals: that of the *Dīwān* (-i *qul*) and that of the *Sadr*, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the *Dīwān* is (besides *Afn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 193, line 6 *et seq.*) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of 'Ālamgir which bears Hāfiz Khān's seal, who in that year became *Dīwān* of Lāhōr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharārāi Begum, younger sister of the emperor (*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgirī*, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mir Khwāja Shāh, who is here exceptionally styled *Sadr*. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the *isādāt* and the *dīwān* (-i *sa'ādat*) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The *sadr's* seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the *Dīwān* is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der kaiserlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft IV, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, herausgegeben von Paul Harn und Georg Meißner, Berlin, 1891, p. 28.) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name.

king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his *post-mortem*-title). The following *Dīwāns* and *Sādes* appear together:

Šābir 'Alī and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngir,

Diyānat Khān and Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādirī, 23rd year of 'Ālamgir (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal);<sup>4</sup>

'Abd Ilāhyārnl-Husainī and Aslam Khānazād, 33rd year of 'Ālamgir (with the dates 1089, 21, *viz.*, 1093, 27 on the seals);

Mir Ahmad Khān and Aslam Khānazād, 37th year of 'Ālamgir (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal);

Abū (?) Kāzim and 'Abd ul-Bāqī, 44th year of 'Ālamgir (with the dates 32, *viz.*, 1110, 42 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh 'Ālam (with the dates 1120, *viz.*, 1119, 1 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first year' on his seal, as also in the following case);

Fazl 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyā uddīn Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mir Muhammad Šālih, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1133, *viz.*, 1134 and 1135 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid 'Asiz Khān, 10th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1139, 9 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Mirakshāh Khān, 14th year of Muhammad Shāh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Sultān Husain Khān Mausawī, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, *viz.*, 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mir Muhyi'ddīn Mausawī, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Islāh Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mirak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamsherbōg Khān Khānazād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Timūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Šadr ul-Šudūr). Except the farmāns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a *tughra* has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless.

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the *sādes* themselves.

On some signets the possessors are styled *murīd* or *murīd-i pādishāh*, a title introduced by Akbar.

<sup>4</sup> Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādirī occurs as *Šadr ul-Šudūr* also in the text of some *sādes* from 'Ālamgir's 22nd year. The Qādirīs were a *darwāsh* order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, *Petermann, No. 721*, (*cf.* Fortsch, *Vorlesungen der germanischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 323, I, p. 276).—Khānazāds were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (*cf.* *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. I, p. 707).



There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the *pargana* of Batāla, viz., 251 rupees for 100 *big'has*, 20 rupees for 5 *big'has*, 42 rupees for 15 *big'has* 17 *biswas*, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 *big'has* *banjar*-land, and 60 rupees for 20 *big'has* *camīn-i bārānī*, the price of the *big'ha* varying therefore between 2½ and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Shāh, the rupees and the annas being specified as '*ālamgīrī*'. In Shāh 'Ālam's time once *Buhlālī* or *Dām-i 'ālamgīrī*'s are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the Qāzī as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batāla were according to our sanads:—

Qāzī Arjumand in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qāzī 'Atā Ullāh, son of 'Azīm Ullāh, 1139, on the seal 1120; Qāzī Ahilyat Ullāh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qāzī Mir Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Wālī Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qāzī Hibat Ullāh, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just Qāzī Ghulām Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Ālamgīr's 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1123, and 1126 the desired Ghulām Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Wālī Ullāh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Wālī Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Shāh Mir Muhammad, son of Mir Muhammad Qāīm, was appointed judge of Batāla, as successor of Amānat Ullāh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Shāh's accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mir Mubayyidin Khānazād, 1118, and Shamsaherbēg Khān Khānazād, 1161. That Jalāl was Qāzī of Batāla in A. H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, e.g., one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to Shaikh Nār Muhammad and his companions in Patihaihatpūr, to be paid by the *fautadār* of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pādishāhpūr *alias* Kalānkhardpūr in the *pargana* of Patihaihatpūr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the *fautakhāna*, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text\* of three *sayārghāl-sanads*, together with their English translations:—

درینوقت میمنتعزلی فرمان واکتای واجبالتعالی صادر شد که چهل بیگانه زمین افتاده تلقی زراعت خارج جمع از یزید جمعی مضاف بصورت پنجاب دروجه مدد معاش مستات راج بی بی و غیرها حسبالتصمیم مقرر بشد که حاصل آنرا صرف مالتعلاج امره بدعای بقای دولت ابدطراز مواظبت نمایند باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کورزیانی حال را استقبال اراضی مزبور را پیموده و یک بساء بقمرت آنها بازگذازند و اصف و مطلقاً

\* I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals.

تغییر و تبدیل ابدان راه نمودند و بعضی مثل وجهات و اخراجات مثل قتلعه و پیشکش و جریبله و ضابطه و محتسبه و مهرانه و داروفاکانه و پیکار و شکار و مقنمی و قتلوتلی و ضبط هر ساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار و راحت و کل مطالبات سلطانی و تکالیف دیوانی مزاحم نشوند و اندرین باب هر سال سند میوند نطلبند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند و نیم شوال سال چهارم از جلاله نوشته شد.

## TRANSLATION.

"In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 *big'has* of fallow land, capable of cultivation, allodial to the *pargana* of Chamāri that belongs to the *kūba* of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee upon P. P. Rāj Bibi and companions. They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, *jāgir*-holders and *krōris* having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as *qutlughā*, presents, the rates of *jarībāna*,<sup>\*</sup> *zābitāna*, *muhakkilāna*, *mahrāna*, *dāvoghāna*, for war and chase, the *muqaddimī* and *qāwāngōgī*, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered." Written on the 29th Shawwāl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (viz. of 'Alamgir)."

On the back the text of the *yādhasht-i wāqī'a*, dated Monday, the 13th Rabi II, of the 39th year (21st November, 1695) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Rāj Bibi's companions, viz., Nār Bibi, Šāhib Khātūn, and Sharifa Bānū, each of them getting 10 *big'has*.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

خدمت ملنزل  
حضرت محمد شاه دانشمند عالی خند ملنزه ابد  
گماشتیهای جاگیرداران و کوزرانی حال و استقبال یکرنگه بدلا مضای صریح پنجاب بدانند چون بموجب فرمانعالی شاه حضرت مرقوم بتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنه ۳۰ موزای پنجاب واک یکرنگه زمین از یکرنگه مذکور در وجه مدد معاش عمده نورخان و غیره شرکایی قریب و عبدالغنی و غیره ورت محمد عاقل و غیره بتجویز صدر سابق مقوم است درینکه بتصدیق تقات بوضوح بدوستان که مشار الیه هم حی و قائم و اراضی مزبوره را قابض و متصرف اند و از ممر دیگر وجه معیشت ندارند بدو بر آن بتصدق فرقی مبارک بتدای حضرت خدیو جهان خداوند زمان باعث امن و امان ظل ظلیل ایزد متعال نالقب فیصل دادار بیپایال مظهر اتم یزدانگار رحمت اتم آنریدگار مقنن قوانین جهاندار میمید مهاد کرم گستر خفانت بدلا ظل اراضی مرقومه از محتقدیم بدستور سابق بشرط فیض و تصرف حسب الضمن مقوم و مستم داشتند می باید که زمین مسطوره را در تصرف آنها واکداشته ام و مطلقاً متصرف

<sup>\*</sup> In other sanads the *Chaudhāris* (I cannot understand for what reason Hichmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his *Āl-i Akbarī*-edition, cf. vol. I, p. 198, line 13, instead of putting it into the text), *Qandaghis*, *Amradilams* and *Mālikas* are said to have taken part and consented to this act.

<sup>\*</sup> These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.

<sup>\*</sup> I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'if they should have possessed something in another place (besides the above *saydghā*) it should not be taken notice of, but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the contents.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Corrected from *marpāmas-e* according to other sanads.



نخست تا عاقبت آنرا فصل بقفل و سال بسال صرف مالتخاچ خردما ساختہ ہدعای درام دولت ابدطراز مواظبت  
مینمودہ باشد و اگر در محتاج چیز می داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار ننهد شرح تحریر فی تاریخ مردم شہر جمعی الاول  
سنہ ۱۸ جارس متعلی مطابق سنہ ۱۱۳۸ ہجری القیس شد \*

## TRANSLATION.

"Shāh 'Ālam."—His Majesty Muhammad Shāh-i Ghāzī, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the *Jāgīr*-holders and *Krōris* of the *pargana* of Bātālā, belonging to the *śūba* of the Panjāb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bān of the third year (i.e., of Shāh 'Ālam), 59 *bīg'has* of the land of the *pargana* stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former *Sādres* upon P. P. Nār Khātūn and companions, partners of the *farmān*, and upon P. P. 'Abd-ul-Ghānī and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Āqīl and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an aim of the blessed head of the slave (of God), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the saylum of the khālfate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise<sup>11</sup> it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd *Jumādī'l awwal* of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (i.e., of Muhammad Shāh), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (the 20th September, 1735)."

On the back the endorsement of Shāh 'Ālam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nār Khātūn's partners were 'Azīz Khātūn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Āmilā, Shams Khātūn, daughter of Ilyās, Hayāt Bānū, those of 'Abdul Ghānī's Jān Bibī, Šāliha Bānū, etc.

Bābar's sanad runs—<sup>12</sup>

والغالب

دعای ظہیر الدین محمد بابر غازی

دربین وقت درمن جہلی مطاع و لجب التباع شرف لغات یافت کہ چہ موضع منہجراک ہر روزی از پرگنہ  
رتاہ کہ جمع رسمی آن مینع بالچہزار تددہ سیلہ است برسم سوزغال تعلق بقضی جلال قاضی پرگنہ مذکور است

<sup>11</sup> *Shahid-manzil* was Shāh 'Ālam's post-mortem-name.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. note 6.

<sup>13</sup> This *farmān* is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the trace is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jāmī Khān Ghilāf at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the names of the village is quite tentative.

میداشته حال بر همانستور بدر متعلق شش سده و بعثت مال و جیات و سایر منجیهات مزاجم و متعوی مشارالیه  
 نشوند و بعرض شد و حوالی آنرا می آمد که باین موجب معنی [۹] خاتم بتصریح شد و مرسانه بقومانی و پیرانچه  
 مجدد محتاج ندانند در (مان) [۹] بقصرها تحریر شد فی شهر ذی قعدة سنه ۹۳۳

## TRANSLATION.

"He (God) is the conqueror!

"*Farmān* of Zaidr-uddin Muhammad Bābar-i-Ghāzī.

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharākal, belonging to *pargana* Watāla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-tankas (250 Rupees) and which as a *Saydārghāl* has been bestowed upon Qāzī Jalāl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit-rents, *jihāt* and *adīr mutawajjihāt*." On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new farmān or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at . . . . . in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month Zi Qa'da, 933 (began the 30th July, 1527)."

On the back the following words are written:—

"Order of the chief wazīr of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh....."

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

## XXXVIII.—FURTHER PĀBHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr. Führer (*ante*, p. 240ff), the Pābhosā cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donors or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

## No. I.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Śrī-Prayagān var[?]uttam[?](p[?])odhaki(?)h

L. 2. Suttadhār[?] akham[?]atah

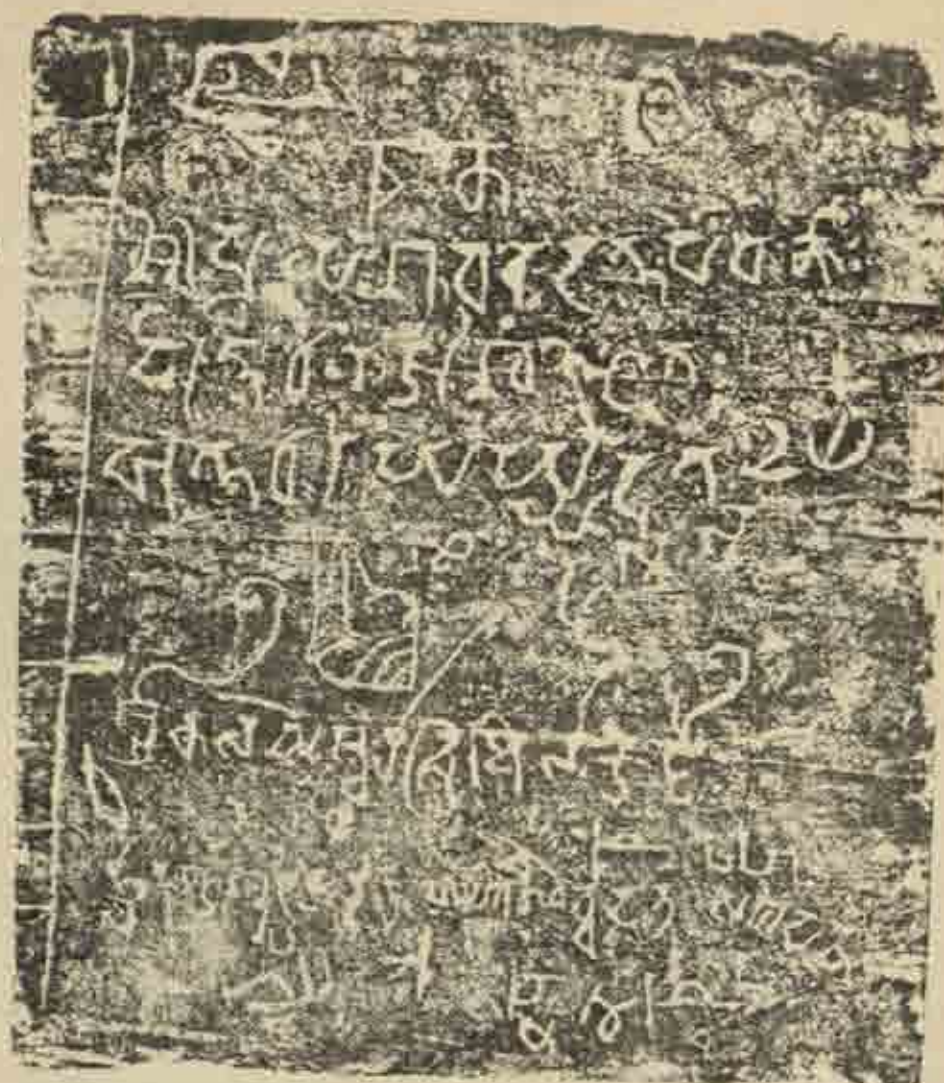
L. 3. Suttadhār[?] yayyo[?] ubha[?] daya [?]

Above L. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for *jāś*, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

\* Otherwise *adīr jihāt*.



PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS: ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.



*Pl. 1. Facsimile, reprint.*

*Pl. 2. Facsimile, reprint.*

# PARHOSA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE BERNICK HED, INSIDE THE CAVE.



ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE.



Dr. A. F. C. C. C. C.

Revised 1/1/1910.



is *ka*. Below L. 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters.

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[ā\*]ga" and (2) the mention of two *sūtradhāra* or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: *Śrī-Prayāgād Varaputro Modhakt* (or *Podhakt*), *sūtradhāro' khaṇḍiloh sūtradhāro Yayya ubha[yoh\*] dayam* or in English "From glorious Prayāga, the unblamed mason Modhakin (or Podhakin) son of Vana, (and) the mason Yayya (*Jajja*),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

## No. II.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kalase[śe\*]śvarādiśi(?)lā kuṭṭi

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; *kuṭṭi* is probably a mistake for *kuṭṭ*, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the *Ṭisarga*, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The *cella* (or temple) of glorious Kalāśeśvara and the rest." *Kalāśa* is the name of a *Nāga*, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous *Nāga*, (see *ante*, p. 241).

## No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: *revadanta* towards the end of the line.

## No. IV.

[Nanda]dattaprasādo lol . . . . .

## No. V.

Deva . . . . .

## No. VI.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Om. Ke[Ki\*]raṇe[śv]arī(?)lā(?)kedali(?)va . . . sya [i\*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called *Kīraṇeśvari*, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

## No. VII.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Kīraṇe[śva]rīśi[i\*]ka[r\*]ttā [i\*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (the statue of) glorious *Kīraṇeśvari*" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.

## No. VIII.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kṛṣṇagopitrūpakarttā [३]

The second *ta* of *karttā* looks like *sa*. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Kṛṣṇa and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

## Nos. IX AND X.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasyah[ya\*] :

Kiranabhojak[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kirana (i.e. *Kiraneśvarī*).<sup>1</sup>" If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows:— "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosa cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayāga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the *Bhojaka* of Kiraneśvarī, to the *Nāga* Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous *Nāga*.

## XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTH PRASASTIS.

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kangra district and spent some days at Kiragrāma, where he studied the Baijnāth *Prasastis* on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says:—

"Navagrāma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Naur,<sup>1</sup> where the temple still owns 2½ *halas* of land. Naur lies about 3 miles west from Kiragrāma and belongs to the ancient pargana of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kangra, Palam<sup>2</sup> was turned into Palampur,

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit prototype of Naur would be Navapura, which probably was another name of Navagrāma.—[G. B.]

<sup>2</sup> The Kangra Gazetteer still mentions Palam.









L. 45, Read *mejālāye*, i.e. *mejālāye*. In Jaina Prakrit *moryādā* becomes *mejā*, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prakrit generally are changed to *ero*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*.

L. 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejālāye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *taṇḍā*; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣyas* of the Jain literature. The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. XXIV, p. 800). Though *se* and *si* refer to *all genders and numbers* we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣyas* a special plural form *siṃ* which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *teṣāṃ* (*teṣām*), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read *vādaka* for *vafaka* (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently *hiroga* for *hirogo* (10), *pali-bhāyo* for *patibhāgo* (12), *patibhāgo* for *pattibh-* (21), *tticās* for *tticās* (30), *pilā* for *pilā* (41), *dattā* for *datā* (48), *kada* for *kaḍa* (51), *brāhmaṇa* for *brahmāṇa*, and *lekhakha* for *lekhaka* (52).

#### SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF SIVASKANDA- VARMAN. (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Sivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggithoma*, not *aggithoma*, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with *ttḥa* and *ttḥa*. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit *śṭha* or *śṭha* is represented occasionally by the dental *tenuis* and the *tenuis aspirata*. Thus, we have in literary works for *krośṭhi* 'a jackal,' both *koṭṭhuka* and *koṭṭhuka*, or even *kuṭṭhu*, as well as forms in *ttḥa* for various past participles in *śṭha*. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer *sethi* and *sethi* for *śreṣṭhin*; Aśoka's New Edicts both *eiṇṭha* and *eyuṣṭha* for *eyuṣṭha*. In such words the Pali *ttḥa* probably goes back to originals with *sta*, similar to those in the Shāhbāgarhi version of the Rock Edicts, where we find *areṣṭa* for *śreṣṭha*, *dipista* (3rd pers. sing. aor. 1st aor.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form *adipishṭa*.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating *eiṇṭha saratṭha*, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not *māḍabika*, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read *ma*. Professor Leumann's restoration *māḍabika* "governors of Maḍambas," instead of *māḍabika* "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word *maḍamba* (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term *maḍamba*, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: *maḍambāni sarvato'rdha yojandī parato'asthitagrāmāni*.

(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *śraṅghādihikate* and *ettha* for my *śrayadhikate* and *chattha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Samcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for *bhadamanussāya* is separated from *parihāraṃ* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *samcharantakabhadamanussāya parihāraṃ vitarāma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to *Samcharantakas*, etc.;" it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihāra* by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the Jātakas several passages where *parihāra* has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihāra*, and there is the compound *kumāra-parihāra* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pilā* (not *pilā*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) *Majāḍḍe* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejāḍḍe*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 3, 29, 41)

(L. 46.) As *śi* is permissible for *tesim*, *etesim* and *esim*, according to Hemachandra *Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent *si* in *cha si* should be written separate. *Si* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majāḍḍe*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 25; vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.



## TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

BY HERMANN JACOB, PH.D., SANSKRIT PROFESSOR, BONN.

In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 403 ff.), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1. Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic); then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (see vol. I, Table XXV).

2. Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic. This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic; and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in *ghatikās* and *vināḍīs* between the risings of both supposed suns,<sup>1</sup> for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question; e.g., in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long. ☉ and 20° terr. Lat. the difference in rising is 1 *gh.* 22 *c.* If the trop. Long. ☉ is entered in the index to the *left*, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; if on the index to the *right*, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3. We thus find the time of rising of the *mean* sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the *true* sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun; at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign —, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises *later* than the mean one; if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises *before* the mean one; always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in *vināḍīs* is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

<sup>1</sup>Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.

sign, and equal to the mean.<sup>2</sup> As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 30° and 60° trop. Long.) takes up 8.79 *vinādīs* in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4. Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the *ayanāmbās* (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the *ayanāmbās* is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, e.g., we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the *ayanāmbās* were—

16° 14' 42", viz. K.Y. 4600 =	15° 0' 0"
80 years =	1° 12' 0"
3 " =	0° 2' 42"
<b>Ayanāmbās =</b>	<b>16° 14' 42"</b>

Table XXIX serves for the *Brahma Siddhānta* and *Siddhānta Śiromani*, Table XXVIII, for the other *Siddhāntas*.

5. I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables; for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables.<sup>3</sup>

*1st Example.*—Let it be proposed to calculate the true *Tithi* for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyāishṭha K. Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53' (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 *vin*. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the *Sārya Siddhānta*:—

(a) We calculate the elements: Distance  $\epsilon - \odot$  etc., for the year and day in question, viz.—

	Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$	$\epsilon$ v. An.	$\odot$ v. An.	Corr.
4100 years . . .	69° 45' 0"	217° 8' 30"	232° 44' 16"	+ 20 <i>gh</i> . 54 <i>re</i>
28 " . . .	117° 47' 3"	58° 28' 37"	...	- 14 <i>gh</i> . 43 <i>re</i>
7th Jyāi. . .	60° 46' 54"	97° 16' 26"	34° 29' 46"	
	256° 15' 31"	13° 8' 33"	317° 15' 52"	+ 6 <i>gh</i> . 11 <i>re</i>

(b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. (+ 6 *gh*. 11 *re*. — 14 *re*. = + 5 *gh*. 57 *re*.) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

5 <i>gh</i> . . .	= 1° 0' 57"	1° 5' 19"	4' 56"
57 <i>re</i> . . .	= 11' 35"	12' 25"	56"
5 <i>gh</i> . 57 <i>re</i> . =	+ 1° 12' 32"	+ 1° 17' 44"	+ 5' 52"

(c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.—

256° 15' 37"	13° 3' 33"	317° 13' 52"
+ 1° 12' 32"	1° 17' 44"	5' 52"
256° 28' 6"	14° 21' 17"	317° 19' 44"

(d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

An. $\epsilon$	14° 21' ..	Eq. $\epsilon$ =	- 1° 15' 32"
An. $\odot$	317° 20' ..	Eq. $\odot$ =	- 1° 20' 15"
Sum of eq's		=	- 2° 44' 47"

<sup>2</sup> The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindū calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindū assumes in their calculations.

<sup>3</sup> I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time.



(e) Add the sum of equations to the distance; the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, viz.  $255^{\circ} 28' 9'' - 2^{\circ} 44' 44'' = 252^{\circ} 43' 25''$ .

(f) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the  $\odot$ 's an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XIII.)

$$\begin{array}{r} 317^{\circ} 19' 44'' \\ - 252^{\circ} 44' 10'' \\ \hline \text{Sid. Long. } \odot = 64^{\circ} 35' 28'' \end{array}$$

(g) Find the *ayandāntas* for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{K.Y. 4100} = 7^{\circ} 30' 0'' \\ 28 \text{ years} = 25' 12'' \\ \hline \text{K.Y. 4128} = 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \end{array}$$

(h) Add the *ayandāntas* thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun,—

$$\begin{array}{r} 64^{\circ} 35' 28'' \\ 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \\ \hline \text{Trop. Long. } \odot = 72^{\circ} 30' 40'' \end{array}$$

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the "interval of rising" of the degree of trop. Long.  $\odot$  now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index (0—180) is used, the amount is subtractive; if the index to the right (180°—360°) the amount is additive.

In this case we get, for trop. Long.  $72^{\circ}$  on the 28th parallel, — 1gh. 46s.

(k) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive.

In the present case:  $1^{\circ}$  takes up 8' 24" *vināḍis*, consequently  $1^{\circ} 29'$  will take up 12s. The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as + 12s.

(l) Add (or subtract according to the sign) the *vināḍis* in (k) to the result in (i); find the increase of Dist.  $\epsilon - \odot$  for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist.  $\epsilon - \odot$  (found in e). The result is the true Dist.  $\epsilon - \odot$  for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — 1gh. 46s. + 12s. = — 1gh. 34s.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1gh. = 12^{\circ} 11'' \\ 34s. = 6' 56'' \\ \hline - 1gh. 34s. = -12^{\circ} 6'' \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{This, added to the result in (e), viz., } 252^{\circ} 43' 25'' \\ \text{52'', makes } 252^{\circ} 24' 20''. \end{array}$$

(m) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist.  $\epsilon - \odot$  instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a *Tithi*. This is the case in the present example:  $252^{\circ}$  mark the end of the 21st *tithi* or the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight; but as we found the true distance to be  $252^{\circ} 24' 20''$ , which is more than  $4'$  above the end of the *Tithi*, viz.  $252^{\circ}$ , the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation.

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows:—

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc., for the sum found in (l) to the

result in (e); again, find the equations of  $\epsilon$  and  $\odot$ , as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — *lgk. 34c.* —

	Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$	$\epsilon$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.
1 gh. . . . .	6° 12' 11"	0° 13' 4"	0' 50"
54 v. . . . .	6 54	7 24	34
— 1 gh. 34 v. . . . .	19 5	28 28	+ 1 33
subtracted from . . . . .	255 25 9	14 21 17	317 19 44
makes . . . . .	255 9' 4"	14 0' 40"	317 15' 11"
An. $\epsilon$ 14° 1' eq. = — 1° 13' 40"			
An. $\odot$ 317° 15' eq. = — 1 30 8			
Sum of eq's. = — 2 43 57			
Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$ + 255 9 4			
True dist. 252° 25' 1"			

This then is the strictly accurate *true distance*  $\epsilon - \odot$ . The error in the preceding method was — 47".

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the *Hindu* value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions, for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment. I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through:—

*Ex. 2.*—K. Y. 4128, 4th Bhādrapada; place: Ratnagiri, 17° Lat. and time difference — 34 vin.

	$\epsilon - \odot$	$\epsilon$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.	Cor. An.
(a) 4100 years . . . . .	80° 45' 0"	217° 8' 40"	252° 44' 16"	+ 20 gh. 54 v.
28 " . . . . .	117 47 0	38 38 37	...	— 14 43
4th Bhādra . . . . .	90 3 3	218 11 10	124 11 9	+ 6 11
	288 37 7	131 58 17	40 55 25	(b) + 34
				+ 6 43
(c) + 6 gh. . . . .	1 13 0	1 18 23	5 53	
35 v. . . . .	9 9	9 48	44	(d) eq. $\epsilon$ = — 3° 43' 44"
	284 59 23	133 26 28	47 2 4	eq. $\odot$ = + 1 30 5
(e) . . . . .	— 3 7 39			Sum = — 2 1 39
	282 51 46			
(f) 407° 2' 4" (an. $\odot$ + 389°).				
— 282 44 16				
124 17 43 (ad. Long. $\odot$ )				
(h) + 7 55 12				
132 13 (trop. Long. $\odot$ )				
(i) trop. Long. $\odot$ = 132°, on 17° Lat., Interval . . . = — 32 vin.				
(k) Eq. $\odot$ = + 1° 30' (1° = 10·07 vin.), time of rising . . . = — 18 vin.				
(l) 282° 51' 46"				
— 10 9				Sum = — 50 vin. = — 10° 2'.....(f)
282 41 37 . Result.				

*Ex. 3.*—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgaśīra. Śrinagar, Lat. 34° 0', time difference — 8 vin.

(a) 4300 years . . . . .	345° 24' 0"	276° 1' 30"	282° 43' 55"	— 24 gh. 10 v.
25 " . . . . .	79 27 0	142 21 33	...	— 28 8
4th Mārg. . . . .	137 35 2	358 9 48	214 51 41	
	202 26 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	— 52 18
				(k) + 8
				— 52 10



(e) 52 gh. . = 10° 33' 55"	11° 19' 25"	0° 51' 15"	
10 v. . = 2	2 11	10	
52 gh. 10 v. = -10 53 57	-11 21 34	-51 23	(d) eq. < = + 4° 55' 16"
202 26 2	296 32 56	137 36 34	eq. ⊙ = + 1 31 7
makes . 191 50 5	285 11 22	136 44 9	Sum = + 8° 26' 23"
Sum of eq. + 8 28 23			
(e) 198 16 28			
(f) 496° 44' 9" (an. ⊙ + 360°)	(g) 4309 <i>ayanāmsa</i> . = 10° 30' 0"		
- 282 43 58	25 years . = 22 30		
414 0 16 (sid. Long. ⊙)	4325 K. Y. <i>ayanāmsa</i> . = 10° 57' 30"		
(4) + 10 52 30			
224 52 46 (trop. Long. ⊙)			
(i) trop. Long. ⊙ = 23° on 34° Lat. Interval . = + 1 gh. 32 v.			
(k) Eq. " ⊙ = + 1° 31' (1° = 12. 15), time of rising = 18			
	Sum = + 1 gh. 14 v.		
(j) 1 gh. . = 12° 11"			
14 v. . = 2 51			
+ 1 gh. 14 v. . = 15 2 (added to i)			
108 16 23			
makes . 198° 31' 30" Result.			

6. In §62 of my former paper I have said: "In the *Siddhānta Siromani Golādhyāya*" IV, 20, Bhāskara states that the ancient astronomers\* assumed that at Lankā (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 50 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhāskara's theory. If the value without Bhāskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhāskara calls the *udayāntara*. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1 gh. 24v. instead of 1 gh. 40v., and in (k) we find 8.27 *vin*. instead of 8.23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhāskara (K. Y. 4231) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha ended 46 *ghatikas* after mean sunrise in Lankā on the 18th Vaisākha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniā (26° N. Lat. and + 1 gh. 58 *vin*. time difference)?

First add the time difference to the given Lankā time: 46 gh. + 1 gh. 58v. = 47 gh. 58 *vin*. Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. ⊙ on the 18th Vaisākha: 16° 40'; add the *ayanāmsa* for K. Y. 4682, *viz.* 16° 15'; the sum is the trop. Long. ⊙, 16° 40' + 16° 15' = 32° 55' (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop. Long. ⊙ = 33'; *viz.* 1 gh. 25v. The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; accordingly we must add the interval to mean time. 47 gh. 58v. + 1 gh. 25v. = 49 gh. 23 v. This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniā.

\* Our text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* III, 42, 44, is in accordance with Bhāskara's theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* was fixed not before the 12th century A.D. The *gh* is a still later addition.





TABLE XXVII. (PART B.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 30^{\circ} - 59^{\circ}, 330^{\circ} - 301^{\circ}$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
h.	9-4	9-34	9-22	9-12	9-17	9-11	9-04	8-58	8-52	8-55	8-72	8-73	8-66	8-59	
Long.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	Long.
30°	0 42	0 43	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	330°
31	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 6	1 9	1 11	1 13	329
32	0 44	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 53	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	328
33	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	327
34	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	326
35	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 19	325
36	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 20	324
37	0 47	0 49	0 52	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	323
38	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	322
39	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	1 25	321
40	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	320
41	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 21	1 24	1 27	319
42	0 50	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 26	1 29	318
43	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 27	1 30	317
44	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 32	316
45	0 52	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 30	1 33	315
46	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 31	1 33	314
47	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 32	1 36	313
48	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 37	312
49	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 35	1 39	311
50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 18	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 40	310
51	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	309
52	0 56	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	308
53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 40	1 44	307
54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	1 46	306
55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	305
56	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 44	1 48	304
57	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 26	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 50	303
58	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	1 51	302
59	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 52	301

## PART B.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Pla.	8-52	8-45	8-38	8-31	8-24	8-16	8-08	8-00	7-51	7-44	7-36	7-28	+0-02	
Long.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	Long.
30°	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	-0 22	330°
31	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 43	1 46	0 22	329
32	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 47	1 50	0 22	328
33	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 52	0 22	327
34	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	0 22	326
35	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	-0 22	325
36	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	1 49	1 52	1 56	1 59	0 22	324
37	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 58	2 2	0 22	323
38	1 26	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 40	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 0	2 4	0 22	322
39	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 2	2 6	0 22	321
40	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	-0 22	320
41	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	0 22	319
42	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 13	0 22	318
43	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	0 22	317
44	1 35	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 18	0 22	316
45	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	-0 22	315
46	1 38	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	0 22	314
47	1 40	1 43	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	2 25	0 22	313
48	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	2 27	0 22	312
49	1 42	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 20	2 25	2 30	0 22	311
50	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 8	2 12	2 16	2 23	2 27	2 32	-0 22	310
51	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 58	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 34	0 22	309
52	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	0 22	308
53	1 48	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 6	2 10	2 15	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	0 22	307
54	1 50	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	0 22	306
55	1 51	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 9	2 14	2 19	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 44	-0 22	305
56	1 53	1 57	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 41	2 46	0 22	304
57	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 38	2 43	2 48	0 22	303
58	1 56	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 35	2 40	2 45	2 51	0 22	302
59	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 37	2 42	2 47	2 53	0 22	301

TABLE XXVII. (PART C.—*Trop. Long.  $\odot=60^{\circ}-80^{\circ}, 300^{\circ}-127^{\circ}$* )

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Yrs.	1053	1050	1047	1042	1042	1040	1037	1033	1032	1028	1027	1024	1023	1018	
Long.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	
60°	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 41	1 46	1 49	1 54	300°
61	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	299
62	0 59	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	298
63	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	297
64	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	296
65	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	295
66	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 48	1 53	294
67	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 11	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	293
68	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	292
69	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 10	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 52	291
70	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 52	290
71	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 52	289
72	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	288
73	0 54	0 57	1 3	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	287
74	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 51	286
75	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 51	285
76	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 45	1 51	284
77	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	1 45	1 51	283
78	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	282
79	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 6	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	281
80	0 50	0 54	0 59	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	1 45	1 51	280
81	0 50	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	1 44	1 50	279
82	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	1 44	1 50	278
83	0 49	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	277
84	0 48	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	276
85	0 48	0 51	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 40	1 43	1 50	275
86	0 47	0 51	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 50	274
87	0 47	0 50	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	273
88	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	272
89	0 46	0 49	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 49	271

## PART C.—continued

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	36°	37°	38°
Yrs.	1018	1013	1010	1007	1004	1000	997	994	991	987	983	979	975	972	
Long.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	pk. x.	
60°	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	300°
61	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	299
62	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	298
63	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	297
64	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	296
65	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	295
66	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	294
67	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	293
68	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	292
69	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	291
70	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	290
71	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	289
72	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	288
73	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	287
74	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	286
75	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	285
76	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	284
77	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	283
78	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	282
79	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	281
80	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	280
81	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	279
82	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	278
83	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	277
84	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	276
85	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	275
86	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	274
87	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	273
88	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	272
89	1 54	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 03	271



TABLE XXVII. (PART D.—*Trop. Long.  $\odot=90^{\circ}$  —  $119^{\circ}$ ,  $270^{\circ}$  —  $241^{\circ}$ .)*

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
File.	10-98	11-01	11-02	11-03	11-04	11-05	11-06	11-07	11-08	11-09	11-10	11-11	11-12	11-13	
Long.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	Long.
90°	0 45	0 49	0 54	1 0	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	270°
91°	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	269°
92°	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	268°
93°	0 42	0 46	0 51	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	267°
94°	0 41	0 45	0 50	0 55	0 59	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	266°
95°	0 40	0 44	0 49	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	265°
96°	0 39	0 43	0 48	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	264°
97°	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	263°
98°	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	262°
99°	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	261°
100°	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	260°
101°	0 34	0 38	0 43	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	259°
102°	0 33	0 37	0 42	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	258°
103°	0 32	0 36	0 41	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	257°
104°	0 31	0 35	0 40	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	256°
105°	0 30	0 34	0 39	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	255°
106°	0 29	0 33	0 38	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	254°
107°	0 28	0 32	0 37	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	253°
108°	0 27	0 31	0 36	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	252°
109°	0 26	0 30	0 35	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	251°
110°	0 25	0 29	0 34	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	250°
111°	0 24	0 28	0 33	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	249°
112°	0 23	0 27	0 32	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	248°
113°	0 22	0 26	0 31	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	1 2	247°
114°	0 21	0 25	0 30	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	246°
115°	0 20	0 24	0 29	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	245°
116°	0 19	0 23	0 28	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	244°
117°	0 18	0 22	0 27	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 2	243°
118°	0 17	0 21	0 26	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 0	1 1	1 2	242°
119°	0 16	0 20	0 25	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 2	241°

## PART D.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	36°	37°	
File.	11-54	11-57	11-60	11-63	11-66	11-69	11-72	11-75	11-78	11-81	11-84	11-87	11-90	11-93	
Long.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	pk. s.	Long.
90°	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	2 46	2 51	2 56	3 0	270°
91°	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 40	2 45	2 50	2 55	3 0	269°
92°	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	3 0	268°
93°	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	2 42	2 47	2 52	3 0	267°
94°	1 50	1 54	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	2 46	2 51	3 0	266°
95°	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	3 0	265°
96°	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	3 0	264°
97°	1 46	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	2 46	3 0	263°
98°	1 44	1 49	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 10	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 40	2 45	3 0	262°
99°	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	3 0	261°
100°	1 42	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	2 42	3 0	260°
101°	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 40	3 0	259°
102°	1 39	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 4	2 9	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	3 0	258°
103°	1 38	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	3 0	257°
104°	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	3 0	256°
105°	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	3 0	255°
106°	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 53	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	3 0	254°
107°	1 33	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	3 0	253°
108°	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	3 0	252°
109°	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	3 0	251°
110°	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	3 0	250°
111°	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	3 0	249°
112°	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	3 0	248°
113°	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	3 0	247°
114°	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 22	3 0	246°
115°	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 16	2 21	3 0	245°
116°	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 15	2 20	3 0	244°
117°	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	3 0	243°
118°	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 16	3 0	242°
119°	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 15	3 0	241°

TABLE XXVII. (PART E.—*Trop. Long.  $\odot = 120^{\circ} - 149^{\circ}$ ;  $24^{\circ} - 31^{\circ}$ ).*

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
File.	1024	1030	1036	1041	1046	1051	1056	1061	1066	1071	1076	1081	1086	1091	
Long.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	Long.
120°	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 7	240°
121	0 15	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 2	1 6	239
122	0 15	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 5	238
123	0 14	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	237
124	0 13	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 3	236
125	0 13	0 15	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 3	235
126	0 12	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	234
127	0 12	0 14	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	233
128	0 11	0 14	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	232
129	0 11	0 13	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	231
130	0 10	0 12	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	230
131	0 9	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 55	0 58	229
132	0 9	0 11	0 15	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 55	0 58	228
133	0 8	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 54	0 57	227
134	0 8	0 10	0 14	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 54	0 57	226
135	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 53	0 56	225
136	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 52	0 55	224
137	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 52	0 55	223
138	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 51	0 54	222
139	0 5	0 7	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 50	0 53	221
140	0 5	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 49	0 52	220
141	0 4	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 49	0 52	219
142	0 4	0 5	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 48	0 51	218
143	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 47	0 50	217
144	0 2	0 4	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 47	0 50	216
145	0 2	0 3	0 7	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 46	0 49	215
146	0 1	0 3	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 48	214
147	0 1	0 2	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 48	213
148	0 0	0 2	0 5	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 47	212
149	0 0	0 1	0 4	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 43	0 46	211

## PART E.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
File.	1148	1150	1157	1163	1171	1178	1186	1193	1203	1211	1218	1227	+0 00	
Long.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	pk. v.	Long.
120°	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 4	2 10	+0 22	240°
121	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 8	0 22	239
122	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 2	2 6	0 22	238
123	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	0 22	237
124	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	0 22	236
125	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	1 59	+0 22	235
126	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 51	1 56	0 22	234
127	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	1 49	1 54	0 22	233
128	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	0 22	232
129	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	0 22	231
130	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 47	+0 22	230
131	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 45	0 22	229
132	0 57	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	0 22	228
133	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	0 22	227
134	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	0 22	226
135	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	+0 22	225
136	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	0 22	224
137	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	0 22	223
138	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 25	1 29	0 22	222
139	0 47	0 51	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	0 22	221
140	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 25	+0 22	220
141	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	0 22	219
142	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 16	1 20	0 22	218
143	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 18	0 22	217
144	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	0 22	216
145	0 39	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 13	+0 22	215
146	0 37	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 11	0 22	214
147	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	0 22	213
148	0 34	0 37	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	0 22	212
149	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	0 22	211



TABLE XXVII. (PART F.—*Prop. Long.*  $\odot = 150^\circ - 180^\circ, 210^\circ - 180^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	Long.
Fin.	1000	1005	1010	1015	1020	1025	1030	1035	1040	1045	1050	1055	1060	1065	1070
Long.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	Long.
150°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	210
151°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	209
152°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	208
153°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	207
154°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	206
155°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	205
156°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	204
157°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	203
158°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	202
159°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	201
160°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	200
161°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	199
162°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	198
163°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	197
164°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	196
165°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	195
166°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	194
167°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	193
168°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	192
169°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	191
170°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	190
171°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	189
172°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	188
173°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	187
174°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	186
175°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	185
176°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	184
177°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	183
178°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	182
179°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	181
180°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

## PART F.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	36°	Long.
Fin.	1104	1113	1121	1130	1139	1148	1157	1166	1175	1184	1193	1202	1211	1220
Long.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	pk.	Long.
150°	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	+0 22	210°
151°	0 30	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	+0 21	209
152°	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	+0 21	208
153°	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 53	0 56	+0 20	207
154°	0 27	0 30	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 42	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	+0 19	206
155°	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 52	+0 18	205
156°	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	+0 18	204
157°	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 48	+0 17	203
158°	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 46	+0 16	202
159°	0 22	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	+0 16	201
160°	0 21	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	+0 15	200
161°	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 36	0 37	0 39	+0 14	199
162°	0 18	0 20	0 21	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	+0 13	198
163°	0 17	0 19	0 20	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 35	+0 13	197
164°	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	+0 12	196
165°	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	+0 11	195
166°	0 14	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 29	+0 10	194
167°	0 13	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 27	+0 10	193
168°	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	+0 9	192
169°	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	+0 8	191
170°	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	+0 7	190
171°	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	+0 7	189
172°	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	+0 6	188
173°	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	+0 5	187
174°	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	+0 4	186
175°	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	+0 4	185
176°	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	+0 3	184
177°	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	+0 2	183
178°	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	+0 1	182
179°	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	+0 1	181
180°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	+0 0	180

TABLE XXVIII.—*The Ayudhās for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.\**

K.Y.	Ayudhā.	Years.	Ayudhā.
3000	0' 0'	1	0' 0' 54"
3700	1 30	2	0 1 48
3800	3 0	3	0 2 42
3900	4 30	4	0 3 36
		5	0 4 30
4000	6 0	6	0 5 24
4100	7 30	7	0 6 18
4200	9 0	8	0 7 12
4300	10 30	9	0 8 6
4400	12 0	10	0 9 0
4500	13 30	20	0 18 0
4600	15 0	30	0 27 0
4700	16 30	40	0 36 0
4800	18 0	50	0 45 0
4900	19 30	60	0 54 0
		70	1 3 0
5000	21 0	80	1 12 0
		90	1 21 0

TABLE XXIX.—*The Ayudhās according to the Siddhanta Siromani.*

K.Y.	Ayudhā.	Years.	Ayudhā.
3628	0' 0' 0"	1	0' 1' 0"
3700	1 11 32	2	0 2 0
3800	2 51 22	3	0 3 0
3900	4 31 12	4	0 4 0
		5	0 5 0
4000	6 11 2	6	0 6 59
4100	7 50 52	7	0 8 59
4200	9 30 42	8	0 7 59
4300	11 10 32	9	0 8 59
4400	12 50 22	10	0 9 59
4500	14 30 12	20	0 19 58
4600	16 10 2	30	0 29 57
4700	17 49 52	40	0 39 56
4800	19 29 42	50	0 49 55
4900	21 9 32	60	0 59 54
		70	1 9 53
5000	22 49 22	80	1 19 52
		90	1 29 51

\* Before K.Y. 3500 the Ayudhās are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.



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### ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- Page 2, line 16, and page 7, line 15.—See page 298 note<sup>2</sup>.
- " 7, l. 31—for Tohran read Tolman.
- " 10, l. 3—read inscription.
- " 13, in note<sup>2</sup>,—read *Sāḥ*.
- " 17, l. 25—for Tohran read Tolman.  
l. 35—read *Frahmaddi*.
- " 19, l. 5 fr. bot. for Aditya read Āditya.
- " 25, ll. 1, 2—for Harudā-sij read Harudās-jī.
- " 13, l. 2—from bottom, for Dev 4-karaṇa read Devakaraṇa.
- " 35, foot-note, prefix<sup>2</sup>.
- " 81, l. 27—for mayara read nagara.
- " 87, l. 6—for twenty, read nearly seventy (68).  
" l. 2—for hundred read hundred.  
" 2nd foot-note, prefix<sup>2</sup>.
- " 94, l. 5—for Dhamā-read Dhamaśiva.
- " 126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1.—As suggested by Prof. Anrocht in his *Catal. Catalogorum* the word Śāra of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be translated:  
'The following is a verse of Śāra's,' and  
'This is (a verse of) Śāra's.'
- " 128, l. 41—before which add of.
- " 131, l. 18—for the pardoned deceased son of,  
read son of the deceased pardoned.
- " 133, foot-note, prefix<sup>2</sup>.
- " 134, l. 1—for ابن read ابن and l. 8, read  
I am 'all, son of RAH.
- " 134, ll. 24 and 28, delete "and."
- " 135, l. 18—for درگاه we may read درگاه i.e.  
Dargah Mall.
- " 136, l. 11—from bottom, dele of before the  
renowned.
- " 148, l. 18, from bottom—read انما این شیخ است  
والفقير حقير خاتون (l. 6, from bottom)  
"The poor, wretched Khān Yūnsf Aghā,  
son of Shaikh Yūnsf.
- " 150, l. 20—for تدرع كبريت read تدرع كبريت i.e.,  
(l. 39) his Solomon-like majesty.
- " 154, lines 25, 26, 27, for Bohm read Bohar.
- " 157, l. 6—for قاضي read قاضي
- " 160, l. 12, dele the sign of punctuation after  
Anidic.
- " 161—prefix<sup>2</sup> to the first ante
- Page 162, l. 13—read एकाग्रं<sup>2</sup>.
- " " l. 27—" विनिश्चयः".
- " 175, l. 29—" वृत्ता".
- " " in note<sup>2</sup>—read been ṡ.
- " 176, l. 22—read गति.
- " 180, l. 28—" सहस्रहस्तकर्मणः".
- " 185, l. 23—" शिवः".
- " " l. 25—" शिवरी".
- " 192, note<sup>2</sup> add:—As pointed out to me by Prof.  
Bühler, this verse evidently contains a re-  
ference to the towns of Kalyāṇa, Āśivalli  
and Ayodhyā; but I cannot give yet an  
entirely satisfactory translation.
- " 212, last foot note,—prefix<sup>2</sup>, and add:—Dr. Flint  
informs me, that these copper-plates now  
belong to Gappatsingh bin Nārāyaṅsingh  
Pattewālā, of Saigamner. He also informs  
me that the Garuda of the seal is repre-  
sented as a man, squatting, with his hands  
joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara  
on his head; and that his wings are depicted  
in much the same way as on the Paithan  
and other Rāshtrakūṭa seals.
- " 217, note<sup>2</sup> add:—Dr. Flint, after cleaning the  
original plates, has kindly furnished the  
following notes on the printed text:—In  
line 16 the inserted letters (compare note<sup>2</sup>)  
are syllabified, the *svara* is omitted.—In  
line 29 the reading is "*mudra-māyana-*  
*śrīma*".—In line 30 read the *śrī svara*.—  
In line 31 for [anna] read *aṭha*.—In line 31  
for [tala] read *tāpita*.—In line 33 the  
bracketed characters *va* and *ved* are quite  
clear.—In line 40 read *yama*.
- " 219, l. 51—read *ṣaṣṭha*.
- " 223, l. 64—" वृत्तः".
- " " l. 42—" अन्तरा".
- " 226, l. 3—" तनः".
- " " l. 24—" वृत्तः".
- " 229, l. 41—" Śrīya-rājādātā".
- " 230, l. 39—" शिवः".
- " 238, l. 32—" वृत्तः".
- " 240, note<sup>2</sup>—for Lakshmana read Lakshmana.
- " 255, l. 31—for<sup>2</sup> read (*f*).
- " 265, l. 10—" Poma read Pomtha.
- " 267, l. 21—for P a t h read P a t h.
- " 267, in note<sup>2</sup>—read Laman.



- Page 307, l. 24—read "मर्मर".  
 " 334, l. 15—add the sign of *marga* opposite the figure 8.  
 " 335, l. 4—read "५३".  
 " " l. 11— " "०५३०".  
 " 335, l. 31—put a comma after *was*.  
 " 339, l. 13—put a comma at the end of the line.  
 " 343, l. 9—for which read *whisk*.  
 " 345, l. 6—read *वी००*.  
 " " l. 21— " *मैयार*.  
 " 361, note <sup>28</sup>—for *Kialhorn* read *Kialhorn*.  
 " 366, note <sup>2</sup>, last line—for *See place* read *See plate*.  
 " 367, l. 16 (2nd col.)—for *odātā* read *odātā* [4.]
- Page 411, l. 7—read *मयीमर*.  
 " " note <sup>14</sup>— " *मयीमर*.  
 " 412, l. 10— " *दी म*.  
 " " l. 19— " *मैमरी*.  
 " 418, l. 17— " *विमर*.  
 " " l. 22— " *ममरी*.  
 " 415, l. 34— " *ममरी*.  
 " 416, l. 16— " *ममर*.  
 " 420, l. 23— " *ममर*.  
 " 421, l. 23—add a comma at the end of the line.  
 " 422, l. 24—read *Bāmakirti and Jayakirti*.  
 " " l. 25 for a read *any*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA  
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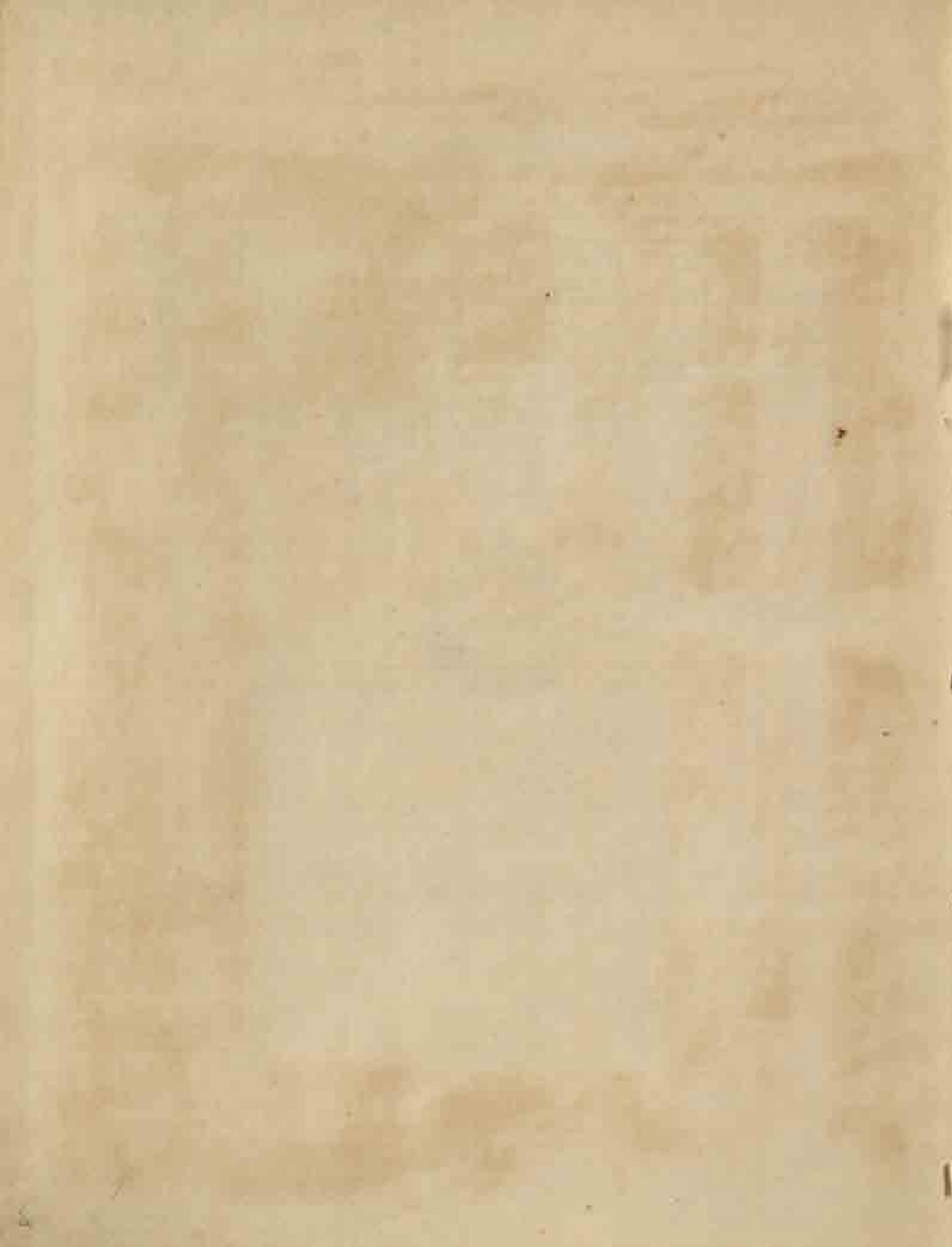
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