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EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

LATE GOVERNMENT EPICHRIST; PROF. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE;
CORR. MEM. OF THE BATAVIA SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCES AT GÜTTINGEN;
MEMBRE ASSOCIÉ ÉTRANGER DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE.

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CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.:—
No. 19. Dhulia plates of Karkaraja; Saka-Saṃvat 701...

T. Bloch, Ph.D.:—
No. 18. Two inscriptions on Buddhist images...

J. F. Fleet, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.:—
No. 7. Chikmagalur inscription of Rāchamalla III., of the period A.D. 989-1005...

T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A.:—
No. 31. Şrāvaṅkāvār plates of Viśudhakśa; Saka-Saṃvat 1308...

T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., and G. Venkoba Rao:—
No. 13. Nilambūr plates of Rāivarman...

Hira Lal, B.A.:—
No. 28. Betul plates of Saṃkshōbha; the Gupta year 199...

Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.:—
No. 2. Tiruvadi inscription of Rāivarman; A.D. 1313...

Professor F. Keilhorn, Ph.D., D. Litt., LL.D., C.I.E.:—
No. 1 and 26. Dates of Chōja kings (continued)...

Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D.:—
No. 4. Śravangala inscription of Irugapa; A.D. 1423...

M. Narayanayani Ayyar, B.A., B.L.:—
No. 32. Madras Museum plates of Śrīgirirhūpāla; Saka-Saṃvat 1346...

Professor R. Pischel, Ph.D.:—
No. 25. Two Prākrit poems at Dhār...

J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.:—
No. 3. Madras Museum plates of Vēma; A.D. 1345...
**CONTENTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E. Senart:—</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 8. The inscriptions in the caves at Nasik</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Venkatya, M.A., Rai Bahadur:—</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 29. Triplicane inscription of Darśivarman</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G. Venkoba Rao:—</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 33. Two Ágimalai inscriptions</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J. Pr. Vogel, Lit.D.:—</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 17. Epigraphical discoveries at Sārnāth</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| INDEX.—By V. Venkatya, M.A., Rai Bahadur | 323 |

**APPENDIX I.—SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NORTHERN INDIA.** By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E. | 1–19 |

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE FOR NORTHERN INDIA, A.D. 400–1400. By the same to face page 20 of Appx. I. |

**APPENDIX II.—SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.** By the same | 1–27 |

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE FOR SOUTHERN INDIA, A.D. 400–1400. By the same to face page 28 of Appx. II.
## LIST OF PLATES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tālpurāṇa pillar inscription of Kēkmūthavārman</td>
<td>to face page 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Junāgadīh rock inscription of Brāhmadāna; the year 73</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nāsik inscriptions.—Plate</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; IL</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; III</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; IV</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; V</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; VI</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; VII</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; VIII</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Dhār prāṣasti of Arjunavārman; Pāṇḍitāṭamāṭāṭ-yādiyā Matūna.—</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate I.</td>
<td></td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The same.—Plate II.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; III.</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>The Chaturmukha-Basti at Kārkāla</td>
<td>between pages 140 &amp; 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Nāgpur Museum plates of Mahabhārata Gupta I. Janañājaya</td>
<td>144 &amp; 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Plates of Vijaya-Skandavārman and Vijaya-Buddhavārman</td>
<td>148 &amp; 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Nīlambhūr plates of Bāvivarman</td>
<td>160 &amp; 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Pīkira grant of Sinhavārman</td>
<td>164 &amp; 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Udākaśālātikā grant of Abhimanyu</td>
<td>to face page 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Asoka pillar inscription at Sārnāth</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Sārnāth inscriptions of Kanishka and Aśoka</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Inscribed Buddhist image from S Sağha</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathura</td>
<td>between page 186 &amp; 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Dhūlīa plates of Karkarāja; Sāka-Sañvat 701</td>
<td>192 &amp; 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Nīgavā plates of Dhruvavetaka II; [Gupta-]Sanvat 820</td>
<td>to face page 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Mount Abū inscription of Tējahrāla; A.D. 1230</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Mount Abū inscription of the reign of Bhūmādeva II; A.D. 1230</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Nānaktal plates of Śrīyār̥iha-Sīkātīya; the year 421</td>
<td>between pages 234 &amp; 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Chandelār plates of Kūmaṇāvishnu II.</td>
<td>238 &amp; 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Chandelār plates of Sarvalāhāra; A.D. 673</td>
<td>to face page 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Prākrit poems at Dhār.—Plate</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; IL</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; IL</td>
<td>between pages 286 &amp; 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Betul plates of Saṃskhābha; the Gupta year 199</td>
<td>to face page 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>The Taxila vase</td>
<td>between pages 302 &amp; 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Śrīpākkā́vita plates of Virūpakṣa; Sāka-Sañvat 1208</td>
<td>313 &amp; 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Madras Museum plates of Śrīgiribhūpāla; Sāka-Sañvat 1340</td>
<td>to face page 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Ayamalai inscriptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 11, last line from bottom,—for Anapotā-Reṇḍi read Anapota-Reṇḍi.
15.—Cancel footnote 1.
22, note 7,—for "His enemies clenched their fists in rage" read "The palms of his enemies' hands closed together in token of submission."
31, paragraph 2, line 7 from bottom,—for Pravaraśena read Pravarasena.
58.—The date of the inscription published by Dr. Fleet on this page is intrinsically wrong, but admits of an easy and certain correction. In the date, as published, the full-moon titiki of Kārttika is joined with the nakṣatra Mūla (the 19th nakṣatra); but in Kārttika the moon is full in or near Kṛṣṇa (the 3rd nakṣatra). On the other hand, an examination of native calendars for different years shows that in the majority of cases the nakṣatra is Mūla on the fifth titiki of the bright half of Kārttika. This observation some years ago, when I first saw the text of the inscription in Ep. Carn. Vol. VI., Roman text, p. 95, at once convinced me that the writer of the text erroneously must have put sūdha-puruṣameṣu (where the word sūdha would really be superfluous) for sūdha-puruṣameṣu. The date thus would give us for calculation the fifth titiki of the bright half of Kārttika, a Monday, and the nakṣatra Mūla; and during the period (A.D. 989–1005), to which according to Dr. Fleet the inscription must be assigned, it would be correct for Monday, the 7th October A.D. 989, and for Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992.

Monday, the 7th October 989, was entirely occupied by the 5th titiki of the bright half of Kārttika, and on it the nakṣatra was Mūla, by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. And on Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992, the 5th titiki of the bright half of Kārttika ended 20 h. 53 m., while the nakṣatra was Mūla, by the equal space system from 5 h. 16 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 50 m., and according to Garga for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

Which of these two days, or whether either of them, is the true equivalent of the original date, it is impossible to say at present.—F. K.

59, No. 8, l. 15,—for (Pr.) read (N.).
78, text line 2,—for Karabena- read Karabena-.
79, l. 5,—for Karabena- read Karabena-.
82, No. 12, text line 1,—for Dnilkapatrena read Dnilkapatrena (i.e. ṛṣṭrṇ). 101, text line 1,—for ṛṣṭrṇ read ṛṣṭrṇ, and for ṛṣṭrṇ read ṛṣṭrṇ.
104, note 1,—for chaṣas read chaṣas.
111, " " 6,— for mahaña? read mahaña?.
115, text line 73,—for samasamakṣara read samasamakṣara.
121, l. 15,—for vār read vār.
123, l. 2 from bottom,—for left side read right side.
126, note 3, l. 3,—for Balagami read Balagami.

1 In 7 calendars out of 12 Mūla is joined with the 5th titiki of the bright half of Kārttika, and in 3 with the 4th titiki; in 2 (in which Kārttika is preceded by an intercalary month) Mūla goes with the 3rd titiki.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 126, note 3, ll. 5 to 12.—[Professor Hultzsch has critically edited the three Udyāvara inscriptions quoted here (Nos. 108, 98 and 97 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1901) on pp. 18, 22 and 23 of Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX., respectively. In the light of his remarks some alterations in this note appear necessary. In numbers 97 and 98 the alternative forms Povuḷa and Udayapura also occur. The word nakara, which I took to mean ‘trading classes’ in both these inscriptions, is taken by Professor Hultzsch as being placed in apposition to Povuḷcha and Udayaparāda, and as meaning ‘city.’ In No. 108 the attribute Pāṭṭi-ōjeyon, which I took as applying to Śvētāvāhana, probably refers to a Śaiva priest. It was not Śvētāvāhana that fell in battle, but a servant of the Ājuva prince Rāpasāgara, named Kāmakāḍa.—H. K. S.]

127, note 2, last line,—for lemmomlested read unmolested.

128, l. 16 from bottom,—for decisively read decidedly.

133, No. 11.—In a letter dated Nagpur, 4th October 1906, Mr. Hiranand communicated to the Editor the following extract from a letter of the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur District, to the Superintendent, Nagpur Museum, dated 15th September 1889:—“The plate (viz. the plates edited on p. 138 ff) was found by Dusti Kulta, resident of Satlamā in the Barpali Zamindari, in June 1897 (read: 1897). He found it under a stone while he was constructing the embankment of his field near the Gandapara.” Mr. Hiranand adds:—“From this it is evident that the Satlamā of the inscription is the very place where the plates were found.”

147, paragraph 5,—for “Muḷṭagi is represented . . . . as forming the eastern boundary” read “Muḷṭagi figures . . . . among the boundaries.”

173, paragraph 2, l. 5,—for Pushyavuddhi read Pushyavuddhi.

183, l. 11,—for southern read northern.—Note the form of rīha in ll. 15 and 31 of the inscription.

200, l. 12 from bottom.—With khaṭtaka Mr. Krishna Sastri compares the Kannaḍa gaddige and the Hindi gaddī, ‘a throne.’

204, l. 14 from bottom.—With aśṭānika Mr. Krishna Sastri compares the aśṭānika of the Southern Jainas; see p. 137, note 4.

216, v. 37,—Regarding this verse see Prof. Kielhorn’s remarks in the Journ. R. As. Soc. 1907, p. 175 ff.

216, v. 42.—Mr. Krishna Sastri remarks:—“I suggest that the word श्रीव be taken as an apposition referring to Yāsōdā, and not independently as is done in the translation. I cannot understand how Kṛishṇa’s splendour was augmented by his mother.”

क्षणविलसनादः अद्वितीयेन यायं वासुकीक्षणविलसनादः।

219, text line 2 f.—Prof. Kielhorn supplies मनवादानसुभराणवत्सले, for Tāmāvalamāḥ.

234, ll. 4 and 7.—In accordance with Vol. IX. p. 50, read Karmāka-rāṣṭra and Kammāka-rāṣṭra (without a).—The same correction has to be made on p. 235, text lines 14 and 16, p. 236, ll. 14 and 17, and p. 238, l. 8 from bottom.

295, note 1, l. 7,—for Tirunaymoḷi read Tiruváyoḷaḥ.

303, note 1, line 1,—for “Sudarśanāchārya who wrote” read “Sudarśanāchārya, also called Naināra, who was the son of Vāgsvijaya, and who wrote”

307, l. 2.—On “Madras Museum” add a footnote:—[No. 16 of Appendix A, in the Annual Report for 1905-06 of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle—V. V.]

318, l. 16,—for “three verses” read “three Sanskrit verses.”

318, l. 7 from bottom,—after “The second inscription,” insert “which is in Tamil, and.”
OF the numerous dates of Chōla kings sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkāyya, I again publish seventeen. Among these, the most interesting—and, I may add, those which have given me most trouble—are perhaps the five dates Nos. 85-89 of Rājarāja II. Parakāśarivarman, which prove that this king, of whom no dates have yet been published here, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A.D. 1146. The date No. 99 reduces the time, previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendrā-Chōla III., to the period from (approximately) the 21st March to the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 94, of Kulottunga-Chōla III., is of the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the dates of his successor Rājarāja III. show that this king commenced to reign already between (approximately) the 23rd June and the 13th August A.D. 1216; and similarly the dates Nos. 96 and 97, of Rājarāja III., are of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, while the years of his successor Rājendrā-Chōla III., as has just been stated, are counted from some time between (approximately) the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 100 belongs to a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chōla, who apparently commenced to reign in A.D. 1331-32.

A.—VIKRAMA-CHOLĀ.

84.—In the Śararāyana-Forumāl temple at Tiruvadi.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*|] Pā-mādu pūṇa . . 
9 . . . kṣa Pārakāśaripanmā.
10 rāna Tribhuvanachakkaravatī [ga*] śrī Vikrama-Śiladēva-
11 kku yā[ṇḍu*] 7vādu Śimha-nāyagr apara-pakshatna ēkā-

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakāśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōlādēva,— on a Thursday, which corresponded to (the day of) Ādrā and to the eleventh sīthi of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.
A date of the month of Simha (July-August) of the 7th year of Vikrama-Chôja would be expected to fall in A.D. 1124, and this date actually corresponds to Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124. This was the 12th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 11th tithi of the dark half (of Sravaṇa) ended 20 h. 6 m., while the naksatra was Ādṛī, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., by the Brahmat-siddhânta for 1 h. 58 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

B.—RAJARÂJA II.

85.—In the Kapardîśvara temple at Tiruvalañju-li.¹

1 Svasti śrī || Pù maruviya [Tir]ru-mâdum . . . . . . . .

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjâdeva,— on the day of Purva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the 7th tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛishchika."

My examination of the four dates Nos. 85-88 has yielded the result that the reign of Râjarâja Parakēśarivarman, i.e. Râjarâja II., commenced between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A.D. 1146.

This date, No. 85, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1146, which was the 27th day of the month of Vṛishchika, and on which the 7th tithi of the dark half (of Mārga-sîra) ended 14 h. 10 m., while the naksatra was Purva-Phalguni, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., by the Brahmat-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

86.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Uḍaiyâr-kōyil.²

1 Svasti śrī || Pù maruviya Tiru-mâdum . . . . . . . .
8 k[ō-Ppara]kēśa-
ārâ[va][d]u Ku-

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjâdeva,— on the day of Magha, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152,³ which was the first day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first tithi of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 15 h. 27 m., while the naksatra was Magha, by the equal space system for 23 h. 20 m., by the Brahmat-siddhânta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

87.—In the Kapardîśvara temple at Tiruvalañju-li.⁴

1 Svasti śrī || Pù maruviya Tiru-mâdum . . . . . . . .
5 k[ō-Pparakēśaripāŋmar-ā] Trî[bi]bhuvanachak[ka]ravattīga śrī-
Râjarâjâ-

¹ No. 622 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
² No. 407 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
³ Between A.D. 1131 and 1178 this is the only day for which the date is correct.
⁴ The Kumbha-sāṅkrânti took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd January A.D. 1112.
⁵ No. 628 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
6 đevaṟku y[āṇ]ḍu paṇmiraṇḍāvadu Mēsha-n[āya]ṛṛu aparā-pakṣhattu navamiyum
B[uda]n-kilamina[m p]eṛṛa Ti-
7 runvpa[itu nā].

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the emperor of
the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to
a Wednesday and to the ninth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1156, which was the 2nd day of
the month of Mēsha, and on which the 9th tithi of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 6 h. 35 m.,
while the nakṣatra was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h.
29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise.

88.—In the Ėkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

1 Svāsti śrī [||*] Pā maruvya Tiru-mādum . . . . . . . . . .
2 . . . . kō-Parakaṇēśaripatma-rāṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaraṇavattiga śrī-
Rājarājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu padinaṇḍāvadu Tai-māsattu pūrva-pakṣhattu

"In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the emperor of
the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Purvaṇavasu, which was a
Thursday and the fourteenth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Tai."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161, which was the 19th day of
the month of Tai (or Makara), and on which the 14th tithi of the bright half (of Māgha)
ended 19 h. 3 m., while the nakṣatras was Purvaṇavasu, by the equal space system and according
to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

89.—In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Āḷāṇguḍi.²

1 Svāsti śrī [||*] Pā maruvya Tiru-mādum . . . . . . . . . .
6 kō-Parakaṇēśaripatma-rāṇa
7 Tribhuvanachchakkaraṇavattiga śrī-
8 Rājarājadēvaṛku yā-
9 vā ṣāṇḍa āvadu . . . .
14 . . . . Mina-nāyāya pā-
15 pūrva-pakṣhattu saptamiyum Viyāsa-k-
16 kilaminaṇum peṛṛa Orōsāqui-nā-
17 . . . .

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the emperor of
the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a
Thursday and to the seventh tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

Between A.D. 1136 and 1299 the only days for which this date would be correct, are
Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1159, and Thursday, the 27th February A.D. 1186, neither of
which could have fallen in the 6th year of the king’s reign. Guided by the results of my calcu-
lations, I therefore assume that the month of Mina has been wrongly quoted in the date instead
of the immediately preceding month of Kumbha. For this month the date regularly corre-
sponds to Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152, which was the 22nd day of the month of
Kumbha, and on which the 7th tithi of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 17 h. 25 m. after

¹ No. 9 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1889; compare South-Ind. Inter. Vol. III. p. 79 and
note 4.
² No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1889.
mean sunrise, while the nakṣatra was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

90.—In the Pātālīlāvara temple at Aridvārāmsāngalam.1

1 1111111111
[cha]karavattigā śr̥̄ raś Madurai koṇḍ-aru[l]iya śr̥̄-Kulō[t]unga-
Śōjādēva[*]kku yāḍu 10svadu pāttāvadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyagrup ara-pasha(kaha)tu
paścaramiym Śevā[y*]-kkilmaiyum pṛya Uttraṇaṭadi-nāl

“In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of the emperor (of the three worlds), the glorious Kuloṭtuna-Śoja Ṛava, who was pleased to take Madurai,—on the day of Uttra-
Bhadrapāḍa, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth tīthi of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong. As in the dates of the inscriptions Nos. 480
and 604 of my Southern List, either the nakṣatra Uttra-Bhadrapāḍa has been quoted errone-
ously instead of Uttra-Pahigun, or the second fortnight instead of the first. My calculation
has shown that really the latter is the case.

The intended day undoubtedly is Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188, which was the
11th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th tīthi of the bright half (of Māgha)
ended 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakṣatra was Uttra-Bhadrapāḍa, by the
Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from
5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

91.—In the Aruṇāchalāśvara temple at Tiruvaṅgaṅamalai.4

1 Svaśti [II]
2 Tiribhuvanaviśvadēva yāḍu Sva[du] . . . . . . . . . .
3 M[i]māṇa-nāyagrup eṭṭān-diyadiyum A[pu]lamum pṛya tiru-Nā[ya]ṛu-
kilmaimai-nāl.

“In the 35th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavirādēva,—on a sacred Sunday which
corresponded to (the day of) Anuraṅgadēva and to the eighth solar day of the month of Mithuna.”

The date should fall in A.D. 1213. In this year the Mithuna-sankrānti took place 3 h. 1 m.
after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna.
The 5th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213; and on this
day the nakṣatra was Anuraṅgadēva, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal
space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

92.—In the Kapariśāvara temple at Tiruvalaṅgi.3

1 Svaśti śr[i] [II]
2 Tir[i]bhuvanachakkar[a]va[t[i]ga[l] Madurayum [I]ra-
3 mum Karuvurum P[a]diyapramudī-ṭṭalaiy[u]-
4 n-goṇḍ-aru[l] vīra-abhāshēkamum vi-
5 jaya-abhāshēka[m] paṇ[a]-ar[y]i[ya śr[i]-Tiri-

1 No. 611 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
2 The beginning of the inscription is built in.
3 Cancel the syllables śr[i] ra.
4 No. 557 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
5 No. 631 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
In the thirty-sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradëva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ilam, Karuvur and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Röhnī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd titthi of the bright half (of Vaiśākha, i.e. the akshaya-tritiya) ended 19 h. 20 m., while the nakshatra was Röhnī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise.

63.—In the Kailâsanâtha temple at Kâlapâl.1

1 Svasti śrī [1] Tribhuvanachakravattiga[,] Mañjhurâyum Ijamâ—Garuvârâ[ma]
Pâṇḍiyaṁ maṇḍi-talaiyum-gōṇḍu [vȓr-]ar-abhishâkamânum vijâ[ya]-r-abhii[shi]-2
kam[m] paṇṇi-arauliya śrī-Tirâ[rvar][ya][ga]viradhâvâku yâ[ṇḍu] 37dn
kkâ[laṃaiyiṇi] perra
3 Kârttikeyâ-nâl.

"In the 37th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradëva, who took Madurai, Ilam, Karuvur and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Krittikâ, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Vrîśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Vrîśchika, and on which the 14th titthi of the bright half (of Mârgasîraha) commenced about sunrise, while the nakshatra was Krittikâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 50 m., according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

64.—In the Kapardîvâra temple at Tiruvâlînjuśi.2

Pâṇḍiyaṁ maṇḍi-talaiyam-kôṇḍu virar-abhishâk[am]mum[vijaya-
abhishēκamumm] paṇṇi[y-a]ruliya śrī-Tribhuvana[vira]dâvâku yâṇḍu 38âvātu
Magattâ nal.

"In the 39th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradëva, who took Madurai, Ilam, Karuvur and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Magha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217, which was the 3rd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first titthi of the dark half (of Mâgha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the nakshatra was Magha, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

1 No. 659 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
2 No. 618 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
3 Read -abhishēκamum.
4 Read -kâlamâyam.
D.—RAJARAJA III.

95.—In the Kapardivāna temple at Tīrūvalāṅkulī. ¹

1 Tīrūbuvanachakkarakattīga[1] ārā[r[a*]rā[r[a*]dēvarkkum āṇḍu cēḷāvadiṇ e[dinvām- āṇḍu Tīr[a-nā]yyrappā-paṣkattu na[vam]yun[m] Tīr- 2 ga[1]-k[i]lamai[yum pegga Pājassattu n[a]].

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[r[a]rā[r[a]dēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth tīṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Tūlā." ²

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224, which was the 11th day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the nakṣattra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But the tīṭhi which ended on this day, 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, tīṭhi of the dark half (of Áśvina).—The result shows that, instead of the word na[vam]yun[m] of the original date, we ought to read aṭṭṭayamīyum.

96.—In the Aruṇachalēśvaram temple at Tīrūvaṇāmalai.³


"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth tīṭhi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248, which was the 15th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 12th tīṭhi of the bright half (of Phālguṇa) ended 21 h. 23 m., while the nakṣattra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

97.—In the Aruṇachalēśvaram temple at Tīrūvaṇāmalai.³


"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth tīṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsa."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248, which was the 29th day of the month of Mēsa, and on which the 13th tīṭhi of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) commenced 6 h. 40 m., while the nakṣattra was Rēvati for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

E.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98.—In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Aṭṭībil.⁴


¹ No. 629 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
² No. 491 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
³ No. 603 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
⁴ No. 586 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
"In the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendrā-Chōjadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 13th September A.D. 1249, which was the 16th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 5th titthi of the bright half (of Śāvina) commenced 1 h. 42 m., while the nakshatra was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

99.— In the Sākhināthasvāmin temple at Avāḷināḷur.1

1. . . Tīribu[va]gaśakkara[va]-
2 ttigal śr[1]-Irāśendira-Ś[0]-
3 Jādēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu 22[va]du
4 Mēla-nāyagrū aparā-pakshattā
5 de( da)śām[i]yum Budāy-kīlāmāyiyum [p]e-
6 ra [Śa]dai[yattu] n[ā].

"In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendrā-Chōja III.,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1267 or 1268. It actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 10th titthi of the dark half (of Vasākha) ended 13 h. 40 m., while the nakshatra was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

This result reduces the time2 during which Rājendrā-Chōja III. must have commenced to reign to the period between approximately the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246.

F.— TRIBHUWANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100.— In the Arunāchalēvara temple at Tiruvanṭalamalai.3

1 Svasti śrt [1*] T[r]ibhuwanāvira-Śōjadēva[rku] yāṇḍu 11āvadu
2 Chitrabāhu-Varṇaḥattā Simha-nāyagṛ aparā-pakshattā la-
3 ptamihum Ve[11]i-ikkilamāyiym pegra Urōśaṇi-nā-
4 .

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōjadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Simha of the year Chitarbāhu."

If the Tribhuvanavira-Chōjadēva of this date were identical with Kulottunaga-Chōja III. who bears the name Tribhuvanavirādēva, the date would fall in A.D. 1188; but for that year it is in every respect incorrect. Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 the only day for which the date is correct is Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342. This day by the southern lunar-solar system fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu (Śaka-saṅvat 1364 expired). It was the 26th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 7th titthi of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 10 h. 8 m., while the nakshatra was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

1 No. 605 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
3 No. 522 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
If correctly recorded, the date would prove that there was a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chója who commenced to reign between approximately the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332 (in Śaka-saṅvat 1253-54).

No. 2.—TIRUVADI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN;
A.D. 1313.

By Professor E. Heltzsch, Ph.D.; Hallé (Saale).

This inscription (No. 34 of 1903) is engraved on the south wall of the Viraṭṭapānēvāra shrine at Tiruvadi near Paṇḍurīṭi in the Cuddalore tāluka of the South Arcot district. It consists of a passage in the Sanskrit language and the Grantha alphabet, and of a sentence in the Tamil language and alphabet.

The Sanskrit portion (I. 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Raṭganātha inscription of Ravivaran, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,1 as far as the word Kulāśekharadeva. The Tamil portion (I. 3 f.) records that Ravivaran alīs Kulāśekharadeva bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Viraṭṭapānēm temple at Tiruvadigaṭ2 in the fourth year of his reign, the Kaṭiyūga year 4234 and the Śaka year 12]35, on the day of Rōhiṇī, Saturday, the eleventh titthi of the first fortnight of Makara.

Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that this date corresponds to Saturday, the 29th December A.D. 1313, when the 11th titthi of the bright half ended 6h. 14 m., and the nakṣatra was Rōhiṇī for about 21 hours, after mean sunrise.

In verse 4 of the Aruḷaḷa-Perumāḷ inscription of the same king we are told that he stayed at Kāṭchi in his fourth year.3 The subjoined inscription is dated in the same year, and adds the information that this year corresponded to A.D. 1313.

TEXT.4


1 Above, Vol. IV. p. 149. 2 For this ancient name of Tiruvadi see above, Vol. VII. p. 163. 3 Above, Vol. IV. p. 147. 4 From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao.
TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Line 3.) (In) the fourth year of this (king),—the Kaliyuga year 4414,—the Sa[ka year 12]35 separated from this,9—at the day of Rôhini, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh uthi of the first fortnight of the month Mâkara current after this (Saka year),—Ravivarman-Mahârâja alias the lord Kulasêkharadêva was pleased to bathe up to the pinnacle the Vâna-Kaiyilaya-Tirumalai9 (as) the temple of the lord of Tiruvirattâpam, the god of Tiruvadigaï, and to fix the stones which were bulging out. Hail! Prosperity!

No. 3.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA;
A.D. 1345.

By J. RAMAYYA, B.A., B.I.

This inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which are deposited in the Madras Museum, and I edit it from ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Prof. Hultsch. The plates are engraved on both sides, except the first plate which is engraved on one side only. The ring and seal are missing. The letters are bold and legible. The characters are of the old Telugu type. The language is Sanskrit, except the portion describing the boundaries of the village of Atukuru, which is in Telugu.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Vishnu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v. 2). In that caste was born Vêmaya, the founder of a family (rashia-karti, v. 3). To him was born the great hero Kômați-Prôla (v. 4), whose wife was Annemâmbâ (v. 5). To Kômați-Prôla, Annemâmbâ bore five sons:—Mâchâ, Vêma, Dödçaya, Annaya and Mallaya (v. 6). Of these Vêma ruled the earth (v. 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad mânse chiefs,8 a very Agasty to the ocean which was the Mîrachchhası (v. 9), and bore the biruda Râyachêkô figura (v. 10). King Vêma restored all the agrahâras of Brahmânas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mîrachchhas kings from (the time of) king Vira-Rudra of the Kâtati-varâsa (v. 12). King Vêma, surnamed Sri-Pallava-Trinëtra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghôjerâya-Gângia8 (v. 13). Vêma's

1 Restore Sakadham 1235.
3 The meaning of this expression is perhaps: *separately stated along with this (Kaliyuga year).*
9 I.e. 'the holy mountain of the heavenly Kallâs.' This seems to have been the name of the central shrine in the Tiruvirattâpam temple.
9 The reference seems to be to the hill-chiefs whom Vêma vanquished.
9 I.e. the Mûhammada.
9 This person seems to have been the family Guru of the Rêdja. He is referred to in Śrînâtha's Bhûmikâhâpasam and Kâdîkâhâpasam as Ghôjerâya-Bhimaya-Guru and Ghôrârâya-Bhimôvarâ, respectively.
capital was the city of Addanki in the country of Pungi, which extended from the eastern
slopes of Śrīgiri\(^1\) to the eastern sea\(^2\) on both sides of the river Kuṇḍī (vv. 14 and 15). At an
eclipse of the moon on Chaitra\(^3\) in the Śaka year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons
(6) and the suns (12).— in figures 1287,— in the presence of Māṇḍūka-Samhbu,\(^4\) king Vēma
gave as an agnāhāra to several Brāhmaṇas the village of Ātukūru, which was situated on the
northern bank of the river Krishnā, and which was renamed Vēmapuram after the donor
(vv. 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account
of the boundaries of Ātukūru,— boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and
which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory
verses and the signature Śrī-Pallava-Trinēṭra (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the Redḍi dynasty as yet discovered. There is another
inscription of Vēma at Amarāvati, also dated in the Śaka year 1267,\(^5\) but in the month of
dhātikā. The Śaka year quoted in the subjimed inscription was the expired and not the current
year, and the date of the grant corresponds to Friday, the 16th March A.D. 3146, on which
date there was, according to Professor Kielhorn, "a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 49 m.
to 22 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India." In the Amarāvati inscription
the corresponding cyclic year is given as Pārtihivā.

I have not met with the name of Pungi elsewhere and cannot say whether it has anything to
do with Ongole, which is a contraction of Vaṅgavālū—the town of Vaṅga. It would perhaps
be more fanciful to derive the word from Pāṭa in Pākanāḍu. The country of Pungi comprised
parts of the modern districts of Kurnool, Nellore and Kistna. The village Ātukūru I identify
with Gani-Ātukūru—west of Bevāḍa. Addanki is the well-known village of that name in
the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district and is the head-quarters of a Deputy Tahsildar. The
river Kuṇḍi is the Guṇḍalakamma of the map and is called Brahma-Kuṇḍi and Kuṇḍi-Prabha
in the Amarāvati inscription.

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the Redḍi chiefs open with
Kōmaṭi-Prōla. This inscription gives us the name of Prōla's father Vēma, after whom his
illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu Harivānasam, which
was dedicated to Vēma, the donor of the present grant. In this book Vēma is called indiscriminately
Vēma, Kōmaṭi-Vēma, Prōlaya-Vēma, or Annama-Vēma. The second and third names are
combinations of Vēma's own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from
his mother. From the Harivānasam we learn that Prōla's wife Annamā was the daughter of
Doddha, who had three sons, viz. Pōta, Chittā and Nāga. Chittā had a son named Nūka
who is said to have been a very dear friend of Vēma. He is perhaps identical with Nallanūka,
who married Vēma's daughter Vēmasāni.\(^6\) From the same book we learn that Vēma's younger
brother Malla took Mōṭupali—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to
Vēma. The latter statement derives corroboration from the Amarāvati inscription already
referred to, which says that Vēma fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of Amarāvīara
for the eternal benefit (pūnya) of his younger brother Malla-Redḍi. Before taking leave of the
Harivānasam, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of Vēma, viz. Pōta
(afterwards called Anāpōta or Anāvāta) and Kōmaṭi. Anāvāma, Daḍāmbikā and Vēmasāni
were apparently not yet born when the Harivānasam was composed, and Kōmaṭi probably died
while yet a boy.

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\(^{1}\) Śrīgiri in the Kurnool district.
\(^{2}\) I.e. the full-moon day in the month of Chaitra.
\(^{3}\) I.e. at the Śiva temple called Māṇḍūkēśvara.
\(^{4}\) No. 328 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.
\(^{6}\) In the Bāpaṭa tāluka of the Kistna district.
The statement in the inscription that Vêma restored the agrahâras wrested by the Muḥammadans from Pratâparudra is, so far as I am aware, the only epigraphical reference as yet discovered to the Muḥammadan conquest of Warangal. It also shows, as has been already pointed out by Mr. V. Venkayya in his Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, that the Reḍḍis were the political successors of the Kâkatîyas. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence for determining exactly when the Reḍḍis came into power. The account of the Kâkatîya dynasty compiled for Colonel Colin Mackenzie and deposited in the Madras Library of Oriental Manuscripts says that Pratâparudra’s generals were all Padmanâyakas or Velamas, and this is confirmed by the poem entitled Velugôtiyâ Vâhanâvâni, i.e., ‘Genealogy of the Velugôti family (of Venkataśagi).’ The only reference made by the former book to the Reḍḍis is a short passage in which one Têrâla-Bûchâ-Reḍḍi is said to have fought for Pratâparudra in his final battle against the Muḥammadans. It is not known whether this Bûchâ-Reḍḍi had anything to do with the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavîḍu.

According to the traditional history of Koṇḍavîḍu preserved in the Koṇḍavî Dâŋkâvîlî, the Reḍḍis became suddenly rich in the time of one Dônî-Allâda-Reḍḍi, who robbed a man named Vêma of the Kômaṭi caste, who was his guest, of a piece of philosopher’s stone (spârvûtêdî). When the stone, in securing which he had spent the best part of his life, was stolen, the Kômaṭi, the book says, died of broken heart, and on his death-bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the Reḍḍis, and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity. The account proceeds to state that, with the money thus obtained, Pôlaya-Vêma raised troops, seized Dharânpîkôta and the neighbouring country from the officers of Pratâparudra, and subsequently established himself at Koṇḍavîḍu. It is difficult to say what truth there is in this story. It may have been suggested by the fact that Kômaṭi was a recognised name of several members of the family. From Srînâtha’s Haravîlisham we learn that a Kômaṭi named Avâchî-Dêvaya, son of Pâvâpi, a great merchant of Simâvîkранâmaṭaṭana (Nellore), was the chief source of support (prâpa) to Vêma. Avâchî-Dêvaya’s son Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, was also a great merchant and was purveyor to Kumâragiri-Reḍḍi. It would seem that Avâchî-Dêva supplied Vêma with the sinews of war and thereby enabled him to found and extend his kingdom, and that his descendants rendered similar assistance to the descendants of Vêma.

The original sphere of influence of the Reḍḍis was Pâkanâdu or Pûngidôsa. It may be that they originally governed this province subject to the authority of the kings of Warangal, though no proof of it exists. When the power of the Kâkatîyas began to decline, the Reḍḍis became independent and made Addaṇki their capital. It seems to have been the fashion with the Reḍḍis to have a surname for each. Vêma signed as Pallavâtrinêtra, Kumâragiri was Vasantrâja, and Kômaṭi-Vêma was Viranârayâna.

According to the Dâṅkâvîlî, Vêma was the first independent Reḍḍi chief, and there is no evidence that any of his predecessors was such. The present inscription shows that Vêma himself extended his dominions at least up to the northern bank of the Krîshpâ, while the Amarâvati inscription shows that his territories extended up to the banks of the Gôdâvari. There are no means of knowing when the capital was removed from Addaṇki to Koṇḍavîḍu. That this was not done prior to the Šaka year 1283 is clear from the Amarâvati inscription of that year, which refers to Addaṇki as the capital. This inscription also shows that Vêma, son of Malla, was at that time governor of Dharânpîkôta or Dâñyavîṭi under Anapôṭâ-Reḍḍi. I

1 He is described as having granted to Brahmanas villages on both sides of the Brahmakunḍi, the Krîshpâ and the Gôdâvari, and also in the country between these rivers (Brahmakunḍi-Krishnavâya-Gôddevart-mahândrâtâlakânga-tanâdhyâddha-dait-tâd-dânakârava).

2 No. 255 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1897.
presume that Koppāvīḍu did not become the capital till the time of Anavēma, and that, prior to
this, Dharāṇikōta was the chief seat of Redžī power in what is now the Kistna district. The
fact of Vēma building steps leading to the temples at Śrīšailam and Abōbalam is not mentioned
in this inscription, though it is mentioned in the Amarāvatī one. This omission can hardly be
regarded as due to oversight, seeing that the act was considered so meritorious as to be mentioned
in almost all the subsequent inscriptions of this dynasty. A more probable explanation seems to
be, that the work was not finished when this inscription was composed.

Vēma was succeeded by his eldest son Anapōta, and by his younger brother Anavēma.
Both these kings were, according to the Dāṇṭakavīti, wise and strong rulers, and they consoli-
dated the kingdom founded by their father. In the Velugōṭi-vāri Vaṇṇāvāṣi, Anapōtanīḍu and
Mādāṇīḍu, sons of Śiṅga who was a general of Pratāparudra, claim to have defeated Anapōta-
Redžī at Dharāṇikōta about the Śaka year 1288, which is also the year of an inscription at
Amarāvatī, in which Anapōta’s minister is referred to. I know only of two inscriptions of
the time of Anavēma, both dated in Śaka 1299 (expired). One of them is at Drākkāhāraṇa in
the Gōdāvari district, and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of
Agastyaśēvara at the junction of the Māsi and the Kriṣhṇā in the village of Vādapalli in the
Mīriyālaṅkāṭem tānuṁa of the Nalgonaḍa district in the Nizam’s dominions. The poet Śrīnātha
seems to have first flourished at the court of Anavēma, where his praise there are several verses
extant.

On the demise of Anavēma, the crown passed on to Anapōta’s son Kumāragiri, who,
according to the Dāṇṭakavīti, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the Haravīḍam
we learn that Kumāragiri was a contemporary of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1379-
1399) and of the Bhūmuni king Fīrūz Shāh (A.D. 1397-1422). Tipps, to whom the book
was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great
annual spring-festival (vaṇṇāvāṣa) which Kumāragiri seems to have instituted. It is interesting
to note that, at this period, the Telegu country had extensive trade relations—not only with
other parts of India, but also with foreign countries. For, Tipps is said to have imported
camphor trees from the Panjāb; golden sprouts (baṅgaru-molaka) from Jalanōgī;4 eleph-
ants from Śiṅhāla (Ceylon); horses from Herrumāṇgi (Ormuz or Persia); essence (drava) of
civet (saṅkumada) from Gōva (Goa); pearls from Āpaga;5 musk from Chōtāṇi,6 and silk cloths from
Chīma. It was in the time of Kumāragiri that the kingdom was divided”into two and the
Eastern part with Rajahmundry as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister
Kāṭaya-Vēma. This separation seems to have been effected not later than the Śaka year 1308 ;
for we have inscriptions of Kāṭaya-Vēma issued in that year.7

Kumāragiri seems to have been the last of Vēma’s branch of the family, and on his death
the crown passed to Vēma or Pēda-Kōmāṭi-Vēma, grandson of Vēma’s elder brother Māhe. I
know of two inscriptions of Kōmāṭi-Vēma, one dated in the Śaka year 1331 and the other in
1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of Kistna by the
Tahsildar of Guntā. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by Śrīnātha, who
is described as the Vīḍyādharī to Kōmāṭi-Vēma. The Dāṇṭakavīti says that Kōmāṭi-Vēma
was a wise prince and walked in the ways of Anavēma, and it proceeds to state that Kōmāṭi-
Vēma was succeeded by his younger brother Bācha-Vēma, who was the last of the dynasty. In

1 No. 258 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1907.
3 An inscription of Anapōta dated in the Śaka year 1281 is at Mōṭupalli.
4 No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1893.
5 I am not able to identify these places.
7 No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1899.
8 No. 132 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1899.
the village of Aminabad in the Sattenapalli taluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription of Rācha-Vēma, son of Vēma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santāna-Sāgara, which had been dug by his mother Sūrāmbā. We know from the Phiraṅgiparam inscription that Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's wife Sūrāmbā had a tank excavated and called it Santāna-Sāgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kōmaṭi's successor Rācha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the Velugōṭuva Vanaśava. This book says that Mācha (who was the only brother Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma seems to have had), son of Kōmaṭi, was killed in battle by Pina-Vēlagiri or Kumāra-Vēlagiri, great-grandson of Mādāṇiṇḍu who had fought with Anapōta-Reḍḍi at Dharaṇipōta, and that Mācha's elder brother Vēma killed Pina-Vēlagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vēlagiri's younger brother Līnga. When Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The Daṇḍakaśī says that the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīdu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows:—

Pōlaya-Vēma or Vēma; Śaka 1242 to 1253 (both years inclusive).
Anapōta; Śaka 1253-1283.
Anavēma; Śaka 1284-1295.
Kumāragiri; Śaka 1296-1309.
Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma; Śaka 1310-1337.
Rācha-Vēma; Śaka 1338-1341.

This distribution conflicts with the dates furnished by some of the inscriptions quoted above. Taking 100 years as the approximate total of the reigns of the six Reḍḍi chiefs, I would redistribute it as follows, so as to make the distribution accord with the latest information available on the subject:—

Pōlaya-Vēma or Vēma; Śaka 1242-1271 (30 years).
Anapōta; Śaka 1272-1283 (12 years).
Anavēma; Śaka 1284-1299 (16 years).
Kumāragiri; Śaka 1300-1320 (21 years).
Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma; Śaka 1321-1337 (17 years).
Rācha-Vēma; Śaka 1338-1341 (4 years).

TEXT.

First Plate.

1) श्रीमल्लोकविनोजनीरजशिवलिंगावराष्ट्रियाँ नामिकृतोऽशुकांबतः
2) अवसंहिताकुरः पातु बः। बिस्मुकुन्तकुलिनाविचिनिविचिचनावः
3) अरागांद्रितनूरित भलमुहुर्ताविदोने निदिनी। [१] श्रीलोकालुस[भर]भरम्
4) दिलीक्षितंवस्वलः लक्ष्मीपति। पादात्मकरनिताविविदो भवर्तिनी गंगेय पुरुषोदया।
5) भाक्सरिर्जीवनविनजनांतरालिनोभिमिनि प्रयोगिन्य चतुरं。

1 This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sias metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock named Pularibbada, north-east of Aminabad which adjoins Phiraṅgiparam. At the end of the verse are the words Śrīnātha-kṛiti, i.e., 'Śrīnātha's composition.'
2 No. 182 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.
3 From ink-impressions.
6 वैभवितङ्गांभिरायवैनात्स्वः। [२४] तद्याब्रो सकलज्ञानातिभवसं-
7 पूर्णचंद्रो जातः।[२५] को[सिं]मन्ववसदं वेमी वंगक्तरी। यशोदये खुरू।-
8 तिव सततं मात्रातीति विदापि नासिकांतिविरेस्वगद्वः जातरातः[२६]किमिः।
[२५] लेना।-
9 जाति विज्ञानिकायकहितांतः। वेयान्याकेरस्तु सततातिनिवेदः। वी-
10 राजनिष्ठांगति कोमिटिविरामाः। प्रबलसिरपतिसमावेशस्थराणाः। [४८]

Second Plate; First Side.

11 शंभोरिविन्दुस्वेत पंकजभुवि देवी यथा भारती विश्वेश्वरसंववेद सतिः व-
12 लुक्ती आचरति। सुरसेवेय सुरंचाला मद्यथः। पुष्ठा यथा रीण्ड्भिः रुदा-
13 कोमिटिविरामुसः सुभो भार्योचिरां वरी। [५४] वकाशाचिन्तिविकवसं-
14 छुटे। चोरीरिथसः यथा दुराष्ट्रोतिमितिविदुरानवती। सासुत पंच कृ-
15 मातृ। यथे मानवपालसुन्ततमय वीवेयस्वतीपति प्राणादृश्यमोः।
16 धमवयुवं वीमदयकारपति। [४८] सदौन सदौन। पराशक्तिः रुपेयण。
17 बुझा। च विराजतत्सात्तमा। वाणवाय भुजोऽपि भुजावतीशिवृकं जनोऽमुन्तन।
18 पांडुपुलान। [३९] वर्त सकलः चारामानामाध्या। पालनाय चित्रितप्रस्तवति-
19 छोः कृष्णविदे देव। कलिसमयविवृङ्खलवशुपाश्रयस्वरुपं क्षिता हस्यस्यकः।
20 पुष्करी धनंजयोचितः। [८४] दूरारंगतराजभूमुखस्मारकोत्तथा।

Second Plate; Second Side.

21 निम्मकृ। मैत्रीसंगतराजकौरवगणीसंपूर्णांचात्रदायः। मासार्बोध्रपुः।
22 लातुलपणो विहारविज्ञानिकोएव। वीभानु कोमिटिविरामपितासी वीरः।
23 कण्य वश्यति। [८०] रणशिलस्व विचित्र रायचित्रलुध्वंगङ्कदकराणांशुं।
24 वर्णातः। चरितम। सपथ्य निवित्त भिन्नद्वृहतान्नाताप्रतिहितिस्तिमनिविथिः
25 प्रत्येकाक्षितीहः। [६०] निखिल तात्त्वादपृतितकुमभोविराणाहः।
26 राजानुजःसाचारात्मकीन्धुभुमपूर्वांगारेयः।
27 य। शा विशाखाविज्ञानार्थिनिमातात्या चीन परापराणां। [निखिल] द्वा।
28 नातिनादतस्तकादितकादातिभिन्निण्यिष्टिः। [२६] विश्वातिवतिवयेिष्टिः
29 दा वीरलघुपुलापृवीरंविनाशिनिर्दिनरिपूष्टिविविपश्चता। विंप्रायश्च। कलातो। सर्वं देन्
30 न समुदेशास्त्रानं वीवेयस्वतीपति वीरं विश्वपराकशं कामः।

1 Read कुरतीः।
2 Read सच्रेष्ठः।
3 Read सचर्यः।
4 Read शृद्धिः।
5 Read यथा।
6 Read श्रीधराकारः।
7 The metre requires a single instead of a double consonant after च।
Third Plate; First Side.

31 [Fig. 12] खोटू समलू जाना: | [१२*] यीप्रजवर्तीनेवांको धनी वेममही-पति: | बीरकेदः-
32 रायमगार्यघुपादानविद्युतः | [१३*] ब्राह्मणो यीगिरिपुंपादनिकटादापीपी|-
33 यीगिरिप्रेषण: कृष्णरिणीसुभयः | [१४*] यीपुर्णगामानाकित: | तद्वन्ना भासु-
34 रसीवमीपुरस्तो निस्त्रोचवासकदता नंदविरिजना विन्माति नितरामदिनिज़ा-
35 मा ¹ पुरो | [१५*] उडेंडमिरिकमिरिुकमालिकादिरेदिविक्रमविनिमितिः-
36 तौरिक्तिक: | सीय विनिर्मिति नगरी नगरायजी: | यीविपुप्रेषणिःः-
37 जगनीव्यंग्यः | [१६*] समसंलागवासोवाही वेमविभारित: | खासेव भूता: यीवी-
38 गम्यृ लोकावलद्ध गम्यृ १२६ ५ गणिते ब्राह्मण गम्यृ-
39 गम्यृ तमोप्रस्तो विप्रगणाय वेममुपतिमीत्रसंक्षमिः | पुर: | [२०*] प्रादः-
40 तः ²सुदमुकलुक्षसर्वचक्ष्यमहोगात्रां यीविखोतरकृतसंख्या-

Third Plate; Second Side.

41 तुम याम महायेषे | [१७*] स्मामविभिन्नं खला दूतो वेमम[ही-भु]जा | ब्रेः-
42 छी भारभ्यज्ञाराणां यानी वेमपुराणः | [१८*] कृष्णरिणीसुभयः | [१९*] कहीं

No. 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA;
A.D. 1422.

By Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D.; Rostock.

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanare-e characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr. Rice. My edition is based on excellent inked estampages received from Prof. Hultsch.

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kūṣmāṇḍini-yakṣikā which is set up in the Brahmādevā-manḍapa in front of the Gumbāta temple on the Vindhyagiri at Sravana-Belgola. The inscription begins on the south face. Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two chauris, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised. Next come two lines of the
inscription, after which we have another row of figures, e.g., a woman seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes, a man seated with folded hands and wearing necklaces, and again a female figure seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes. Then the inscription continues. I am unable to offer any explanation of these sculptures, and I do not even venture to decide whether they have any special reference to the events and persons spoken of in the inscription or not.

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanarese. The average height of the letters is \( \frac{3}{4} \)", but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes; compare śrī in ll. 1 and 3, jā in l. 21, jai in l. 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l. 31, the sign for anusvāra, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D., medial ś is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in ṣī in l. 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in ṣī in l. 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial ai and ā. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. Tē, e.g., shows the first form in ll. 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll. 7, 34, 77, 96, 111; mē the first in ll. 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll. 58, 59; yē the first in ll. 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll. 101, 110; bai the first in l. 3, the second in l. 8; vai the first in ll. 6, 33, 89, the second in l. 71; me the first in l. 1, the second in ll. 44, 80, 100; yē the first in ll. 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll. 31, 109, 110, etc.—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are jaṅgālaka, ‘swift-footed,’ in l. 17, prakāpa, ‘insensed with passion,’ in l. 33, ṭhaṭ, ‘to charge,’ apparently meant as the root of the noun ṭhāṭ, in l. 34, prālāsa, ‘shining,’ which owes its origin merely to the metre, in l. 39, saṃstava, ‘praise,’ in l. 63, vaikṛtā, ‘speech,’ in l. 80.—As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final t is changed into ś before j in jaṅgā-jaṅgāṭha (l. 9) and -bhasaṇa-yagati (l. 15), but the correct sandhi is found in atanāṣga(ya)nd (l. 23). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in cāna (l. 44), dākaṇaṇṭha (l. 59), kāmar (l. 66), dākrnāir (l. 68) and -ṛmaṇa (l. 94). Initial i appears as yi in Yirugapa (ll. 12, 61, 105) and initial Ś as Ś in upāra yēva (l. 57). The y after j is dropped in jyā (l. 24). Ś is written instead of i in śrāvas (l. 16). The spelling sallōpi (l. 86) instead of saṃlōpi is according to Dr. Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary a Kanarese peculiarity. Occasionally the groups chhh, dhh, bhh are spelt chhchh, dhh, bhh, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

After an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1), the inscription gives in the next 18 verses an account of a certain Irugapa. Bukkārya, who must be identical with Bukka I. of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a minister Baicha (v. 2) or Baichapa (I) (v. 3), who had three sons (v. 4)—Maṅgapa, Irugapa (I) and Bukkāna (v. 5). Maṅgapa, the eldest of them, who was a follower of the Jaina religion (v. 6), was married to Jānaki (v. 7). They had two sons, Baichapa (II) (v. 8) and Irugapa (II) (v. 9), who in vv. 12, 13, 14 is called also Irugēśvara and Irugēndra. As appears from vv. 8 and 16, the two brothers were Jainas like their father. With the exception of Bukkāna, all the members of this family are called generals (daṇḍāḥsura, daṇḍāṇātha, daṇḍaṇātha, daṇḍaṇātha, daṇḍaṇātha, daṇḍaṇātha, daṇḍāḥsura, daṇḍāṇātha), and most of the verses devoted to the praise of Irugapa II. (9-19) refer in general terms to his military achievements. Twice (vv. 10, 11) Irugapa II. is given also the title of prince (kshatrapa), and twice (vv. 13, 14), with a strange blending of his two titles, he is even called daṇḍaṇāṭpa.\(^1\)

The family of Irugapa II. is partly already known to us from other records. An inscription at Vijayanagara, dated in Śaka 1307 = A.D. 1395,\(^2\) mentions, according to Prof. Hultsch, a certain Chaicha or Chaičapa, the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II., and his

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\(^1\) Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 116.  
son, the general or prince Iruga or Irugapya, who adhered to the doctrine of the Jainas; but as the letters cha and ba closely resemble each other in the Telugu alphabet, I have no doubt that Chaicha and Chaichapya are merely misread for Baicha and Baichapya. Two other inscriptions in the Jain temple at Tirupparuttikurun near Conjeeveram, dated in A.D. 1382 and 1387-88 respectively, record some donations by the general or minister Irugapya, the son of the general Vaichaya and a follower of the Jain religion. The two persons referred to in these three inscriptions have already been identified by Prof. Hultzsch with Baichapa I. and Irugapya I. of the present record. If in the Vijayanagara inscription Baichapa is called the minister of Harihara II., the successor of Bukka I., this proves only that he remained in office after the death of his first master.

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (yati, yamin) called Paṇḍītārya. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of Śrutamuni is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this Śrutamuni stood to Paṇḍītārya. The second group of verses is added to the first quite abruptly, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that Paṇḍītārya and Śrutamuni are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jain monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The Śravāṇa-Belgola epitaph of Mallihēṇa, for instance, furnishes the following parallels: Śāṃpadēva-Traśiśyā, Hāmaśa-Vidyādhanaśayya, Ajitasena-Vādībhasserina-Vādībhashaṇṭhara, Sāntinātha-Kavitaśkā-Kāntaśánti, Padmanābha-Vādīkoliśa, Mallihēṇa-Malladārīna.

The object of the grant is stated in verses 24-26. They record that at Belugula, in the presence of Śrutamuni, the general Irugapya gave away, for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara, the village or tīrtha of Belugula, supplied with a grove and a new tank built by Irugapya himself. The donation took place 'while the year Subhakrīt was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the tīthi of the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase,' or, in plain language, on Vishṇu's, i.e. the eleventh or twelfth, tīthi in the bright half of Kārttika in the cyclic year Subhakrīt. According to Mr. Rice, the Subhakrīt year corresponds to A.D. 1362; but from the dates for Irugapya I. quoted above it appears that this is too early, and Prof. Hultzsch has already noticed that the true European equivalent of the year is A.D. 1422.

The rest of the date does not admit of verification.

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that Belugula is Śravāṇa-Belgola itself, and that the holy Gummaṭēśvara is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the Vindhyagiri to the south of the village.

**TEXT:**

_South Face._

1. Śrīmaṭvaramāṃvīrakṣaṭaḍāmalākṣaṃ [1°] Śri-
2. याचलोकानावश्य शासन जिनाशासन [2°] ◊ ◊ ◊
3. श्रीकुरुतायम भुवुष मर्ती वीशवदेवक-
4. रनामायेन : नीतियांदीया निकलामिन्दा नि:—

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1 The same mistake was made by Mr. Rice in editing the present inscription.
3 [This Tamil form proves that Prof. Lüders' reading Eacika is correct; for u can only correspond to a, and not to ś. — F. H.]
6 See ibid. p. 108 and Plate.
7 From inked stampages supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.
5 शेषयानस विपञ्चनको || [२४] द्वारं चेलक्याव्रम लुः
6 अपद्वीस गहितं संतानको वेदभागं यदि सा बुधसाति
7 कथा कुञ्जापि संबीते। कार्ति चेरनपावर्मानं अभं
8 तत्या सुस्तेत सर्वसह सतोरं चैचपद्धनेतुरव
9 सो शकं कविनां कथं || [२५] तथादुःखायं जगद्यजयं।
10 नारायणो भूनिधावप्रिशिला। यैर्भाष्यितो
11 जायत मयानलीको रल्लिनम्भरं देवपव
12 मा: || [४४]  "सिंहपद्दनादनमव बृक्षमयत्
13 जो भमतसमंदो विश्वयनु स्तरं प्रथिये।
14 तो || प्रतिश्वरामाणिनीपुपुपयोधराशर्सते
15 मंडितपुपुपीमवुजागितः संगपदंपाति: || [५४] दा[५]च-
16 खण्डप्राप्तार्यं च वरिष्ठपार्यकशस्यक्ष्यवा।
17 गाढारकांतं वटान्यपद्दिवर्म्यार्यावाल
18 क: || [ॱ०] धनंगोपतह: सा कुलकः सीजनसंकरः
19 तस्म: कौरिन्न संगपदपीयतययतः
20 जीणामगमातः || [६४] जानकीयवेदस्य मिश्रिनी
21 वाश्चिन्तागुण Substance of the का
22 नकीवत तदवृततमाया राववस्य रस्मिः
23 यतेःस: || [७४] प्रासतुः तदोषामितारिवि ी
24 तो पविश्वासि तकश्विनी
25 चाहिष्टिता भवायणीभययफ्यपद्भनायः || [८४] इ-
26 संगपदपापितस्थास्वरज्ज्यमक्षः
27 गुणार्थः || यह यथार्थनिक्या सिंहित दि
28 वास्ताविसुनिक्षया || [९४] तू || स्मारान मार्गिः
29 पं प्रमार्गः न च चेद्वाल्लानामाविन्द्रभा
30 कथय काल राजनागरी तद्विषू
31 वैष्णवं || वैतलव्रञ्च १०वर्ष्योदरार्थ
32 पाणिन्य नथाचारिः दुधद्योद्यतमानाव
33 वेशस्त्राहम्पाप: प्रकोपभवत् || [२५] काव्या

1 Read अमार्यान्त।
4 Read "मक्ख्यविरः।
7 Read वैष्णवः
10 Read बौद्धेः।
EAST FACE.

37 दिपुकराणभ च संगोचन प्रापकविकुमुखी
38 विकरन द्रोह; प्रतापल; [११७] यात्रावासी
39 कामवे चहसा शूमारीविकारणप्रो-
40 शासकरकान्तकाँतसिंहचकर्मगनमानिय: [११७]
41 जल ज्ञातमां प्रतिभाप्रमाण हिंदूकड़े ॥
42 खादा वाहि वाहि गजाननेत वहृथा वेता-
43 कृष्ण[१२] सुतं: [१२] को धारा लिखितं लजाक्के
44 लके वने प्रामाण्य चमो वार्ता धूर्वतीले
45 स्वामित वयं वार्ताव स्थायीमे
46 'यात्रावासीमैंग्रेडदुपंखो संजा-
47 तमाचे प्रयों निले[१३] योगयक्षविजयाचे
48 दि दिपुकराणप्रोक्त: [१३] यथाश्चौपी
49 गेंद्रदुपंखविभंबसंतापे शिवा
50 धोपारणां नियमितां स खंगानयाचे
51 खंडळ । गाजात्सल्सांद्रेंजव्वसखमोङ्गु
52 तरोमालिन साहित्य समाधात्य सु
53 शानुं स्तोतुं कत[१४] लों: फों ॥ [१४] भाजारसपेदभयाचे
54 संवारीवर च शाक्ष च तथा समजात
55 निवारान्त मिशावतात्मिकत्यासन स
56 चोरां सूर्खी च देमघरातोख वभु
57 व दूरे ॥ [१५] दान चापा बुपाता धौव ॥ कहणा
58 दौनें दृष्टिविशेषे 'मंदलिक्षपर्य जिंद्रश्याम-
59 नामांकाबंदे[१५] मुतो । जिष्ठा तुहाणाचे
60 निर्धु वपुरं सीखं च तदंवनेन ग्राशं तब
61 राजासमूहे सर्वं च तस्वेनी ॥ [१६] श्री-
62 बगपद्वनधावयया भवते सुवने
63 मस्तनिनमेकाश: परमधीरदुर्ग्न विकुते [19]
64 वेष्टित च तस्म वाणपरिवि धरणीबल-
65 ये ¹परमितितितराञ्जनकाणापि च
66 तत्तुचयोऽ [१७] ²क्रेवमिन्द्राञ्जिले-
67 रत्नकामिंगमलस्या-
68 तथा वेतरावीरसत्
69 कै: पयोधरतमेर-
70 चूडमुर्गागुणा: | विको-
71 चैत्रि चेतरासद्रृशतालोधे
72 चरामोकलस्य खारतरं मु- [4]
73 ताप्यसहस्राकुर्वले" वर्धते: [१८] [१८]

West Page.

74 ध्वनिनिः: चरपुपिनिरविलिनिनिः धौने" विव-
75 राय निजविबंधाय कांडके | खच्चाधमसुतिरसन-
76 दीवितिरायुगानामामाामानमव्याचि कविो-
77 करोति [१८] यथावरणन: कणो" प्रशुवाने
78 भवाननानां सुते व वच्चाखःसकटा-
79 चक्कारिलक्रि प्रचालवास्य व
80 मोहासिकरण विविधति विस्मला यदै-
81 खरीमिश्ररि वंदा: काच्च न माननीयम-
82 श्रीमा| वीरियाविरि यति: [२०] मंदा-
83 रुद्रमंत्रकालसुपुरसिनामसुसुरसा- [१०]
84 युक्तोचक्रास्कितंतिडिष्टिपावयोरो:-
85 तीखाभोभोत| "चूड़ुक्ष्रस्तेषांगा-
86 विलुलत्त्वाहककशोकिनिस्थापं" चूड़ा य- [८]
87 दिनाथयिमिनि व्याख्यानकोको-

¹ Read "सितरेंगरे".
² Read "सूक्ष्णताम".
³ Read "क्रेवमिन्द्रानि".
⁴ Read "क्षीमा".
⁵ Read "क्रेवमिन्द्रानि".
⁶ Read "कुक्षा".
⁷ Read "मधुमा.
⁸ At first "चूड़ुक्ष्रस्तेषांगा-" was engraved, but the क has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small श has been written above it.
⁹ Read "सुमः".
¹⁰ Read "लुमुलत्त्वाहककशोकिनिस्थापं".
88 सदः : [21°] काश्यपधमाबावतारसः 
89 रणिष्ठात्मिविश्वात खिरे वेदवच्य सप्तः 
90 संजुगतार्थामायमायौऽसः 
91 काद्यमहिद्धर्ष्यंचारत्: कामाभः 
92 तानां खनीवेणाध्यांबोधकाः: भूतः 
93 सुनिवा दिनं ममासिंतित। [22°] सुः 
94 क्षत्रान्वेणाचविविलक्षमः: [23°] श्रवणः 
95 मातुष्कान्तवाकास्यः: शुः 
96 अथयः प्रतिवेण परमामनं संवहनं 
97 यूतसुवीर्यसङ्गस्यास्माओः: [24°] तत्कतनिवे 
98 वेदकुमः जगद्धातिसः श्रीमान्मावः 
99 क्षमपाण्यंदनाय: [1°] श्रीसुमातेशरः 
100 सनातनमोग्योशिर्मीमीतमं वेदकुमः 
101 क्षमपाण्यं भोरः: [25°] ब्रम्हक्तिः वजः 
102 यासं कार्यंभाष्य सिक्षी सुरावः 
103 सत्य सुद्धिसृणयः सुरावः। सदुपः 
104 वनं सनिवा दिनंविहोयंतात्रङ्गस्यं सचिवः 
105 क्षमाययं दिनं तीनः सुतिः: [26°] विधः 
106 क्षमपाण्यं दिनंविहोयं विनमक्षमः: कलमः 
107 वर्णदेवं: श्रीविन्दुरविश्वसः कलमः 
108 क्षमपाण्यं दिनं विनमक्षमः: [27°] Ḍः 
109 दानपालनयोगं दानातु वेदोपालनः। दानातु श्रीसः 
110 वामालित पालनाध्यूणं यदं: [28°] खदसां परदसां वा यो च धर्मं 
111 संचारं। "योद्धर्ष्यास्यसिविद्यायः" जायते श्रीमिः। [29°] Ḍः 
112 महाभाष्यं महाभाष्यं श्रीं श्रीं श्रीं [30°] 

TRANSLATION.

(Verses 1.) May the glorious religion of Jina be victorious,—the religion of the lord of the three worlds, the unfailing criterion of which is the most profound doctrine of possibility!

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1 Read झमिः।
2 Read "सापसः।"
3 Read ्रः।
4 Read जायते श्रीमिः।
5 Read "सापसः।"
6 Read सेवाः।
7 Read पार्षदः।
(V. 2.) There was a minister of the illustrious Bukkarāya, known as the illustrious general Baichha, whose policy, which was to be approved by everybody, completely destroyed the multitude of his enemies.

(V. 3.) If I (want to) speak of his liberality, the Sāntānaka (tree) enters the way of the greedy; if of his intelligence, that talk of Bṛhaspati hides somewhere; if of his invariable patience, the earth is affected by insensibility. How on earth is it possible for poets to praise the general Baichha? 1

(V. 4.) From him were born three sons, conquerors of the world, who had good morals for their ornament, adored by whom the middle world became similar to the final bliss of the Jainas (which is adorned) by the three jewels. 2

(V. 5.) Praised in the world were the virtues of the general Maṅgapa, who took away the necklaces from the broad breasts of the wives of his adversaries, (and) who made his younger brothers, the general Irugapa and Bukkāna, still more famous by the abundance of his own glory.

(V. 6.) Being the chief seat of kindness, the only shelter of morality, the abode of veracity, always swift-footed in running on the track of the munificent, the supporting tree of religion, the noble residence of forbearance, the meeting-place of goodness, this general Maṅgapa, who was attached to the doctrine of the Jainas, spread his fame.

(V. 7.) His wife was Jānakī, shining by the ornament of her excellent moral qualities, as the daughter of Jana with her slender round waist (was the wife) of the descendant of Rāghu, possessed of agreeable splendour. 3

(V. 8.) They had two sons, through whom the hosts of the enemies perished, (and) who cleansed the path of religion. The elder of them was the general Baichha, a conqueror of the world, the foremost among the pious. 4

(V. 9.) His younger brother was the general Irugapa, possessed of all virtues, through the moonshine of whose fame the lotuses of the faces of his enemies close even in daytime. 5

Metre (śrītra).—(V. 10.) Brahman, wipe off the writing on the forehead! Otherwise thy reputation as Brahman will suffer damage. 6 Build another capital, Death, for the kings hostile to him! Thou host of Vētālas, widen the extent of your bellies to drink the fresh blood! Prince Irugapa was insensitised with passion to fight with the haughty enemies.

(V. 11.) When on the march of the general prince Irugapa the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust whirled up by the continual violent blows of the hoofs of his mares charging by assault, the day-lotuses of the hands of his enemies closed, 7 the night-lotus of his glory opened, and the fire of his majesty became bright.

1 The author wants to say that it is impossible to describe the virtues of Baichha, because they are not to be equalled. His liberality and his cleverness are so great that, compared to him, the tree of desires appears to be covetous and Bṛhaspati a mere nothing, and as for his patience, even the earth is not a fit object for comparison, because it is jada, which may mean inanimate or dull.
2 The three jewels (triratnas), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a Śramana who wants to attain eternal bliss, are jñāna or knowledge of things as revealed in the syāmas, dharma or faith in what is taught there, and cādṛita or dharma, moral discipline; see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Skt. MSS., 1883-84, p. 100.
3 The attributes of Rāma and Sītā are applicable to Maṅgapa and Jānakī also, and vice versa.
4 Bhāsya must be understood here as in other Jainas inscriptions as referring to the Jaina community.
5 Generally the pārāva has its flowers opened by daylight.
6 Brahman's predictions of a happy lot to the hostile kings will prove false, because they will be slain by Irugapa.
7 His enemies clenched their fists in rage.
(V. 12.) (Once), a huge wild elephant was reflected by a beautiful fragment of glimmering moon-stone in the court of an enemy’s palace, which had been deserted in a hurry through (fear of) the lord Iruga (who was) on the march. Thinking that it was a hostile elephant, he struck his image (and) broke one of his tusks, (and) was (therefore) afterwards often invoked by the hosts of Vṛtāla (with the words) : ‘Have mercy, have mercy, Gajānana!’

(V. 13.) ‘Who is able to wipe off a letter written by the Creator on the surface of the forehead?’ In this saying we do not believe, (considering it to be) a saying made up of a liar’s words, because as soon as the general Irugendra was born on earth, his friends, even if they had been without wealth, were supplied with abundant wealth, and his wealthy enemies were deprived of their wealth.

(V. 14.) While thy arm, O general Irugendra, was carrying the burden of the earth (originally) laid on the group of the hooves of the lord Śeṣa, that serpent, contented, the lines of his hair always bristling with joy on account of the frequent opportunities for closely embracing his wife, used his thousandfold tongue in praising thy virtues!

(V. 15.) Plenty of food, protection from dangers, medicine and instruction became his continual gift. Acts of violence, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft, and infatuation kept away on account of his ruling the country.

(V. 16.) His liberality (was directed) only towards worthy persons, his pity towards the poor, his looks towards the Jina, his love towards the path of religion, his two ears towards listening to the fame of the lord of the Jinas, his tongue towards praising his virtues, the health of his body towards worshipping him, his nose towards the excessive fragrance of the lotuses of his feet, and all that was his towards serving him.

(V. 17.) While the world was made white by the fame of the general Irugapa, blackness was praised only in (connection with) the hair of (women) with rolling eyes, and while his barrelike arm was wearing the bracelet of the earth, mutual oppression also was spoken of only in (connection with) their breasts.

(V. 18.) By their ears with their ear-rings forgotten, by the surfaces of their foreheads with no marks fixed to them, by their dishevelled curls, by their swelling breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their brimba-like lips deprived of the redness (caused) by the betel, even the fair-eyed (wives) of the kings hostile (to him) repeatedly (and) thoroughly betray his excessive power.

(V. 19.) Since his fame, surpassing the river of the gods, has washed off, at last, the spot in her disk, the moon, being (now) perfectly clear, really swallows the beauty of the faces of the women.

(V. 20.) Who would not do homage to the ascetic (yati), the venerable Paṇḍitārya, whose greatness is to be honoured; the grains of dust of whose foot-lotus produce a world for those who bow (to him) in devotion; the wave of loveliness of whose compassionate side-glances purifies the heart; the faultless fluency of whose speech destroys delusion and self-conceit.

(V. 21.) The roar of the discourse of the ascetic (yamin) Paṇḍitārya, which is a warrior (in cutting) the neck of the succession of great self-conceit, fame and skill of the pleasant and distinguished sweetness of the streams of honey of the flowers of the matsyāra tree, verily resembles the river of the celestial world, winding through the hollows of the braids of the dancing Rudra.

1. *I.e.* Gaṇḍa, who has the head of an elephant, but only one tusk.
2. *I.e.* the Gaṇḍa.
3. The dust of the lotus-like foot of Paṇḍitārya is compared to the pollen of the lotus of Brahma which produces the world.
4. *I.e.* the Gaṇḍa.
(V. 22.) Śrutamuni, the main-road for the descent of compassion, the lasting dawn of calmness, the fruit of the austerities of learning, the mountain from which benevolence and prosperity and happiness rise, a lion to the mighty elephant of passion, a mine of the nectar of poetry, the sun in the sky of the Jain sect, is watchful, removing the distress of the humble.

(V. 23.) The pure-minded Śrutamuni, an emperor among the ascetics (yati), the Mandara mountain for the stirring of the ocean of the science of reasoning, the rising sun to the lotus-grove of grammar, is daily increasing (in prosperity) through the most excellent (Jain) doctrine.

(V. 24.) In his presence, at Beḷugula, the most sacred place of the world, that glorious brave general, called Irugapa, gave away the most excellent village called Beḷugula for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gommaṭævara.

(V. 25.) While the year Śubhakṛiti was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the tiṅhā (Vishnu) the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase, the chief of the family of ministers gladly presented the excellent sacred place, possessing a beautiful grove (and) supplied with a new tank built by himself.

(V. 26.) May this matchless holy place Beḷugula, a field for growing the rice of the general Irugapa’s white fame, shine as long as the moon and stars!

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual imprecations.]

No. 5.—TAIĀGUNDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR F. KIEK Horn, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered in 1894 by Mr. B. Lewis Rice, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore. From a photograph and a transcript furnished by him, a preliminary notice of it was published by the late Prof. Bühlcr in September 1895, in the Academy; and about the same time a summary of its contents was given by Dr. Fleet, in his Dynasties, p. 236 f., from an ink-impression lent by Mr. Rice. The inscription has now been edited by its discoverer, with a photo-lithograph and translation, in Ep. Car. Vol. VII. p. 200 ff. I re-edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.⁸

According to Mr. Rice, the inscription is engraved on a pillar of very hard grey granite, which stands in front of the ruined Pranavaśvara temple at Tāiāgunda, in the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. The pedestal of the pillar “is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at the top, a little more at the base. The shaft is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high, each face being 7 inches wide, but tapering slightly towards the top.” Seven faces of the shaft contain each two vertical lines of writing which commence at the bottom, while on the 8th face there is only one short line (line 15 of the text), written in the same way. “The invocation at the beginning” of the inscription (i.e. the words Siddham [I] Namaś-Svāya [II] of line 1) “is on the pedestal, and runs up connecting with the first line.” In the impressions the length of lines 1-14, disregarding the words Siddham [I] Namaś-Svāya [II]...
of line 1, varies between 5’ 11” (in line 10) and 6’ 5” (in lines 1 and 2); that of line 15 is only 2’ 5.” The size of such akṣaras as ja, ma, ya, va is between ½ and ¾, while the average height of akṣaras like a, ka, ra, pra, vya, jya, vid, vri is between 2 and 2 ½. The inscription is most carefully written and engraved, and is generally in so perfect a state of preservation that nearly every syllable of it may be read with certainty. — The characters are of the ‘box-headed’ type of the southern alphabet. Among Kadamba inscriptions, they seem to resemble most those of the Dēvagēri plates of the 4th year and the Hitāhebbāgīḷī plates of Mrīgessavaran, but, as is elsewhere the case with stone-inscriptions, they exhibit a more regular and artistic style of writing than is found in the copper-plates. Of initial vowels the text contains a, ā, i (e.g. in ādyā, l. 10), u (in udvavara, l. 5), and e (e.g. in ēvavā, l. 3); and of the consonants, all excepting jā, th, ph, and f, but sā occurs only as subscript letter (e.g. in āchāyād-, l. 11). Attention may perhaps be drawn here to the signs for kh (e.g. in - śkhara, l. 8), n (e.g. in bhāṇ-, l. 7), j (e.g. in jayā, l. 11), ṣ (e.g. in ējyā, l. 2, and paṇāchābhir-, l. 13), ṝ (e.g. in ṝrīṭa-, l. 11, - chēdāmaṇayaḥ, l. 13, and tādākam-, l. 14), ṝh (in - mahāra ṣh-, ṝh, and ṝh (e.g. in viṣṭa-yajñāvabhṛtha-, l. 2), b (e.g. in bhṛmā, l. 4); and l (e.g. in kulā, l. 2, and Pallaśvāro, l. 4); and to the peculiar form of the subscript r in - uparāraṇa-, l. 7. As regards medial vowels, it may suffice to point out the two forms of the akṣara ṣd, employed e.g. in yasinos and - yoraraṇa, both at the commencement of line 4, and the manner in which ṣ is written in the akṣara ṣd (of -ṣfā-, l. 1). The alphabet includes the signs of the jiḥemūliya and upadhmāniya (e.g. in - nupāyaka-, - kulaḥ-prajā-, both at the end of line 9); those of final ṣ (e.g. in śiddham, l. 1, and - manfālam, l. 2), final t (e.g. in bhāyāt, l. 1, and - tāt, l. 3), and final n (in - nām, l. 9); and the sign of punctuation consisting of two vertical lines. — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory Siddham [II] Namās Śītāya || and the words in line 15, the whole is in verse. The orthography suggests the following remarks. — Within a half-verse and in the words Namās Śītāya of line 1, the final visarga of a word before one of the three sibilants is always (altogether 19 times) assimilated to the sibilant. Before a nasal guttural (k or kh) it is nine times changed to the jiḥemūliya and left unchanging twice, both times at the end of a Pāda (in - nāma Kānakṣa, l. 10, and - nāma Kavya, l. 14). The jiḥemūliya is also employed in dhākha, l. 4. Before p — ph does not occur — visarga is changed to the upadhmāniya five times and left unchanged seven times (once, in putraḥ prakṣa, l. 9, at the end of a Pāda). Before the conjuncts s and t (but not before s and t) visarga is dropped, in bhānman manvadha sūrmanā, l. 13. In the words yasuyta (for the ordinary yaḥḥa of line 13 the final visarga of yaḥ has by Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 (or 18) been changed to (the ordinary or the laghuprayatnata) y. — The final m of a word remains unchanged, and is denoted by the sign of final m, in the word śiddham in line 1 and always at the end of a half-verse; exceptionally (and wrongly) also at the end of the odd Pādas of verse 28. Otherwise final m before a consonant is changed to upavāra except in āpadam-tām-dhāra- yām-āsya (for āpadam tām dhāra-), l. 6, yasuyta- (for yaḥ daiva-), l. 13, yam-mātra-, l. 7, prathicey-prasakṣa, l. 9, tam-ḥāpay-, l. 11, - sambhrana, l. 12, and tādākam-mahat, l. 14. In

2 In the Gō plates of Satyavirya Dhruvāraka Indravarman (Jour. Bo. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365), the Satāra plates of Vishvanandha I. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 309), and elsewhere, the subscript n of rna is denoted by the sign of the dorsal n. The subscript n of the present inscription has a somewhat similar form.
3 In the collotype facsimile the upward stroke, rising from the end of the top-line of the sign for t, by which d is denoted, is not clearly visible. The same sign for ṭt is quite clear e.g. in the word ṭat in line 10 of the Ahol inscription, above, Vol. VI. p. 6.
4 Hemachandra gives as an example kavya, for the ordinary ka ṣha. With this we may compare kavya for ka ṅha in line 25 of the Kauṭeha plates of Vikramaditya V, Ind. Ant. Vol. XCVI. p. 22. In line 11 of the Bālami (Mahākāla) pillar inscription of Māṇgalīsa (ibid. Vol. XIX. p. 17) I would similarly suggest say-ūc for say-ūc. E
the interior of a simple word a nasal before a consonant of its own class is always denoted by its own sign, nowhere by the sign of aνadā. After r, a consonant (other than a sibilant or k) is generally, about five times out of six, doubled. Before r, t is doubled in mātra, l. 6, sākṣi-
tray-, l. 13, and pāṭṭi-tray-, l. 14, while it remains single in twelve similar cases; and k is doubled in vikramājñ, l. 7, parakramatās, l. 9, and ākrāntā, l. 11. Before y, dh is changed to ḍh in aḍhāyā-, l. 2, aḍāḍhāya, ll. 4 and 7, addhyāvāsa, l. 5, and asadāḍhāya, l. 13; but not in aṇadāḍhāya, l. 8. The number of clerical errors is very small; I need only point out here Stānur (for Stānur) in line 1, and ukrīṣṭa (for ukṛṣṭa) in line 8.

In respect of grammar generally and lexicography the text calls for few remarks. The use of the gerunda aḍāḍhāya and aḍhāyā in verse 12 does not accord with the rule of the grammarians, but may be defended by the less strict practice of even classical writers. Similarly, the employment of bhūya (instead of bhūya) in prithivam... svabhāvabhūya of verse 25 is contrary to Pāṇini, Vist 3, 69, but the word is often used in the same way elsewhere, especially in epic poetry. Like other inscriptions, this one also contains some words which are not found in the published dictionaries. Of these, antarālaya (formed like antarāyā, antarīghrā, antarpānā) in verse 6, sādāmya (an abstract noun derived from the adjective sandāman, having the same name) in verse 8, brahmāsiddhi in verse 12 and samuttāpana in verse 16 can offer no difficulty. The word asvāsāsta in verse 11 I take to be synonymous with asvṛūha, 'a horseman,' and I would compare with it such words as gajasatha, rathastha, syandanastha, as well as twaragāhā and twaragāsādaśin (e.g. in Bagh. VII. 34 and Śū. XVIII. 2). On the word ghaṣṭikā in verse 10 I have published a special note in Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1900, p. 345 ff., where I have tried to prove that a ghaṣṭikā was an establishment (probably founded in most cases by a king) for holy and learned men, such as is often mentioned in other inscriptions under the name brahmāpurī. In the note referred to I have shown that ghaṣṭikā is used in this sense e.g. in the Kāśikuḍa plates of the Pallava Panduvamalla (South-Ind. Insr. Vol. II. p. 349, lines 56 and 59) and in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 196, line 14). The last remark which I would offer on the wording of the present inscription is, that the author in verse 29 uses ḍaṇḍ, instead of yudāṇḍ (or yathā)... ḍaṇḍat. This, so far as I know, is foreign to the usage of classical writers, from whose works I am unable to quote quite analogous instances.1

The inscription contains 34 verses. The metres of nine of them (verses 25-32 and 34) are the ordinary ones: Puschitāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantālakā, Mandākrāntā and Śrīdālavikṛṣṭa. The metre of the long verse 33, with which the poem proper here presented to us fitsly closes, is a species of Daṇḍaka, called by the general name Prachita. It consists of four Pādas, each of which contains six short syllables and eight amphimaceres (—路面).4 Most interesting from a metrical point of view are the verses 1-24, composed in a metre5 which is found nowhere else.

1 Since writing my paper on ghaṣṭikā, I have come across the word ghaṣṭikābhaṇa, which in line 41 of the Haralavara plates of the W. Gangā śivāmara I. (Ep. Caru. Vol. III. p. 108, where it is wrongly transcribed by ghaṣṭikāvaṇa) occurs as an epitath of a Brahmaṇ. I have little doubt that this word is identical with the words ghaṣṭikābhaṇa, ghaṣṭikā, mentioned above, Vol. VI. p. 241, note 2. In Ė̄īsamanda's Dīvīmamudrī, II. 105, to which Prof. Pischel has drawn my attention, we find ghaṣṭikābhaṇa (i.e. ghaṣṭikāgasha or ghaṣṭikāgha), paraphrased by ghaṣṭikā.

2 In the Edamāya, ṣaṇṭḥ is used like yathā... ṣaṇṭḥ, but passages like VII, 7, 18 ff., where this is the case, are somewhat different from the one in our text. Exactly like the ṣaṇṭḥ is ṣaṇḍat of the text I find ṣaṇḍat (or ṣaṇḍat) in the Pāli Gāthās; compare e.g. Jāt. Vol. IV. p. 172, l. 11: Gacchit va nāgāṁ sādākambhasa vaddhāti sāvah manḍrasa pāsasā bālāna arjūḷo bāhago yathā pippad it cha sādākambhasa vaddhāti, 'as the horn grows, so thrust grows.'3 Verse 34 gives the name of the author, who also wrote the inscription on the stone.

4 For a much longer species of Prachita (in which each Pāda contains six short syllables and 16 amphimaceres) see Mālāmattāhāsa, Dr. Bhandarkar's ed., p. 181.

5 I have published a short paper on this metre in Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1899, p. 182 ff. As that paper is in German, I repeat here what has been stated in it.
and has not, so far as I know, been described in any treatise on prosody. This metre may be described as a species of mātrāsandaka, the name of which as yet is unknown. Each verse contains four Pādās, the general scheme of which is:

Pādās 1 and 3: \( \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} \) (15 Mātrās);  
Pādās 2 and 4: \( \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} \) (15 Mātrās).

In Pādās 2 and 4 this scheme is uniformly adhered to. But in Pādās 1 and 3 we find it strictly observed only in 30 cases out of the 48. In 14 others of the odd Pādās a long syllable takes the place of the 6th Mātrā of the general scheme, followed in 4\(^{\text{th}}\) out of these 14 Pādās by two short syllables instead of a long one. And in the four remaining odd Pādās a trochee (\( - \textcircled{v} \)) occurs instead of the 6th Mātrā of the above scheme. This gives us, as subsidiary schemes for Pādās 1 and 3:

\[ \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} \] (16 Mātrās);  
\[ \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} - \textcircled{v} \] (17 Mātrās).\(^{\text{3}}\)

Examples of Pādās showing these subsidiary schemes are:

V. 2, Pāda 3: yat-prasādas=trāyastā nityāni;  
V. 4, Pāda 1: aha bahūva dvija-kulaṁ prāmsu;  
V. 5, Pāda 1: vividha-yajñī-śabhītha-puṇy-āmbu;  
and V. 11, Pāda 3: Kali-yugē=sanmīm=ahō bata kahstrāt;  
V. 21, Pāda 3: Prēhar-āntām=ananyasaṁchāraṇā.-

I may state here that the same metre occurs in lines 1 and 2—hitherto regarded as prose—of the Tusām rock inscription (Guptā Insocr. p. 270), which, on paleographical grounds, has been allotted by Dr. Fleet to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth, century A.D. The verse is:

Jitam-abhikṣuṇam=eva Jāmbavatī-  
dānayāgaṇā-mukhaṁbhōja—  
vadanārvinda-jrjit-āśinā |  
lakṣhiṁ-tūshārēṇa Vīraṇūnā !(!)

The metre is also found in lines 5-8 of the Ajanṭa Vakṣṭaka inscription, published in Archaeol. Survey of West. India, Vol. IV. p. 125; and from the only complete verse preserved there it appears that for the second long syllable (Mātrās 3 and 4) of the even Pādās two short syllables may be substituted. The verse is:

[Arin]arṇendra-mauli-vīṇaya-sa-  
pravaraśeṇa-usaṇa-puṭra=bdha=  
maṇi-kirṇa-ldha= kramāṃbujah [1]  

Lastly, I find the same metre on page 4 of the Bower Manuscript, in a passage which by Dr. Hoernle at first was regarded as prose, but has afterwards been printed by him as a single verse (verse 36) the metre of which is stated to be irregular. Really the passage contains the following two verses which are regular in every respect:

Iti sur-āyaṇa paṇḍha=paṇḍha-āhād=  
bhavati taśāṃ nāmaṇā=ch=ēdām  
raṇ-varṇha-gandhaṁ samanvitā [1]  
undirām=ātyarthakārām [11]

Tālām=ādd=yaḥ suraṁ=api vā  
pariharāntī taṁ gai-āankhyā  
purashāḥ prayaṇa-jita yatnātah [1]  

From all this it may be inferred that from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D. the metre above described was well known in different parts of India. That it should now

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1 Viz. in V. 4, Pāda 1; V. 5, Pāda 1; V. 10, Pāda 3; and V. 12, Pāda 3.  
2 Viz. in V. 11, Pāda 3; V. 17, Pāda 3; V. 21, Pāda 3; and V. 25, Pāda 3.  
3 According to Mr. Rice a long syllable occurs in place of the second—Mr. Rice means the third—Mātrā in the third Pādās of verses 19 and 31; but this remark is due to wrong readings.  
4 This, not "ākāra", was the reading of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajit, which is shown to be correct by the metre.  
5 The metre shows that this may not be altered to adīgāna.
have been rescued from oblivion is due to, and is a point of special interest in, the present inscription.

In the 7th of the introductory verses of the Harshacharita Bāṇa says: "In the North plays on words are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense; in the South it is poetical fancy; in Gauḍa pomp of syllables."

Judging hereby the present little poem, which the author himself in verse 34 calls a Kāvy, I would say that, taken as a whole, it would certainly be assigned to the West of India. There is in it no pomp of syllables, and little of poetical fancy (utprēkṣā) or any of those other ornaments which lend their charm to the classical Kāvya. But the author presents to us a vivid picture of the persons and events dealt with, and does so in plain, but vigorous language. This, at any rate, is the case with the verses 4-24. The verses 25-32 are in a different style, approaching somewhat to that of a real Kāvy; but they mainly contain such conventional phrases as are met with in any ordinary prācīni.3

The inscription was composed and written on the stone by Kuber, under the orders of the king Śāntivarman. And its immediate object is, to record that Śāntivarman's father Kākusthavarman constructed a great tank near a Śiva temple at which Śātakarṇī and other kings had formerly worshipped (at Śānakanḍūra, the modern Tāḷagundū where the inscription is still preserved). The occasion is taken by the poet to celebrate the origin and advancement of the Kadamba family to which Kākusthavarman belonged, and to give the names of his ancestors.

The Kadambas were a Brāhmaṇa family, devoted to the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrificial rites; their name, the poet says, they had received from the fact that they carefully tended a kadamba tree which grew near their home. Now once upon a time, a member of this family, named Mayūrāsārman, went with his gurus to (Kāchiphūra) the city of the Pallavas, to study fully the sacred writings. The poet tells how he became exasperated there with the Kṣattriya Pallavas and, abandoning his priestly vocation, took up the sword, 'eager to conquer the earth.' Mayūrāsārman defeated the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.4 He levied tribute from the Great Bāṇa5 and other kings, and caused much trouble by his raids. The Pallava kings of Kāchil, finding it impossible to subdue him even when they had taken the field with a large army, and recognizing his valour and ability, then made a compact with him by which he entered their service and eventually received a territory of his own, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east (?) by the (?) Prēhara(?), of which he was anointed chief or king. His son was Kāhavavaran,6 and

1 I quote from the English translation.
2 It will be seen from the above that in my opinion this poem, however interesting, is not written in the highest Kāvy style. So far as I can see, its author was better acquainted with the Mahābhārata than with the Kāvyas which may have existed in his time.
3 For the details, see the translation, below.
4 Śrīparvata, which we also find in line 1 of the Chikkuli plate of Vīrāvendravarman II. (above, Vol. IV, p. 135), I here as there take to be the sacred Śrīsalla in the Kārṇṇ region. The modern Kṛśakallī, situated on the west of the Eastern Ghats, between them and the river Kistna; see Constable's Hand Atlas of India, Plate 34, D a.
5 According to Prof. Hultsch (South-Ind. Insr. Vol. III, p. 89) the capital of the Bāṇa dynasty appears to have been Tiruvallām, as one of its names was Viṣṇupuram, and as it belonged to the district of Perumbadvappāli, i.e., the country of the Great Bāṇa. Tiruvallām is only about 40 miles west by north of Conjeeveram (Kāchiphūra). It may be noted that the Brihad-Bāṇa of our text exactly corresponds to the Tamil Perumbāṇa; bhrat apparently forms an essential part of the name, and is not a mere epithet or ornas.
6 It is significant that, while the name of the founder of the family, Mayūrāsārman, ends with ārman, the names of nearly all his descendents (Kaśāgaravāman, Kākusthavāman, Śāntivarman, Mrigēvarman, Māndhāgāvarman, etc.) end with ārman. The former is the characteristic ending of a Brāhmaṇ's name, the latter that of a Kṣattriya. In the inscriptions of the later Kadambas Mayūrāsārman's name, too, appears as Mayūrāvarman; see my Southern List, No. 210.
his son was Bhagiratha. Bhagiratha's sons, again, were Raghu and Kākustha (Kākusthavarman). Nothing of note is recorded of these later chiefs, excepting that Kākusthavarman is intimated to have married his daughters to the Gupta and other kings.

When in the course of the above story Kubja, in verse 20, tells us that Mayūraśarman, after entering the service of the Pallavas, pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles, I understand him to mean that at first Mayūraśarman became a dānādāya or general of theirs; and I believe this view to be supported by the fact that in verse 3 the poet describes the Kadamba family generally as 'the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies (śānaś),’ as well as by the circumstance that according to verse 22 Mayūraśarman was anointed by Śaṅkunana (the six-faced god of war) after meditating on Śenāpati, i.e. the general of the gods (Kārttikēya). With regard to the territory afterwards given to him, there is the difficulty that the word Prēharē or Prēhāra, which indicates its boundary on apparently the east, is entirely unknown to us. The present inscription is at Tālagunda, and one of the chief places of the Kadambas mentioned in their copper-plates is Valiayanti, i.e. Banavāḍ, which is not far from the former. Assuming that the eastern boundary of their territory was about as distant from Tālagunda and Banavāḍ as the sea is from them on the West, that boundary would probably have been formed by the river Tāṅgabhadhrā; but I cannot in any way connect the word Prēhara or Prēharā with this river,1 and am in fact unable to suggest any explanation of it.

The word Gupta in verse 31, which implies that Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, has been understood2 to refer in all probability to the Mahārājalīhārīja Samudragupta who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. But beyond the fact that Samudragupta conquered many kings of Southern India, nothing has been adduced to prove this. Granted that Kubja's account cannot be due solely to poetical exaggeration, the Gupta king or kings mentioned by him might, irrespective of other considerations, be any of the Gupta rulers down to the seventh century A.D., and the reference to them cannot in my opinion be used to establish the time of Kākusthavarman with any degree of accuracy. When the poet Bāna3 tells us that the lotus-feet of his great-grandfather Kavēra were adored by many Guptas, we may infer that these Guptas were kings who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century, because we know Bāna himself to have lived at the beginning of the seventh. But if nothing were known regarding Bāna's own time, the statement would not help us in the least to fix in any definite way the time of his great-grandfather.

Another royal family of importance is referred to in verse 33 of the inscription, where we are told that the Śiva shrine near which Kākusthavarman constructed his tank had been worshipped by Sāta Karē (or the Sātakarmī) and other pious kings. I need hardly say that Sāta Karē is a well-known name or surname of several kings of the Andhrabravīya or Sātavaḥana dynasty who ruled over part of Southern India during the first centuries of the Christian era. An inscription of a Sātakarmī has years ago been found, not far from Tālagunda, at Banavāḍ which has already been mentioned.4 And Mr. Rice has been fortunate enough to discover, and has published,5 another inscription of apparently the same Sātakarmī at Malavalli, in the Tālagunda subdivision of the Shikārpur taluka. The existence of these inscriptions shows that, what Kubja tells us, is not at all improbable, and that the poet really knew something of the history of his country.

Kākusthavarman is the earliest king known to us from the published copper-plates of the Kadambas. The present inscription carries the family back by three more generations; from it

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1 There is of course no a priori reason why the word should denote a river more than anything else.
2 See Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV. p. 27.
3 See the 10th of the introductory verses of his Kedambata: anti-Gupt-dr̄chita-pādāpahāraṃ Kavēra-
and the plates I have compiled the following genealogical Table, which will be found to differ considerably from the one published by Mr. Rice in Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 4.

Genealogical Table.

Mayūraśarman.

Kaṅgavarman.

Bhariratha.

Raghu. Kākusthavaran.

Śantivarman. Krishṇavarman I.


Harivarman. Krishṇavarman II.

I ought to state that the correctness of this Table greatly depends on the reliability—assumed here—of the Būr plate, published by Mr. Rice in Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. p. 91, No. 162. These plates record a grant by the Kadamba Dharmamahādrāja Vīshṇuvarman, the eldest son of the aśvamēda-ydīs, the Dharmamahādrāja Krishṇavarman. By stating that Vīshṇuvarman was making the grant with the permission of his jyēṣṭha-pitṛ (i.e. his father's eldest brother) Śantivarmanar (Śantivarman), they enable us to combine, as shown in the Table, the information given by the Bannalalj plates of Krishṇavarman II. (above, Vol. VI. p. 17) with that furnished by various plates from Halai and Dēvagāri (Nos. 604, 606, 608, 610-612 of my Southern List). What I am not sure about in the Table is, whether I have correctly placed Māndhātrivarman and Dēvavaran. Mrigēśavarman was an eldest son, and Māndhātrivarman

1 For the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions known to us see below, p. 34, note 2.

2 I have some doubts about the genuineness of the Būr plate, but see no reason to question what is stated in them regarding the degree of relationship between Vīshṇuvarman and Śantivarman.

3 The word jyēṣṭha-pitṛ is synonymous with jyēṣṭha-tīṭa which in the Vaiśnava, 'a father's eldest brother'; and it is actually used in this sense in the Miraj plates of Jayasheṣha II. Jagadēka, Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 17a, 1. 4. I may note besides that in Edm. VII. 25, 26, Mālava, the eldest brother of Śumāli, is called the pitṛ jyēṣṭha of Śumāli's daughter Kāka, i.e. the eldest brother of the father of Kāka. (Ibid. verse 24 Mālava's grand-daughter Kumbhina is called the sister of Śumāli's grandson Rāvaṇa, and in verse 47 Rāvaṇa is called the brother of the same Kumbhina. This shows how vaguely words denoting relationship were used already in early times in India.)
may have been his younger brother, but there is nothing to prove this with certainty. Dēva- 
varman, described as the son of a Kṛishṇavarman, in my opinion more probably was a son of 
Kriṣṇavarman I. (and younger brother of Vīṣṇuvarman who was an eldest son) than of 
Kriṣṇavarman II.; but of this, again, we have no definite proof. It is also not certain that 
Śiva-ratha was a younger brother of Bhānuvarman. Of the three brothers, Bhānuvarman is 
described as the younger brother of Rāvivarman, Śiva-ratha as the paternal uncle of Harivar-
man. It will be seen that according to the Table the number of generations is eight, not eleven, 
as found by Mr. Rice.

There remains the question as to the age of this inscription. The inscription itself is not 
dated in any way. Of the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions, four are not dated at 
all; ten are dated in regnal years, varying between 2 and 11; and the plates of the Yuvārāja 
Kākusthavarman are dated in the 80th year, which, as intimated already by Dr. Fletch, in all 
probability was reckoned from the commencement of Mayūra-rāman’s reign. Neither in the 
present inscription nor in the plates is there any reference to a king whose time can be 
determined with any certainty; and the inscriptions of other dynasties do not mention any specific Kadamba 
kings. That our inscription belongs to comparatively early times, there can be no doubt. I 
have shown that the rare metre, chiefly employed in it, is elsewhere found in records from about 
the fifth to the seventh century A.D.; and much the same period is indicated by Kākustha-
varman’s connection with some Gupta king or kings. Of the copper-plates which are later than 
this inscription, two—instead of quoting the ordinary lunar months which are quoted in seven 
others—quote fortnights of the rains and winter (vareśa and hēmanta). This also would 
suggest a considerable antiquity, although we must not forget that we have a similar season-date 
in the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II. (above, Vol. III, p. 260), which have been assigned to 
about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. To what particular portion of the time from the 
fifth to the sth century A.D. our inscription should be referred, seems to me extremely difficult 
to say. I have carefully studied all Kadamba inscriptions from a palaeographical point of view, 
and have compared them with other inscriptions from the South, without being able to arrive at 
any certain and definite conclusion. My general impression is that the present inscription may 
be assigned to about the first half of the 6th century A.D.

TEXT.

1 Siddham[1] Namaś-Sivāya || Jayati6 viśvadv[va]-[ṣa]ṁgha-nichit-takamūrttisamā 
janatanaḥ Svānu(m)ru-indra-raśmi-vīchhuritāḥ.30 dyumīma-jātābham-manḍanāḥ || [1a] 
Tam-anu bhūsura dīvija-pravārśa-sāma-rāj-yajur-vivēda-vādinaḥ yat-prasādas-trayāte 

2 || [3a] Atha babhūva dīvija-kulai prāmsū vicharad-guṇaṇvandusvamandalam 
āvabhrīth-sīmā-puṇya-niyat-ābhishēk-ārdra-mūrdhīhajam pravachan-āvagāha-nishūnām

1 See above, Vol. VI, p. 19. 2 See ibid., p. 7.
3 Two dates, with reference to the motion of Jupiter, quality the regnal years by the statements that they were 
Valikha and Pahula years respectively; compare Jad, Ant. Vol. XXI, p. 83 f.
4 Compare above, Vol. IV, p. 195, note 4. 5 See also Dr. Fletch’s Dynasties, p. 291.
6 From impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.
7 This word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.
8 For the metre of verses 1–24 see the introduction.
9 The akṣaras in brackets might perhaps be read as ḍa (or rather ḍa), but the preceding akṣara is clearly ḍa.
10 The reading vichhurita- is certain.
11 The akṣara ṣ of śriād has no superscript r.
vidhivat-samidh-agni soma-pam [5*] Prajnavapurvva-sahavidhaahdyeya-
namaryanau-antaralaya || [6*] akrīśa-chāturmmāsaya-hūm-ahit paid-pārvavaa-śraddha-

3 Atithi-nityasaṃśrit-āvasathān savanasatray-avandhyau-nityakam giriha-samūpa-deśa-

4 Yaḥ prayāya Pallavendrura-purin gurunā samain vīraśrmamān adivijagānuh pravachanaṁ

5 Kuśa-samid-driṣṇat-sug-āyajara-grahau-ādi-dakṣeṣā pātunā udvavahā diptimach

6 Ṛṣiparvattva-dvaram sahasā vinijjiyata saṁy recipient vasmudham || [13*] tatra u-nepallān-Pallavendrāram

7 Pallavendra-yasa, saktimimā labdhvā pratiy-anvayavapi nāśa hāṁśi

8 Vibudha-samgha-maṇi-samrīṣaḥ-śarānāśvindasaḥ-śadhanaḥ yam-abhishtavān

9 Ataḥ nripa-mahitasa tasya pratihata-yaśa Raghu-pārthivah pṛthu-ṝṣiḥ

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1 Originally 'ddhyeyam' seems to have been engraved; the akṣara ṣḍhyā is certain.
2 This sign of punctuation should be struck out.
3 Perhaps the original has savanartraya.
4 Read māvīśa; the sign of accusative of tāna is quite clear.
5 So far as I can judge, this, and not tarkakah, is the reading of the original.
6 Originally udevatā, seems to have been engraved.
7 Originally 'vamdeva' was engraved, but the lower c of the akṣara ved is clearly struck out.
8 Originally 'apadantānandā' seems to have been engraved.
9 This word is quite clear in the original.
10 The second akṣara of this word is distinctly as, and cannot possibly be read esd.
11 Read -ātṛikiṭa-.
12 Read -aśwaśrīta-.
13 Metre of verses 25 and 26: Pashupitāgā. Read -aśwaśrītā.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious is the eternal Śtāṇu, whose one body is framed by the coalescence of all the gods; who is adorned with a mass of matted hair, lustrous because inlaid with the rays of the moon.

(V. 2.) After him, victorious are the gods on earth, the chief of the twice-born, who recite the Śāma-, Ṛg- and Yajur-vedas; whose favour constantly guards the three worlds from the fear of evil.

(V. 3.) And next, victorious is Kākusthavarman, whose form is like that of the lord of the gods (and) whose intelligence is vast; the king who is the leader of the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies.

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1 Metre: Vaśantātikākā.
2 Metre: Śāntīlakavikṛtiṇa.
3 Read: śāntīkṛpaṇaṃ.
4 Metre: Maṇīkṛptaṇa.
5 Metre of verses 30 and 31: Vaśantātikākā.
6 Metre: Ādhibhūta.
7 Metre: Ādhibhūta.
8 The akṣara di of this word is quite clear.
9 Metre: Ādhibhūta.
10 Read: adhvīrāchātraṃ.
11 The reading taddakamā is certain.
12 Metre: Vaśantātikākā.
13 With verses 1-3 compare the first three verses of the Alhoje inscription of Pulakēśin II., above, Vol. VI. p. 4 and p. 7, note 15.
14 Le. the god Śiva.
15 Le. the Brāhmaṇa.
(V. 4.) There was a high family of twice-born, the circle of whose virtues, resembling the moon's rays, 1 was (ever) expanding; in which the sons of Hāriti trod the path of the three Vēdas, (and) which had sprung from the gōtra of Mānavya, 2 the foremost of Rishis.

(V. 5.) Where the hair was wet from being constantly sprinkled with the holy water of the purificatory rites of manifold sacrifices; which well knew how to dive into the sacred lore, kindled the fire and drank the Sōma according to precept.

(V. 6.) Where the interiors of the houses loudly resounded with the sixfold subjects of study 3 preceded by the word dān; which promoted the increase of ample chandmārga sacrifices, burnt-offerings, oblations, animal sacrifices, new- and full-moon and  ājñāḍha rites.

(V. 7.) Where the dwellings were ever resorted to by guests (and) the regular rites not wanting in the three libations; (and) where on a spot near the house there grew one tree with blooming Kadamba flowers.

(V. 8.) Then, as the (family) tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of (these) Brāhmaṇ fellow-students, currently (accepted) as distinguishing them. 4

(V. 9.) In the Kadamba family thus arisen there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūraśarman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest.

(V. 10.) With his preceptor Viraśarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords, 5 and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the ghatikā 6 as a mendicant. 7

(V. 11 and 12.) There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (he reflected): 'Alas, that in this Kali-age the Brāhmaṇs should be so much feeble than the Kṣatriyas! For, if to one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēdas, the perfection in holiness depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this?' And so—

(V. 13.) With the hand dexterous in grasping the kūta-grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation-vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth.

(V. 14.) Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier-guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.

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2 In the fourteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions enumerated under Nos. 602-614 of my Southern List, to which may now be added the Beqūr plates in Sp. Curr. Vol. V. Part I. p. 504, the two epithets Mānavya-saṅgōtra and Hāriti-pūtra are six times applied to the Kadambas generally, and four times to individual Kadamba kings; in one case (No. 618) Mānavya-saṅgōtra alone is applied to a king. The word rupanmadharman of the text, which with Hāriti-pūtra forms a Bahavrhi compound, I take to be practically equivalent to saḍdhyḍya-čaḥṛḍpa (ḥaṛḍika, etc.) in the terms pratiṣkṛtasaḍdhyḍya-čaḥṛḍpa, etc., of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 15, note 3. None of the terms mentioned here occur in my No. 602, the only plates which are earlier than the present inscription.
3 I.e. the six Vēdāṅgas.
4 The simple meaning of the verse is that the members of the family, as they tended the Kadamba tree, came to be currently called by the specific name ‘Kadamba.’ I take the word saṁyoga-saḍharmyaṃ of the text to be a Karmāṅkara, not a Dvandva compound; it literally means ‘a sameness of property which appears as sameness of name’ (saṁyoga-ṛgaḥ sarvaḥ saḍharmyaṃ).
5 In. Kāśipura.
6 I.e. a particular establishment for holy and learned men, probably founded by a king; see my introductory remarks, above, p. 23.
7 The word tarka is given in Hāmachaṇḍa’s Abhidhānachintāmadīvi, v. 388, as a synonym of ydchaka, etc., and is explained by ydchaka in a gloss on Rājarājaṇātī, III. 354.
8 The attainment of holiness was obstructed by the rage caused by the Pallava king's horseman.
(Vv. 15 and 16.) He levied many taxes from the circle of kings headed by the Great Bāna. So he shone, as with ornaments, by these exploits of his which made the Pallava lords knit their brows—exploits which were charming since his vow began to be fulfilled thereby and which secured his position—as well as by the starting of a powerful raid.

(Vv. 17 and 18.) When the enemies, the kings of Kāñchi, came in strength to fight him, he—in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault—lighted upon the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength. (So) he bore that trouble, relying solely on the sword of his arm.

(V. 19.) The Pallava lords, having found out this strength of his as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be no advantage, and so they quickly chose him even for a friend.

(V. 20.) Then entering the kings' service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts (pallava) of their hands.

(V. 21.) And (he) also received a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) Prēhara, secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it.

(Vv. 22 and 23.) Of him—whom Shahāna, whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, anointed, after meditating on Sānāpati with the Mothers—the son was Kangavarman, who performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars, (and) whose diadem was shaken by the white crowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (before him).

(V. 24.) His son was Bhagiratha, the one lord dear to the bride— the Kadamba country, Sāgara's chief descendant in person, secretly born in the Kadamba family as king.

(V. 25.) Now the son of him who was honoured by kings was the earth's highly prosperous ruler Rāghu, of wide-spread fame; who, having subdued the enemies, by his valour, like Pṛithu, caused the earth to be enjoyed by his race.

(V. 26.) Who in fearful battles, his face slashed by the swords of the enemy, struck down the adversaries facing him; who was well-versed in the ways of sacred lore, a poet, a donor, skilled in manifold arts, and beloved of the people.

(V. 27.) His brother was Bhagiratha's son Kākustha, of beautiful form, with a voice deep as the cloud's, clever in the pursuit of salvation and the three objects of life, and kind to his lineage; a lord of men with the lion's gait, whose fame was proclaimed on the orb of the earth.

(V. 28.) Him, to whom war with the stronger, compassion for the needy, proper protection of the people, the distress of the distressed, honour paid to the chief twice-born by (the bestowal of)

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1. For the attack made on him by the Pallavas.
2. See the introductory remarks, above, p. 23.
3. With the wording of the original text I would compare e.g. from the Virāśaṅkara of the Mahābhārata: aṣṭādaśa-ṣaṣṭa, etc., but there the meaning is the remaining 18th year, to which was attached the condition that they should dwell incognito. The sense of the passage in our inscription I take to be similar to that of e.g. asnaṇḍaṇḍaṁ-svārtha in Rāg. I. 30, "the earth, not ruled by any other king."
4. Shahāna and Sānāpati are really only two different names of one and the same divine being (Skanda, Kārttika).
5. Compare the epithet—of either the Kadambas generally or individual Kadamba kings—Svāmi-Mahāśeṣa-nadī-prajñā-dānaka-bhikṣukas in the copper-plates, e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 14, line 2 of the text, and p. 18, line 8 of the text. See also above, p. 34, note 2.
7. With the wording of this verse we may compare Gupta Insr. p. 53, lines 6 and 7 of the text. The story of the earth's conquest by the mythical Pṛithu is well known from the Vīshṇupurāṇa.
8. Pīt. dharmo, ortha and ādme.
pre-eminent wealth, were the rational ornament of a ruler (who wished to be) an ornament of his family, kings thought to be indeed Kākustha, the friend of the gods, descended here.

(V. 29.) As herds of deer, oppressed by the heat, when they enter a cluster of trees, have their minds delighted by the enjoyment of the shade and find comfort, so kinsmen with their belongings, who were waylaid by the stronger, had their minds relieved and found shelter, when they entered his territory.

(V. 30.) And in his house which contained manifold collections of choice wealth, the gateways of which were perfumed with the rutting juice of lordly elephants in rut, (and) which gaily resounded with music, the lady Fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long.

(V. 31.) This sun of a king by means of his rays — his daughters — caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups — the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (for him), and which were cherished by many bees — the kings (who served them).

(V. 32.) Now to him, favoured by destiny, of no mean energy, endowed with the three powers, the crest-jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down (even) while he was sitting quiet — they who could not be subdued by the other five measures of royal policy together.

(V. 33.) Here, at the home of perfection of the holy primeval god Bhava, which is frequented by groups of Siddhas, Gandharvas and Rakshas, which is ever praised with auspicious recitations of sacred texts by Brahman students solely devoted to manifold vows, sacrifices and initiatory rites, (and) which was worshipped with faith by Sāvākarni and other pious kings seeking salvation for themselves, that king Kākusthavarman has caused to be made this great tank, a reservoir for the supply of abundant water.

(V. 34.) Abiding by the excellent commands of that (king’s) own son, the wide-famed glorious king Sāntivarman whose beautiful body is made radiant by the putting on of three fillets, Kubja has written this poem of his own on the surface of the stone.

Obeisance to the holy Mahādēva who dwells at Sāhānakundūra! May joy attend this place, inhabited by men come from all the neighbourhood! Blessed be the people!

No. 6.—JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN;

THE YEAR 72.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

This inscription was first edited, with a translation and small lithograph, in April 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in Journal As. Soc. Bengali, Vol. VII. p. 338 ff. and Plate xv, from a facsimile at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay had been prepared by

1 The proper spelling of this word in literature is Kākutsthā. The mythical being referred to probably is Rāma.
2 The general idea expressed in the above is very common; compare e.g., in a Kadamba inscription, Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 37, line 13 of the text, svamā-kumudavama-prabhākara-sāñcakārah, and in another inscription, above, Vol. VII. p. 297, line 4 of the text, kula-kumudacāsa-lakṣmī-nī-līlākara-sāñcakārah-sundaram śiva. Whether our author has been very successful in elaborating that idea in detail, the reader may judge for himself; he may compare Raśā. XVII. 48, where the spies of a king are compared to the rays (ādikāri) of the sun; and, for the lotus-groups, filaments, bees, and the sun’s rays, Kīr. IV. 14. The word ādikāri of the verse must of course denote the king’s daughters; and what the poet wishes to say can only be that they were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings.
3 Kīr. the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy; see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, note 7.
4 For the six gāthō, i.e., measures of royal policy, see e.g., Rām. II. 100, 69, Rāṣṭ. VIII. 21, Śit. II. 26, and Manu VII. 160 ff. One of them, dama, ‘sitting quiet, halting,’ we have in the word dama-sthānam of our verse; the five others are alliance, war, marching, dividing the army, and seeking protection.
5 Śa. Śiva.
6 Compare also ibid. Plate six.
Captain Lang of the Káthiávád Political Agency. A critical essay on that edition was published in 1841 by Prof. Lassen in Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. IV. p. 146 ff.; and Prinsep's translation was subsequently reprinted, with part of a revised translation by Prof. H. H. Wilson, in Mr. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 57 ff. A month after the appearance of Prinsep's edition fresh facsimiles of the original were taken by Lient. Postana, but they reached Calcutta only when Prinsep, at whose instance they were made, had already left India; and in July 1842 another facsimile, the joint labour of Captain (afterwards General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard and a young Bráhman, was presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and a small lithograph of it published in the Society's Journal, Vol. I. p. 148. A great advance in the reading and interpretation of the inscription was made in 1862, when, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 118 ff., Dr. Bhanu Daji again published the text and a translation of it, with a large lithograph reduced from facsimiles made by Bhagvanlal Indraji. Moreover, a revised version of Dr. Bhanu Daji's work, by Prof. Eggeling, appeared in 1876, in Archael. Surv. of West. India, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., with a collotype from stampages by Dr. Burgess. Two years later Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji's own text and translation were published, under the editorship of Prof. Bühler, in Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. And finally, in 1899, Prof. Bühler again gave the text and a translation of part of it, in his essay Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie, pp. 45 ff. and 86 ff.—Some four or five years ago Dr. Fleet most generously presented to me his excellent paper impression of the inscription and requested me to re-edit this record. In now, at last, complying with his request, I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to the labours of my predecessors. Though from the first I saw that I could add but little to the main results of their work, I have persevered in my task because I felt that, even in its more minute details, the text of this, our earliest Sanskrit inscription of importance, ought to be given in as reliable a form as possible. A careful study of the impression enables me to add that the accompanying photo-lithograph, made under Dr. Fleet's own supervision, apparently is the first facsimile of this inscription that has been prepared by purely mechanical processes.

The inscription is on the western side, near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the Aúká edicts as well as a long inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta, about a mile to the eastward of the town of Junágadh in Káthiávád, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnár. It contains twenty lines of varying length of well-engraved writing which covers a space of about 11' 1" broad by 5' 5" high. Of these, only the four last lines (17-20) are fully preserved, while in each of the lines 1-16, as will be seen from the facsimile, a more or less extensive part of the writing is entirely gone, through wilful damage or the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Taking the total length of the twenty lines to be about 1900", the missing portion of the writing would be about 275", or approximately one-seventh of the whole inscription. Where the surface of the rock has
remained intact, the writing is generally well preserved and may be read with confidence nearly throughout. The average size of such letters as n, p, b, m is about 2½.

The characters according to Dr. Fleet (Gupta Inscl. p. 57) present an earlier form of the decidedly southern alphabet in the inscription of Skandagupta on the same rock. And this agrees with the opinion of Prof. Bühler who, in his Ind. Palæographie, p. 42, has described the alphabet here used as one of the precursors of the southern alphabets. Some of the more characteristic features in which this alphabet agrees with the later southern alphabets, according to Prof. Bühler, are the curves at the lower end of the vertical strokes of initial a and d and of the consonants k, ṣ, and r, the round form of ḍ,¹ the manner in which the upper part of the vertical line of l is turned towards the left, and the form of medial ri which sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the subscript ɾ. Of initial vowels the inscription contains only a, ḍ, i, and e (e.g. in Adhikasya, l. 8, ḍ ghrbdḥ-, l. 9, idaṁ, l. 1, and dhárśana-, l. 5); of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants all excepting ṣ and ṭḥ, but ṣb, ṡ, ṭḥ and ṭḥ occur only as subscript letters (e.g. in -oḥohhraya-, l. 1, rájñd, l. 3, sauśthava-, l. 13, and sṛṣṭa-, l. 14). We have besides the so-called southern ḳ, in -pālakatvāt-, l. 1, -pṛvindā-, l. 3, pratiṣṭhā-, l. 9 (but not in pranādyā in the same line), and yvā-, l. 10. The signs for ṭ, ḍ and ṭḥ are throughout clearly distinguished as may be seen from e.g. sahaṁ, taḍdakāṁ and drṣṭha, in line 1. Of final consonants only ɾ occurs, in -ṛśt, l. 7. Subscript consonants, including Ṧ, are written by the ordinary full forms of the letters, excepting perhaps the l of Pahlavêna, l. 19, which has a somewhat cursive form. The superscript ṛ stands well above the top-line of the consonants, and in syllables like rbhā, ṛṭi, rśe, etc., is the bearer of those vowel-signs which are ordinarily attached to the top of a letter. Medial ṭ, ḍ, ṡ and ṭ are mostly denoted by quite horizontal lines which are generally attached to the top of the consonant sign; (see e.g. taḍdakāṁ, l. 1, parījanyēna, l. 5, vamṣjanaiṁ, l. 15, and ghāra-, l. 7; but compare also e.g. ṭa in taḍṭfadak-, l. 6, ṣbhā in dhāraṇa-, l. 13, ṭe in sarasapādaṇa, l. 10, ım in -āyāmōḥohhraya-, l. 1, and other instances in which the vowel-signs are not attached to the top). As regards ṭ, the chief exceptions to this are formed by ṭa—compare e.g. [ṣa]fattēn-, l. 2, and by ṭa where (except in oṃ-āruttē-, l. 18) ṭ is denoted by a hook-shaped line at the right top of ṭa (as in māyā-, l. 15). For ṭ, ṭ and ṭi compare e.g. niḥśandhi- and -pālakatvāt-, l. 1, srīṣṭa-ṣrīṣṭiṁda-, l. 5, and -āvīṛṣṭi-, l. 11. Except in ṭu, medial ṭ is denoted by a subscript curved line which is turned to the right when the consonant sign (as in y, t, ṭ) is open at the bottom or (as in k and ṭ) ends in a single down-stroke, while otherwise it is turned to the left; compare e.g. gu in gulema-, l. 7, tu in sītu, l. 2, ku in Kukur-, l. 11, with su in Sudaṁjanaṁ, l. 1, pu in puṭraṁga-, l. 4, mun in -abhimukh, l. 10, etc. For the corresponding forms of ṭ compare bhā in bhātyāṁ-, l. 5, ṭa in oḥṛṣṭya-, l. 12, with sthā in sthāla and ṭa in caśāyā-, l. 14, etc. For ṭu and ṭa see e.g. taru- and -śuṛpa-,- l. 6. As in the case of u and ū, there are three forms of medial ū, one of which appears in the pun of puṭra-, l. 4, and puṇu, l. 16 and 18, another in the pun of Yauchṛṣṭyān, l. 12, and sau of saunakṣhara-, l. 13, and the third in the pun of dhanuḥaṁ, l. 16, and the pun of Maunusya, twice in line 8. The signs of the jihvāmālyā and upadhāntiya do not occur; but the characters, in line 4, include numerical symbols for 70 and 2. A sign of punctuation, consisting in a single slanting line, is employed only at the end of the inscription.

¹ In Table III. Col. vii. of Prof. Bühler's work, where the alphabet of the inscription is given, the sign of ṭa (No. 18) is imperfectly drawn; it resembles the da rather than the ṭa of the inscription. The signs No. 16 (which also is mutilated) and No. 25 in the same column, which unaccountably are transcribed by ṭa and sa, are really ṭa and sa, and Prof. Bühler's remarks on them, on p. 42 of his text, are therefore incorrect.

² Compare, similarly, ṭājñā in lines 3 and 4.

³ In the sa of samudrakṣaṁ, l. 17, the subscript sign is exceptionally turned towards the right.

⁴ The sa of puṇa is not, as has been stated, like the sa of the puṇa given in Prof. Bühler's Table II. Col. xviii. No. 28, but differs from it in this that the shorter horizontal line is placed below, not above, the longer one.
The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, we may notice the use, already mentioned above, of the lingual " in the words pd̐i, l. 1, pranati, l. 2 and 9 (but not in prandyya, l. 9), and eüdla, l. 10; the exceptional doubling of p before r in pāda-pratisparadhi- and supratisvihita-pranadhi-, both in line 2, and of t and n before y in prabhṝkitya-avahata-, l. 9, and kannyā-, l. 15, (but not e.g. in cūparattī, l. 6, mahātya=spa, l. 3, and parjanyāna, l. 5); the insertion (occasionally found in later inscriptions from the south) of an anusvāra before n and m in marudhāmanu, l. 8, and abhigamya, l. 9; and the use (common enough everywhere) of t instead of tt in satvādāḥhi, l. 14, and atēmahatād, l. 17. There is, besides, a certain want of uniformity in the writing, shown by the fact, that after r, consonants (excepting sibilants) are doubled 33 times but left single 25 times; that, in the interior of simple words before ch, t, d, etc., the special nasal of a class is used 12 times and anusvāra 8 times; and that at the end of a word, before following s, visarga is left unchanged 6 times and changed to s three times. With reference to the external sanātaka it may also be noted that no less than 10 times the rules concerning the combination of final vowels with following initial vowels were disregarded, even where two words are closely connected in sense (as e.g. in parijanaye ēkārava-bhūttāyan-, l. 5, -dv[ś]dārayād anusvārdarād, l. 12); that before an initial vowel anusvāra is three times written instead of n (as e.g. in nādimā, atmāt, l. 6); and that in vījāya chaśāra, l. 8, visarga has been left unchanged before ch. And as regards the internal sanātaka, the dental n has been wrongly used instead of the lingual n in -anuvāga, l. 13, and Svādhśram, l. 18. These two last may of course be mere clerical errors; and so no doubt are -vēga for -vēga, in line 7, rakhsha-artha for rakhsha-artha, in line 9, mīravyām-avajitya-avajitya for mīravyām-avajitya-avajitya in line 12, and very probably tasmi for tasmin, in line 9, and kōla for kōlā, in line 16. The t of vīcchā-uttārān in line 7 may be ascribed to the influence of the Pāṇḍita vt; what the author intended was vīchā-uttārān, where vīchā would have been used for vīchā in accordance with the practice of literary works like the Rāmdāyaṇa. In -dv[ś]dārayād, l. 12, for apparently -āvāratayād, the syllable to must have been left out by a mistake of the writer; and similarly the syllable kri may have been omitted in Mauryaṇya tē, l. 8, for which I propose to read Mauryaṇya kriyā. Looking at the language in general, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, vartatā in line 3 and dēit in line 7, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs, viz., in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another dēit in line 8, and perhaps one verb in line 9. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand — and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose

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1 This word is ordinarily spelt prandēb or prandēt.— Attention may perhaps be drawn also to the spelling of tadāko, l. 1, and vaidāra, l. 14. This last word, according to the Nāgarī MSS. of Pāṇini's Ashtadhyāya and of the Mahābhāshya and the Kāśīdārāsā on P. IV. 3, 84, would have to be spelt vaidāra; but the Kāśmir MSS. known to me derive it from vādāra. Vaidāra also is the reading of the MSS. of Hēmchandra's grammar which I have compared. In Pāli the word is vajirāya.

2 This use of the anusvāra as well as the non-observance of the rules of sanātaka may be due to the influence of the Pāṇḍita.

3 The statement that ch has been frequently omitted before chá in this inscription is incorrect; it has not been omitted once.

4 See the note on the text. If the reading were really tasmay, the anusvāra here too might be ascribed to the influence of the Pāṇḍita (Pāli).

5 Compare, e.g., vīrā-śāga, Rāma. (Bombay ed.) III. 32, 8 (vīrāti-śāga, but against the metre, III. 35, 9); vīnāś-pāvana, V. 1, 154; VI. 39, 20; vīnāśa, VI. 67, 7 and 99; adhunvīnāśa, IV. 42, 20.— Either vīnāś- or vīnāś was apparently intended above, Vol. III. p. 321, l. 15.
works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. On a rough calculation the text contains about 1,380 syllables; about 440 of them belong to 144 simple words, while the remaining 890 are taken up by 88 compound nouns, consisting variously of from two to as many as fifteen members. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence. In respect of inflection and syntax, the language is generally correct. Of grammatically wrong forms there is only the instrumental pastiśā (for patyā), in line 11; but this form is equally found in the Rāmdēyana, Mahābhārata and similar works, with which the writer seems to have been familiar. An unusual construction we have in ausatra saṅgrāmāśu, ‘except in battles,’ in line 10, for the customary ausatra saṅgrāmābhyaśa; a redundant word in a garbhāt-prabhṛti, ‘from the womb,’ in line 9, for either a garbhāt or garbhāt-prabhṛti; and an apparently wrong addition of pūtra in anupariśiṣṭapūrṇa, in line 10, used in the sense of simply anupariśiṣṭa. Of words not found in dictionaries the text presents only uputatā, in line 6, denoting in my opinion ‘an upper story,’ and Svabhāra, in line 11, as the name of a particular country or people; but attention may also be drawn to the words miṃgha, l. 3, viśīṭa, l. 8, and prapaṇagṛīḍa, l. 16, the meanings of which will be considered below.

The author’s disposition of his subject-matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahākṣatrapa Ruciḍāman, of the lake Sudārśana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words ‘this lake Sudārśana’ with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition (lines 1-3). It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Ruciḍāman (ll. 3-7). All the water having escaped, the lake, from being sudārśana, became durdurśana (ll. 7-8). The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta, and was perfected under the Maurya Aśoka (ll. 8-9). It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (sudārśanatara) by Ruciḍāman (ll. 9-16), under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suśiṣṭakha (ll. 17-20).—From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description, and a record of the exploits, of the Mahākṣatrapa by whom it was accomplished (ll. 9-15). The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short, though historically important, sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in

1 That the author has used what I may call the epic viṃśat— the text actually has viśat— for viṃśati, has been already stated. The phrase paurṇa-jānapadam Janam in line 16 is a Pāli of an ordinary Śūka, and actually occurs in the Rāmdēyana; and we find in the text a number of words which seem peculiar to, or at any rate occur often in, epic poetry.

2 ausatra saṅgrāmāśu has been said to be the quite correct expression for ‘except in battles,’ but whether correct or not from a theoretical point of view, it is not the customary Sanskrit expression, as may be seen from the numerous quotations under ausatra in the St. Petersburg dictionary. In fact, the authors of that work quote only a single passage from the Mahābhārata in which ausatra “quite exceptionally” is not construed with the ablative. The case, for all I know, may be different in Pāli; but when in Aśoka’s edict VI. (Ulmār, l. 14, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 456) we read dukaratva tu idam aśaṭa agena parākramena,” but this is difficult to do except by the utmost exertion,” this in Sanskrit would have to be expressed by dukkaratva te-idam-anupariśṭapūrṇa parākramcit. And I could certainly quote many passages from the Jātakas in which aśaṭa is construed with the ablativus, while theoretically another case might have been considered more appropriate. With the passage in our inscription we may to a certain extent compare Eda. V. 69, 19 and 64, 32: dṛṣṭiḥ na cchaddhena Hemānakatī dṛṣṭiḥ na cchaddhena Bahumātikā.

3 I must leave it to Pāli scholars to decide whether the author could have been possibly misled by the Pāli to employ anupariśṭapūrṇa for anupariśiṣṭa (or so kṣīṭhis-udātana). In Jāt. Vol. VI. p. 76, l. 15 (tatra mani mañcaḥkā puṣcchitamanta; 1 api na kha te mahārāja Himavanta vasante na kāle achedāryam dhiṭṭhāpibbaś’ti) dhiṭṭhāpibbaś undoubtedly is equivalent to simply dhiṭṭhā.

4 I refer to the fact that the Maurya Chandragupta and (his grandson) Aśoka (under this name) are mentioned in this sentence.
a piece of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Bühler\(^1\) has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterization of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word Sudârakam, the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an impromptu, the so-called astra-dhâlasâkram may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of sadâlaksâra which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words (as e.g. in praharâna-višaraṇa, l. 10, samagraṇân . . . viśayadhâna viśayândhâna, l. 11, avidhânya-vaidhânyâm, l. 12, -nâma . . . -dâmnâ . . . Rudrâdâman, l. 15, tâktaṇa dântena-chapalâṇa-devamitya-dhâryâṇa-devâryâṇa, l. 19, etc.),\(^2\) and be occasionally makes use of the ornament of alliteration (as e.g. in akrutrimēṇa sātu-bhâtâ-nopâpamāna su-pra-tâ-viha-parrâṇâ-pa-mânas-mâhâvâdâna, l. 2, etc.).

The general purport of the inscription has been given above. It remains to point out briefly some details, the full discussion of which, after all that has already been written about them,\(^3\) would necessitate a careful examination of other records some of which are in course of being re-edited critically by another scholar, and lies beyond the scope of this paper. The principal figure in our inscription is (the Western Khatrapa,) the king (and) Mahâkhatrapa Rudradâman; the name of his father (the Khatrapa Jayadâman) was given in line 4, but has disappeared; his father’s father was the king (and) Mahâkhatrapa, Lord Châshâna (l. 4). From an epithet in line 15 we learn that Rudradâman himself acquired or assumed the title of Mahâkhatrapa. Other epithets in lines 11 and 12 tell us that by his own valour he gained, and became the lord of, eastern and western Ákarâvanti,\(^4\) the Anûpa country, Ánarta, Surâshâtra, Sâvabha, Maru, Kachchha, Sindh-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparânta, Nishâda and other territories; that he destroyed the Yauhdâya; and that he twice defeated Sâkakârî,\(^5\) the lord of Daksâhipâatha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him. The storm by which the lake Sudârakam was devastated is stated (in lines 4 and 5) to have taken place on the first of the dark half of Mârgâsîrha in the 72nd year—according to the actual wording of the text—of Rudradâman himself; but the meaning clearly is\(^6\) that it took place during the reign of Rudradâman, on the given day in the 72nd year of the era used by Rudradâman (and the Western Khatrapas generally). With other scholars I feel convinced that this is the Saka era,\(^7\) and taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year, I find that the date would correspond to either the 18th October, or more probably the 16th November, A.D. 150. Accordingly, our inscription may be assumed to have been composed about A.D. 151 or 152.

The minister Suviśâkha, by whom the work of restoring the dam of the lake was carried out, is called (in line 19) a Pañhâva and the son of Kulaipâ, and is stated (in line 18) to have been appointed by the king (Rudradâman) to govern (the province of) Ánarta and Surâshâtra.\(^8\) The officials who in earlier times had constructed and perfected the lake under Chandragupta and Asôka respectively were (line 8) the provincial governor, the Vaisyâ\(^9\) Pushyagupta, and the ‘Yavana king’ Tushâspha, governing (the province or district under Asôka).

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1. See his Die Indischen Inschriften, p. 51 f.
2. For quite similar instances compare e.g. the first pages of the Dasa-kunḍrakarita.
4. For some of these names see the Nâlik inscription in Arch. Surv. of West. India, Vol. IV. p. 168, line 2.
5. I.e. one of the Andhrâbhritya kings; but there is a difference of opinion as to which of them is here intended.
6. Compare the similar dates of my Northern List, No. 430, etc., and of my Southern List, No. 602.
8. The Vaisyâs according to Varhamihira are a people of the western division; see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 102.
Proper names, other than those given in the preceding, that occur in the inscription, are (besides the name Sudarśana of the lake itself) Girinagara in line 1, Uṛjayatā, the name of a mountain, in line 5, and Suvarṇasikatā and Pañalāśi, the names of two rivers, in lines 5 and 6. Of these, Girinagara, 'the hill-city,' as was recognized already by Prof. Lassen, is the earlier name of the town of Junāgad or its ancient representative, 1 while Uṛjayatā denotes the mountain now called Gīrār. 2 Of the two rivers the first, according to Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, is a small perennial stream now called Sonarēkha; the name of the other does not seem to survive.

**TEXT.**


2 da-pratisparīddhi-suṣūli[t]a-[ba]-[udha?]-mān 10 [va]jātēn-ākṛitrīṃcā\a

sētubandhēn-opapannām suppravitibhits-pranāḥ-par[ī]aḥ\a

3 miḍhavidhānaṁ\a cha tri-skān-[dha?] 12 n-ādibhir-anugrahair-mahatv=upachyō varatāt [*] Tad-idam rājō mahākhaṭrapasya sugrihi-

4 ta-nāmānā Śvāmi-Chaṣṭṭhānasya paṅcura 14 Ṣ putrasya rājō mahākhaṭrapasya

5 Mārggaśīraḥ-16 bha-ṣānā-prast[1] 14 \a śriṣṭ[a]-yāṣṭiṇā pari-jayena18 ēkārṇa-

bhūtāyāṁ-iva prīthivyāṁ kritāyām girer-Uṛjayatāḥ Suvarṇasikatā-

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2 See *Gupta Insr.* p. 57.
3 From Dr. Fleet's impression. An asterisk after a letter or syllable shows that such letter or syllable is entirely broken away. In the following notes the letter B denotes Prof. Bühler's text, the letter I. that of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji.
4 B has taḍāka, but the second syllable is undoubtedly da; compare da in -taḍādaśa-, l. 6. The word is split taḍāka also in the Junāgad rock inscription of Skanda Gupta, *Gupta Insr.* p. 61, li. 21 and 23. - It may be noted that Prinsep's wrong reading taḍāka is responsible for the word taḍāka, 'shore,' of our dictionaries.
5 I. and B have *Girinagarā-[dri-paḍa-rāma],* but in his notes I. Prof. Bühler stated that the reading *śārī* is very improbable. In the impression, the *akṣara* which by Bhagvanlal Indraji was read *drī* seems undoubtedly to be only *da,* and the following *akṣara* cannot be read *pd,* but is most probably *pi.*
6 The original apparently had *śrītītīk.-*
7 I. has -ōcēhṛaya.-
8 B. omits -ādibhir.
9 From here, commencing with the *t* of aśa, the lower part of the *akṣaras* is broken away. The word read *bandhām* might equally well be *داددَمَ.*
10 Here there are remainsders of three *akṣara*s, the second of which seems to have contained the conjunct *rā.-*
11 I. and B. have -parivṛddha.-
12 The sign of *aṣmāra* over *a* looks somewhat like the superscript *r.-*
13 I. and B. have -śāṁdām.-
14 The lacuna may be filled up thus: *paur[a]-ra[ja]-n[ah] kha[ṭa]ra[pa]sa[yu] ga[ri]kṣ[a]-as[ma]-[nih] S[adnai-

Jayādāmo]-; but I should have expected five or six syllables more.
15 I. and B. have *Maṛga.-*
16 B. has *pa,-* but the *akṣara* *pa* and the *t* of *ti* are clear in the impression. The original most probably had *prati-padi.-*
17 I. and B. have *śrīṣṭ[a]-,* but the sign of *visarga* before *śrīṣṭ[a]-* is quite clear. What remains of the *akṣara* preceding the *visarga* looks as if that *akṣara* had contained the letter *k* or *r,* or a subscript *u.*
18 Bhati *śyāntakād.*
6 Palāśini-prabhṛtiḥāṃ nadiṇāṁ atimāt-śvēryāt-vvēgalaḥ sōtum-[a?].

7 sā-paramahōra-vvōgēṇā vāyūnā pramathita-saila-vikshipta-jarjarikrit-āvā[di?].

8 pañca-saptati-[a] hastān-avagāḥōna bhēdēna nissīrt-sarvya-tōyān marudāhāṁvaka.11


10 satyaprajñāśena anya[t]sa saṅgrāmēshyābhimukhēgata-sadṛśa-satru-praharāṇa-

11 marudhanva[ci], which is the reading of I. and B.

12 L. and B. have Mauryasya.

13 I. has =ekṣūṭ.

14 I. has =ābhūṣaya.

15 Read "vāṣṭuṣṭaṣṭām.

16 I. and B. have vāṣṭuṣṭām.

17 For to Dr. Bhaun Daji proposed tēha, and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajil sat. I would suggest kriṭī. 

18 I. and B. have Tushḍēpāṇa, but the sign for pā is distinct in two impressions of this passage. Compare also Dr. Friel in Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 195.

19 B. omits kṛita.

20 The original may possibly have tasmiṁ, as read by Prines. Read tasmina.

21 I. has praxadīya, and B. praxadīya, but praxadīya is quite distinct.

22 This akṣhara has been hitheato read ud, but the back of the impression clearly shows that ud was engraved; this must be the last syllable of a noun in the instrumental case. Read udāgarātā.

23 The vowel i over d is to be quite certain; of the akṣhara which follows upon di the upper part is gone, and what remains looks like the remnant of pu or sa rather than of ta. But I consider samadīta to be certain; sasudaya would be impossible.

24 Read abhīṣagama, which is the reading of I. and B.

25 Read drakham, which is the reading of I. and B.

26 Read vṛṣṭe.[a]

27 Read ājñā-agātra.

28 I. and B. have (dā)ita- and dārito-, but the akṣhara preceding ta is quite illegible.

29 Over the tu of tuṣṭa is a mark which might be taken for the sign of anūdāra.

30 I. and B. have praprajñā[ci]ṣṭā[ci]sha, I. with the sign of interrogation after viś. In my opinion, the akṣhara read ti by them is undoubtedly ti, with, below it, an accidental scratch (which, if it were really t, would stand under the right, not the left, vertical line of the upper t). Again, what remains of the consonant of the akṣhara preceding sa, does not look at all like a remnant of t, but seems to be an almost fully preserved y.

31 I. and B. have triśiṣṭādāraṇa-, but two impressions of this passage have clearly shta, not shtād.
11 janapadānām svabhūy-ārjītānām-anurakta-sarvva-prakṛtīnām pūrvv-āpar-Ākara-vanty-
Aṇu-paṇivṛt-Āṅrattā-Surāśṭra-śva[ḥ]a[Ma]-[Kach]-[chha]-[S]-[dhu]-[Su]-
[fl]a-Kukur-Āparaṁta-Nīshād-ādānām samagra-phāṇān tat-prabhāvāda[y]a
. . . . . . r[ṭha]-kāma-viṣayāṇ[ā]ḥ viṣayāṇāṃ patinā3 sarvva-kṣaṭ-
āvikṛṣṭa.

12 vīrā-bāda-jātōtsak-āvīrdeyānām Yauḍhāyānām prasaḥy-ōtādakāna Dakaśiṇāpatha-
pātāa-Sātakarṇā-pāvatī-nirvājaṃ-svajityā-āvajityā11 sambindh-āv[y]a[dhura]ya
anutādānat-prāpta-yaśasā mā[ḍ]a . . . . . . [pta]-[vijyeyo]a bhraṣṭa-
rāja-pratisaṅkhāpāko yathārtha-2basta-

13 cokhāraya16-arjīt-ōrīt-āhara-āndra-gena11 sabdārtha-gāndhārya-nyāy-ādānān viđyā-
nāma mahātīmaṃ pāraṇa-dhārapa-vijñāna-prayog-ārāpṛ-ṛīpula-kṛittinā turaga-gaja-
raṭhacharya-āsč-carma.12 niyuddha-ādiya . . . . . . . . . [ti]-par-
bala-lāghava-saṁśhṭha-kṛiṇyā13 aha-ahar-dāna14 mān-āna-

14 vamana-sīlāna sthālakṣhēga yathāvrat-prāptāra-bali-śālaka-bhāgaḥ kanaka-16
raja-18-raja-vādāraya-17 raṭu-ōpacaya-viśaya-svajita-kōdōna sptuṣṭa-laghu-madhura-
chānta-sabdasamayoddar-ālamkrita-gadya-padya . . . . na praṃpāra-mān-ōnxma-svara-gati-vara.18 śàra-satv-19 dābhīho

15 parama-lakṣhaṇa-vyāma-janair-aupeta-kānta-mūrtīnā10 svayamadhiṣṭata-mahākhaṭrapa-
maṇa maṛudra-kṣaṇya11 svayamvar-anēka-mālyā-prāpta-dām[ə] mahākhaṭrapāṇa
Rudradāmaṇa varṣa-sabaraśya gō-brā[μ]a

16 pravyakrītyābhīgh pu[n][a]-jānapada janaṇaṃ svasamāt-kōdā14 mahāta dhan-aughēna
anatimahatā cha kālēna triga[ḍu]dṛjavastra-vistār-āyamānām setun viḍh[ya]
darśanataraṇā kārīmāni[ṣ][ti] [19] [A P]'[s][m]in[na]-27 artha[26]

17 mahākhaṭrapa[n]a[y]a matisachiva-karmasachivair-18anātyaguna-samudyaktpar-apya-

1 From ḍava to Sowēt the upper portion of the akṣara is broken away. The text has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrājī to whom the word Śatūbh was suggested by Prof. Bühler. Of the first akṣara of the word Mūna enough remains to show that the akṣara was not Ṛṇa.
2 I. omits this, and B. has Ṛva; but the akṣara is undoubtedly the same which we have in r[ṭha]ṭa, d. 1, 15, only without the anusvara. —B. proposed to fill up the lacuna by reading ya [ṭhaupadipta-haṃrwa-drīṭha] kṣma; I myself would read ya [ṭhaupadipta-haṃra-drīṭha] kṣma.
3 The grammatically correct form would be paṭyād.
4 The t of the syllable ṭa of this word looks as if ṭa or ṭa had been originally engraved.
5 Read niśrayasamavajitiva-svajitya.
6 I. and B. have -dvadd[a]ṭa[ʃ]a[y]a, but there are clear traces of the vowel i above the sign for v. The top of the akṣara ḍa is slightly damaged. Read -dvadd[a][ta[ʃ]a[y]a].
7 I. and B. have [ta[ʃ]a].
8 B. has bhrasṭhārdṛja, but the reading bhrasṭhārdṛja appears to me to be quite certain.
9 I. has yathārtho. 1 I. has ṛkharay. 1 I. Read dṛjavastra.
10 This akṣara is rea, not Sanchez, but the top part of it looks as if some other akṣara had been originally intended to be engraved.
11 Read -kṛgen-dhār.
12 Read -kṛgen-dhār.
13 I. has Ṛdāna.
14 Possibly śaṇkukā may have been actually engraved.
15 B. omits ṛajata.
16 I. and B. have raddraya, but the sign for ṛ is most distinct in the impression. Besides the sign for ṛ of ṛa differs, as has been shown above, from the sign for ṛ which is here used; compare the ṛ of ṛa (dṛjavṛya), above, 1. 12.
17 I. has ṛarosan.
18 Read -satvā.
19 I. and B. have -raṇya, but the akṣara saṇya is quite clear in the impression.
20 I. has ṛeṛi. 20 Read chadpt.
21 Read -kāsena.
22 Read -augbānāDATā.
23 I. and B. have [saranva]as[aṇa], but the akṣara read na by them is clearly ṛa.
24 The n of āniṣma is very doubtful, but I consider it more probable than the ṛa of tasmāna in I. and B.
25 I. has -arobā.
26 I. has -karoma.
27 Read -mahāttvadā.
19 Pahlavēnā Kulaipa-patrēv-āmātyēna Surīṣākēna yathāvad-artha-dharma vyavahāra-darśana-amartāgām-abhivardhāyatā sāktēna dāntēn-āchapaḷen-āvivitēn āryēpē-āhāryēpa
20 svadhishtḥātā dharm-kṛtī-yaśēnu bharta*r-ābhivarddhayat-ānuṣṭhitam-iti (II)

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished!

(Line 1.) This lake Sudarsana, from Girinagara [even a long distance?], of a structure so well joined as to rival the spur of a mountain, because all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length and height constructed without gaps as they are of stone, [clay], furnished with a natural dam, [formed by?], and with well-provided conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter, and three sections and other favors is (now) in an excellent condition.

(L. 3.) This same (lake) on the first of the dark half of Mārgaṇḍha in the seventy-second — 72nd — year of the king, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of

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1 Read pra*jāsu.  
2 I. has -ārthanā.  
3 Read 'āhrēnā, which is the reading of I. and B.  
4 I. has -dharma.  
5 I. and B. have Pavāvēnā.  
6 I. has -kṛtī.  
7 I. has bharta*r.  
8 Literally 'non-artificial.'  
9 The word mēkā of the original text has been transliterated only by Dr. Bhagavasal Indrāji. Taking mēkhā-vikādāna as a separate epithet of the lake, he rendered it by 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine,' to which Prof. Bihler added the note that mētrāvābhā is a common expression in Gujarāti for "eroded." Both scholars apparently took mēkā to be synonymous with gomātrākā; but this could hardly be approved of. Besides, mēkhā-vikādāna, as we now see, really forms part of the bahuvrhi compound commencing with supratīvikāta, and therefore either mēkā by itself or mēkhā-vikādāna must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In my opinion mēkā is identical with the Pāli mēkā (e.g. in mēkāna ānuśāsana, etc.), according to the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary mēkāa is used in this sense also in the Lakāstavīhana, e.g. in mēkāa-sāpa, 'a dunghill,' Calcutta ed. p. 240, l. 4. Now since foul matter would not have been provided for the lake, that which was so provided must be denoted by mēkhā-vikādāna, and I feel no hesitation in explaining this word to mean 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities.' By the context vikādāna here as elsewhere becomes practically equivalent to parikāra or parikriyā; on Rām. III. 24, 11 and gāta-vikādāna is explained by gānīgamaīsatiyā-dhāshāya prativikādāna parikāra, and on VII. 21, 5 vikādāna is similarly paraphrased by prativikāyā.

10 If it were possible to say so with reference to a lake, I should have translated: 'is (now) in a highly prosperous state.'

11 As has been pointed out below, in the words ' with stones, trees, bushes,' etc.

12 As has been pointed out by Prof. S. Lēvi (Jour. Ariaatique, 1902, p. 100), the use of abhyasa and the statement that Rudradāman's name was repeated by gurna at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages the name was like another Vēdu, demanding studious study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit. Gurusūrābhāyāsta-ādhanā seems a stronger expression than the ordinary supṛtiḥā-bhājanā which will be mentioned presently. — In gurusūrābhāyāsta-ādhanā (for the more logical gurusābhāyāsta-ādhanā) we have one of those constructions which Indian grammarians impose by the statement supṛtiḥām-anāmārthām bhūtata, but after all justify by gomukṣa-vad-tāmāna; similar constructions occur elsewhere in the text.

13 i.e. 'the son of the king, the Ksatrapa Lord Jayākṣaman,' see the note on the text. In inscriptions and on coins Jayākṣaman is called Ksatrapa, not Mahākṣatrapa; compare Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 157; Arch. Surv. of West. India, Vol. II. p. 140; Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 32; and Jour. Roy. As. Soc. 1890, p. 645.
the taking of whose name is auspicious;\(^1\) when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean,\(^2\) by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarṇapakṣikatā, Paḷāśini and other streams of mount Urjaya the dam\(^3\) though proper precautions [were taken], the water—churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter—scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart]—with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open down to the bottom of the river:—

(L 7.) By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, [became] extremely ugly [to look at].\(^4\)

(L 8.)\(^6\) for the sake of \dots ordered to be made by the Vaiśēya Pushyasuṣṭa, the provincial governor\(^7\) of the Maurya king Chandragupta; adorned with

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\(^1\) The exact meaning of suṣṭraṇa-dama is well indicated by a passage in the Harsha Charita, Bombay ed. p. 210, l. 6, which shows the result of uttering a bad man’s name: *nāmādhyā grīhaṅga *ṣa paśkaḥ śreṇi paśpamādras ītya ita va śūdra, ‘as if merely the name of this miscreant, my tongue seems soiled with a stain of sin.’ Suṣṭraṇa-dama itself often occurs in the Harsha Charita, applied to royal or noble personages, both living and deceased; compare p. 30, l. 6; p. 85, l. 13; p. 101, l. 6; p. 170, l. 3; p. 200, l. 1; p. 246, l. 20; p. 261, l. 23; and p. 278, l. 19. From inscriptions I can quote only suṣṭraṇa-nāmasāghya which occurs in the Bākaṇa pillar inscription of Mahākṣī, applied to Mahākṣī’s grandfather Raṅga, Ind. Arch. Vol. XIX. p. 16, l. 3 of the text.

\(^2\) For the notion of the earth’s being converted into one ocean (dṛṣṭikṣaḥ-bhūta) refer e.g. Edm. V. 49, 20: ayaḥ kṣaṇās tātu kṛuk dvā kṣaṇās tānu kṛuk dvā jajat. I may add that nouns ending in -dāta like dṛṣṭikṣaḥ-bhūta are most common in the Edumāya; I have noted dṛṣṭikṣaḥ-bhūta, triṣa-bhūta, daḥana-bhūta, nimitta-bhūta, nātika-bhūta, Kādum-bhūta, mṛtika-bhūta etc. (III. 36, 37), and others.

\(^3\) My translation of apatala and nekebharīya requires some justification. Dr. Bhaskara Indraji has translated the former by ‘(pieces of) the neighbouring ground,’ Prof. Bühler by ‘Templeitten’ (i.e. pinacles of temples); and both scholars, I do not know on what authority, have rendered nekebharīya by ‘pillars of victory.’ To me it seems highly probable that the words atitākṣik-apatalsa of our text are identical in meaning (as they are closely connected in form) with talpāṭa in Eng. XVI. 11, viśṛṣṭa-talpāṭa-kuto nīcākaḥ; there talpa is explained to mean ‘a room on the top of a house’ or ‘upper story,’ and the same meaning I would claim for apatala. Nekebharīya in line 1 of this inscription is used in the sense of ‘height,’ and in line 13 in that of ‘raising, lifting up, elevation.’ The word also e.g. the commentary on Edm. VII. 51, 10 means ‘anything which rises,’ ‘elevation’ in the sense of ‘an elevated piece of ground,’ etc.; and if in the present passage we take saragkekebharīya as one word, there is no reason to go beyond that strictly etymological meaning. Saragkekebharīya would be any raised place serving as shelter,’ a meaning that seems perfectly appropriate. We may compare stambhekebharīya in Gupta Inscrip. p. 44, l. 13, used clearly in the sense of ‘a raised pillar, a lofty pillar’ (nekebharīya stambaka, as the expression is ibid. p. 13, l. 30). The reader will observe the contrast between nekebharīya and the immediately following vidānaśīrī, which two words remind one of adaya-dānaśīrī and similar expressions found elsewhere.

\(^4\) For the play on the words—the lake Sudarśana becomes durdaṛśana—compare Gupta Inscrip. p. 60, l. 17.

\(^5\) For the play on the words—the lake Sudarśana became durdaṛśana—compare Gupta Inscrip. p. 60, l. 17.

\(^6\) This paragraph speaks of the original construction of the lake during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta and of improvements made under (his grandson) Aśoka. The subject of the sentence undoubtedly again was ‘the lake;’ ‘the lake (probably for the benefit of the people) had been ordered to be made . . . ; it was adorned . . .’

\(^7\) The position held by Pushyasuṣṭa and Tushāṣṭa, who were immediately instrumental in the making and improving of the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka, is indicated by the words rāṣṭraśīrāya and adhikārtāḍya respectively. Considering that adhikārtāḍya in line 20 of this inscription is used in the sense of ‘to govern,’ and that adhikāṛṭāḍya in line 19 means ‘government,’ it seems most natural to ascribe the same meaning also to adhikārtāḍya in the present passage, i.e. to translate it by ‘after having assumed the government’ or ‘while he was governing (this province).’ And this again should lead us, I think, to ascribe a similar meaning to rāṣṭraśīrāya. I accordingly take this word, in its etymological sense, to be equivalent to raṣṭraśīrā, ‘apPOINTED to rule a province or district,’ as the word is explained e.g. in the commentary on Amarakūśa L. 7, 14 (compare also Pāṇini IV. 2, 90). The technical meaning ‘a king’s brother-in-law,’ which the word has in the plays, would seem to be out of place here.
conduits for 1 Aśoka the Maurya by the Yavana king Tushāspa while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam 2 . . . . . . . . . . . .
(L. 9.) 3 . . . . he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles; 4 who [showed] compassion . . . . . . . . . . . . not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him; 5 who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākāravanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshtra, Svabhara, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparanta, Nishāda and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts 6 of which are never troubled 5 by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (and) where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained] ; who by force destroyed the Yaudhéyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated 7 Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakshināpatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him; who [obtained] victory . . . . . . . . . . . . ; who reinstates deposed

1 The word kriṣṭa, of which 'for' is the translation, is conjectural.

2 In the original text the subject of this long sentence again is idāh taddhāmas, 'this lake,' the predicate is svarātmakatvam kāvijitam in line 16; 'this lake has now been caused to be made' (even) more beautiful by Rudradāman (1.16) who, because he was distinguished . . . . 1 In the translation I have adopted the active construction.

3 On the construction of the words anyatra saṃgrīdmatuḥ of the original text see above, p. 40, note 2. Here I would add two minor reworks. In the first place, it appears strange that, whereas elsewhere the end of one epithet (or phrase serving as a minor remark) in the construction of Rudradāman is not joined by the rules of saṃghati with the commencement of the following epithet—compare epītāna d prasūka-jakakaidës in line 9, and kriṣṭaḥ ahu-raktar in line 13 —here the rules of saṃghati have been observed between saṃgrīdmatuḥ which belongs to the preceding, and abhimukkha-gata with which a new epithet begins. The observance of the rules of euphony in this case is the more striking as those rules have not been observed between anyatra and the word preceding it with which anyatra saṃgrīdmatuḥ is closely connected in sense. Second, the way in which the author has put anyatra saṃgrīdmatuḥ reminds me somewhat of the Sūtra-style of literature; the words d prasūka-jakakaidës-pratahavardhanāviṣṭa-kriṣṭa-saṃvijyatifās contain a rule, anyatra saṃgrīdmatuḥ the exception. Both together look much like, e.g., the two Sūtras of the Visnu-ṣūtra, III. 48 and 49, the former of which is na yaśokā-vaiṣṇavitāt, 'he should not extirpate a royal family,' while the latter adds anyatra-kulanim-vaiṣṇavitāt, 'except an ignoble royal family.' Looked at in this way the non-observance of the rules of euphony as between -sāvijyatifās and anyatra may lose somewhat of its strangeness; the observance of them as between saṃgrīdmatuḥ and abhimukkha-gata I can only regard as accidental.

4 For the general meaning of this epithet we may compare, e.g., uryād hāranāgāh hāraṇa-dvārtana and hāraṇa-niṣṭhā hāraṇam in Gupta Insr. p. 59, l. 10, and p. 165, l. 7. The word dyākha of the text, translated by 'life,' is more or less conjectural; it is used at the end of compounds for dyas (see the St. Petersburg dictionary under dyākha). In the original I should have expected prasūpiṣṭa to stand before janapada; as it is, I can only take anyatra-kāśiyatājanapadasa-prasūpiṣṭa as a Dravida compound. For janapada itself compare Gupta Insr. p. 82, l. 14, bālakṣyam vē janapadāṁ cha vamāhakāryam. 5 With nagara-nigama-janapadā compare e.g., grāma-nagara-nigama in Haracchārīta, p. 220, l. 1.

6 There is no doubt about the reading of the word anupajītāṅgāvā of the text. Ordinarily this word, 'not troubled before,' would imply that the territories now were, or might possibly be, troubled for the first time by robbers, etc., but it has apparently been (incorrectly) used by the writer simply in the sense of 'never troubled.' The territories are never troubled by robbers, etc., just because they are ruled by Rudradāman. He is the apākārīr prasūka-jakakaidës-prasūka-jakakaidës, as the Valabhi plates express the same idea.—Compare above, p. 40, note 3.

7 For ucyati, 'to defeat,' the St. Petersburg dictionary quotes only passages from the Mahābhārata; it occurs in the same sense in the Nāsk inscription in Arahcat, Sure. of Wst. India, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 6, maṅka-samay-deśājita-rastacchāra.
kings;¹ who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma;² who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar,³ music,⁴ logio and other great sciences; who . . . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots,⁵ (the use of) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other . . . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces;⁶ who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment;⁷ who is bounteous;⁸ whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (other) precious things; who . . .

² In this epithet Rudradaman has been understood to be eloquent for making religious gifts; but I have searched in vain for passages in which ‘the raising of the hand’ is laid stress on or even mentioned where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterises the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is moistened by the water (poured into the hand of the donee); compare e.g. Kālakari, p. 5, l. 12, ‘ānuvarātavatracina-vatadārādārītva-karō; the Nārī inscription in Archeol. Survey of West India, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 4, ‘akshokādakādā-kilasa-nīlakārakatva; Gupta Insr. p. 176, l. 59, pradānamalā-kālādīt-drāsādāvivekānāda; Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge, p. 17, note 2, etc. Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or raising the pitcher from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient; see e.g. Jāt. Vel. VI. p. 344, l. 10, ‘rāja tuṣāritā-gandhādakāpyaṇam caumāna-bhātibrama dddya . . . netihih āttheta udvaha pātita; and Ṛg. II. 118, 50, ‘ahā rakṣata Ṛkṣaṇḍya pūrītā . . . udvaita dātāanugramya yajñabhidhānānam-ātmanum, ‘there my father, having raised the excellent water-pitcher, proceeded to give me to Ṛma.’ But that in the latter case the raising of the water-pitcher is quite an incidental matter we see from an analogous passage in Harashacharita, p. 126, Grahavarmanapā kṣṇāya purvashayāni prabhuḥcāyāni prādāna-dātāprabhāsaka krod narorajyakula-vanakaḥ kātividhōjāsalam-apalindayā, translated by Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas: in the presence of the whole royal household, he poured the betrothal water upon the hands of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Grahavarman to sue for the princess. Considering these and similar passages, I do not think that āṃśikākaraṇa by itself could convey the idea of donation. In my opinion the expression perhaps finds its explanation in the precept of Ṛm, VIII. 2, according to which a king, when investigating cases of law, should do so seated or standing, raising his right hand (pūjita-dātāyanam dūkarāman), etc. This explanation, which would make ‘the raising of the hand’ during legal investigations equivalent to ‘the dispensation of justice’ itself, may seem far-fetched, but is well fitted in well with the statement that by the right raising of his hand Rudradaman earned the strong attachment of Dharma, i.e. Law or Justice personified.
³ It may seem doubtful whether the compound sābḍhērka of the original, in connection with the following eṣydasyādva, should be understood to denote two sciences,—viz. eṣṭabda-vidya or grammar, and artha-vidya in the sense of artha-āśtra—utti-āśtra— or only one, viz. the science of words and their meanings, i.e. grammar (including lexicography). The manner in which sābḍhērka elsewhere is immediately connected with nēdu (e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 18, l. 9, sābḍhērka-nēdaya-viṣṇukād, and Gupta Insr. p. 35, l. 4 of the text, sābḍhērka-nēdaya-loka-jña-kāraṇa) seems to render the adoption of the second alternative more natural. Sābḍhērka-nēdaya in my opinion would convey to a Hindu at once the notion of ‘grammar and logic,’ because these two belong closely together and would hardly be separated by something so different from them as ‘policy.’ It may be added that sābḍhērka, on account of the irregular position of its two members, in grammar is a well-known compound in the sense of ‘word and meaning’ and frequently occurs in this sense in the titles of grammatical, lexicographical and other works.
⁴ Compare the commentary on Viśēṣa-pardha, III. 26: gāndhāravatād Bhāratamuni-prastutā niṣṭigātādviśēṣīkāyaḥ. See also e.g. Ṛg. II. 2, 35: gāndhāraḥ cha haavi śabakāḥ babhuna Bhārat-drapah, where gāndhāraḥ is explained by saṃgīta-āśtrā; Gupta Insr. p. 8, l. 27, and p. 51, l. 7.
⁵ Compare Ṛg. l. 18, 27: gāju-ravindhu tvam-prīkṣṭaḥ cha rathakāryam samāvataḥ.
⁶ I take the sense of the whole epithet to be that by his skill in the management of horses etc. he rendered fulsome the acts of quickness etc. of opponents.
⁷ Compare e.g. dūna-mukhā-ūrjana, above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 2.
⁸ See Bālyādva, II. 210: athātāḥkātil bhavangyā.
⁹ After whose evidently have to supply something like ‘is skilled in producing compositions in.’ On the epithet which begins here compare Prof. Bühler’s Die Ind. Inschriften und das Alter der Ind. Kunstpoesie, p. 63 ff., where Prof. Bühler has tried to show that the adjective sūkṣma etc. of the text have reference to certain rules of the aṃśikā-kāraṇa. Agreeing with him in general, I take sūkṣma, madhura and kālaka to indicate the qualities sūkṣma, madhura and kālaka of Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādāra (l. 45, 51 and 83); sūkṣma, ‘clear,’ would thus be what is readily understood (pratīcchātāpya); madhura, ‘sweet,’ that which pleases by its sound and (refined) diction; and kālaka, ‘beautiful,’ that which is free from exaggeration, is not too far-fetched, etc. Sābhāsavatāya being almost synonymous with sābḍhērka in Kāvyādāra, l. 75, I incline to connect sābhāsavatādva with Daṇḍin’s artha-
prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs, such as (auspicious) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahâkshatrapa; who has been breathed with many garlands at the svayâhâras of kings' daughters;—he, the Mahâkshatrapa Rudradamana, in order to cows and Brâhmans for a thousand years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,—without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection by (the expenditure of) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length all [banks].

(and so) had (this lake) made (even) more beautiful to look at.

(L. 16.) When in this matter the Mahâkshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (regarded as) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (of the work), when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting, (the work) was carried out by the minister Suvishkha, the son of Kulaipatra, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Anarta and Surashtra, (a minister) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (of the people), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (and) not to be bribed, (and) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

1 eyakta, which depends on an author's giving clear verbal expression to his thoughts instead of leaving them to be guessed. Laghu, 'agreeable' (i. e.), and chitra, 'charming,' seem to vague expressions to connect them confidently with any particular qualities of the text-books; alankrita, 'adorned,' requires no explanation.

2 Compare Râm. V. 38, 11, svayânâsvadâti iti yadâ lakshañcâvata chah; and, for various auspicious marks and signs, ibid. I. 1, 9 ff., II. 45, 20 ff., V. 35, 8 ff., etc.

3 Ex. shortly, 'in order to benefit.' The original text may have contained something equivalent to gô-brâhmâna-kiritikîda dâtasya chah kitkya och in Râm. I. 26, 5. The expression gô-brâhmâna, 'cows and Brâhmans,' is very common; see e. g. ibid. III. 23, 25, 24, 21; VI. 107, 49, 117, 20, etc.; Gupta Inscri. p. 69, I. 9, gô-brâhmâna-pudrâkshya sarve-prajâkshya; and above, Vol. VI. p. 20, note 1.

4 The words pauva-jânapadam javanâ occur in the same manner as second or fourth Pâda of an ordinary Ślokâ; the same phrase we actually have e. g. in Râm. II. 111, 19 and 27, pauva-jânapadâ jañâh in II. 2, 21, pauva-jânapadâ jañâh in VII. 48, 5, etc. Pauva-jânapadâ-javana occurs again in line 18 of the text.

5 Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrani suggested that pratyâkhyâda may be 'a kind of tax like the modern prâhitana.'

6 I am quite sure of the word elsewhere, used as a technical term, and can only suggest that it may denote offerings or contributions which nominally are voluntary, but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody or for other reasons.

7 I. e., perhaps, 'planted trees on all banks.'

8 As above (see p. 46, note 5) there is here also a play on the words; the lake Sudarshana was made sudarshana.

9 On the analogy of compounds like apratishtithâh = anartha that pratiśhithâh, avachânam = anartha that esham, which we find in grammatical works, I explain anushtha by anartha that esha, 'a futile (or impossible) task.' In connection with this explanation we may note that the two words pratyâkhyâda and dravâka of the text are just such as a grammarian would be familiar with.

10 Since I have translated somewhat freely, I would state that pratyâkhyâda-dravâka, which has been objected to as grammatically wrong, in my opinion is correct. The word is the subject of anushtha in line 20; that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out.

With pauvâsakshatâhauka-nairâdhyâdtyat compare kriya-nairâdhyâdtyat in Râm. V. 35, 57; with hâdâhâyâsuvâ praśa, Gupta Inscri. p. 60, I. 17, viśdhyâyâmândha, khalo surotâla jañâd kathâm-kathâ hâdâhâyâsuvâ praśa. Hâdâhâyâ, 'exclaiming hâ hâ,' like hâdâhâyâ, is well known from the Mahâbhârata etc.

11 For the way in which su in rudhâta is prefixed to a present participle we may compare Râm. II. 33, 4, suâkhyâmâ; VI. 40, 18, suâkhyâmâ; VI. 110, 9, suâpitrarâṣâ; V. 62, 21, suâpitrarâṣâ; VII. 30, 36, suânirbhârâyâ; etc.
No. 7.—CHIKMAGALUR INSCRIPTION OF RACHAMALLA III.; OF THE PERIOD
A.D. 989—1005.

By J. F. Fleet, I.O.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

Chikmagalur, or more precisely Chikkav-Magalur, is the head-quarters town of the Kadur
district, and of the Chikmagalur taluka of that district, in Mysore. In the Indian Atlas sheet
No. 43, N.E. (1892), it is shown as 'Chikmagalur,' in lat. 18° 19', long. 76° 50'. In the
present record, as in some others, it is mentioned as Kiriyu-Muguli, "the smaller or junior
Muguli." The Piriya-Muguli, or "larger or senior Muguli," of the record, is the modern
Hiremagalur or Hire-Magalur, shown in the Atlas sheet as simply 'Magalur,' about one mile
east-by-south from Chikmagalur; in an inscription of A.D. 998 (?) in Uppali (Ep. Carn.
Vol. VI., Cm. 42; regarding the date, see note 1 on page 56 below), Piriya-Muguli seems to be
referred to as simply Muguli. Local imagination, as reported by Mr. Rice in his Mysore,
revised edition, Vol. II., pp. 379, 395, 396, would account for the names by alleging that one
village was the dowry of the eldest daughter (hiré-magalu, piriya-magal), and the other was the
dowry of a younger daughter (chikka-magalu, kiriyu-magal), of the epic king Rukmangada, whose
capital is locally supposed to have been Sakarayapatna or Sakkarēpatna, a village about thirteen
miles towards the north-east of Chikmagalur. But it is quite plain that that idea is based
upon nothing but the modern corrupted form of the essential name of the two places, namely
magalur for muguljir. And, as has practically been already suggested by Mr. Rice (loc.
cit. p. 379), the original name is no doubt to be attributed to a local abundance of the
mugul-tree, Acacia suma.

The inscription, which is on a stone standing on the north of the kalēmāri,—apparently
a square pond with steps on all sides,—in the fort at Chikmagalur, has been published by
Mr. Rice in his Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. (1901), Kadur district, Cm. 3, transliterated texts p. 95,
translations p. 35, Kanarese texts p. 154. I now edit it, partly from the Kanarese text, and
partly from a photograph which Mr. Rice kindly sent me in December, 1899. The photograph
is not as distinct as an ink-impression or an estampage would be. But it shows quite clearly
all the historically important part of the record, lines 1 to 7. And it suffices, with the help
of the Kanarese text, to make the decipherment of the remainder satisfactory, except in respect
of a very few doubtful syllables which I have placed in square brackets with queries attached
to them.

According to the entry above Mr. Rice's Kanarese text, the size of the stone is 2' 6" broad
by 5' 0" high.—The photograph shows, above the writing, an elephant, which must be about
1' 3" high, standing to the right (proper left); its trunk hangs straight down, almost to the
ground, with the tip turned up inwards; and it seems to have a sareerine, like the elephant
above the Peggur inscription of A.D. 978, Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 101, No. 1, and Plate opposite
Coorg Insors. p. 7.—The area covered by the writing must be about 3' 3" high. It is somewhat
irregular in shape; and, if we understand that 2' 6" is its extreme breadth, then in line 1 it is
about 1' 9" broad, and the breadth gradually increases to the full measure of 2' 6" in line
11 or 12, and maintains that measure as far as the end. The writing seems sufficiently well
preserved for a good ink-impression or estampage to make the whole of it quite legible without
any doubt.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and evidently well executed. And
they are of a type which is fairly referable to any time about A.D. 1000. Of the usual test-
letters, the Ḍa is absent; the ś, which occurs four times, in lines 9, 10, 12, and 16, and the j, k,
and l, are all of the fully developed later type. The initial ś occurs four times, in śaḍa for śaḍa,
in śats, line 9, in śats, line 12, in ś for śaḍaśeyō, line 12, and in śatasya for śaḍaśeyō, line 16;
and in each case it is of the fully developed later type: the importance of this paleographic
detail, in guiding us to the real period and attribution of the record, will be made clear further on. The record further presents an initial $d$ in line 10, and final forms of $t$ in line 4, of $r$ in line 12 (twice), and of $l$ in line 7. It does not seem to make any perceptible difference between the dental $d$ and the lingual $d$.—The language is Kannarese, of the archaic type, in prose. And the vocabulary presents three words which call for comment. In line 9 we have a word which according to Mr. Rice's published texts is $nîr-paṇya$, and which, in Mr. Rice's translation, has been rendered by 'wet land.' That rendering is based, I suppose, on an idea that $nîr$ may occur as another form of $nîr, niru, 'water.' But there is no justification for that in the late Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary. And from the photograph I read $l$, not $r$, and find the word $nîl$, 'length.' From the context, and the usual method of expression in the records, I should have been disposed to take the whole word $nîl-paṇya$ as denoting some particular measure of land, of the same class with $mattar, niṟvaru$, etc. But Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives $paṇya, paṇeya$, in the sense of 'a farm, a landed estate,' connected with $paṇa, 4$, 'ground that is worked, tillage, a quarry,' and Mr. Ullal Narasinga Rao's Kismăr Glossary, Mangalore, 1891, p. 95, gives $paṇya$ in the sense of 'lands formerly held by the Rajas and now leased out on the condition of their being surrendered when government makes a demand; crown-lands.' I therefore take $nîl-paṇya$ as some particular kind of $paṇya$-lands, consisting of very long narrow strips such as may be often seen in various parts of the Kannarese country. And I consider that probably the word $mattar$ should be supplied. In line 12, assuming that we have the lingual $d$ and not the dental $d$, we have $koṇaḍ-geyỹān$, as the accusative of a word $koṇaḍ-ga$. This word has not been translated by Mr. Rice. I take it as the older form of the $koṇaḍ, koṇi, 'a gift, a grant,' of Dr. Kittel's Dictionary, and of the later $koṇi$ty, which is given in the Kismăr Glossary as meaning 'a grant of land' (p. 144), and (a) 'lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any change on account of the seasons, etc., and salable,' and (b) 'lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks, or of their maintenance in good order' (p. 91). It seems sufficient to translate it here by 'allotment.' In line 12, again, we have a word $baḷaṣiḍor$ which Mr. Rice, apparently taking it from $baḷaṭu$, 1, 'to go in a circle or round; to circumambulate; to surround,' etc., has translated by 'those (who own the land) surrounding.' I notice that the Kismăr Glossary, p. 15, gives $baḷaṭu$ in the sense of 'husbandry, cultivation,' and, even apart from that, I see no difficulty about taking $baḷaṭu$ as a variant of $beḷaṭu$, 'to cause to grow, to raise (a crop),' etc.; and I therefore translate the word by 'those who have cultivated;' finding in that meaning an equally good means of defining exactly the grant that was made. As a matter of fact, the photograph shows before the $b$ a mark which might justify our actually reading $b[\text{e}]l\text{a}[\text{s}]iḍor$. That, however, does not seem to be really necessary. In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal $l$ in $[\text{gau}\text{nd}]\text{a}ṛ$, line 16; $[\text{na}rasi\text{g}a\text{gy}a\text{r}a\text{m}u]$, line 10, $[\text{koṇaḍ}a\text{gy}a\text{m}u]$, line 16, and $[\text{maŋ}g\text{a}]$, line 16, as contrasted with the use of the $aw\text{e}ru$ in $[\text{koh}u\text{n}\text{u}]$, line 1, $[\text{ri\text{k}a\text{m}a\text{ll}\text{a}\text{y}a}]$, line 4, $[\text{paṭ\text{a}ṭ\text{a\text{t}\text{a}\text{r}}}]$, line 4-5, and $[\text{rā\text{y}a\text{m}a\text{g}y}u\text{t\text{a\text{m}}}\text{u}]$, line 7-8; and (2) the use of $s$ for $i$ in $\text{suddha}$, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a prince Nītīmārga-Rāchamalla, plainly of the family of the Western Gâṅgas of Tâlakaṅda, in whom we have a third Râchamalla, not previously recognised. And it is dated, without a reference to any era, in the sixth year of his rule, on a day specified by certain details to which we shall advert further on. It is a non-sectarian record, registering a grant of land by private persons to a private person.

The following places are mentioned in the record, in addition to Kīriya-Mugali and Pīriya-Mugali:

Pālmsaḍi. This is mentioned again in an inscription of A.D. 959 (958) at Uppahalū, Ep. Carn. Vol. VI., Cm. 42. I cannot find its representative in the maps.
Beneyur. This is probably the Benur at which there is an inscription of A.D. 1538, *ibid.*, Cm. 127. I cannot find it in the maps.

Mattuvura. This is probably a village which is not shown in the Atlas sheet, but is entered as ‘Mattavura,’ somewhere close on the south of Chikmagalur but without an indication of its actual site, in the map of the Kaḍur district in *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II. p. 367.

Uppahalli. This must be the Uppahalli at which there are inscriptions of A.D. 959 (? 958) and later dates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 38 to 43. I cannot find it in maps. Regarding the proper attribution of one of these records, Cm. 42, and the question of its actual date in A.D. 959 or 958, see page 56 below and note 1. According to the published reading, another of them, Cm. 38, is dated (see the Kanarese text, p. 171) in the Paridhavân *saivavasa* coupled with *Vikrama-kâlisa* 1070, which (see the transliterated text, p. 103, the translation, p. 38, and *Introd.* p. 15) is supposed to mean *Vikrama-kâlisa* 1070, giving the Vikrama year 1070 (current), which was the Paridhavân *saivavasa*, = A.D. 1012-13. But anything of that kind would of course stamp the record as a spurious one.

Indavura. This must be the ‘Indavura’ of the Atlas sheet, two miles west-by-north from Chikmagalur, and, I suppose, the ‘Indavura’ at which there are inscriptions, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 30 to 36. Its name is given as Indavura above the Kanarese text of Cm. 30; but the record itself gives it as Indavura according to the transliterated text, and as Indapura according to the Kanarese text, line 10. The inscription Cm. 36, of A.D. 1292, gives it according to the transliterated text as Indavura, but according to the Kanarese text as Indavura, in line 9, and according to both the texts as Indavura in line 10. The Uppahalli inscription Cm. 38, which purports or is supposed to be dated in A.D. 1012-13, appears to give the name as Indavura.

* * *

The record is certainly a Western Gaṅga record. This is established partly by the locality to which it belongs; partly by the emblem of the elephant at the top of the stone; and partly by the personal name Râchamalla, and the epithet Nitimarga, of the reigning prince, and by his titles, Kogaliparman, lord of Kuvalaja, and lord of Nandagiri. For the rest, the interest of it centres in the question of the period in which we are to place it.

Mr. Rice originally, in 1884 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 188 b), brought this Chikmagalur inscription to notice as being “dated in the 6th year after Mādhava Mahârâja had encoffed Râcha-Malla;” which explanation of it would have the effect of placing it, according to the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree and chronology, before at any rate A.D. 466, and perhaps before A.D. 243 (see my Table in Vol. III. above, p. 161). Subsequently, however, in 1888 (*Oorg. Insors.* p. 5), having apparently recognised meanwhile that it does not really mention a MahârâjaMahârâja Mâdhava, he referred it to a Nitimarga-Râchamalla who, according to his views, was ruling from A.D. 902 to 909. And in his last treatment of it, in 1901 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. *Introd.* p. 8), endorsing that view with only the alteration that the record should be placed in or about A.D. 899, he has grouped it along with the following other records:

(1) An inscription at Gaṇjigere in the Kaḍur district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 133. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first (year of the) rule of a Nitimarga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(2) An inscription at Hiré-Bâsûr in the Kaḍur district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 141. This record refers itself to the time of a Nitimarga whose personal name is not mentioned in it. It contained a date in the month Chaitra of a Śaka year which Mr. Rice has assumed to be the year 822 (current), with the result of A.D. 899 (*loc. cit.* *Introd.* p. 8, and translations, p. 26). But all that remains extant of the passage containing the date is...
eraṇaṇeṇa variuḍa Chaṭṭha-mātvu .... "[of] the month Chaṭṭha of the year...... hundred and twenty-two," and there is nothing whatever to fix us to the year 822.

(3) An inscription at Hiravāgala in the Kaḍur district, Ep. Carn. Vol. VI., Clm. 8. This is a record of a Nīti[mārga], whose personal name is not mentioned in it, but who, we are supposed to learn from it (see the translation, p. 36), had the bīruda Jayadutta[raṅga]. It does not present any date at all.

(4) An inscription at Aścavāḍi in the Mysore district, Ep. Carn. Vol. IV., Ch. 134. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first year of the crowning of a Nītīmārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(5) An inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi in the Mysore district, Ep. Carn. Vol. III., Nj. 97. This record, however, is dated in the fifth year of the crowning, not of a Nītīmārga, but of a Satyavākya. And it does not include any mention either of a Nītīmārga, or of a Rachamalla, or of the Śaka year.

(6) Another inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi, on the back of the same stone, Ep. Carn. Vol. III., Nj. 98, which is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the fifth year of the crowning of a Nītīmārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(7) An inscription at Kāligere in the Mysore district, Ep. Carn. Vol. III., Ml. 30. This record refers itself to the time of a Nītīmārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it. And it is dated in the Śaka year 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910.

(8) The inscription at Doḍḍahunḍi in the Mysore district, Ep. Carn. Vol. III., TN. 91; edited by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 43. This record commemorates the death of a Nītīmārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it, and speaks of his eldest son Satyavākya, whose personal name, also, is not mentioned. It does not present any date at all.

And Mr. Rice has thus arrived at "? 899 A.D." as the date of this Chikmagalur record; see Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. Classified List, p. 1, and translations, p. 35.

Mr. Rice's arrangement, however, will not stand the test of examination. In the first place, from his incongruous grouping we have to dismiss the first Gaṭṭavāḍi inscription (5). As remarked above, it is a record, not of a Nītīmārga at all, but of a Satyavākya. And it does not help in any way in connection with the Chikmagalur inscription.

In the second place, we must dismiss the Doḍḍahunḍi inscription (8). This record is shown by a palaeographic detail to be appreciably earlier than A.D. 899. And, as has been explained by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 43, it is to be placed roughly about A.D. 840, and the Nītīmārga of it is Raṇavikrama, son of Śrīpurusha-Muttarsa.

And we must further dismiss the other inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi (6). This can only be a record of Nītīmārga-Eṛeyappa, to whom I have already referred it (Vol. VI. above, p. 70), falling probably in A.D. 912-13.

We need not give any attention to the Gaḷḷīgere inscription (1) and the Aścavāḍi inscription (4). These records do not throw any light on the date of the Chikmagalur record. And there is nothing at present to identify the prince or princes mentioned as Nītīmārga in them, or to enable us to refer them to any particular period; as in the case of many other records, nothing can be done with them until we have facsimiles or ink-impressions of them, unless perhaps an index, when we have one, of all the miscellaneous proper names mentioned in the records of the Western Gaṅga series, may furnish any clues.

The Kāligere inscription (7) does certainly give a date for a Nītīmārga in A.D. 909-910. But it does not contain anything tending to identify that Nītīmārga with the Nītīmārga
Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record. And, as has been shown by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 69, it is a record of Nītimārka-Eguyappā.

And as regards the Hirēsāur inscription (2), in the first place, the extant remnant of its date may be understood to mean Śaka-Sañvat 922 (expired), in A.D. 1000, quite as well as Ś.-S. 822 (expired), in A.D. 900.1 And in the second place, its date cannot be A.D. 899 or 900, because there was then ruling, not a Nītimārka, but Śatyaväkya-Būtuga I.: see my remarks in Vol. VI. above, p. 68 f., and my Table, ibid. p. 59. It is highly probable that the Hirēsāur inscription really is another record of the Nītimārka-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record; but, if so, then its date is certainly Ś.-S. 922 expired, in A.D. 1000.

There remains the Hirēmagaḷura inscription (3), the published text of which gives a Nītimārka, with the biruda of Jayadutta[ranga]. It is quite possible that this is another record of the Nītimārka-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr inscription. But that point depends a good deal upon whether the biruda which has been read in it as Jayadutta[ranga] should rather be read Jayaduṣṭaka[kāra], or whether a biruda in an inscription at Elkūrin in the Mysore district (Ep. Carn. Vol. IV., Ch. 10; and see note 4 on page 56 below), which has been presented to us as Jayaduṣṭakakāra, should rather be read Jayaduttaraṅga. And, in any case, this Hirēmagaḷura undated record does not help us to arrive at a date for the Chikmagalūr record.

In coming now to my own determination of the real period of this Chikmagalūr inscription, I may premise that this is not the first occasion on which I have had the matter under consideration. In August, 1899, Mr. Rice sent me the texts of the dates of this inscription, and of the spurious Jāvalī copper-plate record (Ep. Carn. Vol. VI., Mg. 36) which purports to register a grant made by Śṛīpurusha-(Muttaraṇa) in his twenty-fifth regnal year, on a specified occasion in the month Vaśākha, Śaka-Sañvat 672 expired. I had not then received the photograph of the Chikmagalūr inscription. All that I could say at that time, was, that the inscription might be a record of the Račha-Gaṅga who ruled between Būtuga II. and Mārasiṅha II.; that is to say, between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64 as matters then stood, but, as we know now (see Vol. VI. above, pp. 59, 71), between A.D. 953 and 963-64. Disregarding the vaṇkṣaṭra, and calculating for the full-moon, I found that the only possible result, for that period, is Monday, 5th November, A.D. 960, on which day the full-moon tīthi, of the second Kārttiķaka if we take Kārttiķaka itself as the intercalary month, or of the only Kārttiķaka if we take Bhādrapada as the intercalary month, began at about 4 hrs. 41 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). This result was not altogether satisfactory, inasmuch as there was no apparent reason why the tīthi should have been used with the day upon which it began. But I communicated the result, such as it was, to Mr. Rice, in September, 1899, and sent him at the same time the result for the Jāvalī date, the details of which are quite correct for Monday, 20th April, A.D. 750. And this leads me into a short digression, for which I must be excused. Mr. Rice has not mentioned the suggestion that I then made about the Chikmagalūr record; which, however, is not a matter of any importance. But he has quoted my result for the Jāvalī date, in Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. Introd. p. 7, and note 1. It is, however, to be thought,—though it might easily be so imagined from the way in which the matter is there put,—that the opinion is mine, that the date of Śṛīpurusha-Muttaraṇa is now fixed by this result of my own calculations (see loc. cit. p. 29, line 23 f.), or that “this confirmation of an exact date is important” (loc. cit. p. 7, line 5 f.). There are the facts, that, amidst all the mass of information about Mysore which we have now available in Vols. III. to VII. and XI. of Mr. Rice’s Epigraphia Carnatica, and in his books entitled Mysore Inscriptions, Cōorg Inscriptions, and Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola, the earliest instance that is forthcoming, of the use of the Śaka era in Western Gaṅga records the authenticity of which is or seems to be

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1 It could equally well mean Śaka-Sañvat 722 (expired), in A.D. 800, but for a point, stated by me on page 56 below, about the period of the adoption of the Śaka era in the Western Gaṅga records.
unquestionable, is in the Huṇekara inscription, from the Mysore district, of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, which is dated in the Śaka year 792 (expired)=A.D. 870-71 (Ep. Carn. Vol. III., Nj. 75), and that the era was not used by any means freely in that series of records even after that time; which facts indicate pretty plainly that the Śaka era was not adopted at all by the Western Gaṅgas until long after the alleged date of the Jávali-plates, and probably was not even known at that alleged date in the southern parts of Mysore, and are sufficient in themselves, even apart from other considerations, to cause any thoughtful person to hesitate before accepting a Śaka date of more than a century earlier, even though it does work out correctly. Further, we who are accustomed to handle Hindō dates, know quite well that the fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious; and it will be obvious, to anyone who reflects, that a Hindō, wishing to set up any particular date with accuracy, could, even in ancient times, by going to a proper person, get it correctly computed for him just as surely, though not so quickly, as we can now test it. And the case about the Jávali date simply is that the accuracy of its details would be important, if the record were a genuine one, which it certainly is not. Beyond that, Mr. Rice took the opportunity to make certain observations in a foot-note (loc. cit. p. 7, note 2) and in a postscript (loc. cit. p. 29 f.), about which I cannot well avoid saying something, though it does not seem necessary that I should say much. As regards his foot-note, its tone speaks for itself; and I have only to add that the modifications and corrections which I could not make in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 150, but which I made in Vol. VI. above, p. 58 and p. 67 ff., were in respect of details in which I had been misled through relying on Mr. Rice himself, and notably in connection with the spurious Suradhēnpura plates (see Vol. VI. p. 58). As regards his postscript, the same remark as to tone applies; and also, anyone who may care to take the trouble can see, by means of the extracts and references given by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 74 ff., and p. 80 ff., that Mr. Rice did attempt to make out a case, against my views on the subject of the invention of Purānic genealogies, by means of garbled extracts from my writings. It is a matter for regret, because of the complications to which it leads, that Mr. Rice, in spite of the exceptional opportunities available to him, is still bent on trying, and by methods which may be ingenious but are certainly not commendable from any other point of view, to bolster up the fictitious early history of Mysore which he has put together from a credulous acceptance of spurious records and imaginative legends and from a resulting failure to deal properly with even some of the genuine records, instead of joining in the much more profitable and really interesting task of working out the true early history and accounting for the existence of the spurious records. But unfortunately that is the case; and it furnishes the explanation of the differences between Mr. Rice and me. I would add, though it is hardly necessary, that, if anything should ever come to light to justify such a course, I should not hesitate for a moment about abandoning my present views in respect of the Western Gaṅgas, and cancelling anything in my writings about them which would then be wrong. But nothing of that kind has happened yet. It is true that,—assuming the reliability of a record which I have no means of judging by either a facsimile or an ink-impression or a photograph,—an inscription at Ásandi in the Kādūr district (Ep. Carn. Vol. VI., Kd. 145) does show that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa really had a son named Vijayāditya. That fact, however, is scarcely sufficient to establish a whole series of other things which are impossible in themselves.

We return to the subject of the Chikmagalūr record. Such was my opinion in 1899; that it might be placed between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64, and perhaps in A.D. 960. But now more light can be thrown upon the matter.

In the first place, we must notice an inscription at Uppahalli in the Kādūr district (Ep. Carn. Vol. VI., Cm. 42), which refers itself to the time of a Satyavākya whose personal name is
not mentioned in it, and is dated in A.D. 959, or possibly 958.\(^1\) Mr. Rice (\textit{ibid.} Introd. p. 8 f.) has attributed this record either to the well known Ereyappa, or else to his immediate predecessor: which of the two he intends, is not clear; but the doubt is unimportant, because the record does not really belong to either of them. And, by the way, in connection with the mention of Ayyapadéva along with Ereyappa in the Bègûr inscription (see Vol. VI. above, p. 47), Mr. Rice has in the same place referred to the same period, and has proposed to date in A.D. 929, an inscription at Kuppêhâlu in the Kadûr district (\textit{Ep. Cara.} Vol. VI., Kd. 6) which registers a grant made by the order of a certain Ayyaparasaya. But there is here a very peculiar confusion. The declensional and conjugal forms in the Kuppêhâlu inscription mark that record, quite unmistakably, as at least several centuries later than A.D. 929.\(^2\) And Ereyappa, who was moreover a Nîtimârâga, not a Satyavâkya, died before at any rate A.D. 940 (see Vol. VI. above, p. 70) and so the Uppalâlî inscription Cm. 42, dated in A.D. 959 (? 958), cannot be attributed to him, and much less, to his predecessor. That record can be properly ascribed only to Rachcha-Gaṅga, who ruled between A.D. 953 and 963-64. And it marks him as a Satyavâkya, and shows that the Chikmâlaṅâr record, of a Nîtimârâga, is not one of his records.

In the second place, the photograph of the Chikmâlaṅâr record, which reached me in January, 1900, shows that the record presents, and no less than four times, the later type, and that type only, of the initial short \(\iota\). And this feature, in a Mysore record, is practically absolute proof that we must not place it before A.D. 982.\(^3\)

On the other side, it must be placed before A.D. 1022 at the latest, if we put any reliance upon records published in \textit{Ep. Cara.} Vol. V., Hassan district, which indicate that in A.D. 1022-23 (Mj. 43), A.D. 1026 (Ag. 76), and A.D. 1027 (Mj. 44), that part of Mysore, to which this record belongs, was in the hands either of Nîpâkâma-Poysâla, or of a Râjendra-Chôla who may be either the Chôla king or a Kongâiya prince.

Further, an inscription at Elkûrû in the Mysore district (\textit{Ep. Cara.} Vol. IV., Ch. 10)—overlooked by me in 1899,—shows (see my Table in Vol. VI. above, p. 59, and remarks on p. 57), that Satyavâkya-Râchammalla II., with a final date in A.D. 984-85 (see Vol. V. above, p. 173, note 6), was not the last Western Gaṅga prince; after him there came at any rate a Nîtimârâga, proper name not disclosed, with apparently the \textit{bîrudas} Jayadaṅkakâya and Komâvarojaṅâna,\(^4\) for whom the Elkûrû inscription gives the date A.D. 999-1000.

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\(^1\) The actual details of the date given in this record are not satisfactory. Either the original presents an inaccurate date. Or there is some substantial mistake in the published reading.

Both the transliterated text, p. 104, and the Kanarese text, p. 172, give us Āśâghâla bahuła pośchami Bîhagatêvâra, and the Siddhârthhih \textit{sahastara}. And in the 883 \textit{eradänay} of the Kanarese text we have, no doubt, a misprint for 882 as given in the transliterated text.

According to the so-called southern luni-solar system, Siddhârthhi was Śaka-Saṅvat 882 current, = A.D. 959-60. And in that year the given \textit{tîkhi} ended at about 3 hrs. 3 min. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 28th June, A.D. 959, and did not touch a Thursday at all.

According, however, to the so-called northern luni-solar system, Siddhârthhi was S.-S. 881 current, = A.D. 958-59. And in this year the given \textit{tîkhi} began at exactly 22 hrs. 3 min. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 7th July, A.D. 958; and ended at exactly 20 minutes after mean sunrise on the Friday; and it was thus an \textit{adikâ-tîkhi} covering the whole of the Thursday. This, therefore, may possibly be the real date of the record; namely, Thursday, 8th July, A.D. 958.

The times given above are, as usual, for Ujjain. But they are practically just the same for Chikmâlaṅâr.

In view of the time of the year, July, when the sun was rising just about 5-30 A.M., a determination of the \textit{tîkhi} according to actual sunrise would not make any difference in the week-days.

\(^2\) Even the other date suggested elsewhere, "A.D. 1169,"—see the translations, p. 2,—is far too early.

\(^3\) On this point, see my remarks on the initial short \(\iota\) attached to my paper on an inscription at Dëvagâri, in the Dhärâdev district, which will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal.

\(^4\) The Kanarese text (p. 4) of the Elkûrû inscription presents \textit{jayadaṅkakâya komâvarojaṅâna}. The transliterated text (p. 2) presents \textit{jayadaṅkakâdra komâvarojaṅâga}. Such discrepancies as these are not very reassuring. And, if we take this record in connection with the Hirâmagâr inscription, mentioned as (3) on pages 53, 54 above, it remains quite possible that the first \textit{bîruda} here ought to be read \textit{jayadattâraka}.\[^{4}66\]
It seems reasonable, in these circumstances, to identify the Nitimārga-Rāchamalla of this Chikmagalūr inscription with the Nitimārga, personal name not disclosed, for whom the Elākūru inscription supplies the date of A.D. 999-1000, precisely in the period to which we are independently brought for the Chikmagalūr record. And, if we assume that the rule of this Nitimārga only began in A.D. 1000, then the Chikmagalūr record, dated in the month Kārṭtika of the sixth regnal year, cannot be placed later than A.D. 1005. While, on the other side, with A.D. 984-985 as the final date of Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II, it cannot be placed before A.D. 999.

Thus, the extreme limits for this Chikmagalūr inscription are A.D. 989 and 1005. And it gives us a new Western Ganga name, that of Rāchamalla III, with the appellation Nitimārga, whose sixth regnal year was current at some time during that interval.

A precise result cannot be arrived at just now, simply because the details of the date of the record are erroneous in one respect or another. They couple the Mūla nakṣatra with the full-moon tithi of the month Kārṭtika; whereas, though the moon is often according to the unequal-space systems of the nakṣatras, but rarely if ever according to the equal-space or ordinary system, in Mūla in the course of the new-moon tithi of Kārṭtika, she cannot ever be anywhere near Mūla on the full-moon tithi of that month. And, until we obtain some further guide, we cannot decide whether we should discard the nakṣatra and accept the full-moon, or whether we should regard the mention of the full-moon as a mistake and should take the new-moon and the Mūla nakṣatra.

The following results, however, which tend to reduce the above-mentioned period to A.D. 991 to 1004, may be stated, to be utilised and examined more closely hereafter when we obtain some further guide, in the shape either of a Śaka date distinctly coupled with the name of Rāchamalla III, or of another regnal date which will be free from ambiguity:—

(1) On the supposition that we must discard the nakṣatra and calculate for the full-moon. With the tables in Sewell and Dikshit's Indian Calendar, I have the following results:—

(a) During the above-mentioned period, the full-moon was first connected with a Monday in A.D. 991, in which year the tithi ended at about 2 hrs. 20 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Monday, 28th October. This result would place the commencement of the first year of Nitimārga-Rāchamalla III. on some day from Kārṭtika krishṇa 1 in A.D. 985 to the full-moon day of Kārṭtika in A.D. 986; leaving a short but sufficient period, about eight to twenty months, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be Rāchamalla, standing between Rāchamalla II. and Rāchamalla III.

(b) Other years in which the full-moon tithi ended on a Monday were A.D. 994, 997, 1001, and 1004. In A.D. 1003, it may have begun very shortly before the actual sunrise at the end of a Monday; but in that case, of course, it could not be connected with the Monday for any practical purposes.

(2) On the supposition that we should regard puṣpaṅga as a mistake for amāda, and should calculate for the new-moon and the Mūla nakṣatra. Here, the results are as follows:—

(c) In this case, again, during the above-mentioned period, the new-moon was first connected with a Monday in A.D. 991, in which year the tithi ended at about 4 hrs. 58 min. on Monday, 9th November. The moon entered the Mūla nakṣatra according to the Brahmaśiddhistā system at about 17 hrs. 7 min., and according to the Garga system at about 22 hrs. 6 min., on the Monday; but according to the ordinary system she did not come to that nakṣatra until about 10 hrs. 18 min. on the Tuesday. This result, in A.D. 991, would place the commencement of the first
year of Nityamarga-Rachamalla III. on some day from Margasirsha sukla 1 in A.D. 935 to the new-moon day of Karttika in A.D. 986; leaving just about the same short but sufficient period indicated under l, a, above, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be Rachamalla, standing between Rachamalla II. and Rachamalla III.

(d) Other years in which the new-moon tithi, ending or beginning, and with or without the Mula naksatra, was connected with a Monday, were, A.D. 994, 998, and 1001.

In view of these facts, this Chikmagalur record ought to be placed in A.D. 991, 994, 997, 998, 1001, or 1004, unless the details of the date given in it have been altogether inaccurately recorded.

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1 Om Svasti Nityamarga-Koongutii-
2 varma-dharmamahahradhirdhira-
3 ja KuvaJala-purvar-svava [Nanda]-
4 giri-natho srirat Rachamalla rao [pa]-
5 tama-gaasti-arganeva varahada Karttika-ma[sa]-
6 da suddha punspaneysu[m] Soma varamu[m] Mula-nakshatra-
7 mum-augo Pemmana$aiga prithuivi-rajiyan-go-
8 yu[tam-ive] Kiriya-Muguliya Pemmadig[an ?]-
10 yu[m] nanISINGyana[m] Kasi vayana[m] [Pa ?nue-bhara[nu]]
11 [Ma ?]dhukamn[r]aum Benegesiyun[nu] Ereyamman[nu]
12 in-ivarr[r]du ko$tor i(l)6 ko$da[ngeyaam] balaisilor
13 nalogamudha-Biya janu[m] Piriya-Muguliya Koma-
14 rayana[m] Pumadha Mandalmanu[m] Benneyrta Deva-
15 [gapa ?]jnu[m] Mal[ta]vurada Pemmadigamundha[nu] Uruppavaliya
16 Chamayana[nu] Indavurada Vii[ti ?]yanu[m] masaga Om
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TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When it was the full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Karttika of the sixth year of the crowning of the Dharmamahahradhirdhira Nityamarga-Koongutii Varman, the lord of KuvaJala the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Rachamalla, and when it was Monday and the Mula nakshatra:

(Line 7)—While the Pemmana$aiga was ruling the earth, to Pemmadig[an]du (? of Kiriya-Muguli there were given two hundred—[supply probably mattsra]—of nilpaasya-land.

1 Partly from the photograph, and partly from the previously published Kanarese text; see page 50 above.
2 Represented by a plain symbol; so also at the end of line 16.
3 The previously published Kanarese and transliterated texts both give ko$gyuni, with the guttural a. But the photograph shows unmistakably ko$gyuni.
4 The second akshara of this word, the ma, was at first omitted by the writer, and was then inserted by him below the line, under the small space between the 3 and the 4. It is rather faint in the photograph.
5 The previously published texts both give gos$da$ge; and the translation presents the name as Pemmadiga. The period seems rather early for the form gos$da which (see Vol. VII. above, p. 183) and we have the form gos$da in lines 13 and 15. I suspect that an atempage would show that the real reading here is gos$ma$da$ge, with a damaged ms at the end of line 8.
6 Mr. Rice's transliterated text gives here the long i; for which of course, in such a construction as that which we have here, the short i is a mistake. His Kanarese text gives quite properly the short i, which is shown by the photograph to be most distinctly the real reading.
No. 8. — THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVES AT NASIK.

BY E. SENART; PARIS.

For a description of the caves at Nasik, as well as for those at Karli, it will be enough to refer to Burgess and Ferguson's Rock-cut Temples and to the Reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV. p. 37 ff. As for the inscriptions which these caves contain, the first publication of them goes back to Vol. VII. p. 37 ff. of the Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, and the first interpretation to Bhandarkar's Notices, published in the Transactions of the London Congress, 1874, p. 306 ff. To Bhagwanlal Indrajit we are indebted for the reproductions on which are based Bühler's translations, printed in the Archæological Survey of Western India (AS.), and for the commentary written by Bhagwanlal himself and embodied in the volume devoted to Nasik in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI. p. 544 ff. (G.). These two translations, being based on thoroughly reliable documents, are the real tests of our present knowledge on the subject, and I shall constantly refer to them in this article. As in the case of Karli, the epigraphs of Nasik have been distributed by AS. into two different series, viz. "Kahatrapa and Andhras inscriptions" (Kash.) and "Nasik inscriptions of private individuals" (Pr.); the numbering adopted here is that which was used by Bhagwanlal in the Gazetteer.

No. 1, Plate iii. (Ksh. 16).

On the back wall of the veranda of Cave No. 2.

TEXT.

Sidha (1) raño Vāsiṭṭhiputasa (2) Siri-Puṭumayisa samvachhare (3) chhaṭhe še gimhapakhe (4) pachame še divase (5) ......

REMARKS.

(1) AS. sidha. — (2) G. and AS. Vāsiṭṭhi; but on the estampages the beginning of the i-curl is sufficiently discernible. — (3) G. and AS. samabh. — (4) AS. gimha; doubtless a simple typographical mistake. — (5) AS. divase 1. po. hi. ti. da. I can make nothing of the indistinct traces of letters which follow divase.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the ...... day of the fifth — 5th — fortnight of summer in the sixth — 6th — year of king Siri-Puṭumayi, son of Vāsiṭṭhi ...... ."

1 The ṭh of line 12 of this record is equivalent to the ṭh of this ṭh, 'being together, being in the company of each other, being connected,' of various other records; see a remark in Vol. VI. above, p. 98, note 6.
No. 2, Plate i. (Ksh. 18).

On the back wall of the versans in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

TEXT:

1 Siddhāṃ (1) raño Vāsithputassa (2) Sīri-Pulmuṇyissa saviochhare (3) ekunavise 19-gimhāna (4) pakhe bitiye 2 diveśe terase 13 rāja-raño Gotamiputasa Himavatana-Moru-


3 Setagiri-Chakora-pavatapati savarājaloaka(8)madalav(9)patigabitaśasānasa divāsa karakra(10)vibodhitakamalavimidalavimiladavimilahanasa tisamudotayapitāvahanasa paitupuchhadadmadalasārikā-

4 piyadasānasa varavārapavikhamahārūvikama bhuja-agpatihbogapināvat(11)-vipuladīghasa . būnajasa (12) abhodakādānākikinānibhayakarasa avipanamātunābhāsasa (13) suvibhatavagadēsakālasa

5 porajananivisesamasamadukāhāsa khoṭyadampamānamadadasa (14) Saka-Yavana-Pahava-nūdānasa dhamopajitakaravinīyogakarasa kitāpādhe pi satujane apānakāruchisa dijāvarāṅkutabahivivadha-

6 nasa Khakharivaśasa Sātavāhana-kulayasapatiṭhapanasa(15) karasa savamadala(17)bhivādītacha . nasa vinivatichātuvāvāsasakāsa anekasamāravajī
tasatukṣhasa aparājītavijayapatākasa satujana-nadhapadhasasaniyasa(18)-

7 puravāra kalapurisaparaparagavapilurājasadasa āgamaṇa (19) nilayasa sapurisānaṇa

8 Kesav-Ajuna-Bhūmasena-tupāparakāmasa(22) chhapaṅgasava(23)samajākāraka

9 Chada-Divākara-Nakha-Gaha-vichhipamasamārasatra jītaripusaghasa nāga(27)varakhadā
gaganatalaṃ abhivādīṭhaśa kulaviplasirikarasā Sīri-Sātakānisa mātya

10 mopavāsatanapāra rājarasivadhudasadam(31) akhilam anuvādīsāmānāya kārita deyadhama . . . . . . (32) sikharaśadise Tiruphupavatasikhare

11 etasa cha leṣasa chitanaṇimita (37) mahādevya ayākāsa sovakāmo (38) piyakāmo cha paṭa . . . . (39)pathesaro (40) pitupatiyo dhamsaetasa tadāti gāna (41) Tiruphupavata satiparadakhipapase Piṣajipadakam (42) savajatīabhoganirāthi.

REMARKS.

(1) G. siddha ra-.— (2) G. and AS. "sīkhyu".— (3) G. savocharha; AS. savvocharha; i seems clear, and it must be remembered that savvochhala = savvochatara is found in the Sahasram edict. As to the change of a into i in Prakrit, comp. Pischel’s Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, paragraphs 101-3. — (4) G. and AS. gimhāna. — (5) G. Asika-Susaka-. — (6) G. "parāta"; it is followed not only by such a blank as is frequent in this inscription, but by some traces which look like the rest of a letter. As, however, it cannot be a k, it is not easy to
imagine what it could have been, and it is most probable, as has been admitted by the former editors, that these traces are nothing but accidental deteriorations of the stone. — (7) AS. "Pariétâ". — (8) The character lo is all but clear. — (9) AS. "mabâlaq". — (10) The ka of the second karâ, which falls into the flaw, is very indistinct. — (11) G. and AS. "pinâsotâ". — (12) The ra restored by G. and AS. cannot be doubted, though injured by the flaw. — (13) G. "sumâna". — (14) The top of the na of dânâ seems to bear a horizontal stroke, and I am inclined to think that maâna was intended. — (15) AS. "vaândrâ". — (16) AS. "patâhâra"; this is at least more probable, besides being more correct. — (17) AS. "mabâlaq". — (18) AS. "padhârasaniya" (a mere printer’s mistake). — (19) G. "mâna. — (20) G. "chârâna. — (21) AS. omits ekântrâsa in the transcript. — (22) G. "parâmâ". — (23) G. "khaâyasuâsas". — (24) AS. Nahâdga. — (25) G. "bhûtanâ. — (26) G. "Garuâga". — (27) G. "naga"; AS. "naga". — (28) AS. "dêvia. — (29) d of "khamâ" seems to me at least doubtful. — (30) G. "khatâna". — (31) AS. "vâdhâsamad. — (32) AS. restores [Kûlâ]pa[vata]°. I feel no doubt at all about this restoration which is confirmed by the still visible e-stroke; but it must be understood that it is entirely conjectural. — (33) G. and AS. restore viâd[na]°, which is certainly right. — (34) G. "patâna"; AS. "pi[tâna]"; the beginning of the i-curl of pi is still visible. — (35) AS. "niya"; G. and AS. "jini bha. — (36) G. "yângâsa. — (37) AS. "chitâna". — (38) G. svâkîmo. — (39) AS. ya[â . . . Dakhînî]. Except the t which has left some traces, the passage in brackets is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one. — (40) AS. "pâthiśaro. — (41) AS. "gima. — (42) AS. "Pisâko"; the final asvâra is at least doubtful.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the nineteenth — 19th — year of king Sîrî-Pûlumâyî Vâsîthîputa, in the second — 2nd — fortnight of summer, in the thirteenth — 13th — day, the great queen Gotâmî Balâsîri, delighting in truth, charity, patience and respect for life; bent on penance, self-control, restraint and abstinence; fully working out the type of a royal Rîshâ’s wife; the mother of the king of kings, Sîrî-Sûkâni Gotâmpûta, who was in strength equal to mount Hiruvat, mount Mûru, mount Mûndâra; king of Asîka, Asalka, Mûlaka, Sûraîtha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidabha, Ākarûvantî; lord of the mountauns Vîndhyas, Chhavat, Pûrîchâtâ, Sâhyna, Kânapâgiri, Mûcha, Sîrîñâna, Malaya, Mahendra, Sûtâgiri, Chakora; obeyed by the circle of all kings on earth; whose face was beautiful and pure like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun; whose chariots had drunk the water of three oceans; whose face was lovely and radiant like the orb of the full moon; whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant; whose arms were as muscular and rounded, broad and long as the folds of the lord of serpents; whose fearless hand was wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness; of unchecked obedience towards his mother; who properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity); who sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens; who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Khâtriya; who destroyed the Šâkas, Yavanas and Palâvâs; who never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice; alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy; the furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born; who rooted out the Khakharâta race; who restored the glory of the Sûtvâhâna family; whose feet were saluted by all provinces; who stopped the contamination of the four varsas; who conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles; whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes; who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music; the abode of traditional lore; the refuge of the virtuous; the asylum of Fortune; the fountain of good manners; the unique controller; the unique archer; the unique hero; the unique Brahmâ; in prowess equal to Râma, Kèsâva, Arjuna and Bhûmasena; liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies; not inferior in lustre to Nâbhâga, Nahuśa, Janamejaya, Sâgara, Yâyâti, Râma and Ambârisha; who, vanquishing his enemies in a way as constant as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous,
in battles fought by the Wind, Garuda, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Raksasas, the Vidyadhara, the Bhutas, the GandharVAS, the CharaRas, the Moon, the Sun, the Asterisms and the Planets, (appeared to be himself) plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant; (and) who (thus) raised his family to high fortune,—caused, as a pious gift, on the top of the Tiruppu mountain similar to the top of the Kailasa, (this) cave to be made quite equal to the divine mansions (there). And that cave the great queen, mother of a Mahdraya and grandmother of a Mahdraya, gives to the SakaRha of monks in the person of the fraternity of the Bhadavaniyas; and for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the great queen his grandmother, her grandson . . . . lord of (Dakshinapatha, making over the merit of the gift to his father, grants to this meritorious donation (viz. the cave) the village Pisajipadaka on the south-west side of mount Tiruppu. Renunciation to the enjoyments of every kind."

For all the proper names which are enumerated in line 2, I must refer the reader to the short geographical index given at the end of the Nalik chapter in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI. The names Surashra, Anupa, AkaraVanti, Kukura and Aparanta appear again in the Rudradaman inscription at Girnar. The observations to which they have given rise, will be found especially in Arch. Surv. West. India, Antiq. of Kathiwar and Kachchh, p. 128 ff., and Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. This reference establishes the reading AkaraVanti, and even in Sanskrit orthography the form Kukura. Of the other names, Asaka may be = Ashaka, or also Avasaka; but I am not prepared to admit for Asika the connection with the Arsacidus which was proposed by Bhagwanal. They are simply the Rishikas who are well known from the Epic, and for whom I may refer to the Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. II. p. 58 ff. The verse from the Mahabharata (V. 81) which is noted there (Kumbadja Rishika yē cha PukhimaAdupadēka yē) very conveniently brings them into contact with the Anupa country. Seeing them here immediately associated with the Avasaka, one is reminded of the legends which were current of their marvellous horses. The Mulakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanal added the dynasty of the Mundakas, known from the Vishnupurana; and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the Saka and Turukahas is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of ṣ into rṣ. As to the names of mountains, I do not think there can be any hesitation in reading Pârîchâta. It must therefore be admitted that the form Pâriyatra need not necessarily be proscribed as was done by Bühler, who otherwise agreed with Bhagwanal in the identification of that range. As to Macha (apparently = Masha), we have nothing to rely on but the conjecture of Bhagwanal, too bold I fear to be really convincing. Cases like agatha = grihastha (K. 5) do not permit us to be quite as positive as Bühler regarding the impossibility of Sristana being = Sristana. I am less inclined to consider sata = Sâta in Setagiri. On the other hand, the name can hardly be connected, as Bhagwanal wanted, with Sâdgera, Sâdakara, which in the Kuḍ inscriptions (1, 9) has no e in the first syllable, and which, as a family or tribal appellation, rather reminds of the name of Sātā (or Sāda)Karpi.

The compound savar∂a is slightly irregular; but in the somewhat loose style of Prakrit we often meet with forms like savalokarasajamālal or savalokamadalarājā. The transposition of abhayadakamālikina (= abhayadakamālikina), proposed by Bhagwanal and Bhandarkar (Or. Congr. 1874, p. 313), would give a decidedly better construction and bring out more clearly the antithesis between bhayaddna and nrbhaya; but it has no bearing on the general meaning. The attribute dhampopajita is meant to imply that the king not only levied taxes in strict accordance with the law, but used them exclusively for just purposes.

2 See p. 47 above.
3 Mr. V. Smith (loc. cit.) refers doubtfully to the Mālikas and Maulikas of the Īgihataṃśūḥi, XIV. 8 and 23.
To all appearance Bhagwanlal is right in supposing that after *pātāka* the proximity of the initial *sa* in *saṁtu* has caused the dropping of the genitive termination *sa*, which is required if the compound *aparājītaśyayapātāka* is taken as an independent epithet of the king. Otherwise it would have to be taken as qualifying *purusara*, which would be a far-fetched sort of interpretation and against the phraseology of our inscriptions.

Bühler translated *kula-purīsa* by *who bore many royal titles descended to him from a (long) line of ancestors*. It seems to me certain that *purusha* implies *descent by males*. Besides, one cannot help comparing the second part of the expression *vipūla-vijayasaṅga* with a compound frequently used in more modern inscriptions: *saṁadhiyata-paṇḍhramahārābha*; the only difference is that *saṁadhiyata* is here replaced by the more emphatic *paramparāgata*. *Vipula* is used instead of the synonymous *maḥā* only in order to prevent the misunderstanding which the vicinity of *rāja* could have produced; for the adjective must refer to *śabda* or *rājaśabda*, not to *rāja*, the title *mahārāja* by itself being too modest. If the comparison be correct, and I hardly think it can be doubted, we have to interpret the phrase here in the same sense as the more modern formula. Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscrip.* p. 296, note 9, corroborated by *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 296, note 3) has conclusively discarded the translation which considered it as summing up certain royal titles. This qualification is generally applied to feudatories in order to enhance their importance; but Dr. Fleet has already pointed out cases where it is applied to paramount sovereigns, as one of whom Śātakaṇṭa certainly wanted to be considered.

The transcription *ekāṅka-unāśa*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, is I think decidedly to be preferred to Bhandarkar’s correction *ekāṅkunāśa*. Perhaps the epithet contains an allusion to the title “Gajapati,” which by tradition is conferred on the principal regent of Western India (compare Lassen’s *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II. p. 27 f.), and which our Gautamiśāstra may have claimed.

In spite of the form *achātā* instead of *ačhāṭi* or *ačhāṭahā*, Bühler is certainly right in his explanation of those adverbs; but I think that they refer not only to *jīta*, but to the following epithet, which is closely connected with them. Of *nagaravakkhādha* nothing satisfactory can be made; the reading *nāga* gives a better sense. On his battle elephant the king appears as if he would rise to heaven. This is not only a hyperbolical way of describing the height of the animal, but implies more. The king is *jītaripusāṅgha*—he is seen in the glory of his triumph; besides, as he is seconded in his fights by the divine powers, Pavana and others, he appears in some manner in the sky and among the gods. The two epithets *Pavana* *jīta* and *nāga* *vijīta* complement each other conformably to the law which Beufey (*Gesch. der Sprachwiss.* p. 35) has rightly pointed out, and in virtue of which the more general term comes at the end, preceded by the determining word,—a rule which, to state it in *passant*, ought never to be lost sight of in the interpretation of inscriptions and may in more than one instance help to bring out the right shade of meaning in complicated constructions. One more point remains to be settled. *Samarasirasi* has been translated: ‘in the foremost ranks in a battle;’ and in fact this is the way in which, following some Hindu commentators, it has been customary to interpret *śrīrasi* when compounded with some word meaning ‘fight.’ But not one of the instances which are known to me necessarily requires this signification, and several would much rather, exclude it (*e.g.* *Kathāśāresīgara*, 48, 138); on the other hand, the idiom is used, as far as I know, only in the locative case, either simply *śrīrasi* or, by way of a periphrase, *śīrāsā madhyā* (*Mahābharata*, IV. 1131; VI. 4041), which comes exactly to the same. I have elsewhere (*Mahābhārata*, I. 624), in connection with another idiom, noted the inclination of the Prākritic to form periphrastic cases, and have drawn attention to the Pāli use, in this case, of *piṭha* (*piṭhāśa*) and *matthaka* (*maṭṭhāke*). Such analogies strongly support a similar interpretation of *śrīrasi*. It would indeed be puzzling if instances were limited to the expression *naśarasi* and its equivalents. But such is in no way the case, and to *sarāḥsirasi*, i.e. ‘in, or on, the pond,’ which the *St. Pet. Dict.* cites from the *Nāradapañcāchar*. I. 3, 56, other cases will, I believe,
now be added after attention has been invited to this point. Of course the unsatisfactory explanation of \textit{rānasvāra} = \textit{śīvāra}, having once been suggested, may have contributed to enlarge the use of the word. Anyhow I consider that here \textit{samarasvāra} means no more than \textit{samar} or \textit{samarśa}.

Keldāpavatasiṅkhaṇa being perfectly certain, \textit{vidāṇa} ought not to be interpreted as an unspecifed ‘palace,’ but as one of the heavenly mansions of the gods residing on Kailāṣa. The Prakrit \textit{Tīrāśana} must, notwithstanding its irregular form, be = Sanskrit \textit{Tīrāśāmi}. The meaning of \textit{rāṣa} is partially identical with \textit{raśī}; this circumstance may have favoured the transition, especially the substitution of \textit{n} for \textit{m}. Besides, local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure. Of Bhadāvaniya the etymologically correct form is that which we shall find in the next epigraph, \textit{via Bhadāyanīya} (-ka). Regarding that sect, a subdivision of the Sthāvīras, comp. Rhys Davids in \textit{J.R. As. Soc.}, N.S., 1891, p. 411 ff., and 1892, pp. 5-7. As to the relation between the three genitives at the end of line 10 of the text, I may refer to my remarks on K. 13 above.

\textit{Chitārasvāma} is translated: ‘to allow (this cave) to be taken care of’ by Bühlé, who reads \textit{chitānā} and takes it to mean \textit{chintana} ; and: ‘for painting (the cave)’ by Bhagvanlal, who reads \textit{chītāśa} and derives the word from \textit{chitrāyatī}. This etymology, which is recommended by the \textit{y}, seems to me to be the only acceptable one, although Bhagwanlal probably limits the meaning too closely. \textit{Chitrāyatī} may as well be taken in the general sense of ‘ornamentation, embellishment.’ Bühlé seems to have been influenced by the comparison of \textit{leṣa patīsantharaṇa} which, in the next inscription, sums up the object of the present donation. To be sure, the two expressions cannot contradict each other ; but nothing requires \textit{a priori} that they should be exactly synonymous. \textit{Chintana} has the very definite and abstract meaning of ‘thought’ ; ‘it is not easy to introduce it here without some violence. We shall see on the other hand that the explanation ‘for the repairs of the cave,’ proposed\textit{for patīsantharaṇa} in N. 3, is far from being certain.

The restoration \textit{sa[tā . . . Dakkhaṇa]pattīcara} is as probable as the translation of \textit{pitupatiyo} proposed by Bühlé is inadmissible. \textit{Dharmasētu}, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period (above, Vol. III. p. 343 ; Vol. IV. p. 287, etc.), denotes figuratively a foundation as ‘a bridge, a dam of merit,’ which enables its author to get over the ocean of \textit{suśāra}. The way in which the word is used in ll. 12-13 of the next inscription could lead us to fancy that it is here transformed into a proper name, attached to that cave which has been dug out by the king’s grandmother. Such a name, however, would be very vague and little significant. I admit that \textit{dhamasētu} must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as an apposition to \textit{leṣa} either expressed or understood, to mean ‘the pious foundation’ of the queen. I cannot account for the curious idea of Bhagwanlal, who sees in it the personal name of some ‘manager of the cave.’ As to \textit{pitupatiyo}, he transcribes it by \textit{paitripitrikā}. He evidently thought of the analogy of \textit{pitrāpitāmaḥa} ; but the two are in no way identical. It might be admitted that they are equivalent, and that \textit{pitrāpiti} = ‘father and (father’s) father.’ The insuperable difficulty lies in the reading. The stone does not bear \textit{pitupatiyo} or \textit{pitupatiyo}, but \textit{pitupatiyo}. The \textit{i}-vowel after the second \textit{p} is decidedly excluded by the tail of the \textit{r} in the preceding line, and no trace of an \textit{e}-vowel can be discovered. It is \textit{pitupatiyo} and nothing else that has to be explained. \textit{Patti} in the Buddhist Pāli, \textit{i.e. prāpti}, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, by a foundation (Childers, \textit{et al.}). It is probably through the intermediate meaning ‘a part, participation,’ that the word has come to be used in that way. Thus \textit{pitupatiyo} or \textit{titika means} ‘who is applying to his father the merit of his donations.’ The king speaks of his father only because his father alone is dead, and he begins by alluding to his mother, proclaiming his donation to be inspired by his veneration towards her and his wish to share in her views. It is therefore just as if he had said, with an idiom more familiar to the language of inscriptions, \textit{pitaram uddāya}. From this case I am inclined to conclude, without
being able actually to verify the conjecture, that such an application of merit can be made only in favour of deceased persons. However that may be, it will now be seen by what very natural transition of thought the giver is led to use without any other preparation the name 'dharmas' as given to the cave; he is inspired at this very moment by the line of religious thoughts which have suggested it and which explain it.

Bühler seems to entertain no doubt as to the identity of the village named here with that mentioned at the beginning of the following inscription. It is certain that the date of the donation mentioned there is exactly the same as in the present epigraph, and that this donation is made in favour of the same sect of Bhadāyanīyas. It is above all evident from the place it occupies, and from the fact that the following text has been compressed in order that it might be inscribed here, that that place has been chosen intentionally. It must, however, be stated that the village called here Pīśājipadaka, i.e. I suppose Pīśāchopadaka, gets in the following epigraph the name of Sudisāna, and that the description is not identical in both texts, Pīśājipadaka being located at the S. W. of Tiraṇāhpavata, and Sudisāna at the south of the Govadhanāhāra. The two may after all be the same; but the difference in the name and description deserves to be noted, especially because a perfect agreement would naturally be expected. Further N. 3 brings in the Śramaṇas from Dhanakaṣṭa, who are not mentioned in connection with the donation which No. 2 records. It is therefore impossible to affirm that the beginning of N. 3 refers to the present donation; nor is it absolutely impossible that the king should have consented on the same day to a double donation, although it would, in that case, be difficult to understand why he should not have combined the mention of both. It may, however, be remarked that the gift of the village is here recorded in a somewhat unusual style and summed up in an abridged form (avasādbhogavairoṭhi), which looks like a simple mention, so hasty that it was left without a grammatical construction and the detailed indications which generally authenticate the gifts. Perhaps we have here the trace of some peculiar and, to us, undetermined circumstances which, if known, would explain why a new deed was substituted three years later, as commemorated in the following document.

**No. 3, Plate ii. (Kah. 19).**

Engraved in continuation of No. 2, from which it is separated only by a Seastika followed by another symbol.

**TEXT.**

11 Siddha (1) Navañaravāmi Vāsiṭhputo Siri(2)-Puḷumavi ḍanapayati Govadhane ānācchā (3)

12 Sivakhadita ya amhehi (4) sava 19 gi pa 2 diva 13 Dhanakaṭasamanehi (5) ya etha pavate (6) Tira(7) . . . . . . . . na dhavasetusa (8) lepasa paṭisatharaṇe (9) . akhaya . . (10) hetu etha Govadhanaḥāre dakhiṇaṃage gāmo Sudisāna (11) bhikhuhi devileṣvāveshī niyācena Bhadāyanīyehi (12) patigaya (13) dato (14) ētasa dānagāmasa Sudasanāna parivaṃkake etha Govadhanaḥāre (15) pavaṃage (16)

13 gāna (17) Samaḷipada ṉadāma (18) etata mahāsaṅkara (19) odena (20) dhavasetusa lepasa paṭisatharaṇe (21) akhayanivīheto (22) gāna Samaḷipada (23) bhi . uhi devileṣa . . . . . . yena (24) Bhadāyanīyehi (25) patigayha (26) oyapāpehi (27) ētasa cha gāmasa Samaḷipadasa (28) bhikhuhaḷaparihāra (29)

14 vitaraṃma apālasa anomaśa (30) alopakhaḍaka arañhasavimavika savajātaparihārika cha etera na pariharēhi (31) pariharēhi (32) etera (33) cha gāna Samaḷipada (34) panihāre cha (35) etera (36) nibadhāpehi (37) Sud . . na (38) gāmasa cha Sudasanāna vinibadhakārēhi aṣṭā (39) mahāsaṅkara (40) Medhunena . . . . . . nā (41) ehatoto baṭṭikā . v . . kehi (42) tahā . to (43) datā paṭikā (44) sava 32 gi pakhe (45) . diva 7 . tukanīnā (46) kaṭā
Govadhanavāthāvāna (47) phās . yo (48) Vinbhūpālana (49) svāmi-
vāpapāpata (50) nama (51) bhagatasapātīpatapasa (52) Jinavarṣa Budhasa.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. niḍḍhau. — (2) G. Sirott-Pu. — (3) G. and AS. amaṭha; d seems clear, though faint. — (4) G. dana; umepi sa; AS. da ya umepi su. The reading ambehi is required by the context. We might at the utmost read ambehi if ambehi were not morally certain. — (5) G. Dhanahāka. It will be seen that I incline to read Bendkāsa. — (6) G. restores pa[va]te. I think I can read the three characters. — (7) G. and AS. restore Tūra[vhmh]. — (8) G. ... na etasvata le; AS. dhavāseti le. I have no doubt that the text really had dhama. — (9) AS. notes no lacuna between “sa and a,” and G. only points out an undetermined one. I admit not only that there remains room for one character, but that the back of the estamapage seems to retain some traces of it, which might be mistaken for sa. As, however, in the repetition which will follow, and the phraseology of which is the exact counterpart of this first formula, the reading thaṇe is certain and perfectly complete, it seems hardly possible that the text should have been different here. — (10) G. and AS. restore ['niṭṭ]. — (11) G. notes between “sa and ut” a lacuna which nothing compels us to admit, and reads Sudaṇa; AS. Sadaṇa. — (12) AS. niya; only a lapsus. — (13) G. pahikha; AS. pahikha. Here and in l. 13 the letter looks like ga. — (14) AS. datā. — (15) AS. dhanhindhre. — (16) G. naśīma. — (17) G. and AS. gama. — (18) G. and AS. dāda. — (19) G. maha; G. and AS. kana. — (20) G. adama. The back of the estamapage seems to warrant de. — (21) G. kanta. — (22) AS. keta. — (23) G. padāna. — (24) G. bhikhaḥī devinavās[i]hikāya; AS. da[ , , , bi]khaḥī lopa[vadhih nika]y[va]na. — (25) G. kanyih; AS. kanyah. — (26) G. gahya; AS. tikha. — (27) G. usapa. — (28) e; AS. usapaya e. The transcriptions u for the first character and yu for the last would, a priori and for purely palaeographical reasons, be inadmissible. Besides, in the strokes which Bühler interprets as paya, I read with some confidence pehi. But the reading uya[pēhi] is warranted by the Kopādhmi plates and by Kārle No. 19 (above, Vol. VI. p. 71, note 1). — (29) AS. Samya. — (29) G. hāraṁ. — (30) G. anama. — (31) AS. kāraye. — (32) AS. karahi. — (33) G. dakaḥ cha. — (34) G. padāna; AS. mala-
pada. — (35) G. hārīnay; AS. hāre ṣa. Although ṣa is not clear, the parallel passage leaves no doubt as to the reading. — (36) AS. ṛthaḥ. — (37) AS. baṛḍha la ... m. . . . ṛṇa; G. bāṁḍhiveṇa, ... ṛṇa. — (38) sa and na appear to me certain, d[na] most probable. These elements lead almost irresistibly to the reading Śukasa[na] for the whole. It must be owned, however, that the third character does not give the impression of an e either on the front or on the back; but as it does not resemble any other known character, it must be admitted that its aspect has been altered by some damage of the stone. — (39) G. dhārta; AS. nībakhī. The ṛṇa is not visible on the Plate, but at least very plausible on the back of the estamapage, which at any rate warrants the presence of two letters between ba and ye. I have no doubt that the direct examination of the stone has inspired Bhagwan-
lal correctly. — (40) AS. sanu. — (41) G. na [Sātakā]ṇ śa. The visible traces make it a puzzle for me how Bhagwanlal could propose such a restoration. — (42) G. to Bāṇaśāvājakhi; AS. to paṭikṣā. The reading bi (G.) can hardly be seriously upheld; pa of AS. is not much more likely. As to the sa on which both agree, it seems less probable on the back than it looks on the front. — (43) G. ṭhaḥkātha; AS. ṭhaṭkīhā. I feel little doubt that the top-curl belongs to the d of the preceding line, and that the c ought to be struck off. — (44) AS. tu ṛiṣṇa ṣa. — (45) G. and AS. pa ... (46) G. 7 Sātakāṇ śa; AS. 7 . Ṭa . kanena. — (47) AS. sathāvāna. — (48) G. pāṣeṣūyām; AS. pāṣaṇa. The top of the first letter seems to bear a horizontal stroke on both sides, which would give pha; but the two strokes do not exactly face one another, and the one on the right is more clearly and deeply cut. Pro-
bably the stroke on the left is accidental, and we ought to read phā. — (49) AS. V[s]āhu?, which is a printer's mistake for Vināhu'; G. Vepāhu'. — (50) G. sāमवणान्धपति; AS. sāmavannāṇḍatā. — (51) G. namo, which is perhaps right. — (52) G. bhaga[va]tasa'; AS. bhagatasa'; G. pātipatīpasa.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! The lord of Navanara, Sīrī-Pujumāvi Vāsiṭṭhiputa, commands Śivakhandila, the officer at Govadhana: The village of Sudisaṇa here in the Govadhana district on the Southern road, which by us, in the 19th year, on the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of summer, . . . . by the Samaṇas of Dhanamkāṭa who [dwell] here on mount Tirachhu . . . . . has been given to be owned by the Bhikkhus of that fraternity, the Bhādāyanīyas dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave: meritoriously excavated, — in exchange for this gift, — the village of Sudasaṇa, — we give the village of Sāmalipada, here in the Govadhana district on the Eastern road; and this village of Sāmalipada, . . . . by the Mahī-Āryaka, you must deliver to be owned by the Bhikkhus of the school of the Bhādāyanīyas dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave: meritoriously excavated; and to this village of Sāmalipada we grant the immunity belonging to monk's land, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities. With all these immunities you must invest it; and this donation of the village of Sāmalipada and the immunities take care to have registered here at Sudasaṇa. And by the (officers) entrusted with the abrogation of the (previous) donation of the Sudasaṇa village it has been ordered. Written by the Mahāswarnatī Madhuna . . . . kept (?) by the . . . . . of deeds (?). The deed was delivered in the year 22, the 7th day of the . . . . fortnight of summer; executed by . . . . . (?) With a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Vinhupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obedience to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha."

This inscription offers in its last part some difficulties which result from uncertain readings, and even more from lacunes. In order not to lengthen this commentary unnecessarily, I shall not dwell on differences of opinion in a few passages where former interpreters have decidedly gone astray.

From the comparison of Benaṅkhasatādati in the next inscription, which offers many analogies to the present one, I infer that Dr. Bhandarkar was right in understanding Navanaravāmin =lord of Navanara, I suppose for Navanagara. Nothing in the other inscriptions entitles us to look in it for some hypothetical birūda.

The sentence beginning with ya amheḥi rests on two propositions which are exactly balanced and throw light upon one another. The general construction is clearly determined by the symmetry which obtains between the relative proposition: ya amhehi . . . . Bhādāyanīyesipatīgayadato on the one hand, and the principal one: eta cha . . . . patīgayahayapāpehi. They correspond link to link. The general similarity makes the more conspicuous the discrepancy which exists in respect of a single detail: instead of Dhanakatavasamanachi y[=] etba pavate Tira . . . . na, line 13 has mahāsārakena odena. This disagreement is made worse by the lacuna and by the partial uncertainty of the reading odena. The obscurity of these two expressions is to my mind the only real difficulty in this part of the text. One useful result at least, although only a negative one, is gained from their comparison, namely, that the singular construction attempted by Bühler, who supposed samanasahi and aśvākṣena to be governed by patikhayya (as he read), must first of all be discarded. To connect, as he did, Dhanakatasamanachi and bhikkhus which are separated from each other by a whole sentence, is too inadmissible to require a lengthy refutation. Either member includes two terms: first
an instrumental, in one case "samanekhi (followed by the relative proposition ya which determines it more particularly, and the essentials of which have disappeared in the lacuna), on the other, aiakah; secondly another word which we read odina is the second case, and the last syllable of which, na, alone has been preserved in the first. Unfortunately both mahasiraka and odina are of doubtful meaning. One point is proved by the very difference between the two phrases: they must have referred respectively to each of the villages in question and must have contained some determination, whatever may have been its exact bearing, concerning not the nature or the application of the gift, but its object, which alone differs in the two, being in the first sentence the Sudisaça village, and the village of Sarnalipada in the second. Bühlert took odina to be an instrumental qualifying aiakah. Besides the fact that this view has led him to a most unlikely translation, the circumstance of [ode]ia being in line 12 associated with samanekhi seems to bear evidence to his error. To all appearance it is the instrumental, samanekhi or aiakah, which must be understood as dependent on odina or odana, whichever may be the true reading. As to this word — either a substantive or, more probably, a participle — it cannot well be anything but a nominative or accusative, agreeing with the preceding pronoun, ya or eta. The last inscription, which informs us of the original gift for which this one is substituted, makes no allusion to the monks of Dhanakaça; as to the Mahasiraka, the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious personage. Even admitting that the title araka given to Yaastisiri-Satakani by an inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 96) be really = dryaka, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title Chala-arya conferred on the Arya Buddhakahanita, who is styled Arhat (Burgess' Buddhist Stupas of Amaravatti, Plate lix. No. 39, p. 104). What in any case appears to me above all doubt is that, contrary to the conjecture of Bühlert, the title cannot be Pujamayi'a. I refer to the observations on the title Mahavamika, which follow the next inscription.

As to the letters which, besides ode, are comprised in the lacuna, no parallel passage helps us to fill them up with confidence. The writing is not regular enough to enable us to ascertain even the number of characters which have disappeared. Probably from seven to nine are missing. The two first, samahiti, and the two last, oda, being known, it may at least be imagined that satana or patissaana or would fill up the gap conveniently, and that the monks 'who dwell on mount Trimsami' were meant here. On Dhanakaça or Dhananikata we have no other information than what has been collected by Dr. Bhandarkar (p. 342). Of course I cannot venture to hold my own against those who worked from the stone itself; I must own, however, that, considering the general similarity of b and d, it seems very tempting to suppose that our Dhanakaça is not different from the Benakaça in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading Benakaça seems to me to be the better secured one. I should incline to introduce it here. In No. 10, l. 2, we shall find a river Karabodā. Several Benas are known Benakaça is therefore quite satisfactory. As to the hypothetical Dhanakaça, it could in no case be identified (as postulated by Bhandarkar) with the proper name (equivalent to Dharanikot or not) which we find again at Amaravatti, as it has there the form Dhanakaça (Burgess' Buddhist Stupas of Amaravatti, No. 53, p. 90).

I think I can explain with certainty one word at least which has led astray my predecessors. The comparison of the two passages establishes the form patigayha, i.e. pratihaya, and the preceding instrumental, as it cannot be construed with dato, can only be governed by this word, which is therefore the future passive participle — here pratihaya, and below pratihayan. It will be observed that the word is intimately connected with the expression parigraha which I have explained in K. 19, and that it is in the same way applied to a property assigned to a special ct. The close etymological relationship of the two terms
justifies their parallelism naturally enough. I have therefore no doubt that pratigrihya must mean here to be received as property by . . . . As I have stated above (in K. 18), the construction nikalyana Bhaddanyasah seems to imply that even where the reading nikalyasa Bhaddanyasanah would rather suggest an interdependence of the two genitives, it must be admitted that the two terms are, as is necessarily the case here, co-ordinated, and that the second follows the first as a kind of apposition.

Patisaṁśataraṇa is, as far as I know, an ἀνα τεργονον. Its general meaning is evident. Bhagwanidas aptly compared the Pāli meaning of patisaṁśaṇa; but I fear he has from these exact premises elicited a conclusion which is inadmissible. Patisaṁśaṇa is by Childers translated ‘friendly greeting, welcome, etc.’ But the word, I think, points not so much to the feelings, as to the material care which is involved by the duty of hospitality. The etymological meaning must have started from the carpet which is spread out to accommodate the guests, and is in perfect agreement with the instances adduced. If a term has been thus fixed in a certain sense, somewhat diverted from the literal bearing, it would evidently be imprudent to vindicate for secondary, simply analogous derivations an identical figurative meaning. Nothing authorises us to attribute to patisaṁśataraṇa the precise sense of ‘hospitality,’ which would not suit either the construction of the sentence or the term chāta in the preceding inscription. Nor do I see on what ground could be maintained the too precise translation of ‘repairs,’ given by Bühler. It seems to me that the general meaning of ‘care’ is more conformable to what analogy requires.

The reading eta cha for the apparent eta, judiciously advocated by Bühler, is above all doubt. As to yogadhipati, I have, in commenting on K. 19, only been able to state in an additional note that this transcription seems now to be secured by the Konjamundi plates where Prof. Hultzsch has made it out. His etymology from aravaca is extremely ingenious. But I do not think, and I cannot think, that this effect our epigraphs seem to me to supply decisive arguments, that we ought to insist on the etymological shade of meaning. I would prefer ‘to distribute, to bestow,’ i.e. in fact to realise the gift.

This passage and the sequel agree with K. 19 and N. 4. It is enough here to refer to these two records. But in spite of the general symmetry, there are some divergencies for which we are left without the aid and control of direct analogies. First, if after nība[ṇ]dhaṇepa, we really must, in spite of some difficulties, read Sudassana (and the characters Sud . . . na at least appear extremely probable), the cha which follows after gāmasa compels us to take gāmasa with the sequel, and implies that Sudassana belongs to what precedes. Hence I am led to postulate the reading Sudassana, in the village of Sudassana, but Sudassana for Sudasana, or rather for gāme Sudassana, does not satisfy me entirely.

The sequel corresponds exactly with our No. 4, in so far as five different acts connected with the donation are enumerated in both places. In the next epigraph they are expressed by the words asāta, chhata, uparakhita, datā paṭikā and kau, of which the first, second, fourth and fifth are common to the present text as well. It is a priori probable that the third also is, if not identical in form, at least equivalent in bearing. The reading hathāchhato gives no meaning which can be made to agree with uparakhita. Besides, chhato stands condemned by the fact that this word already figures in the same series. Although the transcription chā, especially if we judge from the back of the estampage, cannot be said to be impossible, the too angular tracing and the unusual place which would have to be assigned to the vertical stroke surmounting the double curl joins with the general aspect of the front to make it at least doubtful. The reading hatha (or hara) guto, besides reminding of Rohasigutto which I have adduced in K. 19, would perhaps satisfy the desideratum of close agreement; but I must own that the actual traces of the estampage do not seem to favour it, and I put it here only as a provisional guess, to stand until a more acute reader or some evident analogy removes every uncertainty.
The five different terms have been explained in K. 19. The same is not the case with
the titles and names which are special to our text, and which the imperfect preservation of
the latter renders more or less obscure. As for the first, as stated before, I join with some confidence
in Bhagwanlal's reading viśābādhaḥkārēhi. He understood the word as 'document writer.' It is
certain, on the testimony of the use of viśābādhaḥpēhi, that viśābādha, as in N. 5, has to be taken
here in some analogous sense. But how did Bhagwanlal dispose of the initial vi, which
implies a meaning of suppression, or negation? We have seen besides (in K. 11) that viśābāda
more specially means 'investment.' The object of the deed is to unmake the gift of the
Susasaṇa village by substituting the gift of another. I therefore explain viśābādhaḥkāra
by 'who unmake an investment,' and take it as an epithet applied to the officers entitled
to register the withdrawal of the former donation, whichever may have been the proper
qualification of these Dātakas.

As to the Mahāśāṇḍapātri, the proper name alone seems obliterated or doubtful; but
the lacuna may have contained something else than his name. Other inscriptions do not attribute
to the Śāṇḍapātri the menial work of drafting, but perpetrate his name as that of a high
officer entrusted with this charge at the end of the grant; see e.g., Dr. Fleet’s Gupta Insor.
Nos. 55 and 56. In a still higher degree the title of Mahāśāṇḍapātri, which comes near
to that of Mahāradja (ibid. p. 15, note), seems to place the person who is honoured with it
above any such mean task. This is why I suspect that the obliterated letters, if exactly
known, would let his part appear in a different light.

There remains the third qualification, of which the greater part is erased, and which begins
with baṭikā. Although this reading seems more likely than paṭikā, the two forms would be
equivalent, and all I venture to say is that the first part of the title seems to refer to some
function of an archivist, analogous to what is elsewhere expressed by aksapataḥpāki
and abiṣeṣadīkā. This meaning would suit the general bearing which, I think, points to the mention
of such an officer. At the utmost I would note that the reading viśākohi, which G. and AS. have
put in at the end of the word, reminds of admiṣṭhī (= admiṣṭhī) which, in N. 4, closes the title
of the Mahāśāṇḍapātri entrusted with an identical task. I must add that the visible traces do
not favour the restoration of the reading admiṣṭhī.

It is most improbable that we should have to read Śātakaṇḍinā, and it would indeed be
extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver.

With katu the inscription proper comes to an end, as is indicated by the blank which is left
after it. The difficulties in the following sentence are chiefly due to the uncertainty of several
readings. It does not, however, seem to me impossible to do away with them. One point is
certain, namely that the second part forms an adoration to the Buddha. The first ought to
introduce and explain it. To this natural desideratum neither the translation of Bhagwanlal nor
that of Bühler do justice. That of Bühler has the drawback of resting on the reading
svadīvaṁcchāṇa, which is at variance with the original; it presupposes the name Vishuḍpurāna,
which has to be explained as a mistake for Vīshuḍpurīta; lastly it has recourse, in explaining the
supposed pheṣayayē, to comparisons and interpretations singularly open to controversy. The
readings of Bhagwanlal are more plausible; but his translation: 'the description of the king
has been given by Vishuḍpurī for imparting pleasure to the inhabitants of Gōvārdhana'
is certainly odd, as no 'description of the king' is given here. In fact the translation requires
only a few slight alterations to become quite satisfactory. Phāṣu, from which the abstract
phāṇakti is derived, means, in Buddhist style, not exactly 'satisfaction,' but 'health,' and
thence 'well-being.' The interpretation of svadī involves a more essential modification. If we
refer this title to the king, we are confronted with several difficulties. Could it not be a

[See my remarks on these two terms, above, Vol. VII, p. 107, note 4.—E. H.]
denomination of the Buddha himself? It would be a somewhat unusual application of the word; but perhaps it could, to some extent, be explained by the necessity of avoiding here the names of Bhagavat, Buddha and Jina which follow later on. I take rasanad in the sense which is now commonly reserved to varna, 'eulogy, glorification.' If taken thus, the sentence introduces the invocation quite naturally. Viphupāla, whatever may have been his position and the reason for his intervention (nothing enlightens us about the matter; is the name perhaps only an equivalent of Viphupālita in the following epigraph?), 'proclaimed this praise of the Lord,' i.e. adored the Buddha, 'in order to procure the well-being of the inhabitants of Gvārdhana.'

The beginning of the invocation itself seems puzzling. Bühler read patipatapasa; but this does not help us. He translates (perhaps by some inadvertency?) as if he had read patipatasa = prāptipratāsya; but even thus the compound would be an error for prāptipratīk. It seems little credible that prāpti, which, as seen in N. 2, has acquired a different technical sense, should have been used here in a way which is at least unusual even in religious literature. Bühler and Bhagwanal seem to have fallen into a common error by considering it beyond all discussion that bhagatasa must be a fault for bhagavatasa. We ought to be careful not to charge the engraver too rashly. All difficulties vanish if we admit: first, that the words must be separated otherwise, and secondly that the bh bore the vowel u which has disappeared, the stone being here much defaced. Thus we get 'bhagatasapatiṣṭapasa = abhyudgatasaṃprāptipratāpasya, an excellent epithet to Budhasa, as will be seen from my rendering. Saũpati is well known in Pāli (see Childers) not only in the sense of 'prosperity,' but with the special and more technical meaning of 'religious attainment.' Nothing in this sentence betrays a later origin. It may be supposed that Vīṣṇupāla, being concerned in some way with the execution of the inscription, was led by his zeal to crown it by that pious manifestation.

No. 4. Plate ii. (Kāh. 13).

On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

TEXT.

1 Sūdham  senāye Vejayaṃtiyo (1) vijyakadhāvārā Govadhanasā
Benakṣatakasāvāmi (2) Gotamiputo Sīri-Sadakāni (3)
2 ānāpayati Govadhane amache Vīṣṇupālīta (4) gāme Aparakakaṭiyo ya (5)
khetaṁ Ajākālakyaṃ Usabhadatena (6) bhūtaṁ nivatana(7)-
3 satān be 200 eta amhakheta nivatapasatānī (8) be 200 imesa pavajītān
Tekirasiṅa (9) vītarāma etasa chhaṃ khetasa pariḥa rā
4 vītarāma apavasa (10) anomasa (11) alokapādakān arākasaviniyakā
savaṭātapahīrārika (12) cha etahi na pariḥārehi pariḥar , hi (13)
5 ete (14) chhaṃ khetapariḥār . (15) cha etha nibadhāpehi (16) aṇiyena (17)
āpataṁ amachena Sivaṅgutena cahato Mahāsāmīyehi upakhīto (18)
6 datā paṭikā savacchhore 18 (19) vāsapakhe (20) 2 divase 1 Tapaṇena (21)
katā.

REMARKS.

(1) G. "jhathā". — (2) G. and AS. "tākā svā". — (3) G. "dakāni". — (4) G. and AS. "litaih. —
(5) G. "jīyāḥ yaṃ kha"; AS. "jīya ya kha". — (6) G. Usabhadatena. — (7) AS. nivatana. — (8)
AS. "satāmni". — (9) G. "sīna"; AS. "sīnd". — (10) G. apādē ; AS. "vasaṁ". — (11) AS. "mānān. —
(12) G. "taparā". — (13) G. "rīkaraḥ"; AS. "rīkarīti". — (14) AS. etu. — (15) G. and AS. "āṭava. —
(16) G. and AS. nibadhā inhi. The only point which in my reading seems subject to some material uncertainty is the vocal e of the syllable pe. — (17) G. uviyeṣa ; AS. ariyeṣa. — (18)
G. *khitā. — (19) AS. 14; but Bühlner has corrected this reading to 18 in Die Ind. Inschriften und die Kunstpoesie, p. 58. — (20) G. usāpaka ; AS. usāpa[khe]. — (21) G. *pusana.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! From the camp of victory of the Vejayaṇti army, Sīru-Sadakāṇi Gotaṇiputta, lord of Benāṇaṭa of Govadhanā, commands Viṇḍupālita, the officer at Govadhanā: The Ajakālaṇika field in the village of Western Kakhâḍi, previously enjoyed by Usabhādatā, — two hundred — 200 — niśvaratānas, — that our field — two hundred — 200 — niśvaratānas — we confer on those Tekirsā ascetics; and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities; with those immunities invest it; and this field and these immunities take care to have registered here. Verbally ordered; written down by the officer Sivaguta, kept by the Mahāsiṇīya. The deed was delivered in the 18th year, on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season; executed by Tāpasa."

Vejayaṇaṅgiye ought to be taken as a local name and as alluding to the town of Vejayaṇti (K. 1). Vejayaṇti is not identical with vijayaṇti, the feminine of the participle vijaya, 'victorious.' The mention of the 'Vejayaṇti army' may have been promoted by the wish of recalling to mind the usual formula *vijayaṇakaṇḍhāvāra* in a way at once pleasant to the king and honourable for his troops, whose successes it commemorated.

I cannot discover the *ō* which AS. and G. attach to the second *k* cf Benāṇaṭa. This is not to be wondered at, because it seems impossible to interpret Benāṇaṭaṅkavaṇā wine otherwise than as a compound of the same form as Nuvaṇaravāṇā in N. 3. When *svāmin* is prefixed as a title, it is placed before the king’s name (sāmi Sīru-Puḷumāyi, K. 14; N. 25; sāmi Sīrīyaṇa-Sāṭakaṇi, N. 24), and not, as would be the case here, if Bühlner and Bhagwanal were right, before his metonymic. As to the genitive Govadhanasa, it could certainly be explained as governed implicitly by Benāṇaṭa and pointing out the district where the place is situated. It seems however much more probable that it must be construed with *kāṇḍhāvāra*. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular; but the presence of another genitive, *sendya Vejayaṇaṅgiye*, may have caused Govadhanasa to be placed after *kāṇḍhāvāra*. As we know nothing about Benāṇaṭa (see the preceding inscription), its situation need not be considered here. But it is unlikely that the king, while dating his gift from his head-quarters, should not have stated the name, and, as the gift mentioned here was made by him verbally and personally, it is all but certain that he was himself present at Govardhana.

Bühlner and Bhagwanal understand ajakālaṇikaṇiḥ = Sanākrīṣṇa adyaṅkaṭikam, an adjective qualifying *khetaṃ*, and which, determining the following *Usabhādatena bhūtaṃ*, would mean 'till to-day.' This meaning would be excellent; it would have the advantage of dating positively the Southern conquest of Gautamiputra, which probably brought about the dispossesion of the Kshaharata Rishabhaddatta in favour of the invader. But from the grammatical point of view — without taking into account the singularity of the form *adyakālaṇikaṇya adyaṅkaṭika,*— it would really be an odd way of speaking. It is, besides, necessary that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because, if Rishabhaddatta had laid hand on a possession in these parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I, therefore, am inclined to think that Ajakālaṇika is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology which I have no means to state for certain.

I have no doubt that Tekirsāṇa is the equivalent of Tīrāṇukṣāṇaḥ and refers to the monks on mount Tīrāṇi. As to the phonetic change, I see nothing more convincing than the conjecture of Bühlner, who corrects the word to Tīrāṇiṅkṣāṇaḥ = Tīrāṇiṅkṣāṇāḥ. But it is really a desperate expedient — so desperate that I may be allowed to ask a question.
If really, as is supposed, the name Trirâmi, attached to the hill at Nâsik, had been inspired by its triple top, it would be too bold to imagine that, under the influence of those Yavanas whose traces are rather common in these parts, a Greek equivalent Tânaçs might have obtained currency by the side of the native name?

For what follows compare K. 19.—No more than former commentators have I any means of determining the exact bearing of the title Mahâdevâmika. I would only note that it reminds strongly of Mahâdevâmika, a term known from other texts, and which Dr. Fleet (Græc. Inscr. p. 272, note) considers to denote a dignity superior to that which is expressed by the simple Vihârâvâmika. It would then point to a college of religious dignitaries. I feel tempted to compare with these the titles Mahâ-dryaka and Châlæ-dryaka, which have been examined before.

No. 5, Plate ii. (Kah. 14.)

Engraved in continuation of No. 4, from which it is separated only by a Seastâka.

TEXT.

6 Siddha (1) Govadhane amachasa Sâmakasa (2) doyo (3) râjâpito (4)
7 raño Gotamiputasa Sâtakañïa (5) mahâdeviya (6) cha jivasutâya râja-
mâtya vachanena Govadhane (7) . . . cho (8) Sâmako arogavatavo tato eva cha (9)
8 vato etha (10) amhehi pavate Tiranphumi amhadhamadâne lege
pativasatâna (11) pavajitâna bhikhûna gâme Kakhaçisu pava khetan
data ta cha khetata
9 . . kase (12) so cha gâmo na vasati evam (13) sati ya (14)
dâni etha (15) nagnaśma râjadâna khetata (16) amhasatakan (17) tato
etasa (18) pavajitâna bhikhûna Tiranphukâna (19) damadâ
10 khetata nivatsaatâna 100 tasa cha khetata parihrâ (19) vitarâma
apâvesa anomassa aloçakhâdaka arâñhasavinika savajatapârihârika cha (20)
11 etehi na parihrâhre pariheretha (21) eta chasa khetaparihrâ (22) cha
etha (23) nibadhâpetha (24) svîsena (25) âgata pañîhârakhya Lotâya
chhatato (26) leko (27) savachhare 24
12 vâsana (28) pakhe 4 divase pachame (29) 5 Sujîvinâ (30) kaṭâ
nibadho (31) nibadho savachhare (32) 24 gînhâna pakhe 2 divase 10.

REMARKS.

jitä ; AS. Pujitä. — (31) G. ^bañhd. — (32) AS. sañvedchhare.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! Order of the king, to be made over to Sâmaka, the officer at Govadhana. In the name of the king Sâtakañï Gotamiputa and of the king's queen mother whose son is living,
Sāmaka, the officer at Govadhana, shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus: "We have here on mount Tirāñatu formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours, a field in the village of Kakkhaḍī; but this field is not tilled, nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so, that royal village of ours, which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of Tirāñatu one hundred — 100 — niṣṇātanaḥ of land, and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers); not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities; invest it with those immunities, and take care that the donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered." Verbally ordered; the deed written down by Loṭā, the door-keeper; (the charter) executed by Sujīvin in the year 24, in the 4th fortnight of the rainy season, on the 5th—5th—day. The donation had been made in the year 24, in the 2nd fortnight of summer, on the 10th day."

Rājāśiito is perplexing. Bühler's explanation does not convince me. The use of as deformed a word as niṣṭa = niṣṭā is quite improbable, and some parallel instances would be required to render the idiom admissible. Besides, I doubt very much that the gift could have been attributed in that way to Sāmaka, even with the limitation which would be implied by rājāśiito, meaning as proposed: 'which proceeds from the king.' The reading itself I do not consider as secured, at least to judge from the estampages. The genuine Sāmaka would be used in the sense of a native governed by deya; 'which ought to be bestowed on Sāmaka,' and the last syllables of the line would contain the substantive expressing what ought to be bestowed. Now I propose to read rājāpi, and before it, deya instead of deya, the final vowel of which is far from clear. In this way we obtain a docket of the whole grant: 'a command of the king, to be conveyed to Śyāmaka.' The vocalisation is here so uncertain that my conjectures cannot be called risky. The somewhat exceptional beginning would at least have the advantage of harmonising perfectly with some other equally exceptional peculiarities of the inscription. First, as is shown by the following sentence, we have here not a command directly delivered to Sāmaka, but conveyed to him by some intermediary: raśo . . . mahādevīya cha vachanaś. This circumstance is worth remembering all the more because the sequel (l. 11) states that the command was a verbal one issued by the king; in fact the plurals parihāretaḥ and nibadāpetaḥ are accounted for by the circumstance that the command was not intimated directly to Sāmaka (in which case precedents would let us expect the singular), but to the intermediaries, whoever they may have been, that were delegated by the king. Further, in the ordinary form of deya the engraver is mentioned at the end. In this inscription, however, the date of the execution of the grant is followed by another date, on which the donation had been pronounced—a date naturally anterior to the despatch of formalities. This date was probably added by Sāmaka because he wanted to state the interval which, owing to delays in transmission, intervened between the resolution of the two royal persons and the execution of their will.

It is but natural to suppose that the field situated at Kakkhaḍī, which had been bestowed before upon the monks, is the same as that mentioned in the preceding inscription. Our epigraph is, by the very place it occupies, brought into close connection with the preceding one. It must, however, be noted that the king's mother does not play any part in the preceding gift, which is contrary to the wording of the present one, and that Apana-Kakkhaḍī as the name of the village looks like an intentional differentiation from the simple Kakkhaḍī which we have here. At least the anterior deed did not state that the grant should concern exclusively, as it is said this time, the monks of the cave bestowed by the king—the Dharmasūtra. We must, however, remember the real nature of these epigraphs. They are not official documents, but, in some way, accidental commemorations of gifts, of which the records properly so called were kept among the charters of the monastery. So they may well abridge and sum them up;
in this way it is easy to understand why they do not note many details which could not fail to appear in the official deeds themselves.

Though it is generally inadvisable to recur to the correction of supposed errors of the engraver, it is difficult not to agree with Bühler when he corrects patikārakhiya. For other details see K. 19 and N. 3.

No. 6. Plate iii. (N. 8.)
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 6.

TEXT.
1 Siddhaṃ Viragahapatisa nyegamaṇasa (1) leṣaṇ (2)
2 deyaḍhama kuṭumbiṇīya (3) chasa Nandasiriya (4) ovarako duhutu-
3 ya chasa Purisadamāva ovarako eva leṣaṇa chatugabhām
4 niyuta (5) bhikhusaṅghasā chātudissasā niyāchitam.

REMARKS.
(1) AS. "gamasa; the anusvāra, although faulty, seems perfectly clear. — (2) G. and AS. leṣaṇ. — (3) G. "bisiya. — (4) AS. "dasaṅkya. The reading siri seems sure. — (5) G. niyuta.

TRANSLATION.
"Success! This cave, a pious gift of the householder Vira, a merchant, a cell of his wife Nandasiri, and a cell of his daughter Purisadatta; the cave thus completed to four cells has been bequeathed to the universal Sāṅgha."

I do not think gahapati ought to be taken as a part of the proper name, any more than in Naṇḍagahapatindari at Śailarwadi (CTL p. 38, text l. 5). At Junnar (CTL and AS. No. 4) we meet again with a donor Virasenaṇkasa gahapatīpanughasa dhānmanigamasa. In spite of the close resemblance of the epithets, the writing of the two documents does not seem — unless, what is very possible, the difference be more local than chronological, — to entitle us to identify both. Anyhow it follows from the comparison that gahapati, just as negama, is a title. Besides, it may perhaps be concluded from that Vira is only an abridgment of the real name which has to be completed by a second member like sena. Negama need not be explained; but it may be remarked en passant that its use here favours the opinion I have formerly stated, and which I must maintain against the doubts that have been raised by a learned opponent (Rick, Soziale Oliederung zu Buddha's Zeit, p. 164), viz. that gīraphati is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of Vaiśyas.

The writing nye = ne is the more noteworthy because we find afterwards niyāchita = niyātita. It looks as if this engraver had felt some peculiar inclination towards the palatalization of dentals.

Niyuta was translated by Bühler in various ways: 'allotted, given,' and often, as now, 'dedicated.' The inscription No. 1 at Mahāḍ reads . . . . leṣa chetaiyagaha ovaraka cha atha ti kaman niyutaṃ . . . , and seems to settle the exact meaning of the word, viz. 'executed, completed,' implying the notion of a plan, of an appropriation to some use or some object, which is conveyed by the verb nīyata. Niyuta is therefore not ordinarily construed with a dative; it is generally followed by another participle, as here by niyātita, pointing to the donation which takes place after the work has been completed. It is needless to observe that when niyuta is accompanied by a dative (or a genitive fulfilling the functions thereof), as at Junnar No. 15 (where we have to read niyutaka), this fact is no way irreconcilable with the translation I am advocating; 'made for the Sāṅgha (residing) at Kapichitā.'

1.2
No. 7, Plate iii.
On the back wall of Cave No. 7, left of the doorway.

TEXT.
1 Bhayañña-Savañña aṁtevā-
2 siniya pavayitiya Tāpasī-
3 niya cha deyadhama [leña]
4 chātudisas a bhikhusaghasa dataṁ.

REMARKS.
This epigraph is missing in AS. I give the reading of Bhagwanal rather than a transcription of my own. The estampages appear to be even less legible than the photographs. The letters are not deeply cut, so that the back of the estampages shows almost nothing. The direct examination of the stone may have enabled Bhagwanal to see more than I can discover on the facsimiles. I can only abandon to him the honour and responsibility of the reading. Our facsimile is besides probably too short. For in the first line, where the visible traces indeed seem to confirm his transcription, the final ed which he has read is certainly wanting, and the following lines also, if compared with his readings, seem to be incomplete on the right. In the second line I am unable to make out pavayitiya, and even less Tāpasī⁵. The rest looks more probable. I must, however, except the last word. Besides the fact that no trace of data appears, it is not that participle, but niyātta, which is ordinarily used in that way. In l. 3 the cha must be wrong; to all appearance we have to do with a single gift.

TRANSLATION.
“This cave, a pious gift of Tāpasī, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savañña, granted to the universal Saṅgha of ascetics.”

It is hardly credible that the name of the donor should be omitted, as the epigraph takes the trouble to commemorate the name of her religious teacher. So she must have been called Tāpasī, admitting the reading to be correct. We have already met (in N. 4) with Tāpasa as a man’s name. As to that of the teacher, always supposing the reading to be correct, I do not see, among several possibilities, any Sanskrit transcription which can be safely admitted. The reading Savañña is not impossible; it reminds of Suvatsaka which in K. 20 seems to be an ethnic name, probably = Sauvaraha. Bhājā (AS. No. 4) supplies another instance of the pluralis majestatis: therānaṁ bhaṅgata-Dhamagirīnāṁ.

No. 8, Plate viii. (N. 7.)
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, right of the doorway.

TEXT.
Dāsakasa Mugūdāsasa (1) separivārasa leṇa (2) deyadhama (3).

REMARKS.
(1) AS. Mugūda⁷. The d is not quite distinct. The double stroke, however, accounts best for the crack, and besides the d is sure in the following number. — (2) G. lenaṁ. Even the s, much more the ś, is extremely indistinct. — (3) G. 더라uma.
TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Mugūdāsas, a fisherman, together with his next."

It is, I think, too precise to translate sanarivāra by 'with his family'. If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used either special names of kinship or some generic word, as jāti, which occurs elsewhere. Parivedra may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners.

Whatever may be the exact meaning of dāsaka, which I do not hesitate to identify with dāṣaka, as suggested by Bühler, our Mugūdāsas cannot well be different from the one who is mentioned in the next inscription, also with his surroundings (sanarivāra). It is strange that the gift of the cave should thus be commemorated twice in two epigraphs, each of which is located on one side of the same door. Generally our formulas distinguish the leṣa from the cells (cavraka, gābha) which are excavated in them. Although leṣa is here used in both cases, I am inclined to think that the word in our No. 9 points no more to the veranda, but to the cell which the same donor Mugūdāsas must have added to his cave. This interpretation seems more tempting as the second donation has for its object to supply with clothes the parajita, i.e. the monk residing in the cell. However this may be, Mugūdāsas has a namesake at Kuḍā (AS. No. 23), a vādikāra or florist, whom nothing at least in the writing forbids to consider his contemporary.

No. 9, Plate iii. (N. 6.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, left of the doorway.

TEXT.

1 Chetika-upāsakiyasa Mugūdāsasa (1) sanarivāra leṣaḥ (2) deyadhamā (3) etasa lenasa (4) Bodhiguta-
2 upāsakasa putena Dhamanandinā datam (5) khetam (6) aparīliya Kāṇhahiniyā
eto cha khetāto chivarikām (7) pavaitasa.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. Mūgā-.—(2) G. and AS. leṣa. — (3) Perhaps "dhamo; but the vowel-mark would then, contrary to use, be attached to the top of the m. — (4) AS. lenasa. — (5) G. and AS. data. — (6) G. and AS. khetā. — (7) G. and AS. chivarikā.

TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Mugūdāsas, of the lay community of Chetikas, together with his next. To this cave has been given by Dhamanandin, son of the lay worshipper Bodhiguta, a field in Western Kāṇhahini, and from this field (acruς) the providing of clothes for the ascetic (living here)."

Compare the preceding inscription. The only difficulty peculiar to this epigraph is connected with the words aparīliya Kāṇhahiniyā. I have followed the translation of Bühler and Bhagwanlal, but without feeling so certain about its correctness as they appear to do. It presupposes an adjective aparīla, equivalent to aparī, which is unusual, and which in any case does not conform to the precedent Apara-Kakhaqiyā in No. 4 above. The analogy of that passage would rather induce us to look in the word following khetam for the particular name of the field. Anyhow the long vowel of ṭi, which is quite distinct, remains somewhat puzzling; it would make me think of some passive participle of the future a-parīliya, if the use of it with the prefix pari were testified to by literature or gave some clear and satisfactory meaning.
No. 10, Plate iv. (Ksh. 5.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10, under the ceiling.

TEXT.

Compare Dr. Hoernle in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII. pp. 27 ff. and Dr. Bhandarkar, ibid. pp. 139 ff.

1 Siddham rājñāh. Kshaharatasya kshatraipaśya Nahapānasya jāmātrā (1) Dinikaputroṣa Ushavatātena trigoṣatasahasradena nadyā Bārnāsayaṃ suvarnādanatirīkhačaṇa dovāṭhbyaḥ brahmānepbhyaśca sbodhāsātrakadena anuvaramaḥ (2) brahmānapatsahasāharibhajayāpyitrā

2 Prabhāse puyayathre brahmānepbhyaḥ saṭṭhabhāryāpadena Bharukachhe Daśapure Govardhane Śoparāge cha chatuśālavasadhapratirāyapradena ārāmatajāga(3) uḍappānakaraṇa Da-Pārādu-Damapā-Tūpi-Karabēṃa-Dāhānuma nāvāpuyayatakaraṇa etāsāḥ cha nādnām ubhatotīram sahā-3 prapākaraṇa Pimītakaevade (4) Govardhane Suvarnāmukhe Śopārāge cha Rāmatīrthe Charakaparshabhyaḥ grāme (5) Nāṇaṃgole dvātrīstanaśilaṃgulaṃhahasradena (6) Govardhane Trīrāsmiṣhu parvateṣu dharmātmanā idān leṣaṃ (7) kāritaṃ imā cha podhiyo (8) [[*]] Bhātāraka aṃnātiyā (9) cha gato smiṃ (10) varṣhārātum (11) Mālayeḥ (12) ruśhaṇaṃ Utamabhadraṃ (13) mochayitum

4 te cha Mālaya prānāvane apayātā Utamabhadramkānaṃ (14) cha kshatriyaśaḥ sarve parigrahaṃ kiritatato smiṃ (15) gato Pokshārāṇī tatra cha mayā abhiseko krito trīpi (16) cha goṣhascāni daṇāni grānño (17) cha [[*]] Data chānena (18) kshetram (19) brahmānepa Vārahiputrasa Aṣvibhūtasa hathe kiṃita mulena (20) kāhāparasahasrehi chatuhi 4000 ya sapitastaka nagarasmāya utarārāpaṇa disāya (21) eto mana lepe vasam-5 tānaṃ (22) chātudīsasa (23) bhikhuṣaghusa mukhāhāro bhavisati.

REMARKS.

(1) The reading trā is very distinct; the right side of the t however bears a slight trace of the vowel u, as if the form jāmāṭa had been present, along with the form jāmāṭa, in the mind of the writer. — (2) AS.  "varsha." — (3) AS.  "laddgo." — (4) G.  "piṇḍī." — (5) AS.  "grāma." — (6) AS.  "sahasradena." — (7) G. and AS. lepa. — (8) AS. podhiyo. — (9) The syllable aḥ (for the anusvāra is quite visible) has been added between kā and ṣā, probably in order to point out that the initial a has been absorbed into the d of kā. The d of ṣā is doubtful; the vowel-mark is not ordinarily, as would be the case, placed at the top of the vertical line. — (10) AS. smi. The anusvāra is doubtful. If it exists, it is of course a mistake. — (11) The n is subscribed in two ways, — the one very similar to r, as here and in putrana in the next line, the other in the shape of a small horizontal stroke, as in mochayitum, pītu. — (12) Between ye and hi there is a blank, which seems to have been filled up by two or three characters that would have been effaced. — (13) AS.  "bhadrāṃ. The d does not appear to be quite certain. — (14) AS.  "kāndunā. — (15) AS. kridatato smi. The anusvāra, though faulty, seems to exist on the stone. — (16) AS.  "tiṃ goa." — (17) AS. gama. — (18) G. cha nena. — (19) AS. kṣetra. — (20) G. and AS. mulo. — (21) G. dīdā. — (22) G. and AS.  "tina." — (23) G.  "tudio."
causes one-hundred-thousand Brāhmaṇas to be fed the (whole) year round, who has given eight wives to Brāhmaṇas at the religious tīrtha of Prabhāsā, who at Bharukcchha, Daśāpura, Govardhana and Sūprāraka has given the shelter of quadrangular rest-houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabēnā and Dāhanukā, and erected on both banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and such for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty-two-thousand stems of cocanut trees at the village Nānāmgoḷa to the congregation of Charakas at Pindītakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Susvārṇāmukha and the Rāmatīrtha at Sūprāraka,—inspired by (true) religion, in the Trirāśmi hills at Govardhana, has caused this cave to be made and these cisterns. And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadrās, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas, and those Mālayas died at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were, and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadrā warriors. Thence I went to the Pokṣhara tanks, and there I bathed and gave three-thousand cows and a village. A field has also been given by him, bought at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa Āśvibhūti, son of Vāraṇ, for the price of four-thousand — 4,000 = kāhāpaṇas, which (field) belonged to his father, on the boundary of the town towards the north-western side. From it food will be procured for all monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave."

The beginning of the inscription till ashtabhūdyāpradena is, except one or two insignificant discrepancies, but the reproduction in Sanskrit orthography of the beginning of No. 13 at Kālā. It will suffice to refer to this fact.

Daśāpura is the only one among the four towns mentioned here which remains unidentified. I see no means of choosing between the Daśāpura in Rajputana (Bühlér), that in Malwa (Bhagwanlal), or others which might be added, as Mandaśor, etc. In No. 26 we see that some Śākas dwelt in that place; this is at least a hint that it ought to be searched for towards the north.

As for the river names, Bühlér’s and Bhagwanlal’s views agree together. Dr. Bhandarkar proposed to restore "paṣya" and to separate "ed-apuṇyata". Such a correction would be rash; but the general meaning would come to the same. Puṇyata is must be compared with puṇyatīrtha which we have met before. As it characterises the Prabhāsatīrtha as a religious place, puṇya qualifies the ferries by boats established on those rivers as religious, charitable or meritorious ones, i.e. as gratuitous. The phraseology which so commonly associates sabhā and prapā (compare Mahābhārata, Aṃūsavikaparvan, vv. 133, 1671 and 6685; Śāntiparvan, v. 1492, etc.) proves, contrary to Dr. H美味しい’s ingenious, but too artificial conjecture, that the two words have to be taken as a deundea.

Pindītakāvaḍa and Susvārṇāmukha are, as far as I know, unidentified. In Nānāmgoḷa it is at least tempting to see with Bhagwanlal Nārgol near Sanjān. The communities of Charakas to whom the gift has been made seem to be identical with those Charakas who are named in a stereotyped formula of Buddhist e.g. Mahāvastu, III. 412: aṣayatīrthikarakhaparīvājakā) and Jain texts, namely a certain special category of Brāhmaṇical ascetics. To take charaka for ‘Brāhmaṇical students’ would leave the gift too undefined, and if the Charaka-ākhā of the Yajurveda were meant, the expression would have been made more definite.

The real stumbling-block here is the compound deṭṭīrāṭa? All interpreters understand by it a gift of a thousand (coins) representing the value of thirty-two cocanut trees. Bhagwanlal alone has translated ‘who has bestowed as a gift thirty-two-thousand cocanut trees.’ This text cannot be considered independently from another, perfectly parallel one in N. 12, where we read: gāme Chikhalapadārā datāmi nālīgerāna mulaṣaḥārāṇi atha 8000. The same difference exists there between Bühlér’s and Bhagwanlal’s translations. First of all it must be owned that the gift of a capital amounting to the value of thirty-two cocanut trees, to be distributed among at least four religious fraternities, would be, especially from so mighty and liberal a donor, extremely
improbable. Secondly, what could be the use of specifying so accurately, as is done in the two cases, the village in which those trees would have been alienated, if the dones were only concerned with the proceeds of the sale? The fact itself, that the king’s son-in-law should have sold a few coconut trees in order to provide himself with funds for his private charities, is the more unlikely as gifts in kind are the more usual ones; or, if money is intended, it is a consolidated investment (see N. 12), a foundation of a perpetual rent. We see below that the same donor buys a field in order to secure food for the monks, but not the reverse. If we follow Bühler, we must admit, in spite of the general parallelism of the two phrases, that the number of trees would have been noted in our case, while in N. 12 the sum of money alone would be stated, as representing the coconut trees (nāligerōna), the number of which would be undefined. In N. 12, if only we read mulāma for māla, we may well construe the word in apposition to sahasāni. Such an expedient is here out of the question, and this is a very strong reason for taking in N. 12 mulasahasāni as a compound. This must be the spontaneous impression of every unprejudiced reader; even here, where the compound is certain, its resolution into a first member ending with māla and being in apposition to sahasāni (which would be excluded by the compound mulasahasāni in N. 12) is, although possible, certainly too remote to appear probable at first sight. Lastly, in N. 12, if a gift of 8,000 kārṣṇapānas were really intended, it is not easy to see why it should have been consigned to the third place, without any details regarding the mode of foundation, while the inferior gift of 3,000 kārṣṇapānas, previously mentioned, is treated quite differently. From all these facts I conclude that Bhagwanlal is certainly right, and that we have here to do with a gift of 32,000 coconut trees, and in N. 12 with one of 8,000, the first at the village of Nānamgola, and the second at the village of Chikhalapadra. The only difficulty lies in the use of māla, which seems to imply ‘roots of coconut trees’ instead of simply ‘coconut trees.’ Such an idiom is surely not more puzzling than if, in French, we reckon trees by ‘pieds’ and say 32,000 ‘pieds de cocotiers.’

The locatives Govardhana Trīrāśmisu parvatesha have been generally construed in immediate connection with kārtipaṁ and dharmātman, which was considered as an independent epithet, meaning ‘religious, charitable,’ and would have been introduced here into the midst of the sentence without any special signification. The general plan of the construction does not seem to favour such an interpretation. The words beginning with Govardhana and ending with dharmātman are exactly symmetrical with the analogous groups which precede this one. These groups make up the bulk of our epigraph and end uniformly with a laudatory epithet, preceded by such determinatives as it requires. It seems difficult to admit that the analogy created by such a concatenation of instances should be disturbed in this only case, and that the strict correspondence which is warranted by the whole structure should here be fallacious. Besides it would be the only case where to the mention of the mountains in which the cave was excavated would be added the name of the neighbouring town of Gōvardhana, which is perfectly superfluous in this place,—the only one too where, in order to commemorate, on the site itself, the name of the hill in which it has been dug, the plural would be used. These two particularities rather suggest the idea of some fact which is more general, less strictly localised, and concerning not the cave itself, but the region as a whole. I must add that all the donations previously mentioned are bestowed without any exception on Brāhmaṇas or Brāhmaṇ institutions, while the gift which our epigraph records, and which this part of the sentence introduces, is, on the contrary, made in favour of Buddhist monks. I have previously, in connection with the term dhāma-Yavana in K. 10, expressed the idea that dhāma has to be taken in the sense of ‘Buddhist religion,’ and the same is, I believe, the case here as well. This is why I understand the passage to mean ‘imbed at Govardhana in the Trīrāśmi hills with (true) religion.’ I dare not decide if this phrase implies an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhmaṇical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this
explanation I propose in No. 18 to take dhammastad in a similar way. I believe the reading "ramod, not "raana, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genitive confirms the impression that dhammastad is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indraghadatta.

I consider vasehratam intimately connected with rudham. Besides the fact that the accusative commonly denotes duration, I beg to insist once more upon that rule of Sanskrit construction which requires the determinant to precede the determined, and to which it is so important to pay attention in the, to say, amorphous style of inscriptions. I have unfortunately nothing to add to the explanations, though little conclusive, which have been given by others respecting some other topics in this first postscript. Of the Uttamahadras we know nothing, and as to the Malayas, though it seems natural to look for them in the inhabitants of the Malaya or southern hills, it must be owned that if, as seems possible, they were on the way or at least in the direction towards Pokhara, i.e. Ajmer, the equation Malaya = Malaya, proposed by Bhagwanal, would be well worthy of consideration. Of course "mountaineers" of the same region may also be meant.

In the second additional paragraph, the principal difficulty lies in vasupitasa. Bhagwanal divides; yasa pitu sataka, 'belonging to whose (Aśvihḥtu's) father,' Bühler transcribes ya sa(se)sita(m)aka and translates 'which belongs to my (Aśvihḥtu's) father;' and he is of course obliged to connect the epithet sasupitasa with nagaramadya. It is evident to my mind that Bühler was mistaken, and that the adjective, which, if applied to nagaramadya, would be meaningless, must be referred to the field. As to the grammatical analysis, the matter is different. The relative ya is construed less naturally with Aśvihḥtu's which is far off, than with kahetra, the idea of which pervades the whole sentence. I, therefore, divide ya sasupitasa ≡ snapt, sva being applied to Aśvihḥtu's father. It is just because the field does not belong to this Brāhmaṇ himself, and because he plays in this transaction the part of a representative only of his father, that the epigraph uses the expression Aśvihḥtu hasht instead of the ablative case: 'at the hand of Aśvihḥtu,'—a shade of meaning which ought not to have passed unnoticed.

On account of the proximity of mama lepa vasatdana and chautiṣana samghasa, this inscription is one of those where the exact meaning of chautiṣana samghasa is most clearly brought out, as I have tried to show in K. 13.

No. 11, Plate viii. (Kah, 10.)

In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

TEXT.

1 Skhaṁ (1) rāmo (2) Kahaharataśa kahätrapasa Nahapanaśa dhi-
2 tu Dinkaputraśa Ushvamātāśa kuśumābiniya Dakhamitrāya (3) deyadha-
man (4) ovariako.

REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. śidhaṁ.—(2) G. raño; AS. raño.—(3) AS. mitāya.—(4) G. dharmamāṁ.

This epigraph is repeated twice, with, as it seems, only slight graphical differences; compare N. 13 below. Although AS. refers to the facsimile on Plate liii., the way in which the lines are cut proves that the transcription was made, not from the estampage which corresponds with our N. 13, but from that which we transcribe here, and which figures on the accompanying Plate vii.
TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cell, the gift of Dakhamitra, wife of Ushavadata, son of Dinika, and daughter of king Nahapanas, the Kshaharatasa Kshatrapa."

No. 12, Plate v. (Ksh. 9.)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

1 Sidhvan vasa 42 Vesakhamase räño (1) Kshaharatasa kshatrapasa Nahapanasajamata Dinikaputrena Ushavadatena saṅghasa chātudisa sahaṁ lepaṁ (2) niyātana data chānena (3) akahayanivi kāhāpaṇasahasrasā
dhi

2 ni trini 3000 saṅghasa chātudisa saha ye īmasmir lepe vasāntanaṁ (4) bhavisati chivarika kuśapamule (5) cha ete cha kāhāpaṇa prayutā Govandhanavathavasu srepiṣu (6) kolikanikāye (7) 2000 vrīdhī (8) paḍikaṣata aparmeṇa

3 ye (9) 1000 vadhi pāyūnapadikasa (10) ete cha kāhāpaṇa apadiḍastava vadhībhajōto eto chivarikasahasrāni (11) be 2000 ye paḍike sate eto māma lepe vasāntānā bāhkhuanā viśāya okkasa chivarikā bārasa yā (12) sahasara prayutam pāyūnapadike (13) sate eto kuśa

4 mula (14) Kāpurāhāre cha gāme Chikhala padre datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni aṭha 8000 eta cha sarva (15) srāvita (16) nigamasabhāya nibadha (17) cha phalakavāre charitraṭoti bhūyo nena datāni vasa 41 Kātikaśudhe

5 panarasā niyutān (19) bhagavataṁ devāṇāṁ brāhmaṇaṇāṁ cha karahāpaṇaḥ sahasrāpi (20) satari 70000 paḍichatriśaka (21) suvarṇa (22) kṛitā dina suvarṇasahasraṁ (23) mulyāṁ (24)

6 phalakavāre charitraṭoti.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. vāño.— (2) G. and AS. ima leña.— (3) G. datā nena ; AS. data chānena.—
(4) G. and AS. vassāya.— (5) G. kuśapamula.— (6) AS. ērenēu.— (7) AS. kolika—
(8) AS. vadhī.— (9) AS. kolika.— (10) G. and AS. pāyūna.— (11) G. srāṇi.— (12)
G. and AS. ye.— (13) G. and AS. pāyūna.— (14) G. mula.— (15) G. sarvāḥ.— (16)
G. śivita.— (17) G. nibadha.— (18) G. vrīdhī.— (19) G. yuta.— (20) G. śrāṇi.— (21) G.
triṃśaka.— (22) G. suvarṇaṁ.— (23) G. srāṇaḥ ; AS. śrāṇaṁ.— (24) G. mulyaṁ ; AS.
mula.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 42, in the month Vesakha, Ushavadata, son of Dinika, son-in-law of king Nahapana, the Kshaharatasa Kshatrapa, has bestowed this cave on the Saṅgha generally; he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—kāhāpaṇas, which, for the members of the Saṅgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (kuśaṇa); and those kāhāpaṇas have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govandhana,—2000 in a weavers’ guild, interest one pratika (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1000 in another weavers’ guild, interest three quarters of a paḍika (monthly) for the hundred; and those kāhāpaṇas are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand—2000—at one pratika per cent. are the cloth money; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the vasa in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (kāhāpaṇas). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a pratika per cent., out of them the money for kuśaṇa. And at the village of Chikhala padra in the
Kapura district have been given eight thousand—5000—stems of coconut trees; and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom."

"Again the donation previously made by the same in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Karttika, has in the year 45, on the fifteenth . . . . . . been settled on the venerable gods and Brahmanas, viz. seventy thousand—70000—kārshapānas, each thirty-five making a suvarṣa, a capital (therefore) of two thousand suvarṣas. (This is registered) at the record office according to custom."

Here the difficulties begin with the word kūṭasa. Bhagwanlal's vague attempts at explaining it cannot well be considered anything but a failure, and the comparison with the Vedic kriṣana does not help us any more. Literary works do not seem to have supplied to this day any instance of the word. It is but to be wondered at that the use itself to which it refers is not only foreign, but contrary to the laws of discipline as they are laid down in the Scriptures. In fact I do not think any doubt can be entertained as to the custom to which the word kūṭasa alludes. Several inscriptions at Kañheri (Arch. Surv. Vol. V.) commemorate various endowments with a double object: chīvarika soṣadaka pāñiko cha māsa utukāle (No. 15); chīvarika bārasaka gimbhaṇa pāñiko māsa (No. 18); chīvarika soṣadaka pāñiko māsa cha utukāle (No. 21); chīvarika . . . soṣadaka utukāle cha [pāñiko māsa] (No. 28). This series corresponds with our own epigraph in the first member; it is extremely probable that both correspond in the second as well, and that consequently kūṭasa means a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year, and probably to be applied for his food. Such a proceeding of course is, from the point of view of principle, most incorrect, the monks being expected to live on alms and being precluded from even touching any money. The general interpretation seems nevertheless certain. The case is different as regards the precise meaning and etymology of the word. I know of no really probable conjecture I could suggest. Although rather numerous, the passages at Kañheri do not even state distinctly during which period of the year the supply was conceded. Most of them are content to speak of the rutukā. As, however, the distribution of the kūṭasamāla appears to have been strictly parallel with that of the chīvarika or 'money for clothes' reserved for the varsha time (vasavathānaḥ bhikṣaṇaḥ), this 'season' varṣa' īśvā must be the varsha. If No. 18 expressly mentions the hot season (pīthasa), this is due, I suppose, to the circumstance that at that time and in that place the annual retreat began already in Āśadhā, i.e. still in summer.

The words tvādi pāñikātāta and evadi pāñikāpāñikātā look perfectly clear, and they have in fact been translated quite naturally: 'the interest amounts to one hundred' and 'to seventy-five pratikas.' The matter is, however, not quite so simple. Those expressions cannot be considered separately from others which do not admit of such an interpretation; I mean in this inscription sahasrāni be ye pāñike sate and ya sahaeraprayatāṁ pāñikāpāñikā sate, and at Kañheri, No. 16, kārshapānivatān satānā be sāgasa yeva kāthe pāñike sate. It is clear from the first that a capital of 200 kārshapānas cannot possibly bring in the same interest as a capital of 2000. On the other hand, the final e of pāñike and sate being secured by the threefold repetition, we must find an explanation for the double locative which the ordinary translations in no way account for. As to tvādi pāñikātāta, the translation 'interest a hundred pāñikas' is excluded by the consequences it would involve. Bühler was led by reasons which on the whole are, if not cogent, at least very plausible, to consider pratikas as an equivalent of kārshapāna. Of course he was obliged to acknowledge that those hundred pratikas were not sufficient to supply the expenses for the clothes of twenty monks, at twelve kārshapānas each, because they would, in that case require 240 kārshapānas in all. He was obliged to assume that bārasaka (Sanskrit duddhāsaka) refers to some coins different from the kārshapāna. But Kañheri No. 16, where the fee of 'sixteen kārshapānas' for cloth money is expressly mentioned, leaves no room for doubt; kārshapānas are
REMARKS.

(1) AS. [ ... Śorpa]ga Vechiśā. The reading ve seems possible; but not, I think, the reading va.— (2) G. and AS. "gure.— (3) G. and AS. [ ... Bharuka]chhe amea. I cannot make out the chh.— (4) G. bhujate.— (5) G. [ ... bhagavatiś] brāś; AS. [ ... ] brāś. The characters vataṃ seem to be still discernible on the estampage.— (6) G. and AS. [haśra]. ... bhagavatādā. — (7) G. "raśa.— (8) G. and AS. gavāśa kata. The ś is very doubtful; we could as well read s. Before ga I think I can make out an s, probably the ending of "dhesa.— (9) G. [vattēnā]. ... brahma. ... naś.— (10) AS. "dēya Banaśya; G. "nāśya.— (11) AS. "vanḍāś.— (12) G. cha ṛdayate. This reading, especially cha, is quite possible.— (13) G. ... chaṭi. I can see nothing of these characters.

TRANSLATION.

"[Success!] By permanent charities of Ushavadā, the Śaka, [son of Dīnīka], son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kasthurāta Kastharapā, one-hundred-thousand holy Brahmānas dine [the whole year round] at ... Chechifiśa, at the town of Dahanukā, at Keśāpurā, ... at Anugāmi, at Ujenī, at Sākhā. [By the same, three]-hundred-thousand cows have been given to holy Brahmānas, [and sixteen villages] have been given to the holy gods and Brahmānas. [In the year ... ], in the bright half of Chaitra, on the fifteenth day ... by Usha[vanḍē] money and a tirtha have been bestowed in the Barnāśa river ... ."

The last characters in the beginning of several lines can be easily and safely filled in from K. 13 and N. 10. The first line, the restoration of which is certain, proves that every line has lost about eight letters.

1 [Sidhiṃ raṇo Kasthurā] 2 [ta Dīnīkaputasa] 5 [anuvāsan bhagavatā] 6 [ ... ] 7 [hasāni tīni datāni] 8 [sūlasa gāmā vase ... ].

Unfortunately this restoration supplies nothing but known elements and is consequently of little interest. We can restore neither the date nor the local names in l. 3, 4, nor can we say definitely what is missing at the beginning of l. 11. I am equally unable to state how and under what circumstances the word Kasthurāta was introduced in line 8, because other epigraphs mention that name only among the titles of Nahapāna. The 10th line began of course with the letters vaddēna, completing Usha in the preceding one, and they were probably followed by some epithet. The word tigesanāshastrēna of N. 10 would fit as to length; but this gift has already been mentioned in the foregoing lines, independently of the gift of one-hundred-thousand cows, he mention of which immediately precedes. It seems indeed certain that the donations enu-
merated in ll. 3-5, 6-7, 7-8 correspond to the first three commemorated in N. 10, while, on
the other hand, ll. 10-11 allude to the gifts made on the Barasārī river (l. 1 in N. 10). It
may be remarked, en passant, that the three words suvapa tihā cha in 1. 12 prove that the
interpretation I have advocated for the compound in K. 13 is correct.

I do not believe that netiyaka, Sanākrit naityaka, must be understood, as taken by
Bühler, in the sense of 'daily rites.' No daily rites performed by Ushavadāta, on the occasion
of which the Brāhmaṇas would have been fed, can be intended here, as those distributions are
extended to a number of different localities. Regular continuous works and gifts are meant here
in opposition to special and exceptional foundations. One doubt only remains: are we to trans-
late 'among the regular liberalities,' or is the locative used for the instrumental: 'by (in virtue
of) regular liberalities?' The vague character of the syntax in this style (many analogous
cases may be found in my commentary on the Mahāvaṣu) does not exclude the second
interpretation, which in itself seems to be the more satisfactory of the two.

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the last words: chezayate tasa; and Bhagwanlal's
translation of adyate by 'is known' does not convey any real meaning. The vowel signs are
rather uncertain in this part of the inscription. I feel little hesitation in reading cha. As
to what follows, a double hypothesis offers itself to my mind: either to read say[u]te
(taṁ) tasa . . . . . or sayd[i]ta sa . . . . ; in either case we have to admit
an irregular transcription of niyō or niyu by sayō or sayu. It would be exactly the same
graphical peculiarity as is found already at Girnar in the eighth of Piyadasa's edicts, which
reads (l. 1) saydēu = nıyūdu. In N. 6 we have already met with an irregular palatalisation of t
to ch in the same word, which is there written niyāchita instead of niyātita. To tell the truth,
it is towards the restoration of nıyātita rather than sayuta that I should incline. Ushavadāta
seems to use the word with some predilection (as in N. 12), and it fits in better with the first
at least — suvapāti—of the two substantives on which it would bear. Anyhow, and in spite
of the uncertainty resulting from the sudden interruption of the text, the general meaning
seems clear.

No. 14b, Plate vi. (Ksh. 8.)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

1 . . . . . . . . gavatā brāhmaṇā
2 . . . . . . . . ? vi paṁchāsāṁ . 000 (1)
3 . . . . . . māśya tīrthā (2)
4 . . . . . . deya na japa (3).

REMARKS.

(1) G. [saha]raṇi paṁchāsā 50000; AS. do sahāsa 2000. AS. does not succeed any
more than I in making out the traces that G. interprets as srd, which is graphically very
unlikely. AS. interprets as do the character which G. reads ṣā, and this reading seems at
least probable. In the following letters the position of G. appears to me much stronger than
that of AS. But the s joined to ṣā is at least as probable as that which seems to be appended to
pa. As to the number, the 'thousand' is clearly visible, and also a bracket on the right which has
casted the whole to be interpreted as 2000. But the do sahāsa cannot be upheld, and
paṁchāsā is at least likely; on the other hand, it seems indeed as if the sign for 'thousand'
were followed by some exponent, too much erased to be confidently made out, which probably expressed
the number of thousands. If Bhagwanlal took it for 50, I must own that the visible traces do
not seem to favour this reading. But it is commended by his reading of the foregoing
word.— (2) AS. māsiyāti tihā. Tīrthā seems certain, especially on the back of the estampage.
(3) G. ṣyanāṣapa; AS. ṣhe [?] yāna ja. The differences in reading show how doubtful all these letters are, except perhaps the na.

It results from the information supplied by Bhagwanlal (G. p. 576) that it cannot even be decided if these fragments are connected with the preceding epigraph or independent from it. In such a condition of things, I wish to express only one conjecture, viz., that in l. 3 we ought to read uḍesya, and that consequently this postscript, which certainly commemorated both a gift of money to Brāhmaṇa and the creation of a tīrtha, may have contained some details about the donation on the Barṇāsa river, of which it was the principal object of the preceding inscription to state the exact date.

No. 15, Plate vii. (Ksh. 12.)

On the left wall of the court in Cave No. 17.

TEXT.

1 Sīlvan ṛājīh Māḍhariputrasya (1) Śivadatt-Ābhiriputrasya
2 Ābhiraṣya-Śivasrasenasya saṁvatsaṅge (2) navamase . (3)
3 mahapakho chotho 4 divasa trayodaṣa 13 (4)...
4 ya puśa (5) Śak-Āgnivarmanṇaṇaṁ dhūhitā (6) gaṇapaka . (7)
5 Rebbhiṣaya bhāryayā (8) gaṅapakasya (9) Viśavarmasya...
6 trā Śakanikīya (10) upasikāya Viṣṇudatāyā (11) sarvasaṅvahī-
7 taṅkāḥrathin (12) Trirāmāṇiprajnavāravāvāvyasya chātur ṛśi (13)
8 bhikṣhunīṅghasya (14) gilānabheshāḥrathin (15) akṣayaṁvī pravyuktā...
9 vāstra(16)
10 vyanu ṣṭalāṅgatāṇaṁ (17) ēṃpāṣu (18) yataḥ kularīkāsṛṇyā hānte karṣhāpaṇa-
10 sahasra 1000 odayantrikāsṛṇyā (19) sahasrāpi dve (20)...
11 nyāḥ (21) śāṭāṁ paścica 500 tilasphakāsṛṇe (22)
12 etc cha karṣhāpaṇaḥ chatālepa . . . (23).

REMARKS.

(1) AS. leaves a blank for the two first characters of Māḍhāri, which are certainly not quite clear; but on the estampage sufficient traces of both are still discernible, especially of ḍha. I may mention that, as appears from the comparison of the two facsimiles, this epigraph seems to have suffered very much since the time when it was examined by Bhagwanlal. In addition to the cases which I shall expressly mention, many readings were risky if they could not be ascertained from the context.—(2) AS. svava; G. ṣvara.—(3) AS. navame [9]; G. navamama[ṛ]. In reality the last character is indistinct. AS. has [ṛ] at the beginning of l. 3,—(4)

Of the is and of the number I cannot make out anything.—(5) AS. yā punāya.—(6) AS. duḥitrā.—(7) AS. gaṇāpa.—(8) G. and AS. bhāryayā.—(9) AS. gaṇāpa.—(10) AS. gṛahāṇikā.—(11) G. ṣattaya.—(12) G. ṣattvā; AS. ṣukārthā.—(13) AS. chāṭādīsaya. The end is much damaged.—(14) AS. bhikṣhunaghasya.—(15) AS. gīlina.—(16) AS. ṣktā . va . na . The reading vāstra is little more than a conjecture. It seems indeed that traces of va and na are visible.—(17) G. ṣṭalaj[n]gatāṇaḥ; AS. Saguḍāgat āśu.—(18) AS. ēṃpāṣu.—(19) G. odayantrikāsṛṇyāḥ saḥ; AS. odayantrikāsṛṇyāḥ[ṃ] saḥ. I dare not decide absolutely if da or ṣa must be read. Both letters are too similar to be distinguished with certainty in so defaced an inscription. At least I can discover no reason for excluding the reading da. (20) G. dve 2 . . . . [tṛ]ṛ. The figure is entirely illegible.—(21) AS. ṣtṛyā[ṃ].—(22) G. ēṃpāṣu ṣtṛā . . . . ; AS. ēṃpāṣu[ṃ] ṣtṛā . . . .

It will be seen from the comparison of Plate vii. that in this line and the next one some characters that are still visible have not been included in the estampage I have before me.—(23) AS. [ṣhād]lopa. The two first letters, especially the first one, are certainly most doubtful
G. and AS. add fragments of one more line: *sya ma (AS. ma)* sa . . . . . sarva (AS. *sara [a]*) rakhadi (AS. rakhat[i]i) vidiya (AS. Vidya[udda]) . . . . . Of all this I can discern nothing on the stampages.

**TRANSLATION.**

"Success! In the ninth year of king Iśvarasena, the Ābhira, son of Śivadatta, the Ābhira, son of Mādhari, on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer on the above, by the lay devotee Vishnudattā, the Śakāni, mother of the Ganaṇapaka Viśavavarma, wife of the Ganaṇapaka Rebhila, daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the Sāṁghika of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Trirāṇi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling [at Govardhana], viz. in the hands of the guild of Kularikas, one-thousand—1000—kārṣ ṭopanas, of the guild of Odayantikas, two-thousand, of the guild of . . . . five-hundred—500—of the guild of oil-millers . . . . and those kārṣ ṭopanas . . . . . . . . . . . ."

Bühler asserts that "ganaṇapaka means 'protector or leader of a gana,' which consists of three guñas or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of colonel." According to Bhagwanal "it appears to be a professional name or a surname . . . . ; ganaṇapaka means the head of a group." Neither of them gives references for this word which I do not find in the lexicons, and the analysis of which, as proposed by them, seems in no way self-convincing. What is most certain is the statement of Bhagwanal that its meaning in this passage is not clear. It is no use comparing such ecclesiastical titles as ganaṇadhāra, for example in Jñanar. 22. The only correct derivation of the word seems to be from ganaṇayati, a normal equivalent of ganaṇayati, so that ganaṇapaka would be an equivalent of ganaṇaka, meaning 'accountant' or 'astrologer'; compare for instance the ganaṇakas who are mentioned as important functionaries in the Mahāvastu, III. 43; 44, 5. It need hardly be added that this meaning is very hypothetical, because we have here a title, i.e. a consecrated form which does not well admit of variations.

The word vihāra occurs in 1, 7, and this inscription is found in the court of a real vihāra which contains not less than sixteen separate cells. The restoration Govadhanavāśayāṇas is hardly conjectural. As to the word which AS. writes Sugatagatāṇa, the stone certainly leaves sufficient space for one letter between ṭa and ga, and it seems even that traces of it are visible on the accompanying Plate; I therefore consider the transcription dgaṭaṅgatāṇa as certain. Bhagwanal appears to have made out the meaning correctly, and I do not see why the expression seems to have puzzled him. A perpetual rent is intended, which will have to be paid by the guilds mentioned indefinitely, such as they actually are in virtue of their past constitution, and such as they will be under the modifications which may be brought about in future. Unfortunately the names of these guilds are not so clear as we should wish. For kularikas I at least see nothing better than Bühler's conjecture, taking it to be = kūḍā, 'a potter.' The same is not the case with odayantikas, which I take to be a derivative = udāyantrika, from udāyantra (compare jalayantra, vāriyantra, tāyayantra, etc.), 'workers fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others.'

After chatāla (1, 12) the traces of the inscription are too scarce to allow of any solid hypothesis. The part of a 'protector,' which the text, as proposed by AS. for l, 13, would attribute to Vishnudattā, is in any case very unlikely.

No. 18, Plate vii. (N. 5).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 11, right of the doorway.

**TEXT.**

1 Sidhaṁ Sivamitalekhakaputassa
2 Rāmāmpakasa loṣām deyadashmaṁ (1).
REMARK.
(1) G. ॐdhanam.

TRANSLATION.
"Success! This cave, a pious gift of Bānaṅka, son of the writer Sivamita."

No. 17, Plate viii. (N. 4).
On the back wall of the vesanda in Cave No. 12.

TEXT.
1 Velidāṭaputasa (1) nekaṇasa Bānaṅkaṭa
2 Chhākalepakiyasa lemaṅ deyaṛahmamān chatudi(2)-
3 sasa bhikhusamghasa niyāṭitaṁ data cha
4 nena akhayanivā kāhāpaṇasata 100
5 saṅghasa hathe eto vassvuthasa pavaitasa chivari-
6 kaṁ dātasam bārasakam

REMARKS.
(1) G. "data"; AS. Velidāṭa. — (2) u. and AS. chātudi.

TRANSLATION.
"Success! This cave, a pious gift of the merchant Bānaṅka, son of Velidāṭa, from Chhākalepa, bestowed on the universal Saṅgha of monks generally; and by the same have been given as a perpetual endowment one-hundred — 100 — kāhāpaṇas in the hands of the Saṅgha, Out of this a cloth money of twelve kāhāpaṇas is to be given to the ascetic who keeps the vassa (here).

Chhākalepa or Chhāgalepa, a village or a town, a region or a clan, has not yet been identified; on chivarika and the sum of twelve kārakahpānas, either as interest for an investment of one-hundred kārakahpānas, or as the amount of the chivarika, compare above, No. 12.

No. 18, Plate V. (N. 3).
On the back wall of the vesanda in Cave No. 17.

TEXT.
1 Siǔhaṁ otaṭhasa Dātamitiyakasa (1) Yoṣakasa Dhānmandaśaputasa
2 Īḍāngidatiṣa (2) dharmaṁmaṅmaṅa (3)
3 imaṅ (4) lepaṅ pavate Tiraṅghhumhi khāṇitam abhaṁtaram cha lepaṅ chetyaghara podhiyo (5) cha mātāpi-
4 tāro udisa ima lepa (6) kārtam save-Budha-pujāya chāṭudīṣa
5 bhikhusamghasa (7) niyāṭitaṁ sa
6 ha putena Dhānmanamakhitena.

REMARKS.
(1) G. and AS. Daṅtām. — (2) G. Īḍāṅgini; AS. Īḍā. — but the Sanskrit r is perfectly clear. — (3) The stroke which, rising perpendicularly, makes the a look somewhat like ā, is thinner and certainly accidental. — (4) G. and AS. ima to. — (5) G. poḍhiyos; AS. poḍhiyo. — (6) AS. lepaṅ. — (7) G. bhikha.
TRANSLATION.

Success! (The gift) of Indrāgniḍatta, son of Dhammadova, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattamitri. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount Tiruṇh, and inside the cave a Chaitya griha and cisterns. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all Buddhas, bestowed on the universal Saṅgha of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhitā."

It is very fortunate indeed that a vārttika on Pāṇini (IV. 7, 104) has preserved the tradition of a word auttarīḍha, for which the etymology from uṭṭaran seems to indicate the meaning 'northern.' The derivation of the word would, otherwise, have been the more puzzling because, as far as I know, analogous formations are wanting.

Bühler (AS. p. 38) and before him Bhandarkar have already conjectured that Dattamitri would be an Indian adaptation of the Arachosian Demetrius, a name mentioned by Isidore of Kharax. The reading dhammātmanad is sure. It may be an error of the engraver for ṛṇāno; but I cannot find this very admissible in an inscription so carefully written. On the other hand, it would be surprising if the participle khāṇitaḥ had to be construed with a genitive in the place of an instrumental. I prefer to take the first words as far as Indrāgniḍatasa as a complete clause, meaning 'a gift' or 'a cave of Indrāgniḍatta . . . .' A new sentence would begin with dharmātmanad; and, as has been intimated before (N. 10), this construction would imply that the donor had undertaken the work and made that grant under the impression of his recent conversion to Buddhism.

Chaitya griha means an oratory at the end of which a stūpa is erected as the object or the centre of cult. Compare for instance the Kuḍā inscriptions 13 and 20.

No. 19, Plate iii. (Ksh. 4).

In Cave No. 18, on the fifth and sixth pillars of the right-hand row.

TEXT.

1 Rāyamachā Arahalayasa Chalisiśānakāsā (1) duḥutuyya Mahāhakusī-
2 r . ya Bhāṭapālikāya (2) rāyamachāsa Agiyataṇākāsa bhāmādārīkiya-
3 yasa bhāriyāya (3) Kapaṇapakamātāya chetiyagharāma pavatō
4 Tiruṇhumī nīthapāpita.

REMARKS.

(1) G. ṇa Līṭāṭa, but the comparison of the ṇi of pālīkāya in the following line seems to prove that we have to read ṇi; AS. ṇiśḍāna. — (2) G. rīḍyaḥkha ṇi; AS. ṇi[yd]yaya Bhā ṇī, adding a note: "the first letter may also be read ṇi; the second which looks like ṇi is certainly mutilated." It seems indeed impossible to doubt that the first traces visible on the left express an r. The vowel is entirely uncertain, but what precedes necessitates the reading ri or ṇi. Between r and yā I can discern nothing; at the utmost would the back of the estampage point to the vowel i before the y, the consonant remaining undetermined. However this may be, the space between the initial r and the yā seems too large to be conveniently filled up only by Bhagwanlal's rd. — (3) G. ṇya Satāriya ṇī.

TRANSLATION.

"By Bhāṭapālikā, [grand-daughter] of Mahāhakusīrī and daughter of the royal officer Arahalaya from Chalisiśāna, wife of the royal officer Agiyataṇaka, of the treasure office, mother of Kapanaṇaka, this Chaityagriha has been caused to be perfected on this mount Tiruṇh."

To judge from many analogous cases, it does not seem that Chalisiśānakā can be anything but an adjective pointing to the origin or residence of Arahalaya. I have no means of
identifying that village or clan. Bhagwanal and Bühler are certainly wrong in admitting, after the initial rd or ri of 1. 2, the loss of one character only. That ri (the foregoing ri does not allow any other reading) was undoubtedly separated by two letters from the ya which formed the end of the word. This being admitted, and no real and significant traces of the letters being preserved, we are left to fill up the lacuna entirely by conjecture. The direction in which we have to look, however, is quite clear. It is sure that Bhagapalikā is the name of the donor. The reading of Bhagwanal, who sought for it in the beginning of 1. 3, cannot be accounted for. The qualifications which the donor receives are therefore distributed into two groups: the second relates to her husband and her son, and the first must concern her descent. As the first link mentions her father’s name, the second cannot well have pointed to anything but a brother or grandfather. There is no room for ri [bhagies]ya; I am therefore inclined to think that, when uninjured, the stone bore ri [nay]ya, from aśpatri. If this Mahāhakasiri is really the same as the Kumāra Haksirī at Nānāghāt, two generations would not be too much to explain the difference in the forms of the letters which exists between our epigraph and the Nānāghāt inscription. Of course local peculiarities may have played their part too.

In whichever way bhāṇḍākārīkyaṣa be taken, either as a proper name as Bühler has done, or as the name of a function with Bhagwanal, a regular form can only be obtained by reading kārīkyaṣa. Bhagwanal escaped all difficulties by dividing the compound after ya and applying the epithet to the donor. But the word kārīyaṣa which follows does not suit such an explanation. He is however certainly right in looking here for the name of some appointment, and I take bhāṇḍākārīkiya as a derivative of bhāṇḍākārīka, pointing to a charge in the king’s treasury.

Nishthāpeti evidently conveys, as in Pāli, the idea of finishing, bringing to perfection. It suits the fact that the inscription N. 20, which is engraved over the door and relates to its ornamentation, is cut in letters more archaic than this one. It is therefore certain that the cave had been begun and excavated to some extent before the present donor put the last hand to it.

No. 20, Plate vi. (Ksh. 2).

Under the arch over the doorway of Cave No. 18.

TEXT.

Nāsikakanaṃ Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

TRANSLATION.

“The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nāsik people.”

Bhagwanal understood: “gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of Nāsik,” and wondered, quite naturally, how such a community could have made the gift. Nothing of the kind is meant. It is clear that the gift consists of the ornated arcade which rises above the door, and at the base of which the inscription is engraved. This can be seen even from the care with which the architectural line is adhered to. I cannot make out how Bühler understood the inscription. His rendering: “the gift of Dhambhikagāma, of the inhabitants of Nāsika,” seems somewhat ambiguous. I do not think however that any doubt can really be entertained. We have met with more than one instance of a genitive joined to the name of a donor, to indicate the community, district or clan to which he happened to belong. I suppose the case is the same here, and the Dhambhika village, which had contrived at the common expense (nothing is more frequent than the paying of such religious expenses from the resources of the community) to decorate the entrance to the cave, must have belonged to the general population or to the township of Nāsik.
No. 21, Plate iii. (Ksh. 3).
Above the image of a Yaksha in Cave No. 18.

TEXT.
... bena cha (1) ... ni ... yáva (2) Nadásiriyáva (3) cha veiká (4) yakho cha káritá (5).

REMARKS.
(1) The traces preceding be make one think of a. Is it the rest of kutumhena? Above the traces of this hypothetical a, the rest of sidham, which began the epigraph, are still discernible in the preceding line.— (2) AS. "ni. e ... yá"; G. "yáha."— (3) G. Nadasi.— (4) G. veiká.— (5) G. kárito.

TRANSLATION.
"... and by Nadásirí the rail pattern and the Yaksha have been caused to be made."

No. 22, Plate vi. (Ksh. 1).
On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

TEXT.
1 Sádaváhanakula (1) Kanhe rájini Násikakona
2 Sama-pena mahámátepa lepa kárita (2).

REMARKS.
(1) AS. "kula."— (2) G. kárita.

TRANSLATION.
"Under king Krishna of the Sádaváhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nási." I can hardly believe that the apparent readings "kaka, mepena, teṇa can all be correct. Samaṇa as a proper noun seems little likely, the more so as in our epigraphs the adjective expressing the origin or the town of the donor is generally placed after his name. I consider it easier to admit that, for instance, samapena ought really to be read samapánaḥ, and that the functionary here meant— conformably to the precedent of Asoka, of which Bhagwanlal reminds us in connection with this very text,— was entrusted with the inspection of the monks in the Nási district. Hence my proposed translation, which is of course hypothetical.

No. 23, Plate v. (N. 9).
Over the doorway of the last cell in Cave No. 20.

TEXT.
1 Deyadhammo yañ upási.
2 káyá Mammáyá layanah.

TRANSLATION.
"This gift, a cave, of the lay devotee Mammá."

No. 24, Plate i. (Ksh. 22).
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 20.
TEXT.
1 Siddhañ raño Gotamiputasa śāmi-Siryaña-Sātakañisa saṁvachhare (1) sātamo
7 homēsū pakhe tatiye 3
divase pathame (2) Kośiksa mahāśeṇapatiṣa Bhavagopasa bharijkya
mahāśeṇapatiṣiṣya (3) Vāsuya lepa.
3 Bopakiyātisajamāna apayavaśtasatamāne (4) bahukārī varisāqi ukute payavaśapa (5)
nito (6) chātudi-
4 sasa cha bhikhusaghasa āyasa dato ti.

REMARKS.
(1) G. and AS. saṃvachha. — (2) G. padhame; AS. pathame. The central dot of
tha seems certain on the back. — (3) AS. śaṃśāpatiniṣya. — (4) G. and AS. mānasa pa

TRANSLATION.
"Success! On the first day of the third—3rd—fortnight of winter, in the seventh—
7th—year of the king, the lord Śiryaña-Sātaka, son of Gotami, the Mahāśeṇapati Vāsya,
wife of the Mahāśeṇapati Bhavagopa, of the Kaniśka family, has completed and given, as an
abode to the universal Śaṅkha of monks, this cave which had been excavated for many years,
but, after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki, had remained uncompleted."

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the third line, and Bhagwandal's tentative transla-
tion was only arrived at by unaccountable devices. I think it absolutely necessary to
co-ordinate the different links 9 samādino, 10 samās, ukuto, nito; the combination of neuters
(s = aś) and masculines (supposing the readings to be certain) being here in no way surprising.
The different epithets express with precision and in the most satisfactory manner the succession
of events which concern the cave. The initial date cannot refer to anything but the finishing
and consecration of the cave; it follows that the whole epigraph must be considered as a single
sentence, which ends with the present donation after having enumerated the successive
circumstances which explain it. The reading apaya instead of sapaya is important for
understanding the passage. It is well known how similar the initial a and the s are in this
script. We have here one more instance in the fact that Bühler wavers so much between the
transcriptions tījā and tīja. The necessary antithesis between payavaśaśa nito and
apayavaśita 2 seems to place my correction above all doubt. The reading 2 jamāna also appears
to be better supported by the traces visible on the stamphage. It is after all of little import-
ance, as the function and meaning of the word would in either case be just the same. The
function is stated by what has been said above. As to the meaning, the matter seems more
perplexing; but it is clear in a general way. The work must have been begun by the yati
Vopaki (compare Vopaḍēva). But spajatu means 'to create, to produce' only in a half
philosophical acceptation, and, it must be owned, such a use of the word here does not look
very likely. As for ukute, I take it not = uktṛita which gives no good meaning, but = uktṛita,
'cut, hewn,' i.e. 'excavated.'

No. 25, Plate vi. (Kah. 15).
On the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond Cave No. 23.

TEXT.
1 Siddhañ raño Vāsīṭhiputasa śāmi-Sirya-Pulu-
2 māisa saṁvachhare 2 hemanatā pakhe 4 divase ? (1)
3 etiya pavāya kuṭumbikena Dhaṇamapena iṣa
4 kārītaṁ saha m... pituhi saha... ... (2).
REMARKS.

(1) G. 6; AS. dicase 8.—(2) After saka I think I can discern some traces of the syllables bhagine.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the 8th (or 8th) day of the 8th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord Sirl-Pulumā, son of Vāsiṭhl, on the above, the husbandman Dhaṇama has caused this to be made, together with his father and mother, with . . . . . . ."

Isha = idān, as advocated by Bhagwanlal on the testimony of grammarians, is, as far as I remember, a lonely instance in the language of the caves. But the restoration leṣa seems to be out of the question.

No. 26, Plate viii. (N. 1).

On the ruined back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 24.

TEXT.

1 Sidhān śaṣa dāmačikāsa lekhaṣa saṣa vudhikāsa
2 Vīṣṇudatapatasa (2) dāma ṛavāvāvās leṣa pora
3 dhiyo cha do (3) 2 ato ekā pōdhā yā aparadha sa (4) me mātā
4 . tara udisa.

REMARKS.

(1) G. Dasa.—(2) G. oputrasa.—(3) G. de.—(4) G. aparasa esa ; AS. aparad[dhā]

The dh at least seems rather distinct.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! (The gift) of the Śaka Dāmačika Vudhika, a writer, son of Vīṣṇudata, an inhabitant of Dāmapura, the cave and the two—2—cisterns. Out of them the one cistern which has a small opening is on behalf of my father and mother."

The bearing of Dāmačika, a clan or district, is entirely unsettled. Bhagwanlal asks if that Šaka could not be a Greek from Damascus. This idea is more ingenious than probable. What seems likely is that Vudhika is the personal name of the donor. In spite of its correct look it does not, as a professional name, answer to any known handicraft. I do not think that the man's name, supposing Dāmačika to express it, could have been separated by professional names from the epithets which relate to his descent: Vīṣṇudatapatasa, etc. The reading aparadha or aparadhā being most probable, Bhagwanlal's tentative translation, based on another reading and by itself little satisfactory, must be given up. As to Bühler's interpretation, who takes aparadhā adverbially: 'on the west,' such a way of distinguishing two small cisterns excavated near one another seems in itself very unlikely; and to Bühler himself this use of aparadhā appeared rather puzzling as he proposed the reading aparato. The idea which the final dh suggests is rather that of some adjective or participle connected with yd. We obtain it by reading aparadhā (which is hardly a conjecture; for the anusvāra may be actually expressed by one of the dots which appear above the head of the r) and explaining the word by alparandhā, 'with a small opening or cavity.' Unfortunately the original state of things has been so altered that any actual verification of the fact is impossible, and we are unable to ascertain which of the two cisterns— the one which bears a special epigraph (N. 27) or the other, which has none,—was really characterised by more reduced dimensions.

No. 27, Plate vi. (N. 2).

On one of the two cisterns to the right of Cave No. 24.
TEXT.
1 Sīhām Sakaśa Dāmachikasa (1)
2 legbakasa Vudhikasa podhi (2).

REMARKS.
(1) G. Dama .— (2) G. podhi; AS. podhi.

TRANSLATION.
“Success! A cistern, (the gift) of the Saka Dāmachika, the writer Vudhika.”

No. 9.—DHAR PRASASTI OF ARJUNAVARMAN:
PARIJATAMANJARI-NATIKA BY MADANA.
BY PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was discovered recently at Dhār (west of Mhow), the ancient capital of
the Paramāra kings of Mālava and the present chief town of a State in Central India. The
news of the discovery reached me through Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education, Dhār,
who was good enough to send me a copy of his well written ‘Summary’ of the dramatic
inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamā Maula Mosque), Dhār, C. I., in November 1903.1
According to Mr. Lele, “the slab of black stone (5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet) upon which this interesting
Sanskrit inscription is engraved, was attached to the northern wall of the principal mīhrāb in
the mosque, with the writing turned inside.” — “The slab was taken out in November 1903,
and is kept framed at the mosque.” On receipt of Mr. Lele’s ‘Summary,’ I requested
Mr. Marshall to send me mechanical copies of the inscription. In compliance with this request,
Mr. Marshall kindly instructed Dr. Vogel to forward me an inked estampage. Subsequently
Mr. Consens sent me two excellent inked estampages, one of which is reproduced on the three
accompanying Plates.2

The inscription consists of 82 lines. On the whole it is well preserved; but the end of
lines 70-80, the first few letters of ll. 63-68, and the first letter of some other lines are broken
away.

The alphabet is an early variety of Nāgarī and exhibits several peculiarities. In the old
Brāhmī alphabet the initial GLIGENCE consisted of three points. In the subjoined inscription the two
upper points are represented by circles, and the lowermost one by a symbol which consists of
a vertical line and of a flourish (see e.g. sa in l. 2); but in five instances (kahai, l. 58, tādārāla, l. 62, māndabhaṭḍita, l. 64, aṭ, l. 66, and māndabhāṣṭata, l. 80) there are two distinct
flourishes instead of one, and in a single case (itthita, l. 22) one of the two circles is omitted.
The initial .GPIO occurs once (in vapiṣṭha, l. 10). The initial u has two different shapes: The
loop attached to it is turned either downwards or upwards; both forms may be seen together, e.g.
in l. 22, where chaṭṭha shows the second and itthita the first form. The initial a occurs four
times (in riḍā, l. 19, nimmūna, l. 31, nikhāraṇa, l. 35, and kālaṭa, l. 51), and the initial i three

1 The stone seems to have suffered additional damage since the first estampage had been prepared. The first
letter of some lines is still partially visible in the latter, while it is missing in the two fresh estampages.
2 As the three photographs overlap one another, line 28 appears both at the bottom of Plate I, and at the top
of Plate II, and likewise l. 54 both on Plates II, and III. Through the carelessness of the Halle printer (not of
Gehr. Pfister, who prepared only the collotypes), the figures on the left of the second and third Plates have been
placed near the top of the corresponding lines, while they ought to stand opposite the centre of every second line.
times (in rīṣhabha, l. 22, and rīṣu, l. 34 and 81). The initial e resembles the letter pa; compare e.g. mae, l. 4, with prapā in the same line. The initial o ends with the same flourish as s and the first form of u (see e.g. loo, l. 6); it bears a little hook at the right top, which is omitted, perhaps accidentally, in two cases (chāo, l. 44, and osaḥ, l. 69). The initial as occurs once (in autarkyam, l. 57).

Among the consonants, jha closely resembles the initial ri. It occurs seven times singly and four times in combination with j (e.g. in maitjava-samjha, l. 30). The consonant jha either has its usual shape, or its vertical portion is crossed by a thin curved line (e.g. in kāmhirava, l. 7). The primary form of as consists of a horizontal line to which three vertical lines are attached, the middle one being slightly shorter; but the secondary form of as resembles that of ta. The doubling of as is produced by a horizontal cross-line in four cases (nīkaṇṇa, l. 26, svinā, l. 52, kāpāharaṇa, l. 52 and 75); the primary and the secondary forms are combined in one instance (dyāṣchi, l. 21); and, if my reading is correct, the secondary form is improperly used twice in another (thenap, l. 75). The last mode is generally adopted if the doubling takes place after τ (e.g. in 'vātīraṃya, l. 1); but the cross-line is then used in five cases (e.g. vīrvāyadī, l. 62), and the primary combined with the secondary form once (in kārnavānta, l. 1). The usual form of tha is not very different from nea (see e.g. kathāṅchid, l. 1). The same form is employed four times after τ (e.g. in hatthe, l. 17); but in the majority of cases the secondary form of tha is identical with that of chha; compare e.g. ittha and athā, l. 6, with uchchhavamini, l. 10. If my readings are correct, there are three instances (shakka-thakkida, l. 5, and thenap, l. 75) where even for the primary tha the same symbol is used as for the primary chha (see vibhacharāna, l. 5 and 75, and dāthanchana, l. 16). The group kkha is written in two ways: In vīvakhaṇa, l. 45, the kha is regularly attached to the k; but in paribhakṣaṇa, l. 43, the kha seems to be inserted between the two loops of the k. The group ddha looks like ḍha in most cases (e.g. yuddha, l. 17); but in two places (=Dhārd-, l. 32, and muddhā, l. 47) its ḍha is distinguished from ṣva by an additional horizontal line. Similarly, ṣḍha looks like ṣva in ṣvaduḥu, l. 14, but not in ṣvavandhū-ḍchita, l. 32.

The virāma is employed below k (l. 10 and 61), t (e.g. l. 9) and n (e.g. l. 20). The agraḥa occurs five times—twice after s and three times after d (l. 1, 2, 3). If at the end of a line there was no space left for the next akeśara, the engraver filled up the line by a symbol which looks either somewhat like a reversed Nāgari ta, or like a narrow U; in the transcript these signs are denoted by a vertical line in round brackets. Finally it has to be noted that the upper portions of a few letters of the first line are ornamented with scrolls or flowers.

The engraver has done his work with considerable care and has committed comparatively few real mistakes, part of which he has corrected himself on second thoughts. As regards orthography, it must be stated that b is nowhere distinguished from v. The dental is used instead of the palatal sibilant in Sāradā, l. 3, Hiranyakeshipa, l. 7, kāmira, l. 20, aṁsa, l. 21, and svaṣṭa, l. 33 and; the visarga instead of the lingual sibilant in chaṭuḥpata, l. 3, niḥkrāmati, l. 58, and niḥkrāmata, l. 15, 23, 31, 39, 58, 81 and 82; and t instead of ḍ in atbhuta, l. 49. The spelling of ujvala, l. 13, dated, l. 13 and 21, and patra, l. 25 and 61, is not correct, but frequent in inscriptions and manuscripts.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Prākrit. There are 76 verses; the remainder is in prose.

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4 In four cases (e.g. mandharaṇa, l. 54) the top-line of this form of ṭha is indistinct.
5 The kha of paraksha-kha, l. 64, seems to be a modification of the same type.
6 The second variety occurs only in ll. 22 and 42.
7 I have added a Sanskrit translation of the Prākrit passage at the end of the text on p. 117 ff.
The inscription contains the two first acts of a hitherto unknown nāṭikā, i.e. a drama of four acts, 1 entitled Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayāsiri (l. 4). This drama had been composed by the king’s preceptor (ṛṣya-guru) Madana, whose family hailed from Gauda (Bengal), and who was a descendant of Gāṅgādhara 2 (l. 3 f.). It was acted for the first time at the spring-festival 3 in the city of Dhārā (l. 8) — the modern Dhar.

The opening verse (1) contains the following statement:—

"On this pair of blank slabs is being written with difficulty the power — to be absorbed by the ear — of the virtues of Bhōja himself, who has become incarnate in the form of Arjuna."

Of the two slabs here mentioned, only the first is now available. The second must have borne the two remaining acts of the nāṭikā.

The last verse (76) on the preserved slab runs thus:—

"This panegyric (pravasī) was engraved by the artist (śilpā) Rāmaśira, the son of the excellent sculptor (ṛṣya-kāra) Śrīkāra."

Here the inscription is called a panegyric. Hence it is very probable that it was composed and engraved in the lifetime of the prince whom it celebrates. This was Arjuna (v. 1) or Arjunavarman (l. 7 and v. 19), king of Dhārā (l. 9 and v. 6). He belonged to the Paramāra family (l. 13) and was a descendant of the emperor (śrava-bhūma) Bhōjadēva (l. 7). The poet represents him as the equal of his ancestor Bhōjadēva (v. 6), and even as an incarnation of Bhōja (v. 1). In verse 3, Bhōjadēva himself is compared to the god Kṛishṇa and to the epic hero Arjuna:—

"Victorious is Kṛishṇa; like Kṛishṇa, Arjuna; (and) like Arjuna, the glorious king Bhōjadēva, who was able to defeat (his enemies) by leaping arrows; 4 who afforded protection to the whole earth; who assumed the rādha 5 which distressed (his enemies) by wounds from roaring, terrible arrows; 6 (and who) had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya."

The last few words of this verse imply that king Bhōjadēva defeated a prince named Gāṅgēya, just as the epic hero Arjuna killed Bhishma, whose metronymic was Gāṅgēya. As the well-known Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Dhārā was reigning in the first half of the eleventh century, 7 his enemy Gāṅgēya must be identical with the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēya of Tripuri, whose reign fell into the same period. 8

Arjunavarman, the hero of the drama, is in one place (v. 10) styled ‘the son of king Subhaśa.’ This enables us to identify him with the Paramāra king Arjunavarman, who was the son of Subhaśa-varman, and whose copper-plate grants are dated in A.D. 1211, 1213 and 1215. 9 The same three grants prove that the new drama was composed in the reign of this

1 See the definitions in the Dāskarēyakam, III. verse 40, and in the Sāhityadarśana, Nārāyaṇa-Sūgara Press edition, p. 345, where the Ratanadīti and Vīdādhālakakāhyā are quoted as examples. Others are the Priyadarśikā, Karpamandali, Kavittenkalakāhaṇa and Priyabhāṣya. The prototype of all of them is Kālidāsa’s Mālāvīyadīkṣita, which has however five acts and is therefore styled a nāṭakam.
2 On the formation of Gāṅgādharayana (without śrīdēvi of the first vowel) see Pānini, IV. 1, 160.
3 Vanaśāstra, v. 8 and l. 27. As this festival takes place on the first tīkhi of the dark fortnight of the pūrṇima Chatur (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXVI. p. 187), it is also called Chaitrāśhastra (v. 9). Madhātusāla (l. 15) and Chaitraprāśam (l. 3).
4 The word bās, ‘an arrow,’ may refer also to the Bāsa king.
5 ‘A particular attitude in shooting (standing with the feet a span apart).’—Monier-Williams.
6 In the case of Kṛishṇa we have to translate:—“who was able to defeat the leaping (demon) Bāsa; who afforded protection to all the cows (by lifting up the mountain Gōvardhana); who made Rādha distressed by being smitten with manifest love.” In the case of Arjuna, Rādha is the foster-mother of his opponent Karpa.
9 Prof. Kielhorn’s Northern List, Nos. 195, 197 and 198.
Arjunavarman; for they were composed (rāchita) by the same vājaguru Madana, who was the author of the drama (1.4).

Arjunavarman’s grants report that he defeated Jayasimha. The same enemy is referred to in the drama (1.7), with the additional information that he was a king of Gūrūrā (1.7, vv. 10 and 18) and belonged to the Chaolukya family (v. 7). Hence he seems to be identical with the Chaulukya king Bhima Deva II. of Apshilapātaka, whose grants are dated between A.D. 1199 and 1238. Although these grants do not apply to Bhima Deva II. the name Jayasimha, they call him ‘the new Siddhārāja,’ and ‘Siddhārāja’ had been the surname of his ancestor Jayasimha. Hence I believe that Bhima Deva II. is meant both in the grants and in the grants of Arjunavarman. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that the Jayasimha whom Arjunavarman defeated was the temporary usurper Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddhārāja, who ruled in the place of Bhima Deva II. in A.D. 1223. At any rate, as noted by Bühler, Mērunāga’s Prabandhachintāmani places both the conquest of Gujarāt by Arjunadeva of Mālava and an attempted invasion by his father Subhāṣa in the lifetime of Bhima Deva II. himself.

The drama locates the decisive battle between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha on the borders of the land at the foot of a mountain called Parvaparvata (1.7). The name of Arjunavarman’s minister is stated to have been Nārāyaṇa (v. 8). To Arjunavarman himself the drama applies the surname Trividhavirachchādāmani (1.7 and v. 9). Even this detail is corroborated from two different sides. The same surname occurs as Trividhavira in the grants, and as Viračchādāmani in the colophon of the Rasikasāhasrījīvini, a commentary on the Amarakosātaka.

This commentary is attributed to king Arjunavarman, who at the beginning of it calls himself ‘the son of king Subhāṣa’ and ‘the light of Bhoja’s family.’

In his commentary on the first verse of the Amarakosātaka (p. 2) Arjunavarman quotes a Śārddulavikriṣṭa verse of ‘the preceptor (upādhyāya) Madana whose other name was Bālaśarasvati.’ The same person seems to be meant by the ‘upādhyāya’ who is quoted as the author of an Āryā (p. 15) and of two Amuṣṭubh verses (pp. 16 and 44). The upādhyāya Madana is of course identical with the vājaguru Madana, the author of the Pārijatamaśādīri and of Arjunavarman’s grants. The quotations in the Rasikasāhasrījīvini show that he produced other poetical works besides these, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the Amarakosātaka.

Finally the drama mentions a few localities within and near the city of Dhara. According to the prologue, the first performance of the drama took place in a temple of the goddess Sarasvati. The scene of the first act is the top of the royal palace (v. 8), and that of the

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2 Ibid. p. 25, verse 17.
3 This was already suggested by Dr. Hall, ibid. p. 39 f.
4 Prof. Kielhorn’s Northern List, Nos. 188 and 216.
5 Ibid. No. 205.
7 This invasion is alluded to in the grants of Arjunavarman; Jour. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 26, verse 15.
8 Loc. cit. verse 19.
9 Kāvyamāla edition, p. 69.
10 Ibid. p. 1, verse 5. On p. 23 Arjunavarman quotes a verse of ‘our ancestor Mūnijāderas whose other name was Vākapatiśāra.’ Compare Zeitschr. D. M. G. Vol. XLVII. p. 98.
11 Bālaśarasvati-Madana was taught poetry by the Jain Aśādhamara, a contemporary of the Mālava king Arjuna and of his two successors Dēvapāla and Jaitagūdēva (Jayasimha). See Dr. Ehrardath’s Report for 1882-84, p. 104 f.; Bühler in Zeitschr. D. M. G. Vol. XLVII. p. 94; and Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V. App. p. 32, note 3.
12 See the two first lines of this page.
13 Prof. Oppert’s Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts mention three MSS. of the Bālaśarasvatīśāstra, a kṛṣṇa by Bālaśarasvati, which Prof. Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I. p. 425) assigns to the upādhyāya Madana.
14 Śāradādevī, L. 3, or Bhārati, L. 6.
second act a pleasure-garden (līlādyānam or pramaddhyānam) on the Dhārāgiri, a hill near the city (ll. 6, 12, 31, v. 30, ll. 36 and 75).

The dramatis personae are: The stage-manager (śūtradhāra); the actress (naṣṭi); king Arjunavarman; the jester Vidagdha; queen Sarvakalā; her maid Kanakalēkha; the royal gardener Kusumakara; his wife Vasantallā; and the heroine Pārijatamañjari or Vijayāsī. The king and Kusumakara speak Sanskrit, the remaining persons Prākrit—Saurasenā in the prose passages, and Māhārāṣṭrī in the verses. The pretty verses of the bard, which are recited behind the stage, are also in Prākrit.¹

In the prologue (ānukham, l. 15) the stage-manager informs the actress that, when the army of Jayasimha took to flight and the victorious Arjunavarman was still seated on his war-elephant, a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree (pārijatamāñjari) fell on his breast, and, on touching it, was transformed into a beautiful maiden, while a voice from heaven spoke thus:

"Enjoying this lovely, auspicious Vijayāsī, thou, O lord of Dhārā, shalt become equal to Bhōjadeva" (v. 6).

The stage-manager further explains this miracle in a somewhat complicated verse (7), which has probably to be translated as follows:

"The Chaulukya king's daughter, (who was an incarnation of) the goddess Jayasī (i.e. the goddess of victory) herself, (and) who, having found her death in the defeat, caused to be irrigated the young forest of tamadla-trees, which was the grief of (her) father, through the waves of the tears of the harem,— she (is) this cluster of blossoms of the celestial tree (svastrumāñjari), which, after being hidden in a bud, developed into a lady."¹

To shelter her from the public gaze, the king placed her under the care of his chamberlain Kusumakara, who was in charge of the royal gardens, and whose wife Vasantallā waited on her in an emerald pavilion on the Dhārāgiri hill.

The first act bears the title 'the spring-festival' (vasantottava, l. 31). It describes the king viewing his sporting subjects from the top of his palace in the company of the jester, the queen and her maid.

In the introductory scene (vīkhambhaka, l. 39) of the second act, Kusumakara and Vasantallā compare notes on the mutual passion of the heroine and the king.

The title of the second act is 'the reflecting ear-ring' (tāḍaka-darpaṇa, l. 82). The king, accompanied by the jester, repairs to the pleasure-garden, in order to witness a ceremony performed by the queen: the marriage of a mango-tree to a spring-creeper. Vasantallā and the heroine watch the proceedings from behind a tree. Bending aside the branches, the former reveals to the king the image of his beloved, reflected in the queen's ear-ring. The king's delight and confusion arouse the suspicions of the queen, who leaves abruptly together with her maid. The heroine and Vasantallā also withdraw. At the advice of the jester, who reminds the king of the proverb that 'killed and eaten comes to the same' (l. 59), both follow them to the emerald pavilion. The king's tête-à-tête is interrupted by the appearance of Kanakalēkha, who is the bearer of the ear-jewel and of an ironical message from the queen. The king tries in vain to hide Pārijatamañjari behind his back. At the end he leaves her in order to pacify his jealous queen. The heroine also departs, threatening to commit suicide, and Vasantallā follows her.

The foregoing summary of the two preserved acts will remind the reader of another, well-known drama—the Rāmacarita. The poet Madana, no doubt, derived the plot of his work from this or similar nāṭikās. But, as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions.

¹ Vv. 17-19 and 28; but vv. 72-74 are in Sanskrit.
of the poet. It would have been a poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters. Hence I believe that, as stated in the drama, his chief queen was actually named Sarvakalā1 and was the daughter of the king of Kuntala (v. 11),—who is perhaps identical with the then reigning Hoysala king Vira-Ballāḷa II.,8—and that Pārijātamaṇjarī10 or Vijayasārī11 happened to be Arjunavarman's favourite at the time when the drama was composed. Her miraculous appearance and her fanciful connection with the vanquished king of Gujarāt may have been suggested to the poet by her real name. They could not fail to please the king and his mistress, and could perhaps be risked all the more easily because the lady was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms.

Another instance in which the wedding of the favourite queen of a reigning sovereign forms the subject of a romantic story is that of Chandadalāvī in the Vikramādiśāvatārakātātan.9 In this case, contemporary inscriptions and Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangini prove that the heroine's name was not invented by the poet Bilhaṇa, but that she was actually one of the wives of Vikramādiśa VI.8 Vidyānātha's Pratāparudrīya2 deserves to be mentioned in the same connection, as it includes a drama that resembles the Pārijātamaṇjarī in being the panegyric of a reigning king.7

TEXT.8

1 भो:। दी सरसली नमः। भज तर्कतिर्दर्शिति सविकार्य प्रियश्चि

2 देवस्य कामला निति:। दी च । यवजयास्मली विजये

3 दीर्घ दिब्य तत्क्षणतया परिपस्य (i) यव । दी लया दीयेव्येव चैतव

1 Vv. 11, 37, 65, 62 and 1. 76; Samastakalā in v. 30.
2 See the Table of the Hoysalas in Dr. Fleet's Dynasties, p. 493.
3 Vv. 15, 52 and 1. 69; Javārī in v. 70.
4 Vv. 36, 33 and 1. 75; Kusumārī in l. 12, and Kusunamaṇjarī in l. 75.
5 Dr. Fleet's Dynasties, p. 449 and note 4.
7 From three inked stempages.
8 Cancel the āsaya; the syllable ās is expressed by a symbol resembling the ne employed at the beginning of the Bhātāla plates of Udayavarman, Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 254, Plate.
9 See p. 117 below A.
10 Read वलिहार.
11 Read मार्यस्व.
4 [कर्त]वक्ष [संगाध]राज्यी[सं]दनाव [रा]जयराजं: क्रितिरसिन्धाः समस्तसामायाको महुप्रतांमकर्मकर्मपता परिजातिरजोरिक्कर्माख्या विजयसीमास नाटिका नाटकियत्वा। तदाविष्वरता रंगमंगलसंपंदं संगदाय:। नटी [१०] संशयं। अं च च्यो आषाण्वेदि। किं च च मए वि सुणिद् (१) चाइ महायानिनंसंदंडंदोक्ष्मसहभग-।

5 मानसदमपर्वलदपधे[११]पपायुषस्यपति[११]जनाकावतंजमंरीकवलपपरयोछसंकिलिपपणा- चरकावसंतमहिममुरकायहभैरलाक्षमदविश्वमाणसंपादितमाणीमाणि फि (१) परिमांलसरसुचंवससमहुन[१२]क[१२]विद्यरसरपरार्जरभक्षकारसुचं फि (१) जंक्तंजरकर्त्तियरासारसरसरविवर्षन-।

6 [त]विविषाजित्वकुलकंवववववच्यां फि (१) धाराभिक्रिरीवीक्ष्यां परिवर्तिय कोदंषपुष्पबोधयोही मार्हेभिन्यकतुः समत फि [१३]परायववदिया लेव लोको फि। ता काण्डंजित्वकर्तसऽ धय कालाकांविषायं। सुंद्र। बाणादेषि।

7 सुवानि [४०] तद्[४] साप्तह। नटी प्रति च। चारैय [१४] सुणं लाव। सुरमानं लिंकितम नटी। चारैय [१५] इं। सुंद्र। सिंधे [१६] नुण मदन् चमिदि। चविविजयवसुजामि: सारभीम्रीवीरिसावन्य- सूविभव्य राजाः चौमंदखनवसंदेखव नृत्यपतिना जयसिंहन सह पर्व- पर्वनोदतपारितिगुंरुः हिरण्यपंक्तिपुणंकनकर्तविकंकटीलिवर्णः-।

8 मानसाधितावर्णेशुरसपरिवर्णारम्बीपतपतनीधिशससमार्कविष्णुमस्तसंडंदशतुशतस्तुशलकी- कलः वादहो व्यषूत। नटी। चक्षु [१७] चतुर्वंगवपलभवलको- कांडोपति कविविदय चौमंदखन चारोदरुवक्षालमिनाचंतसुवर्षी- सुखंदपरदाचार्य नियपरिविमियो संज्ञादी सुणीयदि। ॥

9 सुन। चारैय [१८] एवमेवेतु। नटी। चद० [२०] ॥ सुंद्र। ततथ प्रति वधि पलवायमां जयसिंहस्त्राणांविभिद्यध्वनि चतुष्ठतो धारापते- ख्यालोपथंश्चतालंश्चतामुद्रिणय पुरंदरपुरुःरकारविभिकै: वचसं लोको- रपस्मालोमदवासितिदिगंतरा विशेषददकंदकुमस्तिमस्यादेवा पारिव- जातंजरिक घ्यात। ॥

1 See p. 117 below, B.
2 Read "पुष्पांतुक".
3 The engraver has left a blank space between the two aksaras ॥ and रा.
4 The vistarga had been omitted by the engraver and was inserted by him on revision.
5 See p. 117 below, C.
6 Read "तरंगः (६)"
7 See p. 117 below, D.
8 See p. 117 below, E.


10 नतो । सम्बोधित । तदो २ [१०] चंद्र । तत्व । अयोध्य शल- । दशनीपनत्योहरु । बलीयोऽः । कर्षणसंध्याविचारनगर्नव । श्रीदेवी । दिनाखण- । शिशुरिजीयकल्यानीविपुरस्त्रयुर्योऽः । विश्वासी । साहित्याद- । जिनो । गुप्तरूपसः । ग्रामान्तरः । मनोहराण । विनयवेदतां । कथा- ।

11 की । विजयविवेर । सद्गृही । शोभादेवी । धाराधिप । अपितु । [४ ॥२] नती । चन्द्र । [१०] । तत्व । तत्व । जीवविन । तितु । तथा । चिन्ता । तु । यथा । चोलकावशमेतेहितुकता । वही । ज्योऽः । स्वयं । भुवनस्वाध्य । वायुविलिलेरूः । रुक्कीर्मिश्वीः । यथा । शोकमार्गश्रवणिनाथ । चन्द्र । नदीभावः । (१) । इति । चन्द्रस- । मंजरिं । किति । (१) ।

12 शलेष्व संस्कृत्य जातीमनि ॥ [७ ॥२] नती । सकसनाथः । तदः २ । चंद्र । तत्व । (१) इति । चंद्र । अयोध्य वनस्पतिदारयु । तत्त्वः । कुष्मण्डी । दुरृढः । संचारितवता । स्वरुपगणयः । तथा । कुष्मण्डीः ॥ [१०] । कार्तिकः । कुष्मण्डरामाणिनाथेश्वरानाधिकारिः । साययता । तेन । चारीय । धारा- । गिरिकर्मीरकर्माकंडः । वर्षकोणिवर्षा ॥ (१) ।

13 की । गोविन्दकारिणी । दलः । क्षणिता । निपुष्ये । द्रात । िती । इति । इति । चन्द्र । तत्व । चंद्रविक्रितविकं । तत्वा । [१०] । शम्भा । नारायणस्वरूपाश्रये । निवेश्व शीर्षालेख्यानाथ । यथा । वर्षकोणिवर्षकारिणी । नवीन- । रक्षितालेख्यानाथं ॥ [४ ॥२] । चक्षु राष्ट्रियमूल । यथा । चंद्र । नदीभावः । चन्द्रसंस्कृत्य जातीमनि ॥ (१) ।

14 प्रभतसर्वबर्षितानां । सत्तवश्वेकः । सम्भायिते । यत्र यथा । दृष्टिबिप्रेष्यायु । जग्गोऽः । थपुपुपुरस्त्रयु । ज्योऽः । [४ ॥२] । शि ॥ । अंतः । वरुणनिपातं । विद्यावस्तु । गृहोऽः । गृहोऽः । रुक्कीर्मिश्वीः । तथादोऽः । वर्षकोणिवर्षा । शुभ्रोऽः । (१० ॥२) । नती । पाधे १० । िते िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । िते । (२) ॥

15 चण्डा । कलानि । परिमित । बुञ्चादेवसता । श्रीरामः । सर्वमाला । मिता ॥ [११ ॥२] । तदनि । शब्दितो । साययात । सहुवर्ष । देव: । धाराभासानन-
करपीयाय सलीभावः [18] त्रि निःस्मातावसुभुः। तत् त्रिविस्मति
विद्वाद्यथां सह सास्तवेऽप्रमोदी राजा (ि) साखयः िह राज्यी च।
राज्यो िहमारणंदी दश्यिन्या (ि) सलीभावः। चन्दनः

16 सत [18] मोहिनिण्यं देशे यदी। कीलसर्ववाच्यमण्डलं पतम-ि
मंजरी एसा। तुः उड़वविश्वे न्यु िह विशेषता गायणं जाना
॥ [१२ ॥] राजा। सत्यांगं (ि) हस्तावगं दश्यिन्या। देवः।
लयोऽपनीमनीयं सहकारांतु िहमा। भाषा। दुधाववकर्षुरायामीका-ि
रङ्गणं। [१३ ॥] चापि कुस्मे नवभिकायऽदेशे। देवशानीि युक्ते

17 िलसवे कुस्ममिपि में प्राप्तव वचया दृढः॥ [१४ ॥] विद्वृत्तकः।
सारः। चिरों चतवार्यं [ि] मायिषगे वयः वक्तमु कुस्ममिपि
पक्तां ने शदे चित्तों। राजा। चीलकांतमामगं। या सन्धाया
जातिनिमित्वावशेषी मृती पहाण बद्री मम वुभूमि। भंप्या
मनोहरतयं मित्यांयं तयं प्राणेशः शस्यातः वयः

18 स्वः॥ [१४ ॥] किं च। या शरदी माघाकैव कलिवरं मे। संप्रांम-ि
डामरसमुस्विच्चत्रां। सावानवतसंसाध्या सावानवतमार सा मे इङ्गः
क्षति मध्यमविश्वानी॥ [१६ ॥] नेप्यो वेदान्तिकः। सुप्रायिषगे
रीशेहितों चारों वि तुउःवेण कोलातं। वालाववसिंधुं दियंगणंि
वृः विवचं॥ [१७ ॥] अं सीमाताणितिं चिं ते गुजरिणदि

19 मणि।। सवे सिंड़ोरिणं तेन शिवं राशं तुः किंगो॥ [१८ ॥]
िाणेंि चलानारी विसस्वरेण्यि नियमितः रचयो। चणुव्वातः ता
क्षण सायं शिवं विरन्दा रिवणो॥ [१८ ॥] ॥ विद्वृ।। कल-ि
कलामकालकणं (ि) नेप्यो [ि] वस्त्रिकितकणं। वयः॥ [ि] पीडः॥ पारिस-ि
कोविर्भाः नायस्वाद्या। राजा। सहकारांतु बिद्वृत्तकः। (ि)

20 विला (ि) सवृः सवणं। सवे (ि) निकुम्भं। राज्यों प्रति च।
देवः [ि] पवशा २ [ि] संस्मृतं विद्वाद्यासमन्तपैवक्षतुमारिमेंि
कस्तूरिनिकं: कवितकाचिप्रे शीशंडेर्द्यु। काशीरदयशीकर्षर्द्य-ि
सुष्कोमुखेपविशालकु लः। पौरि:। तरसकायमधुसनयं िहोमुखवः।॥
[२० ॥] चापि किं च । पीयीरस्मार्णिमोचननयः

21 लृक्षं दश्यिन्यं शृङ्गीरस्मितीकाल्यकं लेखं सनाहतं। नृत्योंि
मदविह्वं लायविवादिपु पीरणानाः: श्रोताभिज्ञविकाशांतमा्
22. [22] 22 डिते संदर्भसूची पढ़ि "तन्य" कपभरहित हैवनारिपी आयम। हिंदौ-लाख्य: सूचियों दक्षिण तारंगी कांसे विश्रामिती हृतियर बढ़ी चंचले च। [[22] विछू। वयस्क "[18] जाणि" में विण। एसे सो हिंदौश्री (१) जति हिंदौवचलीने देवोब जोयति। राजा। समतमिनीय (१) सोपसांस। नृवमभिनी भवानु प्राम - (१)

23. राजीन। बिछू। सदृश। कब्रैं गीत न जाणि। केदर में संभणी विषयविषयः [२] तस्माने सुंहं पसारियों मंगलवाद गाँठि तदां च गीतयमिनीयं हरिणी व यापि दाइणियमी। इसी विछू। यसै विषय सवें विहाय। राजा। सौलता [१८] संहसंह। एतावता गीते समगभिन्नों भवानु। कनकलिखा वंचितपिनयों विन्दूसुति। राजीि।

24. इसज्ञयिति। राजीि यहीला समतमिनीय च (१) राजीि भस्व-वस्तुवृत्तियुं सुदितसुपिनयः। राजा। शिरी समयसं नाघिंत। हिंदौरोहुवालाध्यं शौर्यं नष्टिको सह। एव एव जयमिन्न तत्तीवयखं रिज्ञित। [[22] राजीि (१) सदृशीमिति (१) सौज्ञ्य: हिंदौरमध्यविनयः। कनकलखाविषयको प्रसरं हिंदौरोहुलाः नान्त-ङ्गत। बिछू।

25. कल्पकीर्णोदप्रययः। वयस्क "[18] तमूम पि देवि भरिंश। [राजीि (१) विश्रामवर्णाविधमप्रसरं राजा। देवि लाभुसखुसखपारिमें स्तोत्रः [१] विश्रामवर्णाविधमप्रसरं राजा। देवि लाभुसखुसखपारिमें स्तोत्रः [१] विश्रामवर्णाविधमप्रसरं राजा। देवि लाभुसखुसखपारिमें स्तोत्रः [१] विश्रामवर्णाविधमप्रसरं राजा। ॥ [२२] उपस्तल: (१) लला।

26. [[18] के देवसुपुरणसह। यत्र संभवेणम [[18] चूँचनीयाताः भूमि। इदानीः चि। देवोः संभोगोतकलिकवालकवाच्छिरीमालामदवलसूरीङ्गममितंतेषः

1 Read देवश।
2 Corrected by the engraver from वत्वम।
3 See p. 118 below, C.
4 See p. 118 below, D.
5 Read केलागचि।
6 See p. 118 below, E.
7 Read चंगो।
8 Read देवसुपुरणो।
9 Read शौर्य।
10 Read नृवमभिनी।
11 Read देवशी।
12 विषया लूकिंग almost like विषयाः।
भारतीयाः बुधिसा: । गौतमक्रंतिविशेषां विशेषविचरधूपप्रेक्षकोद्विविचरण:। विशेषतः श्रीकंडवीजानिनः । [२५॥१५] विदूह । वयस्कः ।
जाइ तुम पद्धते दासियः चाः कः

27 [शः]यविदाः सह सम पाण्डिवास्ये कराविवि (१) तदा चतुः पि
तुम व नायरिष्कारसहिष्ठे वर्षसंशये भाषीमः । राजा (१) राजी
च समाते । कांक । सनासादिनीः विचरकते । राजी [१०]
शृणुमंभीनाः । रावणाः [१०] पाण्डमुख्वायणः संभाविदव शिरः ।
समु भारविदाः सह्यायस पाण्डमुखः वारिद्रिणः [१०] तुम्हें वि
ताहाः (१)

23 [षः]सतितः विहार । ता दासि उद्योगसंभावसः पाण्डमुखः दोभः गमिः ।
राजाः । यद्भिषेः देवः । इति सम्प्रति सह राजी निग्रहाः ।
राजाः । सहः । क्ष सा नायरिष्कार पाण्डमुखः न न [१०]
विच्छृयः [१०] सह्यायसः । विदूह । सम्प्रति [१०] वयस्कः
धू हृद विहारः । सम्प्रति जीवः देवः । इति सह्यायसः
सम्प्रति । राजाः

29 [शः]रणीः चारिणः (१) सम्प्रतिकायः । पाण्डमुखः दुःख नूनमः
चूतः । करारमः विचरकातातः । पाण्डमुखः नवः ॥ [२४॥१५] इति
शादाग्रंभकर्मिनाः शुभामश्वापः । विदूह । वयस्कः। मथे पाण्
प्रायः नासादिनीः पिः दि सुभ विहरः । राजाः । सहः [१०]
क्षुद्रः । रामः सांस्थिनवाहः विद्विसा शृणुमाण्डलः प्रायः
प्रयोः (१)

30 [गः]तःसति योज्यिः का ने हृदि । वाजा चांदस्यकोल्लेव वसलि
स्नित्यां हवाध्यक्षं पंचपौटिः । प्रतापसः सामानिविधसैः च ॥ [२०॥१५]
नेप्ते । चुहारिणः । भोजु मञ्च्चवसः देवः । तिन्दुव्यामः
कारणाः तुहः रिंतरुसमिपः विद्विदुसिपः । वयस्कः
वारसादिनाः सिद्धालकः । विचरः । [२५॥१५] विदूह । वयस्कः[१०]
देवश्राविनिविद्राः

31 सहसा वंदीकातःकावः दिन्ते श्रीमति सिद्धा विश्वायविद्राः जाने
वर्षतःसैः ।
यदे ते गौतमाः पाण्डमुखः दुःस्मुयायः ने पतिर्भक्तत्वरे भूतिकः
धूहोः वस्तिति वाराधनः ॥ [२७॥१५] ता किं दृः दिदेः । एवः [१०]

1 See p. 118 below, G.
2 See p. 118 below, I.
3 See p. 118 below, K.
4 The symbols देव seem to be corrected from वयस्क.
5 See p. 118 below, H.
6 See p. 118 below, J.
7 See p. 118 below, L.
8 Read वयस्कः,
9 Read वयस्कः
धारागिरिकोलोकायं जीव गच्छामि । राजा । सम्भवाय सीलांके च । यद्धर्मचेत वायस्ययात निःशारीति । वसंतिकोलो नाम

32 प्रवचीक:। [ि]। वी[ि]। प्रविष्ं व्रुषुमारवं । देवा समस्तकालया महाविरागिणिन पूतातिसुवालकलात्मामीयोक्तेन । वाराणगामसुपमांगलगीत-रगृहारागिरः कस्मपि सम्प्रदातानाति ॥ [३० ॥] श्रीरूपं । शतां शता महाविरागिणिनिन्यं पूनं क्षत्रियप्रूपं संवैस्वर्णलक्षणेनाधिपते । व्यावाहारकमाले शंकुर्जन । शुभमंगेन विभ-

33 [बह] प्रववकरानु रीमालितानु कौरवशंसंबुकुपातिशंकमालवकराणे वाराणगा: ॥ [३१ ॥] वपल वला पारिजातमंजरी राजदर्शीनोलकीको-परंपराभित्रतामंती समस्पि वास्यवल । सा श्री ॥ सायं कोक-विविधदीनदसनांभाषणं । परिशिष्टं: किं नीकृष्म निसंतयमी दुश्चिति क्षति सुख: पुष्चिति ॥ सीतारामकावास कपितंकुचा श्री।

34 [इभ्] नय्योगम हंकार ददोती करोति कथाविवारिताथाः सवं ॥ [३२ ॥] किं वचना । ततो तापापोहेन वहे वास्यहस्तानं । प्रवालवस् [ि] वर्णन तख्योदेशं जना: ॥ [३३ ॥] नष्ठावालीकित-केन । कव्यं प्रया से वसमानीमा ॥ सम्पर्यादरं । मिथ्ये [ि] । प्रथमाक्षम इत्य भवती । निवार्यं । नृत्सिध्यसिद्धानी । कछुदा शुभाकङ्क्योहेष्टेनाकार्ये-

35 [कश्] नी। नतान्ना संगतिसहितानतंतावं गाधि ॥ [३४ ॥] तत: प्रव-श्राति यथानिर्देशा वस्ततेश्वरा । कुषुमाकार: । उपशुल्क । मिथ्ये [ि] कऽसमारके वला पारिजातमंजरी । सवं । दहशे ॥ धर्माधिकार निक्षुर्द्रो ब्रह्मवायुपार्षदुपुरुषां जुगरातिशिष्य वशंदिसा नित्यमानमंत्री-पशु । भंति नीरुरिष्का सामसर्वरोक्येन पुज्यादुं दुरारोहितङ्गालिक-

36 [िि] [िि] यथम रसं । विन्हं निर्थविय ॥ [३५ ॥] कुषुमा । सकड्यशंचितावासेः । मिथ्ये [ि] लक्षिमंसमातासि तमिकाकिनी वालाशिपं । वसवं । रायामभवपतिः उलुमालिन्द: । कुषुमा । मिथ्ये [ि] साधुसं । काहिं ति भी साती नमस्खर्दा विद्वेषन यवाचा माधवीसहारावरहितनाधिपतिः देवो धारागिरिकोलोकानामागव युवानमधुलितः।

1 Read वहसाय । दिति निःशारीति।
2 Corrected by the engraver from श्रावः।
3 See p. 119 below, A.
4 Read मधुपायः।
37 [श्र] सहस्वारिणी प्राणंनिरमायण्यंभेकां संभाव्यनिष्ठीति। वसंत। प्राणंनिष्ठीति। कुमा। प्रिय। पंवं च काँचत। देव। परिवर्त्तनोक्ती। 

38 [श्र] तोपी दिशकारे वियमे प्रयोगं तामेव चतुर्दशमि। नववार्तिकां मान। वसंत। [श्र] तद्दुस्मा संविधानकेन धर्मशास्त्राय परिवर्त्यणां या च विचारण। वरी। नूतनकाल। दुःखमें नामित। सुखम। प्रेमं धिरं कुटिलविद्या। वसंत। [श्र] धर्मशास्त्राय। विशिष्ठ। कुमा। चह| 

39 यात्रूपर्यासामामयसाभाष्याय विद्वार्तितोक्ती राजाः। सकामेश्वर गच्छाती। विशिष्ट। नित्यां। विशिष्ट। तत। प्रवर्त्तित। राजार्थी। दृष्टांक। राजा। संसारादुयानमालीका। सचेतन। सचेतन। निर्मलनितीकाल। नभरायणातिका। संकेत। तर्क। मनोद्रग्निशास्त्रायाभिषेकामन। संरक्षण। कुसमी। समस्थ:। दृष्टांक। (1) 

40 [श्र] रथं भंपातप्रतिक्षितं अहुकार्यतमसुबृह्यतरं। [श्र] विद्ध। वयस्म। [श्र] कुलमशुमाण्यं न। नेत्र। वचनं वेक्रणं चंद्री। राजा। (1) दच्छा: विंसदृशं सुखियला। (1) समस्यामुक्ततेत। नेपथ्य। (1) मंगलवर्मन। [श्र] आस्याणंत्तेत। सचेतन। नामाकाण्डः। तारं सुधारकुकुषुमालंकथ्युतं राजां। शास्त्रायाभिषेकवहत। व्रजत। यतिनिवृत्तं सत्तं रक्षां। 

41 [श्र] नामतः तात्मिकोपी सत्तवमनिरुपणमुपना मात्रेःसंगमार्याय। वार्तत्तै: प्रबुली। गमयती। गमेनीगर्गे भण्डिष्ठी। [श्र] तद्दृशं [श्र] विद्ध॥ प्रवर्त्यणां। (1) विद्ध। वयस्म। अवर्तकारस्त: भाष्येन। ज्ञाते एक समस्यामुक्तादिकृतेदिहार्यवर्गसुकुषुमालः शसमसङ्गमार्यारकृते। धीरकयती। ज्ञातसुकुषुमालायाभिषेकवहती। किरस। 

42 [श्र] कुमार्मोटी पवासवी श्रवणं तथा (वयस्म) संहृद्यमितिमयांर्टी। विस्मितेनिर्विन्ने मर्यादिकर्तव्यान्तर्विद्यां दाहियावलीदेविरूपवर्तमाला।

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1 Read श्रमुपैति।
2 यत्र स्थितिः।
3 See p. 119 below, C.
4 Read श्रमुपैति।
5 दीर्घ निकारां।
6 Corrected by the engraver from श्रपराभु।
7 See p. 119 below, D.
8 Read श्रमुपैति।
9 See p. 119 below, E.
10 These three aksharas are due to a mistake of the engraver; they occur again in their proper place as part of the compound श्रावस्मार्याय in the same line.
मणान्ते धीरजसमझं बलचर्णपरस्मिः [भव] संदेशद्वयायमागायतभीमोऽर्थांति
वायुविकाणिष्ठे संविंम्वती प्रभुविक्षितास्मीति राजा। निर्वर्ष्य च।
संह १[१]* किमुन्ते ति वायुगानुमुखः (१)

४३ [क्षी]क्षीण्यकोकंधपुष्टं। देवी दृष्टान्तेऽव लक्ष्योपनांसीं लक्ष्यते। [४२७] ततः प्रविष्टिः यथानिर्दिष्टा राजी। विद्वृत्त। यथा१ [१]*
हरे वि पैड़े ति। ज्ञाते एक कुमायरी सम सबुधं सबूत्ते करेदि तथा भासंस्या
परिष्ठाययमिः संविंम्बते श्रवं ध्रुव अवं संचारिततया। राजा। निर्वर्ष्यः (१)
किमिदार्श्यः च। काली
विशुद्धविन नामित प्रतिः

४४ [वा]वति। चतुःकलण्येऽव नेहायास्यतवाश्विनी। [४२७] ततः
प्रविष्टिः विधमारंगिता पारिष्ठाययमिः संविंम्बते च। राजी२
उपजयः (१) राजानन्तरकः श्रवंते संभाग्यत। विद्वृत्त३ [१]*
संविंम्बम्। वही४ अय्यरमिः। दूषी चंद्रकुमुदे जिंमिः चंद्री चंद्राकोभिस्तोत्ते।
वहनी चिरस्तुडङ्किः विद्विसिः चतुः प्राययमिः [४२७४] राजा। संविंम्बत। विशुद्ध५ [१]* नेदलित तं तु देवायामसमतः

४५ [भा]चार्यकेन विचारप्रयोगी नाम हस्तायोंमें च। प्रदर्शितः। कालकलेखः।
विशेष [१]* महा५ [१]* एंहु एस्वी विद्विसिः श्रवंतः च।
विवेके दहं च। दर्शिः सावं चरसिः। नायिका। राजानः
संस्कारकोकः (१) शनवारित्केन [१]* भासे [१]* चंद्रपपायः चंद्रकुमुदेः
विद्वानिः श्रवं च। श्रवं। वहनी [१]* एसो ऋव राजा तु दुवं कालकलेखः श्रवितसि। नायिका।

४६ [वा]चतुः विशेष (१) संविंम्बतः। काली [१]* चंद्राण तारिसम भाय्येयः।
राजी। चंद्रहुः १०। एंहं [भा] संस्कारकोकायामसिः [४२७]। देवि
[१]* सापु दर्शिः। पूर्वावशालक्षतयोमयीवकासकार्यः। शापि
चवाहिष्ठि संस्कारकोकायामसिः [४२७४] तं च। चंद्रोऽ
संस्कारसुधरिणयो चाहिियानिलादीक्षेत्रेण। परिपयाति प्रियतमाः वामों
विवेकेः ०१॥एवायासुवाशिनी नवलता

१ See p. 119 below, F.
२ See p. 119 below, H.
३ See p. 119 below, I.
४ See p. 119 below, K.
५ See p. 119 below, L.
६ See p. 119 below, G.
७ Read ऋद्धकुलेरे।
८ See p. 119 below, J.
९ See p. 119 below, L.
१० Read धाराकुपः।
47 [०]कीम्बानी यथं निर्वचने 'परारुक्षी न सहिते वैयखालासौंगि।
[४५२ II] वसंत। नायिका प्रति। प्रभो। [१] जेव तुलसीसिंही
सुबाची दूया मादुरातियी प्रियस्वाधे परंसुगीसी द्वित। नायिका।
किंचित्विषय (१) सासुराम्ब। प्रभा। [१] तं चं। जेव चिंपि
जंपली विहिंस। चाँद चण। अलिंग जेव मरणमि अं बदबापये
बाणासेंढ़िं। वियामें। घ्यं। मे कोरुव्वे। वसंत। खगं। देवी।

48 [आ] उत्तरासुखदेश माधवीमहारामिङ चोपरायभिमला बनाुणि
मासुखदेश दंसयंती चिंड़ि (१) ता सुंकर पारिलामाण चाँ। चाँ
करिं (१) जयं देवी। किंचित प्राक्षण पिंशंगिन्द्र। चं
रयारा। द्रति विपणभानपारी नायिका। प्रकाशिकोती। राजा
रात्रीतार्को। किंचित्रिवित पराक्षामोलिक (१) सहस्राविष्ठासस्वगत।
बळे जिते मानिरह।।

49 [ब] दिय वल्लुविचारावर्कादु। संचरसरस्यतन्त्रासमाशिरिका 
में प्राणिस्तरी
प्रग्रामाणगिणीकरताकार्यी कोचमोचरे। गता। सवितारंगु। च।
नूनसिंहमान। प्रधमन। वियांतरे वसंतलीलया केनिचिलुक्लपकोल्य
वस्या नारम्भणि कुर्दा सर्वितमाचुः। बधि। "सावसमसरे विवि
सस्याकराकाशीशा कारघंतातोलेकुटियापूर्भिबिर्धि०।

50 [त] विमता। [ब] जीयामिनमिभुकुमशुकुटीमायमाणगाणिशा भन्दीयं जवहू
नेदुमा मम दृष्टिये सुपारचियं। [४५२ II] सकुवणारांग च।
प्रातिविविषाद्रित्या [ब] दीवश्सुपागता। पचवांकुण्डीरोगुंते विरहुदुःर्या।
[४५३ II] द्रति कोमलायुविघिरणं करणं ध्वरा "साविलामवल्लक्षिनं।
राजी (१) सरोमांचमेववतुसुणी कर्मसुक्तानुभवं नायिकाय। वसंत।
तांद्रे। नारिणी।

51 [का] प्रातिविविन निर्विशंक राजाचेत्या विश्वपलाचितक्रनं (१) अधवारं सावारं।
चंके [१] पेशंके देवी। तांद्रे। रामणिकये (१) जं रया 
सावसम्भिलेशदिदीए वेचतो चिंड़ि। नायिका। रात्रि-तार्के। किंचित्विविन
राजावं च निर्विशंक (१) सचित्तक्ष्रायामहासमांगते। चंके [१]
किं
झों रया के पिंशंगिन्द्र। चं अङ देवी। तांद्रे। जेव।
ता० द्राव बाण्याकालार्जाए धेत्।

1 The two white lines across the य are due to a fault in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, and are absent in the two other copies of the inscription.
2 See p. 119 below, M.
3 See p. 120 below, A.
4 Read "मवारंगे".
5 Read सावारं.
6 See p. 120 below, C.
7 See p. 120 below, D.
8 Corrected by the engraver from य।
52 [रा]ण्ये दौ। इति चिंतां नाटयिति। वर्णां। नानाकियाकीतित्रुपपतिलया। चक्षुः [१४] एव चचचं चचेष्ठि। देवीः तालेेन्द्रके क्षणागरणान्दित्विव व तुमम। संकारणरायणन्दुर्भिः पैदविचित्रियोर्या॥ [४८ ॥२] ज्वल न परमिय ता शुंकण तुम परवर्तिक स्वरूपम् (१) ज्ञातो पदविचित्रयुग तालकैं पैदविचित्रि दीर्घिः श्रीप्रियो भविष्यो नित्य। इति नानायानः पुन: पदवन्ताः। ।

53 [रा]ण्ये करोतिः। राजा (१) सवेदाविहियं श्रीचुद्दिरान्तोकः। वर्णां। चक्षुः [१४] रेणः २। तालेन्द्रके तुह पदवियु भविष्यती भविष्यो दीर्घिः। विश्वायन्नियहेष्ठिः घण सुपपपान्त्राया। राजा (१) सपर्वाने घृणयोवरोकरते। सालाममान्त। वेंकायोजनमुद्गिनो। श्रवणुयां विपसीनीयों। सुखागीयेन निराकरणं गायने नेतान्तिन विचारोगता। भूमी दूषण। ।

54 [चिं]॥३॥ तद्वै न निम्नयोः। चरे निम्नयोः। विचारेत्तपकर्षुदीविवस्तुदारायणन्दितियं द्वारा॥ [४६ ॥१] नानायानः (१) सतुःस्यं सारामपार्विमान्तिकः। (१) वल्यायापुरस्यसंस्कृती ज्ञानितम्। वर्णां। तां सुप्रियाः। राजा। निधियं सतुःस्यं देवामान्त। चक्षुः सतुःस्यं तद्पदि योगीमाविवाधीकालं श्रीहोविकति गतं तद्वैयंद्वारं। संधिरित्वा संधि। दीर्घ घुनस्यं तद्वैयं। ।

55 [चिं]॥५॥ गतं लाभेन किंवत्स्युवोरतस्यासात। सुधमं विचारते। सोभायोगिजं वयः॥ [४६ ॥१] सपर्वाने वौः पवित्राराजाविनियावतांतो। परमस्यानां सचामः विवस्तुदारायणन्दितियं धारणं। राजा स्वरूपमिन्तिको। (१) सातां। (१) वनस्पतिव तारेव्योन्द्रके दिक्त त्विरितमिन्तिम्या। विश्वायन्नियहेष्ठिः॥ [४६ ॥३] राजी (२) देव। ।

56 [चिं]॥७॥ गतं पालितानें। (१) चपृतिंमिन्तिको। श्रीहस्यसुशुकुः कंडीसुशमीचते। तच्छोतं परिक्रमयं। (१) सावित्रिक्रमें। घुनस्यं [१४] कुदी उप से। चक्षुः पदमे चलन मिलासुधही सविवर्गि दीर्घि॥ अविवर्गि मानान्त। अतिरिक्त । देव्यो चिंतानें। (१) ।

* See p. 120 below, E.
* Corrected by the engraver from सुभयोः.
* चिंतानें।
* See p. 120 below, P.
* चिंतानें।
* Against the metre.
* चिंतानें।
* चिंतानें।
* चिंतानें।
* Read "मयापि।"
* Read "श्रीमान्त्रिः।"
* Read "श्रीस्मान्त्रिः।"
* चेष्ठिः व कहां गुणी दारिणाउऽ गुणतं मै॥ [४६ ॥१] कमानक। राजी शविः।
57 [ख] चारितमेओते । राजी । शौकुकामभणीय (ि) भाकृतं । [स] चोरिक [१०] चिन तेघ किसिंदं । कनक । समका शौकुकामभणीय । राजा । विद्रोहवं प्रति । धुपवारितकेन । श्येः । बुद्धवन्य दासिक्या । दानसं- मानापूक्ष चिरिनिवारितवाद । सभव प्रकाशीति । दर्दुः । धपवाच्य । प्रकाशं । मा । राजा (ि) दृष्टिक्षण्या कनकेंद्र्यां प्रसाद्यति । राजी (ि) राजचेळ्यां परिकल्पनां तं भूमिनेन तः-

58 [जे] यन्ती कनकेंद्र्यां व । [ही] धृता शावेंद्रण परिकल्पन निकामति । नायका । सच्चें चेष्टा: परिकल्पन सच्चें धानामागतं (ि) राजानं प्रति । चंद्राः व तु भू मेरतरमं खण्डेरकं जा सशिया । सोवामिष का चन्द्रविं य दुष्टं वि तत्त्र चन्द्रितं ॥ [४.४ १०] प्रकाशं । लोणो [१०] नृष्ण देवें पवारिंदुं गमणिदार राया । ता पदर [१०] गच्छन [१०] श्रिव निराकारं ॥ राजा । सम्माणं ग्रामेकीचकः

59 [ना] विज्ञामदृश्या विद्रोहवं प्रति सवेंद्रां [१०] सच्चे [१०] दृष्टं लया वनमापति । चिन्ह सवेंद्रां देवी यदेमेखः सुराक्षके । लापी जाता दुस्मेरः [१०] विज्ञायीश: पिया मम ॥ [४५ १०] तलकमं करतं । विद्रोह । य[१०] च[१०] मारिजः । सुराक्षके य एवं जैव नामं । देवो वन्धा व वन्ध[१०] कीन्द्र्या चवराशि अवेन । ता सम्मानवेष महामारिषं परिशायामसारं । राजा । सीतकं । सच्चे [१०] सेवां करसम ॥

60 [सि] परिकामत: । विद्रोह । वयस्मं [१०] एवं । रविशुद्धुरं- मानिसक्ष्वपायं मरमयंहं । राजा । दर्शिनमुखमांद्रं चुवियला (ि) सच्चामां । सच्चे [१०] साथु दृष्टं । एतेऽका हरति उपि: पान्ति कान्तां खच्छायांकां मराक्षिमामांहं रसामानोः । देवोऽहः तेषुिकसबीमंन्त्रज्ञानमानोऽहः । शास्त्रां महामानं खुतु विभत्ते संघव भूमिनं ॥ [४५ १०] श्रिव परिकामत: ॥

61 [रा] रा । तस्या सीठृष्ण: सर्वोऽधव्यी समयक्त प्रामाण्यातुष्टुः निजद्वरन्त्रिश्राद्वाकानांतरी । संरथी ॥ नवयवमंगिरचनांस्येष

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*See p. 120 below, I.*
*Read, खेलमायेन.*
*Read श्रीमायेन.*
*See p. 120 below, J.*
*Read यापूर्वरेन.*
*See p. 120 below, K.*
*The text is spoiled in the inked etching from which the Plates were prepared, but is quite clear and regular in the two other copies.*
*Read, लापी दुस्मेरः.*
*Corrected by the engraver from दमेरूः.*
*Read, लापी दुस्मेरः.*
*See p. 121 below, A.*
*The engraver has erased an assedra above the े of तानां.*
*Read सारथी भवत्वृः.*
वाद्यली [भा] विषयक योगोपकथायमध्यस्थायी तत्तपारः || [६० ||]

श्रवण परिच्छेपभाषा नायिका पशुन सहस्यं धृतिनिशांविसुचिः।

वापसी विधाषे[ह] रखान्तः कोवदराकृतः। नव्रत्मोऽग्रन्थायामियामकोः

62 [प्रियस] [ह] मम || [६१ ||] तत्रबुद्धे[ह] निर्वैथ्यामि तात्रत्।

ततः प्रतिवार्ति योगोनिश्च नायिका सखी च। राजा [१०] तांगत।

षष्ठीं || सुखांकुमारेन्यैः। वैति तन्मस्ति मांसले। विष्णुलोके[ह]

[व]: शिखा: परभागं दशमनी || [६२ ||] संगमरम्मकारे।

समकालिकस्थायां भाषाः। प्रतिविन्दिता क्रियादानीं। चंतर्जनग्राहनीं

तापन निवेदवमणिव || [६० ||] वसंस।। संचालकाले। || क (१)

63 . . [वा] वधारे य सम्पर्ण ज्ञानम समस्मारापे। तं चिघ क्षति

कुशनो विषयीं हिंदुस्तान काँह च || [६१ ||] नायिका। व[सं]ते

खः वापादद्रीमसः || (१) सगर[इ]। चेष्टः। तल्ल्सा[ह] सहाय[फ] च्याप

स्वाकालाधिनम्भ्रिन रिखे। विध। भिंधोसि भोस्को चिन्ति सि टूरे दुबौधे

राया || [६२ ||] राजा (१) कुशमान्यचिन्ता (१) च्यापं।

कुशनसुपस्त्रक्तै नीतिनिष्ठकामेक्रेन नवहरतं। नायिका। स- (१)

64 . . चित्र (१) राजानमस्थोकं। हृदि:। एस विषयीं पशुको अव

कुशमान्यभो संगमारापे पहरतिः। ता परितायदु २ चक्रा

[१०] श्रवण वसंलीलामार्गितमित्रप्रयंतां मूक्ष्यति। राजा [१०]

कुशोपध[ह] च। हा पिधे परिज्ञातमंत्रार [१०] चेष्टः। वेश में प्रतिविन्द्र

[१०] श्रवण संगमरम्म क्रियादानीं नातयति। वसंस।। राजानमस्थोकं

(१) नायिका धीरान्योनी सामार्यो

65 [संतकृत][ह] च। चेष्टः (१) समस्य २ [१०] च खु सासी कुश

मान्यभो [१०] तुह विद्यापल्लो खु भट्टाः। एसो। नायिका (१) संगम

लम्बे। राजा चार्यन्निवेद्यः। याख्या: पुत्रेमयंकारकसामस्थानां

बच्चीं कोलवप्तन्या प्रसीद्धि धृतिनिवाशियया यवस्थुः। याख्या

पुलकः चुः परिवर्तितहोपस्मभान्नी तेनेव सुस्वंभूव विपुरे जीवागला

मे चेष्टः || [६२ ||] नायिका (१) राजा-

66 [नसुपृत]:नम्भ (१) ससास्यसुबालयाकाँम पर्वतवधायितं।

धृतिनिवाशायामकां बलात्कारी। चेष्टः (१) चाह्यो हृदि:।

* Read "सन्त".
* Read "सक्र".
* See p. 121 below, C.
* See p. 121 below, D.
* See p. 121 below, E.
* Corrected by the engraver from मेना.
* See p. 121 below, G.
वि परिच्छे जो वे कैरसी वार वर्मणात्वनिवेषी। ता परिच्छे [1]]

गण्य०। दृति राजान शंकराभिमानमपापैनवरोवी पराशुराखी परिक्रमिनुभूति। राजा। शेखुबल (१) धारी खुला नायिकाका निवेषः लुखात। उदाहरण करता।

67 [भय०] जायत गतिसंभूता मायीके वैषयप्राणके उलटे मुखते दृष्टिकृति साह्य। सदृश। चंगान्धेव पराशुराखी मुखः अक्षयानी 'पुनमान्य-प्राप्तसहस्यकी श्रमाचूर्वदेव विचरिता।॥ [६४    ]

बधि च। तद्यूजनसुदारसिंहकृति। दृष्टिकृति। सुरिमित्तविदूहि मदत्यंगकारिन मां।॥ [६५    ]

उदाहरण जसनेन निवेषः भवन्त। का।

68 [क०] री नीवीकलंसर्वनिश्चिपदर्शी चालं। प्रकारसम गत।। नीरंगी-किर्मि कदतः वास्तवविश्वासविन्दुतिनित विलायती तुज्जुमाने।॥ [६६    ]

प्रकाशं। बधि श्रेविनुभु। मान मूर्त दृष्टिप्राप्तार्क्ष शिवः भारीलोककारानं। बधि भव्यतु भवन्त। कौमालाभायं भगिति गतिमागं विनादेव।॥ [६७    ]

दृति प्र। (१)

69 [थमत।। नायिका (१) चस्ताह्यां राजान शिरिटिन प्रेयतंती सर्वकालमं वस्तरत।। विदूह सा। कथित्व बीसव। इह देविये। परिश्रमी संवरदिः।।

ता भासापिन अंजस्तिप। तुरिक्ष जीव महामायं विशेषिनित। राजा। [१] चालं।। मुक्त तामिश्वारावणं नांतिला (१) लगत।। मीरर-प्रमुखकृत्वतिला लिवीनी नवनीतवसु।। करणं। शालेनामकरु शुचाहैते मां। खिसकत।॥ [६८    ]

70 [भ] पिच। जामीन्यालघुवालसन्न्यासस्ततहे दावूसारवासविलितकीश्रमात्मस्वाध्यायीरम्म-ग्राही हस्तालिनी। शान्ताकुमारसमस्वास्त्वास्त्रार्जिता शीतली श्रवहेद-अर्थायुर्योऽभिनवः॥ भासानि: दोतवान्।॥ [६८    ] ततेऽपविश्वात तद्युपस्था कनकदिखा।। कनक।। संत्तासः भव।॥ मध्य।। महार-यत ... 

71 [ल०] वा तथा दृष्टि तथा यथा भविष्य विपलक। दृष्टि उपर देवेय सर्व जीव दृष्टिकृत सर्व उवलह।। शर्य विषमितत्व जादू निह।। शेखो मालामहीश्वरास्वास्त्वास्त्रार्जिता।॥ [१] जेष जीव देवि।
72. राजानमवलीकृतं क्रमं च ॥ समाहरे ॥ [१] कती आसासी भक्तिपी (१) चीय वक्ष्यो चर्ममाणांवर्गितं मतिरतिर्रिप्तं अथवा दिक्षिदि ॥

73. ॥ या देव्या कृष्णं मनुष्यमुशृंहति ॥ क्रमं ॥ भोदे ॥ चन्द्र ख्यलकारणकुपितां देवी प्रसादनीयति कामे प्रतिपालयम्भावाकावर दिनमतिकानं ॥ लक्षाहयकमापनी ॥ छेतेयकारय ॥ कनक ॥ मध्या ॥ [२] जा पहा चन्द्राणि दुधीया भक्तिपूर्वक तप पहि दिनेण रोमालिका ॥ विक्रिदि ॥ (१) ॥

74. [रा] ॥ फिला ॥ कनकलिखे ॥ [२] ऋभयम् नतोताकर्य ॥ लक्षेवायतस ॥ तथिन प्रभुः भववा ॥ कनक ॥ तावकर्मण्यति ॥ राजा ॥ ख्यला ॥ क्रमं ॥ काशिकाङकरणे देवा विविधानां लक्ष्यम् ॥ श्रीयम् नतोताणिणि तादोकः प्रतिमाणि मि ॥ [३०] ॥ प्रकारं ॥ किं पुनः कारणं तादं कारणं ॥ कनक ॥ एदः कारणं ॥ एव तादोसः भवअ ग[४] ॥

75. [च] कर्मकारणं देवींपरं धारितं ॥ धज्ज खुद संतलोकाविवेककोशिकमहसम-सख्या जस्तो[स्थ] ॥ क्षितिदायव[सो] ॥ क्षितिदायव[सो] ॥ देवमणधकर्मसंज्ञानस्थिक्षा ॥ [स्थ] ॥

76. [व] समृद्धि ॥ संवर्ततीलावियश्च (१) संधयनमीत्वं प्रघंतः ॥ राजा ॥ क्रमं ॥ भोदे वक्ष्यो वक्ष्यो परिपालश्च दापश्चानं ॥ यदि या (२) देवों संवक्यालयधिकार स्थोकमातः ॥ किं तु [४] देवों प्रसादनीयवलोऽनि सूचिम कारणं विहरिः ॥ संधयमयोधिच्च जातो मथं तु सहीमलं ध्रुवात् ॥ [३१] ॥ नेपथे ॥ [च] ॥

# Footnotes:
1. See p. 121 below, J.
2. See p. 121 below, K.
3. Read वेववाय.
4. Read स्मवेव.
5. See p. 121 below, M.
6. See p. 121 below, N.
7. Read स्मप्रवृत्ता.
8. Read वेववाय.
77. ष्ण्य प्रच्छ राजनिन्यास्य तस्मा मात्रात्माध्यंते। या प्रातः परिरंभ-निमित्तकं ॥ ॥ दौरायरणामास्य लघुमात्र राजमाणेन्त्सर्वत्र कथितं सुखं छोरं प्रसाददिःक्षित। ॥ ॥ [७२ ॥] चापि च। विच्छेदकार्यकान्तसुरसबिधादन। जगदुरुप्रसादस्य स्वदेशः कार्यसंगीतिः।। सिद्धार्थि निःवर्। ॥

78. [त्] विद्वानात्मके परां ताम्यन्ति स्वाधिकां। [७३ ॥] किं च। नामेश्वरस्य सुन्दर-दीपिकामि। पूष्पविलेणात्तिरितिसुमेधः। चपतुदुरस्यम्याति राजरूपस्व-कलाकण्डल सबूतं तथा। ॥ [७४ ॥] नायिका। वसंतलिङ्गम्। प्रति सक्रियं। तद्रूप वि दैवीय सर्वं भंद्रमाष्ट्रीय पारिश्रायसंगरी परिधिर-द्वारा। ॥ भद्रो ज्ञेय। ॥

79. [त्] दीपिकौ ज्ञाति ॥ वारस्यवंधम्यान्वितिः।। वसंतलिङ्गम्। नायिका ॥[७५ ॥] सब्यासिन्दति। राजा। चपतुदुरस्य नायिका चिवुरे साहा। प्रिये। [७६] चक्षस्य भास्य। संभवन्या। सुभंप्राप्तनिविषय प्रतिप्रति एव।। वसंतलिङ्गम्। प्रति कार्यं। भववाहूऽद्वित्य यथा। खलनीयं तावद ॥

80. [बि] दौरायरणामास्य सह परिधिर्मति। सक्रियं पुष्ठतनास्य (१) स्वतं ॥ च। प्रिये। पारिश्रायसंगरी।। उदिस्हियानस्य द्रव्यादोक्षालो। निशाचरोपथं सुभंप्राप्ताति। नायिका।। सालं। महाभाष्य या ॥[८०] चतुंग। ददे च। सर्वं भंध्रमाष्ट्रीये।। राजा। सवयोमालकति।। किमपि सव। ॥

81. इश्वरणीयस्य विश्वारागियिः। तव कल्युष्णस्य सुभंप्राप्तसंक्षिणिताय। निर्खितं विशिष्टकृ:। दुर्गमेकं प्रकाशं। ॥ [७६ ॥] चतुंग निःशान्त:।। नायिका।। सानुपस्यान्तबिकावोक्ष्यकत्तेन।। कवः वीयणपण मित्रकंसी। परव्यासो जोशी।। स्वतं। ता ॥ दारण च। दैवीय कारिद्वार समभं के च। ॥[८२] कर्मसं मंद[भाषणी]।

82 [च] दीपिकौ ज्ञाति ॥ सहेजस्यं ज्ञातिमयाय परिधिर्मति।। वसंत। सौम्यकृ:। नूणमेंद्रापि।। चिपार चंगमालक्ष्मारसिं।। ता स्वयम्य घारवत्र च।। चतुं निःशान्त:।। सर्वेः।[८२] तांडवकर्णशो नम। किरीयोऽह ॥ श्री ॥

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1 Corrected by the engraver from समिस्व।
2 See p. 122 below, A.
3 The same passage has occurred before in line 66.
4 See p. 122 below, B.
5 Read निःशान्त।
6 See p. 122 below, C.
7 See p. 122 below, D.
8 See p. 122 below, E.
9 Read निःशान्त।
10 The visarga was inserted by the engraver on revision.
SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF THE PRAKRT PASSAGES.

A.—Text, line 2.—भावायकलायि:।

B.—Text, I. 4.—यदार्थ भावायकला। बिंच मयापि चुल यथा मनसा
निम्नलिङ्गमन्त्रस्वरसत्त्वेकालामकविस्तरणात्मकपुस्तिकण्ठमार्गसम्बन्धी
परम्पराय: वेदविषय: कुलकलकस्थिमुनितुकन्तकलकलिपिज्ञानसम्भवि
परिष्कारण: विशालचक्रवर्तिकाः पद्धतिः विद्वानां चारणुण्णां भाषामणिति
ष्ठित: विनाशित: सुरुस्करमणि यथ: कुकुलक: मामित्राकरोधीस्वित्वपुकृंडक्रमाख्यां
परिष्कारण: कोलोहुः वधुः सुस्पष्टैः व्याख्यानान्त: ॥

C.—Text, I. 7.—यथ: किम्।

D.—Text, I. 8.—चारी:। यथ: चतुर्विश्वास्य: तुम्हेश्वरलीलिकैः। कबलिन्ते मार्थिकां
प्रयंतोकृतबुद्धाकलैः मिलकलसुदरीसुखमन्त्रधारापन निजप्रविभागः
संज्ञाय: मृति:।

E.—Text, I. 9.—तत्त्वत:।

F.—Text, I. 10.—तत्त्वत:।

G.—Text, I. 11.—चारी:। सिद्ध: दियभासूः: सा काथा।

H.—Text, I. 12.—तत्त्वत:।

I.—Text, I. 14.—पर्वत: पुनरमः प्रविष्ट: कायेया।

J.—Text, I. 15.—भारोपुः। नवरिकां ग्रहायेतामुः।
 कोविक्षर्यवथायेन मणिश्रावरष्यां।
। तवेश्वे खलु मया विनयुः गायना यथा ॥ १२ ॥

K.—Text, I. 17.—प्रथो चारयेम्। भागंधेये वयस्य वुजुमण्डिरी मलवेन
हस्ते चतिता।


2 Hēm. I. 78.

3 Hēm. I. 68.

4 Hēla, p. 533, s. v. anukattham.

5 Dēt. III. 1.

6 For मदनघर्तिः दनवती see ibid. p. 99.

7 Dēt. V. 24.

8 Hēm. I. 250.

9 Hēm. I. 117. and II. 99.

10 Gāndanava, verse 107.

11 Dēt. VIII. 70.

12 Pisckel, § 121.

13 Dēt. 11. 18.

14 With hāllaphāla compare hāllaphāla, Dēt. VIII. 59; hāllaphāla, Hēla, p. 27 f.; and hallakaha, Jacobi, p. 165.
A.—Text, l. 18.—
सुभाष्यवैचिकित्वः शुरूविपि त्वोन्वि वै चिन्तनानु ॥
बालाचारस्विनमूर्ति निग्रहनानां सुवृत्तिं शिष्याति ॥ १० ॥
यज्ञिवन्यातृं लया शुभेधुरुक्क्रमीनाम् ॥
मनः निष्टं हृदेन तन्नेति तव लोकः ॥ १५ ॥
बालेचारस्विनारी बिषयसर्वादाय निग्रहपूर्णा रचितः ।
घन्युत्संध्वस्य धुन्ताचलम् एव विस्मिता रिवं ॥ १६ ॥

B.—Text, l. 19.—वयाच्छः प्रेमच्छः प्रेमच्छः प्रहर्ष्णोक्तितं नागरजन्यः ॥

C.—Text, l. 21.—चार्यपुषः प्रतिमायाकारणं समययुक्तस्याः निहितोः ॥

D.—Text, l. 22.—वयाच्छः चारास सुयाच्छः । येव स हिन्दौलको यत्र हिन्दौरा-
कवितत्त्वी द्वियः कोमलिः ॥

E.—Text, l. 23.—कर्त्यं शैवं न ज्ञानिः । यदा भृ बालयायी श्रुभृविविधद्वन्दवं-
सुवदृश्यं सुवदीश्यं प्रसारं मंगलान्ति गायति तदाहं मोहिनियोऽद्विते दशिण ॥३
प्राणादातुमित्वादादित्वः ॥

F.—Text, l. 25.—वयाच्छः त्वमावपि देवीयं पूर्यः ॥

G.—Text, l. 26.—वयाच्छः यदी त्वमेव दासादरुविहितं कन्यालेख्यः सह मम
पारिष्ठचतुः कार्यविसंध्वसि तदाहमपि विभव नागरिकनारास्विदितो वस्मोक्तवं मान-
यामिः ॥

H.—Text, l. 27.—चार्यपुषः पारिष्ठचतुः वचनेन भार्यालिसिः । मया माधवी-
स्थतया सहकाराः पारिष्ठचः कार्यन्ति । सुवाचारं तच्च निलस्यंति त्विधयः ।
तत्तत्त्वानुपस्यविचारादं पादकार्योपदानां गमित्वात् ॥

I.—Text, l. 28.—वयाच्छः न खल्लित्विचारादम् ॥ भार्यमेवेवेत् ॥

J.—Text, l. 29.—वयाच्छः मनोे पारिष्ठचतुः स्वामिनातकमपिष्ट्या न शुरूं हदयम् ॥

K.—Text, l. 30.—सुवाचारारोऽभवत मध्यस्येऽत्तं स्वम् ॥
कथितां नानास्य तव दिपूतानां विविधानिमेन ।
वदनानि भारुस्माजां सहलस्येऽविनायिनं विशिष्टं ॥ २५ ॥

L.—Text, l. 30.—वयाच्छः
देवेन्द्रनिर्मितायो सहया वषोक्तानां पुरं
दुग्धाय श्रमिता विविधविद्वारा स्यायं सम्भूमवने ॥

1 Compare sukdeva = sukhayati in Hāla and in the Gaṇḍavāko.
2 With gakila for gaksha compare gosakila for gantikila ; Pischel, § 505.
3 Compare bhavā in the Gaṇḍavāko, verse 181, and Jacob, p. 133, s. v. bhātāya.
4 Pischel, § 313, end. 5 Hām. II. 84.
6 For dintā = ādāt see Jacob, p. 117, s. v. dei. 7 Pd. p. 96.
एते ते नला पादुगाणि दश्यप्राणमेति
Pत्रीक्षभरेण भूमिपतयो ब्रजतः वासालयः ॥ २८ ॥

तत्तिथमिः स्वितेन । यथि । धारारितिरीतियानवेति मच्छावः ।

A.—Text, I. 35.—

इति (१) सुनमादलक्ष्यिः शिप्क चोढ़प्राभापमाः
पुष्क्र कुञ्जरामानि वहति सा चित्तानमदाना ।

कलानिन्द्रि खासाकारोशार्दे वपयुक्ते
दूरारोहिनिभावित्यपयमु राजिफ चिंति निजम् ॥ ३१ ॥

B.—Text, I. 36.—राजागमनप्रकाशसुपलब्धम् ।

C.—Text, I. 38.—यदाभापयति प्रियतमः ।

D.—Text, I. 40.—वयसि । यथा रतुसल्माने से । यथी वननीनां चन्द्रो राजा ।

E.—Text, I. 41.—वयसि । यथैव समकायोपायितविदीर्दिविन्दकायककण्ठकृ ष्णिचरि
मिता दस्मनयांमृतकोकलाओ यथा व ॥ स्त्रीकोपायमाणकापरिमानि विभाषित:।

कालसुसामानी: प्रत्यादि सुविधातः तथाचरमभिमिनित्विन्दक्षरपरिन
खलकरारविन्दारिमिन निवादिवां वनस्चालामानीप्राप्ति:।

वृहत्कुञ्जरादेवसाः सुचितसत्स्मार्कावामानान्तः खूर्षारामारिविविचारिनीः:।

संवधामाकुमता

देवे ।

F.—Text, I. 43.—वयसि । चिंतौपिप्रेच्छ । यथैव कुञ्जराकेश सम ममुखं
संभा ॥ चारीति तथासंस्करण पारिचातसंज्ञां वस्मातीयता सहीवेत संचारियति ।

G.—Text, I. 44.—प्रवाहि सरिगतसिद्धम् ।

चूतचापकुषस्मैस्मिः पारिजायसि: ।

बकुलः भिरपुप्पिण्यकसिद्धो चतालयः ॥ ४१ ॥

H.—Text, I. 45.—भरतः । न खलेव विचारकलेश विदमः। चिंतौ तु विशिष्टेष... ।

वेष द्रुष्य चितः ।

I.—Text, I. 45.—प्राच्छि: = अच्छादपपावमनकु स्मैविन्द्विरूपसिद्धिः मेकोटूहलम् ।

J.—Text, I. 45.—वलि: । एष एव राजा तत्प्राप्ययो मविष्ठति ।

K.—Text, I. 46.—कुतोः । क्राकां तात्रेष्य भागवेष्यम् ।

L.—Text, I. 46.—चारिपुरुष । एताइधिगस्वयकारिम्बुनम् ।

M.—Text, I. 47.—चलोः । एवविभुषादृश्यो सुधा दूरे गाठोकणाशीलः।

प्रियशार्यो चरमवः ।

1 Hēm. IV. 225.  2 Pā. p. 70.  3 Hēm. II. 45.
* Pischel, §§ 506.  4 Hēm. I. 124 and 255.  5 Jacobi, p. 149.
* With tāmāśa compare tāmāśa, Hēm. I. 124.  6 Hēm. II. 40.  7 Pischel, § 107.
* Hēm. II. 204.
A.—Text, I. 47.—चार्यः। लमचार्येन किमति बल्लोि १ तिष्ठसि। चइ चुरि- नावदेव २ भलाम | चित्राविजयापुण्यकुसौमेवकामसाधितम् में कौशलम्।

B.—Text, I. 47.—द्रवी चाप्तुरसुखस्वरूपा  मार्गविनान्तरिक्षनमतुगकविवृत्तिता ३ भल्री । परमसूतारसिद्धमन्दिरे दर्दकृति ४ तावथ्यूर्हे परिजातमन्दिरे प्रकटा ५ करोम यथा द्रवीः। कुशाकामरणे प्रतिष्ठिताः प्रेचि च उनां राजा।

C.—Text, I. 51.—वल्लोि । प्रेचि द्रवालाइक्र रामचीर यद्राजा साविक- 
खेमिकृत्वा प्रचेसामाणिष्ठि ।

D.—Text, I. 51.—चब्बद्रोि । किमति राजा में प्रतिचितं प्रेचि ते स्व यथा द्रवालाि- 
हविस्वेभ । तत्तावदमतकालकृत्योरतारणे दीकायितानि।

E.—Text, I. 52.—वक्ति । मान्यमं बल्लोि।

द्रवालाइक्रे कणमसरणादिवेदनात्मिव लाम।

शाहिताग्निति ६ प्रेचि प्रतिचित्वमां राजा ।

यदि पुनरं पादनेि । तरिकाणारं लो प्रवाहान्ति त रिहि यथा प्रतिति- 
वहसुनं तउद्रेकं प्रेचियामान कीर्तिः ।

F.—Text, I. 53.—वक्ति। प्रेचि प्रेचि।

तउद्रेकं तव प्रतिमामप्रवर्तिन्ते । भड़तिः।

विश्वभतिनिधानयाति भूयापार्कुल कायं।

G.—Text, I. 56.—चः। कुत्र युनरस्वा चित्माया च च चम्सवादूसूलि- 
शिकारा तृक्ति।

H.—Text, I. 56.—

प्रतिभायुपुष्चः स्वव्याहसूडस्वर्माचारः।

स्वसूर्धपीवः कथयितव ११ पुनर्दिच्छिन्यन्तं स्वर्णे।

I.—Text, I. 57.—जः। चि विच चित्मात।

J.—Text, I. 57.—चः। किम्ति।

K.—Text, I. 58.—

चन्द्रकेव तव मेघान्तरे चणद्रशिन्ने या चिन्तित।

शिखराल सा चक्रीरं चुरिप लयनवयित।

L.—Text, I. 58.—पार्थे। चुरियं प्रसादवितं गमित्यिति राजा।

मकाय।

1 Pischel, § 296.  
2 Hém. II. 157.  
3 Hém. II. 299.  
4 Hém. IV. 284.  
5 Pischel, § 55.  
6 Hém. IV. 131.  
7 Hém. IV. 132.  
8 Hém. IV. 132.  
9 Hém. I. 44.  
11 Hém. I. 156.  
12 Pd. verse 246.
A.—Text, l. 59.—यवस्त्र दारित्रम्ब भुस्वर चैकमेव नाम। श्रीको वहुर्वपराधो

B.—Text, l. 60.—प्रसादं एतत्स्त्वरस्तुगम्यभास्पृश्वर्यं मर्कत-

C.—Text, l. 63.—

D.—Text, l. 63.—

E.—Text, l. 64.—हा धिक्यं। एत निद्वम्यं प्रवचनं एव कुशमायुवो मां

F.—Text, l. 65.—वचे। समानसिद्ध समायसिद्ध। न खलौं कुशमायुवः। तव ब्रह्मार्यान: खलौं भृतः।

G.—Text, l. 66.—पार्वती। बन्यं वालिमिन परवगिन तने कौद्गो वार

H.—Text, l. 69.—सा काव्यमिन कोपीं देवा: परिजन: संवर्तू।

I.—Text, l. 70.—मया महाराजाः 

J.—Text, l. 71.—एतत्स्तत्तमम्यसू।

K.—Text, l. 72.—यहां ह। कुत भावानि ममिनि यथा वहमेव उनवामनव-

L.—Text, l. 72.—जयतु जयतु मर्यात।

M.—Text, l. 73.—मति:। वैष्णवानि चित्ताया ममिनि लया प्रस्तु ददत

N.—Text, l. 74.—एतकारणम्। एव ताग्धो नया 

1 For साम्या (which is here written with the dental s) see Pischel, § 315.
2 Hérm. I. 223.
3 Hérm. II. 192.
4 Hérm. I. 29.
5 Hérm. IV. 172.
6 Hérm. I. 94.
7 Hérm. I. 35 and 129.
No. 10.—KARKALA INSCRIPTION OF BHAIRAVA II;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1508.

BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The village of Kārkala, which is mentioned as Kārakalā in this inscription (text line 14) and other connected ones, is 18 miles east-south-east of Uḍipi, the head-quarters of the taluka in which it is situated, and 10 miles north of Mājábhidre. It is the largest Jaina settlement in the South Canara district of the Madras presidency and contains, besides the colossal image of Gummata, a number of Jaina temples which are ruined and out of repair with the single exception of the Chaturmukhābasti. This temple is situated opposite to the Jaina matha at Kārkala, on a hillock half as high as the hill on which the colossal stands. Hiriyāngadi, i.e. the big bādrī, which is now a few farlongs distant from Kārkala, but appears, from its very name, to have once formed the commercial quarter of the town, contains, besides some bastis, a beautifully

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1 Pischel, § 176.  
2 Compare Pischel, § 357.  
3 Hīm. II. 155.  
4 A photograph of this colossal is given above, Vol. VII. Plate facing p. 112.  
6 The Jaina matha at Kārkala is presided over by a pontiff, just as the mathas at Mājábhidre, Sravanga-Belgoa and Humoha. He bears the title Lalitakīrti and is reported to be the ‘arhat’ of the Jaina temples at Kārkala and its nearhood. In the inscriptions at Hiriyāngadi near Kārkala, the teachers to whose pontificate Kārkala and the surrounding country belonged are generally called Lalitakīrti-bhāṭārakādeva, with the wordMalakādeva prefixed to it in two of them, viz. Nos. 66 and 70 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1901. No. 67 of the same collection makes Lalitakīrti the ‘echakārikarā’ or ‘supervisor’ of the charity recorded therein; and No. 70 says that these teachers belonged to the Kendakunda division, were lords of the lineage of Panaśkā and members of the Kāṭāgrāga. In v. 4 of the subjoined inscription, which does not mention their division (caṇaya), it is stated that the Lalitakīrtis belonged to the Deviga. Perhaps Kāṭāgrāga was a local branch of the Deviga. Panaśkā has been identified with Hanadige in the Mysore State; see above, Vol. VII. p. 110, note 1.  
7 The inscription gives this hill the name of Chikkabeṭṭa (i.e. the small hill’) in order to distinguish it from the higher hill on which the colossal is set up.  
preserved Jaina pillar (māṇastambha). A lithograph of a similar pillar at Vēṇūr is given in Ind. Ant. Vol. V. Plate facing p. 39. Prof. Hultzach, who has published three of the inscriptions at Kārkala, asked me to edit the subjoined record. The black granite slab on which it is engraved is set up on the proper right of the western entrance into the sanctum sanctorum of the Chaturmukhaśiśa. At the top of the slab are, in relief, the following sculptures. In the centre, within a maṇḍapa surmounted by a triple umbrella, is a Jaina figure squatting on a raised seat; the maṇḍapa is flanked on both sides by a lampstand, and beyond the lampstand is the disk of the sun on one side and the crescent of the moon on the other; below the moon is the figure of a cow suckling its calf. The inscribed surface of the slab, including the erased lines at the end measures roughly 4' 4½' by 3' 2'.

The record is written in Kanarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs, between two margins which are marked out on both sides of the slab by two double lines with a space of ½" between them. These double lines are entered on either margin up to l. 42 where the main portion of the inscription ends. It contains eight Sanskrit verses (ll. 1 to 8, l. 15 f. and l. 49 f.) and four short sentences (ll. 1, 3 and 5) in the same language. The remainder of the inscription is in Kanarese prose. At the end is a diagram, consisting of a square bounded by a double line. Within this is another square, similarly bounded by a double line and subdivided into 25 minor squares with single letters written in each. The diagram is inserted between ll. 42 and 49 just in the centre of the slab, thereby dividing ll. 43 to 48 into two equal halves. About a dozen syllables in l. 42, the second halves of ll. 43 to 46, the diagram itself and the remainder of the inscription are faintly engraved. A few lines at the end of the inscription are completely erased. Although comparatively modern, the Kanarese characters in which the inscription is written differ in many points from those of the present day. Aspirates are not generally distinguished by a vertical stroke added at the bottom of the letter, except in p ha of phala (l. 33); da is distinguished from dha, as in old Kanarese, by a small opening at the right side of the letter; in bha the aspiration is marked by the talekatru and a small projecting stroke at the bottom of the left side, which seems to be the origin of the vertical stroke of the modern bha; kha, gha, and tha are distinguished, by their very form, from the corresponding unaspirates. Chha, gha and tha do not occur in their primary form as independent letters, but only in their subscript secondary forms. Che is differentiated from ba sometimes by the talekṣatu alone (e.g. cha of vaiharṣa in l. 40), and in other cases by the talekatru and a slight indenture at the middle of the left side (e.g. cha of chaikṣa, l. 13); in modern Kanarese this indenture is projected out into a horizontal stroke. In cases, however, where the i-curl is added to cha, this horizontal stroke is necessarily introduced. The same remark holds good as regards the indenture in the middle of ka. The loop on the left side of da is not fully developed. Ta and ṭa still preserve their older forms. Sha is, as in old Kanarese, written like pa, with a small slanting stroke cutting its left side in the middle. Sa, which is now altogether replaced by the common ra, occurs in ll. 12 (twice), 17, 25, 27, 28,

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2 See above, Vol. V. p. 171, note 6. The māṇastambhas, which are generally graceful, high and imposing, have to be distinguished from other Jaina pillars neither so tall as the former nor bearing any maṇḍapas on their tops. These latter are called Brahmādeva pillars and appear to be usually set up in front of colossal statues. The Tyāga-Brahmādeva Pillar (figured on Plate facing p. 33 of the Introduction to Mr. Rice’s Śravane-Belgola Inscriptions) is set up opposite the colossal statue on the Deśābēṣṭha hill at Śravane-Belgola; the Kāgō-Brahmādeva Pillar at the entrance into the bāsu of the Chikkaḷēṭṭa hill of the same village, indicates the existence of the unfinished colossal on that hill (ibid. p. 29, note 1); and the colossal at Kārkala and Vēṇūr have shilā pillars in front of them, bearing an image of Brahmādeva on their tops (Government Epigraphist’s Annual Report for 1900-01, paragraphs 6 and 7).

4 A tentative transcript and translation of it was published by Mr. Wallhouse in Ind. Ant. Vol. V. pp. 40 ff.
30, 32, 34, 37, and 43; Ἢ is written in its proper form but looks like a hook with the talekaṣṇu attached to it. Among vowels, initial a and Æ which occur in l. 37 and 9, respectively, are written exactly as in modern Telugu. The vowel-signs i and Æ are not always distinguished; and where they are, Æ is represented by a loop at the end of the i-curl; e resembles i in almost every respect, except that, before being added, it makes a small angle with the letter, which the i-curl does not. The angle perhaps is meant for the talekaṣṇu which represents the a-sign, and this with the i-curl attached to it gives the compound e-sign. O and Æ (the latter being occasionally distinguished from the former by a loop at the end of the o-curl) are expressed, as in Telugu, by attaching to the top-stroke of the letter two small semi-circular curves, the second of which is bent down a little lower than the first. Exception is, however, made in the case of ma, ya and certain conjunct consonants where, as in modern Kanarese, o is denoted by Æ + Æ. Many of these remarks are found, on comparison, to be applicable also to the Harivar stone inscription of Achyutarāya of Śaka-Sadvat 1460 (=A.D. 1538-39) which is photo-lithographed in Ind. Ant. Vol. V. Plate facing p. 362. It may be remarked that to this day the Jains use an older Kanarese script than other Kanarese people, and that their way of writing bha, Æ and ka and of affixing i, e and o-curls to consonants is not very different from what we find in this inscription. As regards orthography: The nasals preceding other letters of their class are invariably changed into an anusvāra; of double nasals of the same class, the first always becomes an anusvāra, provided it does not come after an r, the only exception being mañi of "pānaṃ" (1. 7) and the doubling of the consonant after an r is common. A hiatus between two vowels, which is not allowed by the rules of saṃśaṅk, occurs in "ivasi" for "ivasi" (1. 9), "vareṇ" for "vareṇa" (1. 18), and "sthāna" for "sthān" (1. 26). Sā for śā (1. 19) and sita for sīta (1. 41), double dental n for the double lingual n, the aspirate for the unaspirated letter and vice versa are purely graphical errors. Among words deserving particular mention are certain special phrases of Jain ritual (hāladhēra, asbhāṇika, siddhāchakra, etc.), some fiscal terms peculiar to the South Canara district (māda, kāne, kugute, bāga, bhūta, bāfu, etc.), and some expressions which are not intelligible to me (e.g. aśīpaṇa-mūlīti, bājakāla, kambuṭa, etc.). The use of the Kanarese word ḍvara instead of the Sanskrit ṣvāra in v. 7 is a mistake. The construction of the Kanarese passages is often complicated.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vitarāga and the verse śrīmat-paramagambhira, etc., with which almost all Jaina inscriptions begin. It then invokes (verses 2 and 3) the blessings of the Tirthakaras (Jina, Jina, Jinaṇḍa or Tirtha), of Dōrbali, and of the goddess Padmāvat of Pombucha on the donor Bhairava or Bhairavendrama, called also Bhairarasa-Voḍeya and Immaci-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya in the Kanarese passages (ll. 48 f. and 13 f.). We may at once call this chief Bhairava II. 1 in order to distinguish him from his maternal uncle and namesake Bhairava I. referred to in the inscription as Bhairaravā (1. 6) and Bhairaras-Voḍeya (l. 12). The record goes on to state that, at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lāliktīt of the lineage of Panasēge and of the Dēṣigaṇa (v. 4), Bhairava II. built (l. 19) the temple of 'the three jewels' (ll. 7, 8 and 17), by which evidently the Chaturmukhabastī is meant. Verse 6 and the Kanarese prose passage which follows it give the date of the foundation and consecration of the temple, viz. the Śāli-(or Śālivahana-)Śaka year 1508, the Vyayā-sakhatarā, the sixth tīṭhi of the bright half of Chaitra, a Wednesday, when the nakṣatra was Mṛgaśīra or Mṛgaśīrā (ll. 8 and 9) and the lagna Vṛisha or Vṛishabha (loc. cit.). This date has been calculated2 by Prof. Kielhorn and is found to be correct in all details for Wednesday, 18th March A.D. 1586. The Kanarese passages in ll. 10 to 14 and 17 to 18 contain a string of

1 The distinction applies only to this paper, because there have been in this family many chiefs bearing the same name prior to the donor of our inscription. The Jaina chiefs belonging to other families on the western coast also frequently called themselves Bhairava. Writers on the history of the northern portion of South Canara invariably refer to the Kārkala chiefs as "Byrasu Wodeas."
2 List of Southern Inscrip. No. 993.
bhirudas of Bhairava II. and furnish the name Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityalaya\(^1\) (l. 17) for the temple, which is described as being auspicious on every side (savaṇṭābhādara)\(^2\) and as having four symmetrical faces (chaturmukha).\(^3\) It was built on the Chikkabeṭṭa hill in the vicinity of the blessed Gummastēvara at Pāṇḍyanagari in Kārkaka (l. 14 f.). Pāṇḍyanagari, just like the modern Hiriyanagadi, was apparently another suburb of Kārkaka and comprise\(^4\) within itself the Chikkabeṭṭa hill, on which the Chaturmukhabasti is built, the colossal statue, and the long narrow street that runs between them, containing a few Jaina houses and the maṭha. It probably received its name from Pāṇḍyanaśa or Vira-Pāṇḍya, who set up the famous colossus.\(^5\) In ll. 19 ff. we are told that Bhairava II. set up the images of the three Tirthakaras Arā, Malli, and Munissvṛata\(^6\) on each of the four faces of the temple and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthakaras and those of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati.

Ll. 22 to 42 record the grant of the village of Tejāra, which yielded a revenue of 700 māđe of rice. Besides this, 233 pagodas (gāpyāga or varaha, l. 20) from the siddhāya (i.e. the established revenue) of the villages Bājāla and Namūru were also granted. The income was to be utilised for the requirements of worship in the four symmetrical central shrines of the temple\(^7\) and in the subordinate shrines, by fourteen families of Stānākas\(^8\) appointed for that purpose. Provision was also made for temple servants and musicians. The four groups (īgāga) of Jaina mendicants who had quarters in the temple were supplied annually with 8 blankets, to protect themselves from cold, and with 1 blanket to receive the daily doles of rice which they collected from door to door. They were also given the necessary requirements for oil-baths, viz. oil, soap-nut and fuel. Ll. 43 to 47 record two additional grants, perhaps by the same chief, for the daily offerings (1) to Chandranātha in the basti situated within the quadrangle of the hiriyā-arumane (i.e. the big palace),\(^9\) and (2) to Pāśyavāṁa in the basti on the Gōvardhanagiri hill.\(^10\) The inscription ends with a puzzle (v. 8), which was composed by the author of the inscription in order to celebrate the power of the five syllables Śrīvīrṣeṣa (i.e. Jina), which the donor Bhairava II. is said to have affixed to the inscription with his own hand in token of his approval of the charities recorded therein. The four erased lines at the end of the inscription may have contained the clue for the right interpretation of the puzzle.

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\(^1\) Perhaps so named in imitation of the Hośabasti at Mūḍabidrā, which according to the inscriptions of that temple was called Tribhuvanaḥcitāmaṇi-Chaityalaya and was built in Saka-Saṇvats 1851, i.e. 187 years prior to the construction of the Chaturmukhabasti.

\(^2\) This attribute given to the temple appears to have suggested the insertion of the puzzle in the savaṇṭābhādara verse at the end of the inscription.

\(^3\) Chaturmukhabasti, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (chaturmukha).

\(^4\) Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

\(^5\) Same as Suvṛata mentioned in v. 3.

\(^6\) A Sight I. p. 154.

\(^7\) These two deities are different from the Brahmanical gods of the same name. Brahma and Padmāvati in Jaina mythology are two demigods (yaksā and yaksāśī) who attend invariably upon the Tirthakaras.

\(^8\) The allotments made for the worship at each gate are very carefully recorded, and from these it appears as if the western gate, which enjoyed the largest share of the gift in money, was the primary one, while the other three symmetrical gates were of secondary importance. This is also proved by the fact that at this particular gate alone the images of the 24 Tirthakaras were consecrated (ll. 20 and 35).

\(^9\) The Jaina priests are now generally known by the name Jadra (Government Epigraphist’s Annual Report for 1900-01, paragraph 9). The name Stādākṣa given to them in the inscription appears to be in imitation of the name given to a section of Brāhmanas in South Canara, whose sole profession is temple service. See Mr. Sturrock’s South Canara Manual, Vol. I. p. 154.

\(^10\) This might be the name of one of the palaces of Bhairava II. himself, which was probably situated either at Pāṇḍyanagari or Hiriyanagadi, both of which are still covered with ruins of buildings.

\(^11\) This is perhaps one of the many small hills that surround Kārkaka. I was informed while there, that one of these bears at its top a Jaina basti even now. It will be too fanciful to connect the name with Gōvardhanagiri in the Shinora district, which is said to have been fortified by Jinasattā (the mythical founder of a Jaina line of kings in the south) (Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 458).
The donor Bhairava II. belonged to the lunar race (v. 5 and l. 11), to the Kāśyapa-gōtra (l. 11) and to the family of Jinadatta or Jinadattārāya (l. 6 and 12) and was the son of Gummastambā (l. 6 and 13) and of Vira-Narasinha-Vangavanerā (l. 13). Gummastambā was the sister of Bhairava I. (v. 5), the son of Honnanaṃbikā (l. 13). Some of the titles of Bhairava II. were: (1) Ariyāya-gaṇārā-đēvasī, (2) 'the lord of Patti-Pombuchcha the best of cities,' and (3) 'he who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Padmaṇvati of Pombuchcha.' The second and third of these, coupled with his descended from Jinadatta, connect Bhairava II. with the Sāntara chiefs of Pombuchcha, who also traced their ancestry to Jinadatta and were worshipers of the goddess Padmaṇvati of Pombuchcha. Mr. Rice in the Introduction to Vols. VI. and VII. of his Epigraphia Carnatica mentions a number of records which he assigns to the early members of the Sāntara family, most of whom, as stated therein, were fondators of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and were ruling the Sāntalige country. Pombuchcha, the capital of the Sāntaras, is spelt in early records as Pombujha or Patti-Pombuchchapura and is identical with the modern Humbha or Humbucha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district; it is mentioned in connection with the Sāntaras even in their earliest records. The alleged descent of the Sāntaras from Jinadattārāya, the mythical founder of the line of Jainas kings in the south, is not warranted by any of these earlier inscriptions. A long account of the Sāntaras which connects them with Jinadatta, first appears in a record of A.D. 1077 at Humbha itself. The Baligūmi record of A.D. 1149 makes no reference whatever to the mythical Sāntaras; the stone inscription from Pumēdhaḷ in A.D. 1237, connects Jinadatta with the Chāḷūkya family. In any case the

1 In No. 993 of Professor Kielhorn's List of Southern Ins., which deals with the date of this record, Chāḷūkya-rāṣṭraka is to be corrected into Viṣṇa-rāṣṭraka, and the title 'supreme lord of Patti-Pombuchcha' there applied to Bhairava I. should, according to the present interpretation of the passage, be transferred to his son Bhairava II.

2 See below, note 5.

3 The Sāntaras of Pombuchcha and the Kadambas of the western coast appear from these records to have been e-listed to each other in some unexplained way. This fact is cleared up in one of the later Sāntara inscriptions at Badāṇdpi, which states that the Sāntara chief Jagaddēva, who was a fondatory of the Western Chāḷūkya Jagadeśamallā II., and the Kadamba chief Jayaśīrin, who was the son of Vīsmināyādēva, were sons of two uterine sisters (Dr. Flet's Dyn. Kan. Dis. p. 483 and note 9). The Āḷupas of the western coast, some of whose early inscriptions are found at Udyāvara near Udipi, may have had some connection with Pombujha, since in two unpublished inscriptions from that village (Nos. 97 and 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900) Pombujha and Udyāvara (i.e. Udyāvara) are mentioned together with reference to certain toins and nākaaras (trading classes?) of the two places; another (No. 108 of the same collection) states that Śvetārāhamsī, who was the lord of Patti (Patti oṣṭhavī), i.e. Āṭṭi-rājya, the province of which Humbha was the capital), fell in battle while entering (i.e. capturing) Udyāvara; and Mr. Rice's Ep. Cem. Vol. VI. Kp. 37 refers to the reign of Chitrapūrāya, evidently an Āṭṭi king, over Pombuchcha.

4 The exact position of this territorial division is not fixed. Dr. Flet places it somewhere west of the Mysore State (Dyn. Kan. Dis. p. 366), and Mr. Rice states that it corresponds with the present Tirthahāḷī tāluka of the Shimoga district (Ep. Cem. Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 17). As however Humbha in the Nagar tāluka was the capital of the Sāntara chiefs who were ruling over the Sāntalige one-thousand country, as the earlier Sāntara records found in the Shikarpur tāluka of the Shimoga district mention certain villages of this tāluka as belonging to the Sāntalige country, and as Sāṭṭuvinabū or Sāṭṭu, the capital of the Sāntara chief Jagaddēva in A.D. 1149, would be located by Mr. Rice somewhere in Canara (Dyn. Kan. Dis. p. 485, note 1), it may be assumed that Sāntalige included the western portion of the Shimoga district, i.e. the Shikarpur, Nagar and Tirthahāḷī tālukas, and probably also a portion of the South Canara district.

5 Ep. Cem. Vol. VIII. Np. 33. This record makes Jinadatta a member of the family of Ugra-vaniśa and the hereditary lord of Ucāra-Madapora. It gives also the story of the goddess Padmaṇvati, who, being pleased with Jinadatta's prowess, built for him the city of Pombuchcha or Kanakapura. One of his descendents, Vikrama-Sāntara, is stated to have fixed the boundaries of the Sāntalige thousand province (J. R. A. S. for April 1905, pp. 265 and 268).

6 No. 32 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

claim which Bhairava II. puts forth to belong to the family of Jinadatta implies 'nothing more than his connection with the Śāntaras and the Jaina creed which he followed.

Vol. VI. of the Epigraphia Carnatica contains also a number of inscriptions of a family called by Mr. Rice Kalasa-Kārkāla. He gives an account of these chiefs in his Introduction to the same volume, pp. 19 to 21. The texts published by him show that they had no connection whatever with the Śāntaras of Humcha, and that of the records prior to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāja II. only a single one may be assigned to the family, viz. Mg. 65 dated in A.D. 1209, where the chief Vira-Balludēva receives the title mahādīka-gaṅgara ṅāyaka, which in the slightly altered form arīyā-gaṅgara-ṉāyaka was assumed by almost all the subsequent members of the family. From the time of Dēvarāja II. downwards the records are more definite and furnish a connected account of the chiefs, a list of whom is given by Mr. Rice on p. 20 of the Introduction. The donor of the subjoined grant figures as the last person in that list. We gather also from these records that the Kalasa-Kārkāla chiefs followed the aśīya-santāna law of inheritance and were Jainas in religion, though most of their inscriptions found at Kalasa and Koppa record grants to Śiva temples. As a rule they seem to have acknowledged the Vijayanagara kings as their overlords. But in Mg. 48, dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1424 (= A.D. 1501-2), which was about the period of the overthrow of the Śājuva usurpers at Vijayanagara and of the acknowledgment of the Tuluva Narasā-Nāyaka as sovereign, the Kalasa chief Vira-Bhairara-Oḍeya seems to have been semi-independent, as no mention is made of any overlord in the inscription. The memorable battle of Tālikot dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara empire, and the Kalasa-Kārkāla chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly, in a Koppa inscription (Kp. 57), dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1510 (= A.D. 1588-89), Bhayirarasa-Oḍeya, son of Vira-Gummaṭādēva, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (sthira-nāmāyaka). The subjoined Chaturmukhakāsti inscription of this chief, which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high-sounding birudas, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II. had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long; for in Śaka 1531 (= A.D. 1609-10), Bhayirarasa-Oḍeya, the son of Vira-Bhairara-Oḍeya, was ruling the Kalasa-Kārkāla-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭa I. (Mg. 63). From the above records we further learn that the country over which these chiefs originally ruled was called the Kalasa-rājya, which included one thousand villages (see e.g. Mg. 88), and the chief town of which was evidently Kalasa above the ghauts. But in Śaka-Saṅvat 1438 (=A.D. 1516-17), Kārkāla seems to have been added to it; for Yimmaḍi-Bhairara-Oḍeya, who in Mg. 39 is stated to have been ruling over Kalasa-rājya in the devīya-Śrāvaṇa of Śaka-Saṅvat 1438, was, according to Mg. 41, ruling over the Kalasa-Kārkāla-rājya in the (nīva)-Śrāvaṇa of the same year, and in Śaka-Saṅvat

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1 I have intentionally used the term 'Kalasa chief;' for, as will be seen in the sequel, the Kalasa-Kārkāla chiefs became rulers of both Kalasa and Karakala only in A.D. 1616-17. Prior to this their dominion was limited to the Kalasa country; and the name Kalasa-Kārkāla applied to their family prior to A.D. 1616-17 is to be understood as being used only for the sake of uniformity.

2 This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishnārya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rājya and was encamped at the bhavanā-dala in Maṅgalūr. On this occasion the Kalasa-Kārkāla chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairara-Oḍeya, being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kalasa that the invading forces might leave the Tulu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kalasa-Kārkāla-rājya. Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishnārya's elder brother 'Bubaluva,' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's Forgotten Empire. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kalasa-Kārkāla chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also no idea of extending their dominions below the ghauts, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but, perhaps, on promise of submission were left un molested.
1446 (= A.D. 1524-25) the same chief was ruling 'the kingdom below and above the ghauts' (Mg. 62). With the extension of the kingdom the capital also seems to have been removed to Kārkala from Kalasa; for in an inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31) Vira-Bhairava-Saṅgha-Voḍeya is said to have been ruling from his throne at Kārkala (Kp. 47). It will be seen in the next paragraph how the Kalasa chiefs managed to add to their dominions the Kārkala country below the ghauts; but for the present it may be enough to conclude from the Köppa and Mūgēre inscriptions published in Mr. Rice's Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. that Bhairava II. of the subjoined inscription was a direct descendant of the Kalasa family, and that his hereditary ancestral dominion was the Kalasa country. His name, his title arivida-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi and the existence of an inscription of his in the Köppa tāluka (Kp. 57) all point to the same conclusion.

Turning now to the inscriptions at Kārkala itself, from which further information may be expected about the ancestors of Bhairava II., we find that the colossus there was set up by Vira-Paṇḍya or Paṇḍyaraṇa, the son of Bhairavendra of the lunar race in Śaka 1353, and that in Śaka 1358 the same chief, who is here said to have been the son of Bhairava of the family of Jina-datta, set up the Brahma pillar in front of that colossus. An unpublished inscription at Hiriyaṅgaṇa near Kārkala, dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), records a grant to the temple of Nemināthavāmin, while the arivida-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi, the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombucohapura, who had obtained excellent gifts from (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi, and who was the uploader of the ocean which was the family of Jina-dattāraṇa—Abhinava-Paṇḍya-dēva, was ruling over Paṭṭi-rājya. A second inscription in the same village, dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1514 (= A.D. 1593-94), records grants to Chandra-nāthavāmin, while arivida-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi Paṇḍya-paṇḍya-voḍeya, the son of Vira-Bhairava-voḍeya, was ruling his country undisturbed (sthira-rājya). This chief is no doubt a son of Bhairava II. and apparently enjoyed the independence which his father also possessed. The earliest of the Kārkala inscriptions, which is dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1256 (= A.D. 1334-35), belongs to the time of Lōkanathāraṇa, who, though only a maṭhanāgalaṇāvarta 'who had acquired the five great sounds,' bears the royal titles samastabhuvanāvarta, pāvītavallabha and maṭhāraṇādhīraṇa. He also calls himself 'the lord of Uttara-Madhurā,' 'the jewel of the great Ugra-vanasa,' 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombucohapura,' 'the worshipper of (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi' and 'the pupil of (the Jain teacher) Chārukirti-Paṇḍitadēva.' These titles make Lōkanathāraṇa decidedly a Sāntara chief. The existence of this record at Hiriyaṅgaṇa makes it certain that the descendants of Jina-datta 'removed the capital first to Sisila or Sisunāli and then to Kārkala, both in S. Kanara' (Mr. Rice's Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 456). It will now be easy to see how the Kalasa chiefs, of whom Bhairava II. was one, came to be connected with the Sāntaras, traced their ancestry to Jina-datta, became more zealous Jains than their ancestors at Kalasa, and eventually stepped into the place of the Sāntaras in the Kārkala country. From the fact that the hereditary title arivida-gaṇḍara-dīvaṇi of the Kalasa chiefs and the prominent Sāntara titles of Lōkanathāraṇa are found combined in the inscription of the chief Abhinava-Paṇḍya-dēva as early as Śaka 1379, I conclude that the Kalasa chiefs must have entered into close relationship of intermarriage with the descendants of the Sāntara Lōkanathāraṇa, about Śaka-Saṅvat 1379 (= A.D. 1455-58), if not a little earlier. Further it may reasonably be assumed that it was by virtue of this relationship with the local Sāntaras that the Kalasa chief Yimmadhi-Bhairava-voḍeya, mentioned in the previous paragraph, extended his rule to the territory below the ghauts in A.D. 1516-17.

As regards the territory ruled over by Bhairava II. and his ancestors, a rough idea of its extent may be formed from the name given to it—Kalasa-Kārkala-rājya. To ascertain its exact

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3 No. 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.
4 See above p. 120 note 5.
boundaries, further places below the ghants and in the neighbourhood of Karakala will have to be examined. But an inscription in the Koppa tāluka (Ep. Corn. Vol. VI. Kp. 47), dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31), states that, while Vira-Bhairārāsa-Voḍeya was ruling on the throne at Karakala, his younger sister Kalaladevi was in charge of (the district) Bagguṇji-simra. Mg. 40, dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1474 (= A.D. 1552-53), records that Pāṇḍya-Voḍeya was on the throne at Keravase while a certain Bhairiṛasaṅkṣāpi was in charge of Karasa. The same fact is mentioned also in Mg. 60, dated four years later. The district Bagguṇji-simra apparently derived its name from the modern village of Bagguṇji in the Bāle-Honnūr tāluka, about 8 miles north-east of Śrīnagari, and Keravase is identical with Keravāse, 8 miles east of Karakala (Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 232). Māḍabidure and Veṇūr, two other important centres of Jaina religion in the South Canara district which are not very far from Karakala, do not appear to have been included in the Karasa-Karakala-rāja. The former of these two villages was in the possession of a family of local chiefs called Chaṇṭa, who were under the direct control of the Vijayanagara vicerey at Mangalore, while the second belonged to another petty Jaina principality, known as Puṇjaḍi- or Puṇjaḍikarāja, and was ruled over by the Ajīlara.1 Besides, the villages Māḍabidure and Veṇūr were included within the religious sphere of the Jaina teacher Chaṇḍakirti, while Karakala and its chiefs were subordinate to Lalitakirti.2 It may, therefore, be provisionally assumed that the territory of the Karasa-Karakala chiefs extended from Bagguṇji above the ghants to Karakala below the ghants, including between them the towns of Keravase and Karasa. This comprises almost the whole of the present Bāle-Honnūr tāluka3 of the Kadur district in the Mysore State and the south-eastern portion of the Udípi tāluka in the South Canara district.

The village of Teḷāra, which was granted to the Chaturmukhastis, is situated about 3 miles north-east of Karakala and is marked on the Madras Survey Map of the South Canara district as Tellā. The two other villages, Raṇičāla and Nallūru, which together contributed a sum of 339 varaka, are situated quite close to each other at a distance of about 4 miles due east of Karakala and are marked on the same map as Nallur and Renjala. Several nameless streams are marked on the map round Tellā, and these may have to be identified with the four boundary streams mentioned in l. 24. Two other proper names which occur in ll. 43 and 47, viz. Ārūr and Kellavase, are identical with 'Ārur' and 'Keravasa' (Keravāse) on the same map, in the Uḍḍipi tāluka.

The requirements for the daily and annual worship in the temple, for which provision is made, call for a few remarks. The complicated calculations are very carefully worked out, and we are enabled to infer that, in measuring rice, 1 māda was = 50 hāna,4 and 1 hāna = 73 kuṭare, and that, in counting money, 1 ga was = 10 m. Twelve hānās5 of oil cost 8 ga, 4 m., and 1 hāna cost 7 m.

1 See the Government Epigraphist’s Annual Report for 1900-01, paragraph 5, and above, Vol. VII. p. 114 and note 1. It may here be noted that in an unpublished inscription at Karakala (No. 69 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1901), dated in the cyclic year Vilambu, a certain Bhairāra-Voḍeya, son of Vira-Bhairāras-Voḍeya of the Karasa-Karakala family, presided over the settlement of a dispute, in which the Chaṇḍa, Ajīlara, Deśigarasura and Śrīkāśśān are (i.e. the chief of Śrīśila) acted as arbitrators (māḍgyāsthā).

2 From the earliest inscription at Karakala referred to above, it appears as if the Jaines at that place were, about 1256, the lay-disciples of Kumudhaṇḍra-Bhaṭṭārakadēva, a pupil of Bhānukṛiti-Maladārakādeva of the Kāppīya and the Mōlānasāgha, while the ruling chief Lōkanāthasura himself was the adherent of Chaṇḍakṛiti-paṇḍojādeva. Perhaps the Lalitakṛiti of Banaśēga replaced the Bhānukṛiti at Karakala subsequent to Āl. 1256.

3 The inscriptions of the Karasa-Karakala chiefs found in the Koppa and Midgure tālkas are chiefly confined to three villages: Karasa, Bagguṇji and Nārve. The first two villages are now included in the newly formed Bāle-Honnūr tālkas, and the third is on its borders, but included in the Koppa tāluka.

4 In the inscriptions at Veṇūr we find a māda = 50 hāna (No. 76 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1901) or sometimes 40 hāna (No. 84 of the same collection).

5 Compare the Sanskrit grain measure dākṣa which is equal to 4 prastha or 16 kuṭara; and also the Tamil dāka which is even now used in measuring oil and ghee in the Southern districts.
According to the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. II. p. 508, 1 māde of corn in South Canara varies between 56, 50, 48, 45, 40 and 35 seers in different localities. The ĥāne, which at Kārkala and in the surrounding country was equal to 8\(\frac{1}{3}\) of a māde, may therefore be taken to be almost equal to our modern seer (i.e. 80 tolas). Kuţute (cootay), according to the same authority (loc. cit.), is used only for measuring liquids and is equal to 12 rupees' weight. The late Dr. Kittel in his Kannada-English Dictionary explains kuţute as 'the palm of the hand hollowed or held as a cup.' This may have been the unit which the South Canara people used for measuring both liquids and grain in the latter half of the sixteenth century; for, 1 kuţute in liquid measure being equal to 12 rupees' weight, and \(7\frac{1}{2}\) kuţute in grain measure being equal to 1 ĥāne (i.e. 80 tolas, as already pointed out), the above supposition will give us 1 ĥāne = \(7\frac{1}{2}\) kuţute = nearly 86 tolas, which is not a serious difference.

The abbreviated form ga used in the money calculations denotes a varaţa, as stated in text line 28; and Mr. Brown in his Telugu-English Dictionary says that in arithmetic it stands for gaṁţa, i.e. a pagoda; and under gaṁţa he says that 'among tradesmen it is a cant word for varaţa.' In the Kanarese inscriptions at Kārkala it is used as an abbreviation of gadyāna\(^1\) and its variants varakagadyāna or gadyānak, which are all synonymous with varaţa, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3\(\frac{1}{2}\).' In Ep. Carn., Vol. VI. Mg. 48, ga is used to denote a honu, which according to Dr. Kittel is 'a gold coin, the half of a varaţa.' The next coin of lower denomination is always written in the inscription after ga, with a final m preceding it, but there is no indication anywhere as to what this m stands for. The expression ga 7 6 5 (Ep. Carn., Vol. VI. Mg. 48) is explained in words as 7 honu and 5 hāna, the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations honu and hāna. This symbol (6) is used even now by village accountants and merchants of the Kanarese and Marāṭha countries in their business books to separate the money columns in calculation, even annas from rupees. Mr. Wallhouse in his transcript of this inscription has throughout taken m for this symbol.\(^3\) But I do not know whether the symbol 6, which is now used to separate different denominations of Indian and English money, and which was used in Śaka 1424 to separate honu from hāna, is also meant by the letter m inserted between the varaţa (ga) and the tenths of ga. I have therefore retained the final m and not transcribed it by the symbol 6. The fraction \(\frac{1}{2}\) is represented in the inscription by the symbol which, in older inscriptions, is used for '9.' The modern method of expressing the fraction one-half is by two vertical strokes (⅚), each of which represents \(\frac{1}{2}\). One-eighth is represented by a horizontal stroke (——). In current hand, however, the two vertical strokes that represent \(\frac{1}{2}\) are often merged into one. Consequently the symbol for \(\frac{1}{2}\) used in the inscription must be a completely reversed variant of the modern form. In ll. 39, 40 and 42 the symbol = is used only as a mark of punctuation, and not as explained above to represent two-eighths, which would in this case be expressed by one vertical stroke, and not by two horizontal ones.

The puzzle contained in the Sarvatōbhādra verse in the Indravajrå metre at the end of the inscription calls for a short remark. Śiṁpālavatya, XIX. v. 27 is a verse of the same kind, but it is written in the Anushṭāḥ metre. Mallinātha's commentary on the verse explains how the letters which form such verses are to be arranged so that, read from any direction in a given order, they may constitute the same verse. I have not found any other Sarvatōbhādra verse in the Indravajrå metre.

\(^1\) The Māgadbhura inscriptions mention three different types of gadyāna, viz. the Harakanāra-gadyāna, the Mangalāra-gadyāna and the Kāthār-sākasa-gadyāna (Nos. 52 and 55 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901).

\(^3\) It is not impossible that the symbol 6 has been derived from the final m; for in old Kanarese inscriptions the formation of this letter is not far different from the symbol in question; compare above, Vol. III. l. 15 on the Plate facing p. 194.
TEXT.
1. Śrī-Vitarāgāya namaḥ || Śrīmat-parama-gaṇṭ[bh]jra-syā[drvā]-dēmōgha-
   lāṅchhanat || jīyāt[t] rāllōkyanāthasya śāsananāṁ
2. Jina-sāsanāṁ || [1*] Ā-chaṇḍr-ārk[k]'jan sthiraṁ bhūyāṁ-āyuḥ-śrī-jaya-saṃpa-
   daṁ(indow [dā] || Bhaivāeṁdra-mahi-kānt[a[h*]] śrī-Jinēṁdra-prasādatat[ai][3*]
3. Avighnam-astu || Bhandram-astu || Tīrtha-aṅghañ u[k]nham-aksahyaṁ cha
   karutāṁ-chhri-Pārvanatōḥ balam kṛttāṁ Nēśi-Jinaḥ Suvira-Jinape-
4. ẖ-ṣa-āyuḥ śriyam Dōrbblaiḥ || kalāyāṇy-Ara-Malli-Suvrata-Jinā[ḥ] Pombucbha-
   Padmāvati cha-cha-chaṇḍr-ārkm-ābhāḥta-dā-stu suchiraṁ śrī-Bhairava-kshāmā-
5. pataḥ || [3*] Śrīmad-Dēśi-gaṅge khyātē Panaśa-avath-śivatam[ḥ] yō-bhūl-
   Laliṭakṛttty-ākhya-san-mun-ānḍr-āpadeśataḥ ||[4*] Śrīmat-Sōma-kul-āṃṣit-āmbudhi-
   vidhuh
6. śrī-Jainadatt-ānvayāḥ śrīmad-Bhaivarāja-tuṅga-bhaginī-śrī-Guṇ[m[a]*]tāṃśū-sutaḥ ||
   śrīmad-bhūgī-Suruṇdram-Chakri-mahīma-śri-Bhaivāeṁdra-prahūḥ śri-
7. ratna-bhādra-dhāma-Jināpaṇ-nīrmāmya saṃai[d] dibhāk || [5*] Śrīmañ-Chhali-
   Śak-ābdakāḥ cha galīte nāg-ābhirm-bād-śūndhabḥis-ṣa-ābdē sad-Vyāyana-
8. Saumya-vārē Ṣhīle ṣ nānën Mṛgāśirhasa-bhē chirataraṁ śri-
9. Svasi śri[4*] Śālivāhana-Saka-varṣa[(i)] 1508ṣeva Vyāya-saṅvatsaradu Chaitra-
   [ṛ]uddha-shashṭhiyū̄ Budhavāra Mṛgāśirā-nakshatrat[av]u [V]rishabhā-
   lagnadalā Kaliyug-ābhīnavā
    āḥ(dh)jvāra maṛc-hokkara-kāva Mār-āṃśa-vairi maṃ[sa]ya-raṇa-mastakas-
    sū[(a)]la ṣad-darṣana[ṣ] ē[th]ā
11. paṇ-ā昌tāraḥ Sōma-varī-sākhēmaṇi Kāśyapa-gōra-pavitrikaraṇa-dakha Pombucbha-
    Padmāvati-labdhva-vara-prasāda śaṃyaktva-ādy-anōka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṃkṛta Jina-gaṁdhi-
    ०dakapu[ya-
12. vitrikṛt-ottāmēngā arūvattāṇa-ṛmaṇḍilakara-gaṇḍa Hom[na]māṃbikā-priyakumarā-
    Bhaivare-Voṭeyart-aśya[em]ā śrīmañ-Jinadattarāya-varṣa-sudhā-
13. mbudhi-pūrmna(rup)ābhaḥādṝ śrīmad-Vira-Narasimha-Vaṇ[ga]naṁeṁdra-śrī-
    Guṇmaṃtmabdā-kula-dipaka-priyasūṇa arīga-gaṇḍaramāravā śrīmad(d) Immadi-
    Bhaivare-
    Kārupaṭaḥ Pāṃḍyanagariyalli śri-Guṇmaṭeśvarana saṁnīḍhanadalli Kailāsa-
    giri-sa-

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1. From two inked estampages prepared in 1901.
2. The ś of suḥ has an incuture at the top, which makes it look like the ś sign attached to lō of tailōkṣya in the same line.
3. The whole of this line is engraved so close to the projecting top section of the slab as to make the letters on the estampage look faint and broken; but every syllable can be made out from the back of the impression.
4. The syllable śd, here and in the sequel, is written in a peculiar way. The ś sign is first affixed to ० and the ś-curl then attached to the former.
5. The ś of āś is represented by ० and by ś.
6. The syllables jīyā and Pārvanatōḥ are reversed and written from right to left.
7. Here and in what follows the enclosure of superfluous vertical strokes in round brackets does not, as elsewhere, represent a correction, but indicates that they have to be omitted.
8. The ś of suḥ is formed in the same way as in śd, note 4 above.
9. The syllables tāṭra are corrected from ṭāṭra, the subscript ṭ, a portion of ० and the subscript k being still visible. A similar birda, held by certain Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district, has arūvattāṇaḥ, perhaps correctly; see below, p. 135, note 8.
15 श्री-कांतातुलवेश्मा किंह वरा-याख्यातुल-कांतातु-प्रसूमा(द)अगामाम बुध-कांतात-रति-सावा सुजया-वधह-क्रोध-सपासम किंह पुनाम । थाङा
16 त्यायुज्याय(जयम)साङ-नया-डवायमयी श्री-भृति-राख्यात-बुध वाभु[द]श्री-मुक्ति-रामावस्मयुवारा-ग्रहाम श्री-जाति-गोहाम वोशाम [7]ो इंट-अप्पा साकला-जान्मा
17 रा सर्वतोहुत्राचातुरमुक्ता रत्ना-राया-तु-श्री-भृत्या-वनस्थलाका-जिना
सन्धियकायानु । रो[दा]दा-डोवा निकाल-माल्ला चाँतांरा-भवा वरा-नार्त
18 सहाकर्तुल-दीक्षालाला नाल्कु-दीक्षालाला अरा-माली-मुनि-ज्ञवत्से-तिर्थाकारा-प्रतिमागावाना अराहापथी । अ पाकामा-दिग्ब्यहासण्डली चातुर्विन्माति
तिर्थाकारा-प्रतिमागावाना
19 जानार वाहर-व्यायताभुजतायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां येदा-बालादली
20 गुहातायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां
21 जानार वाहर-व्यायताभुजतायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां येदा-बालादली
22 नाल्कु-दीक्षालाला वाकमाय कहानन करान नादाम, अब्धियका-पी-पी
23 नाल्कु-दीक्षालाला वाकमाय कहानन करान नादाम, अब्धियका-पी-पी
24 वाहर-व्यायताभुजतायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां येदा-बालादली
25 नाल्कु-दीक्षालाला वाकमाय कहानन करान नादाम, अब्धियका-पी-पी
26 गुहातायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां येदा-बालादली
27 जानार वाहर-व्यायताभुजतायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां येदा-बालादली
28 नाल्कु-दीक्षालाला वाकमाय कहानन करान नादाम, अब्धियका-पी-पी
29 जानार वाहर-व्यायताभुजतायलोजे जिना-भृति-बांलागांजनां येदा-बालादली
30 नाल्कु-दीक्षालाला वाकमाय कहानन करान नादाम, अब्धियका-पी-पी
The impression has clear but faint traces of the syllables 'ca-tur'. The verse contains 44 syllables, while the diagram inserted in the inscription has only 25. I am not sure if 'chatu-rechati' has to be corrected into 'chatu-chakremovedati' or 'packchavedatasya'.

The reading 'ra' is pretty certain but as this curious verse is purely made up of the five syllables contained in the word 'trek-sa-daga' by permutation or combination, I think the author has evidently committed a mistake in inserting the short 'ra' (not found in 'trek-sa-daga') here; 'sa or ga' might take the place of 'ra' if either of them would give a better sense.

I cannot trace on my copy of the inscription the syllables 'sa' or 'sa' or 'ga' or 'ga' given at the end of Mr. Wallopes's transcript (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 40), but find that the continuation of this line and the following lines are completely erased, and that traces of the beginnings and ends of these lines are still visible on the stammpage.
TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed Vitarāga.1

(Verse 1.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 113.]

(V. 2.) May king Bhairavendra live permanently as long as the moon and the sun (exist), (blessed) with abundance of age, prosperity and victory, by the grace of the blessed Jinendras!

(L. 3.) May there be no obstacles! May there be happiness!

(V. 3.) May all Tirthas (i.e. Tirthakaras) grant for a very long time endless happiness to the glorious king Bhairava: (viz.) the blessed Pārśvanātha,2 strength; the Jina Nēmi, fame; the Jina Parśu, long life; Dōrbali, prosperity; and the Jinas Ara, Malli and Suvrata, fortune! And may the goddess Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha grant (his) desires as long as the moon and the sun (last)!

(V. 4.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 110.]

(V. 5.) The moon in the ocean of nectar of the glorious face of the Moon, the glorious chief Bhairavendra, (who belonged to) the prosperous family of Jinadatta, (who was) the son of the glorious Gummastambā, the renowned sister of the illustrious Bhairavarājā, (and) whose greatness (was equal to that of) the blessed and happy lord of gods (i.e. Indra) and Chakrin (Vishṇu), having set up the Jinapas in the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels, fulfilled (his) object (in life).

(V. 6.) May those Jinapata of the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels, set up by the glorious Bhairavendra while the prosperous year of the Īśa-Śaka (counted) by the elephants (8), the sky (0), the arrows (5) and the moon (1) — (i.e. 1508) — had dropped (i.e. passed away), and in the excellent year named Vyaya, on the sixth tithi of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, in the Vrisa-lagna, (while) the nakshatra (was) the auspicious Mrigāśirsha,— shine for a long time!

(L. 8.) Obeisance to Jina.

(L. 9 f.) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śālikānaha-Śaka year 1508 which corresponded to the Vyaya-sāvatsara, on the sixth tithi of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, (the day of) the nakshatra Mrigāśirṣa, the lagna (being) Vriśabhā, — the full-moon in the nectar-ocean of the prosperous family of Jinadattarāya, the dear son who illuminates (both) the families of the famous Gummastambā and of the glorious Vīra-Nāraitī-Vaṅganarāṇḍa,3 the tying-rope of cattle (viz.) heroic hostile kings (arīḍyā-vañāras-vañāṇi), the glorious Immani-Bhairarasa-Voṣeya, (who is) known as the nephew of Bhairarasa-Voṣeya the dear son of Honnamsambika, (who is) the fresh Bharatēśvara-chakravartin3 of the Kali age, the chaste of the twelve (chiefs) of Guttī,4 the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities, the protector

1 Vitarāga is synonymous with Jīnendras which occurs in v. 2; see also above, Vol. VI. p. 165, note 4.
2 Pārśvanātha, Nēmi (Ariṣṭaṇēmi) and Suvrata (Mahāvira) are the 23rd, 22nd and 24th Tirthakaras. Dōrbali (Bāhulalī, Bhujabhali) is the same as Gummata; see above, Vol. VII. p. 108. Ara, Malli and Suvara (Munisvarta) are the 18th, 19th and 20th Tirthakaras; see e.g. Bhadrabahu’s Kalpasūtra, translated by Prof. Jacobi, p. 260.—E. H.]
3 The three jewels (rata-srāga) of the Jinas are: samyog-darśana, samyog-jīva and samyog-chakrītra; see above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3. The ‘abode of the three renowned jewels’ is the Chaturmukhābasti itself, which in l. 17 of the text is described as being the ‘embodiment of the three jewels’; the Jinapata here consecrated are Ara, Malli and Munisvarta mentioned in l. 20.
4 I have taken this to be the name of Bhairava’s father; but it may as well be a kiruda of Bhairava himself.
5 This is the mythical emperor who, according to Jaina mythology, was the brother of the saint Bāhulalī, Bhujabhali or Gummata; see Mr. Rice’s Śravāṇa-Belogo Inscriptions, Introduction, p. 25.
6 It is impossible that either Bhairava II. or his ancestors could have had anything to do with the well known Guttī in the Anantapur district. The reference is perhaps to the ‘Guttī thirty-four karṇipāṇa,’ ‘the Gōre-Guttī kingdom’ or ‘the Gōre-Chandragutti kingdom’ mentioned by Mr. Rice on p. 30 f. of the Introduction to Ep. Cara.-Vol. VII. Chandragutti is a hill fortress in the Sorab tāluka of the Shimoga district.
of those who seek refuge (with him), the deadly enemy of Māra (Cupid?), a spear on the heads of respectable kings, the teacher (dehṛya) who has established the six dārakas,¹ the head-jewel of the race of the Moon, the powerful purifier of the Kāśyapa gōtra, (he) who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Pādmavatī of Pombuchola, who is adorned by numberless and various (good) qualities, samyakta,² etc., whose head is purified by the sweet-scented water (which has been used for washing the image) of Jīna,³ (and who is) the lord of sixty-six māndalikas,— in order to obtain for himself prosperity, final emancipation, riches, and happiness,— at Pāṇḍyanagari (a suburb) of Kārakāla, in the presence of the blessed Gumaṇatēvāra, and on the Chikkabettā (hill) resembling the Kailāsa mountain—

(V. 7.) Is this the noble abode of the lady Śūri (Lakshmi)? (Is this) the excellent pleasure-house of the lady Fame? (Is this) the house of amorous enjoyment of the lady Earth? (Or) again, is this the sporting-place of the virtuous woman Victory? (This) prosperous Jīna abode (is indeed) the stage consisting of the two excellent doctrines resplendent with the word ajāt, (whereupon) the glorious (goddess) Bhūrāti (Sarasvatī) (dances), (and is) the house where (the ladies) Heaven bless, Salvation and Prosperity choose their husbands . . . . ⁷

(L. 14 f.) (This Bhairaras) Boddada-gōva,⁸ Nikāsañka-malla,⁹ the soul of warriors, the brother of the wives of others (and) the chastiser of kings who do not act up to the words which they utter,— because he was the foremost in setting up golden pinnacles (on temples), became (as it were) the ruler of the empire of charity, (and) actuated by merit (which was) the outcome of his good deeds (in previous births), caused to be made for (the use of) himself and the (members of the) four saṅghas who possessed all noble qualities and were (habitual) visitors of that abode of Jīna, the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaitāyālaya (temple), which is thus a mansion giving pleasure to all people (who look at it), (which is) auspicious on every side (sarvatāthādāra), has four faces (chaturmukha)¹¹ (and is) the embodiment of the three jewels.¹²

¹ I cannot understand how a Jīna chief like Bhaivara II. could claim to have established the six systems of philosophy, all foreign to his own. Perhaps he tolerated the study of these systems in his petty dominions.
² Samyakta may refer to the possession of the three qualities (ratna-traya) referred to on p. 194, note 3, each of which begins with the word samyak.
³ The same epithet is applied to the Durandya Baladēva in Nos. 52 and 53 of Mr. Rice's Śravaspatī-Belgośa Inscriptions.
⁴ The predicate of this sentence is the past participle nirmukkipati which occurs in l. 19.
⁵ The Chaturmukhabastī, though at a considerable distance from the colossal of Gummaṭāvānas, is here represented as being in its presence; for the latter was perhaps considered to be the presiding deity of Kārakal and its suburbs. Besides, as the Chikkabettā hill is just opposite to the hill on which the colossal stands, it is literally true that the temple “stands in the gaze of the colossal.”’ Inst. Ant. Vol. V. p. 36.
⁶ Agaro seems to be used here, as in Kamare, for the Sanskrit dyatra, which would not suit the metre. A derivative from a + grī is dyāra which means ‘hallowing.’ This does not suit the sense of the verse.
⁷ I do not understand the meaning and the construction of the word vṛīkṣāt the end of the verse. Some word like nāmas or dārwanas, which characterizes an uṭyakadānākāra, is required. Or can it only be a mistake for vrīkṣāh = excellent? — (Perhaps the word Vṛīkṣā is repeated by mistake from verse 6.—E. H.)
⁸ Mr. Rice (Ep. Corps. Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 39) translates this epithet by ‘guardian of Rōda’ or ‘Gōva of Rōda’ (ibid. Vol. XII. Translation, p. 91). Elsewhere (ibid. Vol. III. Introduction, p. 16) he mentions Rōda among the conquests of the Hoysaḷa king Vīshnuvardhana and identifies it with ‘Rōda on the northern Pennak in the Anantapura district, west of Pennakonda.’ If this is the correct explanation of the epithet Boddada-gōva, Bhaivara II. whose territory was far away from Penugonda, could only have borrowed the title from some other family. A local title of the Cōḷā chiefs “in the country round Hēmāvati and Nīnagā” (in the Anantapura district) is described on p. 7 of the Introduction to Ep. Corps. Vol. XII. These chiefs flourished about the 12th century A.D. and invariably bore the titles Rōddadā-gōva, nīgusākāmalla, arvattandīkā-māndālīthara-dalagānda-gōda, bārīra-bōda and māna-yāmākāda, which are almost the same as those assumed by Bhaivara II. Besides, the Cōḷā chiefs of the Anantapura district belonged to the same Kāśyapa gōtra as Bhaivara.
⁹ I.e. Nikāsañka-malla, ‘the sportless wrestler.’
¹⁰ I.e. as described in v. 7.
¹¹ The temple has four doors, each of which opens on three identical stone images of the Tirthakāra Aru, Muli and Muniśvarāla.
¹² See above, p. 194, note 3.
just as if it verily were a hall wherein the glorious (goddess of) Heavenly emancipation was to choose her husband.

(L. 19 f.) And in order to acquire endless happiness, (he) set up on the four sides of that (temple) the images of the Tirthakaras Arah, Malli and Munisuvrata; on the western side of that (temple) (he set up) the images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras; and in the niches (gudiṣṭa?) (at each entrance) of the outer enclosure of that (temple) (he) set up images of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmavati to the left and right (respectively); (and) consecrated (them all) according to rule.

(L. 22 f.) (And) for the bathing, worship, etc. (of the images) performed by fourteen families of Śāṅkikās (living) in the four directions of that (temple), and for the aṅga-raṅga-raibhaṇa, etc. which follow after (worship), that Bhairava-Voḍeṣa, while ruling (his) kingdom with true delight, on the auspicious occasion of the consecration in that Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityāsya (temple), conferred on (that) god† for his own merit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun (exist), with libations of water, 238 ga² from the established revenue of Raṣjāla and Nallurū, also the village of Teḷāra subject to the eight enjoyments known as deposits, hidden treasures, permanent profit, future profit, water, stone, established income and feasible income, (and) having for (its) boundaries four streams, viz. Mūkkaḍaṇapināhoje to the east, Yoṃṇya-hoje to the south, Polḷakaljaṇḍa-hoje to the west (and) Balimoyahoe to the north, and 700 māde of rice in that (village). The (following are the) details of the land (thus) granted.¶

(L. 26 f.) From the 700 māde of rice calculated at 50 ḍaṇe (for each māde), accruing from the tribute on contracts due from the Haravar³ and such others that live within the four boundaries of that village, paddy (in payment of) interest, rice (in lieu of) gram, rice commuted from millet, and rice (in lieu of) the interest (payable) in money; and from the ga 238 saraka of established income granted (subject to) the personal observation of the tenants of Nallurū (and) Raṣjāla together, the (following) charities are (to be) managed.

(L. 28 f.) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the western gate, (the following allotment has been made): 7 9 ḍaṇe (for) the rice offering; 3 ḍaṇe (for) the superior rice offering; 1 1 ḍaṇe (for) consecrated rice; 2 ḍaṇe (and) 2 kudute of rice for ṭōḷa, pāyana, ghee, kalasumālāgara, tāṭītua and others (together with) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 ḍaṇe (and) 2 kudute of rice (altogether for one day), the rice (required) for

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1 In all kinds of enjoyments; see South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. p. 70, note 5.
2 This word is here used in the collective sense for the three gods Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.
3 This is an abbreviation of gudagana.
4 The details hereafter specified are not those of the 'land granted,' but of the 700 māde of rice which was the revenue in grain realised from Teḷāra, and of ga 238 which was the income in coin from Raṣjāla and Nallurū.
5 On this ethnic name, which is perhaps the same as Parava, see Mr. Sturrock's South Canara Manus., Vol. I. p. 179.
6 According to Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, tārkaka means 'personal observation.' The sense appears to be that the tenants of the two villages were held directly responsible for the regular payment of ga 238 assigned to the temple by the king from the revenue of those villages.
7 The grain allotments of this paragraph are to be taken as made at daily rates. This specification, which is omitted here, is inserted in its proper place in the next paragraph.
8 Chara means 'an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes;' see Mouier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.
9 A dish prepared of boiled split pulse.
10 A dish (or oblation) of milk, rice and sugar, etc.
11 A mixture of boiled vegetables to which pepper, salt, etc. are added.
12 This is perhaps the Jaina spelling of tāḍāda or tāḍida, which means 'boiled and seasoned vegetables.'
1 year (is) 110 māde. For bathing (the images) with pañchāmanīta in the mornings, ga 7 m 2; for the five pleasant articles of food (pañchakhañjāya), ga 7½; for the worship of the Siddhachakra, ga 12; for fruits (and other similar) articles, ga 1 m 2; for the evening ḫaladhvā, ga ½ m 4; for sandal (and) incense, ga ½ m 3; for 12 hāda of oil, ga 8 m 4; for 3 ashtānīkās, ga 3; for 1 annual bathing, ga 6; total (for one year) ga 47.

(L. 33 f.) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the northern gate, (the following allotment has been made): for 1 day 9 hāne of rice for the rice offering; 3 hāne of rice for the superior rice offering; 1 hāne of rice for consecrated rice; 2 hāne (and) 2 kuñjute of rice for tāye, pāyasa, ghee, kalāmālōgāra, tāfi and others (together with) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 hāne (and) 2 kuñjute per 1 day, the rice (required) for 1 year (is) 110 māde. For the morning and the evening ḫaladhvā, ga 1½ m 3; for the five pleasant articles of food (pañchakhañjāya), ga 7½; for fruits (and other similar) things, ga 1 m 2; for sandal (and) incense, m 8; for 12 hāda of oil, ga 8 m 4; for 3 ashtānīkās, ga 3; (and) for the annual bathing, ga 6; total (for one year) ga 28 m 7.

(L. 35 f.) At this rate, 110 māde of rice (and) ga 28 m 7 for the 2 families at the eastern gate; (and) 110 māde of rice (and) ga 28 m 7 for the 2 families at the southern gate. Thus (altogether), for the 8 families at the 4 gates for 1 year, 440 māde of rice (and) ga 133 m 1.

(L. 37 f.) For 1 family (worshipping) at the 2 niches to the left and right of the western gate (the allotment is as follows): at the rate of 5 hāne of rice (per day) for the rice offering, 36 māde (for one year); 4 māde of rice for consecrated rice; the two together (amount to) 40 māde. For 4 ḫaladhvās, ga 3½ m 1; for fruits (and other similar) articles, ga 1 m 2; for sandal (and) incense, m 3; for 5 hāda of oil, ga 3½; for 3 ashtānīkās, m 5½; (and) for the annual bathing, ga 1; in all, ga 10 m 1½ (for one year).

(L. 38 f.) At this rate, for the 5 families in all,—(viz. those who worship) at the niches in the northern, eastern and southern (gates), (those who worship the images of) the Tirthakaras of that western (gate), and (those who worship the images of) Brahma and Pādmāvati,—(the allotment comes to) 200 māde of rice (and) ga 50 m 7½. (Thus) for the 6 families altogether (the total is) 240 māde of rice (and) ga 60 m 9. 4 māde of rice (have been also allotted) for the five rice offerings to Brahma and Pādmāvati. Altogether, for the 14 families, 684 māde of rice (and) ga 194.

(L. 40 f.) For 6 persons who have (to beat) the drum (and to blow) the pipe (and) the horn, ga 36 (have been allotted for one year); (and) for the 2 mālitī-women of the adīpu, 16

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1 The five nectarous substances: 'milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar.'
2 Here and in the subsequent money calculations of this paragraph, the allotments appear to have been made for the whole year, though the daily rate is not specified.
3 This word is more commonly spelt with the una-gramed k, it means 'the five pleasant articles of food (mixed together),' viz. açaaka (flattened rice), gingelly seeds, kuḍle (Bengal gram fried and split), dried kernel of coconut, and jaggery.
4 Siddhakara, hāladhvā and ashtānīka are apparently technical terms of Jain worship, which are unknown to me. Ashtānīkā may perhaps correspond to ashtavādha-jāhara, which occurs frequently in Mr. Rice's Śravanga-Belgoa Inscriptions, e.g. in Nos. 80, 81, 86, 87.
5 It is strange that two hāladhvās both in the mornings and evenings are provided for at the northern, southern and eastern gates, while at the western gate, which was the most important one and received the largest allotment of money, provision was made for only one hāladhvā.
6 This number includes the 8 families at the four main gates and the 6 families mentioned in this paragraph.
7 The total 684 is arrived at by adding together 440 māde allotted for the 4 gates; 240 māde allotted for the niches, Tirthakaras, and Brahma and Pādmāvati; and 4 māde specially allotted for the five rice offerings to the two last-mentioned images.
8 I do not understand the meaning of adīpu sa mālitīgara. This may perhaps refer to certain maid-servants of the temple, such as cooks, etc.


for the 4 groups of ascetics who dwell in the basti, 8 blankets to ward off cold and 1 blanket for receiving (and) spreading (i.e. drying?) hand-rice—altogether, for 9 blankets, ga 5 m 2; for 2 ḫaḍa of oil for the head and arms (of the ascetics), ga 2; and for fuel (and) soap-nut (for the same), m 8; altogether, ga 8. In all (the allotments come to) 700 māḍe of rice (and) ga 238.

(L. 43 f.) For the rice offering of Chandranāthasvāmin of the basti within the four squares (i.e. the quadrangle) of the big palace— in the Allānabajasāla (field?) at Ārūru, 20 māḍe of rice from Jinnappa, the lessee (of) of Bilīyarasa, (and) 10 māḍe of rice from Māṇḍarpādī, the lessee of Bāgilarasa; both (together), 30 māḍe. From the land held (bāṭu) by Bikkirupāṇḍiya (i.e. Vikramapāṇḍya) of Nallūru, ga 71; from the land held by Jattikōti, ga 3, (and) from the land held by Kambuva at Pāmījlā, ga 71; altogether, ga 18.

(L. 45 f.) For the rice offering of Pārvanāthasvāmin of the basti (on) the Gōvardhanagiri (hill)—from the Kambula (field?) at Mālīlla, 30 māḍe of rice, from the enclosing hills beyond, 4 māḍe, from Nambibēṭṭi-Nāraṇa of Nallūru, 6 māḍe of rice; altogether, 40 māḍe. From the produce of the backyard of Seṭī-beṭṭa at Kēlavasē, ga 8 m 24.

(L. 47 f.) Inasmuch as that Bhairarasa-Vōḍesya, possessed as he was of that excellent right perception which keeps aloof from the twenty-five impurities, himself with his own hand affixed in (token of) approval (of the grant) the five syllables (paṇḍakākāra), viz. Śrīvitārđa—of Him whose soul is purified by (the recitation of) the Jīna-mantra—which may be compared to a seed (that can produce) the five great virtues and can awaken the soul, (passing through) varied transmigration and heavily stupefied by the bite of the black viper, (viz.) the five-fold saṃśāra, this wonderful (chitrā) verse (was) composed in the style of the Sarvatobhadra puzzle (chitrānubandha), consisting of five letters combined as twenty-four (different) syllables, in the Indravājā metre.

[Verse 8 contains the puzzle alluded to above and is not quite clear to me.]

No. 11.—NAGPUR MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTA I. JANAMEJAYA.

By Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

Mr. Venkayya sent me one set of ink-impressions of this unpublished inscription, with the following remarks:—

"The Curator of the Nagpur Museum says, the localities from which the plates containing this inscription came is unknown. There are three copper-plates, of which only the second bears writing on both sides. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom.

1 This probably refers to the rice collected by the Jaina mendicants in begging from door to door. It is customary even now in India to give a ‘handful of rice’ to beggars that call at the door. This seems to be the reason why such rice is called kūś-akki.

2 Anuṇḍapadī in the sense of ‘rice offering’ is not given in Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary. It corresponds to the anuṇḍapadī of Tamil inscriptions.

3 Gatuṭṭa appears to be used here in the sense of gatīpāda, ‘a lessee.’ Or, the meaning might be that Bilīyarasa’s lessee, (viz.) 20 māḍe of rice, was to be collected from (his tenant) Jinnappa.

4 Compare Dr. Fleet’s remarks on saḷasārida on p. 51 above.

5 Setī-beṭṭa, or more correctly setī-beṭṭu, means ‘the betṭu of the merchant.’ According to Mr. Sturrock’s South Canara Manual, Vol. I. p. 85, betṭu means: ‘a walled enclosure with a colossal statue.’ The word here cannot be meant for the fiscal term beṭṭu—a land capable of producing one crop of rice annually—(ibid. p. 122); for, in this case the backyard (sēṭīṇa) mentioned in connection with it would not be intelligible.
At the broadest part they measure nearly 9 inches. Their height varies from $5\frac{1}{2}$" to $5\frac{1}{4}$". They are held together by a ring, which has been cut by me with the permission of the Curator. The ring, which is not quite circular, measures about 3" in diameter. Its ends are secured in the base of a circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter. The seal bears, in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, an image of Lakshmi, seated apparently on a lotus and flanked by two lampstands, of which the one on the left is not quite distinct. The lotus extends on both sides to the height of the shoulders of the goddess and is surmounted on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk. This is the usual representation of the goddess Gajalakshmi. The base of the seal is slightly damaged, and a nail seems to have been driven in to fix the seal to the ring."

The inscription records a grant of land, made by king Mahābhavagupta (I.) surnamed Janamējaya in the eighth year of his reign. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of the same prince which have been published by Dr. Fleet. Initial o and as occur in Īṣa (916), ojā (l. 44) and Autatha (l. 15), and the rare letter jh occurs in ojā (l. 44). The letter f of pañca (l. 5) differs in shape from that of kutumbe (l. 10), etc. The group tta is throughout written as ta, except in ēspīta (l. 25), where it is wrongly employed. A final form of t is used in sistema (l. 41), and the virūma in dadyā (l. 27), virāma (l. 9), ēta and padhī jednakādā (l. 35); elsewhere the virūma is omitted. The decimal figures 1, 2 and 8 occur in l. 41.

The language is Sanskrit. There is one verse in ll. 3-6, and 11 of the customary verses occur in ll. 23-38; the remainder of the record is in prose. The visarga is omitted in several cases. The rules of Sandhi are neglected in arūma (l. 4), ēchānā and ēgrasa (l. 15), ēdhyāvī (l. 16), dadyā (l. 27) and ashtam (l. 40). The orthography is defective in many respects. The vowel i is mixed up with ē, and u with a. In nūpura (l. 1) for nūpura and dīyāka (l. 41 f.) for dūtaka, ē is used instead of ā. The vowel ri and the syllable ri are mixed up in samāhṛtri (for ēhāri) and sannādhātri (l. 11), tridāsa (l. 4) and Trikātiya (ll. 8 and 39). In kriyā (l. 5) and samvāchāhār (l. 40), te is represented by ch. The dental n takes the place of the lingual ñ in punya (ll. 19 and 30), hiran (l. 20), gribhāti (l. 29 f.), and Samghāmāna (l. 44). Of sibilants, s is used for ś in niśiddha (l. 14), and t for ṣ in kāta, puraskara, kama (l. 15) and vaśīta (for vaśī, l. 26). A y is inserted in sākhā (l. 16) for sākhā, and dīyāka (l. 41 f.) for dūtaka. The consonant b is always represented by v, which must have been pronounced as b just as in Bengali. This may be concluded from the spellings sāma (l. 14) for sāma, tāmara (l. 19) for tāma, ēdīto (l. 32), samvāchāhār (l. 40) and sūma (l. 41). Other irregularities are vaukhā (l. 38) for buddhā, triyādāhāyā (l. 15) for triyaśāyā, Kauśālas and utkīrata (l. 44) for Kauśālas and utkīrta.

The inscription opens with the words: "Ôh. Hail! From the prosperous Muraśman, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens, (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters." Another grant of Mahābhavagupta I. is dated from the same Muraśman, which is there spelt with a long ā in the first syllable,—by mistake, as Mura is a well known word, and as ā is used erroneously for u in many other instances. The next word of the same grant, samadāsita, may be meant for samudādāsita. As, however, it would be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to correct samudādāsita and to take the following word kaṭaka to mean 'a camp,' and not the city of Cuttack. Thus the inscription of the sixth year is dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Muraśman." With the
same alteration, the three inscriptions of the 31st year are dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at the prosperous Árama."

Lines 3-6 contain a verse which celebrates the king under his surname Janamójaja—contracted into ‘Janaméjaya’ for the sake of the metre—and states that he claimed descent from the race of the Moon (Sómaváhaka). The same verse occurs in the grant of the sixth year, where it is placed at the end of the whole document (II. 43-45).

Then follows the preamble of the grant itself (1. 6 ff.) :

"This Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahárájádhirāja Paraméśvara, the ornament of the race of the Moon (Sómaváhaka-tilaka), the lord of Trikálínga, the glorious Mahábhavaguptarājádeva,—who meditates at the feet of the P. M. P., the glorious Mahášivaguptarājádeva,—being in good health, having worshipped the Bráhmaṇas in the village of Satallámā attached to the Kaśalóḍā district (vishaya), commands the ryots residing in that (village), the inhabitants of that district at the time, (and) all servants of the king, (viz.) collectors, attendants, irregular and regular soldiers, spies, staff-bearers, eunuchs, favourites of the king, etc."

The king then states that he granted this village (viz. Satallám, I. 9) by a copper-plate edict (témra-śasanam, I. 19) "to the Bhaṭṭaputra Sántahaka, son of Dhritikara (I. 17 f.), who belonged to the Gautama gótà, who had the three pravara of Gautama, Áṅgiras, and Arunathya, who studied the Vájasaneyi-Mádhyanandini tākha, who had immigrated from the village of Purushamanḍapa in the Oḍra country (dédà), (and) who resided in the village of Murujungi." Of the proper names mentioned in this passage I can identify none besides Oḍra, which is the Sanskrit form of Oḍi, i.e. Oriasa.3

11 verses from the Dharmaśāstra are quoted in II. 23-33. Then follows the date of the grant:—"In the victorious reign of the P. M. P., the ornament of the race of the Moon, the lord of Trikálínga, the glorious Janaméjayadéra,—in the eighth year, in the second half of the month of Karthika, on the twelfth tithi,—and in figures: Sáha 8, Karthikà śudi 12. The Dáta was the Mahábhaktamar Bhaṭṭa Śādharaṇa, son of Śobhana (I. 41 f.). This person must be the same as the donor of three other grants of Mahábhavagupta I., where he is called the Bhaṭṭa Maháatanma Śādharaṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa Śobhana,4 and he seems to have been the prime-minister of the king.5

According to II. 42-44, "this edict was written by the Káyastha Állava, son of Káliśa, who was attached to the Maháshádhinigrahi Ráṣāka Malládatta, son of Dháradatta." The same minister is referred to in the remaining published inscriptions of Mahábhavagupta I. In the three grants of the 31st year he is called Malládatta,6 while the grant of the sixth year has Malládárādattasuta,7 which, as the new grant suggests, is meant for Mallá[datta], son of Dháradatta.

The inscription ends with the statement that it was engraved by Saṅgráma, son of Rayán-ejjhā.8

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2 The other grants of Mahábhavagupta I. omit the word mad before Śivagupta’s name.
3 Odi-déda is mentioned also in an inscription of Maháśivagupta II. : above, Vol. III. p. 353, text line 33.
4 Ibid. p. 348, text line 12 f.
5 Ibid. pp. 345 and 350.
6 Ibid. p. 350.
7 Ibid. p. 344, text line 42.
तर्कत्व में भाषा के नाम के उल्लेख न करने पर भी तर्कनिर्माण की अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रतिशत पर अनुशासन संबंध में प्रति
TEXT.

First Plate.

1. चौत्तीः सचर्कर्षकर्दिककानाधिते नोदृविभृद्गान्तमस्तपारात्.  
   Read "मुंग हारा".

2. कुलात् महाकुलानगरराजाञिन्द्रविश्वासनिर्दितानितीसंग्रहे: सीतासी सुरदिनः.  
   Read "सुरदिनः".

3. श्रीस्वामी श्रीस्वामीशास्त्रश्रीवासाचार्यराजामुखी:  
   श्रीरामभाषा-  
   Read "भाषा".

4. "श्रीचन्द्रशास्त्रश्रीवासाचार्यराजामुखी:  
   श्रीरामभाषा-  
   श्रीवासाचार्यराजामुखी:  
   Read "श्रीवासाचार्यराजामुखी:"

5. पालनम् कुलात्  
   भीकामः  
   प्रख्यातिसंशोधनम्ये  
   पुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलुपुलु撑
20 भूमिमर्म सानापित्तारङ्गऽनव "पुनःश्रीभिवेढळः "तांब्राणामेवन्त्रञायः"
21 प्रतिप्राधित इवयम्य "सुव्रतिमोगमारपरिवर्त्तिताद्विकरूपम् ॥
22 मिष्टिकर १° सुखेन प्रतिविक्षेपिति [१°] भ्रमिभिष्म भूमिमर्मदृशिनियमस्मानोऽदियानि
23 श्रावणोऽक्षे [२°] "वहुश्चिनवेद्धि द्वस्तः राजसमक्षगरामदिलित्वे ॥

Second Plate; Second Side.

24 शत्सः तथा तदा पतः [२°] सा शुद्धमण्डलः व: पररागिति
25 यात्तात्त्वलबलः परदानासुतालः [२°] वशि वर्षसप्तशार्णः शरीरः
26 शमेद्वति भुमिमर्म [१°] भाषिसा चानुमस्ताच तान्वेव नरः श्रीः
27 यस्तं श्रवणः [२°] भृगुवाचे [१°] शुभेच्छायानि गावः: [१°] य: काश्यन गातः च सर्वीः
28 द्वाराख्यामिन भविति लाता: [२°] भास्कीयमिति [१°] पितरः प्रवः (य)मिति पितामः
29 शा: [२°] भूमिमर्म [१°] कुशे तातः स सखायते भविष्यति [२°] श्वमिति
30 य: प्रतिप्राधितः [२°]
31 ति यश श्वमिति [२°] श्वमिति [२°] सवी तौ "पुनःश्रीभिवेढळः नियंति श्वमिति
33 चतुः पितुमिति सत [२°] याणपो वशो तवः शिवुवधा [२°] सोभी हुतादनः
34 शिवसु [२°] भगवानिमन्नयिति भूमिमर्म [२°] सामान्योष धृम्मेशितुः पाठः कालः

1 Read पुष्पः.
2 Read तातः.
3 Read श्वमिति.
4 Read "पुष्पः "सुब्रमः "तातः"
5 Read "शरदानस"
6 Read "यो २५हिरेसुव्वरां [२°] स विहायः किंहरिः लुकः पु.
7 Read "सोभी हुतादनः"
8 Read "शिवसु"
Third Plate.

35 श्रीमवर्मनियोः सम्प्रति: [ः] सर्वनितानुः भाविन् पारिप्रभुद्रान्
36 भूवेच भूवेच यापते रामचन्द्रः [ः] श्रीति कस्मयकालम्बुविन्यसः २
37 [श] ३ उपयुक्तिविलयः मतुयजोविनिर्दं [ः] सकलमितसुदारानः [ः] ६
38 उद्योऽन न दिष्ये दम्पतिः प्रकोपे भविर्भुया: [ः] परमबतरकम्भः ७
39 राजाविराज्जरसेवासेवकस्मिनः [श] साध्वृक्वसंग्रामिति ८
40 वीजनमेवधिश्वसंज्ञायथैः सम्मचारः चतये कार्तिकम्
41 सहितीययथा १० तिथिः हाद्यां यवारितोप रक्तः ११ द कार्तिक महादि १२
[ः] दिवः १३
42 तक्षः १३ देशायामर्मम्येवधारणः [ः] शोभनसुतः [ः] लिखितसिद्ध शासन
43 मद्यास्यिनिविभाषणकारकसंग्रामादित्यस्तत्त्वात्तिथिवेदीः कालः काश्चा
44 यदेन कै(व)लासयुगे: १५ उद्धितरः १६ संपादिनः १७ (॥) रणायोगाचुरुः १९

No. 12.—BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF CHARUDEVI.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

This inscription was first edited 25 years ago by Dr. Fleet in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX. p. 100 ff. On account of its archaic alphabet and of its language, which is not only Sanskrit verse (plate iii. lines 12-15), but chiefly Pārākṣit proses, it has attracted much attention. Bühhler succeeded in deciphering some additional portions of it, and a few corrections were suggested by M. Senart and myself. At my request, Dr. Fleet was good enough to send me a set of ink-impressions of the plates, with the help of which it has been possible to make out with some probability those portions of lines 3 to 7 which Bühhler considered 'utterly unintelligible.' The only item which appears to be irretrievably lost is the figure of the regnal year at the end of the first line.

The original copper-plates, which were secured by Sir Walter Elliot, are now in the British Museum. For their finding-place and for a detailed description of them see the prefatory

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1 Read पापतनीयो.
2 Read दक्षिणविन्दुः.
3 Read पुष्पः.
4 Read स्मरीरः.
5 Read श्यामः.
6 Read वधः.
7 Read कः.
8 See note 15 above.
9 Read सस्द्राकः.
10 Read श्रीतरः.
11 Read लक्ष्मी.
12 Read दिवः.
13 Read दशमी.
14 Read नमः.
16 Above, Vol. VI. p. 80, note 10; Vol. VII. pp. 67 and 69.
The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Hirahadagalli plates of Śiva-Skandavarman, but are less ornamental and more irregular. This seems to be due to the fact that the engraver mechanically copied a draft which had been written in a pronounced running hand. Instances are the े in line 14 and the ो of gandhā (I. 15), the subscribed v of saeva* (I. 11) and the subscribed ch of bakubihi[ṭ][d]* (I. 12), the vowel ो of gāmeśikā (I. 10) and of pibati (I. 15). The group tuv, in most cases resembling mna, has two other shapes: in attare (I. 6) the upper t has a fully developed loop, as in Tamil, and in ehettā (I. 7) and attā (I. 12) the lower t is fashioned in the same manner. The initial ṣ of ṣyū (I. 8) differs from that of ṣukkase (I. 6), ṣyū (I. 10) and ṣyāti (I. 16). In the ो of nivattanā (I. 9) the ə is placed in a slanting position, and the ə fills up the right upper corner. Another peculiar letter is the tha of pariharathā and pariharāpe[ṭha] (I. 11). A rude final form of m occurs at the end of I. 13, 14, 15. Marks of punctuation are used after siddha on the left margin of plate i. and at the end of the inscription. In I. 12-15 every odd pāḍa of the two ḍūkas is divided from the next by a blank space. Plates ii. a and ii. b are marked like the pages of a book by the numerical symbols '2' and '3' on the left margin, and the numerical symbol '4' occurs in I. 9.

While in the Andhra inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of Chārudēvi’s grant is in accordance with that of the literary Prākrit. In the word saṁnapochchhara (I. 1), v is doubled after aumātra. As to the language of the inscription, noteworthy words are Bhuraddīya (I. 2) for Bhuradvāja, talāka, het[ṭ][a], pānyika (I. 5) and chhetta (I. 7). Instances of the nom. plur. neutr. are the three words nivattanā chattārī sampadattā (I. 9 f). The abl. sing. [kū][ṭ]ā (I. 5 f.) is due to a relapse into Sanskrit. Pronominal forms are amhān (I. 8) and amhekān (I. 9), the genitive and instrumental of asmaḥ, and taṁ (I. 10), the acc. sing. neutr. of tāc. Verbal forms are the gerunds kīṭāna (I. 9) and nīṭāna (I. 10) and the imperatives pariharathā pariḥarāpe[ṭha] (I. 11).

The inscription is dated in some year of the reign of the Mahārājā Vijaya-Skandavarman, the figure or figures of the date being illegible. It contains an order by the queen of the heir-apparent (Yucamahārājā) Vijaya-Buddhavarman, who was one of the Pallavas and, as such, a Bhāradvāja or member of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. I read the queen’s name as Chārudēvi, and that of the prince whose mother she claims to have been as [Bu]dhi(ya)kura or, in Sanskrit, Buddhyaṅkura. In favour of my restoration of this damaged word it may be stated that askura, ‘a sprout,’ is synonymous with pallava, and that other Pallavas bore the similar surnames.

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3 These two words were already noted by Bühler, ibid. p. 2, note 2.
4 Compare e.g. nivattanā (I. 9) with bhāgavānmatā (I. 8).
5 In this respect the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 4, and Vol. VI. p. 86) occupy an intermediate position.
6 The same form occurs in the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman.
7 On the four last words see Prof. Pischel’s edition of Hēmachandra’s Prākrit grammar, I. 202; II. 141; I. 101; II. 17.
Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman.


From ink-impressions made by Mr. Henry Oldland.
Nayāṅkura, Taranāṅkura and Lalitāṅkura. Thus the first plate of the inscription supplies the following short Pallava genealogy:

Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

Yuvasahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, married Chārudevi.

Buddhayāṅkura.

The syllables which follow the word Chārudevi at the end of the first plate can be read and restored with the help of the corresponding portions of four cognate inscriptions.

Nāsik, No. 3, l. 11 (p. 65 above), and No. 4, l. 2 (p. 71 above)—ānapayati Govindha amacha[n].

Mayidavolu plates, l. 3 f. (above, Vol. VI. p. 86)—Dhahāṅkuda vāyapatam ānapayati.

Koḍamundi plates, l. 6 f. (ibid. p. 316 f.)—ānapayati Kūdare vāyapatam.

On the strength of these analogous cases I propose to read at the end of line 4—Ka[ḍake] viya . . . , to correct the second word to viya . . . , and to restore viyāpatam, which is another possible Prākrit form of vāyapatam in the Mayidavolu and Koḍamundi plates. It is true that the verb ānapayati is missing in our inscription; but the same is the case in the first sentence of the Hirahadajagallī plates. As in that document, we seem to have here a sort of official preamble, corresponding to the address of a modern letter—Chārudevi to the official at Ka[ḍaka]. As regards this Prākrit word, its Sanskrit equivalent is Kāṭaka, but the name cannot refer to the town of Cuttack in Orissa, which is far to the north of the Pallava territory. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the second and third syllables of Ka[ḍake] are injured, and that the true reading of the word may after all be a different one.

The remainder of the inscription refers to a gift of land made by Chārudevi. This land must have been situated in Ka[ḍaka], to the officer in charge of which place the order was addressed. The grant consisted of a field near the ‘King’s Tank.’ The recipient was a temple of Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) at Dālūra (l. 7), a place which I am unable to trace. The Ājñapī (or Dūtaka) was Rōhinigupta (l. 16).

TEXT.5

First Plate.

Siddha ||

1 Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājaassa saṅvachchhar.[A] . . . [1*]
2 yuvamahārājaassa Bhāraddāyaassa Pal[l]avā-
3 naṁ sit[r]-Vijaya-Buddhavammassa devi [Bu]jddhi,
4 kura-jaanavi Chārudevi Ka[ḍake] viya . . . [1*]

Second Plate; First Side.

5 Rājatalāka-ḥet[th]e pāpiya .
6 pād=uttare pāse Ātukassa kasita .
7 chhettam Dālūre Kūli-Mahātaraka-10devakula[ssā]

---
3 From ink-impressions received from Dr. Fleet.
4 On the left margin of the plate.
5 The subscribed l of the second syllable of Pallavā in line 2 has obliged the engraver to place the syllable ddāi too low, the top of the i being on a level with the top of the broken syllable bu.—Restore Buddhavakura.-
6 Read -jaanavi.
7 Read viyāpatam.
8 Restore pāpiya-kůppa.
9 Restore kasita; if it be not a case of pāsana.
10 Read -Maḥādraka-; Mahātaraka, which is another possible reading, would be a very unusual name for a temple.
Second Plate; Second Side.

8 bhagavan-Nārayaṇa sa amhaṁ āyu-bala-vaddhanti-
9 yāṁ kāṭūpa bhumī-nivattanē chattāri 4 amhehiṁ
dsampadattā [[*]] taṁ nāṭūpa gāmeśi(ya)ka āyuttā
11 savva-parivhārehi parihaṁratha parihaṁrāpe[tha] [[*]]

Third Plate.

13 yasya yasya yadā bhumīḥ tasyā tasyā tadā phalam [[*]]
14 Śvā-dattāṁ Śvā-dattāṁ vā yēŚ haratta vasu[n]dhārām [[*]]
15 gavāṁ śata-saḥaṛṣya hantuḥ pibati duṣhkritam [[*]]
16 Āṣāti Rohaṇi[gu][t]ā[ti] sti[[]]

TRANSLATION.

Success! (Line 1.) The years . . . (of the reign) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-
Skandavarman.

(L. 2.) Chārudēvī, the queen of the YuvaMahārāja, the Bhāravāja, the glorious Vijaya-
Buddhavarman (of the family) of the Pallava, (and) mother of [Buddhava]nākura, (addresses
the following order) [to the official at] Kā[taka]! —

(L. 5.) “The field to be ploughed by Ātaka on the northern side of the drinking-well
below the King’s Tank (Rājataṇḍa), (containing) four— 4— nicartanas of land, has been given
by Us, making (it) a means for increasing Our length of life and power, to the god Nāraṁga
of the Kāḷi-Mahā[ś]raka temple at Dālūra.

(L. 10.) “Knowing this, ye, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (this field) with all
immunities, (and) cause (it) to be exempted!”? [Lines 12-15 contain two of the customary verses.]

(L. 16.) “The Āśāti (is) Rōhiṇigupta.”?

No. 13.—NILAMBUR PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN.

By T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A. (Madras), and G. Venkara Rao (Ootacamund).

This set of copper-plates was discovered by a Kurumbar, while he was washing for gold, on
the banks of the Chāliyār stream adjacent to Nilambur.10 The exact spot where they were

1 The anusvāra is distinctly visible after the st at the end of the preceding line.
2 Read bhumisvanta. 3 Read dattā. 4 Read ye karṭa.
5 Read “gutta-sīti.—The t of Rōkaśi” has an unusual shape; perhaps the sva of -saḥaṛṣya in the preceding
line interfered with its proper execution. The tī of “gutta” looks almost like vedē.
6 The Sanskrit equivalent of the words amhaṁ āyu-bala-caddhantāṁ occurs in the Urnepalli grant; Ind.
Ant. Vol. V. p. 52, text line 27 f. Instead of caddhantāṁ, the corresponding portions of the Hirahadagallī,
Mayilavādu and Kondemudi plates have caddhanike.
7 The corresponding Sanskrit phrase sarevā-parivhāre parihaṁrōṭa parihaṁrāpe cha occurs in the Māṅgālur
grant; Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 156, text line 30.
8 On āṣāti see above, Vol. VII. p. 185 and notes 4 and 5.
9 In Rōkaśi, Rōkaśi is a vulgar form of Rōhiṣṭi, which occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 295, text line 5; the
usual form in Tamil inscriptions is Urōṭṭi.
10 [This picturesque place belongs to the Ernad (Ernāṇdu) taluk of the Malabar district and is situated at the
foot of the Kārkur Ghāṭ on the road from Ootacamund to Calicut. Near it are the teak plantations started by
Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, in 1840; see Mr. Logan’s Malabar, Vol. II. p. 308 ff.—E. H.]
found is popularly known as "Grāman Kaṇñavu." The plates were made over by the discoverer to the Raja of Nilambur, Mr. Tachcharakkāvil Mānavikraman Tirumalād, who very kindly presented them to us for publication.

The plates are three in number; the first and last of them are engraved on one side only. The average length and breadth of the plates are 7 1/2" and 2 1/2" respectively; and each plate is about 3/4" thick. The edges of the plates are neither thickened nor raised into rims. The weight of these three plates is nearly 10 1/2 oz., including the ring, which alone weighs 1 1/2 oz. The oval ring is about 3/4" thick, with 2 1/2" and 1 1/2" for diameters. When the plates were discovered by the Kurumban, the ring bore a seal with distinct writing on it. He broke it open in the hope of finding gold ensconced in it, but threw it away in disgust when finding none. Thus the seal has been lost.

Though the letters are cut deeply and very distinctively, they do not show through on the back of the plates. The water of the stream, in which the plates had lain apparently for a long time, has corroded them on the margin and caused the loss of several inscribed portions, which are now broken away. The characters are similar to those of the Kādgere plates of Vijaya-Siva-Māndhātiṣvarman (above, Vol. VI. p. 12), of the plates of Vijaya-Siva-Mrigēsavarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 37), and also to those of the Halsi plates belonging to the reigns of Ravivarman and Harivarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. pp. 25-32). On the first side of the second plate, between lines 7 and 8, there is an addition in somewhat more modern characters, which reads: pāchimnata=cha Na[nda]ra[sa]. Probably this clause was added at a later period, when the existing specification was found insufficient for describing the spot; compare the pā, mā, na of this addition with the corresponding letters in the body of the inscription. As regards individual letters in the record itself, attention may be drawn to the Dra-vijāṇ in r and t. The former occurs once, in the word Kīrūṇāṇā (I. 6), and the latter twice, in the words Mūltaji (I. 7) and Mālkānu (I. 8). As noticed by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 13), the subscript i of the conjuncts kīṭa, tīṭa occurring in the words ukta-cha (I. 14) and Kāṭtika (I. 6) has the common curvilinear form, whereas in āṭa and sīṭa of the words kulā-khyantara and āṭyā sīṭa (ll. 11 and 16 respectively) it is represented by a looped sign. The language of the record, excepting one beneficatory verse in I. 14 t., is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription belongs to the fifth year of the reign of the Dharmamahārāja Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. While at Vaijayanta (i.e. Banavasi), the king made a grant, on the full-moon tiṭhī of the month of Kāṭtika, of two hamlets (palli) named Mūltaji and Mālkānu to a Brāhmaṇa named Gōvindāsvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōṭra, who had mastered the Yajurveda. The two hamlets were situated on the east of the village named Kīrūṇāṇā in the Mogalūr district (vishaya).

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, it may be noticed that Mūltaji is represented in the Merkara plates of Koṅgani-mahādhirājā as forming the eastern boundary of the village Badanaguppe, granted to the Śri-vaijay-Jindlaya of Talavanagarama. Talavanagarama is the modern Talakāḍ on the Kāveri, and Badanaguppe is 5 or 6 miles south of Talakāḍ on the other side of the river. Mogalūr is perhaps identical with either Mugūr or Mullūr, also near Talakāḍ.

**TEXT.**

First Plate.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>सन्ति सौविज्ञवैज्ञानिक</th>
<th>स्वास्थ्यनाथीनामातृसर्वस्वाद</th>
<th>ताति.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>भिमिष्ठीय नामाग्राभीर्गौरिष्टि</td>
<td>चारितिपुष्पिकाः प्रतिक्षाः</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See Mr. Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 253. 2 From the original copper-plates.
3 अध्यायः समुद्रस्त्रियां देशविशेषता-  
4 [न]वानामात्रितजनानां कर्तव्यां गहरीविविध्यमुखां-

Second Plate; First Side.

5 [रा]द[ः]ः भारसीमा; प्रवर्त्तनातिविचारसंबंधे पंचभ-  
6 कार्तिकेयपञ्चानांको गीतात् पापाकारणाम-  
7 पैराभासम पूर्वदिग्रिहितो सुदूरङ्गिनावियैय-  
8 [श्री]महाभासहितं काल्पवस्तुग्राहं यज्ञवंदन[पा]-

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 [रगर]व गोविन्दखलिनी गृहस्थारीविवेच्ये सति[रण्ड]  
10 [श]पानात्यपातं सवृद्धिपरित्यतपरिवारं संस[हत]  
11 [वन] [ः] तदवर्धाय यः कालवब्ब्रह्म्नाशर्गतो वा [राम]-  
12 [क्ष]वष्णुवादिरिप्रभुवते क्रेर[त व] पथमाणायातकन्-

Third Plate.

13 [सं]हुः [को] अवति [ः] योगिने चकनां तत्प्रेक्षाकामस्ति [वति] [ः]  
14 [उक]च वश्विष्णुवस्था मुखा राजमिथिकारादिबिः [] [ः]  
15 [य]स्य वश्व यदा भूसिः तर्क तस्व तदा फलासितं [ः]  
16 [श्री]खन्तु गोविन्दाक्षरेष्व: प्रजाः [श्री] महाः [ः] [ः]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! The glorious Ravivarman, the virtuous (and) mighty king of the Kadambras,— who were anointed after meditating on the lord Mahāśeṇa and the group of the Mothers, who belonged to the lineage of the Mānavyas, who were the sons of Hāritī, who were well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one, who were sinless (on account of) being purified by the bath after (the ceremony of) the horse-sacrifice, and who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them),— at the prosperous (and) victorious (city of) Vaijayaṇti, on the full-moon tithi of (the month of) Kārttika in the increasingly victorious fifth year of his (reign), gave to Gōvīndasvāmī, belonging to the lineage of Kāśyapa (and) well versed in the Yajurveda, the hamlet named Muṭtagi along with Majkāvu, (situated) on the eastern side of the village named Kirupāśāni in the Mogalur district, with all exemptions, with the pouring of water, (and) with (a present of) gold, towards the increase of his own merit.

1 Cancel the visarga.
2 Read मुक्षेष्वराः.
3 This epithet, met with in almost all the Kadamba grants, has been adopted by all the kings of this dynasty from Mayūravarman (i.e. Mayuravarman), the founder of the dynasty. Compare above, p. 32, v. 23:—Shaddasam yon-gahühlakitavandesamahdyan eṣadpatiṁ mūrtibhisahha.
4 This passage has been translated in various ways. Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 15) translates it by 'studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text.' As the passage might as well apply to any student of the sacred writings, it is taken in its general sense thus:—prati pratyakhaṃ kriṣṇa amukṣaṁ yad sadhyadyayo charcha ukṣyaneśvaram abhi śca tāḥ pārayantī iti.
FIVE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA.

No. 14.—FIVE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

By Professor F. Kirchheim, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

At Professor Hultzsch's request I shall give an account here of five more copper-plate inscriptions of the Gahaavadala king Govinda Chandra of Kanauj, the originals of which are now in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, and of which ink-impressions were supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Before doing so, I take the opportunity of submitting a few general remarks.

While only three stone-inscriptions, of very small importance, have been hitherto discovered of the Gahaavadala kings of Kanauj, the number of their known copper-plates amounts to no less than fifty-five. The details are as follows:—

1. One plate of the Maharakhipa Madanapala, recording a grant that was made by his father, the Maharakhipa Chandradhva.

2. One plate of Madanapala and his queen Prithviirikā (or Prithiviirikā).

3. Three plates of Govinda Chandra, of the reign of his father Madanapala.

4. Twenty-six plates of the Maharakhipa Govinda Chandra.

5. Two plates of Govinda Chandra and his mother Bālā (or Bālha) Chdva.

6. One plate of Govinda Chandra and his queen Nayanakālidvi.

7. One plate of Govinda Chandra and his queen Gosaladvi.

8. One plate of Govinda Chandra and his son, the Yuvaraja Asphōtachandra (below, C.).


10. One plate of the reign of Govinda Chandra, recording a grant made by the Siāgara prince Vatsaratja.

11. Two plates of the Maharakhipa Vijayachandra and his son, the Yuvaraja Jayachandra.

12. Fourteen plates of the Maharakhipa Jayachandra.


2. The plates were found by a contractor at Benares near the Budhaini temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface in the course of excavations for the water-works conducted on the spot in April 1892. See Mr. Venkayya’s Annual Report for the year ending with May 1905, p. 6.

3. There can hardly be any doubt that of a royal family of which we possess 55 copper-plates, there must have existed also a considerable number of stone-inscriptions. The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground. The same may be said regarding the records of e.g. the Maitrakas of Valabhi, of whom we have 40 plates and only a single, most insignificant stone-inscription; and of the Chalukyas of Veṅg, of whom 29 copper-plate inscriptions have been published, and not a single stone-inscription.
All these plates were issued during the ninety years from A.D. 1097 to A.D. 1187. Excepting the genealogy of the family and dates for each king from Chandradēva to Jayachandra, there is in them no historical information of any particular value. But the plates are of great interest on account of the very large number of districts and villages mentioned in them. Nearly all these localities remain to be identified; and it is with the view of perhaps inducing others, especially residents of the United Provinces, to help in the work of identification, that I give here an alphabetical list of all names of districts that occur in the plates. So far as I can judge, most of these districts would have been called after larger villages or towns, some of which undoubtedly are still in existence.

List of districts mentioned in the plates.

Amvu(mbu)āli-pattalā; Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 138, line 20. (The inscription grants the village of Dēypāll on the banks of the D[a]iyahā. Daivahā apparently is the modern 'Deoha' which according to Thornton's Gazetteer, p. 333, is another name of the river Gogra.)


Gōya-pattalā (in Opaival-pathaka); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 15. (Gōyara perhaps is the 'Goura' in Indian Atlas, sheet No. 102, long. 83° 20', lat. 26° 47'.)


Jāna[thā]-pattalā; ibid. p. 141, line 18; and p. 142, line 16.

Jāvai-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 14; or, which is the same,—


Kachtsāhā-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 116, line 12; and p. 129, line 19.

Kangali-pattalā; ibid. p. 127, line 17.

Kāti-pattalā; ibid. p. 102, line 13.

[Keśureka?] -pattalā; ibid. p. 105, line 12.


Mahaśa-pattalā; ibid. p. 122, line 18; or, which is the same,—


Nandi[pñi]-pattalā; below, p. 155, line 13.

Nandivāra-pattalā; below, p. 154, line 12.


1 The plates generally state that Yaśōvīraha, the reputed founder of the Gāhadāvala family, came when the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven. The kings thus referred to are the Pradhānas of Kanauj, who, as we now know, derived their descent from the Sun. The Gāhadāvala king who first took possession of Kanauj was Yaśōvīraha's grandson Chandradēva, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1097.

2 The satāviskā of this name is derived from the Prākrit sattāvīsaka or Sanskrit satavīśāsa, 'twenty-seven.'—Compare, in other plates, names of districts like Nīkṣeṣṇapuro-chāturaśīlikā, etc.
Pándala-pattalā (in Góvisálaka that belonged to Duddháli in Saruvára); above, Vol. VII p. 99, line 15.

Paéchimbahapańapattalā1 (in Antarvéd); Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 135, line 20.

Púrīha-pattalā; Jour. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 120, line 11.


Rúdamanayáváli-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 112, line 12.


Sirsāl-pattalā (in Opańal-panthaka in Saruvára); above, Vol. V. p. 114, note 4; and Vol. VII. p. 99. (Sirsāl probably is the 'Sirs' in Indian Atlas, sheet No. 87, S. E., long. 83° 9', lat. 26° 32'.)


Ughánatérāhóttam-pattalā;2 ibid. p. 106, line 12.

Ukáva(mba)ráñ-la-pattalā; below, p. 159, line 11.


Vájaínóchácháhásá̄thi-pattalā;4 ibid. p. 125, line 17.

Válauna-pattalā; below, p. 157, line 13.

Vri(mbi)háadgrihókamsánum-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 121, line 19.


I may add that, besides the villages granted and the districts in which they were situated, the plates also mention a fair number of places where the donations recorded in the plates were made. In no less than 33 instances this was done after bathing in the Ganges at Benares.

Other places on the Ganges, mentioned in a similar way, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madapratishthána (?)</td>
<td>ibid. p. 101, line 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rájyaapálapura; below, p. 153, line 18.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two donations were made after bathing in the Yamuná at—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ásatiká (or Asatká)</td>
<td>Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 9; and ibid. Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 17 (where the king is stated to have bathed at the Muraithá(?)-gháthá); and one was made after bathing in the Véñá(i.e., at the confluence of the rivers) at—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayága (i.e., Allahábád)</td>
<td>above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other places where donations were made, not connected with any rivers, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dèvasthána (?)</td>
<td>above, Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15; and Vájaínóhála; ibid. p. 121, line 23.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And of rivers, in addition to those already given, in which the king had bathed when making a donation, the plates mention the Sáti (with the Svapnésvará-ghátha); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 23.

Of Benares the following specific localities are referred to in the plates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

1 *Chhapa* in this name probably is the Prákrit *chhappu* or Sanskrit *sukha-paśchádat*. *Fifty-six.*

2 *Vaydili* would be the Prákrit *vydilisa* or Sanskrit *devadhatvi*; *forty-two.*

3 *Téka* in this name probably is the Prákrit *teka* or Sanskrit *treyódaśa*; *thirteen.*

4 *Chhásé* apparently is the Sanskrit *sukha-bhāsé*; *sixty-six.*— Prof. Hultzsch suggests that the *cara* of Kà[tha]takávárakáháta[ra] may be the Prákrit *devaka* or Sanskrit *dodása*; *twelve*; and *pacha* of Témisahapózharm—the Sanskrit *pachá*, *five.*
The Trilōchana-gaṭṭa; Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII, p. 11, line 12.
The Vēdōsvara-gaṭṭa; above, Vol. IV, p. 114, l.
The Avimukta-kaśyāra; ibid. p. 114, l., and p. 113, line 18.
The Kōti-tirtha; below, p. 159, line 15.

Of Prayaṅga (the temple of) Gaṅgādīśya is mentioned, above, Vol. IV, p. 122, line 22.

* * *

Of the new inscriptions the most interesting is C, because it records a grant by Gōvindaśandha's son, the Yuvārya Āspōṭāchandara, who was unknown to us before. And the inscription A. is peculiar in recording the gift of a house at Benares, not the grant of a village. The three grants recorded in C, D, and E. were made in favour of one and the same, Brāhmaṇa, a sun-worshipper and student of the Jyotiśitāstra. The taxes specified are the bhāgabhōgakara (mentioned in 50 plates of this family), the pravairakara (mentioned in 44 plates), the turushkadāṇḍa (mentioned in 23 plates, but not in any of the plates of Jayachandara), the kunaragadīśya (mentioned in 10 plates), the hiranya (mentioned in 9 plates), and the jalakara and gōkara (mentioned together in 4 plates only).

A.—PLATE OF GÖVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMĀ]-SĀḤVAT 1171.

This is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 4½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, the legend ērīnād-Gōvindachandara[a]dradhaha[درك], in Nāgarī letters about ½" high; above the legend, the figure of a Gāruḍa, squatting down and facing to the proper right; and below the legend, a conch-shell. The plate contains 21 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ½ and 3½. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v, the dental sibilant is often employed for the palatal, and the palatal occasionally (as in vaṃsa, l. 3) for the dental; and the words vaṃsa and tāṃraka are written vaṃsa and tāṃraka, ll. 2 and 21. I may also point out that the sign of avagraha is used in mātṛd evamābhāiva, l. 18.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājābhūtārāja Paramēśvara Gōvindachandrāśva, who records that, on Monday, the full-moon titthi of Māgha of the year 1171 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted a dwelling-place (ādāna) to the Mahāttaka Dāyutimusarman, son of the Thākhura Mahākara and son's son of the Thākhura Kākā, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāravājia gōtra, whose three pravaras were Bhāradvāja, Áṅgirasa and Bārhapaṭya. The dwelling-place so granted was at Benares itself, and lay to the east of (the) Aghorēsvara and Paṇḍōhikāra, and to the west of (the) Indramādīśvara and Lauḍēsvara (temples).—The grant (tāṃraka) was written by the Karṇaṭaka Jahaṇa. It contains no imprecatory verses.

1 The original has avagraha and treats this word as a neuter noun. Compare avagrahaḥ for drāmasaḥ, frequently used in the Śṛaddhā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 168.
2 Compare the name Dēyṭa (Dēytra), above, Vol. IV, p. 171.
3 The same Jahaṇa wrote the grant of [Vikrama]-Sāḥvat 1172, published above, Vol. IV, p. 104, where he is described as ērī-Pravairakara-kaśyāra-thākhura. The term karṇaṭaka-gōtra of the present grant describes him literally as 'descended from a Karṇaṭaka' Chitrāgupta, with whom he is compared, is 'one of Yama's attendants (recorder of every man's good and evil deeds).
The date appears to be slightly irregular. In Vikrama-saṁvat 1171 current the full-moon titki of Māgha ended on Thursday, the 22nd January A.D. 1114; and in Vikrama-saṁvat 1171 expired the same titki commenced 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January A.D. 1115. This Monday most probably is the day intended by the grant, but I should have expected it to be connected with the 14th titki of the bright half, not with the full-moon titki.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

14. . . . 1-śrimad-Govinda-candra-dēvō viṣṇu || śrimad-Vāraṇasyām nivāsi-
15. nō nikhil[-[janapa]dān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājan-yunvarāja-mahātri-puruhi-
pratīhāra-sena-pataḥ-bhājāgarik-ahapataḥlika-bhāju-
16. g-naimitt[k-k]ntaparik-dūta-karturagapattākaraṃsthānagokulādhikār-puruṣān-aśā-
payati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādiśati cha yathā |
17. viditam-asu bhavatam-ekṣaptatvadṛik-ātkādūṣa-saṁvatsarā Māghe-māsi
śukla-pakāhā paurnāmasāyām-aṅkā-pi saṁvata 1171 Māgha-su-
18. di 15 Sōme II śri-Vāraṇasyām Gangāyām anātva śambhipūr-gokaraṇa-kuśalā-
pūta-kartal-ādaka-pūryan śri-Vāraṇasyām-ēv-Āghorēśava-
19. ra-Paṇḍi-śāma-karayōḥ pārvī l tathā-Āmradāhava-Laudēśvarayōḥ paśchimē
avasām-idaṁ bhirāj-pratīhāra bhūrāj-bhūrājavā-Āmṛyasā Vā(bā)-
20. rhaṣpayā-triṣpraparavāya ½ 4 ½ śri-Ākāl-kutā-pratīvā ½ ta(thā) ½ śri-Mahākara-trūraya
mahattaka-śri-Dāyānasa(sa)rmano prādattain matvā sa[ṛ]vain-a-
21. pi parivalayatavam-iti l 88 ½ Kārāṇik-bādagaṭā vidyāvam-Chitravupt-bāpamo
guṇāḥ ½ yaśasā Jalaḥa[n][h] śrīmān-āli[kha]as-tāṁvrokam 9 mud[ā] ||

B.—PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SAṀVAT 1187.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1′ 6½″ broad by 1′ 1″ high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½″ in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 24 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ½ and ⅝. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal.

This is another inscription of the Paramahāt̄taraka Mahārāja-dēvō Paramesvara Govinda-candra-dēvō, who records that, on Sunday, the Āgraḥaṇy or full-moon titki of Mārgaśira of the year 1187 (given in figures only), after bathing in the Gangas at Benares, he granted the village of Paḷasaṇḍi in the Nandīvāra pattā to the Prīśādārya Bhāṣṭa Paṇḍita Khōnasarmā, son of the P. Bh. P. Rāvinda, son’s son of the P. Bh. P. Gōdāja and son of the son of the P. Bh. P. Māṅgala, a Brāhmaṇ of the Pārvāsā 10 gōtra whose

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1 Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Govindachandra, published above, Vol. IV, p. 100 f. The main differences are that the present plate adds the words sa cha before the word paramahāt̄taraka- of line 11, and omits the passage atrapati- . . . . Vāchaspati in lines 13 and 14 of the Kamauli plate.

2 This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 15-20 are superfluous.

3 Read -nākāta-tata.-

4 Read paśčima ādasa-idaṁ (or, correctly, paśčima ādāṇa-gaṭā) The construction of ābhad and paśčimē with the genitive case is contrary to the rules of grammar.

5 Read -triṣpraparaya-.

6 Read prādattān-iti (or, correctly, prādattotp-iti).

7 Metre: Śūka (Amaṭyāḥ); the first Pāda is faulty.

8 So the name is given in the plate, but I am not sure that it is correct.
three pravara were Kānkāyana, Kaṇśika and Dhaumya, and student of the Śākhāyana. The title prāgahārya, which, with bhaṣṭa and paṇḍita, is prefixed to the names of the donee and his ancestors, I have not met elsewhere, and I cannot give its exact meaning.

The date, for Vikrama-saṃvat 1187 expired, corresponds to Sunday, the 16th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon tīkhi of Mārgaśīra commenced 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

12 . . . . . 4-ārīmad-Govindachandrādovō vijayi || 13 Nandivāra-pattatāyān ||

Palasaunda-grāma-nivāsāṅī śīkha-jaśapadān-upagātan-[pi] [chap] rāja-rājīl-yava-

13 [rā}ja-mantri-purōhi-prathīhāra-sūjapati-bhāmīdāgirik-akshapatalka-bhishaka-(ga)-ni in mi-

14 tītik-āntahpurikā-dāta-kurituragpattanākarakasthāna[ga]ūkālādhikīrī-pur-

15 [hā]jān samājāyapati vō(bo)dhyastādīsa(śa)ti va(chā) yathā viditam-asu

bhavatāh yathāparīkhyā-grāmāh sa-jāla-sathalāh sa-lōha-lavān ākara sa-matey-

ākaraś sa-gartō-ūśaraḥ sa-ma-

16 [d[h]ka-chūta-vana-vātikā-viśapātri-p(ū)y](ī)gōchāra-paryantaṇāva(cha)turiṣhāva-visa-

su)(t)īdāh a[v] jā-sūmā-paryantāh a-vṛddh[va]ēdāh samvat 1187

Mārggāsa-(śra)maṇ[ā]sē[ś] Āgrahānti-pūrṇimām-

17 [s[x]jāth Havi-cinē ārīmad-Vāraṇasīyāṃ Gaṅgāpi(yāh) snātī vidhivana-

maṇḍa-cūla-muni-manjanā-bhūta-pitrī-gaṇāna-tarpayitvā
timira-pañca-pātana-

18[na]-mahasam-Ushparoḥshimam-upasṭhā-

19 y[Annudhihari-]sa(ś)kala-sō(śō) kharaḥ samabhyaarchaḥya
tribhuvana-trātura-

20 Vāsūdevaya prājām-vidhāya prachura-pāyaena havīvahinat butva

mātāpitrōt-ātmanāḥ-cha punya-yāt(śo)-

[hi]vyādhyāyā Pāravasā-gōtrāya 19 Kānkāyana-10Kanṣa(ś)ka-Dhaumya-tripravarāya Ī Sīkhyāyanavasṭhachaca-sākhīnāi

prāgahārya-bhaṭṭa-pañjita-śrī-Mangalā-

prapantraya Ī prāṣaḥ-

20 rya-bhaṭṭa-pañjita-śrī-Gōdaṇa-paṇtraya Ī prāṣaḥbhāṣya-bhaṭṭa-pañjita-śrī-Ravidak-

putraya Ī prāṣaḥbhāṣya-bhaṭṭa-pañjita-śrī-Kbōnas(śa)rmaṇaḥ vṛ(śr)hmapāy-

āśambhīlā ē gōkārpa-kuśala-

20 tā-pūtā-karatal-ōcaka-pūrvam-ā-chand-dārkkāṃ yāvat Ī sāṣanikṛtya pradattāh ī
ti mātvā yathādīyamāna-bhāgaḥbhogakara-hiraṇya-pravāṣikara-turushkhandaṃ
dhāreṣā māṇyamāna-bhāgaḥbhogakara-hiraṇya-pravāṣikara-turushkhandaṃ
dhāreṣā prabhṛti-samastā-

1 The plate has Sīkhyāyana-, apparently for Śākhāyana- which occurs (for Śākhāyana-) also in Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 17, line 19.
2 Ix. of the Rgveda.
3 Compare the date of Rajwa plate of Govindachandra (in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 372, No. 193), which apparently corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon tīkhi of Mārgaśīra ended 1 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.
4 Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Govindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f. In verse 6, vijayate has been erroneously engraved between vijayate and uṣṭe, in verse 8 we have -veddī instead of -veddī; and in the prose passage that follows the verses, as cka was engraved before the first paramahātuḍaṇṇa, but seems to have been struck out again.
5 These signs of punctuation are superfluous. 6 Read -maṇī Āgrahāyati-pūrṇamādyām.
7 Read prājām vidhāya.
8 The reading is certain, but I am not sure that it is correct.
9 The signs of punctuation in lines 18-20 are superfluous.
10 This name is quite clear in the impression.
11 Read Śākhāyana-bhavīcha-śākhīnā.
12 Read "bhīmā." 13 Read yādeva-sākhīnā.
14 Read “ṣaṭṭa iti."
C.—PLATE OF GÖVINDACHANDRA AND THE YUVARĀJA MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA ĀŚPHŌṬAČHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SĀMVAT 1190.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahārājaputra-sthima-


in Nāgarī letters between ⅛" and ½" high; above the legend, a couch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right. The plate contains 28 lines of well preserved writing. The size of the letters is about ⅛". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter b is denoted by the sign for v, except in the word bhāvamurv; and occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental.

The inscription is of the reign of the Paramahattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramācara Gōvindachandradēva. With his consent, the Mahārājaputra (or son of the Mahārāja) Āśphōṭachandradēva, endowed with all royal prerogatives and anointed as Yuvarāja (or heir-apparent), records that, on Friday, the third tithi, the Akshaya-tritīyā and Yugādi, of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the year 1190 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of Kaṇauta in the Nandini pattalā to the Paṇḍita Dāmārājārman—son of the Paṇḍita Madanapāla, son's son of Lōkapāla and son of the son's son of Guṇapāla—a Brāhmaṇ of the Kaśyapa gōtra, whose three pravara were Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhrūva, who was a student of the Vaiśānaka śākhā (of the Yajurveda) and a sun-worshipper (saura), and who knew the five siddhāntas of the Jyotishāstra.—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the bhāgabhāgakara, pravamākara, turushkanda and kumara-gadāsaka. The grant was written by the Thakkura Gāgekā.3

The date, for the Kārtikādi Vikrama-sāmvat 1190 expired, corresponds to Friday, the 30th March A.D. 1334, which was the proper day of the Akshaya-tritīyā and the (Trāta-) yugādi, because the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended on it 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.4

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

12... arīmad-Gōvinda-
13 chamradēvo vijaya || Tad-āśat-samākṣat yauvarājyā-

bhishikta-mahārājaputra-arīmad-āśphōṭačamradēvō vijaya ||5 Nandīni-pattalā-
14 yām Kaṇauta-grāma-nivāsino nikhalā-janapadān-upagataṁ-api cha rāja-

|r|tri-purūhiṁ-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhūdāgārīk-ākhapata-

---
1 Here follow the six verses commencing Bārimuḥ yath pratiyākhāti, Śakkuṁ hāḍr-dasanāṁ, Svarṇaṁ-śādāṁ-

bhūsīnāṁ, Bāhubhir-maṇadāḥ, Svarṇaṁ-śādāṁ, and Tādādeśāṁ sakharāṁ.
2 Gāgekā most probably is identical with the Gāgeka who wrote the grants F, G, and H, treated of above, Vol. IV. p. 107 ff.
3 The proper time for the Akshaya-tritīyā and the Trāta-yugādi is the forenoon; see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXVI. p. 179.
4 Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Karnaipi plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f.
5 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 2½" broad by 11½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about 1½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahäräjæp[u]tri-tri,
mad-Räjyapâlätâvâ[Ś]

in Nâgâri letters about 1½" high; above the legend, a conch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right, with below it some device that looks like another conch-shell. The plate contains 30 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ½ and 1½". The characters are Nâgâri, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign v, and the dental sibilant is occasionally employed for the palatal. Besides it may be noted that the words prakshālita, tēkkara, puṇya and tâvara are spelt prakhyālita, ] 6, tēkkara, ] 19, puṇya, ] 20 and ] 23, and tâvara, ] 30, respectively.

1. These signs of punctuation are superfluous; read -parivântō nāvā".
2. Read -pakshē-kakhrā.
3. Read -śīnāvântō.
4. Read -pradatta iti noted.
5. Here follow the seven verses commencing Bhâmisya yâh pratigrahyatī, Saṅkhaṁ bhadra-dasamā, Suvârivâ śāstir-bhavānaṁ, Bṛukbhir-viśwadâ, Śrâvâṇa-saṅkṣāra-vâ, Śiva-stâtaḥ para-dattāḥ ev, and Vârāhâra-vibhâram.
6. Between ah and i there is a letter which has apparently been erased by the engraver.
This inscription also is of the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindachandrādeva. With his consent, the Mahārājaputra (or son of the Mahārāja) Rājayāpālādeva, endowed with all royal prerogatives, records that, on Wednesday, the 5th of the dark half of Māgha of the year 1203 (given in words and figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Rājayāpālapura, he granted the village of Chamarsavāmī—with Harichandapālī and two or three other pāṭakas the names of which are doubtful—in the Valaura pattalā, to the Pāṇḍita Dāmādaraśarman who has been already mentioned as donee of the grant C.—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the bhāgabhāgakara, pravaṇikara, jalaḥara, gokara and turushkadaṇḍa. The grant (tātra-pāṭaka) was written by the Karanikā, the Ṭhakkura Vivika.

The date, for Vikrama-saṃvat 1203 expired and the pūrtīmānta Māgha, corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1148, when the 5th tithi of the dark half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day the Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, and the donation undoubtedly was made on account of that Saṃkrānti, even though this is not actually stated in the grant.

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

1. 2-śrimad-Gōvindachandrādeva-4 pāṭapadma-saṃmatyā samastarājapradhī.
2. yōpēta-mahārājaputra-śrimad-Rājayāpālādevō vijaya jīva 2 * Valaura-pattalāyām |
3. Kāśī Pījapāṃdi jayaa(papāli)q | Cha(ḍhuha) apāli | Harichandapālī |
4. ēṣu pāṭakāsun saha Chamarsavāmī-gra-
5. ma-nivāsinō škhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rāja-yuvrāja-mantri-pūrhitā-
6. pratihārā-svāmī [nāpati-bhānī] āgārik-ākshaṇapalīka-bhishag-naimitīk-āntābhu-
7. rika-dukā-kairangapattanākarnathānagō kū ṛādhi kā ṛa purānā = ājā āpaya tō vō(b)dhayaty-adīśai cha yathā viditam-astu bhavatām yathā-oparili[khī]ja-
8. grāmān su-[ja].
10. ādhas-chaturāṅkha-vi[s]uddharv sa-[simh].
11. paryantā b ś varshatrayādhika-dvādāsastā-saṃvatased Māghē māsi kriṣṇapākhē pamocharayasām tithō(thau) Vu(bu)dha-dinē yatra-anikē-yi saṃvata(t) 1203 Māgha-vadi 5 Vu(bu)dha[\*] 10 a[dy-ēha ārt]-

1. Above, Vol. IV, p. 120, l. 22. I have wrongly altered jālakara to jāṭhakara. Jālakara is the proper reading also in the Gagala plates, Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII, p. 20, and most probably ētād. Vol. XV, p. 8, l. 22.
2. The Karanika Ṭhakkura Vivika also wrote the grant of [Vikrama-Jaśvat 1189, recorded in the Gagala places, Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII, p. 20. He is possibly identical also with the Aṣkṣāṇapalīka Ṭhakkura Vivika who wrote the grants of [Vikrama-Jaśvat 1231 and 1232, treated of above, Vol. IV, pp. 124 and 126 ff.]
3. Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamali plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV, p. 100 ff., the main differences being that in the present plate the words sa ēka have been inserted before the word paramahāśrakarā of line 11 of the Kamali plate, and that the phrase viṣṇaḥṣayogāpīṣita of the same line has by mistake been omitted here.
4. The ē-stroke of ēka is corrected from sa which originally had been engraved after ēsandra.—As regards the construction, one would have expected something like -Gōvindachandrādevō vijaya jīva Pu(bu)dha-dinē yatra-anikē-yi saṃvata(t) 1203 Māgha-vadi 5 Pu(bu)dha[\*] a[dy-ēha ārt].
5. A stroke of ēsa is corrected from sa which originally had been engraved after ēsandra.—As regards the construction, one would have expected something like -Gōvindachandrādevō vijaya jīva Pu(bu)dha-dinē yatra-anikē-yi saṃvata(t) 1203 Māgha-vadi 5 Pu(bu)dha[\*] a[dy-ēha ārt].
E.—PLATE OF GÓVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SAṀVAT 1207.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 5½" broad by 1' 1¾" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 26 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ½ and ¾. The characters are Nāgāri, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter b is denoted by the sign v, except in the word běhranvar, occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental (as in sahastra, twice); and the word hāṣṭā is written hāned, in line 25.

This is another inscription of the Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēkṣvara Góvindachandradēva, who records that, on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Pauṣha of the year 1207 (given in words and figures), on the occasion of the Uttarayāṇa-samkrānti, after bathing at the Kōṭi-tirtha at Benares, he granted the village of Lōlirupāḍā, together with Tīvṛāy-kaḥētra, in the Umbarāla paṭalā, to the Pāṇḍita Dāmōdaraśarmān, known to us already as the donee of the grants C. and D.—The taxes specified (in lines 17) are the bhāgabhāgukara, pravasikara and turūshkadaṇḍa. The grant (tāmra) was written by Vidyādham, the son of (the Kāraṇika) Dhaṇḍhāka.

The date, for Vikrama-saṃvat 1207 expired, corresponds to Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1150, when the 5th tithi of the bright half commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the Uttarayāṇa-samkrānti took place 3 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

11 . . . . 1-ārāmād-Gōvindachandradēvō viṣayā ||2 Uṇavāla-pattalāyān ī2 Tiṣṭyāl-kahōreṇa saha 3Lōli[ru]pāda-grāma-nivāsanō nikīla-janapatān-unpatatān-
api ca rāja-rājīl-yuvarā-

12 ja-mantripurāhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhājāy-gārīk-kāshapātalika-bhīshag-naimittik-ānt a ṣ-
purīkā-dūta-karitunagapattanakāra[sth] ānagōkulādhikārī-purunyā(ṣaḥ) n = ā j ū ā p a y a t i vō(bō).

13 dhāyatī-ādīśati ca yathā 4 vidītam-astu bhavatāṁ 4 yathes-pārilykīhta-grāmaṁ sa-jala-
sthalaṁ sa-lōhā-lavay-ākaraṁ sa-matay-ākaraṁ sa-gartī-ēharaṁ sa-madhuk-āmara-vana-
vāṭikā-vaṭāpa-tī-

14 na-[yū]tī-ōgōcham-paryantaṁ s-ōrdhāv-ādīsah-chaturāghāta-visadhaṁ sva-simā-paryantaṁ
samvatsaraṁ pānaptīkha-dvādasāśeṣeṣu Paushē māsi śukila-pakṣe
paṃchānyyam ti[t]hau Sōma-dīnē 5nka-pi samvata(t) 1207

15 Pausha-sūdi 5 Sōme(ma) uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrāntīv-adya-ēcha śrīmad-Vārānīyam
Kōṭī-śī(le)ma jātvā mātāpirīśāāmanā-scha pu[ṣya]-yaśo-bhīvyiddhayē-saṁbhir-
grā(n)garu-kuṣālā-lāṭā-pāraka-kaatal-ōdāla-pā.5

16 rvvaṁ Kāya(ṣya)pa-gōtrāyā ||2 Kāya(ṣya)pā-āvatsārā-Naidhrī(hnun)va-trīpravaṇāyā 7
Vājāsaneyā-sā[kh]īnē paṇḍita-śrī-Lōkāmāl-pauntraṇā 1 paṇḍita-śrī-Madana-śālā-
puntraṇā 1 paṇḍita-śrī-Dūnakārṣamārvna-
nē vṛāḥ(brā)[hman]pā[yā] 8-chandr-ārckan yavach-chhāsānīkritya pradatto 9 matvā
yathādāyamāna-bhāgabhīṣakā:s-prāmāṇīkara-turuṣhakadaṇḍa-prabhūtī-sarve - ā d ā yā n =
ājō]āvīdhāyībhūya dasyath-ēti || chha || Bhavanti chātāra.

17 elōkāh ||10

24 . . . . || chha || 1Bhū-bhartāra-saya karana

25 sarasīvya hansīl1 Dānhāhāka ity-ēxamitāsa-divākarī-bhūt tasyātmajēna guṅi-ēdam =
alekhi tē[m]rāin Vidyādharāṇa dharaṣṭīlā-bhūṣaṇēna || Yavada-girāu Dhanapātēr
vrasati Smarārīr-yavan-miśmā-sāvā.

26 r-amnasiya laḻā-paddē || krōdē kunāga-sīsar-saya cha yavad-ētāt-tāvat-thīrbbhavatu
śāsanaṁ-asti-vighnaṁ || 10 10 ||

No. 15.—PIKIRA GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN.

By Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

Two sets of ink-impressions of this copper-plate grant were sent to me by Mr. Venkayya,
who had received the original on loan from the Superintendent, Government Central Museum,
Madras, to whom it had been despatched by the Collector of Nellore. It was 11 originally sent by

1 Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kannadī plate of Gōvindachandra, published
above, Vol. IV. p. 100 ff.
2 These two signs of punctuation are superfluous; read vijjaya-Umbardā.
3 This name may possibly have to be read Lōlikapāḍā.
4 These two signs of punctuation are superfluous.
5 Read ādaka-pā.
6 The signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.
7 Read drīpsravaya.
8 Read pradatta iti utātīdē.
9 Here follow the twelve verses commencing Bhāmī śaḥ pratīgradīṣṭi, Śaṅkhā bhād-dhānam, Śrīvada-
śunahkāmanah, Bahaṁkāra-sacahā, Gōvindahā, Tūdāyāna-subherā, Śrī-dattān para-dattān od, Śrīabhītā
varṣa-sahāradī, Vārāh-dhāyavangā, Na vihām, Yvasaka daṭṭhān and Viṣṇu-dhāra-viḥramuṣu.
10 Netre here and below; Vasautīkalā.
11 Read haṁda.
the village Munsiff of Nelatur, Ongole taluka, now part of the Guntur district, to the Deputy Tahsildar of Addanki and formed part of the unclaimed property of a dead Bairagi."

Mr. Venkayya furnished me with the following description:—"There are five copper-plates on a ring, weighing together 70 tolas. The outer sides of the first and the last plates, which bear no letters, as well as the edges of the plates, are smooth. The plates measure almost 7" in length and 14" in height. Plates ii. to iv. are a little thicker than i. and v. Part of the writing on plate i. shows through on the blank side of it. The ring was cut by me and rivetted subsequently. The diameter of the ring is 21" and its thickness 3" on the average. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures 14" in diameter. The seal is very much worn, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, an animal with mouth open and facing the proper left. It is represented sitting on a horizontal line which is in relief, and it resembles very closely the animal represented on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 50). The tail of the animal is not seen, neither are its forelegs."

The engraving of the inscription is on the whole carefully done and well preserved. The language is Sanskrit prose, and three Sanskrit verses of the Rishi (Vyasa) are quoted at the end of the inscription. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli and Māngalār grants. But there is one point in which the three grants differ. In the Uruvupalli grant ta has a loop on the left, as in Tamil, and na has none. In the Māngalār grant both the form with the loop and the one without it are used in the case of ta, while na has no loop except in kṣatādām (l. 16). In the new inscription the forms with and without loop are used for both ta and na, though in the majority of cases ta has a loop and na has none. A final form of na occurs five times (l. 13, 18, 23, and twice in l. 24). Plates i., ii. b and iv. b are marked on the left margin with the numerical symbols 1, 2 and 4, while plates iii. b and v. are not numbered.

The inscription opens with the same invocation of Bhagavat (Vishnu) as the Uruvupalli and Māngalār grants. It records the grant of the village of Pilkira in the district named Mundañ̥ṭra (l. 14) in the fifth year of the reign (l. 18) of the Pallava Mahārāja Sinhavarman (l. 14), who was the son of the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopa (l. 9 f.), the grandson of the Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.) (l. 7), and the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Viravarman (l. 3). To the name of each of these four princes are prefixed a number of laudatory epithets which resemble those used in the Uruvupalli grant, where, however, they are differently arranged and applied to the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopavarman, his father Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.), his grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman, and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (I.). In the Māngalār grant the epithets differ, but the kings are, as in the Pilkira grant, the Pallava Mahārāja Sinhavarman, his father Yuvarāja Vishnugopa, his grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.), and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman.

The date of the Pilkira grant is the fifth year, and that of the Māngalār grant the eighth year, of Sinhavarman's reign. The Uruvupalli grant was made by the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopavarman, but is dated in the eleventh year of the Mahārāja Sinhavarman, whose relation to the donor is not stated. Dr. Fleet concluded from this that the Sinhavarman of the Uruvupalli plate was an otherwise unknown elder brother of Vishnugopa. I would propose another solution of the difficulty. The term Yuvarāja or Yuvamahārāja, which is prefixed to Vishnugopa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Sinhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II. to his son Sinhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Vishnugopa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown, he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Sinha-
varman, to whose eleventh year I would assign—śdaṅkāta— as an Indian philosopher would say—the Urvuvapalli grant.

The Pikira grant was issued from the camp at Mennatūra (i. 1), the Māṅgaḷpur grant from Daṣanapura,1 and the Urvuvapalli grant from the residence (sthaṇa) Palakkaḍa. I am unable to identify Mennatūra. As regards the two other names, I have shown that Dr. Burnell's identification of Palakkaḍa with the modern Pulicat is untenable.8 Dr. Burnell was further inclined to consider Palakkaḍa the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit name Daṣanapura.9 As stated by Dr. Fleet,4 this derivation is equally unsound. For the Telugu word for 'a tooth' is not pala, but palla (genitive pāṣṭi), and kaḍa does not mean 'a town,' but 'a place, a side.' Nor is it safe to connect Daṣanapura with its synonym Dantapura which, according to the Jātaka10 and the Dāṭhaṇaśa,11 was the capital of Kāliṅga and may be meant for Kaliṅganagara, the modern Mukhaliṅgam in the Gaṅjam district,7 far to the north of the Pallava territory. Thus the three ancient local names Mennatūra, Daṣanapura and Palakkaḍa are still awaiting identification. In his Annual Report for 1904-05, p. 47, Mr. Venkayya has shown that they may have to be looked for in the present Nellore district.

TEXT.8

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ [*] Jitam-bhagavatā [*] Svasti [*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārān-
Mennatūra-svāsakātya-parama-brāhmaṇya-
sa
d=śiva-bāhu-bal-ārjita-ārjita-kṣatābrahmu-sāvā
d=r=śi=sa=vi=va-sarvam,a
maryādyasya
3 sthitī-sthitasya-śām[i]tāmanā mahārājasya prithivi-talaikā-virasya śrī-
Vīrāvarmananāḥ praputro=

Second Plate; First Side.

4 bhūvāchita-śakti-siddhi-sampaṇṇasya pratāp-ōpanata-ṛāja-maṇḍalasya
bhagavad-vaṇṇhī-śuddhā-
5 va-sambhāvita-sarvā-kalyāṇasya-anāka-go-hirasya-bhūmy-adī-pradānaiḥ
pravṛti-
6 ddha-dharmma-śaṅchayasya praŋḍa-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānaḥ paṅchamasya

Second Plate; Second Side.

7 lōkapālasya mahātmanā mahārāja-sr[ ][ ]-Skandavarmmanāḥ paṇtṛ déva-dvija-
guru-vṛddhi-āpachāyināḥ vivṛddhi-vinayasya-anāka-saṁgrāma-sāhas-āvan-
9 marid-ōpaladbha-śrīvaiya-yaśaḥ-praṅkāsasya satyātmano yuvanabhārajā-

1 In the Derāī fragment, Daṣanapura is called a residence (adākhaṇḍha); Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 398.
2 Loc. cit. note 4.
6 Edited by Prof. Rhys Davids (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1884), II. 57, 98, 109; III. 2.
8 From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.
9 Expressed by the same symbol as in the Māṅgaḷpur grant.
10 The photo-lithograph of the Urvuvapalli grant (l. 4) reads prapaṅcraṣyādāchārīta, which may be meant
for dāchārīta.
11 Corrected by the engraver from ǯanata.
12 Read-āpachāyināḥ, as in l. 6 of the Urvuvapalli grant.
13 A superfluous hook is attached to the right of the ma and of the rddā.
Third Plate; First Side.

10 śṛ[1]-Viḷahugōpasya  putraḥ kalinya-dōh-āvasanna-dharm-mōddharapa- ni[jya-sannaddhasya
11 aśriya-parakramō  rājarshi-guṇa-sārvva-sandōhā-vijigishureuddharmma- vijigishu[h]
12 bhagavat-pād-ānuddhyatō  bappa-bhāṭṭārakā-pāda-bhaktaḥ parama bhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ

Third Plate; Second Side.

13 sva-vikram-ākrānt-anā-naipā-srī-nilayānāṁ yathāvad-āhrit-anēk-āśvamēdhānām
14 Pallavānān-dharmamahārāja-ārī-Simhesvarṇmā Muṇḍa-rāṣṭrē Pikirē grāmē grā-
15 mēyakān-prādhaikritē-sārvvādhyakaha-vallava-aśānasaśchāriपाशच = ā ā - payatya=Ayaṇā grāmaḥ

Fourth Plate; First Side.

16 Kāśyapāya Taîtretyāya Vilāsaśṛmañē sārvva-parihār-ōpētō dēva-
17 bhōga-haḷa-varjim-aśam-ad-yuṛ-haḷa-viśay-ābhīvyddhayē samēdhāmāna-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

21 rīman-śaṇḍ[3]-aḥ-riyā-ḥ- Api ch-[ā[4]]tr-ārshaḥ śloka bhavanti || Bhūmi-

Fifth Plate.

22 vidyatē[1[4]] yāḥ prayachchhati bhūmiṁ hi sarvva-kāmān-dādāti sāḥ [1[4]] Bahubhir-vvasudh[ā] dattā  

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōṁ. Victory has been achieved by Bhagavatī (Vishnu). Hail! From the prosperous camp of victory pitched at Mēmmātura,  
(Line 3.) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Viravarmā, the only hero on the surface of the earth,  
(Line 7.) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.),  
(Line 9.) the son of the glorious Yuvamahārāja Vishnuḥgōpa,

1 Read śṛṭheṣa.  
2 Read bhāṭṭāraka.  
3 Read sālabhas, as in L. 13 of the Māngalā grant.  
4 Here follows a symbol which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is a flourish which serves to fill up the vacant space at the end of the line.  
5 Read ādam.  
6 Corrected by the engraver from sarbatī.  
7 On the expression jītaṁ bhagavatō see Dr. Fleet’s Guptā Insr. p. 25, note 4.
(L. 12.) he who mediates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father,¹ the fervent Bhagavata, the Bharadvaja, the glorious Sinhavarma, the rightful Mahârâja (of the family) of the Pallava,² who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,—addresses (the following) order to the villagers in the village (named) Pikira in Munḍa-râshtra and to the general overseers (śravâddyakha), the favourites (vallabha) and the official messengers (âśvamahohârin)³ who are appointed to this (district).⁴

(L. 15.) "This village has been given by Us, having made (it) a Brahmaddyâ, to Vilâsaarman of the Kâşyapa (gotra) (and) of the Tattirîrya (âkha),—accompanied by all immunities, with the exception of the cultivated land enjoyed by temples (âsvabhoga-kala),⁵ for the increase of Our length of life, power and victory, on the third (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Âsvayuja in the fifth year of (Our) reign of growing victory.

(L. 19.) "Therefore this village must be exempted and caused to be exempted with all immunities. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict, is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this there are also (the following) verses of the Rishi (viz. Vyâsa)."

[LL. 21—24 contain three of the customary verses.]

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No. 16.—UNDIKAVATIKA GRANT OF ABHIMANYU.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These copper-plates formed part of the collection of Dr. Bhan Daji; but there is no information as to where they came from. The inscription on them was already published by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit in the Journ. Bombay Branch, R. As. Soc., Vol. XVI. p. 88 ff., and was critically examined by Dr. Fleet in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 509 ff. At his desire I here re-edit the text, to accompany the plate now published, from excellent ink-impressions supplied by him. Dr. Fleet contributes the following remarks:

"The present facsimile of the plate has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1886, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, through Major F. H. Jackson, Baroda. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

"The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring about 5½" by 2½". They are quite smooth, without any rims either fashioned or raised. They are fairly thick; and consequently the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; except in a few letters, where the strokes were not firm and deep enough to finish them off properly. The interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. At several places on plates ii. b and iii. the surface has split and broken away, so that the writing is damaged there; the remainder of the record is in good order.

¹ On keppa-haṭṭâraka-pâda-hâkta see above, Vol. IV. p. 143 and note 7.
² Compare above, Vol. VI. p. 88 and note 3.
³ The synonymous term ajânâsakhrira occurs in Gupta Inscri. p. 237, text line 21; p. 246, text line 24; and above, Vol. III. p. 201, text line 13.
⁴ I supply this word from the Urupallik grant which reads (l. 28 f.)—tauśminiekaṣṭa śavedgyuktâ ṣarvanâigîkoḥ (i) ráyava-labhâ śaṅkumantâkosa. In both cases the district of Munḍa-râshtra is meant.
“The ring is oval, about \( \frac{1}{4} \) thick and \( 1 \) to \( \frac{1}{2} \) in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal is not of the customary kind. It was formed by flattening out part of the ring to a thickness of only about \( \frac{1}{4} \); thus producing a six-sided surface, about \( \frac{1}{4} \) by \( \frac{1}{2} \), curved like the opposite part of the ring. The emblem on it,— which I take to be a śiśuka, couchant to the left (proper right), with jaws open and tongue protruding between them,— was done in outline, rather roughly, in that surface. The weight of the three plates is \( 10 \frac{1}{4} \) oz.; and of the ring and seal, \( \frac{1}{2} \) oz.: total, \( 11 \frac{1}{4} \) oz.”

Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription, on palaeographical grounds, to approximately the seventh century A.D.\(^1\) The *uḍāmāṇa* occurs thrice (I. 5, 7 and 13). A horizontal dash is used as a mark of punctuation in four cases.\(^2\) The *language* is Sanskrit. The genealogical portion contains 2½ verses, and two other verses are quoted at the end. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The Sandhi rules are neglected before *u* in I. 15 and 16. The vowel *rī* and the syllable *rī* are mixed up in *dhrṣṭād* (I. 6) and *trīvṛtyaž* (I. 8). Other irregularities are *vahā* for *vahā* (I. 5), *punya* for *punya* (I. 7), and *Jayasiṣṭha* for *Jayasiṣṭha* (I. 18).

The inscription is of historical importance because it contains the earliest mention of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. These princes seem to have belonged to a branch distinct from that of the Mālkśā family, whose crest was the Garuda, while the seal of this grant bears a lion. The genealogical portion opens with the statement that “there was a king named Māṇāṅka, who was the ornament of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whose glory is adorned with a multitude of many virtues.” His son was Dēvarāja (I. 3 f.). He had three sons (v. 2),—among them Bhavishya, whose son was Abhimanyu (I. 11). While the latter resided at Māṇapura (I. 12 f.), he granted a small village (grāmaka) named Uṇḍikavāṭikā (I. 15).

If we look for the name of the donors, we are confronted by two genitives: Dakṣiṇa-Śiṣva (I. 14 f.) and Jāṭābhāra-pravrājītaṇa (I. 15 f.). Dr. Fleet connected the first with the following word *Uṇḍikavāṭikā* and translated the second by “(the god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as Dakṣiṇa-Śiṣva) and has gone abroad (to and settled at) Jāṭābhāra,” which he identified with a temple called Jutta Shunkur, i.e. Jāṭa-Śaṅkalara.\(^3\) To this may be objected that the time-hallowed technical meaning of *pravrājita* is ‘one who has left home to become a religious mendicant,’ and that this word would hardly be used with reference to an idol instead of the ordinary *pratikātpita*. The two genitives can be explained by taking the first as the name of the donors and the second, as was done by Dr. BhagwanlalJ Indraj\(^4\), as the name of a Pāṇḍita ascetic in charge of the temple, to whom the grant was made over on behalf of the temple by pouring water into his hand. Hence I would translate I. 12 ff. as follows:—

“He who was adorning Māṇapura by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of (his) mother and father, the small village named Uṇḍikavāṭikā to (the temple of) Dakṣiṇa-Śiṣva belonging to [Pēṭha]-Pahgara,\(^5\) by pouring water (into the hands) of the ascetic Jāṭābhāra. Towards this (grant) nobody should practise deceit.”

According to I. 18 the grant was made “in the presence of Jayasiṣṭha, the commander\(^6\) (of the fort) of Harivatsakōṭṭa.” The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, the ‘Dakṣiṇa-Śiṣva (temple) belonging to [Pēṭha]-Pahgara’ had been identified in the Bombay Gazetteer with the Mahādēva temple

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\( ^2 \) After patādā, l. 6, praragaddhā, l. 7, bhāmāndādā, l. 9, and at the end of l. 19.

\( ^3 \) Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. pp. 510, 511, 513.


\( ^5 \) If the reading *pēṭha* is correct, the word may be the Hindi *pēṭh*, *pēṭha*, Kannāda *pēṭa*, and Tamil *pēṭsai*, 'a market-town.' Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 513) would prefer to take it as a territorial term; but in this case it ought to stand after the word *Pahgara*.

\( ^6 \) As stated by Dr. Fleet (ibid. p. 510), *kōṭṭa-nigraha* has to be taken here in the sense of *kōṭṭa-sīla*.
Untikavatika grant of Abhimanyu.
near Pagāra, which is about four miles north of Pachmarhi. In endorsing this identification, Dr. Fleet suggested that Upāvikā, the village granted, may be one of two villages named ‘Oontiya’ in the same neighbourhood. He was inclined to identify Mānapuram with Māṇpur near ‘Bandhogarh’ in Reva, provided that the Mānapuram of the inscription was to be understood as the capital of Abhimanyu, not as a temporary camp of his. That the former alternative is correct, may perhaps be concluded from the name Mānapuram itself, which seems to be derived from Mānānaka, the name of Abhimanyu’s great-grandfather, and to mean ‘the town or capital of Māna or Mānānaka.’

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1 ᪰īḥ svasti [†[* Anāka-guna-gaṇ-ālaṅkīta-yaśasāṁ
2 Rāṣṭrakūṭā[n]h [t]ilaka-bhūtō Māṇānaka iti rājā
3 bhaṁvēva [†[*] tasya vigrahavān-iwa Dēvarājā(jō) Dēva-
4 rāj-ēti sānuḥ [†[*] Yasya-aṁyā-bhūmipatibhir-vvijit-ā[bh]-[j]\-
5 mānair-uchhhrāyāḥ-vaṣēva-nihitās-evvaa-yaśāḥ-pa-

**Second Plate; First Side.**

6 ṭākā | dṛ[ḥ]aṁhāṁ chirasāḥ prātīdinaṁ nannu dṛṣṭyaṁ ca cha
7 Gaṅg-eva punya[n]ya-saṁlāḥ purataḥ-pravṛ[ṇ][d]hāḥ [†[*] Tasya-āṁhā
8 jā jita-viprē-vvijita-tr[ī](tri)varggā jātās-trayasa-sākalan-
9 rājaka-bhūminābhāḥ | yai-saṅgarēhaḥ samupattā-ma-
10 dā[ṇ]u[n]-* sapatna[a][śu]-* jijitvā hṛtā saha bhuṃvā vipulā
 nṛpa-śṛ[ṇ][h] || 2[*]
11 Tēsahāṁ Bhavishyasya sutō-Bhīm anyuḥ

**Second Plate; Second Side.**

12 saṁyu[y]-ō[ś]* ja-rāpaṁ-saṁtyā=Bhīm anyuḥ [†[*] Tēna Mān-
13 puram-āhāyaśaṇaṁ-ālaṅkurviṁvatā mātāpitrāḥ-pu-
14 nya-nimitt-ābhīvṛddhahā [Pēṭha]-10Paṅgara-kīya-Dakshī-
15 Śiva[va]ya [U]pāvikātikā11 nāma grāmakā Jāṭabhāra-
16 pravṛ[v]jī]taśaya udaka-pūrvvakā dattaḥ [†[*] ū(a)tra na
 k[ē]na-
17 chikī12 vyājaḥ karttavyaḥ [†[*]

**Third Plate.**

18 Harivataśa-kotṭa-nigrāha-Jayasiṅgha-13 samakṣahaḥ [†[*]
19 anyach-cha [†[*] Be[h]ubhir-vvaaudhā bhuktā rājaḥ-bhīḥ
[Sa]gar-ā[d]hīṁhīḥ |

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2 From Dr. Fleet’s ink-impressions.
3 Metre of verses 1 and 2: Vasantatilaka.
4 Cancel the visarga.
5 As pointed out by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 1), the correct expression would be pṛṇy-dhīvṛiddhā-nimītānāṁ.
6 This word is much damaged.
7 Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 2) reads Usṭikardīkā, but the subscript ो of the second syllable of Usṭi differs in shape from the ो of dṛṣṭā (l. 6), kḥṭa (l. 19) and khaṭṭa (l. 20 f.).
8 Read chit or, more correctly, chida.
9 Read -Jayasiṅgha-.
No. 17.—EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT SARNATH.

By J. P. Vogel, Lit.D.; Lahore.

In the course of excavations carried on by Mr. F. O. Oertel in the winter of 1904-05 at Sārnāth near Benares, a considerable number of epigraphs, besides a wealth of other archeological materials, have come to light. Mr. Oertel intends giving a full account of his explorations in the Annual Report of the Archeological Survey for that year. But as it will be some time before this is published, it seems desirable to render the most important of his epigraphical discoveries at once available to European scholars. It is hoped that this early publication of the inscriptions will not only be welcome, but that it may attract a discussion of the new finds among experts and thus lead to a solution of the various problems which will be indicated in the course of the following pages.

I.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ASOKA PILLAR.

a, b, c, d.—Inscription of Asōka.

Earliest in date is an inscription in Brāhmi of the Maurya period, cut on the shaft of a monolith of highly polished and fine-grained limestone. Its appearance agrees well with that of the pillar "bright as jade" which, according to Hiuen Tsang, marked the spot where Śākyamuni began to "turn the wheel of the Law." Unfortunately only the lower portion of the shaft was found in situ. Evidently the pillar had been willfully thrown down and mutilated, probably in that same "great final catastrophe," of which Major Kito received so vivid an impression in the course of his Sārnāth excavations. Besides large portions of the upper part of the shaft, a Persepolitan capital of excellent workmanship was unearthed. It bears four sitting lions, carrying a wheel.—another indication of the pillar being identical with that described by Hiuen Tsang.

That its height cannot have reached the 70 feet of Hiuen Tsang's pillar does not seem a serious objection, as the figure is only approximate, and it must be remembered that there is always a tendency to overestimate the height of monuments. What is more inexplicable is that Hiuen Tsang neither connects its origin with Asōka nor mentions the fact of its being inscribed. As to the latter point, I agree with Mr. Oertel's explanation that at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit most of the inscribed part of the shaft must have been under ground. This was certainly the case at the moment of its destruction. For, in order to lay bare the inscription, Mr. Oertel had to cut through several concrete floors, superimposed one above the other, as the ground gradually rose above the original level. It is due, indeed, to this circumstance that most of the inscription has been preserved.

Mr. Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments, from which it may be inferred that the destroyed portion consisted only of the first three lines of the epigraph. It will be seen that of the uppermost line of the main portion still in situ (i.e. on the Plate), several of the letters are injured and the concluding part is broken off. This missing part of twelve aksharas is supplied by one of those three fragments (i.d.), which also contains the end of the preceding

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1 Si-yu-ki (Beal), Vol. II. p. 46.
line, consisting of two fragmentary and nine entire akṣharas. Of the former we find the missing upper portions on another small fragment (i.e.), which contains one entire akṣara besides, and thus adds three to the nine akṣharas mentioned. It will, moreover, be noticed that between the two lines of fragment i.d there runs a dark line, which indicates where the uppermost floor met the shaft and left its mark upon it. There can be no doubt as to the original position of these two fragments, which fit exactly to the lower part of the shaft preserved in situ.

This is not the case with the third fragment (i.b), which has the first two syllables of three lines. But below its third line we find the same traces of the floor as are found on fragment i.d. This shows that in this third line we have the two initial syllables of the same line, the end of which is preserved on fragments i.e and i.d. Above the first line of i.a enough open space remains to make it unlikely that there was another line above it. We see, moreover, that the two syllables preserved read deva, which, if continued -naṁ-piṇa Pygadasa lājā,¹ would form the well-known opening formula of several of the Aśoka edicts. We may, therefore, assume that fragment i.b contains the beginning of the first three lines of the original epigraph. It follows from this that the uppermost line in situ is the fourth line of the whole inscription which, consequently, consisted of eleven lines. Their average length is 60 cm., but the last line measures only 21.5 cm. The size of the letters varies from 1.3 to 2.8 cm. They are cut very clearly, and are legible throughout, except in portions of the third and fourth lines.

It is a question of primary importance whether we are justified in attributing the inscription to Aśoka. That the Dharmarāja would erect a memorial pillar on the spot where the Master preached his first sermon— as, indeed, we know he did on the place of his birth and on that of his parinirvāṇa—seems a priori most plausible. The fine monolith with its splendid capital and well-engraved inscription in the Maurya character would seem to point to no lesser founder than the great Buddhist emperor. But the epigraph itself affords a more positive proof. I need not quote as evidence my explanation of the first two akṣharas of i.b, which, though plausible, is hypothetical itself. The same remark applies to a conjectural restoration of pāta in the third line of the same fragment to Pāṭaliputra— the only word of the Aśoka inscriptions beginning with those syllables.²

The following two points seem to me to be decisive. In the sixth line we read: Hevaṁ-devāṇaṁ-piṇa-ādā— "Thus speaks His sacred Majesty." And in the eighth line mention is made of the Mahāmātasya, evidently no others than the Dhamma Mahāmātasya or ‘superintendents of the sacred Law’ whom, according to the fifth rock edict,³ Aśoka had appointed thirteen years after his anointment. In the seventh pillar edict⁴ it is, moreover, stated that these officials would be occupied with the affairs of the Saṅgha also, and it is clear that to these the Sarnāth inscription refers. We read in the fifth line: hevaṁ-iyāṁ-nāme bhikhu-samghas-ta bhikhu-samgha-saṁghasi-chā vuṁnapālayati— "Let thus this order be brought to notice in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns.” And the monks themselves are evidently addressed in the following passage (I. 6 f.): “Not only has such an edict been laid down for you. But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members.”

It would follow from the above that the Sarnāth pillar was erected after the institution of the Mahāmātasya, i.e. not before the fourteenth year of Aśoka’s abhiṣekha (about B.C. 255). It seems not unlikely that its erection took place on the occasion of Aśoka’s pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in 249 B.C.⁵ It may at first seem surprising that the epigraph—at least

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¹ It is, of course, also possible that the Instrumental case was used, as in the Runminē (or Paścāriya) and Nigliva pillar inscriptions: Devaṁ-piṇa Pygadasa lājā; see above, Vol. V, p. 1 ff.
² Rock edict V. 7. The word is only found in the Girnar inscription, while the other versions substitute i.e. pāta, pāṭa, here; see Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 453.
³ Ibid., pp. 458 and 467.
⁴ Ibid. p. 289 ff.
⁵ V. A. Smith, The Early History of India (Oxford 1904), p. 129.
its preserved portion—does not contain any reference to the event which, in all probability, it was meant to commemorate. But at the time of its erection such a reference must have appeared superfluous. It is noteworthy that, though the Rummindel inscription twice refers to the Buddha's birth, the reference is, in reality, incidental. The pillar was erected, not to commemorate this fact, but to record Asoka's visit and his liberality on that occasion.

The language of the Sarnath inscription presents the same characteristics, peculiar to the Magadha dialect, as are found in the rock edicts of Kalsi, Dhauli and Janga, the pillar edicts of Radia, Mathia and Rampurva, the Rupnath, Bairat and Sahaarkh edicts, and in the Barabar cave inscriptions. These characteristics are the Nominative Singular Masculine ending in o, the substitution of l for r and of n for a, the exclusive use of the dental sibilant, and of forms like heva in for svam and hedise for idrisa:

It will be seen that our epigraph contains several words not met with in any of the other Asoka inscriptions—a point which, though adding to its interest, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. On the other hand, the fact that in the beginning we find a passage corresponding to the fragmentary Kasaambi-Saachi edict, and at the end one which recurs in the Rupnath edict, is important for the interpretation not only of the Sarnath inscription, but also of the parallel passages quoted.

In publishing my version of the inscription I wish to acknowledge thankfully the great benefit derived from a number of explanatory notes which I owe to the kindness of Prof. Kern, who has authorised me to give them publicity here. Dr. T. Bloch has also favoured me with some valuable remarks to be noticed in the sequel. In my transcript I have followed Dr. Bühler's system of joining by a hyphen such words as are written contiguously in the original.

TEXT.

1 Devāṇam-piye Piyadasi lājā[1]  . . . . . . .
2 o [la'] . . . . . . . .
3 Pata[liputā] . . . . . . ye-kena-pi saṅgha-bhetava-cuñh-kho
4 [bhiḥku-vā-bhiḥkuhi-vā] saṅghaḥ-bh[i]khaṭi se-odatāni-duṣ[ā]ni saṁnandhā-
payingā-anāvāsasi
5 ārāśiye [1*] Hevam-iyam-sāsane bhikhu-saṅghas-ccha bhikhum-saṅghas-ccha viṁnapayatiyāve [1*]
6 Hevam-devānām-piye-āhā [1*] Hediśa-ccha-ikā-lipti tuptaḥāntikānaṁ-huvā-ti saṁsala-
nasi-nikhitā [1*]
7 Ikam-ccha-lipim-hedisam-eva upasakānāntikānaṁ-nikhipātha [1*] Te-pi-ccha-upasakā
anuposathan-yaṁ
8 etam-eva-sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave [1*] Anuposathan-ccha-dhuvāye ikike.5 mahāmāte-
posathaye
9 yāti etam-eva-sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave ājānītave-ccha [1*] Āvatake-ccha-
tuptaḥāmatuḥāle
10 savata-viśvaṁyātā-tuphe stena-viśvājanena [1*] Hem-eva-savesu-koṣa-visvesu
etena
11 viśvājanena viśvāparyātā [1*]

1 The meaning of this letter is doubtful. It resembles most the sign for l, but the stroke to the proper right is slanting downward, and not horizontal as in saṁsalamāi (1. 6).
2 It will be noticed that initial i is expressed here in another way than in ēvam (1. 6), ikā (1. 6) and ikām (1. 7). In the latter two dots are beneath and the third above; in ēvam (for čkām) we have just the reverse. It is possible that in the second case i has to be read. We find post-consomantic ē in ēpī (1. 6).
TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) — [His sacred Majesty king Piyadasi] ... (l. 3) at Pāṣāliputta ... .

Whate’er (l. 4) monk or nun begs his food(?) let him be provided with clean (or white) cloths and reside in another residence (or monastery). (l. 5.) Thus should this order be made known in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns. (l. 6.) Thus speaks His sacred Majesty. Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you so that you should remember “So be it!” (l. 7.) But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members. Let the lay-members also go on each sabbath (l. 8) in order to familiarize themselves with this order. Also on each sabbath regularly will each superintendent go to the sabbath (service) (l. 9) in order to familiarize himself with this order and to understand it. And as far as your district (reaches), (l. 10) walk ye everywhere according to this proclamation. In like manner cause (others) in all towns and provinces (l. 11) to walk according to this proclamation.

REMARKS.

Line 8, bheteve.— Dr. Bloch remarks: “I felt inclined at first to explain this word as bhūtavayya or bhūtāram from bhūvaynī, and I supposed that the order (kāśanam) in the beginning contained injunctions against quarrelsome monks or nuns, who tried to cause schisms in the Saṅgha (Pāli: saṅgha bhūvādānak). I tried to get out of bhūvādānak some similar word of the same meaning, and to translate the sentence: “A monk or nun who cause schisms in the Saṅgha, let them put on white cloths (instead of the ordinary yellow robe) and take their living in some other place” (ānāvāsaṁ anayāvāpaṁ). This would enable us to translate the end of the edict, from Āvattake-dhā-tuphākam-dhāte (l. 9) thus: “As far as your district (? dhāle) goes, everywhere turn ye out (vāsāyāhythā) [a monk or nun creating disturbances] with this mark (etena viyāhyanena, viz. white cloths).” But I confess that I cannot see how bhūvādānak, or whatever the reading may be, can be made to convey a similar meaning.”— Chūna-kho, as Dr. Bloch notes, “stands for chu-kko (Skr. tu khalu), the group ākkh having taken the place of kkh (Prkt. kko), as we have ānā for nna in viṁnapayātave (l. 5).”

L. 4, bhūvādānak.— The vowel-stroke of the first syllable is broken, but from the little that remains I feel inclined to read rather i than o. On the Allāhābād pillar the akṣara is missing, but was restored by Bühler as kko on the strength of the Sāνchī inscription. But in the latter also, judging from the facsimile, the vowel-stroke is far from certain and can as well be read bhī. Another difficulty is presented by the word saṅghaṁ, which Bühler took to be a Nominative used as an apposition with bhūvādānak, “the community, both monk and nun.” In the light of the Sāνchī inscription this interpretation can hardly be maintained. It should be noticed that the word saṅghaṁ is connected with the following bhūvādānak, and not with the preceding bhūvādānak. — Dusāṁi is the Plural of dusāṁ, Pāli dusāṁ, Skr. dāśyaṁ.

Saṁnaṁdhāpañyād (for which Kāṇambi and Śāñcīhī have saṁnaṁdhāpañyād) belongs, according to Prof. Kern, to the causative of saṁnaṁdhāti = Skr. saṁnahyāti. Compare Pāli pilaṇḍhāti = Skr. pinaḥyāti, originally pinaḥhyāti, from the root nādh (past participle noddha, and Latin nodus from nodūlus); causative pilandaḥpeti. “The difference in meaning,” Prof. Kern remarks, “between pilandaḥpeti and saṁnaṁdhāpeti cannot be great. We may, therefore, render it by ‘to provide with’ (cloths in the Accusative case).”

L. 5, viṁnapayātave (Skr. viṁnāpayātave), viṁnapetī (Skr. viṁnāpayati), the causative of Sanskrit-Pāli viṁndati. It should be noticed that Aṅkh, in making his wishes known to the Saṅgha, uses the respectful term viṁnapetī, and not ḏnapetī (compare ḏaapitāṁ in pillar edict VII). For the transition of viṁna to viṁna- compare chhaṅdāyānāni in pillar edict IV. for Skr. chhandāyānāni.
L. 6, *tuphākatikāṁ, and upāsakānātikāṁ* (l. 7) contain the Genitive Plural of *tuphe* (Nom. Plur.) and *upāsaka* combined with the postposition *āntikāṁ* (see Childers, s. v.), 'penes vos' and 'penes laicos.' Prof. Kern adds that we might assume an etymological spelling *tuphākatikāṁ* in which the *anveśa* became elided. "For such an elision of *anveśa* between two vowels is found in the Vedic metrical system, in the metrical portions of the Pali texts, and in the Sanskritized Buddhist gāthās, just as in Latin *templum* Apollinis becomes *templōpollinis*. Both has rightly remarked (s. v. *samanā*) that *samanēva* (*Ṛgveda* VI. 75, 4) and elsewhere represents *samanam ita*. In the same way we have *dvāmāndvāva* *chirām* (*Ṛgveda* X. 107, 10) for *dvāmānāna* ita *chirām*, and not for *dvāmāndvāna* ita *chirām* as explained in the Padapātha." Another interesting instance is pointed out by Prof. Kern in *Ṛgveda* VIII. 59, 2. "The traditional reading *indrihitān tān sambha puruḥpannam āvase* is metrically impossible, as the last four syllables must be — — — —. Now what has happened? The words of the poet were *maṇḍevase*, which stands for *maṇṇam avease*. The diaknesists took *puṇṇhamanam* for a Vocative, and as they did not understand the *ā* in *āvase*, they shortened it. In applying the Sandhi rule of Sanskrit grammar, they changed *maṇṇam* into *maṇṇam* and omitted the accent of *puṇṇhamanam* which they took for a Vocative, but which in reality is an epithet of *indram*, meaning 'who has slain many.' In this manner they gave birth to the *Rishi* Puruḥpannam!"

Hymn Prof. Kern derives from the Skr. Conj. Aor. bhūvat, the *ā* being lengthened on account of the following *ti*. — *Saṁsālanāsī* is the Locative of *saṁsālanāṁ*, which both Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch explain as the equivalent of Skr. *saṁsārāya, 'remembrance.' The expression *saṁsālanāśi nihūtā* (Skr. *saṁsārāyāśi nihūtā*) would, therefore, mean — 'put to memory.' — In l. 7 *yātu* is the 3rd Pers. Plur. Opt. of *yāti*.

L. 8, *viśvavasayitave.* — From the manner in which the words are connected it is evident that *viśvavasayitave* (again in l. 9) is to be regarded as one word, and not as the adjective *viśvav* (Skr. *viśvām*) + a verb *vasitave*. Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch agree in interpreting *viśvavasayitave* as corresponding with Skr. *viśvavasayitum*, to be taken in a reflexive sense, 'to make oneself familiar with.' As instances of a similar use of a causative verb Prof. Kern quotes *dārjayitum*, which sometimes has the meaning 'to show oneself.' For *ānuvāse* instead of *ānuviśem* he compares the Jaina Prākrit *nīyānai* and *nīyānāsai* = Skr. *nīsāsati*, whereas we have the reverse in *viśem* = Skr. *viśaṇu*, *tiṣṭa* = Skr. *triṣṭa*, *chatālīsas* = Skr. *chatālīka*.


L. 9, *āhačā.* — Prof. Kern is of opinion that *āhačā* cannot correspond here with Skr. *āhaṇa*.

"Childers," he says, "has *āhaṇa* = 'food, nourishment; cause' (more correctly: 'ground, basis'). But there are in reality two different words which have coincided in form, namely, *āhāra, 'food' (= Skr. *āhāra*), and *āhaṇa*, 'ground' (= Skr. *āhaṇa*). It seems to mean 'territory' in the compound *āhārāya* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 30, 4), 'with all the territory.' In any case *āhačā* here equals *āhaṇa*, and its meaning must be 'territory, field of business.'" In his rendering of the Rāpamāth edict M. Senart has adopted the meaning 'food for *āhačā*'; but the concluding sentence of the Sārnāth inscription leaves little doubt about the correctness of Prof. Kern's interpretation. It will be seen from the above that Dr. Bloch has arrived independently at the same conclusion. I may add that in later inscriptions also the word has the meaning of 'a territorial division.' Compare Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (London 1883), p. 113, footnote 4.

L. 10, *savata.* — Compare rock edict II. (Kālṣi): *savata viṣitāsi, 'everywhere in the empire.'" *Viṣṇujana* (Skr. *viṣṇujana*) must here (and in l. 11) have a different meaning from that
assigned to it by Bühler in the expression hētuvaṭād-ched viyādjanate-cha (rock edict III), 'both according to the letter and according to the spirit.' The sense attached to it by M. Senart in the Rāpāṇāth edict is evidently the one to be applied here also. The Sārnāth inscription, moreover, places it beyond doubt that M. Senart's reading of the corresponding passage in that edict is correct. The original meaning of viyādja is 'manifestation,' from which that of 'a royal proclamation' can be easily derived. In connection with the Rāpāṇāth legend this interpretation seems to me preferable to that suggested above by Dr. Bloch.

Vidayātha is the 2nd Plur. Imper. of viśceti. Compare viścetāsya in the Rāpāṇāth edict, which M. Senart translates:—'il vous faut partir en mission.' But as in the Sārnāth inscription apparently no reference is made to missionary duties, I feel inclined to assign to it a more general meaning, either 'to go about for inspecting purposes' as suggested by Prof. Kern, or 'to conduct oneself,' a meaning which could be derived from that of 'to spend one's time' attached to Skr. viśceti. That, in any case, vidayātha, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, appears from the following viśāpayātha (l. 11), the 2nd Pers. Plur. Imper. of a verb viśāpeti which can be nothing but a causative of viśceti. This prevents me from accepting the interpretation suggested by Dr. Bloch.

L. 11, koṭa-vivacem.—Prof. Kern agrees with me in explaining vivacem as the equivalent of Skr. vishayēsān and quotes the following parallel cases: uṣāna = uṣādya; pravacchhati, v. l. pravacchhati = pravacchhati; tātatiṣṭa = tātatiṣṭa; kūlāyaka = kūlāyaka; kāstava = kāstava. In the Aśoka inscriptions we have dōti (pillar edict IV.) = Skr. dūkti, and the terminations of the 3rd Pers. Sing. and Plur. Opt. ेva (Skr. ेyā) and ेva (Skr. ेyur), e.g. pāpova (pillar edict IV.) = Skr. prāpyadyā.

It is more difficult to explain koṭa. Prof. Kern proposes to render the compound either by 'territory belonging to the resort of a capital' or by 'rural district,' as in Tamil kōṭam has the meaning of 'an agricultural town or village.' I have translated it as a dūnda compound. That kōṭa, 'a fort,' can be used to designate a fortified city, is evident from place-names like Nagar-kōṭ (i.e. Kāṭā city) and Paṭhān-kōṭ (for Pratishthān-kōṭa).

o, f.—Additional inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edict, the Sārnāth pillar contains two records of a later date, each consisting of only one line. The older of the two (i.e.) is incised partly beneath the Aśoka inscription, continuing, as it were, its last short line. Though the engraving of the letters, which measure from 1 to 7 cm., is inferior to that of the principal record, there can be little doubt about the reading, with the exception of the first word which is partly destroyed. The length of the line, as far as preserved, is exactly 1 m. I read it as follows: 3

prārigyeyhea rajā Aśvaghoṣhaya chatariśe savabhare hematapakhe prathame divase dasame.

"[In the fortunate reign] of Rājā Aśvaghoṣha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day."

It will be seen that the sign for anusvāra is omitted throughout (read: chatariśe, savabhare, hematapakhe), and that the long a of rajā and chatārī [h]ā is not indicated, unless the very slight extension to the proper left of the top of a and l is meant to serve that purpose. It is probable that at the beginning there was some expression equivalent to the wordhamāna-kūlāyaka-vijaya-rājyād of later inscriptions. 4

2 Ibid. p. 182 ff.
3 [The beginning of this inscription is shown on the Plate containing the Aśoka edict, and the continuation of
1 on the second Plate of Sārnāth inscriptions. The first letter of Aśvaghoṣhaya appears on both Plates. —E.H.]
4 For geyhe see Prof. Pischel’s Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, §§ 872.

2 2
The title rāja added to the name Aśvaghōsa forbids us from identifying him with the eighth Buddhist patriarch and author of the Buddhacharita. It is true that in later India worldly titles are not uncommonly applied to spiritual worthies. Thus the term saṅgharāja is the modern title of the principal ecclesiastical functionary in Burma. But it is doubtful whether that custom can be referred to the period to which our inscription belongs. Nor does it seem ever to have been the custom to date documents after the pontifical reign of the head of the church. It is more likely that the date refers to the era of Kanishka, and that the name of the local ruler of the time was added to the Cognize according to the established custom.

The characters well agree with this supposition. The angular ga and sa approach the forms of the Maurya Brāhmi. But on the whole the script resembles most closely that of the Kushāṇa period. Compare e.g. the akṣara sya with that of the Kanishka inscription beneath. Some of the letters, like re, pa and sa, show a somewhat later type. Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of Huvishka. The language, a mixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit, points to the same conclusion.

Another inscription (if one) of a still later date is engraved to the proper left of the Aśoka inscription and above that of Aśvaghōsa’s reign. It consists of one line, 52 cm. long. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 5 cm. It is evidently not the work of a professional stonecutter. Some of the characters are moreover injured, which makes their reading somewhat doubtful. My reading is as follows:—


“Homage of the masters of the Sammitiya (?) sect (and) of the Vātsiputra school.”

On account of its characters, which resemble those of the early Guptā records, this epigraph may be attributed to the fourth century A.D. The language, it will be noticed, is more Sanskrit than that of the previous inscription. But the long ṃ is not everywhere indicated (read: ḍhṛȳj[y]ān[ā]ṃ Sammitiyānāṃ). In parigraha the last syllable ought to be ha.

Unfortunately the second syllable of the second word is uncertain. If the proposed reading be correct, it would afford an interesting proof of the correctness of a Tibetan tradition, according to which the Vātsiputryās were a subdivision of the Sammitiya sect. As stated by Huien Tsang, the large convent which once stood at Sārnāth accommodated fifteen hundred monks of this sect. Vatsiputra was one of the fathers of the Buddhist church, who, according to a Tibetan source, collected the words of the Lord two hundred years after his parinirvāṇa.

II.—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF AŚVAGHOSHĀ’S REIGN.

It is curious that the name of Rāja Aśvaghōsa occurs again on the fragment of a stone slab (height 16-5 cm.), which Mr. Oertel discovered, almost at the surface, some 70 feet to the north-east by east of the vihāra which formed the centre of his explorations. It contains the first portions of two lines of a well engraved inscription, which I read:

1 Rāja[ṃ] Aśvaghōsa[ṃ]ya
2 Upala ha[ṃ][ntapakhe?]

“[In the reign] of Rāja Aśvaghōsa, [Upala (?), [In the ... fortnight of winter]...

The characters are the same as those of Aśvaghōsa’s inscription on the Aśoka pillar.

1 See Childers, Dictionary of the Pāli Language, s. v. saṅgho.
III.—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF KANISHKA.

These inscriptions are incised on a colossal standing Bôdhisattva statue, and on an octagonal stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the image. That the two objects belong together is evident from their epigraphs, both of which record the donation of a Bôdhisattva and of an umbrella with a shaft (chhatra-yashî) on the same date and by the same donors. The inscriptions are dated in the third year of Mahârâja Kanishka (spelled Mahârâja Kanishka), the third month of winter, the twenty-second day, and thus are the earliest records in which the name of the great Kusâna ruler occurs. They supply, however, no absolute proof that at that time Kanishka's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kâśî. On the contrary, it will be seen in the sequel that the latter came more probably from Mathurâ and erected the image on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism.

What adds considerably to the interest of these inscriptions is the fact that the chief donor, Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, must be identical with the donor of the Srâvasti image in the Calcutta Museum, to which Dr. Bloch devoted an excellent article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. If the identity of the names alone (that of the monk Pushyavuddhi is partly missing in the Srâvasti inscription) were not considered sufficient proof, the striking similarity of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script cannot leave any doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion. It is not a little curious that we meet the name of Friar Bala for the third time on an inscribed Bôdhisattva image from Mathurâ, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, as the spiritual preceptor of the nun Buddhamitrâ whose name is also found among the donors of the Sarnâth image. The Mathurâ image is dated in the reign of Mahârâja Huvishka in the year 33, which makes it exactly thirty years posterior to the Sarnâth one.

Two names found in the Sarnâth inscriptions, to which a considerable amount of interest attaches, are Kharapallâna and Vanaspara (or Vanashpara). On the umbrella shaft they are mentioned among the persons who took part in the donation, Vanaspara being mentioned first and bearing the title of Khusatrapa. But on the image it is distinctly stated that Kharapallâna, here called Mahâkhusatrapa, erected the Bôdhisattva together with the Khusatrapa Vanashpara. As, however, Friar Bala's name is connected with the image in a manner which would indicate him as the donor, it is not altogether patent what part the two satraps took in the donation.

The question has been raised how mendicants, who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions, could make donations which would necessarily involve a considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sarnâth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but that the work was carried out under the supervision of Friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own. Such guidance on the part of one well versed in the holy scriptures would be needed, to make sure that the works were completely orthodox. We need not go far afield to find parallels, or quote the case of Fra Angelico, who adorned San Marco at Florence with his famous frescoes. On the very

1 The earliest inscription of Kanishka's reign hitherto found is that of his fifth year; Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 361, No. 1.
4 The word dhanam, though not used in the Sarnâth inscriptions, is found on the Srâvasti image.
5 Kern, Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 40. That the former practice was not strictly adhered to, has been pointed out by M. Foucher, L'art Grécque-bouddhique de Gandhara, Vol. I. (Paris, 1906), p. 109; but the rule forbidding monks to touch money is still observed, at least in Burma.
borders of India the quaint paintings which cover the walls of the dgon-pas are executed up to the present day—so I was told in Lahul—by those of the lamas who possess the most accurate knowledge of their stupendous pantheon.

This much, at any rate, is certain, that the Sarnāth and the Sravasti image were made by the same master, if not by the same workmen. The style is that of the Mathurā school; the material is the red sandstone of the Agra quarries. All this points to the conclusion, already referred to above, that the donors of these images had their home at Mathurā where, as early as the reign of the satraps Rajula (or Rañjubula) and Šodasa, a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Boddhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. And all evidence now available points to the fact that these were the very first images of the kind set up at those places.1 For where else but at these sacred spots, hallowed by the presence of the Buddha himself, should we expect to find such images? And yet not a fragment of anything earlier than these has been found there. On the other hand, would Friar Bala and his companions have carried those gigantic statues from Mathurā to Sravasti and far-off Benares, if there had been local artists capable of converting a block of stone into a sacred image? Would he have thought it necessary to mention expressly that the image represented a Boddhisattva, if such images had been familiar to the pious? Let us bear in mind the numberless images of Medieval India, all evidently made locally,—those of Sarnāth in Chunār sandstone, those of Gayā in basalt,—among which we hardly ever find one marked with the name of the deity which it represents.2 Among the numerous inscribed Buddhist images of the early Gupta period Dr. Bloch can quote only three examples in which the subject is mentioned.

Then, if Friar Bala was a monk of Mathurā, who were his patrons, the great satrap Kharapallāna and the satrap Vanaspara? That they were Buddhists is evident; and it may be inferred from their titles that the former was the latter's father, and from their names that they were of foreign extraction. As to the latter point, it is impossible at present to arrive at a definite conclusion. For though these two names have a distinct Iranian sound,3 I need only refer to the instance of the Mughal rulers of later days, to demonstrate the unsoundness of inferring anything therefrom as to their ethnographic origin. Perhaps from their connection with Friar Bala we may hazard the conjecture that their seat of government was at Mathurā, where a line of foreign rulers is known to have existed only about a century before. It is true that on the Kharapala coins found in and round that city the names of Kharapallāna and Vanaspara do not occur. But this fact can easily be accounted for on the assumption that Kharapallāna, though possibly a descendant of the independent satraps of the 1st century B.C., now owed allegiance to Mahārāja Kanishka, in whose reign the inscriptions are dated, and consequently used the Kushana coinage. May we go a step further and assume that his son Vanasma, who issued the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallāna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father?

The Sarnāth inscriptions partly confirm and partly modify Dr. Bloch's conclusions regarding the Sravasti epigraph. They show that he is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation of

1 That statues already existed in India at an earlier period is proved by the Parkham image (A. S. R. Vol. XX. p. 49 and Plate vi.) with its inscription in Mauryā Brāhmī. But apparently it has no connection with Buddhism.
2 A. Foucher, Étude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde (Paris, 1900), pp. 4 ff. and 7 ff. Regarding the Mathurā sculptures the author remarks: "Elles sont tout de suite reconnaissables à la belle couleur rouge tachetée de jaune du gris des Vindhyas."
3 The ending anu is also found in Hāgāna (Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 87) and in Nahapāna (A. S. R. Western India, Vol. IV. p. 99). For the first member of the name Kharapallāna we may compare Kharamosta and Kharaocta (Bühler, J. R. A. S. for 1894, p. 532, and Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 8).
chhatraṁ dāṇḍaś-cha as meaning 'an umbrella and a stick.' It is curious that these objects were not recovered with the Śrāvasti image, which Cunningham found standing in a small temple, and not in the open. The name of Friar Bala’s spiritual preceptor, which in the Śrāvasti inscription was only partly legible and had been restored by Dr. Bloch as Pushyaṃitra, appears from the epigraph on the umbrella post to be Pushyavuddhi, corresponding to Sanskrit Pushya-
vṛiddhi. Finally, the Sārnāth inscriptions establish beyond doubt that the Śrāvasti image belongs to the early Kusāna period.

Conversely the Śrāvasti inscription helps to elucidate some doubtful points in the Sārnāth legends. Thus we may safely assume that the chhatra-yuṣṭi of the Sārnāth inscriptions, which corresponds with the chhatraṁ dāṇḍaś-cha of the Śrāvasti epigraph, is to be taken as a decaedes and not as a tatpurusha compound, and to be rendered by 'an umbrella with a staff' and not by an umbrella staff.' Again we should be doubtful how to explain the connection between the Genitive bhūkhushya Balarya tṛiptiṇakarṣya and the following Nominative, if the Śrāvasti record did not give us the clue that the word dāṇḍaḥ is to be supplied.

Dr. Bloch’s remarks regarding the characteristic features of language and script of the Śrāvasti inscription apply equally to those of the Sārnātha ones. But in view of the date of the latter falling in Kanishka’s reign, it is impossible to maintain for the peculiar script which both exhibit the designation of “Northern Kshatrāṇa” in contradistinction with the so-called Kusāna script of a later period. Its more correct name would be “early Kusāna,” and it shows indeed a transition between the script of Śoḍaša’s epigraphs and those of the later Kusānas. The former is marked by more archaic forms and stands nearer to the Maurya type. In it we find post-consonantic a, e and o commonly expressed by horizontal, and not by slanting strokes as are found in the Kusāna inscriptions. The ya is still semi-circular at the bottom, and its middle vertical stroke sometimes exceeds the side ones in length. On the other hand, the similarity between the script of the Mathurā satrapa and that of the early years of Kanishka is so striking, that the two can hardly be separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the first century B.C., paleographical evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kanishka’s reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A.D.

It is only natural that the later Kusāna inscriptions, e.g. that on the Mathurā Bodhisattva image of the year 33, above referred to, and still more that on the Kusāna Buddha image dated in the year 74, should exhibit a further development in respect alike of script and of language. Here we find the ya in kya and sya regularly expressed by a loop, and not by its full sign. Thos it approaches visibly the form peculiar to the early Gupta period. The language of the later inscriptions, though not yet pure Sanskrit, is decidedly more Sanskritic than that of the early Kusāna records. Compare, for instance, mātāpitaṁ (Kusāna) with sāhā mātāpitiṁ (Sārnātha-Mathurā), and parījāhe (Kusāna) with parījāhe (Śrāvasti). On the other hand, we find pratiṣṭhāpita already in the Sārnātha inscription, whereas at an earlier period pratiṣṭhāpita is used.

The inscription is cut on three sides of the octagonal umbrella post, and consists of ten lines of 33 cm. in length, except the last line, which measures only 9 cm. The size of the aksharas varies from 1 to 6 cm. The letters are regular and clearly cut, but the disintegration of the surface of the stone has caused their shape to become indistinct in places, more especially towards the junction of the faces of the shaft. On the whole, however, the inscription is very well preserved, and wherever the reading appears at all doubtful, a comparison with contemporaneous epigraphs has enabled me to arrive at results which may be considered final.

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1 See Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 100, No. II.
3 The looped ya is found already in the inscription of Kanishka’s 5th year, referred to above.
TEXT OF iii. a.

1 Mahārajasya Kāṇishkasya sat 3 be 3 di 23
2 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pūshyavuddhiṣaya saddhyevi-
3 hāṣya bhikshusya Bālasya trepiṭakasya
4 Bodhisatvo chhārayaśiṣṭi cha pratisiṁṭhapito
5 Bārāṇasiye Bhagavato chāṁkame sāhā māṭ[ā]-
6 pitīḥi sāhā upaddhyāyācheṛhi saddhyeviḥāri-
7 hi antevasīkṛtī cha sāhā Buddhamitrāye trepiṭika-
8 ye sāhā kahatrapena Vanaspireṇa Kharapallā-
9 nena cha sāhā cha[ti]hi parishāḥi sarvasatvamah
10 hitasukhārithamān.

REMARKS.

Line 1.—It is doubtful whether the depression at the top of the ra represents an d-stroke or not. The form mahārajasya, however, is quite distinct in the Bōdhisattva inscription. The spelling Kāṇishkasya with lingual a has already been noticed above.

L. 2 f.—There can be no doubt as to the reading saddhyeviḥāri, with e in the second syllable, here and also in line 6. At first I felt inclined to read svaddhyeviḥāri, which would yield an etymologically more intelligible form: but pre-consonantie e is expressed by a perpendicular and not by a slanting stroke. See e.g. purvayya (l. 2) and sarvasatvamah (l. 9). In the Śrāvastī image inscription also I should prefer to read saddhyeviḥāriya.

L. 3.—The third aṣṭava of trepiṭakasya resembles ēha, which is evidently due to the stone being worn. Compare trepiṭikaye (l. 7 f.).

L. 4.—The vowel-stroke of the last syllable of pratisiṁṭhapito is indistinct. In one of the Bōdhisattva inscriptions we have clearly ēa.

L. 5.—The first letter of Bārāṇasiye is open at the top and would, therefore, represent pa. But there can be little doubt that this is due either to the disintegration of the surface or to a clerical error. The vowel-stroke also cannot be said to be absolutely certain. For the ending compare Sāvastiye in the Śrāvastī inscription.—It is doubtful whether the inscription has chaṁkrame or chaṁkame. I have chosen the Prākrit form which is found in the Śrāvastī inscription.

L. 6.—For the reading upaddhyāyācheṛhi I am indebted to Prof. Kern, who remarks that the form ḍhēra for Skr. ḍhārya occurs also in the Jātaka (ed. by Fausbøll), Vol. IV. p. 248, l. 9, in a verse, i.e. in a dialect different from Pāli.

L. 8.—Is perhaps Vanaspireṇa to be read? The Bōdhisattva inscription has clearly Vanaspireṇa.

L. 9.—The letter (or letters?) following the second cha is indistinct. At first I felt inclined to read saḥa cha sarvāḥi parishāḥi, but finally chose the expression saḥa chaṭṭhāhi parishāḥi, which occurs also in the Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti. Compare Cunningham, A. S. R. Vol. III. p. 35, No. 21, Plate xvi., and Senart, Journal Asiatique, série 8, Vol. XV. p. 119.

TRANSLATION.

In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanisika, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above,1 was (this gift of) Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka2 and

1 The Mathurā inscriptions afford many variants of this expression such as stavaḥ pārvadām, avyāḥ pā-


2 On the term tripitaka (Skr. tripitaka), Vam. tripitikā, compare Bloch, ē. c. p. 293.
Sarnath inscriptions of Kanishka and Asvaghosa.

Scale three-tenths.

From inked estampages supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.
fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bōdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord used to walk,—together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils, and with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripitaka, together with the satrap Vamsapura and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes, for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.

The image referred to in the inscription is 10' high and 3' wide across the shoulders. It was found in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The right arm is lost; presumably it was raised in the attitude of protection (abhaya-mudrā). The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment, which reaches beneath the knees. The head, which measures 3' in circumference, is unfortunately much mutilated. The top is broken, so that it is impossible to decide whether it had the protuberance of the skull (ushāka). Nor is there any trace of the mark between the brows (ārpa), another characteristic of the Buddha. We can, however, be certain that the hair was neither arranged in the wavy locks peculiar to the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, nor in the schematic curls of medieval images. It is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain, close-fitting cap, which was probably meant to render the shaven head of the Buddhist monk. It is interesting to note that this treatment of the hair is very common in the Mathurā images which can be assigned to the Kushāna period. Another point of similarity is the treatment of the halo. In the case of the Sārnāth image only the lower part of it remains on the back of the torso. Along its border runs a repeat of semicircles. In Gandhāra the haloes are plain, except in a few instances where we find a border showing a conventional development of the radiate nimbus. Of this the Mathurā halo seems to be a later development, which thus forms a transition from the plain Gandhāra one to the highly ornamental halo of the Gupta period, of which Mr. Oertel's excavations have revealed some very fine specimens.

Between the feet of the Sārnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the side of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers and fruits in bas-relief. Whether these are merely decorative or have some symbolical meaning, I cannot decide. In later Buddhist art the lion, if meant as vihāna and not merely as an indication of the simhasana, is peculiar to the Bōdhisattvastas Mahājātā and Simhanāda-Lokāvaram. But it is questionable, whether at the period to which the Sārnāth image belongs it can have borne that signification. More probably it indicates that the statue represents Śākyasimha, the lion among the Śākyas.

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2 The use and meaning of Bhagavet see Kern, Manual, p. 63.
3 The word antesāsīr occurs also in the 2nd Śādhura edict (Bühler, above, Vol. III. p. 139): Hemesa antesāsīr dharāi apachch[si] triviya ("moreover the pupil should honour his teacher"), and in a Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. I. (Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 193). The feminine form antesāsit occurs in the Mathurā Bōdhisattva inscription (p. 182 below), where the bīhikasī Buddhaṅtī is called the antesāsil of Friar Bala. In another Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. XXI. (Bühler, l. c. p. 205), we find the form antesāsitā.
4 The four parinātā are bīhikasī, bīhikasī, upāsanas and upadās. Sometimes five or eight parinātā are spoken of. Compare I-teing (Takakusa) and Childers, Pdt. Dictionary, s. v. parinātā.
5 The same expression is also found in the Ayur Buddha inscription; Cunningham, A. S. R. Vol. XX. p. 49 and Plate V. No. 5.
6 Compare Grünwedel-Burgess, Buddhist Art, fig. 143.
7 That these are to be assigned to the Gupta period, may be inferred from the inscribed Buddha image in the Mathurā Municipal Museum. Compare Growse, Mathurā, a District Memoir, p. 115.
8 Mr. Grierson, Superintendent of the Taj Garden at Agra, to whom I sent a photograph of the sculpture, is of opinion that the bas-relief possibly represents the flower, bud, leaves and seed-pods of "Rhododendron arboreum." (Flora Br. Ind. Vol. III. p. 465), a plant that is used in Nepal as an offering at Buddhist temples.
I may add that in Mathurā we often find a cluster of lotus flowers between the feet of the image. Dr. Bloch noticed between the feet of the Śrāvasti image "a peculiar object of uncertain meaning."

It has already been noted that the image is curved on the back. Unlike medieevil images it is in the round and not in relief. This circumstance makes it probable that it never stood in a temple, but was placed in the open, sheltered only by its umbrella, a probability that is strengthened by the discovery of all the fragments of the image and of the umbrella in the open space between the Asoka pillar and the vihāra excavated by Mr. Oertel.

The Sarnāth image, though an important addition to our materials, only complicates one of the problems of Buddhist iconography. Had it not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call it a Buddha image. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bōdhisattvas are absent, and the figure wears only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions alike on the umbrella post and, as will be seen presently, on the image itself, are quite explicit in designating it a Bōdhisattva.

What then are the distinguishing features of the Bōdhisattva? Can it be, as Dr. Bloch holds, the bare right shoulder? Such a theory seems hardly tenable. For there are numerous bare-shouldered images which represent Śākyamuni at the moment of the Bōdhi, and we find among Gandhāra sculptures the uncovered right shoulder regularly combined with that position of the hands which expresses 'the turning of the wheel of the Law' (dharma-chakra-mudrā), and which can only indicate an omniscient Buddha.

To decide on this point, it would be necessary first of all to compare the two images of Anyor and Kāman, which belong to the same period and are designated by their inscriptions as Buddha images. That of Kāman (Bharatpur State, Rājputāna), as noted above, must be 71 years posterior to the Sarnāth statue, assuming that the date is expressed in Kanishka's era, which in the light of its palaeographical evidence seems most plausible. The Anyor Buddha image must be nearly contemporaneous with the Bōdhisattvas of Sarnāth and Śrāvasti. This is evident from the similarity both in the script and language and in the wording of their inscriptions. Unfortunately no photographs of either of these two statues are at present available. Of the Kāman image I only find the statement that it represents Buddha seated.

Anyhow, these four are among the earliest Buddhist images hitherto found in India proper; or more correctly I should say that no image has been found, which on epigraphical evidence can be assigned to an earlier period. The fact that it was thought necessary to indicate the subject in the inscription makes it indeed highly probable, that at the beginning of Kanishka's reign statues of Śākyamuni—either as Buddha or Bōdhisattva—were a novelty, at least in Gangetic India. We noticed, however, in describing the Sarnāth Bōdhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kanishka's reign. Thus we should be led to the conclusion that the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra flourished, not under the Kushana kings, but under the earlier Yavana and Śaka rulers. This conclusion,

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1 This practice was also known in Gandhāra. Compare Poucher, L'art Gréco-Bouddhique, Vol. I, p. 191: "Il faut dire cependant, pour être tout-à-fait exact, que quelques-unes d'entre elles se contentaient, comme abri, d'un parasol."

2 Grünwedel-Burgess, Buddhist Art, p. 152: "The Bōdhisattva representation of later art is that of a royally attired young man . . . . Thus we may claim these youthful figures in rich attire, so frequent among Gandhāra sculptures, as Bōdhisattvas."

3 Compare A. S. E. for 1902-03, p. 171.

4 To the same period belongs the Sāñchi image of the year 70 in the reign of Vasuśaṅka, but from its inscription it is not evident what it represents.
in my opinion, would well agree with the evidence of the coins which, starting from purely Hellenistic types, manifest a constant deterioration ending in the barbarous issues of the Kushanyas. And in like manner the sculptures which owed their origin to the same Hellenistic influence must have had a parallel history of gradual Indianisation.

The Sarnath image has two inscriptions: one, as in Guptan sculptures, carved on the front of the plain pedestal, the other on the back of the image between the feet. The former (iii. b, c) is divided into two halves by a vertical, semi-circular groove. It consists of two lines, each half being nearly 24 cm. in length. The size of the letters varies between 1 and 5 cm. In the second half of the first line the sixth akshara is slightly damaged, and at the end one or two aksharas are lost. I read it:

1 Bhikhahuya Balasya trepiṣṭakasya Bodhisatvo prat[i]ṣṭhāpito . .
2 mahākṣhtrapena Kharapallāna saha kṣhtrapena Vanashporeṇa.

"(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Boddhisattva, has been erected by the great satrap Kharapallana together with the satrap Vanashpara."

The inscription on the back of the image (iii. d) consists of three lines. The proper left side of the inscribed surface, which measures 40 by 17 cm., is defaced, and at the bottom a piece is broken, causing the loss of the concluding word. On an impression taken immediately after the discovery of the image, the upper parts of the aksharas of this word were plainly visible. But it seems that in removing it a piece of the stone has chipped off. The missing portion of the inscription can thus be restored with certainty. The size of the letters is 1 to 4.5 cm. The following is my reading:

1 Mahārajasya Kapi[shkasya] sam 3 he 3 di 2[2]
2 etayet purvaye bhikhahuya Balasya trepiṭa[kasya]
3 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashṭi cha [pratishṭhāpito].

"In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above has (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Boddhisattva and an umbrella with a post, been erected."

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No. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON BUDDHIST IMAGES.

By T. BLOCH, Ph.D.

The first of these two inscriptions comes from Śrāvasti and has already been edited by me in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVIII., 1898, Part I. pp. 274 to 290. I re-edit it here partly in order to publish a facsimile of it, and partly to correct the statement made by me (loc. cit. p. 278) in regard to its date. The second inscription comes from Mathurā and has recently been edited by Prof. Lüders (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9) from the imperfect facsimile published by Growse (ibid. Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate). If I edit it here again, it is because, having read the inscription from the original during a visit to Lucknow in October, 1904, and with the help of two paper impressions kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, I have been able to supply the three proper names mentioned in the inscription, which in Prof. Lüders' transcript remained doubtful.1 The first of these is the most important one. It is clearly Balasya trepiṣṭakasya, not [Maḥa]ṣavya as Prof. Lüders proposed to read. This person cannot be separated from the trepiṣṭaka Bala of the Śrāvasti inscription, and of the recently discovered Sarnath inscriptions of the third year of Kanishka, of which Dr. Vogel has just

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1 Two of them have also been read by Dr. Vogel in his article on discoveries at Sarnāth, p. 173 above.
published an edition. It thus appears that the date assigned to the Śrāvasti inscription in my previous paper was wrong, and that the missing name of the king should be restored either as Kanishka or as Huvishka, most probably the former one.

A.—SET-MAHET IMAGE INSCRIPTION
OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA OR HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the pedestal of a colossal standing figure of a Buddha or Bódhisattva, which was found by General Cunningham inside a small masonry building at Set-Mahet. It has since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The pedestal measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in height. Its right corner is broken, and about two-thirds of the first line of the inscription have become illegible.

The size of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The writing is archaic and resembles more the type used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions than the Kusāra type. The letter ya as part of a compound (saḥyaḥkīkskhaṃ) is expressed by its full form, and only once, in Pushya (1. 1), by a cursive form. The upper cross-bar of sha fills only the right half of the letter and does not reach to the left vertical line. Further details of paleography will be found in my previous paper (p. 277) and need not be repeated here. The language is a mixed form of Sanskrit and Prākrit of the same type as that employed in other Kusāra inscriptions. Here again no details are required, as my previous paper contains a full statement of facts (p. 279).

The inscription records that the statue, on the pedestal of which it has been engraved, and which it describes as a Bódhisattva, together with an umbrella and a stick (1. 2: bodhisattvam cāyātānām dūndás-cchā) was put up at Śrāvasti, at the place where the Lord used to walk (1. 2: Bhagavato chaṇḍakāme), inside the Kosambakuti (1. 3), as the gift of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripiṭaka and was a companion (saddhy[e]vihāṛīṣya, 1. 2) of the monk Pushyas[vuddhi]¹, and that it was the property of some teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhists.

As I have shown in my previous article (p. 286), the Kosambakuti was a building inside the Jetavana park near Śrāvasti. The term Bhagavato chaṇḍakāme may either have been used as another name of the Jetavana, or more probably it may have denoted a separate place within the park, where Buddha used to take exercise, and which was kept up as such by tradition, like the 'Buddha's walk' north of the great temple of Budh-Gaya.² It is, however, likely that the place where Cunningham found the statue does not mark its original site, and that the ancient city of Śrāvasti lay further to the north, near the borders of Nepal.³

The date of the inscription is illegible, with the exception of the numerical figures 10 and 9, meaning the 19th day. As the missing space is too long for a mere enumeration of the numbers of the year and season, the date must have been determined by the name of the ruling king. From the second inscription and the Sāṃśāś inscription published by Dr. Vogel, which mention also a trepiṭaka Bala, who must have been identical with the person of the same name and title referred to in this inscription, we may confidently restore the beginning of the first line as: [Mahārājasya devaputraṃya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya?) sāh . . . . . . dī] 10 9, and it is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the Kusāra kings, either of Kanishka or Huvishka, not of the Kshatrapas Rañjunika or Ścāsā, as I suggested in my previous article for palaeographical reasons. As will be shown later on, the reign of Kanishka is more likely to be the true date of the inscription than the time of his successor Huvishka.

¹ That is Pushyas[vuddhi]. Sāṃśāś No. III4 shows that the name should be restored thus, not as Pushya-
² See Cunningham's Mahābodhi, p. 2 ft.
Inscribed Buddhist image from Set-Mahet.
The statue to which the inscription belongs is shown on the accompanying Plate. It is called a Bōdhisattva. Unfortunately the head is broken, and it is impossible to say whether it wore some sort of a diadem, as the so-called 'Bōdhisattva' figures in the contemporaneous art of Gandhāra. There are, however, no necklace or other ornaments of the body, and the feet are naked. The left hand rests on the hip, and the broken right hand probably was uplifted in the act of granting protection (abhaya-mudrā). The right shoulder is bare, and between the feet stands some indistinct round object, which I am unable to explain. The girdle around the waist is the only mark of difference between this statue and the ordinary type of a Buddha image. The term Bōdhisattva is likewise applied to the Mathurā image to which the second inscription belongs, and which was a seated figure. Unfortunately it is broken, and not much can be said in regard to its general appearance.

From Dr. Vogel's account it appears that the recently excavated Sārnāth image is very similar to that from Śrāvasti. He also suggests that all these three images were made at Mathurā. The Śrāvasti image is 11 feet 8 inches high. Its material is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fathpur-Sikri.

TEXT.

1 [Mahārājasya devaputraśya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) saṁ...
   ... di] 10 9 etaye puryaye bhikshusya Puṣhyasa[vyu]-
2 [ddhisya]ā saddhy[e]vihārisyaā bhikshusya Baḷasya trepiṭakasya dānām
3 Bodhisatvo chhātraṁ dāṇḍaḥ-cha Śavastiye Bhagavato chaṁkame
   Kosambakutṭiye acharīyāgaṁ Sarvastivādinām parigaha.

TRANSLATION.

[In the ... th year of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka?), in the ... th month of ... ... on the] 18th [day], on the date specified above, a Bōdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Baḷa, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a companion (saddhy[e]vihāra) of the monk Puṣhya[vṛiddhi], (have been set up) at Śrāvasti, at the place where the Lord (i.e. Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakutṭi, as the property of the teachers of the school of Sarvastivādinās.

B.—MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33 OF HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image from the Chaubārām mound near Mathurā. It is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It measures 3 feet by 2½ inches. The size of the letters varies between ½ and 1½ inches. The end of the second line is damaged and cannot be restored completely.

The writing is of a later type than the Set-Mahet image inscription. The ya in the compound letter sya is expressed by the cursive form in devaputasya, Huvishkasya and trepiṭakasya (l. 1), and by the full form of the letter in bhikshusya Bālasya (l. 1), while an intermediate form, with a loop attached to the left-hand side of the central line, is found in mahārājasya (l. 1). The old form of ska with a small upper cross-bar occurs only once, in bhikshusya (l. 1), if the impression can be trusted. The later as with a loop in the left-hand lower corner is found in mahārājasya, devaputrasya, saṁ (l. 1), as has been pointed out already by Prof. Lüders (loc. cit. p. 40). The language is the ordinary mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prākṛti employed in the

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1 See above, p. 180, note 1.
2 So with Sārnāth No. III. a, lines 2 and 6. The surface of the stone above ddhy is damaged.
3 The ed is added in small letters at the top of the line.
Kushaṇa period and calls for no particular remarks. But it may be noted that in bhikṣuṇīye (l. 2) we have the Prākrit form instead of the usual bhikṣuṇī, and that the gen. sing. of feminine nouns ending in े retains the long े in bhikṣuṇīye (l. 1), bhāgīneye, bhikṣuṇīye, Dhanavatiye (l. 2); the corresponding vowel of antevāsī[ṇ]ye (l. 1) is doubtful. The later Prākrit form pratiḥāvito (l. 2) seems certain.

The inscription records that a Boddhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavati, the sister’s daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā, who knew the Tripitaka, a female disciple (antevāsī) of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripitaka. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Set-Mahet and Sarnāth inscriptions, and the three inscriptions thus cannot be far removed from each other in date. The Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of Huvisha, the year 33, the 8th day of the 1st month of summer. However, the Set-Mahet inscription, like that from Sarnāth, probably belongs to the reign of Kanishka and is somewhat earlier than the Mathurā inscription, which records a gift by the sister’s daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā, whose name occurs already in the third year of Kanishka in connection with the name of Bala, the donor of the Sarnāth statue.

The Mathurā statue, like those from Sarnāth and Set-Mahet, is called a Boddhisattva. Unfortunately nothing but its lower part, showing the crossed legs of a seated figure, is preserved (see the accompanying Plate). The place where the statue was set up seems to have been [Mā]dhūr[V]raṇākha, the first part of which may have been derived from Madhurā or Mathurā, the name of the town where the statue actually has been found.

TEXT.


2 bhāgīneye bhikṣuṇīye Dhanavatiye Bodhisattvo pratiḥāvito [Mā]dhūr[V]raṇākha saḥ māṭāpitihī . . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Devaputra Huvisha, on the 8th day of the 1st summer (month), a Boddhisattva was set up at [Mā]dhūr[V]raṇākha by the nun Dhanavati, the sister’s daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā, who knows the Tripitaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, together with her mother and father . . . . . .

No. 19.—DUGHIA PLATES OF KARKARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 701.

By D. R. Bhundarkar, M.A.

The plates which bear the subjoined grant were found deposited in the record room of the Collector’s kachēri at Dughia, Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency. They were sent for inspection to Mr. H. Consens, who has kindly asked me to publish a paper on the inscription. A summary of it has already appeared in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904, p. 60.

1 She occurs again in Sarnāth No. III. a, l. 7.
2 From the original stone and from paper impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel.
3 The quantity of the last े is uncertain.
Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathura.

From a photograph supplied by Mr. G. D. Ganguli.

Scale one-fourth.

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

E. Hultzsch.
These are three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear writing on one side only, and the second on both sides. They measure each 1' 2" long by 7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the inscription. On the left side of each plate there is a ring-hole, but the ring and the seal which must have accompanied the plates are both lost. A portion of the right side of the second, and of the lower corners of the first and third plates, have been broken off. The letters bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is about \( \frac{3}{4} \).—The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting ll. 24-26, the inscription is in verse up to line 23; and the rest is in prose, excluding ll. 33-4 and the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end (ll. 42-8). All the verses of the genealogical part of this grant excepting five (vv. 6, 7, 9, 17 and 18) occur in other Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.—The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of \( kh \), one in \( khaḍga \) (l. 4) and the other in \( kīkharādpi \) (l. 9); to the two forms of \( g \), one in \( maṃṣaṇḍīkṛt \) (l. 2) or \( gana \) (l. 13), and the other in \( maṃṣaṇḍīkṛt \) (l. 3) or \( kāra \) (l. 5); to \( ā \) in \( Śubhataṣa \) (l. 20); to \( j \) in \( jmañjara \) (l. 6) and \( jvīda \) (l. 8); to \( t \) in \( kṣiṃṭhāṇa \) (l. 11); to \( n \) in \( naitāna \) and \( nīkhyā \) (l. 8); to \( b \) in \( bhāgika \) (l. 22); to \( m \) in \( maḥiṇkāh \) (l. 3); to the two forms of initial \( a \) or \( a \), one in \( aṣṭ \) (l. 2) or \( aṃsaṇḍīkṛt \) (l. 44), and the other in \( aṃsaṇḍīkṛt \) (l. 31); to the secondary \( v \) in \( māṭhāya \) (l. 14) and \( māṛḍāl \) (l. 25); to the subscript \( u \) in \( dhūma \) (l. 8); to the two forms of the subscript \( r \), one in \( kriyā \) (l. 1), and the other in \( kṛtiṃkāh \) (l. 7); and to the visarga expressed by three dots in \( viṣṇuṇya-ṃstṛgāt \) (l. 38), and by one dot and one short stroke in \( gṛīma \) (l. 40).—As regards orthography, the sign for \( v \) throughout serves for both \( v \) and \( b \). The consonants following \( r \) are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is in some cases observable; thus \( m \) is doubled in \( nirmmat ≤ \) (l. 22), but not in \( vānur-mahī \) (l. 18). \( G \) is used instead of \( h \) in \( rājasīgha \) (l. 3); final \( n \) before a consonant is no less than five times wrongly changed to an \( anuśvara \), e.g. in \( yaṃ-ṇābhākasūkṣma \) (l. 1) and \( yaṃśiṃ-prakṣē ṣi \) (l. 8); \( t \) is doubled before \( r \), e.g. in \( gōtra \) (l. 7); and \( anuśvāra \) is changed once to the dental \( nās② \) before \( s \) in \( kīkharā-pīṣṭhāḥ \) (l. 11). The rules of Sandhi have been frequently disregarded, and in many a place akṣaras have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain Karkarāja or, as he is described in lines 28-29, "Suvarnāvarsha Pratāpāśi " Karkarāja who has obtained the five great sounds." Karkarāja is spoken of as a son of "Dhruvarāja, younger brother of Gōvinda (II.), or, as he is described in lines 26-6, "Prithvi-deva-bhakta Mahā-rāja-kirti-deva Paramēvara Prahbhīttavārha." The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign (pranādhamāna-rāja) of Gōvinda (II.) and is dated in the year 701 (in words and figures, l. 31 f.), expired, of the Śaka era, on the tenth śtiṃṭi of the bright half of Pūsha. The charter was issued by Karkarāja while staying at Sindināgara, on the occasion of a saṅkrānti, or a Brāhmaṇa whose name is lost, son of Bhāṭṭa Chandrādiyā, of the Kāśika gōtra, and student of the Kāśika school. The grantee appears to have been a man of high dignity; for he is represented to have mastered the Veda, Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Vīyakarana, Mīmāṃsā, Tarka, Nīruka and Vaiṣṇavādā. The village granted to him was Rakkhulla-grāma situated in the province (viśaya) of Nāsikka. The boundaries specified are to the E. Čheṭhaṇṭikā, to the S. the Gōvārī, to the W. Vaṭamukha, and to the N. Vaṭāpura. All the localities mentioned in this grant are to be found in the Nāsik district. That Nāsikka is Nāsik goes without saying. Sindināgara, where the royal grantor resided at the time of making the grant, is known to us from the records of the earlier Yādava, and has been identified with Simar, the principal town of the Šāluka of the same name. Rakkhulla-grāma, the village granted, is Lākhagām to the north of the
Gòdàvari, Chêbhaṭìkà Chêhḍì, and Vaṭamuka probably Oghèm. Chêhdì is in the Niphàd, and the rest in the Nàsik, ɪ̀dɪlukà of the Nàsik district.

As the inscription expressly refers itself to the reign of the Ràṣṭrakùṭà sovereign Gòvinda II., no doubt can now be reasonably entertained as to his having sat on the throne. I have elsewhere adduced reasons why we should consider Gòvinda II. to have actually reigned. Dr. Fleet based his different opinion on the words jyäshtà-śìlāṅghana of a verse occurring in the Wànlì and Ràdhanpur grants. But these words, as Professor Kielhorn has remarked, by no means necessitate the conclusion that Dhrûva immediately succeeded Krishṇa I. to the exclusion of his eldest brother Gòvinda II. from the succession. The new grant places it beyond all doubt that Gòvinda II. did succeed Krishṇa I. and did reign. Consequently Dr. Fleet’s view has no grounds to stand upon, unless it can be conclusively shown that this grant is a forgery.

Although many Ràṣṭrakùṭà records have so far been published, they have supplied us with but few dates prior to the time of Gòvinda III. We have Saka 675 for Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, furnished by his Sàmângaḍ plate. The Alás copper-plate charter, issued by Gòvinda II. when Yuvârâja or prince-regent, gives the date Saka 692 for his father Krishṇa I. And our plates give a third date, viz. Saka 701, for Gòvinda II. himself. A fourth date is supplied by the Jaina Harivâda, which was completed in Saka 705 when Srîvallabha, son of Krishṇa, was ruling over the South. There can be no doubt that this Krishṇa is Krishṇa I. of the Ràṣṭrakùṭa family. But it is by no means easy to decide whether by Srîvallabha is meant Gòvinda II. or his brother Dhrûva, as both had this epithet and were sons of Krishṇa I.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1 Chi [18] स भूवाहिष्ठसा धाम ¹²यन्त्रभिकालं खतं । चरस्व ¹¹ यस्म्
कांतिनुकलया कर्ममालं ॥ [18]

2 ¹³भाथी[विषणि]मिरसुब्यन्तमणालायो ध्वस्तं ¹³नयन्त्रभिकाले रणश्वरीरुष ॥(1)
भुपा: शाक्तिविस्तेरिवाः-

3 सदिर्गन्ते[वीरिति]वादिवेदरण शति राजहु राजसिंह [98] दृष्टा चसु-
समिस्विविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवি঴
5 अं च [ले] । [१०] खन्ने करापार्य मुखतब गीता मानी । 'समस्तकः मैसेव यश [१३] मान्ये [भाषा नि]-
6 श्रमः सतः इवः रियुः विगलजः[१९] खटे || [१४] तस्तहारंजः जगति विलुण्डीनं सुरक्षितारंजिताः-४
7 रिसंचति कपड़ामाधवारी । 'भृगुसूचित प्रकटातुकितः क्ला्तः श्रीकाश्रय देवति गोसामरी
8 पिथामधुः ॥ [१४] यस्मि प्रभाषति माननारः विजानाः वैदिकमधुमनि- \[भाषा सुरी]-
9 चिंत्यवर्णिणि विद्याक देवका[१३] कृत्तिनि वैश्वमिकिंचि जलाभिमोलका: 
10 माधवराविणि विद्याका लैका[१३] कृत्तिनि वैश्वमिकिंचि जलाभिमोलका: 
11 माधवराविणि विद्याका लैका[१३] कृत्तिनि वैश्वमिकिंचि जलाभिमोलका:
12 रिसंचति कपड़ामाधवारी स्त्रिया || [१३] खाप: चितले चपितगुरुर्भूतनूजः 
13 रिसंचति कपड़ामाधवारी ॥ [१३] खाप: चितले चपितगुरुर्भूतनूजः स्त्रिया; देवारी.
14 बालनवरिणि [१३] प्रलाह गुरुः [१३] बचति मंद्रिे || [१३] तथा गुरुः प्रभाषकर्त्युत तात्त्याः
15 बालनवरिणि [१३] प्रलाह गुरुः [१३] बचति मंद्रिे || [१३] तथा गुरुः प्रभाषकर्त्युत तात्त्याः
16 बालनवरिणि [१३] प्रलाह गुरुः [१३] बचति मंद्रिे || [१३] तथा गुरुः प्रभाषकर्त्युत तात्त्याः
17 बालनवरिणि [१३] प्रलाह गुरुः [१३] बचति मंद्रिे || [१३] तथा गुरुः प्रभाषकर्त्युत तात्त्याः
18 जिगाय इ[१३] तरिम्न [१४] दिव्य व्रताय भवमारय सति [१३] श्रीकाश्रय राजसु- \[भाषा नि]-

Second Plate; First Side.

14 तुह्मायतमालकिया: [१९] प्रसंक्षण सुर: शतकारुद्गः श्रीकाश्रय राजिने 
15 माधवराविणि विद्याका लैका[१३] कृत्तिनि वैश्वमिकिंचि जलाभिमोलका: [१३] यो वस्त्रम सपदि द ।.
16 ला राजाचिराजयरमेशीरतमालवाप || [१३] काण्डेरतमालवापथिण्यां प्रलाह घुषेऽ
17 विपदिन्तिवनान्त्रिन्त || [१३] काण्डेरतमालवापथिण्यां वशमधुमेषमन्त्रेऽ
18 जिगाय [१३] तरिम्न [१४] दिव्य व्रताय भवमारय सति [१३] श्रीकाश्रय राजसु- \[भाषा नि]-

1 Read घलेः.
2 Read श्रीपार्जितत.
3 Read बालनरिषिनणि.
4 Read श्रीकाश्रय.
5 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
6 Read भृगुसूचित.
7 Read श्रीराविणि.
8 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
9 Read श्रीकाश्रय.
10 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
11 Read श्रीकाश्रय.
12 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
13 Read श्रीकाश्रय.
14 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
15 Read श्रीकाश्रय.
16 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
17 Read श्रीकाश्रय.
18 Read गुरुः प्रभाषकोर्त्युत.
19 A few letters have been inadvertently omitted after यस्मि.
19 राजीभवुऽ [[११६]] यथा लघुकारकस्मिनः मृत्युवादितारिद्विजांस्य । राजा-
कुषाणः चः[१७]॥
20 ब्राह्मणराजस्य [[११७]] महात्मजस्तुर्मणेषु सा वर्तमानमः [१९]
श्रीमिष्य [२०]-
21 भोगस्य यदृच्छिक नाविकाय मात्रे [[११८]] रेणारायणपञ्चमिणि यथित्वेषतः सावः
[२१] तत्तथामः-
22 काशवरी वर्षित स्वरूपिनिमित्यवः [[१७] वेन मिथाराजसूक्ष्मितियमी-
भूपालपालितः
23 मन्तवं [१०] श्रीराकुविक्षु वर्तितम् काशाराजस्य [[१७] तथा
सुनः] [१०] सकलामहेश्वरः लयः
24 रिपालचनम् [[१०] शूरः] [१०] जितिवेविरावर्माः नामा स्वरूपराजीभवः
[१५] यथा व्रतवामः-

Second Plate; Second Side.

25 'वेश्योऽविकितामुखं निलिङ्गिती वै वैरिविशीकः पुष्पोऽवित्वमहाराजाविराजयप्रे-
26 मेघरोमोऽवित्वेषाः भक्तमहोमोऽवित्वेषाः कृतमालकमण्ये [१०] तथान्तः
27 श्रीराकुवर्जनम् महात्माधिवनिमित्तामः [१०] [१०] प्रसाधितमानयनरेषु
वचः[१०] चूडाम-
28 शिष्याः वालाकृंपुष्पमूर्थः [[१०] तथा शुशः समिधितपंचमुपस्वर्वस्याः
व्यविपाकः[११]
29 लक्ष्मीकर्षराजसदशः महोत्सिव राजसामालमनिकविनिफः परितर्फः प्रामसमसमह-
29 चाराविकथारः समाजपारं पुज्याः शास्त्रिसत्तमाणिकः पुज्याः शास्त्रिः
30 वृहत्यमार्गमः वषनुपकालातितंवक्ष्यथसनेयः समस्कृतेऽपरेऽ तीर्थनापी-
31 संवकर्षम् ७३ पुष्यमासे रालपचे दयां स्वरूपां सिद्धीग्राहविकालेन
32 प्रभवां [१०] सत्रायेत् तेन दुमायुसाराङ्गप्रतितं भ्रमर्जाललाविविवाहकामाः
33 वचः [२०] सत्ता क्रन्ति भवत् पवनतीयुत्क्षः संसारसागरसुकालस्य
[१] २०] चित्रः
35 स्वाभाविकामानीकामागारांशुधुबिप्रभावाभिमूलाक्षिलिवः

36 यद्यपेदयागाधितिजातसपुराणायाकरणरमणमालाक्ष्येण

Third Plate.

37 पारपाराय तत्त्वादगामान्त्वमोक्षगोचरकड़कस्वर्णरिथि

38 महचादिकदिर्घसुताय गदिकहियियायाकान्त: रक्तशुद्धाना

39 दक्षर्कर्न दत्तः पथी पूर्वजो वेदभिकातमभामसीमा

40 विचारती वाटसुङ्ख नाम श्रामः: उत्तरती वटपुर्ण नाम श्रामः: एवं

41 द्र[ग]: सहरकार अपातमप्रथेष भूमिक्षिक्रियायथ दत्तः तथा च

42 नीलं इ दातु सुमरकाण: दुःखमच्छ पालन िः दाता वा पालनं

43 नुपा[लर्णलर्] ि. 2१ः क्षर्थन परस्तः तथा श्रेष्ठ सन्ता

44 जायमुर कामः ि. २२ः तदवम् नाम बच्छेन ब्रह्ममधुर्याते च।

45 न शायमुरः ि. २२ः परष वर्षसहस्वाणिँ खगो मित्यतमी मूलः

46 [द्वारि] याःस्व पुरा रामर्कः दानार्जन धनार्थवस्त्रकोतयम्।

47 मित्रः को नाम साधुः: पुनरादीदेवः ि. २४ः बाहुबः: वसुधा मुनि

48 यथा यदा मूलः तथा तथा तदा फलः ि. २६ः सिद्धिः: च मया

49 न दुयमिदुमनोवक्ष्यमासनमालिकम्

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1 Read "माठ" and "दुर्भिः".
2 Read "प्राधि.
3 Read "पाठ"
4 Read "भागः"
5 Read "प्राधः"
6 Read "कर्तकी"
7 Read "देवी"
8 Read "भूमिकः"
9 Read "भूमिकः"
10 Read "बाहुबः".
11 Read "बाहुबः"
12 Read "इन्दियायः"
13 Read "भूमिष्ठासीमा and omit the letters following."
No. 20.—TWO GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA II.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

These two sets of copper-plates belong to the Rutlam Darbar and were lent to Messrs. Marshall and Cousens in December 1902 by the Dewan of the Rutlam State in Central India. Mr. Marshall has communicated to me a letter of the Dewan of Rutlam, from which it appears that the plates had been found in 1891 at Nogawa, a village 10 miles north of Rutlam, while a well near a Brahman’s house was being repaired. Each set consists of two copper-plates. To both sets is affixed a single seal, whose ring was found broken or cut, and of which it cannot be said to which set it belonged originally. The seal is elliptical, measures about 2½” by 2¾” in diameter, and bears, on a countersunk surface, in relief, a bull couchant which faces the proper right, and below the bull, the legend Śrī-Bhaftakaḥ.

In the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1902-03, p. 232 ff., I have already published the second of the two grants (B.), with facsimile. In now editing the first (A.), I reprint the text of the second as well, for the grant portions of both are closely connected and throw light on each other.

A.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 320.

This inscription is edited from two sets of ink-impressions prepared by Mr. Cousens in 1905, and from rubbings supplied by Mr. Marshall in the same year. It is engraved on two copper-plates which bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9 inches in height and about 11¾” in breadth.

The alphabet resembles that of other Maitrauka inscriptions of the same period. The jihvāmālyya occurs once (l. 37), and the upadhāmālyya also once (l. 38). The numerical symbols for 300, 20 and 5 are used in the date portion (l. 52). The secondary form of ā is very often omitted. The anusvāra is represented by guttural ā before ā and h (ll. 3, 5, 22, 45, 48), and by dental s before s in three cases (ll. 14, 28, 32), while the anusvāra is employed in three others (mahābhaṭṭa, l. 1, 5, and saṅghāṭa, l. 34).

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 49-51. The rules of Sandhi are often disregarded—even in compound words.¹

The inscription records a grant of land to two Brāhmaṇas by the Maitrauka king Dhrūvasena (II.), who issued this edict from his capital Vaibhī (l. 1). His genealogy is described in the same words as in his grant of Samvat 310² and has been translated by me elsewhere.³ The grant portion runs as follows:—

(L. 36.) 'The fervent worshipper of Mahāvīra (Siva), the glorious Dhrūvasena (II.) whose second name was Bāładitya, being in good health, issues (the following) command to all according as they are concerned:—

(L. 37.) 'Be it known to you that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, I have given in Mālavaka, in the said district (bhakti), at the eastern boundary of

¹ Dr. Fleet kindly informs me that this village is entered as ‘Nagama’ on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (1895).
² In saṅghāṭa, l. 12, the ā is corrected from śā.
³ See viśv-vaṁśyamāna, l. 38 f. and l. 40, and brāhmaṇa-agnirāmaṇā, l. 39 f.
the village Navagrâmaka, one hundred bhaktis (of land) to the Brâhmaṇa Agnivesâmin, who has come from [U]dumbangahvara, resides at Agastikâgrahâra, belongs to the Chaturvedins of the said (place), to the gôtra of the Pârâśaras and to the school of the Vâjaansâyas, (and is) the son of the Brâhmaṇa Kamâravâmin, and to the Brâhmaṇa Saṅgarâvi, who has come from Jambûsara, resides at Ayânakâgrahâra, belongs to the Chaturvedins of the said (place), to the gôtra of the Kauśikas and to the school of the Vâjaansâyas, (and is) the son of the Brâhmaṇa Mahâvâra.

(L. 42.) "The boundaries of this (land are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Vârâhôtaka; to the south, a river; to the west, Lâ[ka]hamsa's pañcika; (and) to the north, the boundary of the village Pulîndânaka.

(L. 43.) "(I have given), as a meritorious gift, with libations of water, these one hundred bhaktis, thus defined by (their) four boundaries, with the udrañga, upârikâra (and) bhûta-vâtaptasthâya, with the income in grain and in gold, with the dakṣapîdha, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding gifts previously made to temples and to Brâhmaṇas and the twentieth (share due) to Brâhmaṇas, according to the maxim of bhûmasichhidâra, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains, (and) to be enjoyed by the sons, grandsons and (further) descendants (of the two donnees)."

Ll. 46-51 contain the usual admonitions and imprecations.

(L. 51.) "The messenger (dâta) for this (grant is) the Râjputra śrî-Kharagrahâra. This (edit) has been written by the chief secretary (divirapati) Skandabhâta, the son of the chief secretary Vatracharta[1], who is charged with peace and war. The year 300 (and) 20; (the month) Bhâda-râpada; the dark (fortnight); the 5th (tithi). (This is) My own signature."

The two donnees resided at Agastikâgrahâra and Ayânakâgrahâra and had emigrated from Udumbangahvara (l. 38) and Jambûsara (l. 40). Udumbangahvara occurs also in B. (l. 41) and in a grant of Dharaśâna IV. Jambûsara is the modern Jambûsar between Kaira and Broach.

The expression 'in Mâlavaka, in the said district' (Mâlavaka uchyamàna-bhaktas, l. 41 f., and Mâlavaka uchyamâna-vishâyâ in B., l. 44) is a little puzzling. When publishing B. alone, I suggested that the word uchyamâna may refer to Daśapura, which occurs three lines earlier in the description of the donnees. This idea has to be given up because A. does not mention Daśapura at all. In the description of the donnees the word uchyamâna is used twice with reference to the immediately preceding village names Agastikâgrahâra (l. 38) and Ayânakâgrahâra (l. 40). Consequently the word uchyamâna before bhaktas and vishâyâ can only refer to the preceding locative Mâlavâd, and Mâlavâd uchyamâna-bhaktas or vishâyâ comes to the same as Mâlavâd bhaktas or vishâyâ. At any rate the two grants prove that Dhruvasâna II. was in possession of Mâlavâ, or at least of a portion of it.

To this province belonged the land granted in Navagrâmaka, which was bounded in the east by Vârâhôtaka, in the south by a river, and in the north by Pulîndânaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam identified Navagrâmaka with the modern Nôgâwâ where the two grants were discovered, Varâhôtaka with Bhârâôdâ in the east, and Pulîndânaka with Fâldûnâ in the north. On a map of the Rutlam State which he annexed to his letter, a small river is also marked on the south-east of Nôgâwâ, as required by the description in the grant.

1 I.e. of Agastikâgrahâra.
2 I.e. of Ayânakâgrahâra.
4 See page 195 below.
5 I.e. of Ayânakâgrahâra.
The Dūtaka of this grant, prince (rājaputra) Kharagraha (I. 51) is perhaps the same person who later on ascended the throne as Kharagraha II. The writer of the inscription, the Divirapati Skandabhāṣa, occurs again in other grants of Dhruvasena II. and Dhruvasena IV.; his father Vatrabhaṭṭi in grants of Śīlāditya I. and Dhruvasena II.; and his son Anahila in grants of Dhruvasena III., Kharagraha II. and Śīlāditya II.

The year of this inscription, [Gupta-]Sainvat 380 (i.e. A.D. 639-40), is the same as that of the Bhaunagar plates published by Mr. Jackson.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1 भीः स्थितः [II] सुभाषितः: प्रसभप्रतातातिंत्र[1]पां भीष्मकाण्डमत्तुलबलसमयमण्डलभोगसंस्काराः[2]-

2 शतलिङ्गप्रतातातिंत्रात्योपनतदाराम[1]नार्योपायितातुरागादुरकमलेश्वरीवीर्यावासाराजः-

3 नियं: परमाधिकरः[3] यीमतार्कद्वयनक्षितराजमुखातिपिठपर्विष्ठविन्दुप्रणालितप्रविधीतान्यायकायः[4]-

4 रायवाश्रयति रायभिन्नवाहुरेव समदयार्त्थादासितोपप्रकाशितसलिनिकायः[10] तात्समाभयवगतः-


6 ज्ञानात्मकोराजसीधि[13] सर्पार्टिक्षेप्यवाहिकाभिन्द्रिविप्रथि: । ज्ञातान्यायिणी ज्ञोदविषये[14] विद्यश्रेष्ठेनन्दारितः[15]-


8 विद्याभ्याष्यदितं: पादचारीव सकलस्वाभवमण्डलभोगस्वामोऽधिकरः परमाधिकरः जीवितसेवी:-


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7 From ink-impressions and rubbings.
8 Read मन्यकः.
9 Read मस्तकः.
10 Read भाषणः.
11 Read भक्तिः.
12 Read समासरिः.
13 Read धार्मिकः.
14 Read गायकः.
15 Read गायकः.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read "भाषणः".

* Read "मस्तकः".

* Read "भक्तिः".

* Read "गायकः".

* Read "गायकः".

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read "भाषणः".
10 मानसमध्युपल्लकान्तिविषय: सर्वभासम[ँ]भिमारसम्पियैकान्तिकाल्चा्शिलि[का]विशिष्ट-
     विख्यातिसारिकालमितुः।
11 कहः: प्रद(र)कमपतिसमविषयः[ँ]नामरूप[ँ]रामिता[ँ]धनदायानामपानकार
     प्रकृतिपावकरः
12 योः[ँ]मुख्य[ँ]नां दण्डिता[ँ]दीर्घकरे राजवधारकाल्चा्शिलि[का]संक्षटतारातिपः
     भाविकराधापावः
13 प्रापारामितिपावकरः: प्रभुराष्टराष्ट्र गुरुहालातासुधा[ँ]तः
     सकलग[ँ]वर[ँ]नन्दन[ँ]हवः[ँ]हवः[ँ]
14 गुणसम्बद्धांशर्दुलपल्लकान्तिविषयः[ँ]समरसमात्रि[शी]भासम[ँ]ब्रम्हराधापाव-
     धृतिभाषरुपरास्तरपेशीतौः।
15 युरुमूर्तिरम्महाम[ँ]ः: सर्वप्रधापराशुभाग्निशास्मितिमातिरिपय सहृ-
     तसम्बूः[ँ]नित्यस्तेथुताराल्पावपापाः।
16 दैन्यविरुद्धीय: समयवाता गणाभवावीक्ष्यमातिरिपय सुचिरातिश्रावयुक्तयामरम-
     क्षम[ँ]शक्षमयः खिकीः
17 भूलकततुविश्वदर्शनाधिनां भावमितिविषयः[शिष्य]मायुप्रेक्ष्यक्रम[ः]निरूिः[ँ]कालम[ँ]रञ्जित[ँ]
     तांसमुदयसेवानिन्दिः।
18 धर्मादिविद्वयनाम: परमसमालेशः श्रीविष्णुवासकुञ्जक्षम[ँ]द[ँ]
     लुकम[ँ]तः: स्त्रयसुप्नदुर्भूषकु कु क्षम[ँ]
19 खट्टरता समभावलियोगिसप राजलिङ्गः सक्षम[ँ]म[ँ]क[ँ]क[ँ]क[ँ]क[ँ]क[ँ] परमभ्र द्रव
     पुर्वकुकसदार[ँ]सम[ँ]द[ँ]दनक[ँ]तिः सत्सैवोभवः
20 नेदसुधारिषयः[ँ]मन[ँ]व[ँ]व[ँ]व[ँ]व[ँ]विस्तरसमस्तिः[ँ]प्रभुसम्पदेशिकष[ँ]दातीपति-
     प्रदर्शिरोक्षपुरुपातिपः
21 परारस्त्विभिम[ँ]नरसाङ्कल्पितमनोनक्ति: प्रणतिमीकाः परिक्षु प्रश्नात-
     प्रश्नकार्यैशायेवार्यानिहितमिनातिदित
22 प्रतिस्तिक्षापाथ: जातिकृत्तिमुखः[ँ]मोदिमलमुखवत्तित्समविविधिक्षपेशीकालिनिक-
     विकविकालिकसमवानाः।
23 प्रियोधिभिमरहेषमेवरः[ँ]कु घट्टालुतकत्वदय: प्रश्नात्पीः[ँ]प्रश्नकालकल्पिततिथिगणनिनाः
     प्रविशिष्टिविदिततिच्छालीः।

1 Read ब्रह्म।
2 Read धर्म।
3 Read विभासस्; the As of संध्या is corrected from जान।
4 Read 'हर्षृ'|
5 Read 'हर्षृ'।
6 Read 'हर्षृ।
7 Read 'विशु।'
8 Read 'सुधा।'
9 Read 'सुधा।'
10 Read 'सुधा।'
11 Read 'सुधा।'
12 Read 'सुधा।'
13 Read 'सुधा।'
14 Read 'सुधा।'
15 Read 'सुधा।'
16 Read 'सुधा।'
17 Read 'सुधा।'
18 Read 'सुधा।'
19 Read 'सुधा।'
20 Read 'सुधा।'
21 Read 'सुधा।'
22 Read 'सुधा।'
23 Read 'सुधा।'
24. 'स्ययपप्रक[१°]म्नमप्रतीर्षणमप्रयमस्याविनम[२°] परमम[३°]क्षेत्र: शीर्षका
प्रयमस्य तनयः
25. 'तत्वाद[४°]ध[५°]त: सकालिप[६°]धिगमविधिनिनिकिलविषयज्ञस्य; पर्वतोत्तरिति
शब्दामय[७°] सव[८°]गतिः[९°].
सुपलित[७°]निरक्षाकालाकोणरित.

Second Plate.

27. अदर्श[१°]भागोपप प्रमयमद्यप्रतिर्क्ष्यमप्रक्ष्यम[२°]मायमविभूपणः। समरपयत
पकारः
28. रणप्रवश्चोद्वादुधिष्ठितनिकिलस्यप्रतिपय्यादिवः। [क्ल]धरू[३°]भ्रायपरिधुरणीको[४°]ममविभूमा।
30. [न]पुर्वकचरित्राध्यायनापि प्रवाहालिता विपप्याणां मृतिम[न]व
पुष्य[ष]कारः। परिवर्तत्वाणात्वरः।
31. [न]अर्थवित्तःतत्त्वयोतीर्व स्यमभूपवः। प्रज्ञापिर्विक्ष्वलाकलाकः।
32. [क्ल]सुदनायः। राज्यप्रतापाचार्यतिदि[क्ल]राज्यप्रचण्डीशाव[क्ल]राजस्वतःतीतिकर्मरोपितः।
प्रज्ञायः। परं प्र[ल]यमः
33. [सव]पतिविभिषिक्षित्यम्योपोजातम[२°]गमयितुप्याणः। विद्धानः। "वन्दिविभिष
समासविभिषयनिपुणः। [क्ल]कारः।
34. "क्षुद्धालोचितिविभिषिक्षनवधविश्वासस्कार[१°]चुँना।" राज्यमासातिरीय[क]म
विद्याक्षरः। निच[क्ल]तः
35. प्रकटविनिमोपी। "विश्वाश्वुद्धादयः। नुत्वाश्वयगंगितं। कानोपि प्रभामी
विरुद्धशयोपी। निरसिता दोः。
36. शब्दाचार्यमस्यस्यप्राइतिनवातुरापरिविशिष्टस्यस्यप्राणिताप्रतिविद्यालालिखि

1 Read "स्ययपप्रकः".
2 Read "स्ययपप्रकः".
3 Read "स्ययपप्रकः".
4 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
5 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
6 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
7 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
8 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
9 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
10 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
11 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
12 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
13 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
14 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
15 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
16 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
17 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
18 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
19 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
20 Read "स्ययपप्रकः"
37 तीयानामा वर्समाओळे: बीधुक्षेत्रकुशली सर्वनिवय यवासमध्यमानकामः

38 संस्कृतिने यथा मया माता निपोष्याचं वनाय: सुखरिण्यवि;निमागः

39 एकाचतुरिवर्गसाधारणपाराढश्रस्तुः वराहसुविगा एव। विदान संगृहः

40 विदविखान स्त्री तथा जस्तूरस्व विगान्तायाण्यकाम: एवरि चनान; सामानपत्ती

41 राजनिवासमानकोशिकायः

42 हृति नवानामकामपूजनेव वर: चतुष्यावताननि पुराणे: वराहोः

43 टकमायकामः दृष्टिर वर्णन: पुलिलदानकाममिति: [ए]वेमत्वतु

44 सोधको श्रीपिणकर सभुतवतात्त्वावं साधविप्रवर्णयदयः

45 कोयालनमुक्तचापुष्यः पूव्यप्रवत्ति माण्डारे युः साधविप्रवर्णयदयः

46 तिमरतीवर्ततसमकः सोऽन पुष्पमोचनविषाय । व[द]कार्तिकाग्रन्न भवेदाया

47 ब्रह्मदेयस्मुः गुरुः। तपस्योः कादिनात्त्वा न कृष्णहि [ए]हि

48 वणित्वमागामसम्बन्धूः

49 भिन्न[ए] भूमिदानविगायद्विगः

50 समस्तः [ए]्योनमान्वयः परिपः [ए]विनिवध्वेण्यूद्वः वहुविमुः [ए] मृः

51 राजामिश्रानगः [ए]दिमित्र: [ए] यथा यथा यद [ए] मृस्तः [ए]
The text of this inscription, which is here printed for the second time, is based on two sets of ink-impressions and one set of estampages, prepared by Mr. Coningham. The estampages are very excellent and show many letters which, owing to the corroded condition of the original, appear only imperfectly in the ink-impressions.

The copper-plates are two in number and bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9' in height and 11' in breadth.

The jihvaśāliya occurs twice (II. 34 and 40), and the upādhamānya once (I. 53). The date portion contains the numerical symbols for 300, 20, 1 and 3 (I. 54). As in A., the anuvāra is represented by guttural a before s and h (II. 3, 5, 12, 23, 48, 50), and by dental a before s in three cases (II. 15, 29, 34), while in three others (II. 2, 5, 36 f.) the anuvāra is employed.

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but, as in A., three of the customary verses are quoted in II. 51-53. The language of II. 41-43 is incorrect. The name of the first donee, Dattāsvāmin (I. 42), although it has no case-ending, is joined by the particle tathā to the following Kūmrāsvāmin (I. 43), to which the dual case-ending bhavaṁ is affixed.

The text of the grant B. is practically identical with that of A., excepting the place of issue, the names and the description of the two donees, the description of the granted land, and the date. The grant was issued "from the victorious camp pitched at Va[n]ditapalli" (I. 1), which I am unable to identify. The two donees were "the Brāhmaṇa Dattāsvāmin, who has come from Udumbaragahvara, resides at Ay[ā]nakāgrahāra, belongs to the Tīrivedins of Dādāpura, to the gōtra of the Pārāśarvas and to the school of the Mādhyanais-Vājasaṇayās, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Bādhavasvāmin, and the Brāhmaṇa Kumārasvāmin, who resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the Chatuṣṭvedins of the said (place)," to the gōtra of the Pārasaras and to the school of the Vājasaṇayās, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa
Budhasvamin" (ll. 41-43). The grant consisted of "a field measuring one hundred bhaktis at the southern boundary of the village Chandraputakara in Malavaka, in the said district (vishaya). The boundaries of this (field are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Dhammapahadikā; to the south, the boundary of the village Dēvakulapātaka; to the west, the boundary of the field of Mahattara Viratara-manjalin; at the north-western corner, the small tank (called) Nirganţ; (and) to the north, (the field of) Viratara-manjalin" (ll. 44-46). The date of the grant was "the year 300 (and) 20 (and) 1; (the month) Chaitra; the dark (fortnight); the 3rd (tīthī)" (l. 54).

Each of the two donees is called a son of Budhasvamin, a student of the Vājasanaṇya śākhā, and a member of the Pārśāra gōtra. This suggests that they were sons of the same father, and that the epithet 'who has come from Udumbaragahvāra, which is applied to the first donee (l. 41), holds good for the second as well. The first donee is stated to have resided at Ayānakāgrahāra and to have belonged to the Trisēdīs of Daśapura. From this I conclude that Ayānakāgrahāra was a quarter or suburb of Daśapura. The second donee, who was probably the brother of the first, resided at, and belonged to the Chautreśīdīs of, Agastikāgrahāra, which may have been another hamlet of Daśapura. This town is the modern Daśör or Mandasör, the chief town of a district of the Scindia's dominions, about 52 miles north of Rutlam.

As in the inscription A, the land granted belonged to the province of Malavaka. It consisted of a field in the south of Chandraputakara and was bounded in the east by Dhammapahadikā and in the south by Dēvakulapātaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam thought of identifying these places, successively, with Chandodia, Dhamnūd and Divel Khedi—three villages in the south-west of Nogāwā where the two grants were discovered. But the phonetical correspondence of each of the three pairs of names is only superficial; besides, Dhamnūd is not in the east, but in the south-west, and Divel Khedi not in the south, but in the north-west, of Chandodia. Hence the Dewan's identification must be rejected. Dr. Fleet has very kindly searched the maps with the following result:

"Eleven miles south-south-east from Mandasör, there is a large village which is shown as 'Dhamnār' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 35, S.E. (1891), and as 'Dhamnār' in the Bhopal and Malwa Topographical Survey sheet No. 35 (1882). I suspect that this is the Dhammapahadikā of the record. But neither of the maps shows anything answering to any of the other names; unless Dēvakulapātaka may be found in the 'Dilanda' of the maps, four miles west-south-west from 'Dhamnār,' and in quite the right position to be on the south of Chandraputakara—'Dhamnār' being taken to be the village on its east. And, of course, a possible identification of only one place is not sufficient to conclusively locate the record."

The date of this inscription, [Gupta-]Saṃvat 391 (i.e. A.D. 840-41), falls between that of the first Nogawā grant—Saṃvat 320—and the earliest date of Dharasena IV.—Saṃvat 326—and thus extends the known period of the reign of Dhrusasena II. by one year.

1 See the remarks on page 189 above.
2 See above, p. 189 and note 5.
3 See Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 79 f., and above, Vol. V. p. 38 f.
4 Dr. Fleet informs me that these villages are given on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N.E. (1891), as Chandoria, Dhamnūd, Divel and Kheri.
5 There is also another 'Dilanda,' which gives its name to a station on the Holkar and Neemuch State Railway, three and a half miles north-north-east from this one, and two and a half miles north-west-by-west from 'Dhamnār.'
6 See Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 481.
TEXT.  

First Plate.

1 श्री[२] कपिल [२८] विजयस्वण्यवाराधि[वधि] तपस्विवासकार्यसम्प्रणालिकामित्रिाणां  
भौचकालमुखल्लस्यसम्पूर्णार्थमन्त्रोऽभीगः।

2 संतथाप्रकारसस्त्रैषहमताप्रतापत्वापिोष्टोतदानमांकोयोपायोतितारागानिुरलिनिलकलिुक्त  
अन्त्योऽष्टि।

3 वल्लवास्रातिवियः परसमाज्ञ्मक्कथीमटकांद्यविच्छिन्नराजवर्षालोधातापितुपुरा  
राथविष्णुप्रणातिः।

4 प्रवचनात्मकमक्यः सत्त्ववालाृति खंडवित्तीयवांधुरैव समझपणजवट[१]  
स्थोपन्तक[का]स्मित[५]।

5 सन्निकावण: तथ्यद्वाप्रणालिकातितृठराप्रधानसमस्तपानन्यूरकमहसृंहति:। दक्ष[५]  
स्थुतियण:।

6 शमामिषंत्वयपिन्यालानद्यसमुदबुधानन्यूरकमहसृंहतिः। दक्ष[५]  
स्थुतियण:।

7 शरणागतान्वमाधानमपरतोय लुणवन-  
पाकापेक्षरयश्नाध्यात्मिः।

8 फलपाख्यावधकारयांद्याधानान्यूतिविलकुसुमद्वारणविचारः  
पादचारीव सकलसुवन-  
मण्डला[भो]गम्यः।

9 परसमाज्ञ्मक्यः चियुपिन्यीनमत्स्य सुत्स्त्वादनस्ययूरसन्तानविलकुसुमत्जात्यद्यतोष्ण-  
प्रचारिन[ता]स्थियः।

10 क्षमा: प्रणवित्तसुध्रेशभूषमानसमस्तूपोलोमाधिविकायितः  
सरभमार्मात्मामितिऊँ[१] [स]हुः।

11 शाक्षिकिष्णांविवेचारिकापविचारविकुलस्तुतः  
प्रथमतर्कपत्तिमतियुपासनासनयात्मिः  
धन्दोद्या[त्या]नाः।

12 सत्यकीर्तिः प्रांगुपातवात्मानसमुपविन्याः  
द्वितिः विसरस्त्वरित्वकाविवास्थः  
"सह्लातारातिपुत्रः[भो]।

13 परिमोचनद्वितस्मी विकामोपस्मार्थ[म]पार्श्वक्षेिः। परसमाज्ञ्मक्यः चियुर-  
शेनस्य सुत्स्त्वादादो।

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1 From two ink-impressions and an estampage.
2 An indistinct symbol is engraved above the line between पि and श्रम of "प्रमाप्रमा".
3 Read "श्रींत्राप".
4 Read "स्थराृत्व".
5 Read "बलाव".
6 Read "कपिल".
7 Read "श्रींत्राप".
8 Expressed by a symbol.
14 अतः: "सकलजागरणनात्मकस्वत्तुतयुगमसुधारयतिसतसमादिकामकादकोऽपि सम[र]शत-विजयशीलां--
16 समसमयितिरिप सबर्षुभाविततविनायिक सुखोपपा[ढ]नीयपरितो[ढ]ः समस्त-लोकाचारागाढांगनाथी-
17 वक्त्वदयोपि सुविराजकातिस्थुतयुगपरमक्षाणश्च[भा]ः खिलीमृत्तकतुयुगसंस्कार-परश[व]शोकः
18 नामविमोहककीकृत्तिकृतुपरिधीर्क्षण[त]रीकातवर्तुसम्मुदयसेिवतिविनक्षणथर्म[व]ः लविनी[व]नामा पर-
19 ममानाभेष: वीमिलादिवल्कश्चात्तुताकदातादत्वात: स्व[व]सुप्रसिद्धिनवनिव शुर-प्रार्थणादरवतः[१] सम्बिक-ल
20 पश्ययामणिराजकरिः राजकोषकं परमखे इव सुश्रुष्टदातासमपादमेक-रसतये[व]कौक्षमोदसुक्ष्मतिवन्या
21 मनायितितमालस्थितरः प्रभावसमयक्षीकरत्वसंस्करशिरोरक्ष्यायोपददेितीपि परार्थाय-भ-
23 पायः "कतनिक्षिलवतुदानासीविम्मसुधारसुद्धितिमध्यमविचित्रतसकलकांविलसितातिति-क्री[व]जनाधि-
24 रू[द]विभवस्थेनित्वराजसाधारंबनतद्वयः प्रक्षालवस्यश्चानातिस्थितयवर्ष्य-विवर[व]तिमाधि-
25 सुधीकर्षयप्रकाशितप्रवाहपुरुषप्रथमस्मायविंगमः परमानाभेषः वीमिलान-सत्य तन्त्रबनिवार-नास
26 तुधातः स[क]लविवार्थितमविविधतिनिविधविद्वृजनमः परितपाधातियः "सत्य-सम्पद लवगीदायिणे चर
27 विनेतरस्थितम[१४]समितातितिचमनोरधाराभसः सम्युपरिणातात्मकाः[ढ]ः लव-म
28 "क्ल"लायोकरवित्तिनक्षरविभागोपि परममद्वृधकति[द]भिसमझ[व]पिणयय-"
Second Plate.

29. शोभाविभूषणः समग्रतजयपताकाल्यां प्रकाशितसम्बंधिताः

30. सिलिप्रतियोगतेवतः स्थानुः प्रमाणपरिभूषणां कालाधीनसंकल्पगतिः


32. कल्प्यते तरिकितुद्यानां सम्पूर्णा विशिष्टं सूत्रितानिधि पुष्पकारः परिवजः

33. तिन्दुराजनिः विभिन्नविशिष्टतं स्मयस्मुपक्षः प्रकथितमिरधिगतकलाकालपः कालिमा

34. रिष्टितेतुरकल्पकुसुदनायः प्राणमन्तपक्षः [3] तदिग्नतारायणविमिथ्यान्तरारः [4]

35. दिनाङ्गनिः प्रकथितं वर्णविश्वमालातिमिश्रितस्मयसम्पुष्पः

36. विधानं समविश्ववस्थमालानिधिपद्यान्तः कालिनुरुपः [5] ददहरेशीरितिशयाननिधिपद्यान्तः

37. स्थानानि 1. राजसाधारणतिरिक्तात्वविश्वविशिष्टद्योषियोषियः निश्चालः प्रकाशितमोपि

38. यः चुताभावरमितः कालीयः प्रवाहीः खर्मसौदेष्योपि निरसिताः दौर- वदासुदयसम्मयसम्पुष्पः

39. आनितंजनंतरारायणरिपिरिविशिष्टस्मयसम्मयसम्पुष्पमथन्त्रितवा [5] दिताङ्कितोयनामः परम- मार्गशिरः श्री

40. पुरुषकुलकाशी समविश्ववस्थमालान्तिरिक्तात्वविमिथ्यान्तम्यस्मुपक्षः बदधिरिदितं यथा स्म तालाङ्कितः

41. पुष्पायायनस्य "कुलकर्मामविशिष्टान्तिरिक्तात्वविमिथ्यान्तम्यस्मुपक्षः तथायतुजस्तत्वदात्ततः [2] तालाङ्कितः


43. का अन्तःकरणायायसामान्यायायायः ब्राह्मणायायः विधानायायः कालात्त्वं दिताङ्कितोयनामः परमाङ्कशः वीरसंतः [1] तथायतुजस्तत्वदात्ततः [1] तः [2] सचरितातिमिश्रतः

1. Read "विभिन्नसित".
2. Read "प्रकाशित".
3. Read "व्यापकोपि".
4. Read "ददहरेशीरितिशयाननिधिपद्यान्तः"
5. "स्मयस्मुपक्षः" is the reading of A, text line 36.
6. Read "यथायायः". The syllable य is entered on the margin of the plate; read "मया".
7. Read "कालिनुरुपः".
44 सालवके उच्चमानविषय[१] चन्द्रपुष्पकामे दितरिशोषि भक्तगतप्रमाणचर्च 
यथाय[१२]टनानि पूर्वतः थमायक-
45 क्रिकारामभिजयः दितिरिश्वी देवकुलपाट[२]प्रामकविजयः पर्यतः वीररमणशिकित 
महतराविलासयादादा उत्तरपधि-
46 मकोणि निम्नस्वाधिकारिका उत्तरः वीररमणशिकी एवेवेततुराचातनविशय 
भक्तगतप्रमाणचर्च शी[१]।
47 द्रव्य सौपरिषयः समुत्तासब्राह्मण्यमयः सचान्यहिरण्यमयः समुपपरायः सोत्रावमान 
बिरिख विषयानाथामाहः
48 स्त्राचर्यकोवः पृथ्वीप्रदेशभ्रान्तराज्यविभागितिरिष्टः मूर्तिशिवद्राधिहिना चन्द्रकार 
प्रविष्टिसंरिक्षयः
49 तस्मातप्रायः पुष्पपीतामध्यभिख्यः उदकातिसहिष्णुः परस्चताया निसुषः[३] यती 
नरोष्णिशिलत्या श्रियुपमितिका मूलकः
50 क्षणः कर्ययः प्रदेशबसीयाः न केवलिदिविधानमेवथितयमानमयदर्शनप्रति 
भिरापादाकृतिरिस्तः दर्शितयान्य[४] विशेषः
51 द्रव्य सालयेश समान्यमय भुमिदानन्दतम्भग्नाशिरयमस्माहुमात्यः परिप 
पालितविशेषः शुभः
52 का राजभियागाधिरिढः [५] यथा यथा यथा भूमिशस्य तथा तदा 
पालः [६] यानीक दर्षामाहायछर्वन्दनानि धर्मायितविशुद्धानि [७]
"निम्नमानप्रति 
53 मानी तानि को नाम सारुः पुनरादिरौ वरिष्थविषयसह[८]णि स्वनी 
तिसित भूमिदः[९] चाथिता[१०] चातुर्मस्ता च तामूच रक्तवे वशे 
दिति दृष्टिकोण राजः
54 पुष्पिकारः[११] विष्ट्रितसिद्धान्तविश्वासिकाशिविराज्यविभागितिर 
परिश्रमान्यमाहः "सं १०० २० १ तीव्र व १ खासको सम "
No. 21.—JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA ON MOUNT ABU.

By Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D.; Rostock.

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount Ábů were prepared by Mr. H. Consens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultzsch to Professor Kiellhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of Nēminātha and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by Tējaḥpāla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Viradhavāla. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of the temple of Vastupāla and Tējaḥpāla; but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to Tējaḥpāla alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was Lūpasiṃhavasahikā or Lūpavasahikā.1

No. 1. is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. p. 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1883 by Professor Abaji Vāishnu Kathavate in his edition of Sōmēśvaradēva’s Kirtikumāndī, Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the Collection of Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, p. 174 ff.

The writing covers a space of about 3′ 14″ broad by 2′ 7¼″ high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ⅛″. The characters are Jaina Nāgarī. As ba is distinguished from ca only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory syllable ṅa, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll. 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by Sōmēśvaradēva, the well-known purūhita of the Chaulukya kings and author of the Kirtikumāndī; but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regardslexicography, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms balānaka in l. 37 and khattaka in l. 40. The former apparently is identical with Maraṭhi balasi, which according to the Dictionary of Melesworth and Cundy means ‘a raised seat along the walls of the gābhāra or sahāmanḍapa of a temple.’ The word khattaka I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of ‘pedestal’ or ‘throne.’ Proper names frequently appear in their Prākrit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form Tējaḥpāla, instead of Tējaḥpāla, is used in verse 56.

After an invocation of Sarasvati (v. 1) and Gaṇeśa (v. 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of Tējaḥpāla. Their native town was Anahilapura, the residence of the Chaulukya kings (v. 3). The ancestor of the family was Charuṣa (v. 4). His son was Chaṇḍaprasaḍa (v. 5), who again had a son named Sōma (v. 6). Sōma’s son was Āśvāraja, whose wife was Kumāradēvi (v. 7). They had eleven children (vv. 8-24)—four sons: Lūpiga,

1[On vasati, ‘a Jaina temple,’ which is to be derived from vasati, another form of the Sanskrit vasati, see Prof. Pischel’s Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 207. The Kannāgā equivalent basadi or basti is a taddhāva of vasati itself.—E. H.]
who died when he was still a youth (v. 8), Malladéva, Vastupála and Téjahpála, and seven daughters: Jálhá, Mák, Sáv, Dhanadévi, Suhagá, Vayajuká and Padamaladévi. The family professed the Jaina faith (vv. 7; 10) and belonged to the lineage of the Prágvátas (v. 4). The four brothers are all called ministers (mantra, sahíra), and of Vastupála it is expressly stated that he was in the service of the Chaulukya (v. 14). Special praise is bestowed on Vastupála and Téjahpála, who seem to have been connected by the ties of sincere brotherly affection (vv. 1v. 24) but these verses contain no historical allusions.

The text then turns from the ministers to their lords, the Chaulukyas as they are called here (vv. 25; 28). Only the members of the so-called Vághélá line are mentioned here, viz. Arójára (v. 25), his successor Lavánaprasáda (v. 26), and the son of the latter, Viradhavala (v. 27). Two verses (vv. 28; 29) are added in praise of the services rendered to Viradhavala by the brothers Vastupála and Téjahpála, and of the implicit confidence by which the king rewarded their attachment to his person.

Abruptly a description of the Arbuda mountain, the modern Mount Ábú, is introduced (vv. 30; 31), after which follows, equally abruptly, a genealogy of the Paramáras of Chandrávati (vv. 32-42). That these verses are inserted here because Téjahpála built a temple on Mount Ábú and this mountain was situated in the province governed by the Paramáras, can be gathered only from the contents of the last section of the inscription. The account of the Paramáras begins with the legend of their origin. Their ancestor, from whom they took their name, is said to have sprung from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vásishtha and to have received the appellation of Paramára from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (prapávarana) (v. 32). In that family there arose first Dhúmarája (v. 33), who was followed by Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhiṣṭa and others up to Rámadéva (v. 34). With Rámadéva begins a coherent pedigree, which may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rámadéva</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yaśódhavala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dháravarsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sómásinshadéva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnárajadéva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the genealogy the inscription furnishes several items of historical value. Yaśódhavala is said to have quickly killed Bálála, the lord of Málava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumárapála (v. 35). From the wording of the verse we may conclude that Yaśódhavala was a feudatory of Kumárapála when he waged war against Bálála, just as Yaśódhavala’s son Dháravarsha appears as a feudatory of Kumárapála’s grand-nephew Bhímadéva II. in a Mount Ábú inscription of Vikrama-Sańvat 1265. It is no wonder, therefore, that elsewhere we find the destruction of Bálála attributed to Kumárapála himself. In Sómásinára’s Kirtikamudit (II. 48) Kumárapála is said to have seized in battle, out of passion, the heads of the kings Bálála and Mallikárjuna like the breasts of the goddess of victory. And in the Sómásináppata inscription of Bháva Bihaspáti, dated in Valabhi-Sańvat 850 (A.D. 1169), he is called ‘a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants—Bálála, king of Dhárá, and the illustrious ruler of Jángala.’ The latest epigraphical date for Kumárapála’s predecessor Jayasimshadéva is Vikrama-Sańvat 1196. The earliest inscription of the reign of

Kunārāpāla himself is dated in Vikrama-Saṅvat 1202.¹ According to Mērunāga’s Prabandhakā-
chitāntapī Jayasimhadeva reigned until Vikrama-Saṅvat 1199,² and in the same author's
Vicharavṛtint the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kārttiyika
of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1199, and that of his successor’s coronation as the fourth day of the bright
half of Mārgaśīra of the same year.³ Ballāla, therefore, must have found his death between
A.D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Somnathpattan inscription. No king of that name, however,
is found among the Paramāra rulers of Mālava of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is
altogether improbable that Ballāla belonged to this dynasty. The question who he was and
how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mālava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to
draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn⁴ that after the death of
Yaśōvarman, which must have occurred between A.D. 1135 and 1144,⁵ the Mālava kingdom
was for some time in a troubled state apt to arouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhārāvarsha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v. 37),
was an enemy of the lord of Kauṇkhana or Koṅkana (v. 36), but no particulars are added. I have
quoted already above the Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1265 (A.D. 1209), where
Dhārāvarsha, ‘the lord of Chandravatī, the Sambhu to the Asuras—the provincial chiefs
(magadhikā),’ is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhimaśeṇa II.

His younger brother Prahlādana is called he ‘whose sword was dexterous in defending the
illustrious Gūrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha’
(v. 38). The Gūrjara king who was saved by Prahlādana from Sāmantasimha, of course, was
Bhimaśeṇa II, but it is difficult to say who that Sāmantasimha was. No further details being
given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that
prince with certainty. The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the
Sāmantasimha of the inscription is the Guhila chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions
on Mount Ābudha and at Sādādī.⁶ In the former inscription⁷ he takes the fifth place after Vijaya-
simha, who must have flourished about A.D. 1125,⁸ and the fifth place before Tejāsimha, whose
Chitorgarh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Saṅvat 1324 = A.D. 1267.⁹ He thus appears to
have reigned about A.D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary
Prahlādana was yuvastha in A.D. 1209.¹⁰ Also from a geographical point of view there is no
objection to my identification, as Mēdarāta, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district
ruled by the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī. It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahlādana
defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief. That the relations between the
Chaulukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of
Vishaladeva, the son of Viradhavala, where the king is given the epithet Mēdarāta-kudāsa-
kulasāra-vida-vallī-kand-vedekhādana-kudālī-kalpa, ‘he who resembled a bee for rooting out
the bulb of (that) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mēdarāta country.’¹¹

¹ Bhādegam Inscr. p. 155 ff.
² See the end of svarga 111.
⁵ The latest inscription of Yaśōvarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1192, and the earliest inscription
of his son Lakshmitvarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1200. See Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 349
and n. 352 ff.
⁷ Bhādegam Inscr. p. 114 ff.
⁸ The Sādādī inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names.
⁹ Vijayasaṃhita’s daughter was the Kalachuri queen Alhasadevi, whose Bhāra-Ghât inscription is dated in the
year 907 of the Kalachuri-Chōla era = A.D. 1155; see Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 7 ff.
Besides his military achievements Prahlādāna’s learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv. 39; 40). This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a vyākhyā, called Pārthoparādkrama, written by him when he was ivaśrāja,1 and several single verses of his are found in the Śrīyadharapaddhati.2

As regards Śomāsinhadēva, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brāhmaṇas (v. 41).

After the genealogy of the Paramāras the text returns again to the family of Tējāhpāla. Vv. 43-46 are devoted to Tējāhpāla’s brother Vastupāla, his wife Lalitādēvi and, particularly, their son Jayantasiṁha or Jaitrasiṁha. Vv. 47-49 are in praise of Tējāhpāla himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of Anupamadēvi, the wife of Tējāhpāla (vv. 50-54). The account begins with Gāgā, who belonged to the Prāgvāt family and was an inhabitant of Chandravatī (v. 50). His son was Dharaṇiga (v. 51), who was married to Tribhuvanadēvi (v. 52). Their daughter was Anupamadēvi (vv. 53; 54). The son of Tējāhpāla and Anupamadēvi was Lāvanyasiṁha or Lūnasāṁh (vv. 55-57). V. 58 contains a short note on the family of Tējāhpāla’s elder brother Malladēva: Malladēva and his wife Līlākā had a son Pūrpasiṁha, who was married to Abhājādēvi and had a son of the name of Pētaḍa.

Vv. 59 and 60 record that Tējāhpāla built on the mountain Arbuda this temple of Nēminātha for the religious merit of his wife Anupamā and his son Lāvanyasiṁha, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice. The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty maṇḍapa in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinas on the sides of it and a baldānaka or stone seat in front of it (v. 61). There were besides ten statues representing Chandapa, Chandraprasāda, Śoma, Āśva, Lūga, Malladēva, Vastupāla, Tējāhpāla, Jaitrasiṁha and Lāvanyasiṁha, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62; 63). Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on khaṭtakaś of white marble (v. 64). The description concludes with some verses in honour of Vastupāla and Tējāhpāla, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv. 65-68).

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of Vastupāla’s and Tējāhpāla’s family (vv. 69-72). They belonged to the Nagendra gachchha, and their names, in chronological order, were: Mahendraśiri, Śāntiśiri, Åñandasārī and Amarasārī,1 Haribhadrasārī, Vijayasānasārī, Udāyaprabhāsārī. The last, as shown by v. 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some Girnār inscriptions.4

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that Śomēśvaradēva, whose feet are honoured by the Chutukya king, composed this eulogy of the temple. The name of the engraver of the inscription, Chandēśvara, the son of Dhāndhāla, the son of Kēlaṇa, and the date of the consecration of the temple by Vijayasānasārī, the Jain priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll. 46, 47). The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phāliguṇa, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama. It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, a priori to restore the name of the month to Śrīvaṇa, as done e.g. by Professor Kathavate; but as the date is repeated in the inscription No. II., the reading Phāliguṇa is beyond

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3 In the inscription No. II. Amarascārī is called Amarachandasārī.
4 Kielhorn, List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 31, note 1. Udāyaprabhāsārī was also the author of an astrological treatise called Ārāhānābuddhi; see Weber, Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin, No. 1741.
all doubt. The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn, to Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230.

Of the inscription No. II. only a short account was published by H. H. Wilson in the Asiatie Researches, Vol. XVI. p. 309 f. It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B. to his edition of the Kiritikaumudī. It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10" high. The size of the letters is 3/4. Near the beginning and at the end of II. 1 and 2 and at the end of II. 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off. The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial ơ in ơūm (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in Īśavāla (l. 15, 17, 24) and Īśāna (l. 27) by the addition of a cross-bar. The letter ba is expressed by the sign for ra everywhere, except in Śrīmadāmahābha in l. 27 and Arbadāsa in the last but one line. The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities. The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for ra and sa and medial ơ and ơ, the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in bhūjāte, bhavanā, -pādāte, -sūrē, tayāh and vīkṣyamānā, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in varsha (l. 1), -dēvēna (l. 26) and Gōśāla (l. 13). There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is purely borne out by their contents.

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom. Proper names generally appear in their Pārākrit form, and even instead of Skt. putra we find here the abbreviation uța, which stands for Pārākrit utta or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized utra (l. 10-25). Also the form kumāra instead of kumārā in l. 26 is due to Pārākrit influence. The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by tathā (l. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27). As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned: apabhāra, m., 'a burden' (l. 29); āśāṭhāhitā, f., 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (l. 12, 14, 16, etc.); kalyāṇā, n., 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26); śāhāyānti, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (l. 10 ff.); mahaṣāmā, m., 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10); śāhpiya, m., which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 23); varṣagranthā, m., 'an anniversary' (l. 12); saṭika, 'belonging to' (l. 3, 7, 10); saṅkar, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9). In line 6 pratiṣṭhā is used in the sense of pratiṣṭhāpita.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of Neminātha, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building.

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1987, while in prosperous Apahilapātaka the mahaṭrāja Bhūrīmatā, the royal swan on the lotus of the Chaulukya family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . . . while the mahaṁandalaśvara rājakula, the illustrious Somaśimhadeva, born in the family of the illustrious

1 List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 30.
2 This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, plate i. ll. 14, 15; pl. ii. ll. 4, 5, 6. See Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 388.
3 See below, p. 206.
4 Compare Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 279, note 46. The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate ii. l. 10. In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation mahājanasya is found.
5 Compare Marathi varṣaṁyogadhāta, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'
6 See below, p. 205, note 2.
Dhūmarājadēva who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy Vasishtha, is reigning victoriously, Tējāhpāla caused to be made in the village of Dēulkavā on the top of the holy mountain Arbuda the temple of the holy Nēminātha, called Lūnasimhasahaskā, adorned by all shrines (dēvaṃkālikā) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (hastisīla), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadēvi and his son Lūnasimha. The inscription gives the same pedigree of Tējāhpāla as No. I., and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the mahāmanḍālēśvara rāṇaka, the illustrious Viradhavaladēva, the son of the mahāmanḍālēśvara rāṇaka, the illustrious Lavaṇaprasādādēva, born in the family of the illustrious Chaulukyas, in the province (māṇḍala) of . . . . rātrā, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid mahārājādhikāra, the illustrious Bhīmadēva.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between Bhīmadēva II. and the members of the Vāghēla dynasty, which in Somēsvardēva's account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that Bhīmadēva II. was considered lord paramount, while Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhava contented themselves with the rank of a mahāmanḍālēśvara and the title of rāṇaka. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by Viradhavala is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . . rātrā, which I am unable to restore.¹

As regards the Paramārās of Chandravatī, the inscription shows that in A.D. 1230 the reigning prince was Sōnasimha, and not Krīṣhṇarāja as might easily be supposed from the text of No. I. I would also point out that the legend told in No. I. of Paramāra is here ascribed to Dhūmarāja.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230. The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the Jinas and the hall for the statues of the members of Tējāhpāla's family spoken of in vv. 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by Viṣayasyaṭṭha (I. 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. Hariḥbhadrasūri is here called 'the lord of the frontlet decoration (pattālaikaraṇa-prabhā) by the illustrious Āṇandasūri and the illustrious Aṃaraḥbhadrasūri,' which apparently means that he had received his pattālaikaraṇa from the hands of those two sātras.

The purport of the next section (II. 6-9) is indicated already by the heading: 'And the names of the śravaka trustees appointed for this temple (are) as follows.' Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,² etc., in this temple is to be done and carried on for ever by the brothers Malladhēva, Vāsntpaḷa and Tējāhpāla and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of Lūnasimha's mother Anupamadēvi and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of Anupamadēvi's family, which resided at Chandravatī and belonged to the Prāgyaṭa jāti, is inserted.

The following section (II. 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, holy to the god,³ and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc., were to be performed by the laymen (śravaka) of

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 190, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the Vāghēla branch.
³ This seems to be the meaning of dēva kṛṣṇa.
the country of Chandravati, each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the jātī. About half of them belonged to the Prāgvatās; the rest was divided between the Ûsasāvalas or Ûsasāvalas, the Śrimālas and the not very numerous Dharkatās. The places inhabited by them were the villages of U ważanīka, Sarāli and Kāsahāda, Brahmāṇa, the village of Dhāuli, the great tirtha Munḍasthāla, the villages of Philiṇi, Handāndra and Dāvānī, Gadhānṭa, Sāhīlaveṇa.

In a subsequent clause (II. 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five kalyāṇikas of Nemināthadēva, i.e. the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final delivery of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (śrīvaka) residing at Dēvalavāḍa on the holy mountain Arbuda.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (II. 26-30): 'Thus is this agreement: The lord of the prosperous Chandravati, the illustrious rījakula Sōmasīnadhādeva; again his son, the illustrious rīja [kula] Kānhaḍadēva, and the other princes, all royal persons; again the sthānapati bhāṭīraya, etc., of the prosperous Chandravati, kavīḷāda, again the Gūgulī Brahmāṇa, all the trustees (who belong to the caste of the) merchants; again all persons, (viz.) sthānapati, ascetics, Gūgulī Brahmāṇa, rāthiyas and others, residing at (the temples of) the holy Achālōśvara (and) the holy Vāśishṭha on the mountain Arbuda and in the neighboring villages, (viz.) the village of Dēvalavāḍa, the prosperous village of Śrimatāmahabu, the village of Abhaya, the village of Orāsa, the village of Utarachha, the village of Sihara, the village of Sāla, the village of Ḥethaṇḍī, the village of Ākṛti, Kōṇḍi belonging to the holy Dēndhālcōśvaradeva, and others—twelve villages (in all); again all the rājaputras belonging to the race of the illustrious Prathāres, residing in the villages of Bhālīhāḍa, etc., having sat down one by one in the hall of (the temple of) the holy Nemināthadeva, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (and) for his own delight, from the mahan[ta], the illustrious Tējaṇā[pāla], the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy Lūpaṇavasahikā. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (endure). For—

'What need is there of alms-bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (or) red garments (and) tufts of twisted hair, (since) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince Kānhaḍadēva mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the Paramāra Kṝṣṇaraṇadēva spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the mahāraṇjakula, the illustrious Sōmasīnadhādeva, in this holy Lūpaṇavasahikā, presented by an edict the village of Dāvānī in Vāhirahāḍi to the holy Nemināthadeva, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with Sōmasīnadhādeva entitling the future kings of the Paramāra race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

1 I take the term 'the body of the śrīvakas, namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to Chandravati' as the collective designation of the pāsas enumerated in detail later on.
2 [According to Forbes, Rāṣṭha Mātā, p. 64, Kāsahāda is the present Kāsindr-Pāṇḍāḷi near Ahmādābād; see Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 229. It is mentioned in two Rāṣṭhrakūta grants, ibid. p. 57 (Kāsahāda), and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 202 (Kāsahāda).—E. H.]
3 Perhaps kavīḷāda is a proper name; at any rate, I do not know its meaning.—[Can it be meant for Kavīḷā?—E. H.]
4 The Gūgulīs, or Guglīs as they are called now, are a class of Brahmāṇas who at present are found chiefly in Drākṣā. They are Vaishnavas by religion and mostly pujāres or priests in the temples of Krishnas; compare Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII. p. 146, and Vol. IX. Part I. p. 9 f., where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.
Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of Dēūlavadā on the mountain Arbuda is the Dilwāra of the Indian Atlas, situated lat. 24° 38' N.; long. 72° 42' E. The village of Umbarānki is the Umarnī of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of Dilwāra. The village of Dhaūli is Dhaūli, 8½ miles west-south-west of Dilwāra. The great tirtha of Mūnḍasthāla is perhaps identical with the Mūrththāla of the map, 8½ miles south-east of Dilwāra. The village of Gaḍāhāḍa may be identified with the Gadarā of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of Dilwāra, supposing Gadarā to stand for Gaḍārā (Gaḍāḍa). Sāhilavadā is Solwāra, 8½ miles west-north-west of Dilwāra. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Arbuda, Ābuṣya is the Abu of the map, 1½ miles south-west of Dilwāra. Utarachāna is Utraṇa, 5½ miles north-east of Dilwāra. Sihāra is Ser, 8 miles north-east of Dilwāra. Hēṭhānuḷḷa is Hēṭhānuḷḷa, 2 miles south of Dilwāra. Koṭaḍi may be the Kotrā of the map, 7 miles east of Dilwāra. Sālā possibly is identical with Salguṇo, 1 mile east-south-east of Dilwāra. Orāsa bears a certain resemblance to Orīa, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of Dilwāra, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount Ābū by Nāyakaṇḍrāsūri, a descendant of the holy rishi Kṛṣṇa, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III.-XXXII., all of which are edited now for the first time,² are written in Nāgarī characters of the Jaina type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their Prakrit form. Once, in Chaṛḍapaha in No. IV. l. 1, ḍa shows the peculiar shape given in Bühler's Indische Paläographie in Plate V. col. XVI. l. 22, from an inscription of Bhimādeva I.

No. III., which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that Tējāpāla caused to be made the great shrine (mahātirtha) of the holy Nēminātha in this Lūṉavasahikā for the religious merit of his son Lūṇasīha 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of Phāguṇa (Phāṅguna) in the year 1287 of king Vikrama.' According to Professor Kielhorn, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for V. 1287 expired and V. 1287 current. It would correspond, for V. 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV.-XXXII. prove that Tējāpāla in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of Jinas and tīrthaṅkaras, by Tējāpāla for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is maḥān, the abbreviated form of maḥānāt. It is borne by Tējāpāla and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIV. and XXVI.-XXXI. Tējāpāla's ancestors Chaḍḍapaha and Chaḍḍnaprasāda, his father Asvārāja or Āśvarāja, and his mother Kumārādevī are given the title of phaṇa, which stands for phākhara, whereas Soma, the son of Chaḍḍaprasāda and father of Asvārāja, is constantly styled maḥān.³ This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as Chaḍḍapaha and Asvārāja are called also maḥān in

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¹ I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount Ābū.
² Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. p. 310, No. XX.
³ The pedigrees in No. II. l. 2 f. show the same distinction.
Nos. III.-VIII., X.-XVIII., XXI.-XXIII. and XXXII. In No. XXXII. we find thakurvdjiti as the title of Saktišāhā, the mother of Tējapāla’s second wife Suhaśādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called ha. As shown by Nos. XXVI., XXVII. and XXX., Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tējapāla, bore the title of sañghapati. 2 From the ninth sarga of the Kirtikasmudra it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the tirhas of Śatrūmāja, Raivataka and Prabhāsa. The title itself is alluded to in sarga IX. verse 12, where it is said: ‘He dined when all (others) had dined; he went to sleep when all the (other) pilgrims had fallen into slumber; he was the first to awake. In this manner he performed the vow of being a sañghaprabhu. 3 Seven times female relatives of Tējapāla are given the title of bāt (Nos. IV., XI., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX.-XXXI.)

No. XXXII. mentions the Mōha jātī in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhaśādēvi, the second wife of Tējapāla, belonged.

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārśva (No. XII.), Muni Suvarata (No. XXI.), Vārasa (No. XXIV.), Chandrārvana (No. XXV.), the eternal Jina Rishabha (No. XXX.), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No. XXXI.), and the tirakhara Simandharasvāmin 6 (No. XXVI.), the Jina Yugaṇḍharasvāmin (No. XXVII.), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII.), and Subāhu (No. XXIX.).

Nos. IV.-XVIII. are dated in the Vikrama year 1288; Nos. XIX.-XXXI. in the Vikrama year 1290; Nos. XXIV. and XXV. on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1288; Nos. XXVI.-XXXI. 1 on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the Kārttikeya V. 1293 expired and the purnimānta Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A.D. 1337; No. XXXII. is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the Kārttikeya V. 1297 expired and the purnimānta Vaśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1214.

No. I. 8

TEXT.

1 भो॥ बौद्ध सर्वपरि देवीं याति या काँवमानस । नीयमाना
न्यायसंस्कारात् सिद्ध ॥ यः [कर्मित्वा] नद्यस[व] सलिन ॥ १ ॥ नियमित्वाति \[पि सम] वदेम ॥

1 Similarly in the pedigree of Tējapāla’s wife Asvamādevī in No. II. 1. 7 f. four persons are called mukha, while the rest is styled ha.
2 The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No. II. 1. 4.
3 The title of sañghapati occurs also in the Śatrūṣaṣṭikālīmga. According to XIV. 54 ff. it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hastiśā, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places.
4 The correct Sanskrit form would be Vīrākṣaya.
5 The four tirakhara are distinguished by the epithet ekharamaṇa, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me.
6 The Jina Simandharasvāmin is known from Hemachandra’s Sthāvaīrīcalīkha, IX. 98 ff. and the Śatrūṣaṣṭikālīmga, 1. 163.
7 Of No. XXIII. the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year.
8 On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1740 of Mr. Cousens’s list.
9 Expressed by a symbol.
2 [वातसुपुजः ॥ ॥ २ धनबदलपुरसंहिता स्मदिपर्ण । वत्रजानवर्ण] । परमोऽवक्तः ॥ [वर्म] तिरमणीयां य[व वर्ण] । संदी[कष्ट] च । 

3 विशद्यान । दासाविधिनिर्कलधुमदंडलंधांपवपमः समर्थूत ॥ ४ चंद्राः साद । सं[च] । सवुधास[सभा] । श्रीमान ॥ प्रसर(क) सितपताकः । पुष्करिपा वनन सनुण समुपूत ॥ ५ आनुष्ठान । किरणगतिः सीमी सोमो रोमीरम 

5 वेव ॥ उदागदाधामनाधुकालिनिवांधवातामात ॥ हे एतचादवत्ति 

6 जिनानिधि[ना]धसंहिता विवाहः । समसति श्रीमान्यर्याच[र] । तथापीतहित 

7 तमसंयागसुधानो भो निमित्तविस्मितमथामृत । बमहत्य यथार्थान्मनाणासु तुषा 

8 [पा] व चिति सरसाचिनिधि। गोश्याचाराणि सुधानुविन्दनं निविन्दनं ॥ ॥ १५ विश्वचनम् न बुद्ध: शास्त्रभवे ॥ ॥ १० भौतिकविचारातीत्वम् द्वितीय 

9 भिनुकालाय अचानक कालाचरण । दुःखान्तां श्रमिकां । भाताविषयांतिकायिं ॥ ॥ १० तेजःपालण विभिन्नकाल: 

10 ध्वनिदिवसोतिसाधनाय ज्योतिः । पदमर्दनी जैयं कसाद्वानाः । सम सीताव: 

11 प्रसर(क) सितपताकः । पुष्करिपा वनन सनुण समुपूत ॥ ५ आनुष्ठान । किरणगतिः सीमी सोमो रोमीरम 

1 These strokes as well as those at the end of ll, 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 30, 39, 41, 42 are merely intended for filling up the line.
11 लेन वस्तुपाली अथ। मद्यति कक्श न इदवं माध्यमाति राथ्ये। एक दिन रात्रिका गतकालिन श्रृःत्तिप्रोत्साहित निरालो। पुराणकी रुपरेते रूपरेते संयुक्त ध्यानभावना तो निरालो। २० इद दुरा सों
12 दिनानुबंधम्। युगे युगायोगायुगायो युगायो। युगे चतुर्थ्युगायो। वेन कर्तम् जलासागरम् ईसा। २१ उपाध्यम् श्रीरेर सोंदरयो। युज्तसे मभृतोत्तरते। इन्द्रायम् फळ महावनसंहरे। भान्ति यक्षियं। २२ ए।
13 कोवलतिनितियो यथा पारस्य तवस्त्रायेक्ष:। वासो भुक्कियों। तु सोंदरयो। कोप९ दशिनियो।। २३ नाधनालालका। मुक्तचं। मुनना।। दु:। पदो वलाकः युधियो। कलोंगो।। २४ इत्यादिलुक्षणर्।
14 गा वंसे गायुष्येक्ष:। शाक्षायुष्येक्ष:। शाफळराज इति यातः आत्मेश्वरन:। कुमानु।। २५ तथा बदनितरस्वयमः त्रितीर्थामा:। शाफळराज इति जलवः श्रीवास्तवात्मितिह वीसको।
15 ॥ २६ चउक्षुकपादासदीशरचकउक्षुकमतिको।। प्रतिकान्त्रियान:। बलित्विको वीर-चरवण:।। यशः सु:। यथा प्रश्नति रतिकान्तमननामसाधिनियो। रश्माभिषकरण- कलायं कुशलत:। २७ वीरकः। सजानी स दौराभवः: कः।
16 श्रावणार्ण जय य:। कांगिपृ कुकार न प्रजापताबहस्य। ये मंदिणी।। वायुप्रथमनातिरिक्तचिरं राज्यक श्रमण:। कुलमुः। कर्तवयं वाकानां निधिं घट:। कर्तवयं वाकानां निधिं घट:।। २८ तेन मंजिल्येनाय जामी आनूप-वाट्स्यान:। वि-
17 सुभुः जहाजः नव सरास्वतिचिति चित्यं।। २८ इति॥ नीचीवर्गसमुखाभिं स्त्रावुर्दत:। ककुतमेक्रिकाकस्त:।। मंदाकिनीं घनान्त:। दशुज्ञान:।। विधामकः। भाषिपीरो भविन्यं करोति।। ३० करिष्ठ किष्ठिरायियो।।
18 जलामयवाप्रकारं क्रमांको चित्।। करण सुविभाषित त्रिभुतलिंगेश्वरीयं। अमृत ब्यवहारा वीरदोरवरानतः।। ३१ वी:।। शेषविक्षिप्ताविन्वितबुतकुलकुरुमणांस्वतांबास्यप्रयोगोत्विशेषितं।
19 ४: कालानिर्वचनि:। तं मला परमार्गौरस्किन्तु स्वाजः ज्युतेर-धारा:। परमार द्वैरणी तामाल्य तत्तान्त्य:।। ३२ दीपराय:। प्रथम वम्भो भूकशायक समारोह:।। ३३ शून्यविभा:।।
20 दूरायेनादु।। ३४ धुकुपादकहात्यतात्तको।। विनियोगाधिनी। भवन:।। यत्रसे:। जगति।। गुणोऽगुणोऽगुणो। राममें इति वाकाव्यविश्व:।। ३५ जेद:।।

¹ "कक्श" would be more correctly written "कुक्ष".
21 ख्रीतसनृतसत:। यस्योंक्रकाकारापलवलयमापितमधवायुतमागं मला सवरमय
मालवायिं: 'वज्रालातुकरवावनूँ। ३१। मखुंगळीलवनविक्रिय सिद्धकुंडलीमादारीः
धारावः। समजून सुखस्य विकाशः। कोधाजातम-।
22 घनसुधानविषये यथा जतायन्तितपत्रकादः। कौकायन्यवरन्नः। ३६
श्रीयं पुनर्दारम्भः। पुष्पविहाराभित्रीजः। सुसुन्धर्मान्यः। मारीश्वरादिव
यो मुनापि [भृ]गण्यमयोभिः। करोऽति। ३० साम्-
23 तस्मिनसमितिचिन्तितरिवाचः। श्रीकृष्णचित्तपरिवर्णनाधिकारिः।
प्रभादनदासदोजः। दत्तोत्तमारिचिन्त्रिणसम्पुन्नक्रायान्याकारः। ३५
dेवी सरोजानन्दस्यवा किं कामपदा किं दुरसौभेद्यः। प्रभादनाकारधरा
24 घरायामायास्वेपखेष्ट किं निष्ठ्यो श्री। ३५ घरायायास्वेपखेष्ट किं जयति
वीशालसिंहके यः। पिन्तुः। श्रीयं विषयं। पिन्तुः कावास्यामन्यते
भवः। ४० सुचा विक्ष्प्रकारानातिनितिकारविचिन्तिय तक्ष्यं किं प्राप्तसंस्त
सोः। २५ निरहुपति। स्मष्मबायः / यय्यः। चेतिवरिततसृष्टः। चर्यतायुतायुतायुतां
/ धययः। सर्वावस्था विविधयाः। विविधाः। न चि। सुखालार्थीलसृष्टिः। ४१ वुपूर्दे-
वस्त्रेण सुतः। दीपः। कस्माराजदेवी। रष्यः। माराधिकायां। दर्दुः
26 यासिंहिती। जयति। ४२ दतत्त्। चन्द्रवेण विनयवेण विद्यया। विक्रेत्रिय
सुक्ततमृण च। कापि कौषी। न पुरातृपीति च। वल्लुपालमरोऽहृतीः।
पदः। पदः। ४१ देवी। लक्षितादेवी। तन्मन्त्रीवसीतनमाय। साहिचिन्द्रादृः।
नाशा जयति।। २७ सिद्ध:। नयोंतिमंद्रसुष्टिपुष्टिपी। ४४ यः। श्रीस्वर विनयवैरियणोऽथै। दीपरवेण च। श्रीयं मनोवपरायजावहकरोऽणी
स मनसि पृणुऽति। श्रीसिंहः। ४४। श्रीसुपालकुः। कामायुवरोऽयध-
28 तस्मिनो एकत्रः। कामादिकं रगं निकृष्ट्ये। यथा दान च। ४२ स्या
वृद्धिजः। श्रीवेजसि। सत्तायुविकालसमु तेजः। श्रीन जना। निविन्ताबिनादि-
ुमणिनेव निःर्द्विः। ४५ यथाकाष्ठायुमुक्तायुविकालशक्तिकान्तान। प्राणश्वार्धः
व्यक्तिः। सुभवे। २९ मन्त्रिणां कुष्ठिधारां। चक्षूः १र्थः। स खङ्गुः विचिना नूनमेव विचारः।
तेजः। पालः। कयमितसिताबिसमापोऽसः। ४५ भस्मी सत्तानेवते
तनुभूताः। श्रीसुपालकानुन्तकोऽसः। पालः। किं निखिनस्थिति। पालः। इति। किं निखिनस्थिति। पालः। इति। किं निखिनस्थिति। पालः। इति। किं निखिनस्थिति। पालः। इति। किं निखिनस्थिति। पालः। इति। किं निखिनस्थिति। पालः। २। २।
३० हू मन्यि न हि गुणामे च कामंदकि गायकप्रियी मल्लरेणि ने छट्ट प्रियानंद प्रेमा यें ॥ ४५ । थतः ! श्रीतिः पालक सन्तवः श्रीसुपनमायियः पितुवंरनाम्ने ॥ प्रायाबलात्मकमेकादुकृ वीसांद्वाराविवेषाः स्नवीनीयकोतिप्रथात्मकातः ॥ श्रीगामिक्षाया सुधिराजी रक्षोवतू रागाधुमस्य नामामदि दोपिति मिरा नीड्रूरोमा पुस्मन् ॥ ५० बनुसुमनामसना विनातिरिष्णानामा समूहू ततामः ॥ स्मृस्युदयये ॥

३२ गुणिनाधारवेय सिरं येन ॥ ५२ विषुवनवेय तथा विसुवन- रघुवरासिनीप्रवासन्यः ॥ दियतामुनिः पुनरं हेया मनोक्षेण ॥ ५२ बनुप्रमदी देवी साचाराथ्मचारी श्रीलिङ ॥ तदुपि साधिता श्रीलिङ-पलेन ॥

३३ प्रवासिण् ॥ ५३ बनुपरमदी दिश्ववृक्षप्रभवसमपिनिः तेजः पालणमा- श्रीलिङ ॥ नयवियवनिस्तिकोनिर्देशानिध्वनिप्रभवभूतिविशिष्योः ॥ ५४ लवणसंघवनमानोर्वर्यं यद्यवायः ॥

३४ [ढ़]यदुद्वाविजनाः ॥ लवणपर्मभजांगमः वसः प्रयत्ति धर्मावधारा- विनासिंधुः ॥ ५५ श्रीतिपलातनवसु मुणामु सूर्य मनोक्षिष्ठकणिः कालि न सुविरंति ॥ श्रीनिरंगीपर्तरसी यः सम्यादुधिमां विनातिरि किति-

३५ यति चा कोचि ॥ ५६ गुणवननिध्वनिवलवः प्रकटी विमविधितव खलसायः ॥ उपवयमयादि समतं सुमनिन्यायामानी द्रिप ॥ ५७ सम्मदेसचित्वकामः मन्दन ॥ पूर्णिः सिंह दिति कोलकासु: ॥ तथा नद्रिति सुन्तोमवश्चनाः

३६ दैवभु: सुजातवेस्म पेशिः ॥ ५८ बनुद्वावमा पत्री तेजः पालण- सिंह: ॥ साध्विसंघवनायामयामासमितियोः सुतः ॥ ५५ तेजः पलेन पुष्यायें तयः सवकालयाः ॥: हस्तमिन्यायाय तेने लेनदम्यः ॥

३७ ॥ ६० तेजः पाल दिति चतित्तुसिंधिव: शंकोवलामिः शिलार्येषविभ: शुरु- विदुस्तमादिर्नेमिक्रोमिदिर ॥ अमतिरुन्तप्रती जिन[वरा] बामहिंचिद्वर्त्त तत्वार्जुन वलानने ॥ पुरो विलायामासिवाम ॥ ६२ श्रीरथ-

३८ [प]समभ: [सम] भवांद्रम्मसदस्त: सीमसामवः ॥ ॥ ॥ द्रवत दिति तत्वया: पावितमयः ॥ श्रीमुणामामभद्रवसिनिशवीरसुपालायामनोः पालसमितिसिंहवति जिनमातामोगिविद्दर्दः ॥ ६२ श्रीमोदिवरयम्मसुपालनय: श्रीजी-

३९ विमानवसिनिशोऽपालसुतव विसुवनसिनिशायामनोः ॥ एतवं दम मूनसं वरवधिकाविश्वादिर रागिते जिनदिर्मायामयाः दिनायामासिवाः ॥ ६२ सूर्यानिःश्च प्रहतः कवित्यपुत्रमित्वायां तन्मध्यानिः ॥

1 Read मंवीण्पकादभीः.
2 Possibly the reading is समानवः.
Translation,

(Verses 1, 2, 3) Oś | I worship the goddess Saraswati who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (thither), as it were, by her own swan (which serves her as) a vehicle.

(V. 2) May the son of Śiva grant you welfare,—he who, though patient, is red in anger; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love; (and) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything.

(V. 3) There is (the city of) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Chulukyas equal to Aja, Raja and Raghu, where even at the close of the bright half of the

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1 Read सचारिन्द्र.
2 In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is मोनदा, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season.
3 I.e. Gopāla.
4 Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great-grandfather, of Rāma. Raja was the grandson of Purūravas.
month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women.

(V. 4.) In that (town) there was Chaṇḍapa, the crown of the family of the Prāgvāṭas, whose fame was as white as kuśa flowers, (and) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees.

(V. 5.) In consequence of the maturing of his good actions there was (born) to him a son named Chaṇḍaprapāśā, a golden staff on the palace of his family, provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V. 6.) From him, who was not shallow-hearted, (and) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang Sūma, who by his own virtues caused thrills (of joy) to the good, as (the moon causing thrills) by her beams (sprung from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre).

(V. 7.) From him was born Āśvarāja, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinas. His beloved wife was Kumāradēvi, as Dēvi, the mother of Kumāra, (was the wife) of the destroyer of Tripura.

(V. 8.) Their first son was the minister called Lūṇiga. By fate he obtained, though being (still) a youth, a residence in the same world as Vāsava.

(V. 9.) That pure-minded minister Lūṇiga, whose intelligence despised, as it were, even the wisdom of Dhīṣaṇa, was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment.

(V. 10.) His younger brother was the illustrious Malladēva, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with Mallidēva, who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (and) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others.

(V. 11.) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (and) as to repairing what has been broken, the Creator did not create a rival of Malladēva.

(V. 12.) The fame of Malladēva, surpassing the beams of the moon freed from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of Hastimalla.

(V. 13.) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious Vastupāla, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the nectar of his poetry, (and) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned!

(V. 14.) Vastupāla, the foremost among the ministers of the Chulukyas and among poets, never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems.

(V. 15.) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother Tējāhpāla, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master; who is to be dreaded by the wicked; (and) whose fame spreads in all directions.

(V. 16.) Who can fathom the natures of Tējāhpāla and Vishṇu, as the rules (of conduct) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (of the first) and the string of the three worlds in the cavity of the belly (of the second)?

(V. 17.) These (brothers) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, Jālhū, Mā. Sāū, Dhanadēvi, Sōhagā, Vayajukā, and Padamaladēvi.

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1 The word maṇḍaya appears to be used here as a synonym of antara which, according to Amara III. 3, 186 has also the meaning of antarātman.
2 I.e. Śiva.
3 I.e., in common parlance, he died.
4 I.e., Bṛhaspati.
5 Mallidēva is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present Avasarpini.
6 I believe that the terms bhūruca-çākṣikēra-pidhānas and vikīrṇa-sākṣikēras refer to Malladēva's works of charity; but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another.'
7 I.e. Indra's elephant.
8 The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together.
(V. 18.) Surely, these sons of Ásrājya are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb.

(V. 19.) Does not this Vastupāla accompanied by his younger brother Tējabpāla delight everybody’s heart like the first month of spring followed by the second?

(V. 20.) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21.) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (and) who made the Krita age appear even in the fourth age!

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time!

(V. 23.) Although the two hands (of a man) are due to springing from one (body), yet one of them is left (or bad); but of these two brothers neither (was so, although they had sprung from one father), as both were honest (or right).

(V. 24.) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (age).

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arñorāja.

(V. 26.) After him Lavanaprassāda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (and) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,1 roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (king), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Viradhavala, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V. 28.) The wise Chaulukya Viradhavala did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (and) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (and) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace.

(V. 29.) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees.2

Again—

(V. 30.) There is this (mountain) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaurī,3 who, carrying the Mandākinī on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer® (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgā on his head covered with thick braids).

(V. 31.) In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics.

(V. 32.) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśishtha distinguished by virtuousness there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the son

1 Ia. the Gaṅgā.
2 Compare Rām. 1. 1, 10.
3 Ia. the Himalaya, the father-in-law of Śiva.
4 Ia. Śiva.
5 I take śṛggaś, śṛggaśa- to stand for śṛggaś śṛggaśa- and śṛggaś to be a synonym of dharma, as taught by Amara I. 4, 24, Halayudha I. 126, and Hēmacandra, Abhidhānas. II. 550, and Abhidhānas. 1972.
of Mrítapáda. Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him Paramára. From that time his family received that name.

(V. 33.) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious Dhúmarája, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off).

(V. 34.) Then there were Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhaña and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants. In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, Rámađéva by name.

(V. 35.) From this (king), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called Yaśódhávalis, who was not subject to the god of love, (and) who quickly killed Ballála, the lord of Málava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulyukya king Kumárápála.

(V. 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, Dhárávarsha, the edge of whose sword was indefatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Kaúkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V. 37.) Evidently it is the son of Daśaratha that has been born again on earth as this (prince) of unchecked strength, (and) out of hatred, as it were, against Máricha even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V. 38.) His younger brother Prahlládana, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gorjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sámantatinsa, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Damu.

(V. 39.) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprang from the lotus-seated Brahmán or the celestial cow granting (every) wish that has come to the earth in the form of Prahlládana.

(V. 40.) Long live this son of Dhárávarsha, the illustrious Sómashinhadéva, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them!

(V. 41.) Having remitted the taxes of Bráhmans and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king Sómashinha soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (or the spottedness) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy.

(V. 42.) Long live his son Kríshnapájádeva, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (and) who (therefore) resembles the glorious Krishna, the son of Vasudeva, who is united with Yaśódá, (and) whose splendour is augmented by his mother!

Again—

(V. 43.) No man equalling Vástupála in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V. 44.) From the excellent minister Lalittádevi, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name Jayantasinsha, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of Pulóman (obtained) Jayantia from Indra.

(V. 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this Jaitasinsha, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (and) who (even) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues?

¹ I.e. the sun.
² The demon Máricha in the shape of an antelope lured Ráma away from Sítá.
³ Probably this expression refers to Vishnu.
⁴ I.e. Saravesati, the goddess of learning.
(V. 46.) May he live for a Kalpa age, this Jayantasimha, the son of the illustrious Vastupala, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (of the suppliants)!

(V. 47.) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious Tejahpala, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares!

(V. 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as Chhanyakya, the preceptor of the gods,1 Marudvyadihi,2 Sukra,3 and others. Otherwise, how should this Tejahpala have obtained his superiority over them?

(V. 49.) There is the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupala, called Tejahpala, an abode of prosperity to (all) living beings, who maintains the order established by Bali on the surface of the earth; seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, Kamandaki does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and Chhanyakya also ceases to wonder at (his own) intellect.

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious Anupamadevi, the wife of the illustrious Maham Tejahpala—

(V. 50.) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious Gag, the only diadem adorning the Pragvata family, an inhabitant of Chandravati full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (or) nodded his head (or) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct?

(V. 51.) His son was Dharaiga by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (and) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner).

(V. 52.) His beloved wife was Tribhuvanamadevi, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (but) one.

(V. 53.) Their daughter Anupamadevi, who on account of her virtues resembled Devi, the daughter of Daksha, in person, was united with the illustrious Tejahpala as husband.

(V. 54.) This Anupamadevi, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister Tejahpala.

(V. 55.) Their son, this Lavanyasimha, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-banneered (god of love).

(V. 56.) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious Lavanyasimha, the son of the illustrious Tejahpala, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds?

(V. 57.) This vessel (filled with) a money-heard of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,4 is continually increasing although good people subsist on it.

(V. 58.) The son of the minister Malladava, begotten on Liluka, was called Purpasimha. Flourishing is his son, begotten on Ahlaasadavi, this Pithada, an abode of virtues.

(V. 59.) Anupama was the wife of the minister Tejahpala. Their son was this long-lived (youth) called Lavanyasimha.

1 I.e. Brihaspati.
2 [I.e. Pavanvyadihi or Uddhava, the counsellor of Krishna.—E. H.]
3 Sukra was the teacher of the Auras.
4 The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the Khetiiauvamat II. 13.
(V. 60.) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Tējāhpāla built this
temple of the holy Nēminātha on the (mountain) Arūđa.

(V. 61.) The minister Tējāhpāla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nēmi,
which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (and) is resplendent like the moon and
jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (maṇḍapa) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the
Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (bālānaka) in the front.

(V. 62.) The son of the illustrious Chaṇḍapa was Chaṇḍaprasāda; from him (was born)
Sōma; his son was Āśvarāja by name; his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds
to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (the men) called the illustrious Lūpiga, the minister
Mallādeva and the illustrious Vastupāla, together with Tējāhpāla.

(V. 63.) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupāla is he named the illustrious
Jaitrisinchha, and Tējāhpāla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lāvanyasinchha by name.
The statues of these ten (men), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long
time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina.

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called
Tējāhpāla, the matchless friend of the Chaṇḍuka king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the
illustrious Vastupāla, caused to be made here ten images of those (persons mentioned above)
together with their wives on khattakas of spotless stone.

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupāla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Tējāhpāla
appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all
creatures.

(V. 66.) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells,
fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed
or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top,
one does not even know the number; it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67.) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu
or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mārekā,1 might also set
himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions2 drawn up by the two ministers,
provided he abandon other occupations.

(V. 68.) May the fame of Āśvarāja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to
help, perpetually spread in all directions!

(V. 69.) There was a sage (sūri) called Mahendra, the preceptor of the family adorned by
Chaṇḍapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nāgās gachhha, who had acquired his
greatness without effort. After him (come) the illustrious Šāntisūri, of admirable good conduct.
After him (there was) a pair, Ánanda(sūri) and Aṃarāśūri, whose splendour was as bright as
that of the rising moon and (the rising) sun.

(V. 70.) After them there was the illustrious Harbhadrāśūri, the purifier from sin, who
was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous
excellent sage Vījayasānā, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated
with the liquor of learning.

(V. 71.) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (sūri) Udayaprabha.
His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72.) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two
rise as long as this (mountain) Arūđa rises!

1 [I.e. Mārekā, who according to the Mahābhārata (III. 183, 43) was many thousand years old, though
he looked only twenty-five.—E. H.]

2 The term sūkri-daukṣītanā seems to have about the same meaning as dharmasthāna-pratasti occurring
in v. 73.
The illustrious Sōmēśvaradēva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building.

By the grace of the holy Nēmi and Ambikā on the mountain Arbuda may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of Vastupāla!

This eulogy has been engraved by the mason Chadēśvara, the son of Dhāndhala, the son of Kēlhaṇa.

On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phālguṇa, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama, the consecration was performed by the illustrious Vijayasēnasastri of the illustrious Nāgendra gachchha.

No. II.

1. Chīrā. II. Aṁ Śrī Nāma. . . . . . . . . [Sam] 1287 Var śī Varīkṣaṇa Pūjāvādiḥ 1
   Vināyakānām Āmūrī Śrīmadāśāyaṅaḥ Śrīlukuṇāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhāsaṁbhासमयमें श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण श्रीमान्यमात्राधिकरण
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9 तथा महं चिनागालर्षिणं चिनागालर्षिणं चिनागालर्षिणं चिनागालर्षिणं चिनागालर्षिणं चिनागालर्षिणं।
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2 Read चिनागालर्षिणं।
3 This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line.
4 Read चिनागालर्षिणं।
5 Read चिनागालर्षिणं।
6 Read चिनागालर्षिणं।
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10 Read चिनागालर्षिणं।
11 Read चिनागालर्षिणं।
12 The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.
17  જણાવને પાલનીર તથાયાં શેખર વીધિકા પૂરણ તથાયાં શેખક જાદુડને જણાવના તથાયાં સાધન ભીલા તથાયાં પાલનીર પૂરણ તથાયાં શેખર રાખી સાદુદ્વ તથાયાં દૂર ગર્સા સાધીય બીધિકાલ-1

18  શેખર શેખક માટે જીઓ તથાયાં શેખર પ્રભૃતિની કાયા: 2 અમેરિસાફુણા પણ જીઓ શેખરની ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 3 તથા બી એલેક્સન્ડ્ર ચાલાદેહ પ્રભૃતિની કાયા: 4 અમેરિસાફુણા પણ જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 5 અમેરિસાફુણા પણ જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 6

19  શેખર શેખક માટે જીઓ તથાયાં સંપિયા પૂરણ તથાયાં શેખરની અમેરિલી સાધીય બીધિકાલ- જાણકારી કાયા: 7 અમેરિસાફુણા પણ જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 8

20  શેખર માટે જીઓ તથાયાં ચાલાદેહ ચાલાદેહ બીધિકાલ- જાણકારી કાયા: 9 અમેરિસાફુણા પણ જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 10

21  શેખર માટે જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 11

22  શેખર માટે જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 12

23  શેખર માટે જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 13

24  શેખર માટે જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 14

25  શેખર માટે જીઓ ડિલીપદેશ સ્તરની ટેક્સટમાં હાસર કાયા: 15

1 The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of 1. 8.
2 Read "શેખર.
3 Read "શેખર.
4 Read "શેખર.
5 Read "શેખર.
6 Read "શેખર.
7 Read "શેખર.
8 Read "શેખર.
9 Read "શેખર.
10 Read "શેખર.
11 Read "શેખર.
12 Read "શેખર.
13 Read "શેખર.
14 Read "શેખર.
15 Read "શેખર."
26 दोषोत्सवमस्तम्याभेश्: ।
27 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।
28 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।
29 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।
30 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।
31 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।
32 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।
33 दाओस्तवृत्सम्मत्सव: ।

1 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
2 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
3 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
4 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
5 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.  
6 This sign of punctuation is out of place; read चिन्तितविद्यार्थी.  
7 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
8 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
9 Read "वृषद्रोणि".  
10 At the end of the line there is a symbol.  
11 At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in l. 31.
No. III. 1
1. चौथे ॥ चुऱविक्ष्रमसंवतः १२६७ वर्ष फागुपसुददिनः ६ सोमब चाँदे व श्रीकुं-  
 द्राज्ञे ॥ श्रीमद्धीखिष्ठु- 
2. रवानां । प्राम्भँकान्यवीचंभवीचंभवप्रसादमहे । श्रीमालबेले । महे । श्रीननो-  
 सरस्तमहे । मालिके- 
3. वषमे । श्रीग्रहण सरवनुषत्र नुणातस्महे । श्रीचतुपलालीभूप नन्दमहे । श्रीतेजपलेन । नकीयम्यायर्महे । श्रीमन- 
 प्रस्तृतमेकुणिः- 
4. संभूतसंतस्महे । श्रीनृशोषुप्रकृती । चब्बां । श्रीनृहणयशिस्तिः ॥ श्रीनिमिनाक-  
 महातिथिः । कारित ॥ च ॥ च ॥

No. IV. 4
1. चौथे ॥ श्रीनृपविक्ष्रमसंवतः १२५५ वर्षः । प्राम्भँकान्यवीचंभवीचंभवप्रसादमहे ।  
 श्रीजोमहे । श्रीचालब्रूते । महे । श्रीमालदेवसुतावाइफलमहे । जंदे- 
2. धृतमहे । श्रीतेजपलेन । देवकुणिः । कारिता ॥ च ॥

No. V. 7
1. चौथे ॥ श्रीस्थविक्ष्रमसंवतः १२५८ वर्षः । प्राम्भँकान्यवीचंभवीचंभवप्रसादमहे ।  
 श्रीतोमहे । श्रीचालब्रूते । महे । श्रीमालदेवसुतावाइफलमहे । जंदे- 
2. धृतमहे । श्रीचालब्रूते । धृतमहे । महे । श्रीतेजपलेन । देवकुणिः । कारिता ॥ च ॥

No. VI. 9
1. चौथे ॥ श्रीस्थविक्ष्रमसंवतः १२५८ वर्षः । प्राम्भँकान्यवीचंभवीचंभवप्रसाद-  
 महे । श्रीतोमहे । धृतमहे । महे । श्रीचालब्रूते । धृतमहे । महे । श्रीमालदेवसुतावाइफलमहे । जंदे-  
2. का कारिता ॥[18]  

No. VII. 13
1. चौथे ॥ श्रीस्थविक्ष्रमसंवतः १२५८ वर्षः । प्राम्भँकान्यवीचंभवीचंभवप्रसाद-  

1 On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine. No. 1742 of Mr. Cowan's list.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read चाँदे.
4 On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor. No. 1666 of Mr. Cowan's list.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 The ध्र of चंडव्र has an abnormal form.
7 On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor. No. 1667 of Mr. Cowan's list.
8 Expresses by a symbol.
9 On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor. No. 1668 of Mr. Cowan's list.
10 Expressed by a symbol.
11 Read वर्षः.
12 Read श्रीमाण्ये.
13 On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor. No. 1669 of Mr. Cowan's list.
14 Expressed by a symbol.
15 Read चुङ्वी.  

1. भीतोऽपि ऋषिप्रविक्रमसंवतः १२३५ वर्ष प्राम्बाट्वेत्यायिष्ठ्याचंिप्प्रशादामहे
श्रीसीममहे श्रीमानाराध्यासमहे श्रीमालादेवांचे वहे श्रीपूजनभूसतमहे
श्रीपूजनभूतोऽपि भैरै।

2. तेषपालन देवकुलिका कारिता।

No. VIII.

1. भीतोऽपि ऋषिप्रविक्रमसंवतः १२३५ वर्ष प्राम्बाट्वेत्यायिष्ठ्याचंिप्प्रशादामहे
श्रीसीममहे श्रीमानाराध्यासमहे श्रीमालादेवांचे वहे श्रीपूजनभूसतमहे
श्रीपूजनभूतोऽपि भैरै।

2. अपालन देवकुलिका कारिता।

No. IX.

1. भीतोऽपि ऋषिप्रविक्रमसंवतः १२३५ वर्ष प्राम्बाट्वेत्यायिष्ठ्याचंिप्प्रशादामहे
श्रीसीममहे वहे श्रीमालादेवांचे वहे श्रीपूजनभूसतमहे श्रीपूजनभूतोऽपि
देवकुलिका कारिता।

No. X.

1. भीतोऽपि ऋषिप्रविक्रमसंवतः १२३५ वर्ष प्राम्बाट्वेत्यायिष्ठ्याचंिप्प्रशादामहे
श्रीसीममहे श्रीमानाराध्यासमहे श्रीमालादेवांचे वहे श्रीपूजनभूसतमहे
श्रीतेजपालन देवकुलिका कारिता।

No. XI.

1. भीतोऽपि ऋषिप्रविक्रमसंवतः १२३५ वर्ष प्राम्बाट्वेत्यायिष्ठ्याचंिप्प्रशादामहे
श्रीसीममहे श्रीमानाराध्यासमहे श्रीमालादेवांचे वहे श्रीपूजनभूसतमहे
श्रीपूजनभूतोऽपि भैरै।

2. वलालदेविच्यां वहे श्रीतेजपालन देवकुलिका कारिता।

No. XII.

1. भीतोऽपि ऋषिप्रविक्रमसंवतः १२३५ वर्ष प्राम्बाट्वेत्यायिष्ठ्याचंिप्प्रशादामहे
श्रीसीममहे श्रीमानाराध्यासमहे श्रीमालादेवांचे वहे श्रीपूजनभूसतमहे
श्रीपूजनभूतोऽपि भैरै।

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1. On the lintel of cell shrine 5 in the corridor. No. 1670 of Mr. Coumbs's list.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. On the lintel of cell shrine 6 in the corridor. No. 1671 of Mr. Coumbs's list.
4. Expressed by a symbol.
5. The $ of "संक्षेप" has not been finished.
6. On the lintel of cell shrine 7 in the corridor. No. 1672 of Mr. Coumbs's list.
7. Expressed by a symbol.
8. Between the last two signs of punctuation there is a symbol.
9. On the lintel of cell shrine 8 in the corridor. No. 1673 of Mr. Coumbs's list.
10. Expressed by a symbol.
11. Read $वालपाल$.
12. On the lintel of cell shrine 40 in the corridor. No. 1727 of Mr. Coumbs's list.
13. Expressed by a symbol. Before this, but a little lower down, there is a reversed $सु$.
14. Read $"भै"$.
2 श्रीवस्तुपालयोरतुजस्महे श्रीतिजपलिन महे श्रीवस्तुपालभार्याय: महे श्रीसोख-काय: पुष्पाय श्रीवस्तुपालिनालंकरता देवकुलिकेऽ वारिता || क || क ||

No. XIII. 1

1 भी || श्रीशुप्रक्रिमसंवत् १२८४ वर्षं श्रीपतनवस्तप्राप्तमाबानितीयीचंडपीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहे श्रीपालसात्त्विनी- 2 माण्डेिमहे श्रीवस्तुपालयोरतुजस्महे श्रीतिजपलिन महे श्रीवस्तुपालभार्यालकादीवेशयऽध्ये देवकुलिकाकारिता || क || क ||

No. XIV. 5

1 भी || संवत् १२८५ वर्षं श्रीचंडपीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहे श्रीपालसात्त्विनी- 2 महे श्रीतिजपलिन देवकुलिकाकारिता ||

No. XV. 8

1 भी || श्रीशुप्रक्रिमसंवत् १२८५ वर्षं श्रीचंडपीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहे श्रीपालसात्त्विनी[२८] श्रीतिजपलिन श्रीजयसिद्धार्थार्यतलद्विव- 2 श्रीपोषयं देवकुलिकाकारिता ||

No. XVI. 10

1 श्रुपिक्रिमसंवत् १२८५ वर्षं प्राण्तमाबानिियीचंडपीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहे श्रीपालसात्त्विनी महे श्रीतिजपलिन श्रीजयसिद्धार्थार्यसुववद्विव- 2 श्रीपोषयं देवकुलिकाकारिता ||

No. XVII. 11

1 भी || श्रीशुप्रक्रिमसंवत् १२८५ वर्षं प्राण्तमाबानिियीचंडपीचंडप्रसाद- 2 श्रीसोममहे श्रीपालसात्त्विनी देवकुलिकाकारिता ||[१८] क ||

1 On the lintel of cell shrine 41 in the corridor. No. 1729 of Mr. Consens's list.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read श्रीषुपिलास।
4 Read श्रीषुपिलास।
5 On the lintel of cell shrine 42 in the corridor. No. 1731 of Mr. Consens's list.
6 Expressed by a symbol.
7 Read श्रीषुपिलास।
8 On the lintel of cell shrine 43 in the corridor. No. 1732 of Mr. Consens's list.
9 Expressed by a symbol.
10 On the lintel of cell shrine 44 in the corridor. No. 1733 of Mr. Consens's list.
11 On the lintel of cell shrine 45 in the corridor. No. 1736 of Mr. Consens's list.
12 Expressed by symbol.
No. XVIII.

1. ἘπιγραφήΙ ἡ θεοποιικα συντάξιος 1288 χρόνων θεοπόσπολος πραταγματικός ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων, ὁ θεοποιικός διώκει τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων καὶ διώκει τὸν ἀρχηγόν τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων. 

2. Βασιλικά καταράμε 

No. XIX.

1. ἘπιγραφήΙ ἡ θεοποιικα συντάξιος 1280 χρόνων ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων, ὁ θεοποιικός διώκει τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων καὶ διώκει τὸν ἀρχηγόν τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων. 

No. XX.

1. Βασιλικά καταράμε 

No. XXI.

1. ἘπιγραφήΙ ἡ θεοποιικα συντάξιος 1280 χρόνων ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων, ὁ θεοποιικός διώκει τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων καὶ διώκει τὸν ἀρχηγόν τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκοπίων. 

2. Βασιλικά καταράμε 

No. XXII.

1. Βασιλικά καταράμε 

No. XXIII.

1. Βασιλικά καταράμε 

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1. On the lintel of cell shrine 46 in the corridor. No. 1738 of Mr. Cusen's list.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1664 of Mr. Cusen's list.
4. Expressed by a symbol.
5. On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1665 of Mr. Cusen's list.
6. On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor. No. 1696 of Mr. Cusen's list.
7. Expressed by a symbol.
8. Read "θεοποιικά".
9. On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor. No. 1600 of Mr. Cusen's list.
10. Expressed by a symbol.
11. The η of "ἐπιγραφή" is not quite finished.
12. On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor. No. 1692 of Mr. Cusen's list.
13. Expressed by a symbol.
No. XXIV.

1. चौरात्तूना परिक्रमासहतः १२४.१ चौरात्तूने च गर्भवृक्ष "श्रीश्रेष्ठ-चलमहात्मीजः कृपामार्गतातीर श्रीसंपत्तो श्रींसदमसभ श्री-सोमावर्यः ३  श्रीयासराजस्[न]।

2. महः श्रीमालेबाहस् श्रीवस्तुपायोरसुङ्गमहः श्रीतिजः पालनः सम्बन्धः पञ्चलयः श्रीयथे श्रीविलासश्रवणसंस्कृतः देवकुलिकायं कारिता[ि]

No. XXV.

1. चौरात्तूना परिक्रमासहतः १२४.२ चौरात्तूने च गर्भवृक्ष "श्रीश्रेष्ठचल-महात्मीजः स्वयंकारित्वीलमासःश्रवणसंस्कृतः श्रीमिनामादवेर्दवशः महः श्रीतिजः पालनः

2. सालुस्सुरभाराजसराजसविनः सम्बन्धः महः श्रीपूर्णपालस्वः तथा भायिकः महः श्रीपूर्णदेवः श्रीयथे पञ्चाः देवकुलिकायः श्रीविधानदेवप्रतिसामकारिता[ि]

No. XXVI.

1. चौरात्तूना परिक्रमासहतः १२४.३ चौरात्तूने च गर्भवृक्ष "श्रीश्रेष्ठचल-महात्मीजः स्वयंकारित्वीलमासःश्रवणसंस्कृतः महः श्रीतिजः पालनः  

2. स्वयंकारित्वीलमासःश्रवणसंस्कृतः महः श्रीमिनामादवेर्दवशः महः श्रीतिजः पालनः सम्बन्धः महः श्रीपूर्णदेवः श्रीयथे पञ्चाः देवकुलिकायः श्रीविधानदेवप्रतिसामकारिता[ि]

No. XXVII.

1. [चौरात्तूना परिक्रमासहतः १२४.४ चौरात्तूने च गर्भवृक्ष "श्रीश्रेष्ठचल-महात्मीजः स्वयंकारित्वीलमासःश्रवणसंस्कृतः]

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1 On the lintel of cell shrine 32 in the corridor. No. 1715 of Mr. Cousens’s list.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read सर्जनः.
4 Read सर्जनः.
5 The ते of निर्जः पालनः is only half finished.
6 On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1716 of Mr. Cousens’s list.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 Read सर्जनः.
9 On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor. No. 1707 of Mr. Cousens’s list.
10 Expressed by a symbol.
11 In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.
12 Read सर्जनः.
13 Read विष्णुरसभाणः.
14 On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor. No. 1708 of Mr. Cousens’s list.
15 Expressed by a symbol.
16 In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.
17 Read कामिन्यिकः.
2 वसीचकाल्यस्त्रबालिनिमित्वेऽद्विप्रागजनाराजीयोऽयोग्द्वपोऽयोग्द्वपप्रागादमध्‌ च[मा]-
3 नान्यः ठोऽयोग्द्वसराजभारायं योकुमारदेशः सतमवऽ यीमालदे-  
4 योगसुपारायोरनामध्‌ योग्द्वि:पालन सहर्गिरीदायमादेशीयः विहर-  
5 न तीर्यकर्योग्द्वन्यांस्थरसामंहिन्तिमन्तिमालंकारत देवकुलिकाः हयं कारिता ||
   क [||]

No. XXVIII.⁴

1 || न || [चर्चि चोड़युद्धाचले क्षयकारित-  
   2 [च]सीवसविकाथवीचरिनिमित्वेऽद्विप्रागजनाराजीयोऽयोग्द्वप["]
   3 योग्द्वपामध्‌ योग्द्वसनायः ठोऽयोग्द्वसराजभारायं योकुमारदेशः सतमवऽ[न]  
   4 यीमालदेर्मध्‌ "योगसुपारायोरनामध्‌ योग्द्वि:पालन सहर्गिरी" ||" सा[क]—  
5 [देया: ची:योः] विहर्माणसांतोष्कर्योग्द्वांस्थरसामंहिन्तिमालंकारत देवकुलिका कारिता [||]

No. XXIX.¹⁰

1 || ठोः¹¹ || "सधि योग्द्विच्छरसामस्वर्णः १२८ घर चर्चि चोड़युद्धाचले हुक्के  
   2 न सीवसविकाथवीचरिनिमित्वेऽद्विप्रागजनाराजीयोऽयोग्द्वप—  
3 परिवी:लूणसीवसविकाथवीचरिनिमित्वेऽद्विप्रागजनाराजीयोऽयोग्द्वप—  
4 न सहर्गिरीयोऽयोग्द्वसनायः ठोऽयोग्द्वसराजभारायं योकुमारदेशः  
   सतमवऽ योग्द्वि:पालन—
   4 न सहर्गिरीयोऽयोग्द्वसनायः ठोऽयोग्द्वसराजभारायं योकुमारदेशः  
   सतमवऽ योग्द्वि:पालन—
   4 न सहर्गिरीयोऽयोग्द्वसनायः ठोऽयोग्द्वसराजभारायं योकुमारदेशः  
   सतमवऽ योग्द्वि:पालन—

¹ Read "गाई".  
² Read "कुटिके".  
³ After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.  
⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Conson's list.  
⁵ The first akṣaras of this line are illegible.  
⁶ Read "कुणूलि".  
⁷ Read शीवसुपारा.  
⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.  
⁹ Read "गाई".  
¹⁰ On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Conson's list.  
¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.  
¹² In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.  
¹³ Read "बौधवि".  
¹⁴ Read "बाई".  
¹⁵ Read "ध्वाकुलिका".
No. XXX.1

1 || श्री || संत || श्रीमद्विविषयम् || मिहलिप्रणालमापूर्वक || वर्षभुजी || वाली || शान्तरामधुर्यमापरमे० || वेदकाशित।
2 || चैत्यालयः || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तिकीयतम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||
3 || तिमिरं || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||

No. XXXI.4

1 || श्री || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||
2 || "श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||
3 || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||

No. XXXII.12

1 || श्री || संवत् १२४४ || वैशाषिक || १४ || गृह || संवादाल्यविधमापूर्वक || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||
2 || "श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||
3 || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् || श्रीमान्त्रकर्तितम् ||

No. 22.—NAUSARI PLATES OF SRIVASRAYA-SILADITYA; THE YEAR 1241.

By Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

The copper-plates which bear this inscription come from Nausari, a village near the head-quarters town of the Nausari division of the Baroda State. The inscription was first published, with a lithograph, by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
"The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1884, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about $8\frac{3}{4}$" long by $5$" broad at the ends and $4\frac{1}{4}$" in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. The ring is about $\frac{1}{2}$" thick, and $1\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about $1\frac{3}{4}$" in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto Śrī-śāraya. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.: total, 2 lbs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz."

The alphabet resembles that of other records of the early Chalukyas. The jhādāmālīya occurs once (l. 12). Final forms are found of s (ll. 1, 2, 20), ṭ (l. 13) and a (l. 17). The only mark of punctuation is a small vertical line after Seinamāndavāṃ (l. 14). The date at the end of the inscription is expressed in words and numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit, mostly prose; two well known Anuṣṭambha verses occur in l. 1 f. and l. 13 f. Although the inscription is very well preserved, and though the engraving is neat and distinct, the text is full of serious blunders. As may be seen from the footnotes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and syllables are either omitted or corrupted. In line 15 a whole word seems to be missing, which cannot be supplied with certainty.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu (l. 1 f.). It then states that in the family of the Chalikyas (l. 5) was Pulakēśi-Vallabha (l. 6), "who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the collection of all hostile kings, who resembled Rāma and Yudhishṭhīra, (and) who possessed true chivalry." His son was Dhi[ar]śraya-Jaya-śimhavarman (l. 9 f.), "whose power had been increased by (his) elder brother, the glorious Vikramāditya-Saty[ar]śraya-Prithivīvalabha-Mahārājūdāvīdga-Paramēsvarta-Bhuṭṭaraka, the fervent Māhēsvara, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father and of the holy Nāgavardhana, (and) who by unchecked prowess had overcome the Pallava family." His son was the heir-apparent (yuvardga) Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya (l. 13), "who illuminated all quarters of the sky by the banner of (his) fame that was as pure as the great garland of the rays of the spotless full-moon in autumn, who was as liberal as Rājaraja (i.e. Kuvēra), [who resembled] the god of love in being endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, (and) who was as skilled in all arts (and) as brave as (Naravāhanadatta) the emperor of the Vidyādharas." While residing at Navasārıkā, he granted to the Brāhmaṇa Bhogīkāsvāmin (l. 15) a village named Āṣatī-grāma (l. 16). The dome was an Adhvaryu (i.e. a student of the Yajurveda), the pupil (?) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātrīsvara (?), and the son of [S]āmantasvāmin. The latter was the son of Agāmsvāmin, who belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and resided at Navasārıkā. The village was granted in the district (vishaya) of Kaphavālāhāra, a subdivision of the Bāhūrīka district (vishaya). According to the two last lines of the inscription, "this (edit) was written by the minister (ś[ṛ]adhiṣṭīgar[ṇ]) of the glorious Dhana[m]jaya,

1 See p. 233 below, note 14.
3 On the seal, Śrīdātā’s surname Śrīśāraya is spelt Śrī-śāraya, without Sandhi.
on the thirteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha, in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one— 400 20 [1]."

Of the royal personages named in this grant, two belong to the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. These are Pulakēśi-Vallabha, i.e. Pulakēśin II., and his son Vikramāditya-Satyaśraya-Prithivivallabha, i.e. Vikramāditya I. The latter is said to have worshipped the holy Nāgavarādana, which may be the name of a temple or of a spiritual guide, and to have overcome the Pallava family. He is distinguished by the imperial titles Mahārājasūrya, etc., from the remaining two princes of the Chalikya family that are referred to in the grant, viz. Dhărāraṇya-Jayasiṁhavarman and his son, the Yuvārāja Śryāraṇya-Śīlāditya, who were not of sovereign, but of mere feudatory rank. The formers of them was a younger brother of Vikramāditya I., the son of Pulakēśin II. The grant states that "his power had been increased by his elder brother." This seems to imply that he was entrusted by Vikramāditya I. with the administration of a province, which must have included Navasārikā, where his son resided at the time of the grant, and Āṣatī-grāma, the village granted by him. Another copper-plate grant of the same Śryāraṇya-Śīlāditya, which comes from Surat, mentions the villages Kārmanāya, Īsumbhālā and Aḷḷāraka. Bühler has identified Navasārikā. Āṣatī-grāma and the three last with the modern Nausārī (where these plates were obtained), Astgām, Kamrēj, Umbhēl and Alurī—all south of the Tapti in Lāta or Southern Gujārāt.

Altogether the grants of this Gujarāt branch of the Chalukya family are four in number:
A.—The Nausārī plates of Śryāraṇya-Śīlāditya, dated in the year 421.
B.—The Surat plates of the same, dated in the year 443.
C.—The unpublished Balsār plates of (his brother) Jayāraṇya-Maṅgarājā, dated in the Śaka year 653.
D.—The Nausārī plates of Avanijāraṇya-Pulakēśirājā, younger brother of Jayāraṇya-Maṅgarārasarājā, dated in the year 490.

According to A. and B., Jayasiṁhavarman and his son, the Yuvārāja Śīlāditya, were contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 655 to 680) in the year 421, and of Vinayāditya (A.D. 680 to 696) in the year 443 of an unspecified era. This can be no other than the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A.D. 449-50. With this starting-point the dates of the two grants of Śīlāditya (A. and B.) correspond to A.D. 671 and 692. The Balsār plates of Maṅgarājā (C.), who seems to have governed Gujarāt in succession of his father Jayasiṁhavarman after the death of the Yuvārāja Śīlāditya (probably an elder brother of Maṅgarājā), are dated in the Śaka year 653 = A.D. 731-32. Like the dates of A. and B. that of D. has to be referred to the Kalachuri era. Accordingly, Pulakēśirāja, the younger brother of Maṅgarārasarājā (the Maṅgarājā of the Balsār plates), was ruling in A.D. 739.

It remains to be added that the Bāhirikā-vishaya and its subdivision Kaphavalāhāra, to which Āṣatī-grāma belonged, have not yet been identified.

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3 Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 211 ff.
4 Dr. Fleet informs me that this is a large village seven miles east-south-east-south from Nausārī, and remarks that "in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt 'Astgām,' which suggests Asthagrāma, not Āṣatī-grāma."
7 See note 3 above.
10 Ibid. p. 374, No. 11.
11 Ibid. p. 376, No. 6.
First Plate.

1. Ōṁ² svasti [||*] Jayatya-avishkṛtāṁ Vishnūr-vvārāhāṁ khalobhit-ārnapaḥ va Jm [||*] dakshin-ōnmana-da[IA*]ahṣṭā-pra-vi-

2. sā(śrā)nta-bhuvana[m]* vapuh [||*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyā[mānā*]-

Mānavya-sagōtraṇāṁ(śāṁ)

3. Hārītī-patrānāṁ sapta-lōka-mātrībhīs-sapta-Mātrīhi[r=abhī*]varddhitāsā(śāṁ)

Kārttikeya-pa-

4. riraṅkhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparaṇāṁ bhagavān[na*]-prasāda-saṁsādita-

varāha-la.-

5. uchāniṣkṣhaṇe rakaṇe vaśekrit-āśeṣha-mahībhrītāṁ Chālikyānām-ānvayē nīja-

bhūja-bala-parājīt-

6. khila-ripu-mahīśā-paṁsūtraṁvaitīśāyāḥ garbām[a*]- satya-vikrama[h*] śrī-

Fulakāśi-Vallabhaḥ [||*] Taṣya

7. putraḥ paramamāhāvāra-mātpīti-[śrī]-nāgavardhana-pād-anudhyāta-[śrī-Vikramādiṭya-

Saty[a*]-

8. śraya-Prithivivallabha-mahārājaḥdhirāja-paramamāhāvāra-bhattāra[k]ena[pa]* avivārito-

paurnash-

9. kṛata-Pallav-ānvayēna jīyāsā bhūtrā sama[bhi*]varddhitā-vibhūtrā-Deśarāṣraya-[śrī-Jayashimha-

10. varma[ā II*] Taṣya putraḥ śarad-amala-sakala-śaśadhara-mariči-māla-viśānā-

vīśuddha-kṛitti-patākā-

Second Plate.

11. vibhāṣita-lamba-10dig-antarālaḥ(laḥ) pradātā Rō(rā)jarāja [||*]va rū[pa*]-11alavāna-sau-

bhāga-sampanmaḥ-Kāmadvā[IA*] sakala-kañcā-pravī[VI*]naḥ paurnasvānt-Vistīyadhura-chakra-

varīt-si(l)va Śrīyāśraya-[śrī]-Śīlāditya-yuvārāja(jō) Navasārikām-adhivasat(saṁ)[||*]

Navasāri-

14. kā-[II*]stavya-Kāśyapa-sagōtr-Āgāmisvāmināḥ putraḥ Svā(sā)mantavām l tasya

putraḥ-

15. yā [||*] Mātrīsvārīna[h*] 13 tasya-anuva-bhūtrā(trā) Kikkavāminā 14 Bhogikkasvāmině-

15Adhivaryu-[sa*]brahmachāri-

16. pē Bāhirikā-16vishay-āntargata-Kaṇhavālāhāra-17vishayg āṣaṭṭi-grāmaḥ s-draṅgām sa-

pa-

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1 From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.
2 Cancel the anusvāra.
3 Read 'ā or 'ē.
4 Read 'ā or 'ē.
5 Read probably 'ā or 'ē.
6 Read 'ā or 'ē.
7 Read 'ā or 'ē.
8 Read 'ā or 'ē.
10 Read -somaṭa-.
11 Compare text line 15 of the Surat plates; Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 226.
12 The particle ita may have to be supplied here.
13 Read either Mātrīsvārīna or, more probably, Mātrīsvāraḥ; for the latter see l. 20 of the Surat plates.
14 Perhaps 'ā or 'ē has to be supplied here.
15 Here and in viśayē (l. 16) and viṣāra (l. 17) the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.
16 The first letter of Bāhirikā closely resembles that of bala (l. 5), brahma* (l. 15) and baṅga* (l. 19). Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajit read Thākharikā.
17 Dr. Blaisdall Indrajit read this word as Kasyavālāhāra; but the śā is quite distinct. The third aṣṭā may be either sa or da.
Nausari plates of the Yuvaraja Sryasraya-Siladitya.—The year 421.
No. 23.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF KUMARAVISHNU II.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAXE).

These copper-plates were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendaiur in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago." The plates passed from the ryot to the Kurnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryana Rama Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A. Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. The subjoined transcript is based on two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya, who also furnished me with the following description of the original:—

"The copper-plates are five in number. The first and last bear writing on the inner side only. The plates have no rims. In the upper and lower borders they are not as broad as in the middle. Their breadth accordingly varies from 8" to 8½". The height is throughout 2⅔. At a distance of 1" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, ⅔ in diameter; and through these holes passes a circular ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), 3½ in diameter and about ⅜ thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures between 1¼ and 1½ in diameter and bears in its middle an indistinct symbol in relief. Around the margin there seems to be a legend which is too much worn to be made out. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 95 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryana Rama Rao."

The inscription on the plates is well preserved; only a few syllables at the end of Il. 2, 3, 4, 12 and 20 are obliterated. The sign of anusava is so small that its existence on the plate remains doubtful in most cases where the context requires it. A final form of s occurs thrice (Il. 28, 29 and 32). The letter t is distinguished from s by a loop; but in a single case (gānamakārē, I. 15) the form with the loop is used for s. The end of a verse is marked by a double vertical line in three cases (Il. 28, 29 and 30), and the end of the inscription by five circles between double lines. Plates i., ii.b, iii.b and iv.b bear on the left margin the numerical symbols 1, 2, 3 and 4, while plate v. is not numbered at all. The language is Sanskrit prose, and four Sanskrit verses ' sung by Brahman' are quoted in Il. 26-32.

The inscription is an edict issued from Kāñchipuram (I. 1) in the second year of the reign (I. 23) of the Pallava Mahāsva Kumāravishnu (II.) (I. 14), who was the son of the M.

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1 Read -nipatibhir-ayam-asmad-ādyate; compare I. 29 of the Surat plates.
2 Read sāndhivigraha-.
3 Read -chatuṣṭaya śavāṃśāt．
4 The figure '1' is hardly visible at all, but is secured by the preceding words and by the empty space between '20' and 's'．
5 Expressed by a symbol.

22
Buddhavarman (I. 8), the grandson of the M. Kumāravishṇu (I.) (I. 6), and the great-grandson of the M. Skandavarman (I. 3). It records that the king granted to a Brāhmaṇa a field in the village of Chendalūra (ll. 14 and 16 f.) in Kavachakāra-bhūga (I. 16), a subdivision of the district of Kārmāṇikā-raṣṭra (I. 14) or Kārmāṇikā-raṣṭra (I. 16).

Of the localities mentioned in this record Kāñchipurā (I. 1) is Conjeevaram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, and Chendalūra is Chendalūr in the Nellore district, the village where the plates were unearthed. Kārmāṇika-or Kāmmāṇika-raṣṭra, i.e., the district named (after) Karma or Kamma, is mentioned as Karma-raṣṭra in two Eastern Chalukya grants, and as Kamma-raṣṭra in a third one.

The wording of this inscription is very similar to that of three other Pallava grants, which belong to the reign of Simhavarman, viz. the Pīkira, Māṅgaḷur and Uruvapalli grants. Nay, ll. 1-14 are almost identical with ll. 4-16 of the Uruvapalli grant. The names of the kings, however, differ in those three grants on the one hand and in the Chendalūr plates on the other, and no linear connection can be established between both sets of kings. The name Skandavarman occurs in both, but Kumāravishṇu I., Buddhavarman and Kumāravishṇu II., who were the three direct descendants of Skandavarman according to the Chendalūr plates, are unknown to the three other grants. Nor do their names occur in the Pallava pedigree of the Kāsākudjī plates, which begins with Simhavishṇu. Under these circumstances our only guide can be the paleography of those different records. The alphabet of the Chendalūr plates is more archaic than those of the Kārum and Kāsākudjī plates, but resembles those of the Pīkira, Māṅgaḷur and Uruvapalli grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that r, k and subscribed a consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pīkira, Māṅgaḷur and Uruvapalli grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalūr plates ruled in the interval between Simhavarman and Simhavishṇu. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will enable us to bridge some of the gaps in the direct succession of the Pallavas, one of which is now partially filled by the information contained in the Chendalūr plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Svasti[[*]] Jitam-bhagavatā [[*]] Svasti [[*]] Vijaya-Kāñchih[p]urād-abhyucchithit-sakti-
2 śuddhi-sampannasaya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-mandalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-[vira]-
3 sya mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmanmahā prapanta déva-dvija-gura-vṛiddha-ā(ō)pa[chā]-
4 yinō vivriddha-vinayasya-anēka-gō-hirnasya-bhu(bhū)my-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravriddha-
   [dharma-ma-sa]-

Second Plate; First Side.

5 śeayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām-śpañchamasaya
6 lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Kumāravishṇoḥ paurō bhagavad-bhakti-sa-
7 mbhāvīya-sarva-kalāyasy-ādi-rāja-pratispa[rx.]*ddhi-guna-samudayasya-amī-
8 tātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Buddhavarmanmaṇāḥ putraḥ prajā-samraṣṭa-paripālān-ōdyō-

\[^1\] Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 16.
\[^2\] See p. 233 below.
\[^3\] See p. 100 above.
\[^4\] Only the compound beginning with ddirāja is peculiar to the Chendalūr plates (l. 7).
\[^6\] From two sets of ink-impressions.
\[^7\] On the left margin of plate i.
\[^8\] Corrected from lōkapālānām-. 
Second Plate; Second Side.

9 ga-satata-satya-vrata-dikshito-neka-samara-sahas-avamaradda-labdha-
10 vijaya-vasa]t[-prakasa Kaliyuga-dosh-avasama-dharm-dhodharana-ni-
11 ty-sannadho rajasa-guna-sarvva-sandoha-vijig-g(gh)dhur-dharmma-vijig-
12 dhur-bhagavat-pada-dau(d)hista-parama-bhagavato Bhuradvajo bappa-bhattraka-
pada-bha-

Third Plate; First Side.

13 kata-sa-vikram-aarkrant-anya-nirpa-irt-nilayan[ta]nathavad-ahrit-anek-asamvedhan-
14 m-Pallavamn dharmamaharaja[h] sir-Kumavishnu karmma[tm]ka-rashtre Chendalura-
15 gramo grama[ya-astas-dhikrita-sarvva-mayyogika-vallabhan-s ch-aj[ia]-
16 payata yath-asmim-asambhi[t] karmma[tm]ka-rashtre Kavachakara-bhogeo Chendal-

Third Plate; Second Side.

17 ra-gramo rajavastu bhutva astita-chatu[r*]ddi[sa]mashasata-pattika-sa-
18 mmitan [t*m] samudaya dvatri[tm]sad-yukta-chatusati(au)-pattika-sammita[m]
kehtre[m*]
19 brahma[ya Kaundinya-gotra-Cchehandoga-sutray-Abhi-
20 rupa ... va vastavya Bhavaskandratathy brahmade[ya]-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

21 ma[t*r*]yadayaa devabhoga-varjiya[m] hala-nyayena sarvva-parihar-opetam-a-
22 smad-a[ur-*]hala-vijay-aishvarya-abhi-virdhday[ab] pravar-dhadamana-vijaya-
23 rajye dvitiya sa[tm]vatsare K[ia*]ttikka mase sukla-paksasaya pa[onhany][tm*]
24 sarvva[ta]m[et*m*]kehtre[m] samprattan tad-savagamy sarvva-pariharair-ettad-
brahmadaya-kehtre-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

25 m-pariharantu pariharyantu cha [t*m] Ya-cchadam-asmach-chhasanam-atikramet-sa-pa-
26 pas-faariran-danjam-arhati [t*m] Api ch-stra Brahma-gita bhokah [t*m] Bhumi-
dhan-
27 t-param-danana bhutan na bhavishyati [t*m] tasyaiva harapat-papan na bhutan-
na bha-
28 vishyati sva-dattam-para-dattam-vA+yO harata vasundharam [t*m] gavam 
stedhasastra-

Fifth Plate.

29 sva hantu[h] pibati kilbisam || PAr[r*]vva[h] purvavataraich-aiva dattam
bhumi haratstu ya[h t*m]
30 sa nitya-yuvasa magno narake cha va[etu-puna[h*]] || Buhbhir-vvasudha da-
31 tat bahubhih-ch-anupalita [t*m] yasya yasya yada bhumi-tasya tasya
32 tadah phalam[tt*m] Evam-ajita[jia]ptam-iti [tt*m] Go-brahmapan-nandatu [tt*m] Svasty-
astu prajyabhya[h*] || o[tt*m] [t*m]}

1 The syllable 'a' was enclosed subsequently below the line.
2 The syllable 'i' stands below the line.
3 Here four aksaras are engraved on an erasure; they look like yajja[dwro]
4 Originally 'smadatt' had been engraved. Subsequently the first 'd' was struck out.
5 The aksara 'upa' seems to have been corrected from 'med'.
6 Read 'dattam' ed.
7 The aksara 'tr' has failed to come out on the photo-lithograph.
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vishnu). Hail! From the victorious Kāñchipura,

(L. 2.) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 6.) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Kumārvishṇu (1.), whose mind was truthful,

(L. 7.) the son of the glorious Mahārāja Buddhavarman, whose mind was immeasurable,

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bāradvāja, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, the glorious Kumāravishṇu (II.),—the rightful Mahārāja (of the family) of the Pallavas, who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,—addresses (the following) order to the villagers in the village of Chendalūra in Karmā[h]ka-rāṣṭra and to all officers (naiyāgika) and (royal) favourites who are appointed to this (district):—

(L. 16.) “In the village of Chendalūra in Kavachakāra-bhūga, (a subdivision) of this (district of) Karmā[ŋ]ka-rāṣṭra, the king’s domain in the four directions amounts to eight hundred paṭṭikās. (Of this) a field amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty-two paṭṭikās has been given by Us as a Brahmadeyā, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (dēvabhūga), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the Brāhmaṇa Bhavakandatrā, the Kaundinya gōtra and the Chhandoga sātra, who resides in Abhirūpā . . . .—this whole field (has been given), for the increase of Our length of life, power, victory and supremacy, in the second year of (Our) reign of growing victory, in the month Kārttika, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight.

(L. 24.) “Knowing this, they must exempt this Brahmadeyā field with all immunities and cause (it) to be exempted. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this (there are) also (the following) verses sung by Brahman.”

[ll. 26-32 contain four of the customary verses.]

(L. 32.) “Thus it has been ordered (by Us).” Let cows and Brāhmaṇas rejoice! Let there be welfare to (all) men!

No. 24.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF SARVALOKASRAYA ; A.D. 673.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Like the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II. (No. 23 above), these copper-plates “were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalūr in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago.” The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A.

\[1\] Literally ‘that which stands having become the king’s property.’

\[2\] Paṭṭikād seems to be the same as the Tamil paṭṭi, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is nivartana; see South. Ind. Insr. Vol. II. p. 329, note 12. Compare Lakṣmīmaṇa-paṭṭikād, i.e. ‘the paṭṭikād (belonging to) Lakṣmīmaṇa.

\[2\] Compare above, p. 49, note 2, and p. 148, text l. 16.
Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. They are now edited from two sets of inked estampages received from Mr. Venkayya, who supplies the following description of the original:

"The copper-plates are five in number and have no rims. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner side only. In the upper and lower borders the plates are not so broad as in the middle; their breadth accordingly varies from $\frac{3}{2}$" to $\frac{1}{3}$". The height too gradually decreases from either margin to the middle of the plate—being roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$" in the margins and $2\frac{1}{4}$" in the middle. At a distance of $\frac{1}{8}$" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, also $\frac{1}{8}$" in diameter; and through these holes passes an oval ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$" by $3\frac{1}{2}$", and $\frac{1}{4}$" thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures about $1\frac{1}{4}$". It bears, in relief on a plane surface, the legend Śri-Vijayasiddhā[1] in the middle; below the legend is a seven-petalled lotus in the middle margin; and above the legend is the crescent of the moon between two symbols which may be taken to be daggers pointing upwards. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 84 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao."

The inscription is carefully engraved and on the whole well preserved. The alphabet resembles that of the two published copper-plate grants of Sarvalokāsraya’s father Vishnupardhana II. A final form of t occurs in ll. 2, 33 (twice), 37, and one of s in l. 41. The lingual f is used in Chalukyaśāla (l. 5), laśita (l. 22), Koliśa (l. 25) and Kālavāva (l. 29 f.), and the Telugu r in ll. 25 and 29. The first plate bears on the left margin the numerical symbol ‘1’; but the remaining plates are not numbered.

The language is Sanskrit prose; two Sanskrit ślokas ‘sung by Brahman’ are quoted in ll. 37-39. The rules of Sandhi are disregarded in the two compounds bhagavat-śri- (l. 2) and amast-śalayanam (l. 33), and frequently between two words (ll. 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35).

The inscription records a grant of land by the Mahārāja Sarvalokāsraya (l. 24), son of the M. Vishnupardhana (II.) (l. 16), grandson of the M. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman (l. 10 f.), and great-grandson of the M. Vishnupardhana (I.), who adorned the family of the Chalukyas (l. 5 f.). Some of the laudatory epithets bestowed on Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Vishnupardhana II. were evidently copied from inscriptions or office records of the Pallavas[2] who had been supplanted by the Eastern Chalukyas. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman seems to have borne the surname Simhabhikrama (l. 8), and Vishnupardhana II. that of Makaradvaja[3], Sarvalokāsraya’s valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words which fill five lines (16-21), but which contain nothing of any historical interest. His surname Vijayasiddhi, which occurs also on the seal of this grant, is alluded to in the next compound: he who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (vijaya-siddhi) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles (l. 21 f.).

In later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty[4] this king Vijayasiddhi or Sarvalokāsraya is named Mahāgirivarāja. To his reign has to be referred the date at the end of the subjoined inscription (l. 39 f.): (This) set of copper-plates (paṭṭikā) was given (to the dons-ea) on the occasion of an eclipse on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha in the second

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[2] For the epithets bhagavat and pravallikara in l. 6 f., bhavakara in l. 9 f., bhavah and bhavahāh in l. 11 f., see e.g. the Pāliya grant of Simhabhikrama, above, p. 161, text ll. 4, 5 f. and 2.
[3] I.e. ‘the god of love.’ The inscription justifies this surname by asserting that the king had seized the countries, ear-rings (mākara) and banners (dārvaja) of many mighty (taṇaga) enemies (l. 13 f.). Compare above, Vol. VI. p. 345 and note 2.
[4] The first part of this compound is found also in Pallava grants; see e.g. above, p. 235, text l. 9.
year of the reign of increasing victory." According to Dr. Fleet, Mahāgyunvarāja reigned from A.D. 672 to 698.1 Hence his second year would correspond to A.D. 673, while Mr. Sewell's *Eclipses of the Moon in India* do not record any lunar eclipse in Vaiśākha between A.D. 665 and 688. They do mention a total eclipse of the moon, not in Vaiśākha, but in Jyēshṭha, on Friday, 6th May 673. Prof. Kielhorn, to whom I submitted this difficulty, has solved it by showing (see his Postscript on p. 240 f. below) that by Brahmagupta's rule the month would not be called Jyēshṭha, but Vaiśākha. Accordingly, the European date of the subjoined inscription of Mahāgyunvarāja's reign is the 6th May 673— a result which corroborates the correctness of Dr. Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.

According to l. 24 ff. "the very pious one, he who possesses the dignity of Mahārāja, the glorious Sarvalokāśraya-Mahārāja," informs "the villagers in the village of Chendāura in (the district named) Kamma-rāṣṭra and all officers (nāyikā) and favourites gone to this (district)" that he has granted this village to six Brāhmaṇas, who were Chhandogas (i.e., students of the Śāmaṇera), and each of whom received two shares of it. Five of them belonged to the Kannūjina gōtra (l. 27) and one to the Kālavara gōtra (l. 29). Curiously enough their proper names are not given, but only their native villages, followed in the case of the first donee by the Sanskrit word vistavaya, 'residing in' (l. 28), and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word bōya, which seems to be employed in the same sense.2 The six villages in question were Kaṭūra, Vaṅgu, Kollīpura (?), Pidena, Kuriyida and Kodiṇki. The phraseology of the grant portion again resembles that of the Pallava copper-plates.

L. 34.— "And the Ajñapī for this (grant is) the sun among men (Navabhākavara) who resembles the sun crowning the peak of the eastern mountain (Udayagiri),3 the principal mountain of the circle of the earth (which is) the family of Ayyaṇa, he who has been victorious in the crush of many battles, the fervent Mahāśvāra, the glorious A[n]ghavarmān." The edict was written by Pāmbēya Sarvēttama Ātharvaṇa (l. 41).

The village granted, Chendiūra, must be the same as the present Chendalūr, at which the copper-plates were discovered. The district Kamma-rāṣṭra, to which it belonged, is mentioned as Kamma-rāṣṭra in two other grants of Vishṇuvardhana II. and Mahāgyunvarāja.4 In the Chendalūr plates of Kumārvishṇu II. the same village and district are named Chendalūra and Kernā[u]ka- or Kammā[u]ka-rāṣṭra.5

TEXT.6

First Plate.

1 भा भाषित [॥"] कीमतां स्वल्पज्ञानमम् सामान्यज्ञानम् [॥"] प्रस्तावकीयम्[॥"] वा बाहीः[॥"]
2 वृत्ताणां लोकमणिर्विनिश्चितमर्मरविविलितानां मभ[वर्त्ती]
3 नारायणप्रसादसुपतलमयवर्षकखळ्ळ[ना]नां
4 महामकङ्किदिनपदातुधातानां अन्विकिसिद्धियावि
5 नां चकुकारानां कुलमल्लकिर्पी: श्रीविखुवर्वसहराजः ।

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 98.
2 The same seems to be the case in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187 f.
3 This epithet may imply that the Ajñapī was the governor of the fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187, text 1. 12, and *Ind. XX.* p. 105, text 1. 16.
5 See p. 234 above.
6 From M. Venkayya's ink-impressions.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 The two words भा भाषित are engraved on the left margin opposite lines 1 and 2.
9 Read श्रीकर्मचन्द्रमर्मविविलितानां मभ[वर्त्ती].
10 The sign "सप्तराजस" seems to be corrected from सप्त.
Second Plate : First Side.

6 स्य प्रभावः: बंधुविक्षितःस्विदिगुप्तः प्रतापोंससतराजः
7 मश्रश्रम [प]रुधिरपतिमसमातंगकुम्भश्वलविदारणविविधितः
8 हितान्विकमोऽहितविकमोऽविन्दद्विनासानः
9 गंगाकालोत्सर्वमार्गः अनीकवोधिरस्वामी[विम्]
10 दाने: प्रतापधर्मसम्प्रवयः श्रीमती महाराजसेव[न्द्र]भाषा

Second Plate : Second Side.

11 रक्षकमेण: पीवः स्याबहवलाङ्गलानोदपराष्टरसोऽनिन्द्वेष्मोऽविद्वे
12 वितुस्मास्मेष्यङ्गः प्रवापृणुरागवनसम्मात्मकः
13 सक्रियस्तिचलयोपिशः ग्यूदीतानिर्यंतगारियसुधा
14 मकराक्षसः मकराक्षसः ग्यूदपालितस्यस्यकलामनः
15 मुकुटस्तितिकिरणावहःपीणेश्वरार्जनः

Third Plate : First Side.

16 ब्रह्मिष्णुवं नमहाराजसः पुजः निजसुमुष्याप्रकाश[न]मितानिकः
17 गुजसामस्तनीतिहंदिपतिमधपारिवसवविरहितमितानिकः
18 "क्षुद्रविभरम्योऽणोपितस्यनिक्राज्यासांतसमितिकः
19 ल[ः]*]कृमीमूड़राजः[ः*] सदाससमस्तकाहःशपत्तजन्वनपी
20 नवालुण्यासामकुंकुमपंकावेशोगोभिन्नकलिमि

Third Plate : Second Side.

21 वाणिशाखवचारः: नस्तेरसासासासासःवशविविजः
22 यथिति: जलधिरित सम्पर्ककीर्तिनिवास: मृतै इव यः
23 सन्त: समुद्र इव गुणान: दृष्टान्त: इव भुमिपतिद्वीनाः
24 चरवम्बशः: महाराजातुभावोस्वरोहकायकमहाराजः
25 कष्टरान्ने चेन्द्रेश्वरार्मे श्रामिकयानं गतसब्बन्धे

Fourth Plate : First Side.

26 वशभाषाप्रायत् [ः]* एव धानीसाभी: ब्राह्मणवेशः क्षेत्रगृहः
27 कौंशिनीगोरेशः गद्धीनिर्तेशः सतताविक्षिप्तः[प]श्रम्भायवः
28 कौंशिम्बः: कटोगास्तवायः च भंडे [ः]* वंदलोकायः च [ः]* कौंशिम्पः

* The पा of प्रभावः seems to be corrected from पी.
* Read खर्द and compare सिंपालवेशः. VI. 50.
* The विशेष्य has not come out on the accompanying Plate, though it is quite distinct on the ink-impressions.
POSTSCRIPT.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.

Vishṇuvardhana II., the father and immediate predecessor of Maṅgiyuvarāja, according to Dr. Fieeet's calculations, commenced to reign some time in February-March A.D. 663, and the traditional length of his reign is nine years. A date of the month of Vaiśākha of the second year of Maṅgiyuvarāja's reign therefore would in the first instance be expected to fall in or near April A.D. 673; and I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of our date is Friday, the 6th May A.D. 673 (falling in Śaka-samvat 595 expired), when there was a total eclipse of the moon, from 13 h. 21 m. to 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India. The question is, whether this day could have been described as the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.

According to the rules now in force, the 6th May A.D. 673 would have been the full-moon day of the month Jyesṭhā (which follows upon Vaiśākha); by the same rules the Śaka year 595 expired would have contained an intercalated month Āshāḍha. By the rules of mean intercalation and the ordinary manner of naming the months, the intercalated month in Ś. 595

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1 Read श्रीवाण्यः.
2 Read संप्रभुः.
3 The [च] seems to be corrected from ह; read चीमडः.
4 Read मृदनापायं.
5 Read मृदापायं.
6 The left top-stroke of द is written upside down.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
expired (according to both the Ārya- and the Sūrya-siddhānta) would have been Jyēṣṭha, and the 6th May A.D. 673 the full-moon day of the first or intercalated Jyēṣṭha. But this very intercalated month, by an earlier Brahmagupta's rule, would have received its name, not from the following month Jyēṣṭha, but from the preceding month Vaśākha, i.e. it would have been called Vaśākha, not Jyēṣṭha, and, by the earlier rule referred to, the 6th May A.D. 673 would thus have been correctly described as the full-moon day of Vaśākha (or, more fully, of the second Vaśākha).

This date at once reminds us of the date of the Kaira plates of Dharasena IV. (Northern List, No. 484), which quotes a 'second Mārgaśīra,' and falls in A.D. 648 or Śaka-saṅvat 570 expired. In the case of that date, by the rules of mean intercalation and according to the Ārya- and Sūrya-siddhāntas, a month was intercalated in Ś. 570 expired before the month Pausha. By the ordinary rule that month would have been called Pausha, so that there would have been two months called Pausha; but the date, in quoting 'the second Mārgaśīra,' shows that there really were two months called Mārgaśīra, and that therefore the intercalated month, by the earlier rule, had received its name from the preceding Mārgaśīra.

I would besides compare the Chōja date No. 33, of the 25th November A.D. 1033 (above, Vol. V. p. 21), where the given name of the month—Mārgaśīra, instead of Pausha—likewise can be accounted for only by the assumption that a month, by the rules of mean intercalation intercalated before Pausha, had taken its name from the preceding, not from the following month. In that Chōja date the month Mārgaśīra which is quoted was the second Mārgaśīra, just as in the date under discussion the month Vaśākha in my opinion was the second Vaśākha.

For a date (of the 5th February A.D. 817, with a lunar eclipse), which proves the observance of the rules of mean intercalation, but is otherwise of no importance here, see my Southern List, No. 68.

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No. 25.—TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

BY PROFESSOR R. PISCHER, PH.D.; BERLIN.

The two Prākrit poems here edited were discovered at Dhār, in November 1903, together with the corresponding slab of black stone which contains the prāasti of Arjunaavarman published above, p. 96 ff., by Professor E. Hultzsch. Prof. Hultzsch was good enough to send me two inked castampages which had been forwarded to him by Dr. Vogel and Mr. Cousens, and one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.

Like the prāasti, the poems are on the whole well preserved; in the second poem, however, the beginning of lines 26-38 is broken away, as may be seen from Plate iii. The inscription consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. Only one serious mistake occurs in A. verse 65, where instead of chayamakkaṇam aṇamaggo apparently must be read chakamakkaṇam aṇamaggo.

The alphabet is the same as in the prāasti and has been already discussed by Prof. Hultzsch. I would draw special attention to the initial i, u, o; to tha, e.g. in thakāhā, A. verse 40 (Plate i. l. 16); tha, A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23); tādhā, B. 2 (Plate i. l. 1), aṇāhakkaṁ, B. 40 (Plate iii. l. 14); tāhāvā, B. 87 (Plate iii. l. 32); to kka, e.g. in rakkaṁ (Plate i. l. 1); to jha, e.g. in majjha, A. 6 (Plate i. l. 3); to sa, e.g. in Sivāya (Plate i. l. 1); "paramēśvara" drāj, "dattam, mahādāriḥ (Plate ii. l. 42); and to ṣag, e.g. in kayak garava (Plate i. l. 18) and mangalai (Plate ii. l. 42). Chhnya and thha, though resembling each other, are more clearly distinguished than in the manuscripts of the Jainas, where these two letters are constantly confounded; compare, e.g. votthāro and vṭhādyya, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); saurīchhakaṁ and ṛṭha, A. 15 (Plate i. l. 6). There occurs in A. 87 (Plate ii. l. 34) one letter about the reading of which I am not certain.
looks exactly like thā as given by Bühler on Plate v. l. 26, No. 19 of his Indian Paleography; but since thā in all other instances (B. 2, 78, 87) has quite a different form, the reading remains uncertain. Unfortunately there is a gap just in this place.

There is much inconsistency in writing the Anuvāra and the secondary forms of s and o. Thus in B. 16 (Plate ii. 1. 6) we read paṭhantām, but in B. 20 (Plate ii. 1. 8) paṭhantām. In A. 52, 54 (Plate i. 21), e in pariṣṭattātā kāle ke ko and o in jo vi hu so vi hu are partly written in the ancient, partly in the modern fashion. Instead of the Anuvārika in combination with v the inscription uses throughout the group sw, which is also found in manuscripts (see my Prākrit Grammar, § 170). Thus we have jāhīm vi in A. 58 (Plate i. 1. 23); hōnteḥām vi, A. 84 (Plate ii. 1. 32); kauhīm vi, A. 86 (Plate ii. 1. 33); anusāhīm vi, A. 92 (Plate ii. 1. 35); jāhīm vi, A. 100 (Plate ii. 1. 38), etc. In B. 98, 103 (Plate iii. II. 37, 38 f.) valayam va is wrong for valayam va. Similar mistakes, as jum māi instead of jum mā in A. 58 (Plate i. 1. 23), have been noticed in the foot-notes on the text.

The orthography is that of the Jainas. Hence in the beginning of words, and generally when doubled, dental n is written instead of cerebral n, with the single exception of su, as remarked in the note on A. 5. Very often also nha is written instead of ṇha. The ya-bruti shows the same inconsistency as in the manuscripts.

The language of the poems is Māhārāṣṭri. There occur, however, some forms which are Apabhramśa, such as laggavi, A. 92, milavi, B. 108, eha, B. 45, davam, B. 43, loa, B. 61, instead of loo. Blunders like tam na instead of tam na and kayaŋ garuṇa instead of kayaŋ garuṇa in A. 43, which occur very frequently, I am inclined to attribute to the author himself, considering the numerous cases where hu is written instead of kha, as in A. 54, B. 8, 25, 36, etc. Even faults like ṭhām instead of ṭhā in B. 36, kim tha instead of kim tha in A. 95, gauravam in B. 62, gauraviśaṅ in B. 92, gauravād in B. 105, where as instead of o (compare Hēma-chandra, 1, 1), may go back to the author himself. On the whole, however, the latter must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Desi-words which have not yet been met elsewhere. At the same time there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration, as in A. 23 and 28, 32 and 33, 98 and 101, or with very slight modifications, as in A. 10 and 55, 14 and 101, 93 and 94. The half-verse na ya jāo nea jamasāha occurs no less than five times (A. 10, 16, 43, 55, 85).

The poems consist of two odes, each of 109 stanzas in the Āryā metre, to the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu. They have no poetical value. In the first the author varies ad nausam essentially two thoughts, viz. that nobody has carried the earth so well as the tortoise, and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of this tortoise. In the second it is said that even the tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhōja who now carries the earth. Though a very poor performance, the poems, owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode, pleased king Bhōja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself:1—“Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhōja along. By him this Kūrmaśatāka has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies” (A. 107), and:—“By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhōja has this Sūtaka been composed” (B. 109). The very fact that in the second ode king Bhōja is several times directly addressed (B. 5, 6, 7, 11, etc.) would alone suffice to prove that he himself is not the real author. Tradition has it that Bhōja was a great friend and admirer of scholars and poets, and it is well known that in legendary works like Mērutungā’s Prabandhakintāmayi and Ballāla’s Bhōjavirapandha many famous poets of quite different

1 The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhōja has been drawn up by Prof. Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I. p. 418, and Vol. II. p. 95.
centuries are placed at his court. As yet no poems had been found which could with certainty be ascribed to the time of Bhāja. So far the new find is of some interest.

With the exception of a few stanzas, the poems are easily intelligible. It would have been a tedious task to translate them. I have therefore contented myself with mentioning in the notes all the difficulties and trying to explain them as far as possible. The abbreviation Gr. refers to my Grammar of the Prakrit Languages, where the remaining abbreviations are explained on p. 410 ff.

**TEXT OF A.**

[1] चिन्न नमः शिवाय

इति[१] ए जस्म भुजान चरित्रं एकाद चंसमस्ती०।

उपशोध यो श्रादा तुषान्यां पवित्रादि०।

यो कर्मण चं रक्षु अंशदसादर्शविद्वतारि०।

जो जारश्चाण्वद्विक्षाय समुज्याय ॥२॥

जस्म भाष्यमण्डुभवन ज्ञानामुद्रा वि धारायति [२] देवम् ।

यो ब्रह्मलाल्मसत्वं सत्सिदृढ़ं दैव दैवतादि०।

कामपड़ौवं निवृत्तं वि परिवा लघु एकः सा एकः ।

भुजामसारस्वति वि पर्याय जाणिः प्रभविक्षाः ॥५॥

कुम्भा को युद्ध यो विना वि कल्याण अन्य एकः ।

जह विवेकहरस्य पर्याय तथ दिशा [३] भुजामसारस्वति ॥६॥

एका चिन्हा सा ध्वनि संध्या सहितान्य परिवा कमठी ।

ब्रह्मादिः वि धूमिः भुजामसारस्य जाणिः जाणिः ॥७॥

कामपड़ौवं के न हुरा ध्वनि वि हु हृदयी पर्य तात खः

अविनाशाः भुजामसारस्य उवरिः तेघ एकः ॥८॥

कामपड़ौवं जाणें विषयं संत को मुंडन विन तू [४] को एकः ।

भाजम्बहुजामसारस्य उवरिः तेघ एकः ॥९॥

जो कह व परिमाणिः भारी कुम्भा निवेश तदा गति ।

लीला संद घच्छ यस्मिने पवित्रपदेशि ॥१०॥

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1. As in many other cases, e.g. जानि, A. 6, जानकी, A. 46, जीर्ण, A. 49, etc., the final ए of एकाद and एकः is metrically short; Gr. § 85, 375. चंसमस्ती० = चंसमस्ती०।

2. बयाण्डि० = बयाण्डि०, बयाण्डि०, 'which exhibits the colour of dry earth and the bulbous root of a creeper,' i.e. 'which is yellowish, or brown.'

3. Instead of 'कुम्भं' read 'कुम्भं.' For पर्याय compare Gr. § 53, 355. जयवर्जन and जयवर्जन occur frequently in this शालवय; compare A. 18, 31-33, 36, 37. In A. 44 there is a substantitive जयवर्जन. The verb means 'to place,' 'to set,' 'to locate,' and is common in Pāli. Compare Childers, s.v.; Jdt. 1, 143, 20 ; 3, 184, 6 ; 330, 17 ; Dāgātārāṇi, III. 135, 4 ; Tārakā, 73, 357, etc. In Prakrit it must be restored in Hāla, 647, 787.

4. श्रादा, Gr. § 476. श्रादास्य belongs to श्रादा, Hc. 4, 121, श्रादास्य, P. 101, and means 'not shaking about,' 'not agitated,' 'quietly.'

5. यहि, as मित्र in A. 11, must be taken as Acc. Plur. Perhaps we ought to correct them to मित्र and मित्रि.
पायाले मालिन्यं खंडे दाखण सुखःਣांसुरिंष्य।
तंत्र कामकंडाज सतिमा जाग्यं संध्या स्व तात्त्य को मुख्य।
परकालेरसिके कुमःकुमवे परं दिके।
ध्वनि सि काध्यंत तुमं सम्भू मणिमाण पस्विना ति सि।
वीरासिको वि जायो जीए आयस्य न हु भूषणि।
जे वि हु धर्मं धर्मं तेंङि वि समं धर्मवी सा वि।
इच एरिस[०]ववस्थायो कुमो भिष एव वयायो।
जद जायो वि हु जायं ता जायं कामं तुम्ह सार्ज्येऽ।
परित्यष्टीकरणं गहरं जायं कामं तुम्म सार्ज्येऽ।
[७] निमित्यअपवर्गं सवं एवं भिषं कामप्रयो रस्मवें।
जोि तण्यस्य सतिमा न य जायो निमित्त अंबिढ्र।
बच्चायविहिं वीश्य भूषणं वि नेश उपविहि।
एकल्पुणं सुधरं कुमो एवं भिषं वट्ट्य॥१७॥
स्वी सिश्व वुद्धी भारो वीश्यं खंडं न इसम चोडः॥८॥
कुमो जन्मं समं एवं खंडं न भारत्मवें॥१८॥
स्वी सिश्व वुद्धी भारो चवें: हिं जायं न परिकलिनं।
जन्मं समं चुठी चुठी वि हु सि चन्द्रविट्य॥१५॥
आर देवायत्सा वर्षियं पुणं हों ग्रुंसार्यिः॥
कामसार्यं पेशार्यं करिसिको सि हु कपः॥२०॥
रे देव॥[९] तं विदव्यसु पुरविशीं वि जायं तुम्म विवें।
कुमो कामो कामं तपं तमसूं वि वरिष्यतं कामं एवं खंड॥२१॥
कुमोण घरा घरियं लीठों जंके। नात्र ब्रह्म विलिहि।
खंडों इच्छिसु निमित्यार्यं उपव्रेण निश्च्यव।
परिकलिनं न च जान्ता चक्करवशायो हु एवं पुरि॥२२॥
कुमःसा तं खु रू[०]चवस्थायो सि हु पुणं तहस॥२३॥

10. अभिनिधाः, Gr. § 540.
12. निमित्यह, Hc. 4, 62.
13. पि "सम्भू" चन्द्रविट्य। Read मीरी, Gr. § 105. एकल्पुणं is to be added Gr. § 596; एकल्पुणं=एकल्पुणं, 'one-yoked,' i.e. 'quite alone.' Compare A. 74, 78, 82, and एकल्पुणं, A. 106; compare also एकल्पुणं, B. 25.
14. Read कुम and भीषा. For चन्द्रविट्य compare note on A. 4.
15. Read युमार.  "ब्राह्म", "ब्राहमः.
16. विनिदिः=विनिदिः, Gr. § 81.
17. चक्कद, V. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 68. The first verse of this stanz is repeated in A. 28.
two prakrit poems at dhar.

[Text in Devanagari script]

24. निघं=निदर्शनं. दीपिका, i.e. भाषणविवरणं and विवरणं? Compare a. 23, 27.
25. Read सम्बन्धः.
26. रहस्यं=तत्त्वात्मणां.
27. क्रम is grammatically incorrect; read तद्व. The first verse of this stanza has already occurred in A. 2.
28. The first letter of े is not quite clear; from भव्यर्यं in A. 89, where the same shape of the letter occurs, it becomes certain that ए is meant. The sense is: "For thou, O fate, hast put the polar star above the earth." Compare A. 70, 73, 97. With सम्बन्धं compare उपपत्ति, Hc. 4, 234, and विपरीत, Gr. § 143.
29. दीपिका compare note on A. 4.
30. One would expect वत्रं, compare A. 74. Read नीचे.
31. विवरणम् is grammatically and metrically incorrect; read विवरणम् भवं नात्त विवरणम्. Gr. § 160.
32. दीपिका or विवरणम्.
33. नीति is uncertain. भवत् is incorrect for भवत्व.
$20. Read चीरी में.  
$21. Read चीरी और चीरी.

$20. For वह compare Hc. 4, 16; Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, 3, 258 f.; 6, 84 ff.
$21. The second verse means: “In one way or another (?)" however, another special lot has fallen to you.”
$22. तन and वडवड are grammatically incorrect for तन and वडवड.
$23. वडवड apparently means ‘to shout at,’ ‘to applaud.’
$24. For जाप्ती ए with short ए compare Gr. § 385 and note on A. 1.
$25. Read वडवड; the form is quite unusual and probably wrong. Compare सय, A. 109, मघ, B. 34, and Gr. § 380.

$25. Read चीरी में. चलि is used in the sense of चलि; see Gr. § 405. For न य जाप्ती etc. compare A. 10, 16, 55.
हाथी कुमा तुम्हां विच चरोमि सुचा [25] कमित्र जाएिंग।
पायाली मजनों भूषण किन हु जेण न चहरिंग। [२२]
के के न एक्याया ताछां भूमिं विए न हु जुनरिंग।
परध्यायणकाहि एको कुमो हु निपुंज। [२३]
परध्यायणि वहा पदमौ कुमो एवं फुलिंगि।
गुणिंगि कया समा पक्षा सोवेनेला गवर्यि। [२४]
दलितनिरपेक्षिः दक्ष्का[२६]पक्षीए धारिणा धरणी। [२५]
वालाश्चाकामकणो निवहङ्गिः एवं कुमास [२६]स।[२६]
अणश्चाकामकणो इहरे पदमो वसाहतार एह कुमो।
जेन रद्दे हु समि वहा इच्छार लंगना। [२७]
अणच्छिरणं पदमो विहिणा कुमो हु एक्य निम्नाविशी।
वसाहतार एह पदमो सो विक्षि पश्च्रह कह जानी [२७] [२७]
वसाहतार एह पदमो सो विक्षि पश्च्रह कह जानी [२७]
चांद्रन तुमि तुम्हि घाणा जाही वि तुहि निपुंज।
होए जाएगि कायवि कि पि न जाहे जे भविंगि [२८]
इरे धरणे धरे उदरण निकूलय वालाश्चाकत लति।
दक्ष्कार्कीए कया किरिपुका को न उक्तियां। [३०]
कुमो धरेवि भूषण तरे समि कोंस तं विं धुष कहस।
लकासि न विपुरूः[२५]तो बल्ल व्यासार्य कह लक्षा। [३१]
अणामविहारि वि चारिणा वचा पाविणि के वि ग्रामहह।
अणामविहारि वि कुमो वह जोसि पांति। [३२]
अणाकुमारकृत्ति विहिणा धुष तं जाएगि उपरि भूषणाक।
कुमो धनपरिहिंगि सब तुहि तले विहिणा। [३३]
कच्छि तुम्ह पश्च्चारा ध्वाओ पश्चिमा [२९]शों वंशाओ।
जीच तण्णिङ्ग तुलिंग तरालाको विशानिर्विशं। [३४]
सयः सुपणः वि काल संका घर्णि एत समुदिरिया।
किं किव किव विषिणि कुष्ठ तेज एक जाति।
केम्बो मेंषभाएषो भाहिष्कृम विषाय कुष्ठः।
गणनां वद्विषिणि जो मध्य आपितं तरं ॥०॥
सूक्ष्मभाक्षणेण वि चर्व सौंक्त विषाय कामदृशः।
[२१] तो चक्षुं तो चुक्षुं चर्व हू मग्ने न संकाशः।
परियते काले के ते हु चक्षु न एक उपवासः।
सो हु चक्षु एको विष जाति कुष्ठो समुपर्णः।
चर्वा सि कालिवु तमं धरी जाति वि तुष्ण सो एको।
तह विहुरे वेष तधो जायससभी समुपर्णः।
विनयारो गणिणां जो वि हु सो वि [२२] हु कुणि वह लोपः।
भूषणः वि उपर्णविं कुष्ठः परं हु एकेण ॥१॥
जापो सो विष वुक हु अभो हु तस्मां एकः।
जससरिष्ठो सुपणः न व जापो नेप्थ आपिष्ठः।
जम्माणां हु जापो जो आयाम छोट छोट किन्तुः।
पराल्पर्यायः करे जो जापो सो हु फलजापो।
[२३] पीयाल्पर्यायः वजे [स्नाय] ने सुकाः हु तस्मां चक्षः।
पराल्पर्यायः करे जापो हु ते धर्मा ॥३॥
कामदृशः सि जापो जाएप्स्मे एक वचने वचने।
त निः विषं विनयं चर्वाय चन्द्र न जापानः ॥५॥
कामदृशः सि भूषणाय वजे अभो हु तस्मां एकः।
पराल्पर्यायः क[२४] नो अभा जति तधां विजयः।
निगुष्ठपर्यायः करे सद्वीर वहारं भयरं कुष्ठः।
पराल्पर्यायः अभा कुष्ठः तदंच चह विजयः।
कक्षाः वि जो न दिक्षे न य निमुष्ठो नेप्थ अपाशुभं पतिः।
सो मम्मो पद्म चिन्ता कुष्ठो एल कहिविक ाः।

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\[14\] Instead of 'विष' किव read किं न फिं न.
\[15\] Read 'अष्ट्रिणि'. विनयं = विनयं सत्तम्. वर्ष, He. 4, 88.
\[16\] 'अदासिणि' = अदासिणि. तस्मां न जम्मानि; compare Gr. § 995, 173. With विनयं = विनयं supply the locative क्रियाप्रकरणा जो अभा = अमरणि. समुपर्णस्य बल्बु पद्यः. He. 4, 105, and means 'has been wiped off,' i.e. 'has been removed.'
\[17\] 'हु is a blunder for हु. Gr. § 94.
\[18\] जिष्ठण्या is a blunder for जिं. लेखा.
\[19\] लिहित = लिहित is a blunder for लिखि. लिखि.
\[20\] 'स्पष्ट' is wrong for उन्हि. वि. Gr. § 180, वि. Gr. § 175. में ए. Gr. § 409- जम्मानि is wrong for जम्मानि.
\[21\] तन्न = लिखा is wrong for तन्न तरं तेत्र. दिल. 4, 421.
TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

249

74. Read दुर्भ, Gr. § 541. For द्रुष् see note on A.17. Read वीर. Instead of the second दुर्भ one would expect दुम्भ; compare A.32.

75. द्रूप, Gr. § 107. पुष्कर, Gr. § 196.

76. Read जिन्न ते and वीर. The second verse means: "whose shoulder has not been freed from the burden by a second one able to bear a burden."

77. Read everywhere वे instead of भी, which is against the metre; compare Gr. § 85, 376.

78. Read वीर. For एकास see note on A.17.

79. The meaning of द्विभाष्य is not certain. It seems to mean 'gets tedious.' I have not found the word elsewhere.

80. Read वीरेष and दुम्भ. द्विभाष्य occurs again in A.102 and B.9; it means 'real,' 'true,' Sanskrit सद्भाष्य.

81. द्रूप, Gr. § 354; जात्र द्रूप-द्रूप बाला पुष्कर seems to be a proverbial saying.

82. Read वीरेष; वीरे, Gr. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 86.

83. भी wrong for द्रूप. वीरेष, Gr. § 180. Instead of वीरेष read द्रूप.
[For verse] न एव जाय अर्थ हेतु भव्यति को को न गोदिनम्।
तत्र वितु तह कुंडा तुषार न य जायो निष्क्रिय ज्ञापितम् [89]।
कलसेषाहि वानिष्क्रिय किलितिहि कारविङ्गि सारसेषाहि।
एवं विसं क्षु त्वं धिष्य दधि विष्य व त्वं कुंडश। [90]
दिहि समयो त्रिय वि ह सो वि ह पायद्ध विष्यवर्त्वतः [91]।
सेनाविसं ह भ शाळे (?) ....... कुंडश विष्य पय्यो। [92]
जाय दातरस्यतिहि कुंडु पुनः विष्यति वि न हु जाय।
कुंडश वनिष्क्रिय तत्र वि ह लाहुवन्या पुष्क्र। [93]
वन्धा [94] गदे भुस्ता सुष्का वि न सुष्क्यति उप्यात् धवलतः।
कुंडश मयसं वि कपार्य वि सुष्क्यं मस्यजयह। [95]
गंगायान गदे एकाश चले वि [सुष्क्] ता निष्क्रिय पालान।
कुंडश मयसं वि पर्यं न हु कहुँ कहुँ व धर्मीय। [96]
उल्लो सुयुम्भरो सुष्क्या परणी कया जनेन सबां।
एवंपिति वि सं जं कहुँ कहुँ तम तम हु । [97]
उल्लो चवेशिष्यं भारो धर्मीयं किं तु मिलिपिति।
एवलकृष्णसं वद्धा लम्ब [98] वि कुंडश उप्यात् [99]
सेवकिरुक्षुदीयसुभास्यपालान निष्क्रिय वनिष्क्रियं लोणा।
कथा परस्त चक्के भाजमं लेंचि तह खविनो। [100]
किसिदकृष्णमददीयसुभास्यपालान निष्क्रिय वनिष्क्रियं लोणा।
कहुस्य निष्क्रियरक्तं कथा लेंचि त्त्व खविनो। [101]
कुंडश वि विष्यं लोणी स [102] लक्षेण लोकभविष्यं।
नेशन सदिसा पुष्क्रं वृद्धा न हु उप्यात् निसिसा। [103]
कोहाण्य सुभास्य य जायो जमदग्नी विष्यात् महां [1]।
कुंडश पुनः दीर्घं वि विष्यरों पालान गम्य। [104]
विष्नु त्त्व देवी सुष्क्या वि उष्यरे त्त्व वि वला।
निष्क्रियरक्तं पर्या कुंडश विष्य उपरे जायो। [105]

82. The first verse is metrically quite incorrect. Read "कर्षिदः कारविङ्गि वि हि तेषि कारविक। Gr. § 180.
83. Read नीचः.
84. For कक्षायं compare note on B. 49.
85. Read चरितां तेषि।
86. Read चरितां तेषि, Gr. § 180. For एवचरितां see note on A. 17. लक्षम्य, Gr. § 588.
87. Read नीचः or दीर्घः, Gr. § 180.
88. Read न इर्थे instead of एः; compare A. 53.
89. Read नीचः.
90. Read द्वारः.
[38] जाहि जानी चिब्ब लब्धि ता लब्धि कमठज्वालासरिच्छो ।
याज्ञिविनि चर्चनि सर्वेणि व मिलि न हु कह्यि नैक ॥८८॥
रे कमठ तुक गोति के न हुशि के न सवि होसिति ।
सचनि पुणि भामाति तुक चर्चनि तुम्हि विचि ॥८९॥
कि कमठी चिब्ब जानी चालिमि विं जोहिति चर्चनि ।
जयम्या विं पि [39] सरिनि चर्चनि झिणि न जोहिति कार्य ॥१००॥
जाहि जानी चिब्ब लब्धि ता लब्धि कमठज्वालासरिच्छो ।
साधनि व सचनि न हु कह्यि तेज्यि न हु कह्यि ॥१०१॥
पश्चात्तिलिलि गह्यि सरिच्छा सवलाय एक महिलाय ।
सविचारि पुणि पावि जानि कमठाय जानि एक ॥१०२॥
हरिणाय पसविधा [40] वि गह्यि सरिच्छा हु सवलायमहिलाय ।
सचनि पसविधा पुणि एक चिब्ब कमठ तुक जानि ॥१०३॥
जानानि पसविधा वि नेच्य पसुबाद ताय गककड़ि ।
जाया सचचनि एक चिब्ब कमठिनि सुक्ष्मि ॥१०४॥
सुक्ष्मि वि चाहि न चाहि सरिचि ता वि करेव सी चर्चि ।
एकी चिब्ब वाहूँ मरि [41] कुभि कोरि विषादानि ॥१०५॥
एकाक्षरिति वि चिब्ब भार्णि सम्भि पि एक जी विष्मि ।
उविस्त वेवि भारि चाहि उण भागिनमहि ॥१०६॥
कुमाय वि वोसामो दिबि एकिर्षा भोसराय ।
हरिमं वेसराय कुमायं विसराय तेज्यि ॥१०७॥
गाहि मं न एव घाहि मं पसुरि चीनि [42] दिमि कार्य ।
सवयारि एकिर्षा पत्र लखि लेनि तेज्यि सवयि ॥१०८॥
एचाँद स्राव तए गाहि मं पसुरि नेच्य रचाँद ।
सवयारि भावि मेज्यि एचाँद तेज्यि सवयि ॥१०९॥
॥ प्रति भूराजाधिरातंप्रमेश्वरीगोमेश्वरिविचतं भविनिकृतांगम ||
॥ महात्म भावि: ||

८८. Read लाक्षण and लाक्षण.
१००. Read जानेंविं चि जिं जोरिं, and in the second verse जिं जिं.
१०१. Read जानि and जानि.
१०२. Read गच्चा.
१०३. Read भास्पति चाति and भास्पति.
१०४. भास्पति। वि जारि; ग. ५०. Read नीवि.
१०५. For एकी see note on A. 17. Read नीवि.
१०६. Read एकिर्षा वि विषादानि, or twice वि.
१०७. Read एचाँद स्राव तइ and एचाँद, or the same without Anusvāra. सव्य must be taken in the sense of सवयि.

Compare गद्र, A. 47 (with note), and गद्र, B. 34. तएः गद्र is rather singular here, since Bb̥ja has not been addressed in this ode.

॥ ॥
TEXT OF B.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय.

भुजानां रहन जलो वुण्डेक निवास नकालां।

हेलाये जेन सो धर तुलनां सियो सियं रेड।

कुलगिरिणि लहुविषणा जलनिरिणि वाष्ठिणा सकलेन।

पच्छा धरिणा धरिण मोहा जेन नु ता होइ।

कुलगिरिणियोजलनिरिणिमेहसुष्या नरेन्द्र द्र्य [2] पत्मम [1]

लहुविषणा पच्छा धरिण मोहा पग स्वामि नप हेलाये।

धरणि सिध्य ता गहने ते गहना जे वाहिति तं पि पुषो।

लहुविषणा पत्मम पच्छा सिध्य एवं सयलं तच्छ अलं।

धवलो सो सियो बुचड़ मर्यादत्तवाःवर्मिणिः [3] समयं पि।

उद्यान जो हु भर्ष सो एको भोटं तं चेंव।

लहुविषणा सयलं सयलं मर्यादत्तवाःवर्मिणिः समयं पि।

पच्छा वुण्डं भुवं नी हु गुणो चहड़ दशविषण।

द्रश बपण्ड सयमा वुण्डं लहुविषण दस्मेण विषणिण।

भण चहड़ को हु गुणो भुवं धरणियोहरंत्तक।

धरणि तुंहे गहनां सुकुमारसुकिणिः पलं जन्म दिद्व।

कीर्तान तं हु हदिरं बोहो रसविषण दशरथेन।

भार्क्ष द्रश गुणतं [4] व्यवहारसुकिणिः चहड़ वचविषणं।

सिद्धार्थवेण शिषो भारी वि हु लहुविषण लमुक्तं।

कुमृणु तुंहे गुणतं कर्मरत्नविषणिणां वचविषण।

पच्छा सेससुरुकिणिः भोषणं तं आङ्ग याड।

1. Read "श्रीक, कप्चो, बुधक।

2. लहुविषण is a denomitive from लुत्र according to Gr. § 559, =कचापयित; compare § 552 and लण्ड्रिणी =लण्ड्री in § 139. It means 'to make light,' 'to reduce in weight,' 'to relieve.' For ताधिणा compare ताध in Gr. § 88; it means 'they have been fixed, made stationary,' य is wrong for शु.

3. युमुरिष्य is Acc. Plur.; Gr. § 89, 307.4.

4. देशी, देशी; नेत्र जी आशुभुस्मा. Read ताधिणि, ताधिणां, 'to remove,' Gr. § 488, 533.

5. Read "विषि and गुणि. For द्र्य see note on B. 18.

6. "युमुरिष्य, युमुरिष्य सयमान लहुविषण भार्क्ष, कार्यरणकृत, 'something lighter than oneself,' compare B. 18. बुध here and in A. 9 means 'to be found,' 'to be,' compare Hc. 4, 206, Materialism, s. v. cadel, and चंद्र, B. 17.

7. Read ताधिणि, and लुत्र instead of द्र्य. For द्र्य see note on B. 6.

8. ताधिणि =ताधिणांगिः. ताधिणि is a double causative from चुं (note on R. 7), as झुमिरिष्य, from झु (Gr. § 532); झुमिरिष्य means 'it becomes increased,' =लुमिरिष्य of the next stanza. Read लहुविषण.
TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

The text contains a translation of a Sanskrit poem, possibly relating to a mythological or historical context. The text is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and English, with some notes and references provided at the end of the page. The poem appears to be discussing themes such as nature, seasons, and possibly divine or royal figures, typical of the literary style found in ancient Sanskrit poetry.

The notes at the bottom of the page provide explanations and context for various terms and references used in the text, such as the comparison of Sanskrit terms with English equivalents, and references to other works for further clarification.

For a detailed understanding, consulting a Sanskrit or ancient Indian literature expert is recommended.
बालाधिक गहराति  दितिरोसरिनाञ्जपविरूपू ठिरभु।
गहरात्मका [14] नाम्र दस्सू तात्यु हु पाथविवर्ध हैसु।
गहरात्मका हु गहराय एको विचिनु न जाव लालेदै।
ता पुत्रसंच विद्वा तं धि तेद लालूब वाह गुह ॥२३॥
सह गहरात्मका सा तथ य गहराया दो धि तथ य चरित्यार।
सहार्डडलरिहितां दिस्री दिस्री निम्नह रोवेक ॥२५॥
तद उपनीष भूवृं गहरात्मका तात्र सिद्धिनिकायांत कै।
प्रणाली पुग्न्दै वि हु रोव्य चरित्यां भंगीय ॥४०॥
धरणी० तली कुमरी कोल्लपुञ्जा वि लालिना लुका।
जा लालूबां लीफ पुग्न्दै काय दु भोजुव ॥४१॥
जा सृंजायं धरिवा कुम्भपुञ्जिचन्त कालाधिक ॥१६॥ विद दह धरणी।
सा विचिना खेवरयं भोज तेद दह धरित्यार ॥४२॥
धरणी० सम धरिवा कुलगिरिपुञ्जां मास तेन सम।
जवानसिन्द्रा तुहेण पालक बेला तुहेण गिरिवा ॥४४॥
पुग्न्दै गहरात्मका बालाधिक नेप्केन वि निको।
धरित्यार तेद एवं लालूबां विद नाम तात्यु ॥४४॥
तज्ञानितिकायार[१७]णा धरणीं एव धरित्यार राज्य काह व।
सा नीलकां चं दहें गिरिनिकायरिका ॥४५॥
लालूबालिवा गु हरणी कुलगिरिपुञ्जा खचित्या सरिनान।
अथगिरिको निमामितिच जस निमित्तम सह कहु ॥४६॥
धरणी चाहं संहु हं तद धरित्या भोज श्रेष्ठ एवं।
पुरोतिनितिमेव राज्य लालूबां गहरारम[१८]रिहिच ॥४७॥
कामां हरंद हरिने भा०रं गहराना वि खलबिुव ॥
तद्द धरित्या खुसा सा वि हु हलकुसा को गहरामो खुसा ॥४८॥

14. Read ठिरभु, दस्सू, नाम्र, विवर्ध हैसु।
15. Read ठिरभु, दस्सू, नाम्र, विवर्ध हैसु।
16. विवर्ध हैसु।
17. विवर्ध हैसु।
18. विवर्ध हैसु।

I think we must write खलबिुव = हलकुसा and translate this by 'lighter than light.'
लहुरति तुष दिवं भा मधुसूदन धरणि भोजराय।
तेन धरिष्या सि एवं गहवाणि वि गुहरमं देय॥४८॥
कुमारिणासि खुसिया चलावहि संकिया ठिभा धरणी।
तद्र धरिष्या पुष[१९]ण एवं सप्तसरि पुषण व सप्तसरि।
लहुराविषा वि पुष्यं लहुराविषं न समेत।
न गणितं किं रिष दृष्यं रत्नाख्यां भविष्यां।॥४९॥
लहुराविषा वि हु शृं होष तव शुणाद गहवाणि।
संहितायां पिणा कयं सब्रस्तरि लहुहरि पद्धाराः।॥५०॥
कुमाराधि धरिष्या लहुरति धरणं सवा [२०] वि सब्रली।
तद्र धरिष्या पुषण पसा दृष्यं चित्तालकं लहुहरि।॥५१॥
जी गः श्री करे हु दिवको पसुविण सो वेदि एवं केरिबो।
लहुरतति तद्र कयं पद्धारां महिष्ये चढ़गुरुं।॥५२॥
लहुरानति गहवाणि महास चढ़ेद धारण कयं।
गहवाणि कुमाराधि धरणं लहुराविषा हु तव।॥५३॥
गहवरि[२१]ण वि दिवं पसुविणं पद्धारां लहुराविषां।
तद्र दिब्रं लहुरति पद्धारां गहवाविषां।॥५४॥
सरिकाणि जी धरिल्द्र भारो इह कुमा सी हु केरिबो।
अहपलुम्बे तुलि हिमीए कह कायरा जाया।॥५५॥
गहएि लहुरति उषणीिं गहमं वि इह देय।
इह सायरपुमुि[२२]ण ह्रीयाए ह्म्नौ न तपस्यां वि॥५६॥
दायणं लहुरति सपर धरणोगहमं हु वहुराविषा।
भवर पुष्यं तव इह तीये वहििो ह्म्निो।॥५७॥
प्रच्छित्तायां सहूंभु पुपुहिपिनाकुलिगिरिसुिमाण।
गहरति पद्धारार तद्र कलिये कह शु लहुरति।॥५८॥
लोभ पसुविणि कह गहरति धल्हुएं वि प[२३]वड़ेक।
भारे कह तव सि एवं गहरं लहुहुं हु पायविष।॥५९॥
नामातोलियाए पौँछु रे गोरवमिमीए।॥६०॥

४०. Read पद्मि। सप्तसरि = समसर।
४१. Read सायन शास्।
४२. Read लहुहरि।
४३. देवी, देवी ७, १७।
४४. The Anuvāra in दिव्र is not certain. Read पद्मि and twice अििषि, and compare note on दौ. ४७।
४५. लोभ must be taken as Nominative according to Gr. § ३६४. The Anuvāra in गहरं is not quite certain.

Read मु इसे of प्र. पायविष. Gr. § ७७, ४९।
४६. Read मौनहर।
TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

257

केतिष्मेते भारे कह तहे योिविव पमोतृण ।
कणवयार जयार लोिए लहुिवावी थेिण ॥१॥
पुिहे चेतििवरिहा कुलगिरी[२३]पुिहा तस्युष परिभाषाप ।
लोिज्ञाद गभरण भुएण एथं तुम गुणसिस ॥२॥
भारसा वषाखाको यही सीसं इहं कद विषृणा ।
सिविवलदो अ धविज्ञाभारे एसी नवा वका ॥३॥
जं जं गभरं जं जं च दुिहं जं च जं च ध्वसके ।
तं तं कुणत्तएण कही लहुिवावी भोिच ॥४॥
भिद्धा [२५] गभरणसेण पुिहं तहे गभर्वा इस्मा सेंह ।
सेले्वे पलिहरि भिसिता ध्वस्तु तुलिभाषाण ॥५॥
मा मण्डुज जातमुंको मा सरिनाणि सिनवत गोित्त ।
ध्रुपुं तं द्याणे धरिीं लोिष्ठा इस्मा उप्चहस ॥६॥
धरिीं धरंगमसमा काकरसरिता तस्यु कुलगिरीयो ।
[२६] ........ झीभारे कलिे तहेमें होिच ॥७॥
सरिनाध्युक्तपुिहा ठठा गभर्वसेण इहं कौिए ।
गभर्वाणि लहुववी किं वु पां तुज्ञ सिभिङ्ग ॥८॥
धविभवंत्ते भारे ध्वस्तु सारम गारवं लोिषाः ।
देलि तुम वणु सापसि विभिबिं ताश ववसस्ति ॥९॥
लहुण करिव थ [२७] ........ कुणसि धवं पि ।
तस्य सा तस्य वि रसा सवति लहुण तुहे गथ ॥१॥
काज्ञि लहुिसि भोिणि धवं तुहे पवांसीि ।
धरिीं कार्राङकाप धवं तुहे होिच धोियोे ॥११॥
धरिींि लहुिसि तं इहं निम्बविखु कुिणि जं मधियं ।
तस्य सतीि इमीि धवं गभर्वाणि च ... ॥१२॥
[२८] .... धविभिक्षि लहुःि विदर्भं मधिं धर्तिण ।
कह शु तहे चरीियाम धवो वित्ती गारयो दिबी ॥३॥

(११) रीत ढग तथा "मयारे."  ४४. पूर्वार्थ = पवित्रार्थ बेंगो बगिण।
२१. भावार्थ = वनयार्थ; से नोट अ. ६४।
००. बहुत = वनयार्थ; रीत अन्यी।
०२. बहुसया अ अ धविक्षि एक में अंकित एक वर्ण है।
०३. रीत अ ना इंतज ज तहें रीती ।
०४. धविनायिि वर्ण, क्. ५५३। धोियोि, क्. १०४।
०५. निम्बविखु, क्. ५५३। मधियं = आििह, से नोट अ. ३४९ से नोट अ. ४४१।
०६. प्रायः अ अ धवितिषाङ बगिण; से नोट अ. ४४७।
०९. पात्यामी = पात्यवा, पल्लि. १५५; द्वित्र. ८, १४।
मा मबसु चरणि तुम मदिरभारी हूं अं मह गहबो।
भोएण तं सिं धरिन्या द्विसं भारी तुड़े गहबो हूं।
गर्भपतं तं मसिं धराणि द्वित अं सिंहू तुड़ि दिन्य।
तुड़ ग[29] ............. तुमर धरिन्या हूं।
जलबिन्नि वाचविन्या लहुँविन्या कुलभिरी तहा चरणी।
इन्ब वि सं महिसश्र न याणितो भोएण मह कहसु हूं।
पडेंए वहहु कुभी सेई सीसण तह रणण फिरी।
पथं तं वहु मबसु द्विभोषी जं कहे चरह।
अधिभारिन्या सरं कि [30] ...........[क]संद सरं गइ।
त्यहुसु पेवेः धरिन्या भोएण नाथ इन्ना ब्राह्मण हूं।
मा बाद वहसु गवं मा तं इन्ना सुम उपनीषो हूं।
धररिभारी केंदुलशी गत्तकालविश सत्य गदध्ययर हूं।
कलियं भोएण महिन दूरण मा हे तुणह सम्बहू।
कूणसुहा गसुधातं एनाए तु.[31] ...........[॥०२॥]।
लहुविन्या गत्तरिविं भोष तुम चिंत एला जाणित।
लहुविन्या ता वि मही बहुविन्या सा वि भतीए॥६॥
धरणि पसूरिं दिन्य गसुधातं तुह विषाह केरिसंय।
लहुविन्यरं दिन्य भोएण तं वि सीरिसंय॥३॥
सारिधं पसूधका भोएण धरणि अं तुम हरण।
॥[३२] ........... सह सबं तं तुड दांदः॥४॥
दुरणं न य विष्मा जंपन न य सिं वि कुवडसे न विकं।
मालणि वि गसुधातं गसुधाणं कह तुहुं वरस।
लहुविन्या हूं इन्नोकुलभिरी वात्यर वि वाचविन्या।
परुलएण कयणं कि विविष्यं टोय मह कहसु हूं॥३॥
॥[३३] ........... काण्णु कुल्लभियसुहो।
भोष तपं पतसं विचार अं मह वहसु तह एन्न॥२॥
कमतकालिष्टभाष सद्वातं तुह तृत्य केरिसंय।
सीसिचमोभसुहाप सेरिसंय तं वि मह कहसु॥३॥

०५. Read पशुह।
०६. For वाचविन्या see note on B. 2. ०७. रणांगमास्तेन. Read पण।
०८. दोषोंऽऽभास्यालारे: Dēśin. 1, 99; Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, 13, 1. Read महाशतिफ्य वि and see note on B. 18.
०९. वहुविन्या = वहुपारित्र from वहुः=महान; Dēśin. 7, 29, which has been retranslated into Sanskrit by वहुः.
१०. Read एन्न।
धरणी तान लक्ष्मक्षिण कुलगिरिशो सायरा इम्म गव[षं]।
[३४] तुह हिलायक कह व न हु घाय ए।
वह हे प्रसुदिव चवहरिजना महीए भौभाप ।
चह चिच्चा गहर्ष दिन जं साथ न हु हिलायक।
केरिसयं प्रहरदिबं दृश्य पुरसिंहं केरिसं दृश्य।
गहर्षतं घरसी तं शादु कह केण गोरसिंहं।
गरणिमुखा लहुब[३५] विपा।
पक्षा भारी कृतो नरेतद सवं नरेतद सिं।
गहर्षाणं गहर्षं केरिसं रीविशुं बुं तं बहाय।
परमकुलिमाना गहोभो बध्या बध्या केरिसं हो।
जो बध्यान सयासा भारी गहरी हु तबमें सं हु।
धरणिमुखीं भूवं को तुक्का [३६]।
कृतकिसिनसुधि उपसुधि युगसुधि विचित्र केरिसुधि।
कं पीयरिसं बिचित्र प्रतुसिपणां घोंड मह कालसु।
कुलगिरिशयङगुप्तसुधि लहुबसुधि को निवारिक ।
परहिलिकरणां भायण सण को गुणो चपड़।
कह कह वि मर [३७]।
लहुबविज्ञान सा कह व्यवह कत सुमुहुंडु हु।
वधाविक गहरातं लोए जाण कुन्य गुरुमाहतु।
ताण वि कह लहुबतं रंगुंड्र हैं आक आहटु।
लहुबविनु तं धरणिं पिखु दरसक कुणसु बरं पिं।
जं बरं तं विरवसु तं र [३८]।
कामटकरां हंडं किरियो दाहा गया हु सयालव।
जीए भरण महीए खामागे घरसी कह तं पिं।
गहराणं गहरासं घारिसं सेवक कह व पिटेड़।
तन्त्र विश्व लहुब दराण पुणो तं चंग क।

t21. Read पूरिमों and मोरिमों.
22. Read हु instead of हु.
23. विन वि Gr. § 229, 286, 465. विना is derived from the stem of the present विना, Gr. § 479.
24. For गलिया compare note on B. 7.
25. Read हुके।
26. बुकु. Gr. § 140.
27. फि. Hc. 4, 177. Read हु संग।
28. For विनाय see Weber on विनाय, 171.
29. फि हैं।
No. 26.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttlingen.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 38 dates of Chōla kings. The most important of them is No. 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr. Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parantaka I. and, together with my date No. 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. Of the other dates, one (No. 102) is of the reign of Rājendracēla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Rājarāja II.; 3 dates (Nos. 103-105) belong to Viśrama-Chōla, 8 (Nos. 107-114) to Kulottunga-Chōla III. (Virarājendracēla, Tribhuvanavirudhāva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Rājarāja III., and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Rājendra-Chōla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained; at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Rājendracēla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March¹ and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Rājarāja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July² A.D. 1146; Kulottunga-Chōla III. between (approximately) the 6th³ and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Rājarāja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.⁴

¹ See No. 102.
² See No. 106.
³ See No. 129 and 119.
Mr. Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the king Parantaka I., which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kuloṭṭuṅga-Chola II. and Rājakulaṅka II., because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr. Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

A.—PARANTAKA I.

101.—In the Śivalōkamātha temple at Grāmam.1

16 Svasti śri [||*] Kali[y*]uṅga[vat*]am nāḷiyirattu nāṟ[pa]-
17 ‘ttu nāḷu Madirikkōḍa kō=Pparakēśaripagām-
18 ku yāṅdu 36āvadu Kali[y*]ju [gra] nā[
19 padiyāngu-nāṟā[y*]irattu el[u]ba [i] [i]rattu
20 muppattu ē[lu] ....
22 [i]v-āṭṭai Ma-

"(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 36th year (of the reign) of King Parakēśarivarman who took Madirī, — on the fourteen-hundred-thousand, seven[ty] ... [thousand] thirty-seventh day ... Kaliyuga ... ... on the day of Revati, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Maṅrā in this year."

For the current year 4044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, which by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 6th riti of the bright half of Magha ended 18 h. 21 m., while the nakṣattra was Rēvatī for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-saṅkṛanti, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, had taken place 8 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A.D. 942, when the akṣagāna, calculated by Warren's Table, was 14770146. 8 h. 23 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 1477015th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, the 1477017th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol. VII. p. 1. I have stated that between A.D. 900 and 925 the Chola date No. 55, which is of the 40th year of the reign of Parantaka I., must correspond to either the 24th July A.D. 919 or the 25th July A.D. 946. The present date No. 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A.D. 943, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No. 55. And the two dates together prove that Parantaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chola date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kannarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No. 6 of Ś. 1030, and No. 16 of Ś. 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virājendrā, which does not admit of verification.

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

102.—In the Dārakāvandāvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.2

1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiru maṅg[i] valara .... kō=
[Ppa][ra*]kēśarip[a]ma rāṅa śri-Rājendra[ndra]-Chōḷadēva[ṛka] [yāṅdu 5āvadu]

2 Read Ṛṣivadī.
3 No. 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.
"In the fifth year (of the reign) of king Parakśarivarman alias the glorious Rājendrā-Chōjadēvā,— on the auspicious (?) day of Śatabhīṣaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year."

According to the result previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendrā-Chōla I., this date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1016 or A.D. 1017. In A.D. 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday on which the nakṣatra was Śatabhīṣaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 28th March A.D. 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th titi of the dark half of Chiṭra ended 21 h. 33 m., while] the nakṣatra was Śatabhīṣaj, by the equal space system from 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m. to 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahman-siddhānta from 6 h. 34 m. to 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.— I can give no special reason why the day should be described as 'the auspicious day of Śatabhīṣaj.'

The date would prove that the reign of Rājendrā-Chōla I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D. 1012.

C.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

103.—In the Tyāgarājāsvarīn temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

1 Svaṣṭi [śrī ![Ś] ] Pā-mālai miśāndu . . . .
2 . . . . kō-Pārakśarivarpana-anu Tribhu[vā]*nachakravattigal śrī-Vikrama-
Śōjadēvā-[k!] ku y[ā]ṇḍu
3 nālāvadu Isha[ba-n]āyān τρι[t]jñānīyam [Bu]dan-[ki]lamai-
4 yan[m*] pera Tiruvādirimai-ga.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōjadēvā,— on the day of Āḍrā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third titi of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd titi of the bright half (of Jyaśitha) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the nakṣatra was Āḍrā, by the equal space system for 12 h. 29 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

104.—In the Tyāgarājāsvarīn temple at Tiruvārūr.²

1 Pā-mālā pu[ma*]ra . . . . . . .
2 . . . . kō-Pārakśarīpana[m]a-rāna Tiriṇバンacchakravattigal [Vi]kkiram-
Śōjadēvarkku yā-
3 pu[n]nālāvadu Rishabhā-nāyān[a] a[para-pakshatu] tris[t][yaiyam Budha-n-kilamai-
yam pera Tiruvādirimai-ga.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōjadēvā,— on the day of Āḍrā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] titi of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha.³"

There can be no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the reading in line 3 of the original should have been pāra-pakshatu, not apara-pakshatu.

¹ According to Mr. Venkayya the reading to all appearance is as given above; but he adds that 'tis all may be intended.
³ No. 564 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1924.
105.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

1 Svasti ār[i] ||¹ Pūrṇā puṇara


"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Parakāśavarman anu[sha] the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Śōļadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.²"

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1126, which was the 22nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 3rd tithi of the dark half (of Bhādra) commenced 0 h. 34 m., while the nakṣatra was Rēvati from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA II.

106.—In the Kāpālīśvara temple at Tiruvalluḷi.³

1 || Svasti śṛ [||²] Pū maruvīya Tiru-mādu[m]


"In the year opposite the sixteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakāśavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth tithi [of the second fortnight of the month of Karkaṭa]."

According to the result previously⁴ found for the commencement of the reign of Rājaraja II., this date would be expected to fall in either A.D. 1162 or A.D. 1163. For A.D. 1163 my calculation has yielded no result that could be at all acceptable. Nor can a perfectly correct result be obtained for A.D. 1162; but in this year the choice would clearly lie between Wednesday, the 11th July, and Thursday, the 12th July, as may be seen from the following details:—

Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, was the 15th day of the month of Karkaṭa. The 12th tithi of the dark half (of Āśādhā) ended on this day 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; but the nakṣatra was Ādṛā (by the Brahma-siddhānta for 8 h. 32 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise), followed by Punarvasu. On the other hand—

Thursday, the 12th July A.D. 1162, was the 16th day of the month of Karkaṭa. On this day the nakṣatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 59 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise; but the tithi which ended on it, 1 h. 0 m. after mean sunrise, was the 13th, not the 12th, tithi of the dark half (of Āśāḍha).

Obliged to choose between the two, I would decide in favour of Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, and assume that in the original date the nakṣatra Punarvasu has been erroneously quoted instead of the immediately preceding nakṣatra Ādṛā.

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¹ No. 556 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
² Read pa[kka]tu.
³ Compare below, No. 121.
⁴ No. 626 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
⁵ See above, p. 2.
I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1178 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1169, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Rājarāja II be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Rājarāja II could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

107.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.¹

1 [Sva]asti śrī [||*] T[i][r][i]buṇaṇacchakkaravattigai śrī-Kulōttun-[niga-dōla-
devar]kkam yāndu [na]
2 lāvadu Mīra-nāyānu [pū*]*rvva-pakshatu paśjamīyam V[i]yāla-kkilamai-
yum pēr[ra*]
3 [U]roṣamīnāl.

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōjadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna,”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Chaitra²) ended 9 h. 25 m., while the nakṣatra was Rōhini for 20 h. 21 m. or 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

108.—In the Vālīsvara temple at Rāmagirī.³

1 Svāstī śrī [||*] Tir[i]buṇaṇacch[e]kka[kka*]ra-vattigai śrī-[V]rārāsē[pda]-rā-
[V]yāla-kkilamaiyum pēr[ra] Urośa[n]-nā[1].

“In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrāja[r]gūra-Chōjadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkaṭaka, and on which the nakṣatra was Rōhini the whole day. But the tithi which ended on this day, 18 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, was the 11th, not the 12th, tithi of the dark half (of Āśāha).—The result shows that in the original the 12th tithi has been wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.

The result would also show that the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 8th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vālīsvara temple at Rāmagirī.⁴

1 Svāstī śrī [||*] Tīr[i]buṇaṇacchakkaravattigai śr[i]-Vīrārasē[pda]-ra-
[V]yāla-kkilamaiyum pēr[ra] Urośa[n]-ni-[nā].

¹ No. 415 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
² This tithi is a Kalpaṇī.
³ No. 644 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
⁴ Read pakshatā śrī.
⁵ No. 651 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
⁶ The engraver has corrected śri into śrī.
"In the sixth [year] (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrājēndra-Chōla[dēva],— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth tiṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka."

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.— In the Chandramauliśvara temple at Tiruvakkaraī.¹

1 k[o]nd-aru[i]ma śrī-Kul[ō]ttunga-
Śoḷādevārkau iy[ā]nu dū āvavu Maṅgarānvīya[ya]ru irubatunāḷān-
diyadiyum Tīṅgāl-[kī]lāmaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakahattu navamiyum perga
Aṇṭaṃtu nāl.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of... the glorious Kulottunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take...— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to the ninth tiṭhi of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-simhaṅkṛanti took place 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194; and on this day the 9th tiṭhi of the dark half (of Mārga) ended 19 h. 8 m., while the naksatra was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 40 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111.— In the Vēdāraṇyāsvāra temple at Vēdāraṇyam.²

Pāṇḍiyaya muḍīttalai[yum] ²

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Uttarāshādāḥā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh tiṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabhā."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabhā, and on which the 11th tiṭhi of the dark half (of Vaiṣākha) ended 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But the naksatra on this day was Uttarā-Bhadrapadā, for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.— The result shows that in the original U[t]irāda[tī]ti is an error for Uttarāṭṭādā.³

112.— In the Kailāsaṇāthasvāmin temple at Kallā-Perumbūr.⁴

2 durai[yum] I[lam]um Pāṇḍiyaya m[u]diṭtalai[yum]u-nā
4 du yāṇḍu 23vadu Vṛīśchika-nāygaru aparapakahattu tray[ō]-

¹ No. 193 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.
² No. 430 of the same collection.
³ In the month of Rishabhā an 11th tiṭhi of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the naksatra Uttarāshādāḥā (Uttirāṭṭādā).
"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottungā-Choḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and Karuvūr,—on the day of Viśākha, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth tīṭha of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiṣṇika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiṣṇika, and on which the 13th tīṭha of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the sakhastra was Viśākha, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 1 h. 58 m., according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.—In the Kalāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kaḷḷa-Perumbūr, 1

2 [m*] [I]lamum Pāṇḍīyaq madī-talaīyan[m*] koṇḍu arulī-
3 [ya] ār-Kul[ti]tunqa-Sōlādeväṛkku yāṇḍu 25-
4 vaḍu Kaṅkāda[n-gu][r*] [pu]rv[ā]-p[č]kha[t*]tu pa[ā]ja[m]iyum Budā[q]-kila-
5 Uṭṭi[ra]ttu[ā].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottungā-Choḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttra-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth tīṭha of the first fortnight of the month of Karṇatka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 25th day of the month of Karṇatka, and on which the sakhastra was Uttra-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the tīṭha which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th not the 5th, tīṭha of the bright half (of Ārāmaṇa).—Accordingly, we should have expected chaturthīyum in the original instead of pa[ā]ja[m]iyum.

114.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam, 2

1 Svasti ār[1] [1*] T[1]r[r]buṇāchchakkaravattigā Madura[yu[m]
2 Ka[r]u[varam Pāṇḍi[ya]b mu[d][1]
3 ttalaiyuk-gondu vīra abishāgamum viśiṣṭiy abishāgamum pann[i-y[a[r]jiga Tir-i
4 buṇāchchakkaravarkku yāṇḍu 3[2]vaḍu Daṇ-q-nāygru aparap[č]khaṭtu na[va]mi-
5 Tu-
6 āga-[k[a] tā[a] niyum pura Śittirā-nā.

"In the 33rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanavrīḍhāva, who took Madurai, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointing of heroes and the anointing of victors,—on the day of Chitra, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth tīṭha of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanaṇa."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Dhanaṇa, and on which the sakhastra was Chitra, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the tīṭha which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, tīṭha of the dark half (of Vaṭāha).—Accordingly, we should have expected ashtaṁyūm in the original instead of na[va]miyum.

1 No. 584 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
2 I.e. the Gopāla-chaturthi.
3 No. 427 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
F.—RAJARAJA III.

115.—In the Agastyāśvara temple at Agastiyāppali. 1


"In the second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd titthi of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the nakṣatra was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.—In the Āmalakēśvara temple at Tirunellikkāval.⁴

2 maiyum⁵ peṣṭa Purat[tu nāl].

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th titthi of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the nakṣatra was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.⁶

117.—In the Akahayalingēśvara temple at Kivalur.⁷

kkilamaiyum peṣṭa Mālattu nāl.

"In the tenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rāja[r]ājadeva,—on the day of Mēla, which corresponded to a Friday and in the fourth titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th titthi of the dark half (of Vaisākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the nakṣatra was Mēla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

３Dadigai is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit deviṣṭa.
５The ci of mei is engraved at the end of the preceding line.
６The Mīna-saṅkrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225.
118.—In the Kapardēvara temple at Tiruvallāṉjuṭi.¹

Tiribuvanāṣa[k]karava[t]tīgā śrī-[Rāja*][rā][ja*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu
[k]jamaiyum peṛg uṭṭi . . . .

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious
[Rāja]rā[j]a]dēva,— [on the day of] Uṭṭa . . . . . . . , which corresponded to a Monday
and to the fourth tīthi of the second fortnight * the month of Śimha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1237, which was the 6th day of
the month of Śimha, and on which the 4th tīthi of the dark half (of Śravṇa) ended 17 h.
13 m., while the nakṣatra was Uṭṭara-Bhadrapadā for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.— The
result shows that the last of the original date must have been Uṭṭaraiṭṭāḍā-nāḍ.

119.—In the Vālīsvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

1 [Sva]sti śrī [I*] Tiri[b]uvaṇaḥccha[k]karavattīga śrī-IrājaIrāja[rā][ja]dēvarkku yāṇḍu
pad[i]nāvadu Kaṅkādaga-nāyagru padiyālā[k]i]-
2 yadiy-āṇg Viṭṭa-kkaijamiyum pūrvva-pakṣhantu daśamiy[u]m Aṅ[i]lamum-āṇav-
angā.

"In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious
Rājarāja[rā]dēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which was the tenth tīthi of the first fortnight
and a Thursday, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to
Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231. In A.D. 1231 the Karkaṭa-sankrānti took place 9 h.
21 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of
Karkaṭaka; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was Thursday, the 10th July. On
this day the 10th tīthi of the bright half (of Śravṇa) ended 15 h. 48 m., while the nakṣatra
was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by
the Brahma-siddhānta for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājarāja III. could not have commenced after
(approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1216.

120.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvanṭaḷaḷu.¹

16avada Iḻahapa[ba]-nāyagru iru[ba]ṭṭān-diṭṭān-dviy[a]yum Śaṇ[i]-k-[k]j]amaiyum peṛg
Miragai[t]i-rāshṭatu nāl.

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious
Rājarājade[v],— on the day of Mrīgāśiras, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the
twenty-eighth solar day of the month of Rishabhā,"

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232. In A.D. 1232 the Rishabhā-
sankrānti took place 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day
of the month of Rishabhā therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same
month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the nakṣatra was Mrīgāśiras, by the equal
space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h.
12 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
³ Read -pakṣhantu. ² No. 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.
⁴ No. 485 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
191.—In the Arupâchaléśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇâmalai.¹

1 Svasti śrī [II] T[I][r][i]bhuvaṇaḥchakrakaranavati[ga]l śrī-Irājaśradēvāy[gu] yāpṇu
lśvadu Kâttigai-mādam piraṇḍa padiṇḍâ[ŋ]n-ā[ya]d[ī]-yâga Nâyâgra-
kk[I]lamaiyum Rêvatiyum daśamiyum [p]ēngə

2 īru.

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadēva,—on this day, which corresponds to the tenth tithi, to (the day of) Rêvati and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kârttigai."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vrischika-samkrânti took place 18 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vrischika or Kârttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 18th November. On this day the 10th tithi (of the bright half of Mârgasira) ended 2 h. 16 m., and the nakṣatras was Rêvati from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

192.—In the Akshayalînâlêśvara temple at Kivânu.²


"In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 26th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanus (and the day of the Uttarâyaṇa-samkrânti that took place 15 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th tithi of the dark half (of Pauṣa) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the nakṣatra was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahama-siddhânta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

193.—In the Vâdârayâsvarâ temple at Vâdârayum.³


"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Râjarâjadēva,—on the day of Jyēṣṭhâ, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 13th tithi of the bright half (of Ashṭha) ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakṣatra was Jyēṣṭhâ, by the equal space system the whole day,

¹ No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.
² As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the nakṣatra (Uttara-Bhadrapadâ) at the commencement of the day, but with the nakṣatra (Rêvati) which only commenced 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos. 102, 103 and 112.
³ No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.
⁴ No. 496 of the same collection.
by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise. — By the result previously found for the commencement of Râjarâja's reign this day fell in the 13th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

124. — In the Vaidyanâthasvâmin temple at Tiṭtaguḍî. ⁱ

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tîrîbhuvaṇaḥchakkâravattigaś śrī-Râja- 
2 rájâdevârku yându pattu-onbadâvadu Vrîch- 
3 chiga-nâyâru pûrîva-pakashattu trayōḍaśiyanum 

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadēva,— on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Vrîchika."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vrîchika, and on which the 13th titthi of the bright half (of Kârttika) ended 8 h. 22 m., while the nakshatra was Aśvini for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

125. — In the Vighnâsvara temple at Aṇbîl. ⁲

1 Svasti śrī [||*] 
16 śrī-Râjarâjadēvařku yându pat-
17 4to[ya]badâvadu Kumbha- nâ[ya]rru pû-
18 [r*]va-pakashattu pâñjam[i]yum Vîyâla-[k]ki-
19 [k]maiyum[m] pęgga Râvati-nâl.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadēva,— on the day of Râvati, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th titthi of the bright half (of Mâgha) ended 6 h. 44 m., while the nakshatra was Râvati for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

126. — In the Rajatagîrîsvara temple at Tirutteṅgûr. ⁳

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tîrîbhuvaṇaḥchakkâra[vat*]- 
2 tigaś śrī- Râjarâjadēvar[ku*] 
3 yându 24 odîrâm-ându [Ma*]- 
4 gam-nâyâru aparapakashattu [chattu*]- 
5 ruddasiyanum Śagi-kkîlamâyium [pe*]- 
6 γâ Ṣūrīrâdattu nâl.

"In the year opposite the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadēva,— on the day of Uttarâśâdhâ, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 13th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th titthi of the dark half (of Pauṣa) ended 15 h. 22 m., while the nakshatra was Uttarâśâdhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

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¹ See above, p. 1
² No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.
⁴ Part of the o of to is entered at the end of the preceding line.
⁵ No. 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.
127.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tīṭhagūḍī.  
1 Svasti ār [||*] Tiribuvanagacchakkaravattiga śrī-Irājarājadēvakṛtu yāṇu 27vadu Simha-  

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Bājarājadēva,— on the day of Magha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st tithi of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the nakṣatra was Magha, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

128.—In the Vēdāranyēsvāra temple at Vēdārapyam.  
2 ra-pakshatu pādjaśayum Tingal-kilamai[y]um pṛṣa Pūṣātta nā[1].

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Bājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth tithi of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara."

In the month of Makara a fifteenth tithi of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the nakṣatra Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king’s reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D. 1243.

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Bājarājya’s reign. For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth tithi of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h. 11 m., while the nakṣatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.— It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D. 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.—In the Vālāśvara temple at Rāmagiri.  
1 Svasti ār [||*] Tir[i]buvana[chcha]kkara[va]ttiga śrī-Irājarāja-  
3 n-dīyadiy-āṇa Tiṅgat-kilamaiyum pūrva-pakshat-  
4 tu pradamaiyum Pū[śa]mum āṇa agru.

"In the [2]9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Bājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first tithi of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna."

1 No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1903.
2 No. 405 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
3 Mr. Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes dated.
5 The 3 of 3 is engraved at the end of the preceding line.
This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-sahkranti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June.1 On this day the first tithi of the bright half (of the second Ashadha) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the nakshatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise. The date shows that the reign of Rajaraja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.—In the Arunachalesvara temple at Tiruvannamalai.2

1 Svasti [sṛ] [l[*]] [ti]ribuваnachchakkaravatti[ga] śri-irājārajādeva[k*]ku yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇḍu-nāyaṛṭa aparā-pakṣa[t]tu trayō[daśi]yum
2 Anilamum pṛṣṭa Nāyaṛṭu-kkijamai-nāḷ.

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the nakshatra was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the tithi which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgasira).—The word trayōdasiyum of the original therefore would be a mistake for tvuḍāsīyum.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.—In the Vēdāraṇyēsvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.3

1 Sva[sti] śri [l[*]] Tirubuvaṇachchakkaravatti[ga] śri-irāśendira-Śolvēvaṅkku yāṇḍu
2 nālāvadu Magarna-nāyaṛṭu-ppūrvav-pakṣhattu prathamaiyum Buduṇ-kilamai-
3 yum pura Tiruvnoṇṭutu nāḷ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjadēva,— on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st tithi of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the nakshatra was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.—In the Vēdāraṇyēsvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.4

1 [ti]-[i]buvaṇachchakkaravatti[ga] śri-Rāśendira-Śolvēvaŋkku [y]yāṇḍu [e]y-
2 badavadu Magarna-nāyaṛṭu pūrvav-pa[k]khattu dvitīyaiyum Šev[va-kki]lamaiy pe-
3 ra Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

1 The Karkotā- or Dakṣiṇāyana-sahkranti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.
2 No. 504 of the Government Epigraphists’s collection for 1902.
3 No. 423 of the Government Epigraphists’s collection for 1904.
4 No. 418 of the same collection.
"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjādēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 19th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd tithi of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h. 21 m., while the nakṣatra was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

133.— In the Rajatagirīśvara temple at Tiruttēngur—

1 Svasti ārī ||— Tibhun[va*]nachchakravattigal ārī-Rājendra-Śōja[dē][va*]I[ku] yaṉdu 1lvadiṅ edirām-aṅdu Karakadaga-na[yar]ru apara-pakšattu T[i]-
2 āṅaṭ-kila[m]aiyum Urośaniyum pṛga nā[1].

"In the year opposite the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which [the 11th tithi] of the dark half (of Āśāṇa) ended 10 h. 59 m., while the nakṣatra was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

134.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam—

1 Svasti ārī ca— Tri[bhuva]nachchakkaravattigal ārī-[Rāj]ōndira-Śō[la]dēva[rku]
y[ānu]-
2 du 16[a]vadu Rishaba-n[YM]ru [p]ā[rva]-pakshattu Ākāsā[i]'yu[m] Tīnga[k]-
3 kiyasaiyum pṛga[ra]
4 Uttirattu nāl.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rājē]ndra-Chōjadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th tithi of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h. 0 m., while the nakṣatra was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise. — By the result previously* found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōja III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king’s reign.

135.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam—

1 Svasti ārī [1]* Tri[bhuva]nachchakka[kka]ravattigal ārī-[Rāj]ōnd[i]ra-

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1 No. 531 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
2 The tithi is omitted in the original.
3 No. 460 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
4 See above, p. 7.
5 No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
6 The rd of rādēs seems to have been written twice in the original.
"In the 1[9th] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjadēva,—on the day of Śrāvaka, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second tithi of the second fortnight of the month of [Makara]."

In the month of Makara a second tithi of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the nakshatra Śrāvaka, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd tithi of the bright half (of Magha) commenced 0 h. 51 m., while the nakshatra was Śrāvaka, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.—Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been pātra-pakshata, not apra-pakshata.

138.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.


"In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th tithi of the bright half (of Magha) ended 19 h. 29 m., while the nakshatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 27.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

(Continued from Vol. VII, page 17.)

Of the nineteen new Pāṇḍya dates here published, Nos. 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jatāvarman Kulaśēkharā, Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Māravarman Kulaśēkharā I, and Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māravarman Kulaśēkharā I, which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-sahvavat 1299, has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kōpērimeskondpā Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401; and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāṇḍya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered.


* This tithi is a Kalpōlī.

* This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāṇḍya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāṇḍya Vatsagupta, coupled with the Śaka year 792.
A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.—In the Agastyesvara temple at Tiruchohupai. 1


poṛa Mu[m]tattu 

3 [ vandalism]nā.[ vandalism]

"In the 14th opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth tiṭṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha." 2

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date—‘the 14th opposite the 13th year’—in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara of whom I have examined two dates, ‘of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,’ and of ‘the year opposite to the thirteenth,’ i.e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190. 3 If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i.e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th tiṭṭhi of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the nakṣatra was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara, 4 the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.—In the Agastyesvara temple at Tiruchohupai. 4


2 y[a]nī pu[d]i|m[ vandalism][a]-gra[ vandalism][a]-vada Tu[l]a-[ vandalism]nāya[ vandalism][a]-[ vandalism][a] . . . [ vandalism][a]-pakh[i]tu sebh[i]ami- 

3 yum Viyāḷa-ikkijama[ vandalism][a]-iyum poṛa Pūṣṭṭu nā.

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharadēva,— on the day of Fushya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth tiṭṭhi of the . . . fortnight of the month of Tula." 5

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the Trībhuvaṇachakrerṣaṇa Kulaśekharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśekhara is identical with Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara. A date of that king’s 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, not of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tula, and on it the nakṣatra was Fushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

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1 No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1908.
2 The Ms of Mūla is entered below the Ms of śrī.
3 See above, Vol. VI. pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2.
4 In the Pāṇḍya date No. 14, above Vol. VI. p. 307, Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is simply called the Trībhuvaṇachakrerṣaṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍyādēva.
5 No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1908.
56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th titthi of the [dark] half (of Kârttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th titthi, not the 8th.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

46.—In the Sundara-Devara temple at Madura.¹

120 . . . . śrī-kô Mâ-²
121 çapaňmar-āpa Trabhuvanapa-
122 chchakkaramavattiga Śânta
123 ū kuôn Mañjguko [n]-
124 dasôlapurattu vârâ-sâva-
125 bhishégam um vijïâya [r-a-
126 yâ]-bhishégam um pa[n]jui-
127 [y-a]ruïya śrī-Sundara-Pàndî-
128 yadé[vârku] yañqu 1-
129 śadvu Dhanu-nâyagru a-
130 para-pakshattu trayâda-
131 śiyām Śevây-kkila-
132 maiyum perra [V]iâ-
133 gattu [n]â[1].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious King Mâravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pândya-deva, who took the Chôla country and was pleased to perform the anointing of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muñjgônda-dasôlapuram,—on the day of Viñâkhâ, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."¹

I have previously² found that Mâravarman Sundara-Pândya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 5th December A.D. 1220, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th titthi of the dark half (of Margaśirha) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the nakshatra was Viñâkhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

47.—In the Tyâgarâjasvâmin temple at Tiruvârûr.⁶

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [.] [.] [Kô Mâ]rapag[mar Tirbuf]vañachchakkaravattiga śrî-
Kulañēgaradê[va]jku yañqu 40vâdu Miña-nâyagru apa[ra]-pakshattu-
dasamiyum Tîngal-kkila[m]aiyum perra Tiruvârû attu nâ]
2 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . i-nilâyadu Śakâdi(?) tam 1229.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Mâravarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekhara-deva,—on the day of śravâna, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Miñâ . . .

¹ No. 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.
² The d of Mô is engraved at the beginning of the next line.
Above, Vol. VI, p. 310, No. 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I. corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308 (in Śaka-saṁvat 1229). This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-saṁvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th tithi of the dark half (of Phālgunī) ended 11 h. 29 m., while the nakṣatra was Śravāṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhánta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmin temple at Tiruppullāṇi.¹

In the [2]nd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman [alias the emperor of the three worlds], the glorious Kulaśekharadeva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day which corresponded to (the day of) Čhiṭrā, to a Monday, to the eighth tithi of the . . . . . . . . (fortnight), and to the first solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka.²

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1288, which was the first day of the month of Karkaṭaka,³ and on which the 8th tithi of the [bright] half (of Āśāha) ended 19 h. 46 m., while the nakṣatra was Chiṭrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., and by the Brahma-siddhánta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Ādivarāha-Perumal temple at Śingavaram.⁴

In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharadeva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Śimha.⁵

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A.D. 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 11th tithi of the bright half (of Śravāṇa) ended 18 h. 38 m., while the nakṣatra was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Āpakāṭṭa-Perumal temple at Kaḷappāḷ.⁶

In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharadeva,—on the day of Maḥā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka. ⁷

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¹ No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1903.
² The Karkaṭa- or Dakshināyana-saṁkrānti took place 9 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.
³ No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
⁴ No. 661 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
The date apparently corresponds to Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkaṭaka, and on which the nakshatra was Maghā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. But the tiṭhi which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, tiṭhi of the bright half (of Śravaṇa).— Accordingly, the word tṛṣṇaṇyayum of the original seems to be a mistake for deśityayum.

51.— In the Paśupatiśvara temple at Allūr.¹

1 Svasti śri ["] Kō [M]ārapaṇmar-aṇa
2 Tīribuṇaṇa[ch]chakkaravattigā-
3 śri-Kulaśēkaradēvarku y[ā]-
4 puṇa 29vadu Kāṅkada-
5 ga-nāyarṟu aparā-pakshattu trā-
6 yōdesiyum Śaṇi-k[i]jamaiyum po-
7 pya Puṇapūsattu nāl.

"In the 29th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the thirteenth tiṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka."

For the 29th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkharan I,² this date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1296 or A.D. 1297; but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 39th year of the king’s reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkaṭaka, and on which the 13th tiṭhi of the dark half (of Ashāṣṭha) ended 8 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakshatra was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 2 h. 38 m., and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which Māravarman Kulaśēkharan I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1298.

D.— JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.₄

52.— In the Dēvanāyaka-Perumāl temple at Tiruvēndipuram.₅

1 ea. Svasti śri ["] Kō-Choṇḍai[pa]ṇmar Tiribuṇaṇachakkaraṣattigā śri-
2 Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 10[āvadu] pattā[va]du Kāṅkada-nāyaṟṟu
3 aparā-pakshattu pañjānyum Tiṅgal-kilāmāiyum pozra Rēvati-nāl.

"In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍya— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth tiṭhi of the second fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka."

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, this date corresponds to Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285, which was the 27th day of the month of

¹ No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1903.
² Part of the 5 of yō is engraved at the end of the preceding line.
³ For Māravarman Kulaśēkharan II. the date would be incorrect.
⁴ No. 55 may be a date of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.
⁵ No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
Karkaṭaka, and on which the 5th tithi of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 9 h. 4 m., while the nakṣatra was Bėvati for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

For Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be incorrect.

53.—In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr.1

2 ār[ṛ]-Śundira-Pāṇḍyaśeṭṛīgkku yāṇḍu 1[1]vadu Mrīcheśaīya[n]ē
3 [y[ṛ]]ru apana-paṇhottu shasṭi[śi]yum [Buda]i-stīlamayum perseverance Pā-
4 śatru nā.[

"In the 1[1]th year (of the reign) of king Jāñavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiṣchika."

For Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vṛiṣchika,2 and on which the 6th tithi of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h. 52 m., while the nakṣatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But by the previously3 found result this day would fall in the 12th, not the 11th, year of Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.4

For Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

54.—In the Kālīśvara temple at Kālāiśaykōvil.5

1 . . . . . . . [ār[r]-kō-Chchediipa[n]marāga strī[tr[ṛ][bhva]gac-
2 chekka[rava][tīga] [ār[r]-Śundira-Pāṇḍya-
3 yāṇḍku iyāṇḍu 12vadu Simū(a)-nāyaṛ[r] [3]1 tēdī? [apa][ra][pa][k[a]ḥ[i]tu
4 ā[i][yum] Buda-
5 n-kila[m]aiyu[m] perseverance Irēba(va)di-nā.[

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jāñavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Bēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third tithi of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simūha."

For Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287, when the 3rd tithi of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the nakṣatra was Bēvati for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the 30th, not the 31st, day of the month of Simūha, the Simūha-saṁkrānti having taken place

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1 No. 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.
2 Read Vṛiṣchika-.
3 The Vṛiṣchika-saṁkrānti took place 17 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A.D. 1287.
4 See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.
5 Mr. Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9. And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A.D. 1294, which was the 16th day of the month of Vṛiṣchika, and on which the 6th tithi of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h. 17 m., while the nakṣatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise. Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For the 19th year of Jāñavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. it would be incorrect.
6 No. 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
7 The word tēdī is denoted by a symbol.
8 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshesvara temple at Achcharapakkam.¹

1 Svasti shri [1*] Kōr-Chatapañmar Tiri[bhuvaṇa]chakrasavatti šri-Su[n]dara-
[Pāṇ]diyadēva[r] [k*] ku yā[n*] du 13 ku edir [2āva] du Kap-
2 ni-nāryaṇu aparā-[pa*] kahattu Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷa[m] aiyu[m*] saptamīyuma pērā
Rō[ṣa]ni-nā[1].

"In the 2nd opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jayavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pandya-deva,—on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh titthi of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

For Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th titthi of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the nakshatra was Rōhinī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.²

For Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dārakāvanēvara temple at Tiruppallatturai.³

1 Svasti shri [1*] K[ō] Chāchajapāñmar-ā[ya] Tribhuvaṇa-chakrasavattiga
-Śrī-Sundira-[P]āṇdiyadēvarākku yāṇḍu
Veḷḷi-kiḷiaiyum pērē Kāṭta(tti)gai-nā.⁴
3 [1].

"In the 9th—ninth—year (of the reign) of king Jayavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pandya-deva,—on the day of Kṛttikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third titthi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya I. or to Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya II. According to the previously obtained result,⁵ the 9th year of Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1259; but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date would be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd titthi of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the nakshatra was Kṛttikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, not the 9th, year of Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya I.

If the date were one of Jayavarman Sundara-Pandya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It would be correct for

¹ No. 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.
² The Kanyā-sankrānti took place 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.
³ No. 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.
⁴ The s of ad- is engraved at the beginning of the next line.
⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.
Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd tithi of the bright half (of the first Vaiśākha) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakṣatra was Kṛttikā exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, or the 10th (or 11th) year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

E.—KONERANMAIKONDAN I VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57.—In the Vṛddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇjavāsal.²

1 Svasti ēṛ[1] [||*] Śakābdam
2 1339q mēl ēṛ-
3 Kōpēraṇmaiko[n]-
4 ēṃ-Ṭribhuvagachchakravatti
5 ēṛ-Śikra-Pāṇḍyadēvar
6 [ḍvādu e]jdir 15 Makara-nāyagṛu
7 pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum
8 Budha-v[a*]ramum peṭta Uttarā(ṛa)-
9 ṭṭādi]-nāl.

“In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (of the reign) (of) the glorious Kēperanaikoṁdaṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, (which was current) after the Śaka year 1339,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapāda, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

For Śaka-saṅvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418, which was the 17th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 11 h. 12 m., while the nakṣatra was Uttara-Bhadrapāda for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

58.—In the Viraṭāṇeśvara temple at Kīlar.³

1 Svasti ēṛ[1] [||*] Kōṉerimēlkondāṇ Tēbhun[va]gachchakkaravatti[ga] ēṛ[1]-
Vikk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]r[ku]
2 yāndu Sāvada Kārkudagama-nāyagṛu pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum Veḷḷi-
kk[i]lamyam [p]ēcca
3 Āttattu nāl.

“In the 8th year (of the reign) of Kōṉerimēlkondāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Haṣṭa, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fifth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Kaṟkaṭaka.”

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1498, and it actually corresponds to Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408, which was the 30th day of the month of Kaṟkaṭaka, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 18 h. 16 m., while the nakṣatra was Haṣṭa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhamānta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ Kōpēraṇmaikoṁdaṇ or Kōṉerimēlkondāṇ.
² No. 612 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1902.
³ No. 287 of the same collection.
59.—In the Śivāṅkurēśvara temple at Tirthanagari.¹

1 Svasti śrī [—] . . . . . Kōṅar[ī]-
2 mēlkonṭ[ā]ṇ Tīrhubvānachakkaravattīga
3 śrī-Vikkira[ma*]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarikkku yāṇu nā-
4 l[ā]yadu Kumbha-nāyagr区分 pūrvapakshattu triti(tī)ya(yi)yum

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of Kōṅerimēlkonḍāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrāma[ma]-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a tithi of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the nakṣatra Uttara-Phalguni; and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalguni instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadā. For the month of Kumbha² of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405.

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd tithi of the bright half (of Phālgunā) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the nakṣatra was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd tithi of the dark half (of Phālgunā) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the nakṣatra was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third tithi instead of the second (deityāiyum).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṅerimēlkonḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

F.—MARAVARMAN VIRA-PĀNDYA.

60.—In the Viṣavanātha temple at Teṅkāśi.³

1 Svasti śrī [[1*]] Kō Māravarmanar-āṇa Tribhuvananečha(a)kravattīga śrī-Vira-
Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇu iṇaṇādēvātī edir pad[1]pogrāvadu Karkkāṭa-śāyatā

"In the eleventh opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon tithi and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka."

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkaṭaka-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkaṭaka. The 30th day of the same month

¹ No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.
² For the month of Makara and the 3rd tithi of the dark half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalguni.
³ N.o 198 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1585.
therefore was Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455, and on this day the full moon tithi (of Śrāvana) ended 21 h. 25 m., while the nakshatra was Śravanas, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

61.—In the Kāḷīśvara temple at Kāḷīyārkovil.

2 nāl.

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyādeo,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

If the day given under No. 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1456. And the date would actually be correct for Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457, which was the 21st day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th tithi of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h. 36 m., while the nakshatra was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

62.—In the Vīra-Tīṇgēvāra temple at Tiruvadi,

2 [K]ō M[ār[a]yaṇa]ma[r] T[irib]vāna-
3 chhakaravattigā śṛ-[Vṛ][ra*-]-Pā.
4 ṇdiyādevārku yān-
5 ḍu padinālāvada Miṇa-nāyav-
6 ṛ ṛau para-pakhaṇḍu pratama-
7 [yu]m Śaṇi-kk[i]ma[i]y[um] [peṛ]ra Attattu nāl.

"In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyādeo,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Miṇa."

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1456 or 1457; and the date would actually be correct for Saturday, the 13th March A.D. 1457, which was the 16th day of the month of Miṇa, and on which the first tithi of the dark half (of Phālgunī) ended 10 h. 21 m., while the nakshatra was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

The results set forth under Nos. 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, Māravarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I may state here that I have a date,1 which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, i.e. the 19th year, and of Śaka-samvat 1361, of a king Māravarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, Tirumalvēli-Puramāl, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyādeo. This king would have commenced to reign about A.D. 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māravarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya of Nos. 60-62.

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1 No. 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
2 No. 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1908.
3 The secondary d is repeated at the beginning of the next line.
4 The word Śaṇi-k[ṛ][u]ma[ṇ]i[ya]m is entered above the line.
No. 23.—BETUL PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA;
THE GUPTA YEAR 199.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER; NAGPUR.

These plates were found by me in the possession of Sahib Lal Singh, Malguzar of Betul in the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, in March 1905. Sahib Lal Singh, though belonging to an old respectable family, is a Kurmi— a prominent cultivating caste of Northern India, who of course are not entitled to accept any charitable gifts. The plates clearly do not belong to his family, and Sahib Lal Singh is unable to explain how it came by them. His forefathers belonged to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and came to Betul five generations ago. They left their native place in the Unao district in Oudh about 180 years ago and are believed to have lived in the Hoshangabad, Narsinghpur and Nagpur districts. Apparently they brought the plates with them, having obtained them somewhere in Narsinghpur which adjoins Jabalpur.

These are two copper-plates, with a hole (\(\frac{1}{4}\) in diameter) in each for the ring or seal, which is lost. The first plate measures 7\(\frac{4}{5}\) by 5\(\frac{1}{4}\) and the second 7\(\frac{2}{5}\) by 6\(\frac{3}{4}\), the weight of each being 12 ozs. 6 drs. and 13 ozs. 17 grs. respectively. Both the plates are quite smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on one side only, and of some of the letters show through on the backs of them; and but for a fault in the second plate, which has caused a hole \(\frac{1}{4}\) in diameter in the last line, obliterating portions of the numerical symbols of the year (which has been fortunately stated in words in the beginning), the inscription throughout is very legible. I have deciphered the text from the original plates, an impression of which was very kindly made for me by Mr. H. Consens. At Prof. Hultzsch's instance Mr. H. Krishna Sastri prepared fresh impressions, which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{3}{4}\). The letters are smaller— about \(\frac{1}{2}\)— at the beginning of each plate. They gradually grow bigger, attaining the highest size— about \(\frac{1}{2}\)— at the end.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Final forms of \(m\) occur in ll. 13, 17, 25, and of \(t\) in ll. 21 and 25. Orthographical peculiarities are the use of \(a\) before \(ia\) in ll. 12 and 14, and of \(b\) for \(v\) in sambatsara (ll. 2, 3 (twice), 29) and parivrājaka (l. 5). The letter \(t\) is doubled in gōtra (l. 5, but not in l. 15), puttra (ll. 6, 16, 28), puntra (l. 16) and pāṭrāv (l. 12). The last line contains the numerical symbols for 100, 10, 90 and 9, the two last of which, as stated before, are partially obliterated. The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting four benedictive and imperative verses quoted in ll. 21-27.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahāleştiṛa Samkshobha and is dated in the year 199 of the Gupta era (A.D. 518-19), in the Mahāmārgaśīra-sāṃvatsara, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika, without specifying the fortnight and the week-day. Another grant of the same king, which was found near Khōh by General Cunningham in 1879 and is dated in the Gupta year 209 (A.D. 528-29), was republished by Dr. Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions, p. 112 ff. The text of both inscriptions is very similar, and both were written by the same śivardāśa.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of half of the village Prastaravātaka and a quarter of Drāravatika in the province of Tripuri by the Mahāendiṛa Samkshobha to the Brāhmaṇ Bhānusvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. The value of the inscription chiefly lies in the mention of geographical names, as, with regard to the history of the donor himself, it adds nothing new to what is given in the Khōh plates. The genealogy of the Mahāendiṛa Samkshobha in both
is the same, and in both he is stated to be ruling the Ćabhaḷa-rāja, which had come to him by inheritance together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. The present inscription goes to show that Tripuri was a province of the Ćabhaḷa rāja. We know Tripuri well. It was the name of the capital of the Haihayas or Kalachuri kings— the present Tewar, six miles from Jabalpur,— and it apparently also gave its name to the surrounding province. If this be correct, as is very probable, the Kalachuri domination in the country about Jabalpur disappears at least between A.D. 475 and 529, when the Parivarājaka Mahārājīs ruled the country, as proved by their inscriptions actually found. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur may have been dominant at that time in Mahākōsala, but not in the northern country about Tripuri. Dr. Fleet says that "in Ćabhaḷa we have undoubtedly the older form of Dāhal, Dāhaḷ, Dāhaḷa or Ćahalā, which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kāliṅja." This gives a clue to the identification of Prataraṇvāṭaka and Dāvravatikā, which I take to be the present Patparā and Dvārā near Bilahri, 9 miles from Murwārī town and about 60 miles from Tewar,— the old Tripuri. Prataraṇvāṭaka probably was corrupted into Pattharvāṭak or Pattharvārā, which finally became Patparā, conveying the same meaning in the local patois as its Sanskrit equivalent, viz. 'a stony tableland,' and Patparā is a stony tableland up to this day. On the site of this Patparā, which had the palace of Kāṃkandalā, there appears to have been formerly a village, as foundations of numerous buildings are still found. Patparā is only a mile off from Bilahri, and the ruins of temples and buildings commence at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the present Bilahri village. That names of villages ending in āḍaka or pāṭaka, which may have been corrupted into ṛāḍa or ṛāḍa, were common on the Bilahri side, may be inferred from the Bilahri inscription, which mentions Khailapāṭaka, Dhanagatapāṭaka, Ambiapāṭaka, etc. One of these, Khailapāṭaka, General Cunningham identified with the present Khailwārī or Kailwārī, 6 miles from Bilahri, and I think Dhanagatapāṭaka is perhaps represented by the present village Thananārī, about 4 miles from Bilahri, the name having long been corrupted into Dhanawārī, Thananārī, and finally Thanurā. Within a radius of 20 miles from Bilahri, one may find such villages as Gulkārī, Murwārī, Kailwārī, Nanhwārī, Kanhwārī, Bharwārī, etc., the ṛāḍa of which is apparently a corruption of the old āḍaka. The village Dvārā stands on the same tableland as Patparā, being 5 miles east from the Kāṃkandalā buildings and between 3 and 4 miles from the Bilahri village. The Mālguzaar of this village is still a Brāhmaṇ and has held it for several generations. He does not however belong to the Bhāravāja ṛātra. He is a Gāruḍa and may have been engrafted when the male line of Bhāgreens became extinct, the village going to a female heir and consequently by her marriage to a different ṛātra, or it may have changed hands since. Dāvravatikā may therefore be confidently identified with this Dvārā. The six inscriptions of the Parivarājaka Mahārājīs were found either at Khōh, Majhawārī or Bhumārā, which places are all quite close to Uchchakalpa or the present Uchahārī, the capital of the Nagode State, where another family, that of the Mahārājās of Uchchakalpa, closely connected with the Parivarājaka Mahārājīs, both chronologically and territorially, ruled. Uchahārī is about 60 miles from Bilahri, and we know from the Bhumārā pillar inscription, edited by Dr. Fleet, that that village formed the boundary between the two territories. This would show that the Ćabhaḷa country was almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the present Jabalpur district to the north and extended to about 120 miles from Tripuri town, the villages granted in the present inscription being situated midway between Tripuri town and the boundary of the Ćabhaḷa kingdom in the north. This will clearly show that the present inscription does not really belong to Betul. As Dr. Fleet remarks (loc. cit.), "copper-plates, being small and portable, are

1 See General Cunningham's Reports, Vol. IX. p. 54.
2 Gupta Insr. p. 112 ff. In the Vīkramaśālakāvaṇaśāstra (XVII. 33 and 95) Dāhaḷa and Dāhaḷa occur almost side by side, indicating that the two terms were indifferently used.
4 Gupta Insr. p. 111.
always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.”

One knotty problem however remains yet to be solved. What were the eighteen forest kingdoms included in the Parivṛṣṭaka Mahārāja’s dominions? These must have been contiguous to Dabhāla, and as such the choice seems to lie between the ancient Gaur country, latterly known as Gudwāna, on the one hand and the Baghākhān and Chutía Nāgpur country together with Chhattisgarh on the other. All this country formed part of the Gupta empire. “The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rājputāna and Mālwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor’s armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might.” With regard to the conquest of South Kōṣala or Chhattisgarh and the forest tribes Mr. Smith (op. cit. p. 243) narrates the details thus: “The invader (Samudragupta), marching due south through Chutía Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kōṣala in the valley of the Mahānadi, and overthrew its king, Mahānara. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces.” Now these backward parts originally constituted what were known as Athārāgarh, i.e. the eighteen forts or forest kingdoms, to wit, Sakti, Sārāngarh, Raigarh, Bāmrā, Rairākhōl, Sonpur, Patnā, Bargarb, Phuljhār, Borā Sāmbhar, Khārār, Bindrā Nawāgarh, Sambalpur, Chandrapur, Band, Atmalik, Gāngpur and Bonai. Of these the first eight are still feudatory states, the next four sanāndūrī, and the next two Government khāls, all attached to the Central Provinces. On the abolition of the south frontier agency in 1837 Band and Atmalik were transferred to the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Gāngpur and Bonai were attached to Chutía Nāgpur. Bargarb, being confiscated for rebellion, was given over to the Raja of Raigarh. Again, among the Orissa tributary states there are eighteen garhmāls, though they are somewhat too far away from the Dabhāl country. Chhattisgarh, i.e. the thirty-six forts, included twice eighteen forts, viz. eighteen garhs in one group subordinate to the senior branch of the Haihayas ruling at Ratnapur, and the same number in the second group held by the junior branch living at Raipur. So the grouping of states or estates into eighteen would appear to be customary and traditional towards Chhattisgarh. As regards the western Gaur country, which included the present districts of Betul, Chhindwārā, Seoni and Mandāla, there is no record or tradition of its ever having been divided into eighteen forest kingdoms. It therefore seems very probable that the eighteen forest kingdoms of the inscription lay somewhere in the direction of Chhattisgarh, which was subdued by Samudragupta as mentioned before. As the Parivṛṣṭaka Mahārāja owed allegiance to the Gupta kings, it seems within the range of probability that these kingdoms were handed over to them, unless they formed part of the Parivṛṣṭaka’s dominions before Samudragupta’s conquest. It is with the greatest diffidence that I hazard this conjecture, and I am not at present prepared to localise exactly the eighteen forest kingdoms. However hope that the information, which I have partly acquired from my personal acquaintance with the country, may perhaps prove of some use to an antiquarian willing to solve the question.

1 Mr. V. A. Smith’s Early History of India, p. 250 f.
2 Since I wrote the above, Bāmrā, Rairākhōl, Sonpur, Patnā, Borā Sāmbhar and Sambalpur have been transferred to Bengal.
3 General Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. IX. p. 150.
Betul plates of Samkshobha.—The Gupta year 199.
First Plate.

1. Ša [bha]gavatē Narāyanāya [Sat] Svaśī [Sat] Śrīmatī pravardhānnā-
vijaya-
2. rāja(yē) sambatsara-satē navanavat-uttarē Guptā-na(pri)pa-rājya-bhuktau
   Mahā-
3. mārggasirsha-sambatsaraī Kārīttika-māsa-daśamyāṃ asmān sambatsara-māsā-
5. maharshēḥ sarvā-ta labhita(jī)ñāsya Bhuradvāja-sagōtrasya nipatijparibrahvajākara-
6. Suśārmanaḥ kul-ōptanne mahārāja-śri-Dēvyāsya puttra-prana-pratṛ mahā- 
7. rāja-śri Prabhañjana-prana-pratṛ mahārāja-śri-Dāmōdara-pratṛ gō-sahase 
8. hasty-aśva-hirany-āneka-bhūma(mi)-pradāsya guru-pitṛ-mātri-pūja(jā)-tatparasya-anēka-
9. samara-śatā-vijayinaḥ s-āśādās-ātavi-rājy-ābhijantaṁ [Pa]bhallā-rājyaṁ sama-
10. nupālayiy[shō]-āneka-gūpra-vikhyāta-yaśasaḥ śri-mahārāja-Hasitāḥ sutēna
11. varūśa-arjuna-dharmma-sthāpan-aśehātaṇā parama-bhagavatāṁ-sāyanta-pitṛ-bhaktēna
12. sva-vānā-sōda-īkāraṇa mahārāja-śri-Saṃkṣobhēnā(pa) mātāputrāḥ-ātmanāḥ-
13. bhuvirddhi-arthāṁ Triprūl-viṣayā Prastaravatāka-grāmasya ardhhām Drāvavatī-

Second Plate.

15. dayā Bhuradvāja-sagōtraya Mādyānandā-Vājī(ja)ānēya-sabrah(hma)-
16. chāriyē brāhmaṇa-Bhānuśvāminē puttra-pauttr-ānvav-ōpabhyāganā ētau 
17. s-ōdvanagā s-ōparikanā[1] a-chāta-bhāta-prāvavāyanā chōra-dṛēhaka-varjījamā ētāra-
19. jīvēhīr-āvā kālāntarēshv-apī na vāgāhātaḥ karaśtyāḥ [10] Ēvam-ājiñā(jā)jīty[ē] yō-
20. nyathā kuryē-taṁ-saḥaṁ dēhaṁ-gatu-ōpi mahā-śravadvayānē nirvādaḥyānā [10]
   Uktēn-cha
   yatnē[15]
22. rakhā Yudhīśṭhira [10] māhi(h)i-m-mahāmatāṁ śrēsthē dānāḥ-ōchāryō- 
   nupālānaḥ [10] Bahabhīḥ[16]
24. tasyā tadd phalāṁ [10] Śhasīṁva varsha-saharsāpi svargga(ṛggō) mōdati bhūmi-
   ṛnaḥ [10] āchchhēttā 
   āpradānam[18]
27. Nīg-ādīyāḥ tridīvaṁ prāpanāṁ iti [11] Līkha'khiṣṭāṁ cha Jīvīta-ṇātrāṁ Bhūjna-ga- 

1. From the original copper-plates.
2. Read -smrtastrī.-
3. Read -smroṭasara.-
4. Read -satamāma.-
5. Read -śākṣa.-
6. Read -śākṣa.-
7. Read -dākṣamāna.-
8. Read -dākṣamāna.-
9. Read -pramaṇa.-
10. Read -pramaṇa.-
11. Read -kārā.-
12. Read -kārā.-
13. Read -kārā.-
14. Read -kārā.-
15. Read -kārā.-
16. Read -kārā.-
17. Read -kārā.-
18. Read -kārā.-
19. Read -kārā.-
20. Read -kārā.-
21. Read -kārā.-
22. Read -kārā.-
TRANSLATION.1

(Line 1.) Oṁ. Reverence to the divine Nārāyaṇa! Hail! In the glorious, augmenting and victorious reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the Mahāmārgaśīrṣa-samvatsara, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika,—on this (tithi, specified) as above by the saṁvatsara, month and day,—by the Mahārāja, the illustrious Samśkhōbra, who is born in the kingdom of the kingly ascetic Susārman, who had learnt the whole truth of the fourteen receptacles of science, who, like the great sage Kapila, knew all the first principles, (and) who was of the Bharadvāja gōtra;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dēvādēya;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhājana;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmodara;—who is the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, of elephants, horses, gold and many lands, who was earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother, who was victorious in many hundreds of battles, who sought to govern properly the kingdom (rājya) of Dabhālā together with (all the country) of the eighteen forest kingdoms, (and) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life, who is a most devout Bhūgavata, who is extremely devoted to (his) ancestors, (and) who causes the happiness of his own race;—(by him) —for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself—half of the village Prastaravāṭaka and a quarter of the village Dvāravatikā in the province (vīsha) of Tripuri,—in accordance with the usage of the specification of (their) ancient boundaries,—are granted by a copper charter as agrahāras to the Brāhmaṇ Bhāmasvāmin of the Bharadvāja gōtra, a student of the Mādhyanandina-Vājjasanyāya (jākhā),—to be enjoyed by (his) sons, sons' sons and (further) descendants, with the udraśāga and the aparikara, (and with the privilege that they are) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischiefs-doers.

(L. 18.) Therefore even in future times no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by My feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 20.) And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—

[Here follow four of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) And (this charter) has been written by virtue of (his) office by Iśvaradāsa, the grandson of Jīvita (and) the son of Bhujangadāsa. The Dātaka (is) Punarvasu. In the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 0, in the year Mahāmārgaśīrṣha, on the 10th day of Kārttika.

POSTSCRIPT.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

The date of the above record, being of the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199, would be expected to fall in A.D. 518, and I shall be able to prove that it did fall in that year. But its exact European equivalent cannot be given with absolute certainty.

1 Since the text is almost identical with that of the Khōbra copper-plates of the Gupta year 209, I have adopted mutatis mutandis, Dr. Flett's translation as given in his Gupta Inscriptions, p. 115 f.

2 [See Vājjasānya, I. 3:—Pūrva-udgīya-mimāṃśā-dharma-puṣṭi-dharma-puṣṭi-dharma-puṣṭi-vṛddhathā dharmān eva cha chaturdasa.]—E. H.,

3 [This reference to the (twenty-five) tattvas of the Śāṅkhyā doctrine and to its founder Kapila deserves to be noted.—E. H.]

4 [With the epithet nāṭa-piśī-piśī-bhaktān compare piśī-bhaktā, the legend on the seals of the copper-plate grants of the two Kaliṅga kings Nandaphraḥājanavarmān and Čaupa-varman; above, Vol. IV. p. 143.—E. H.]}
In the Gupta year 199, corresponding to the expired year 3619 of the Kaliyuga, a month by the rules of mean intercalation would have had to be intercalated before the month Karttika. Judging from other dates, I consider it highly probable that in the period to which our date belongs the rules of mean intercalation were observed, and that moreover a month, by these rules intercalated before the proper Karttika, would have received its name from the preceding month Ashvina. Assuming this to have been actually the case, the Gupta year 199 would have contained only one month called Karttika, and the month Karttika which is put down in the date would be the ordinary Karttika of our Tables. But the possibility is not excluded that the intercalated month might have been called Karttika too, and in that case the term Karttika of the date might be taken to denote either the first Karttika (which would be the month Ashvina of our Tables) or the second Karttika (i.e. the ordinary Karttika of the Tables).

At first sight, another difficulty is presented by the circumstance that in line 3 of our record the tithi of the date is simply described as 'the tenth tithi of the month Karttika' (Karttikamasa-daśame), without any indication as to which lunar fortnight the tithi must have belonged to. But this difficulty, in my opinion, is removed by the fact that at the end of the record, where the date is repeated in figures, the same tithi is described by the expression Karttikadī 10. In the Khōh plates of Saṅkhākhōhā of the Gupta year 209 (Gupta Insr. p. 114) we find the tithi described, in lines 2 and 3, as Chaitramāsa-suklapakṣa-trīśaśā, and in line 24 as Chaitra-dī 28; and in the Majhawāh plates of Hastin of the Gupta year 191 (ibid. p. 107), in line 2 as Māghamāsa-bahulaspakṣa-trīśaśā, and in line 20 as Māgha-dī 3. The manner in which the Khōh plates are dated has been taken to prove that the month Chaitra of those plates was the pārṣimānta Chaitra; and the dates of both records indicate that it was the custom to quote, when a date was repeated in figures, the number of tithis elapsed since the commencement of the month, irrespectively of the lunar fortnights. Applying this to the date under discussion, we conclude from the statement Karttikadī 10 that since the commencement of the pārṣimānta Karttika there had elapsed 10 tithis, or, in other words, that the tenth tithi of the month Karttika, quoted in line 3, was the 10th tithi of the first or dark half of the pārṣimānta Karttika (the Karttikamāsa-bahulaspakṣa-daśame).

From what has been stated above, it follows that the tithi of our date is the 10th tithi of the dark half of, probably, the pārṣimānta Karttika of our Tables, but that possibly it may be the 10th tithi of the dark half of the pārṣimānta Ashvina of the Tables. On the first alternative the date would correspond to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, when the 10th tithi of the dark half of the pārṣimānta Karttika ended 8 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; on the second alternative to Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518, when the 10th tithi of the dark half of the pārṣimānta Ashvina (i.e., possibly, the first pārṣimānta Karttika) ended 13 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise. It will be shown now that, in either case, the Jupiter's year in which the date fell was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa year, as required by the wording of the original date.

The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit has fully explained that a Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa year occurs when Jupiter at his heliacal rising (i.e. his first appearance in the morning after his conjunction with the sun) is in either of the nakṣatras Mrgaśiras and Ardrā, i.e., when at his heliacal rising his true geocentric place (or true longitude), according to the equal space system, is between 53° 20' and 80°, according to the Brahmsiddhānta between 52° 42' 20" and 72° 28' 12½", and according to Garga between 53° 20' and 73° 20'. Now in the time immediately preceding the 15th September (and the 15th October) A.D. 518 Jupiter was in conjunction with the sun at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518, when his own true longitude was 51° 3', and that of the

1 For the similar years, which have been hitherto found in six inscriptions, see especially the Table in Dr. Fleet's Gupta Insr., Introduction, p. 105.
sun 51° 2' 52".\(^1\) And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May,\(^2\) when his true longitude was 54° 21' (while that of the sun was 64° 23' 35"), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was 54° 35' (while that of the sun was 65° 20' 31''). Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A.D. 518 Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than 53° 20'—by all three systems of the nakshatras rose heliacally in the nakshastra Mrigasiras, and that therefore the year which then commenced was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A.D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place some time before sunrise of the 17th June A.D. 519,\(^3\) and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A.D. 519,\(^4\) when a Mahā-Pañcha year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, a Mahā-Māgha year commenced on the 3rd August A.D. 520, and a Mahā-Phālguna year on the 4th September A.D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A.D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, but may possibly correspond to Saturday, the 18th September A.D. 518.

No. 29.—TRIPLICANE INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By V. Venkata, M.A.

Madras was "a mere fishing village up to the year 1639 A.D., when the English became possessed of it by a grant from the puppet sovereign Śrīraṅga of Vijayanagara, then at Chandragiri."\(^5\) Some of the suburbs of Madras are, however, very ancient. Leaving aside St. Thomé connected with the St. Thomas legends,\(^6\) Mailapur (or Mayilăppūr) and Tiruvāmı (Tiruvāmēviyūr), are mentioned in the Tamil poem Devāraṃ composed in the 7th century A.D.\(^7\) The former is also believed to have been the residence of the immortal Tiruvalluvar,\(^8\) a couplet of whose is quoted in the ancient Tamil work Māsumgalai.\(^9\) Tiruvallikkēni (the modern Tripplicane) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaishnavas known as Nāyiya-prabandham by the saints Peiyālvār,\(^10\) Tirumalaiśai-Ayāvār\(^11\) and Tirumāṅgai-Āyāvār, the last of whom informs us that the (Pāñchāraṣṭhivasāmin) temple was founded by an unnamed king of the Tondaiyar, i.e. by a Pallava king.\(^12\) Egmore (Elumbūr in Tamil) is mentioned in records of the Chōja king Kulottunga I. and was apparently the head-quarters of a subdivision (nadu).

1 The calculations which have yielded the above results have all been made according to the Śrīraṅga-siddhānta. By the Ārya-siddhānta, at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was 51° 43', and that of the sun 51° 4' 18"; and at mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was 51° 57', and that of the sun 52° 1' 36". This shows that, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, the conjunction would have taken place between one and two hours before mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518.
3 At mean sunrise of the preceding day, the 24th May A.D. 518, the true longitude of Jupiter was 54° 3', and that of the sun 53° 26' 38".
4 At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was 55° 33', and that of the sun 56° 28' 33".
5 At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was 58° 45', and that of the sun 59° 18' 3".
6 Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 175.
7 The Roman Catholic Church at St. Thomé is believed to be built over the grave of St. Thomas; ibid. p. 176.
8 Rāmarāya of Vijayanagara is said to have led an expedition against the king, A.D. 1558; Mr. Sewell's Forgotten Empire, p. 193.
9 The saint Tiruñānasambandar is reported to have revived at Mayilăppūr a dead girl, whose bones had been preserved by her father in a pot. The temple is called Kapāleśvarar (i.e. Kapālēvāra) in the hymn composed by the saint. Jairas and Buddhists seem to have lived at that time in the vicinity of Mayilăppūr.
11 Essay on Tamil Literature by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri of Madras, No. I. p. 33 f.
12 Igargād, III. 16.
13 Ibid. IV. 35.
14 Periyatirumolā, verse 130.
in the district called Puliyar-kōṭṭam. ¹ Nungambakkam occurs in a copper-plate inscription belonging to the time of the Chōla king Rājāndra-Chōla I.² The Tamil Dēhavram contains a hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple at Tiruvannaimalai composed by Tirunāsambandar.³

The Pārthasarathisvān temple at Triplicane contains (1) the subjoined Pallava inscription;⁴ (2) a number of fragments of Chōla records built into the floor in various parts of the temple;⁵ (3) a mutilated epigraph of the Pāndya king [Māra]varman Kulaśēkara;⁶ and (4) a few Vijayanagara inscriptions. Some of the Chōla fragments belong to the time of Kulottunga III, and Rājarāja III.⁷ The Pāndya epigraph mentions Tirumayilāppūr (i.e. Tamil: Mailapur) in Puliyar-kōṭṭam⁸ and (the temple of) Teṭṭiyasāṅga-Nāyaṇār in Eḻumār-naḍu, a subdivision of Puliyar-kōṭṭam.⁹ The Vijayanagara records belong to the time of Sādaisīva, Rānga and Veṅkaṭapati.¹⁰ Two of the suburbs, viz. Puduppakkam and Vepperi, and three of the outlying villages, viz. Šembiyam, Naḍumbarai and Veysarpadi,¹¹ were granted to the Triplicane temple during the Vijayanagara period, while a pious Vaishnava made some additions to it in or before A.D. 1564-5 during the reign of Sādaisīva.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone built into the floor close to the entrance into the garbhagriha of the temple. As people walk on it very frequently, the stone has become much worn, and the writing has suffered considerable damage. Very few akṣaras are, however, really doubtful, though some are broken.

The alphabet is Tamil, with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha characters. The following is a list of the latter: — svasti śrī, Pallavakutāla (line 1); Bhāradaśagōti-gōtṛ-śatamkārapatiy-ākṣaya (l. 1 f.); śrī-Dantivarman-Mahārāja (l. 2 f.); varūhavaradikāna (l. 3); mṛti of tiruvannamalai (l. 7 and 14 f.); śiṃma (l. 11 f. and twice in l. 12); svāmikōḍa (l. 14); Ṇārīkarma (l. 15); ha of lōka, taḥ of ratukā (l. 17); ṇadhamma (l. 18); ratukā (l. 18 f.); svasti (l. 19). — The puṇi (or virāma) is marked in a large number of cases and is denoted by a short vertical line added at the top of the letter. One graphic peculiarity deserves notice. When lingual; and rough r are doubled, the symbol for the secondary s or u, is now placed over the second letter or by its side, is, in this inscription, added, in most cases, so as to include the first as well. In other words, the two letters are treated as a group. In line 9, double kki is written similarly as a group. Two forms or s occur, one with the central loop

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² This inscription has recently been discovered at Tiruvālanādu near Arkom and will be published in South-Ind. Insr. Vol. III, Part III.
⁴ No. 234 of the Government Epigraphists' collection for 1903.
⁶ No. 235 of the Government Epigraphists' collection for 1903. It is dated in the 4[jth] year of the king's reign and may perhaps belong to the "Kales Dewar" of the Muḥammadan historians; see the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, paragraph 13.
⁷ No. 241 and 243 of the Government Epigraphists' collection for 1903 are two of them. In some of them Tiruvanmiyur (the modern Tiruvānmiyur) is said to have been in Kōṭṭur-naḍu, a subdivision of Puliyar-kōṭṭam alias Kulottunga-Chōja-vajananj.¹
⁸ Called after Puliyar, which is close to Madras; above, Vol. IV. p. 8, note 1. According to an inscription of Kulottunga I., Tiruvorriyur, 5 miles north of Fort St. George, belonged to Pūjai-naḍu, a subdivision of Pulakōṭṭam, which was called after Pujai near Madras on the road to Nellore; South-Ind. Insr. Vol. III. p. 132.
⁹ Mention is also made of Ayanapuram in Tuṣārumuniya-naḍu, a subdivision of Pulakōṭṭam alias Vikrama-Chōja-vajananj. Ayanapuram is the name of a shrutiem village to the west of Madras (No. 72 on the Sydapet taluk map).
¹⁰ Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25. The inscription of Rānga is in Telugu, while the rest are all in Tamil.
¹¹ Called Veṣṭakupāḍi in the inscription. The modern name connects the village with the sage Vyāsa or some person called after him. Veṣṭakuru, which occurs in an inscription of Kulottunga I. at Tiruvorriyur, is perhaps an older form of Veṣṭakupāḍi; South-Ind. Insr. Vol. III. p. 134.
fully developed and the other without it. The former is more common, while the latter occurs at least twice. The vowel u is added to the consonant t in two different ways: one, as in modern Tamil, with a vertical stroke going upwards, and the other without it. The latter is perhaps meant to be Graantha, though it is used in Tamil words also. The akeśara tu, which occurs twice (ll. 8 and 16), differs from the modern form of it in the vertical stroke of the u-symbol being omitted as in tu.

The inscription consists of 19 lines of Tamil prose and is dated during the reign of king Dantivarman-Mahārāja, who was “the ornament of the Pallava family” and belonged to the Bhāravadāja gōtra. There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. The only other record of Dantivarman-Mahārāja hitherto known is mutilated, and the description of the king which we find in the Triplicane inscription is there missing. It is therefore uncertain if the two kings were the same. In any case, as the name Dantivarman does not occur in the hitherto known genealogies of the Pallavas, and as the alphabet of the Triplicane inscription does not look very ancient, it may be concluded that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined record was later than the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who fought against the Western Chalukya Vikramaditya II. (A.D. 733-34 and 746-47).

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who probably ceased to be a ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Gaṅga-Pallavas appear to have taken their place, though the exact period when this happened is not yet known. Leaving out Vijaya-Narasimhavarman and Vijaya-Iśvaravarman, whose relationship to the main line is not yet ascertained, four Gaṅga-Pallava kings are known, viz. Danti(vikrama)varman, Nandi(vikrama)varman, Nṛpatunga(vikrama)varman and Kampa(vikrama)varman. The last was probably a brother of the third and might have been his co-regent in a portion of the Pallava dominions; but he is not mentioned in the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatunga. Adding together the latest known years of the other three (Dantivikramavarman 51 years, Nandivikramavarman 62 years, and Nṛpatunga-vikramavarman 26 years), we get 139 years. The Chōja king Parāntaka I. was actually ruling over the dominions of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and therefore it may be supposed that the overthrow of the latter by the Chōjas took place during the reign of his predecessor Āditya I. Accordingly, the event may be placed roughly in A.D. 900. Deducting the total duration of the reigns of the Gaṅga-Pallava kings, we obtain roughly A.D. 760 as the date of the accession to power of the first king Dantivikramavarman. This event cannot be placed earlier, because the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. is reported to have levied tribute from Dantiga, the ruler of Kāñchi, about A.D. 804, and this Dantiga has been identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king Dantivikrama-

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5. Above, Vol. IV. pp. 178 and 360, and Vol. VII. p. 22 f. Dr. Fleet thinks that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman was the earliest of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that his initial date must be placed somewhere about A.D. 760 to 770; above, Vol. V. p. 160.
7. Skandaśiṣayavikramavarman of the Bāyakōṭa plates was also a Gaṅga-Pallava. He is said to have belonged to the family of another Skandaśiṣya, who was the son of the Mahābhārata hero Āsvaṭhīkṣmaṇa by a Nāga woman; above, Vol. V. p. 63. We have however no clue as to the time when Skandaśiṣayavikramavarman lived. Neither are we told what relationship he bore to the main line.
9. Extracts from this inscription were given by Prof. Hultsch; above, Vol. IV. p. 188 f.
varman. It thus appears extremely doubtful if there could have been any interval between the date of Nandivarman Pallavanalla and the accession of Dantivikramavarman.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Gaṅga-Pallavas annexed the entire dominions of the ancient Pallavas already during the reign of the first king Dantivikrama. It looks as if the expansion of the former was gradual and reached its highest point during the reign of the last king Ārjunapaṇḍita. We may therefore conclude that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined inscription, who could not be a Gaṅga-Pallava, belonged to the family of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who seem to have continued in some form or other down to a very late period, and that he reigned as an independent king in a portion of the ancient Pallava dominions before they were completely occupied by the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

At Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district are two inscriptions, one dated in the 7th year of the reign of Dantivarman, and the other in the 9th year of Dantippottararasār. The former records that a certain Brāhmaṇa purchased land for building a tank, and the latter registers an endowment for the removal of silt in the tank called Vayiramēga-taṭāka at Uttaramallūr. It is just possible that Dantivarman is only the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king Dantippottararasār, and that the tank referred to in both of these inscriptions is the same. Even if this surmise should not prove correct, the fact that the earliest Uttaramallūr inscription mentioning the Vayiramēga-taṭāka belongs to the time of the Pallava king Dantippottararasār may be taken—at least provisionally—to show that the tank probably came into existence during his time, and that its name was derived from Vayiramēga, one of his birudas.

If the foregoing inferences are confirmed by future researches, they would establish that the Pallava king Dantippottararasār (or Dantivarman) bore the title Vayiramēga. We have at present no materials to decide if this Dantippottararasār is identical with the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription, though the similarity of the names and the undisputed Pallava origin of both are in favour of the identity. The Vaishnava saint Tirumāngai-Ālvār refers to a king of the Toṇḍaiyar (i.e. a Pallava king) named Vayiramēga. Another unnamed Pallava king is mentioned by the same saint as the founder of the Triplicane temple, as I have already pointed out. In the hymn dedicated to Paramēśvara-Viṇṇagaram (i.e. the Vaikunṭha-Perumāl temple) at Conjeeveram, reference is made by the same saint to several battles fought by an unnamed Pallava king. These three Pallava kings appear to be distinct.

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1 Above, Vol. IV. p. 151, and Vol. V. p. 159. I think the possibility of Dantiga being the same as the Dantivarman of our inscription is not altogether excluded.
2 The latest known record of his reign is dated in his 50th year; above, Vol. IV. p. 137, and Vol. V. p. 157, note 7.
3 This may be concluded from the fact that Nripatunga’s inscriptions are found over a larger extent of country than those of the other two; see the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900-01, paragraph 10.
4 We hear of a queen named Māravai, of a certain Nandippottaraiyan, who belonged to the Pallavatilaka family. This queen appears to have been living at the time of the early Toṇḍai king Rājakēśarivarman; Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900-01, paragraph 10, and above, Vol. VI. p. 321. An inscription of Dantivarman, "born in the Pallavatilaka family which rose from the Bhāradvāja gōtra," has recently been discovered at Tiruvēḷḷur in the Trichinopoly district (No. 541 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1900). Thus, along with the Gaṅga-Pallavas, the regular Pallavas seem to have continued in the Tamil country down to the Čōḷa conquest. The exact relationship which the latter bore to the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram is not known. Perhaps the descendants or successors of the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription (who bore the title Pallavakulatilaka) spoke of themselves as belonging to "the family of Pallavatilaka" in order to distinguish themselves from the Gaṅga-Pallavas.
5 No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1898.
6 No. 74 of the same collection.
7 This is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Vayramēga.
8 Perigatirunōti, verse 180.
9 See page 290 above.
11 In verse 470 of the Perigatirunōti, the same saint refers to a Toṇḍai-maṇṇavaca, i.e. a Pallava king, who might be one of these three.
The first, Vayiraméga, was apparently the saint’s contemporary, while the builder of the Triplicane temple must have lived prior to him. The military exploits of the third seem to have been fresh in the saint’s mind, and if this impression of mine be correct, the former might have lived a short time before the latter.

It is not impossible that Vayiraméga, the Pallava contemporary of Tirumañgai-Álvár, is identical with Dantripottarasa, during whose reign the Vayiraméga-taša at Uttaramalláru appears to have been built. If the battle of Mánçai mentioned in verse 3 of the Paramévará-Vinamgarām hymn be the same as that fought at Mánçalkudi by the Pallava general Udâyachandra against the Pándyas according to the Udayendiram plates, it may be concluded that the saint Tirumañgai-Álvár must have lived soon after the reign of Nandivaranm-Pallavamalla. If this surmise prove correct, Vayiraméga, the contemporary of the saint, must have been one of the immediate successors of Nandivaranam.

The facts and inferences above set forth would yield the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. for the period of the Vaishnavas saint Tirumañgai-Álvár and of his Pallava contemporary Vayiraméga. The same would be the approximate date of the construction of the Vayiraméga-taša at Uttaramalláru, and probably also of the subjoined inscription. It is sufficient to note that paleographical considerations do not militate against this conclusion.

Against this date of Tirumañgai-Álvár may be urged the Vaishnavas tradition that he was later than the saint Nàmmálvr. And the latter would appear to have lived subsequent to the Pándya king Vargaṇa, whose accession took place in A.D. 862-63, as mention is made in the existing text of the Tirudiyamoši of the village Vargaṇamangai, called evidently after Vargaṇa-Pándya. This argument would bring Nàmmálvr down to the 10th century A.D. and make the interval between him and Bāmanuṣa (11th century A.D.) very short. Vaishnavas tradition asserts that this period was occupied by Tirumañgai-Álvár and several dèkhāyas, the earliest of whom must have lived long after Tirumañgai. Apart from this objection, there is some reason to suppose that the Tirudiyamoši known to Tirumañgai-Álvár is different from what has come down to us. The dèkhāya Nàdannumagal, who probably lived in the 11th century A.D., was informed by Vaishnavas both at Kumbakonam in the Tanjore district and at Álvār-Tirunagari, the birth-place of Nàmmálvr, that they had only heard of the name Tirudiyamoši. It had disappeared somehow, and no copy of the work existed at the time.

1 From the Kañára plates of Prabhítavarsha (above, Vol. IV. p. 383) it may be concluded that Vairaméga was a surname of the Bāshastra king Dantidurga (A.D. 754). It is claimed for this king that he subjugated the ruler of Kañchi. The genuineness of the Kañára plates is, however, open to question (ibid. p. 333), and we must have indelible evidence of the occupation of the Pallava country by Dantidurga before we admit that the tank at Uttaramalláru could be called after him, or that reference could be made to his prowess in a Tamil hymn.

2 In certain copies of the Nàdyoparadham the place is called Mósagil, which makes its identification with Mánçalkudi less probable.


4 The Tirudiyamoši composed by Nàmmálvr had to be recited in the Śriraṅgam temple according to certain arrangements made by Tirumañgai-Álvár.


6 Verse 897. Śrivararnagai or Śrivarañgam mentioned in the same poem (verses 509 to 519) is probably identical with the village of the same name founded by the Pándya king Jatilvarman (called Nejñuñaśayin in the Tamil portion) according to the Madras Museum plates; Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 74.

7 This is clear from the fact stated later on that the Tirudiyamoši, which had been known to Tirumañgai, disappeared during the time of the first dèkhāya Nàdannumagal, who was informed that it had been lost ‘a long time ago.’ The mere name and a single hymn of the poem were all that remained of it at the time.

8 Nàdannumagal is said to have visited Gaṇgapalnadhapuram founded by Rājendra-Chōla I. (A.D. 1011-12 to at least 1039).

9 Nàdannumagal was led to make this enquiry on hearing a hymn of the Tirudiyamoši (beginning with dren̄madd̄, the 48th decade of the existing text) recited in the Vishñu temple at his native place by certain Vaishnavas from Álvār-Tirunagari.
Álvár-Tirunagari Nádamunigai was directed to recite twelve thousand times, with his mind concentrated on Nammálvár, a poem (beginning with Kapitána śūrtámbu) composed by Madurakavi Álvár, Nammálvár's elder contemporary and disciple. He was told that Nammálvár would then appear to him in a vision and grant what was required. Accordingly, Nádamunigai's 'eye of knowledge' was opened, and he was initiated into the TIravityaMoṣl and other 'mysteries' by Nammálvár. No reference is, however, 'made to the recovery of any manuscript of the poem. If this tradition be true, the only conclusion warranted by historical criticism is that Nádamunigai himself composed almost the whole of the existing text of the TIravityaMoṣl.1 I would, however, consider this surmise as purely provisional until the date of Nammálvár is established from independent sources. At any rate, the tentative period of Tirumangai-Álvár obtained in this paper need not be altered in the light of any conclusions based on the existing text of the TIravityaMoṣl.

The object of the subjoined inscription is to record that the priests2 (kulañgirá) of the Triplicane temple had mortgaged a field, belonging apparently to the temple, and that, in consequence, the equivalent of the interest on forty-five kādīs of paddy fell short in the rice offerings presented to the god. A certain Pugalṭtuṇai-Visñiyarsiyāṇ gave thirty kādīs of paddy and five kālañjus of gold and deemed the mortgaged field. Thirty kādīs of paddy and five kālañjus of gold were therefore equal to forty-five kādīs of paddy. Thus paddy was sold at the rate of three kādīs for one kālañju of gold. We do not know at present how much a kādī contained. It is mentioned in a Gangā-Pallava inscription at Ukkal, in a Chója copper-plate grant preserved in the Madras Museum, and in two stone inscriptions at Conjeevāram.2 The interest on forty-five kādīs of paddy apparently amounted to 5 náliś every day or 18,7 kaḷaṃ per year. The five náliṣ of paddy were converted into two náliṣ of rice to be offered to the god at night. If this failed, the master's share (swámi-bhógu) in certain other fields was to be utilized for the offering.

A lamp-stand, cap and pot are particularly mentioned as deserving to be taken care of, probably because they were special gifts of the donor Pugalṭtuṇai-Visñiyarsiyāṇ.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pa[ll]ava-kula-tilada4 [Bh]āra-
2 dvāja-gōtā-śāla-kāra-patiś-ākhiya [ śrī-
3 Dantiva[rm]ma-mahārājar[k]ku varsha-varādhana-
4 m [y]aṇḍu pa[n]jīrāndavu Tjiruvall- 
5 kōpi kulaṇgī[lf]aga [Kaj]rumpaavančhēri-ppula[m] 
6 o[eti]-iṣṭu nāṟpat[aih-g]ād[i n[el po]ṭi-[ta] Tjiru-
7 vadigaṭku tiruvanṉūru muṭṭa-Pugalṭtuṇai-Vis[a]-

1 Internal evidence in support of this surmise is not altogether wanting. Unlike other hymns, each decade of the TIravityaMoṣl consists, not of ten verses, but of eleven, the last of which declares it to be ten out of the thousand composed by Nammálvár. In the Śiva Dvēdram the last verse of each hymn furnishes the name of the composer, while each hymn of the other Vaishnavā Āṭeṭra contains generally ten verses. At any rate, none of them had determined beforehand the total number of verses which he should compose. It is worthy of note that in the poem, which Nádamunigai was required to recite twelve thousand times, the number of verses composed by Nammálvár is given as one thousand. In verse 573 of the TIravityaMoṣl occurs the following:- naśra-ilagam-udāṣiyā = 1rubatiś-kāl = arañgan jatuvaṇī caṇi-ahāv-mayā, etc. The portion in roman type occurs in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of the Chója king Rājendrap-Chója I. These two points do not prove anything by themselves. But taken with the surmise based on tradition they are not altogether meaningless.
2 The word kulañgirá occurs also in No. 168 of 1904 in connection with a Śiva temple at Tiruvavkkara. It means literally 'temple proprietor' and may denote either the temple authorities or the temple priests.
4 Tilada is a tadbhava of the Sanskrit tilaka.
8 yarayañ moppadiñ kâdi nêllum añ-kâlañju1
9 poqguñ-guñuttu mitțañ-ttapãd-ãkki nîpasa[t]-
10 t[ai]ñ-gâdiyun-nisâdi aññadî nêllàl-sîrunnà-
11 li tâm-kukatal-arisi[y]ñâl-irâ-ppôñgagañ-[Jañ]hà[ñ]a-
12 rmaññuñ-Jaññisârmaññum Ïaïya-Jaññisârmaññum-gâ-
13 tîvârâñ[r^*]sa[1^*] muññi[1^*]Jâvîppulattun-Dattâq-pula-
14 tuñ-Îâ[r^*]kîlà[y-pu]tal[t]um svâmí-bhôgattu-tîrûva-
15 [m]ridu kâññuvànâñ[î] sî-harmatt-nîl[h][r] yâva-
16 rçûñ-sô-chçhêvauvueb-çeydû sîltuttavasôçti kûñut-
17 tôm [1^*] [J[î]-vilakkum và[çti[1^*]] lô[ñ-hà]-ppôgajîyum ratîhîpà-3
18 du [[1^*] Pugaññuñai-Vîññaiyarayan 4dharmam idu [1^*] idaññ ra-
19 tshítítar-anñ iññîmum eñ muñâ-mêliññ [1^*] svatí ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity! In the twelfth year of the increasing years of the glorious Dantivarman-Mahârâja, who was the ornament of the Pallava family (and) the lord adorning the Bhâradvâja gôtra,—the priests of the Tiruvallikâñi (temple) having mortgaged the field in Karumanâchchéri, the offering for the god accruing from(? the interest of forty-five kâdis of paddy fell short. Pugaññuñai-Vîññiayarayan gave thirty kâdis of paddy and five kâlañjus of gold, redeemed (the field), and made (it) his own. With two nádis of clean pounded rice (made) from five nádis of paddy, (the interest on)4 forty-five kâdis (of paddy) per day, Saññasàrman, Saññisàrman and the younger Saññisàrman shall present the night offering. If (this) fails, we shall present the offering out of the master’s share in Avippulam,4 Dattâq’s field and Kâsakîlñ’s field. Having agreed that any one concerned in this charity might do what the king could and carry it out, we gave (it). The Îâ-lamp,7 the cup (and) the metal pot have to be taken care of.

This (is) Pugaññuñai-Vîññiayarayan’s charity. The two feet of those who protect this (charity) shall be on my head. Hail!

No. 30.—TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D.; Rostock.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller Kharâshthi inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years. Whoever has had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity and penetration of scholars like Bühler, Senart and others. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single Kharâshthi inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every detail. Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined inscription. It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its first purely mechanical reproduction.

1 Read oisâ-galañju.
2 Read nira-adjâ.
3 Read râkri.
4 Cancel the letter a.
5 The word kâdis in l. 10 appears to be used in the sense of kâdiñs.
6 Avippulam means literally “oblation field.” The produce from this field was evidently used for oblations.
7 For the explanation of this term see above, Vol. VII. p. 134.
The Taxila Vase.

A. — The Inscription.

Full-Size.

From two inked estampages by Mr. Ram Singh, Lahore.

B. — The Vase.

From photographs by Mr. Ram Singh.
The inscription is engraved round a stately vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Peshawar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stupas near Shâhpur; but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J. Dowson in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX. p. 24, and Plate iii. fig. 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXII. p. 151, and added a correction ibid. p. 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, ibid. p. 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his Archeological Survey Reports, Vol. II. p. 125, and Plate lix. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr. Vogel, by Mr. Ram Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

TEXT.

Sihileña Siharachhitena cha bhbatarehi Takhaśilae ayaym thuvo pratithavito savabudhāna puyae.

TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihila (Sihilā) and Siharachhit (Sihharakhitā) this Stupa was erected at Takhaśilā (Takhaśilā) in honour of all the Buddhas.

REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from 3/16 to 1/4, take an intermediate position between those of the Aśoka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Aśoka characters are less numerous and less marked; but the la with its hook bent down and rounded and the sa with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shāhpur and Mansehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transplantation of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read Sihileña, Siharachhitena and savabudhana; but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between sa and sa, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual sa. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of a instead of Sanskrit a in the word Sakasusita (I. 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one a-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1906, p. 453, Mr. Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of matras with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run:—

Sihileña Siharachhitena cha  
ayaym thuvav pratithavito  
bhbatarehi Takhaśilae  
savabudhana puyae  

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings Sihileña and bhbatarehi. The correct readings Sihileña, which can only stand for Sihileña, and bhbatarehi would imply that
the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six šatras, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial bhar was removed by the casura standing between cha and bhraatrehi. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr. Thomas’s suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No. 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1306.

BY T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A.; MADRAS.

These plates were discovered at Soraikkavur near Kuttalam, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr. O. N. Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about 6 1/2″ long, 4″ broad, and 3/4″ thick. The ring is 1″ in diameter, and the whole set weighs 16 1/2 oz., with the ring, which alone weighs 2 oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamil numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and barring slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation; nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskrit verses which give the genealogy of prince Virupaksha, a passage in Tamil prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the shares of land granted among the doners, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in Sanskrit, once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god Śrī-Harihara and is in Kanarese characters, the alphabet of the Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamil characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamil inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between r and the secondary form of ṛ; the secondary s, c, k, g, and g are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on; e.g. syd in line 23, bhii in line 115, hyd in line 116, vdh in line 132, sbd in line 138, bd in line 146; dś in line 15, śi in line 19; ko in line 129; rao in line 53, kai in line 128; dhau in line 18, dain in line 134. In line 70 the li of padinallukku is engraved below the line; in line 57 the letter ku is corrected into the symbol of the secondary ṛ; and in line 26 vasar is written as pāsar. The Grantha letter j is used for the Tamil ḍ in the words upatā and āti occurring in lines 68, 121 and 133.

The inscription belongs to the time of Virupaksha (v. 5) or Vira-Viruppaṇṇa-Udaiyar (l. 43 f.), the son of Harihara (II.) (v. 4) or Vira-Hariharaṇa (l. 42) of the first Vijayānagara dynasty, and records the grant of the village of Soraikkavur (v. 10, l. 53 f. and 60 f.) together with 10 1/2 edisas of land adjoining it, under the name of Vijayasudarṣanapuram, to

1 In the Tamil portion this is given as 10 1/2 edisas (l. 53 f. and 67 f.).
No. 31.] SORAIIKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA. 299

fourteen Brāhmaṇas of various gṛstras. This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in Śaka 1308, the Kāhayas-sanhvatsara,—i.e. two years later than his Alampūṇḍi grant. Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8f. and ll. 45-49):—

"The date, for Śaka-sanhvats 1308 expired, which was the year Kāhaya, regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387. On this day the 15th śīthi of the dark half of Phālguna and the karaṇa Nāga ended 7 h. 35 m., the nakhatra was Bṛhatti for 19 h. 3 m. and the yāga Vaidhṛiti from 6 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month Pāŋguni (Chaitra)."

Both the Alampūṇḍi and Soraikkāvūr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with Saṁgama, the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virūpāksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again Kāmākshi, the wife of Saṅgama, and Mallaḷēvī, the wife of Harihara II., are referred to. While in the Alampūṇḍi grant Mallaḷēvī is spoken of simply as belonging to 'the family of Rāmadēva,' in the present record she is described as his 'grand-daughter' (son's daughter) in the beginning (v. 5); but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama Nārāyanaśīlada by Virūpāksha, makes Mallaḷēvī the daughter of king Rāma. In a supplementary note on the Alampūṇḍi grant, Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallaḷēvī may have been the daughter of the Yadava king Rāmachandra. Adverting to this Mr. R. Sewell writes as follows:—

"The plate in question asserts that Mallaḷēvī belonged to 'the race of Rāmadēva,' while the drama (Nārāyanaśīlada) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Rāma, calling Virūpāksha the 'daughter's son of king Rāma;' and from this Mr. Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Rāmachandra of the family of the Yadavas of Dēvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Rāmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Rāmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallaḷēvī, or Mallaḷēvī, though she may have been 'of the race of,' was not the daughter of, king Rāma,—if Rāma was identical with Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri."

The present plates add a further relationship, viz. that Virūpāksha was the son of the son's daughter (pautri) of Rāmadēva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,7 we may conclude that Virūpāksha was the great-grandson of king Rāmachandra.

In the present record Virūpāksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father; for the Śaka year 1308 falls in the reign of Harihara II.8 From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the

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3 Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No. I. p. 90.
4 [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri (the Rāmadēva of verse 5) may have had an otherwise unknown son named Rāmahūpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallaḷēvī, the mother of Virūpāksha.—E. H.]
8 In the Tiruvilvimalalai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II., and in which his son Virūpāksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Munayadaray all made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvilvimalalai is only a mile distant from Tiruppamburam mentioned in our record.
month Bhādrapada of the year Tāraṇa (Śaka 1326). The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Šravaṇa-Belgoḷa. Another record from the Shrimoga district states that in the month Kārttika of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Tāraṇa, Bukka II. was on the throne. This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Haripura’s death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Ėkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram. It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II. Again we learn that the coronation of Dēvarāya I. took place in Śaka 1329, in the month Kārttika of the year Vyaya. Evidently therefore Bukka’s reign must have come to a close at this time. But it must also be noted that in the month Mārgaśīra of the year Tāraṇa, Śaka 1327, Virūpākṣha is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara. This reign overlaps that of Bukka II. Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virūpākṣha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virūpākṣha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II., ruled for a short time, and was deposed by the partisans of Bukka II. This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I. Hence we might conclude that after the death of Haripura II. there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus:—Bukka II., Virūpākṣha, Bukka II. once again, and Dēvarāya I. Virūpākṣha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time.

Besides calling Virūpākṣha the lord of the Tundāra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya countries (v. 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Álamṇḍu grant. He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Rāmanātha (at Rāmēśvāram). He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Bṛhadnācalī faith (śēlā-nārāya, v. 7). He is stated to have gilded the vimāna of the temple at Šrīrangam and the ‘Golden Hall’ (at Chidambaram), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chōlas.

As regards the dovecotes, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaishēśika names; and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrīvaishēśika Āśīrya-parṇaśanas.

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, Šrīnākkāvūr, the village granted, is the same as the modern Šrīnākkāvūr where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttālau Railway Station. Tīrūppāmpuram (v. 10, 11, 43 f. and 65) is now known as Tīrūppāmpāpuram and is about 2 miles west of the Nānūnalem station, also in the Thanjavore district. I am unable to identify Rāmūr in Rāmūr-parru (11, 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskrit as Saptakaṇḍa-nirvīta (v. 9), while Uyyakkondam-vajanaḍu (11, 59 and 63 f.), a district of Chōla-maṇḍalam (1, 58 f.), is Sanskritized as Ujjivāna (v. 9).

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (1, 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained.

2 Id. Vol. II. No. 126.
4 Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 3.—[Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 329 f.—E. H.]
8 Viz. Vēlagummpārattār (l. 75 and 79), Gōmatattār (l. 82 f.), Vangippaṟattār (l. 90 f.), Uṛuppūṟattār (l. 97), Sōṭṭiyār (l. 111), and Kārunibcheṭṭu (l. 104).

[For merit, ‘a division’; see verse 9 of the Álamṇḍu plate.—E. H.]
TEXT.

First Plate: First Side.
2 [a]ya sa[ka]-āṇāyā-ghōśinpē [11*].
4 hāya [ma]hāja[ś] || [11*] Ādīāra-sa-
5 kṭim-ambbōdhi-mēkhala[ṃ]n ratna-ga-
6 rōhi[ṃ] [i] Hara-mūrttī[ṃ] Harēḥ kānta-
7 m Būṭadhātṛt[im]-upā[ṣ]a[ma]hē || [211*] Ās[1].
8 t Śōm-anvā[y]ō[ttānsab] Kāmā-
9 kṣi-Sāṅgam-āṭmaḥ || B[ū]k[ka]bhū]pā i-
10 ti khyātō rājā Raghur-ī[ṛ-āparab] || [311*]
11 Astī rājādhirā[ō-sya putrō]
12 Harihār-çēvarab || yashī-śhōda[śa-ma-
13 ādāna-sukrīt-āṃṛta-s[garāb] || [11*] Sa-
14 pautṛyaḥ Rāmadēvasya [Malla]-
15 dēvī[ṛ]m[*] mahāśaya[ṃ] || Virūp[r]ksha-ma-
16 hd[pl]āja[ṃ] labhavān-āṭma[sa]mamba-
17 vam || [511*] Sa Kuntal-endūs-Tūṇḍ[iru-Chō]-
18 [i]a-Pāṇḍya-khiṭiśvarab || san[nidhau]ô,*
19 [Rāma]nāthasya tulaś-ārū[ṭhāvā]-
20 n-dhanaih [611*] Sa gō-saḥ[sa-sū]-
21 vēda-mā[rγga]-stāpāna-[tatparab] [11*] Śrī-
22 rāmga-Kāhchānasaḥbhū-puna[r-ut]bhāi,
23 [sana]-khaṇumāḥ || 711*] Dānaśālā[ṛ]yō [Sa]kasya-

First Plate: Second Side.
25 Pā[phā]gūnē māṣya-amāvāsy[am]
26 tīthau Saunyasya pā[vā]s[arē] || [81*]
27 Vaidhrīti-ṛṣṭiś Rēvrayām [ka]ra-
28 nēś Nāga-nāmnī saḥ || Chōlośh[ū]
29 Saptakahāṇḍ-ākhyā-nvṛtya-Ujjilva-
30 n-ālavyā [1911*] Chiraik[k]ā[vy]ūrvi
32 d-ōn-ākāḍaśa-vṛiti-kṣhētra-[sv]-
33 m[gha]tā-tāntikam [11011*] Kṛti-prāśtiśi [Vi]-
35 [r]dāsabhīyō viṃḍhī[ṛ]yṛ prādā[d-ṛ]-
36 daksā-pūrvvākam [1111*] Samast-ōpā[ṛhi]-
37 rahitas-sarrvamānyatayā śṭhīraḥ[1] va-
38 rūdhātā[m] agrahāro-yam-a-[cha[ndra]-ravi-
39 tārákam || [1211*] Svasti śrī-viṣv-āṭbhū-
40 daya-śṛman-mahāmāṇḍalīśvarau[r]ā-

1 From the original plates. 2 The 1 of dh is at the end of l. 14.
3 The third member of the syllable dānava is at the beginning of l. 19.
4 Read -nihā.- 5 The 1 of ēnd is at the end of l. 27.
6 Read -āḥyā.
Second Plate; First Side.

51 vaña-Pperumāl jīvitaṇa-tirandu
52 īṣūvaiva vēli patta-ā
53 raiyō araikkāl kūṭiyā śīrāikkā
54 vūr-āṇa Vijayaśudaraśanapurattu nā-
55 nā-gotriga) āṇa3 bhaṭṭaṭgalakku [u]-
56 daka-pūrvvam-āka4 sarvamāṇnya-agra[hā]-
57 ram-ā[kg]a[b] [Rā]hu-[śanta-artham-āka6 dharma-[sā]-
58 sanam (ppaṇoī-kkudutta sō[la-ma]-
59 n[da]lām Uyyakkonda-vajal[pādu]
60 Elumuri-ppārru kīl-kūṟu agaram [Śī]-
61 riaikkāvūr nāṅg-ellai[kk-uṭ]-
62 pāṭṭu7 naṅjai pūjījai nattāṅga[1]
63 sakala-prāptigajum Uyyakko-
64 nda-vajanalū Elumuri-ppārru-kkl-
65 kūṟu Tiruppāmuparum vaḍa-vayali [Śī]-
66 riaikkāvūr elaiy-udan kū[diṇa]
67 nilam patta-araiyē araikkāl
68 vēliyum utpāta8 [nā]nā-2gōtriga) āṇa
69 bhaṭṭaṭgalakku10 nichchayita bhāgam 1[4] [1]9
70 Inda bhāgam padinālakku11 vagai [1] Ā-
71 tṛē-12gotrattu Āpastamba-[sūtra]-
72 tta Uḍālli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]tra-
73 n [N]ārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Ā-
74 tṛē-12gotrattu Āpastamba-aū-
75 trattu Vēdağōmpurattu Tirūva-
76 rāgā-Nārāyaṇa-[bhaṭṭaṇ]u putraṇ
77 Gōvinda-18bha[ṭṭaṇ bhāgam]—1—Ātṛē-18

Second Plate; Second Side.

78 gotrattu Āpastamba-sūtrap-
79 in Vēdagōm[pu]rattu Lakshmanā-

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1 Read -nātenasram. 4 Read vaṇa.
2 Read naṭa. 5 The i of rai is at the end of l. 52.
3 Read nā. 6 The d of rō is corrected from ku.
7 Read apiṇa. 7 Read apiṇa.
8 Read bhaṭṭaṭgalakku. 8 Read apiṇa.
9 Read atpada. 9 The syllable ka is engraved below the line.
10 Read bhaṭṭaṭgalakku. 11 The first member of the syllable gō is at the end of l. 76.
12 Read Āṭrēya.
80 bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭaṇ
81 n bhāgam—1—Kaṇḍinnyā-gotra
82 tuṇ Āpastamba-sūtrattu Gō-
83 maṭhattu Karunākara-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]traṇ
84 Śrī-Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—
85 Parāśara-gōtrattu Ā[pa]stamba-
86 sūtrattu I[ru]malapō[ṇa] Āk-
87 koṇṭavilli-sōma[yā]ji[-][pu]-
88 traṇ Dēvārāja-bhaṭṭaṇ-yakṣahyāman-
89 r bhāgam—1—Vatsa-gōtra[tra]tuṇ Ā-
90 pastamba-sūtrattu Vāṅgippur[ra]-
91 tuṇ Bhagavān-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Śrī-
92 ngarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Vat-
93 sa[2]gōtrattu Āp[sta]nha-sū-
94 traṇ Pippirai Varadārāja-bhaṭṭa-
95 [g] putraṇ Yajñāmūrtti-bhaṭṭaṇ bh[ā]gam—1—[Vat]-
96 sa[2]gōtrattu Ā[pa]-
97 stamba-sūtrattu Uṛupputṭur [Nā]-
98 rāyana-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Dāmō[da]-
99 bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Bhāradvāja-g[ō]-
100 traṇ Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Ku-
101 rōvi Dēvārāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ [Śrī]-
102 rāṃ[ga] nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—[Bhāradvā]-
103 ja[go] traṇ Āpastā[nt]ha-sū[tra]ttu
104 Kārambīchheṭṭu Mahādeva-bhaṭṭaṇ
105 putraṇ Yajñātma-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—

Third Plate : First Side.

106 Satkṛiti-gōtrattu Āpastamba-
107 sūtrattu Iruṅgaṇṭi Dēvār-
108 ja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bha-
109 traṇ bhāgam—1—Śaṭṭha[nt]ha[na]gōtrat-
110 tu Bōdha[ya]ja-sūtrattu Irāyūr
111 Sōṭṭai Nṛttarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī[1]-
112 rāṃga[nātha]-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Vīśvā-
113 mitra-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana-sūtrat-
114 tu [S]eṇātūr Dēvārāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ[ŋ]
115 6Maṭṭalapuruṣa-k[ma]yājīyar bh-
116 āgam—1—Sāv[ru]-gōtrattu Drāhy-
117 aya[na]-sūtrattu Gaṃgōli [S]ōma-
118 nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śripuravvata[nātha]-bha-
119 traṇ bhāgam—1—Āga bhāgam—14—[In]-
120 da bhāgam padiṇāḥ pērkkum Pra[ṇava]-
121 varusam Āṭi-māsam pūrva-pakṣha[tt]u pra-
122 thamai mudal-āga sūngam [ubhaya]-mārggam

¹ Read kṛṇa⁰.
² Read Vatsa⁻.
³ Read Nṛttana⁻.
⁴ Read Āṭi⁻.
⁵ The letter g is entered below the line.
⁶ Read āgāti.
⁷ Read Maṇḍala⁻.
123 idaitturai puramb-āga [sa]kala-su-
124 varṣ-ādāyam sakala-bha[k]t-ā[d]āyam
125 śekku-kkaḍamai ve[t[i]l-vari kaṭṭi-
126 gai avasaram vādāl¹ oṭṭu ḍ[ai] e-
127 [lu]ttu ṛājasam paṭṭaya-kāṇik-
128 kai² t[o]ṛaṇa-khōik[kai] [sēm]bo-
130 [lu[m] vilaiyāṣeṛa arāṣu-pē[ru]
131 pādi-kā[va*]l arīṣi-kāpam araimagai-
132 y-ū[li]yam [maga]mai talaiyārikam v-
133 āṣal-paa[ṇam] pul-vari aḍa[ppu]-ttā-
134 lva uḷavaṇ śoḍi kār-aḍai māv-a-
135 ḍai⁴ kuḷa-aḍai olu[kku-nir-nilai-nir]p-
136 pāṭam ta[ri]-kkadamaĩ [ka]ṭṭ-āyam [ti-
137 rigaiy-ā[ṇam] śoḷaku . [ṇavāvi]-

Third Plate; Second Side.

138 ruttup[paṇi] Āṭi-Kāṭtigai-[ppachhai] m-
139 āṇāvi-tēvai Pī[jaiyā] [s*] no-
140 ghi tiruvilakk-en[ṇai]-ttē-
141 vai paṭṭa-[ṭeu] [ṣa]m kuḷaṛa-ttees-
142 dām āj-amaijī āj-aḍapuṇaiyar k-
143 āṭiikkai marum oppōr paṭṭa variga-
144 ṭum nidhi-nikahēṇa jala-paṇāḥ-
145 m[a akhaṣi-āgāmi-sidhā]-[ṣa]dēhyām p[ō]-
146 ruv-āyam [pū][rva-āya]m utpāṭa sarvva-b-
147 āḍāh-paric[āram-āga] ḍ-cha[ṇdr-ārka-stāhā]-
148 y-āka⁷ sa[rvva]m[fānna-agra]hāram-āga [kada]-
149 ttōm [|[s*] [Sukha]mē bhujittu-kko-
150 javum [|[s*] Sa[rvva]māṇyam pūrrva-mariyādā [ || ]]*
151 Dāna-pā[lan]yōe-mmaddhyē dānāt³
152 sēr[yo]npan[palan]am | dā[n]a[t]-[sva]-
154 dam—[13 ||*] S[va-dattām] paras-dattām vā yō [ha]-
155 rētā va[sundaḥram] [ || ] shash[t]iṁ var[sha]-sa[ha]-
156 srunī [visatḥyā]-[jāyate] kṛimiḥ [ || 14 ||*] E[kṣai]-
157 va [bha]jīnī lōkē sarvāḥām-eva bhūbhujā-
158 [m]¹ na bhūgyā na kara-[grā]hāḥyā vipra-datt-
159 ā vasuṇāḥrā— [15 ||*] Sāmi[nyō]yan-dharmma-sēt[u]⁹
160 nriśāpān kālē kālē [pā]lan[1]yō
161 bhavathihī⁶ | sarvāṇ-śtēṇ bāvinaḥ pā-
162 rthith-ēnmān bhūyō bhūyo yācatē Rā-
164 daunhitro⁶ | B[ma]j-bhūpatēḥ | vidyatē hi [VI]-

¹ Vēṭal is corrected from eachkhal.
² The third member of the syllable ko is at the beginning of 1. 130.
³ The ai of dai is at the end of 1. 134.
⁴ Read dāsi-Kērtigai-
⁵ Read dāsi-Kērtigai.
⁶ Read sāga.
⁷ Read sērare.
⁸ The first member of the syllable daś is at the end of 1. 163.
SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA.

165 [rū]pākshō rājā Harihar-ātmajāh [|| 17 ||*] Śubham-a-
166 [tu]— Śrī-Harihar [|| *]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the Bear incarnation of Vishnu, and v. 2 the goddess of the Earth.

(V. 3.) There was a king called Bukka, who was the son of Kāmakshi and Sāmgama, and an ornament of the race of the Moon.

(V. 4.) His son is the Rājādhirāja Harihara, who performed the sixteen great gifts.

(V. 5.) He had by Mallādevī, the son’s daughter of Rāmadēva, a son named Virupāksha.

(V. 6.) He, the moon of the Kūntalas and the lord of the Tūndras, Chōla and Pāṇḍya countries, hid, in the presence of (the god) Rāmanātha, weighed himself against gold.

(Vv. 7-12.) In the Śaka year (expressed by the chronogram) dānasāleghya (i.e. 1308), in the auspicious Kshaya-sanvatsara, in the month Phālguna, on the new-moon titki, on a Wednesday, while (the nakshatra) was Rēvati, (the yuga) Vaidhritti (and) the karaṇa Nāga,—he, the donor of a thousand cows, the establisher of the Brāhmaṇical faith (vēda-mārga), who was able to regild (the vimāna at) Śrīraṅgam and the Golden Hall (at Chidambaram),—gave, with libations of water, as a sāravandaya (and) an agrahāra, to fourteen Brāhmaṇas the village of Vijayaasundarsanapuram, (which was made up of) Chiraikāvūr in Saptakhañḍa-nilvīrti, (a subdivision of) Ujjivana in the Chōla (country), and of a field of ten and three quarters of Tiruppāpuram.

(Ll. 39-58.) On the day of (the nakshatra) Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the new-moon (titki in the solar) month Paṅguni (of) the Kshaya-sanvatsara which was current after the Śaka year 1308 (had passed),—while the Mahāmāṇḍalēvara Vīra-Viruppaṇa-Udhayar, the son of the Mahāmāṇḍalēvara Rājādhirāja Bējaparamēvara Vīra-Harihararāya, was pleased to rule the earth,—(he) gave, with libations of water, as a sāravandaya-agrāhāra, in order to propitiate (the Buch influence of) Rāhu, by a religious edict, (the following) land to the Bhāṭās of various gōtras (living) in Śrīraikāvūr alias Vijayaasundarsanapuram which included ten and five-eighths vēllis (of land) in the northern fields of Tiruppāpuram,—excluding the possessions of (the god) Pulaṇḍivaṇa-Perumāī:

(Ll. 58-69.) The wet land, dry land and house sites, with all acquisitions, enclosed within the four boundaries of Śrīraikāvūr, a village (belonging to) the eastern group (of) Ejuṃuri-parru, (a subdivision of) Uyyakkonda-vajānadu (in) Sōja-māṇḍalam, together with ten and five-eighths vēllis of land bordering on Śrīraikāvūr (and situated) in the northern fields (of) Tiruppāpuram (in) the eastern group of Ejuṃuri-parru, (a subdivision of) Uyyakkonda-vajānadu, were assigned in 14 shares to Bhāṭās of various gōtras.

1 [Professor Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum mentions Sudarśanāchārya who wrote the Āgastambigaṅghavāratīkā and the Śravaprahākākā. The Vadagalai-Tirupparampradābhāva records that the latter work consists of notes taken by Sudarśanabhāta, the grandson of Parārahaṭṭa, from the discourses of the Vaishnav teacher Ambājāchārya on the Śrībhāṣa. According to the Vadagalai tradition Sudarśanabhāta was an elder-contemporary of the great Veṅkudadāśika, who is believed to have been a friend of the Veṅka ścī scholar Vidyāsārya, and who is said to have composed a verse in praise of the Vijayaśanara officer Gopaṇa (above, Vol. VI, p. 322). It thus appears that, in case the author of the Śravaprahākākā was not living at the time of the Śrīraikāvūr grant, his memory must have been quite fresh in the minds of Vaishnavas. And as most of the donees of the grant are Vaishnava, it is not unlikely that the granted village was called Vijayaasundarsanapuram after the Aḍhāra, provided Vijayaasundarsan was not a surname either of Virupāksha or of his father Harihara II.—V. V.)

2 [For vēlti as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil vēlik see South-Ind. Jour. Vol. II, p. 364, note 3.—E. H.]}
(Ll. 70-119.) The recipients of these fourteen shares were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the donee.</th>
<th>Father’s name.</th>
<th>Gōtra.</th>
<th>Śāstra.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Udāli Vināyaṇa-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Ātreya</td>
<td>Āpastamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Vēḷagōmputrattu Tiruvarama-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Śrī-Narasinha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Vēḷagōmputrattu Lakhamana-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Śrī-śvāmēḍa-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Gōṇaṭhaṭṭa Karuṣaka Karuṣaka-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kanḍāṇya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakṣhayāmaṇa</td>
<td>Iruṇgaṭi[śan] Ākkōṇḍa-villī-sunayāṇi</td>
<td>Parāśara</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śrīrāmāra-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Vāṅgiputrattu Bhagavān-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Yātasa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yajñamūrti-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Pippāṇi Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dāmbāra-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Uruppatţar Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Śrīrāmānātha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Āśvayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yajñādina-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kērambēkēṭṭu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Āpastamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Śrī-Narasinha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Iruṇgaṇḍi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Saṅkrīti</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Śrīrāmānātha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Irāyōr Śoṣṭai Nṛītārāja-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Śaṁbharaṇa</td>
<td>Bōlāyana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Maṇḍārapuṣṭa-sunayāṇi</td>
<td>Śēṣalār Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Śrīparvatanātha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Gānḍī Śōmanātha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Śāvarū</td>
<td>Drīkhyāṇa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ll. 119-149.) We (viz. Virūpākṣha) gave these shares to (these) fourteen persons as a sarvamāṇyagurukkrama, including all taxes. (and including) hidden treasurers, deposits, water, stones, permanent profits, future profits, established income, feasible income, old taxes and new taxes. (to have effect) from the first (tīkī) of the first fortnight (of the solar) month Ādi (in) the Prabhavā year.1

Vv. 13-16 contain the usual imprecations and benedictions.

(V. 17.) There exists king Virūpākṣha, the son of Harīhara, the son’s son of king Bukka, (and) the daughter’s son of king Rāma.

No. 32.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF SRIGIRIBHUPALA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1346.

BY M. NĀRATANASAMY AMYATT, B.A., B.L., HIGH COURT VAKIL, MADRAS.

The finding-place of these plates is not known. But from Mr. Sewell’s description of them it appears that they were preserved in the office of the Head Assistant Collector of North Arcot.

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1 These taxes (ll. 122-143) are left untranslated.
2 Prabhavā is the name of the cyclic year immediately following Kaliya, in which the grant was made. See ll. 24 and 47 of the text.
Hence it is likely that they were found in the North Arcot district. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum, and I edit the inscription on them from two ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, with the permission of Government.

The copper-plates are three in number. The inscription is engraved on both sides of each of them. The second and third plates are marked at the left top corner of their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 3 respectively. The first two plates measure 9" by 44", while the dimensions of the third and last plate are 8 3/4" by 44". The ring, if any, on which the plates were strung, is lost; and they are now kept together by a string passed through the ring-hole, about 1/2" in diameter, bored on the top of each plate.

The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved is Grantha; but in the following cases Tamil letters have been used: - ą, ṣ, ḷ, ḷ and ḷ of the word Viṣṇuṇa in line 102; śrī of Śrītām in l. 108; Piḻai in l. 1 12; ār of Prāṇākai in ll. 115 and 121 f.; nearly the whole of the phrase Kuqran=alittārakku in l. 123; and r of Nāyīnār in l. 130. The colophon Śrī-Triyambaka is written in Kannada characters. A few peculiarities of the alphabet are worth noting. The secondary ą-symbol is added near the bottom of the consonant in a few cases; compare ḷ and ḷ in the word prajānā in l. 54, ḷ of nāthasya in l. 40, ḷ in l. 44, and samastānā in l. 46. The guttural ą of Śrīrāgīnā in l. 65 resembles nāya. The subscript consonant in conjunct letters is in some cases added by the side of the first instead of at the bottom as in modern Grantha; compare bdē in Śrīkāra-bdē in l. 56, bd in pratyabda in l. 67 and 81, ą of Śrīrāgīnā in l. 65, and ḷ of samastānā in l. 46. Final ḷ is in some cases not distinguished from ma; but, in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily, the distinction has been introduced into the text; compare e.g. m in Lākehm in l. 3, sambūtām (l. 5), vāibhava (l. 5 f.) and bhūkṣaṇam (l. 7) with m in pāham (l. 4), sampa (l. 19), ṣatūm (l. 38) and grāmam (l. 51). The group ṣ̐ṣa is written somewhat like n̐tha; compare n̐m̐j̐n̐ in l. 59 and vīstīrṇā in l. 54. The letter ḷ of Dīvākara in l. 113 resembles the Tamil vowel i of the 12th century A.D. The conjunct ṣ̐ṣa is also peculiarly shaped; see Bhīṛgū in l. 108, 112 and 124. The difference between the vowel ṣ̐ and the secondary consonant ṣ̐ is made by marking the ṣ̐-symbol end in a loop in the former case; compare prthītim in l. 37, ṣ̐tv̐ in l. 49, Bhīṛgū in l. 57, cṛiṭtāv in l. 72, and vyavītāv in l. 72 f. with sampṛāṭī in l. 66 f., ṣ̐tv̐ in line 62 f., and prать̐kam in l. 76, etc. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the hard dental ṭ is used for the soft ṭ in Patmā (l. 17), vidvībhīr (l. 45), Chitambara (l. 77 f.), Urdhā (l. 120) and bhavatbhī in (l. 146). The form rouna is used for rauṇa in l. 27, and the lingual ṭ for the dental ṭ in bhūgh̐ṭa in the same line. Both these forms are probably due to the influence of Kannarese, which may also account for the change of ḷ into ṣ̐ in Phuṇūkṣa (l. 48). Bā is substituted for ḷ in the word Bāḍhāla in l. 120. As a rule ṭ is doubled when it occurs in conjunction with ḷ; see Gōvindā in l. 89, Urdhā (l. 120 f.), and Skananda in l. 126.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Nearly one-half is in verse, and the other half, enumerating the donées and the shares which each of them received, is in prose. In only one place a Tamil phrase, Kuqran=alittārakku, occurs (l. 123). The inscription uses abbreviated forms for gōtras and sūtras of the donées, except in the case of the chief person, Sampatpumā-pandita (ll. 133-135).

The record begins by tracing the first Vijayanagara dynasty from the Moon, in whose lineage Yadu is said to have been born (v. 5). In the race of Yadu was born Sangama (I), whose son was Bukka (I) (v. 6). His son was Harihara (II) (v. 7). His son was Devaraya (I), and his son Vijayabhūpati (v. 8) or Vijayabhūpāla (v. 9), who had two sons:

1 He is also called Vijayabhūbhir (v. 16), Vijayaraj (v. 21) and Vijayarāja (v. 24).
Dēvarājendra (v. 10) or Dēvarāya (II.) (v. 11) and Śrigirindra (v. 10), Śrigirirāva (v. 12) or Śrigiribhūpāla (v. 13). The former, being the elder, succeeded to the throne (v. 11), while the second went over to Maratakāpurī and was ruling the country of which it was the capital (v. 12). He made the subjoined grant of land to Sampatkumāra-paṇḍita and his relatives and other learned men with him, on a Friday coupled with the Rēvati nakṣatra, on the Uthāna-dvādaśī tīthi, in the cyclic year Kṛdhiṅ corresponding to the Śaka year 1348. The Śaka date is expressed by the chronogram tattvāloka (v. 19), the same as that of the Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II., which were issued in the month of Aśāṅga. Our record belongs to the month of Kārttika; for the Uthāna-dvādaśī is the twelfth tīthi in the bright half of the month of Kārttika, when Viśṇu is said to rise from his four months' sleep. It is otherwise called Prabuddhaka. Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—

"On the uṭṭhāna-dvādaśī-tīthi see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXVI. p. 135. For this tīthi of Śaka-samvat 1346 expired, which was the year Kṛdhiṅ, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 3rd November A.D. 1424, when the 12th tīthi of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m., and the nakṣatra was Rēvati from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise."

The chief donor, Sampatkumāra-paṇḍita, is described as a very learned medical man, whose father Gōvinda-paṇḍita (v. 14) was also well versed in the Ayurvēda and in the Viḍāṅgas. The village Nipataṭāka (v. 17), the gift of which is recorded by the present inscription, had been given away to the same donor by (the donor's father) Vijayabhūbhuj (v. 16). So we may infer that by some means or other it had lapsed in the interval. It is said to have been watered by the Nāgakulya channel (v. 18), a branch of the Kāveripāka channel (v. 17), and was situated in Kālavā-nīvṛiti (Kalavai-parra in Tamil), a division of Paṇuvūr-kūṭā (Paṇuvūr-kōṭam). When the village was granted, its name was altered into Viṣayarāyapurā (v. 24) or Viṣayarātpura (v. 21), evidently in honour of its original donor Viṣayarāya.

As regards the name Śrigiribhūpāla, a word of explanation is necessary. Śrigiri is another form of Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district. The god of the temple at that place is called Mallikārjuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikārjuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet into its equivalent Śrigiribhūpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him, makes it possible that Śrigiribhūpāla was the same person as the Pratāpadēvarāya who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II. as the younger brother of the king. For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrigirindra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpadēvarāya, he must be another brother of Dēvarāya II., not hitherto known. Śrigiribhūpāla (alias Mallikārjuna?) is of course distinct from Mallikārjuna alias Immaci-Dēvarāya, who was the son of Dēvarāya II., and whose dates range from Śaka 1370 to Śaka 1387.

As regards the places mentioned in this grant, Maratakāpurī is already known to us from the expression Maratakānagara-prānta occurring in the Satyamaṅgalam plates of Dēvarāya II., and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has suggested that it may be identical with Virinchipuram in

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1 See vv. 16, 21 and l. 135.—[Sampatkumāra is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil Śelappilai, the name of the god at Mēkōtē in the Mysore State. It seems therefore possible that the chief donor belonged originally to the Kamaras country, and his father's native place, Rambhūmāyāmanā (v. 18), may have been looked for in the same country. One of the minor donors, Hāmpaṭa-haṭṭa (l. 99), was evidently called after the Pampāṭha temple at Viṣayarāgā.—V. V.]

2 Above, Vol. III. p. 35.

3 For another date of exactly the same tīthi, but with a wrong week-day, see Southern List, No. 488.

4 Compare above, p. 300, note 9.

5 Compare Appendix II, p. 18, No. 21.


the North Arcot district.\(^1\) Kalavā-nivrit is derived from the town of Kalavai in the Arcot taluka of the North Arcot district.\(^2\) For Paṇuvār-kōṭṭam see above, Vol. IV., pp. 82, 138, 180, 271; Vol. V., p. 50; Vol. VII., p. 192; and South-Ind. Insr. Vol. III., p. 89. The name of the village granted, Nipatāṭaka, is evidently a Sanskrit translation of a Tamil name which should be Kadappēri.\(^3\) As a matter of fact there is at present a village called Kadappēri in the Walājāpēt taluka of the North Arcot district, which is situated five miles east of the anicut or masonry dam across the Pāḷḷar river, and two miles south-west of Kāvēripāk itself. It is situated on the Kāvēripākkan channel which at present takes off from the Pāḷḷar river on the southern side of the anicut, and is irrigated by a branch from it. It thus retains its ancient name, notwithstanding the attempt of a king to impose on it a new one.

**TEXT.**\(^4\)

*First Plate; First Side.*

1. **भुवराहाय नमः**

2. **पुश्मस्तुं | विनायकाय नमः**

3. **कन्फोम | पञ्चमयवास्मन्त**

4. **रायमोपनमुः | प्रयमन्त**

5. **सम्पुतमुः प्रणवविदः**

6. **भवमुः | [१]*) ककणमयवासंग कः**

7. **व्यायास्मुपुष्यमुः | वन्दे चन्द्र**

8. **कलाककयमुः सञ्चितययोचनम् | [२]*)

9. **श्रवः प्रेमपरिशुंगुपकांकि**

10. **तवास्वे | नमस्वराजयुः**

11. **वेदे वीविभवयुः लिवे | [३]*) वः**

12. **वेनन्तयानावांवर्त्तन्**

13. **मोहाल्लम् | निमोनिः बहिरीखः**

14. **बसविवारानादनवास्मीनाः | [४]*) भाः**

15. **सीतृ सीमान्वये रम्भे यदुः परः**

16. **सधारिकः | परशातांतीय यदुः**

17. **वेदे भगवानुः पञ्चलोचनः | [५]*) तः**

18. **तुकुलि संगमी राजा समस्तृ**

19. **सम्पुद्दारिधिः | विनायकशस्तः**

\(^1\) Above, Vol. III. Additions and Corrections, p. vii.

\(^2\) Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 271.

\(^3\) Nipa is the name of a tree, *Nuculua Cascamara.*—[An inscription of Vira-Kampaka-Udaiyar at Kāvēripākam registers the sale of the village of Kadappēri in Kalavai-pāru, a subdivision of Paṇuvār-kōṭṭam; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, p. 34, No. 380 of 1905.—V.V.]

\(^4\) From ink-impressions.

\(^5\) The ending of *nma* is at the end of 1.12.

\(^6\) Read *प्रक**.
20 क्षणुकमूलभवतस चतः। [६४] योः
21 सन्तामकीपितो राजा च।
22 रिष्यजयः। सिंधाराजतथा।
23 चाचिकोस्मक्षत्नुमवः। [७३]
24 १द्वरारायणहराजसस्यादवजनः
25 पाथियः। यथा पुषोधवाहिमा।
26 नृ राजा विजयभूषिनः। [८३]

First Plate; Second Side.

27 सोयं विजयभूषिनीः रघुसिः
28 चाम्सनु महान। कठके भुसुताधकः
29 सिंधसनस्वरो दिववः। [८०] चौदा।
30 शैवेश्वरीश्रीशायामाशा।
31 सौः वासवपीर्वः। भर्मृताहिः
32 देवान्त्रेयीश्वरीदीपः तदरक्षः। [१०८]
33 देवान्त्रे मनारातः पुरोक्षः
34 त्वा तयो। प्रजायाः सुविदायः
35 वे। प्रपोज विनासन परसः। [१९८] पुरः
36 रोमु मरतकाश्यायोऽस मम्प्रयः योः
37 वीरेश्वरः। भस्मस पूचयीमानः
38 चालान्यमरायानीम्। [१२८] सोयं योः
39 मणिभूषणीः। काश्मीनायायः
40 मनः। रमाधमयुगवस्तीनायायः गुः
41 बालिनाः। [१२८] सवंगु|वेदं|वेदं|
42 मसारखासपुराणधनः। गोविः
43 न्यायिक्ताः[८] खण्डकृ त्वा तनृताय यथिक्रयः
44 नै। [१४४] नानावन्यवातःविवेद्यः
45 'विनिर्देशात्र। भवन्तरिषः। समेता।
46 य समस्तानामृत्युज्यामाययाचि
47 नै। [१५४] दलनम। समस्तकृष्णायाय पूर्वः

1 The १ of १०६ is at the end of १, 23.
2 The १ of १०६ is at the end of १, 30.
3 Read २भूषणव्रूढः।
4 Read २भावावः। २बालिनः। २भावावः। २रामाधमस्ती।
5 The १ of १०४ seems to have been added subsequently.
48 विजयभूमुजा । पक्षवालोहः
49 तिलकं कलवानीयुद्धसमव । [१६] कावेरिपा
50 कक्कुशांगमात्रानिवनवर्षितम्
51 या[म]सः नीपत्ताकाळायाः कांचपी
52 युगुणाविन्दम् । [१७] भाजायमान

Second Plate; First Side.

53 स्वाध्यायः नागकुलायवा
54 ततः । विज्ञानिङ चिनया वक्रगा
55 तिलकेष्यानशीभितम् । [१८] तत्ता
56 तोने श्रक्षाहें समपा
57 से क्रोधस्वसर्वे । श्रवणा
58 सरक्षित्यालसुक्षमहावीरजि
59 धारी । [१२] विश्रकोदकसम्पुः
60 स्वराकर्षंकमाद्रातु । तस्य
61 शाराकर्षं सर्वसामस्यदातु
62 पुनः । [२०] तत्समसपत्तमती भा
63 समनं विजयशाप[ट]पुर्व । ष[ट]पञ्चाम्
64 तुसंश्यामगं क्षाला तनं
65 भगोधमिषी । [२१] दों भागी
66 विदही किष्क कामाओपष्टम्
67 षंते । प्रविधविन्धुमकशं
68 मं भगोमिककल्पतु । [२२] खाली
69 वहारिविन्दितम् "भगोमुनिधाया
70 अनं गुः । सीतदेखवा
71 वनामुखो म[न]विष्णु दत्तवा
72 नु । [२२] वनमिजनविदायुचेत्या
73 "तृतीयं भूपितो विवः ।
74 भाजायमानवडारो जीयवा(स)ः

¹ Read यामः.
² Read "कवः.
³ Read "वायः.
⁴ The secondary द of au is omitted in the original.
⁵ Read "कवः.
⁶ Cancel the न after ववः.
⁷ The first three letters of this line are engraved upon an erasure.
Second Plate; Second Side.

75 जातः तु स्वेतवारायुप्यः । [२६६] चतः:
76 परम् प्रत्येकम् भगवनििश्वः उषा-
77 तेन। प्राम्बद्वितस्त्वोशितम्।
78 रानायक शिवसनीको भागः।
79 गोविन्दनायायस्विनायीरे-
80 को भागः। कामाचीर्प्रसंहः-
81 पेय वदन्न्विश्वकर्षमभवः भाः-
82 गमः। काय चाप यजुः उमापः-
83 भिर्मक्ष भागम्।। काय चाप यजुः।
84 यजुः चत्रभक्ष्म भागम्।।। काय चाप यजुः।
85 चाप यजुः पुष्करीकाचामहेः-
86 च्यो भागम्।। काय चाप यजुः। देव-
87 नराधारक्ष भागम्।। काय चाप यजुः।
88 प यजुः लकाप्रक्ष्म भागम्।
89 काय चाप यजुः । गोविन्दमभक्ष्म
90 भागम्।।। काय चाप यजुः कामाकर-
91 भिर्मक्ष भागम्।।।। कामाकर चाप
92 विविद्वासनभक्ष्म भागम्।। चाप-
93 चैव चायल कांकु छसुप्रभक्ष्म
94 भागम्।। चालिय चाचाल कर्क्क विजस्य
95 ग्रन्थभक्ष्म भागम्।। कौमिक
96 चाप यजुः मार्तणभक्ष्म भागम्
97 मूः।।। वस्म[०] वदीशिराजभक्ष्म
98 भागम्।।।। वापुल चाप यजुः लकातः
99 श्राभत्वं भागम्।।।। काय चाप यजुः

Third Plate; First Side.

100 यजुः भास्करभक्ष्म भागम्।। क[२५६] श्रान्तोः
101 चाप यजुः । एकात्मभक्ष्म भागम्।।।

1 Corrected from म.
2 Read विकाय.
3 Read गीतिविदस्य.
4 Read शोरितः.
5 The visarga seems to be an interlinearisation.
6 The secondary ो of an is omitted in the original.
7 Read ग्राम.
8 Read पायः.
102 भारवाज भाष यज: वेंकटनाय.  
103 द्रेरवत्स्थ भागम् 10001 वाधूल भाष 
104 यजु: समस्युपवसेध्य भागम् 10001 
105 वदस्य भाष यजु: यजनारायणस्त 
106 ख भागम् 10001 भारवाज भाष यजु: का - 
107 कहस्तिनाथपावलमायीभागम् 111 
108 भारवाज भाष यजु: निहवेणकरस्त 
109 भागम् 111 बासिस वैधा करक् वरद 
110 राजवंस्थ भागम् 111 भारवाज भा 
111 प यजु: पापनायजस्त भागम् 10001 
112 भारवाज भाष यजु: चाणान् पिन्दकै 
113 भागम् 10001 बीघा यजु: दिवा कर - 
114 न पुजन्न वन्द्मभश्च म् 118 गम् 10001 भा भ 
115 व भाष यजु: पेयकै देवस्त 
116 जस्स भागम् 10001 भारवाज भाष यजु: 
117 श्रीदमस्थ भागम् 10001 काशय भा 
118 प यजु: श्रीरामनाय भागम् 10001 
119 वदस्य भाष यजु: विप्लवनुमहर्ष्य भागम् [118]0001 
120 वाशूः भाष यजु: उत्ताराङ्कुम 
121 अभ्यु स्वभाष यजु: 10001 पेस 
122 वी वंखकरस्त भागम् 10001 भारवाज 
123 भाष यजु: क्रापुपुकिंकटासकस्त 
124 भ[118]गम्य भाष यजु: श्रीसुखपुजन
gn 
125 श्रीमहान्तमुभागम् 10001 भारवाज भा 
126 प यजु: 12स्निग्धकस्मारस्त भागम् 10001 निर्द 13

1 The letters वेंकटनाय are Tamil. 
2 पापनाय is the vulgar Tamil form of the Sanskrit पापविनाय. The form पापविनाय occurs in line 111. 
3 The letters वीम are Tamil. 
* 4 Read अन्द्य; the word पिन्दी is written in Tamil. 
5 The letters पिन्दकै are Tamil; read Pīnḍkai. 
6 Read जस्स. 
7 Read वाशूः. 
8 Read श्रीदमस्थ. 
9 The word पेस is engraved above the line. The letters पेस are Tamil; read Perumāgi. 
10 The whole of this name is written in Tamil, except the letter श which is Grantha. 
11 The श of वी is at the end of line 124. 
12 [Read श्रीमहान्तमु and compare Apastamba's Śrautasūtra edited by Prof. Garbe, XXIV. 9, 14.—E. H.]
TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Salutation to Bhūvarāha! Let there be prosperity! Salutation to Vināyaka!

(Verse 1.) May that primal one (Vināyaka) increase (our) prosperity, who dispels the darkness of obstacles, who was born of the primal pair (Śiva and Pārvatī), and who is possessed of an unparalleled wealth of kindness (to his devotees)!

1 Read शीरोगौर.  
2 The syllable [c] is a subsequent addition.  
3 Read चद्वता.  
4 The d of yd is at the beginning of 1.148.

* The r of Nāgiṇār is Tami.  
* Read यादव। 
* Read भीम।  
* Read भाय।  
* In Kannada characters; read वैष्णव।
(V. 2.) I salute him (Śiva), the left half of whose body is the very embodiment of mercy (Pārvatī), who is adorned with good qualities, whose ornament is the moon's digit, and whose eyes are the three lights (viz. sun, moon and īra).

(V. 3.) Salutation to that effulgence, whose form is that of a boar, whose arm bristled (with pleasure) at the loving embrace of the earth (when he brought her up from the bottom of the sea), and which increases (our) happiness and plenty!!

(V. 4.) Salutation to the earth which is an ornament on the (expanded) hood of Ananta, (which served as) a war-chariot to him (Śiva) who had the Mēru (mountain) for his bow (at the time of burning Tripura), and which is the peacock on the pillar of the arm of Hari (Viṣṇu)!

(V. 5.) In the beautiful race of the Moon was Yadu, of exceeding virtue, in whose lineage the lotus-eyed lord (Viṣṇu) was born as a partial incarnation (viz. Kṛṣṇa).

(V. 6.) In his race arose king Saṅgama, who was a storehouse of all prosperity. His son was king Bukka, who was the very essence of valour.

(V. 7.) His son was king Harīharāśvara, who was endowed with fortune and with all auspicious things, who was fully accomplished in learning, and who was verily the lord of the word. 3

(V. 8.) From him was born the king Dēvarāya-Mahārāja, whose son was the wise king Viṭayabhūpati.

(V. 9.) This Viṣayabhūpāla, being seated on the jewel-throne, caused (his) enemies to occupy the dens of lions on the sides of mountains.

(V. 10.) He had two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrīgirindra, who resembled Vāsava (Indra) and were the abodes of generosity, fortitude and valour.

(V. 11 f.) The Mahārāja Dēvarāya, being the elder of these two, ascended the exalted throne owing to the fructification of the good deeds of (his) subjects; but Śrīgirīśvara, having obtained the city called Marataka, ruled this earth just as Sutrāman (Indra) (rules the city of) Amaravati.

(Vv. 13-20.) In the Śaka year (denoted by the chronogram) tattvālōka (i.e. 1346), in the year Krōdhin, on a Friday, under (the nakshatra) Reva, on the itihī (called) Uthāna-dvādaśī, this Śrīgirībhūpāla again granted, out of respect, as sarvamāṇya, by pouring out a full stream of water with gold, to endure till the end of the Kalpa, this agrahāra, (viz.) the village named Nipatataka, the front-ornament of the Paḻuvūṭ-kōṭṭa, the best (village) in Kālavā-nīvat, which is irrigated by the water obtained from a branch of the Kāvāripāka channel, which possesses desirable advantages, which is rich in crops flooded by the waters of the Nāgakulyā, which is of wide extent with vast boundaries, which is adorned with various gardens, and which had been granted before by Viṣayabhūḥuj to Sampatkumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras and relatives, who was the foremost among all physicians, and who was the renowned son of the great Gūvīda-papīta, who was born in the Kāśyapa gōtra, who was the lord of the city of Rambhāmayūra, who was possessed of (good) qualities, and who had seen the further shore of the ocean of the whole Ayuvēda and the Vēdāngas.

1 There is a play upon the word ērt, suggesting that Viṣṇu in his boar-incarnation, while rescuing one of his consorts, viz. the Earth, was not inattentive to his other wife.

2 There is a subtle suggestion in the use of the attribute ērt-sarvamāṇya-āyata. The king's name (Harīhara) being composed of that of Viṣṇu and Śiva, there is an appropriateness in his being said to be joined to Śrī (Viṣṇu's wife) and Sarvamāṇya (Pārvatī, Śiva's consort). So he is also 'verily the lord of the earth,' viz. Viṣṇu whose other consort is the Earth.

3 This represents the Tamil Paḻuvūṭ-kōṭṭam.
(V. 21 f.) Afterwards Sampatsuta, having divided this village Vijayarāṇapura into fifty-six shares, gave thereof two shares to (the temples of) Śiva and Viṣṇu, and set apart one share for the yearly feeding of Brahmaṇaś in the Kāmadhē-kṛma-māṇḍapa.

(V. 23.) This wise man reserved twenty-two shares for himself and gave the remaining ones to his brothers, relatives, and learned men.

(V. 24.) May this agraśāra named Vijayarāṣapura prosper till the end of the Kalpa, adorned by holy Brahmaṇaś of good lineage, learning and virtuous conduct!

(L. 75.) Hereafter follows the assignment of the shares to each individual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of donee</th>
<th>Gōtra.</th>
<th>Sātra.</th>
<th>Śākha.</th>
<th>Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The temple of Śrī-Chidambaranātha Śiva in the village.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(The temple of) Gōvindanātha Viṣṇu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>For feeding Brahmaṇaś yearly in the Kāmadhē-kṛma-māṇḍapa.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Umāpati-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Candra-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Puṇḍarikākṣa-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dēvarāja-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lakshmana-bhāṭṭa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gōvinda-bhāṭṭa</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Bhāskara-bhāṭṭa</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Trivēli-Vāmana-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Hampaṇa-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td>Āśvalāyana</td>
<td>Rich</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vījayēśvara-bhāṭṭa</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Māṅgala-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Kansika</td>
<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Śaurirāja-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Śatlamaraṇa</td>
<td>Bōdhīya</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lakṣmanā-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Vādhūla</td>
<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bhāskara-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ḍēmara-bhāṭṭa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Vēṇaṅganaśa-dikṣita</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Samaraṇgaṇa-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Vādhūla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Yajñanārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kāṭabāstinātha and Pāvanā</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td></td>
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1 Less Sampatkumāra of v. 16.
2 The number of shares is missing; but, adding up the other shares and deducting them from the total 56 (v. 21), we arrive at the figure 3 for this donee.
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<td>Tiruvēṅkaṭa-bhaṭṭa</td>
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<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa</td>
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<td>Bōdhāyana</td>
<td>Rich</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Pāpanāśa</td>
<td>Bāradvāja</td>
<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
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<td>Āṅgāṇ Pillal</td>
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<td>Chandra-bhaṭṭa, son of Divākara</td>
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<td>Vates</td>
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<td>Vādhuḷa</td>
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<td>Kuppaṭ and partners&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Bāradvāja</td>
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<td>Guṇḍēṭṭunāga, son of Śrīmūla</td>
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<td>Varadarāja, son of Vīśahṣha</td>
<td>Vaiśahṣha</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Sampatkumāra-paṇḍita</td>
<td>Kāyapa</td>
<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Śrīruvāsa-bhaṭṭa, son of Sampat-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Total**: 56

The inscription ends with three of the usual imprecatory verses (25-27) and the name of the god Śrī-Tryambaka (Śiva).

---

**No. 33.—TWO ANAIMALAI INSCRIPTIONS.**

**BY G. VENKOBRA RAO; OCTACAMUND.**

The two subjoined inscriptions were discovered by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the Nṛsiṁha temple at the village of Nāraśingam, 6 miles east of Madura. The central shrine of this temple is cut into the hill known as Anaimalai. In an inscription dated in the

<sup>1</sup> [For *uṭīṭṭāra* see *South-Ind. Inscr*. Vol. I. Nos. 54 and 71, and the Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français, s.v. — "associé, participe, partie intéressée. Il se dit principalement des frères associés ou qui vivent sous le régime de la communauté ; lorsque l’un d’eux fait un marché, les autres sont *uṭīṭṭāra*." The *ḥārīṭtāraṇaḥ* of the Piprāwā inscription probably belonged to such an ‘undivided family,’ and this is the reason why only the name of Sukriti, who must have been the head of the family, was quoted there.—E.H.]
33rd year of the reign of the Chola king Parantaka I, found in the temple, the hill is called Tiruvannamalai. It is also referred to in his Devaram by Tiruvannasambandar, the great Saiva saint, as a stronghold of the Jains. Tradition has it that Tiruvannasambandar drove out the Jains from the vicinity of Madura after converting the then reigning Pandya king Neudumara to the Saiva faith. There are still vestiges of Jaina dominancy on the hill. On a rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave there are a number of Tamil inscriptions, one of which mentions Ajanaandi. The cave is evidently one of those which the Jains occupied in old times.

The first inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the central shrine. The letters are cut boldly and deeply, and, being in the interior, the record is in good preservation; at the end of lines 5 and 6 are a few damaged letters which can be easily supplied from the context. The alphabet is Grantha. The final m is represented by a smaller m with a vertical stroke on its top; see e.g. dham in l. 3. The letter sa is of a more archaic type than that of the Gaana-Pallava period, and sa is also slightly different from the common form of that time.

The record consists of three verses, of which the first mentions the son of Mara of the Vaidya family, who was the minister (mantri, v. 2) of the Pandya king Parantaka. He was apparently an expert in the art of composing poetry and hence is called Madhurakavi. His actual name, Maranagiri, occurs in the second inscription, where he also bears the title Muvandamaangalapparaiyan. He was a native of Karavandapura (v. 1) or, according to the second inscription, of Kalkakudi. The third verse contains the date—a Sunday in the month of Karthika of the year 3871 (expired) of the Kaliyuga era=A.D. 770. On this day an image of the god Vishnu was set up in the cave.

The second inscription, which, though well preserved, is not cut so deeply as the first, is a supplement to the latter and is engraved on the right side of the entrance. The characters of this record are an archaic form of Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Grantha. The latter is employed in some Sanskrit words that occur in the inscription, viz. mantri (l. 2), Vaidyan (l. 2 f.), svargy-drūha (l. 6 f.), asuṣṭu (l. 8) and mantra-padam (l. 9). The Vaṭṭeḻuttu of this inscription seems to be the same as that of the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman published by Mr. V. Venkayya; compare r, n, t, u and particularly k (which has not yet assumed the shape peculiar

1 No. 63 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.
2 Anuwaṇḍamaingalapparaiyan, Tiruppaṅkudi tumutam kai-muli-dhām வேதமான்மாங்கலப்பரையண். Tiruvannasambandar’s Tirumudgal Padigam.
4 Nos. 67 to 74 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1905.
5 A Jain teacher of this name is mentioned in the rock inscriptions at Valinimalai in the North Arcot district; above, Vol. IV. p. 141 f.
7 Probably the word saiva is derived from sādhu, and the name seems to indicate that the members of the family were proficient in the sacred literature.
8 In an inscription at Pirangulai (No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903) Karavandapura is mentioned as another name of Kalkakudi in the district of Kalkakudi, and in a record at Suchindram (above, Vol. V. p. 43) Karavandapura is said to have been situated in the district of Kalkakudi. Kalkakudi is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kalkakudi in the Nāṉṉūḷai taluka, which even to this day has a dilapidated fort (Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 314).
9 Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 57. The village granted in this inscription is Vellangudi renamed Śrivarangaśalam after the Pandya king Neudumaraṇaya, one of whose bhirudas was apparently Śrīvara. In the Tiruvahiddy (verses 508 to 510) reference is made to Śrivarangaśal or Śrivarangaśalamgar, which is identified with Nāṉṉūḷai known to Vishnuvasa under the names Vāṉamalai and Tōblē. It is not unlikely that the two Śrivarangaśalas are identical.
to the later alphabet wherein it is hardly distinguishable from cā) with the corresponding letters of the plates. The secondary ē is written more on the top than on the side of the consonant as it is in later forms. The pulḍā appears to be marked in a number of cases. The vowels a and ē are the same as those employed on the Kīl-Muṣṭūgīr stones.3 Though the Vaṭṭēlutta of this inscription resembles to a certain extent the characters of the Madras Museum plates, yet as the Grantha alphabet used in the latter seems to be more developed than that of the Sanskrit portion of the subjoined records, it is safer to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ of the latter is earlier than the Jaṭilavarman of the Museum plates.

The king is here called Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ, i.e. Śudaiyaṅ, the son of Māraṅ (or Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māravarman in Sanskrit).3 His minister Māraṅgārī,4 mentioned above, excavated the cave at Āpaimalai, but died before its consecration.4 His younger brother Māraṅ Eyiṅaṅ alias Paṇḍimangalaviṣaiyaṅra, who succeeded him as minister, subsequently built the maṇḍapa in front and performed the consecration ceremony.

From the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaṇuga-Paṇḍya6 we learn that he was also surnamed Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ. But an inscription of his found at Uttaṃapāḷaiyam7 in the Madura district couples Saka 762 with his 8th year. His accession must therefore be placed about A.D. 862. The Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ of the Āpaimalai inscription was thus a predecessor of Varaṇuga and may have been his grandfather.

It is worthy of note that Madhurakāvi was the name borne by one of the Vaishnava Āḻvār, and the Madhurakāvi of the subjoined inscriptions was also a Vaishnava. Nammāḻvar, who, according to Vaishnava tradition, was a contemporary of Madhurakāvi Āḻvār, was called KāriMaṇar, i.e. Māraṅ, the son of Kāri. Is it possible that he was the son of the minister Māraṅgārī? If this be the case, it is not apparent why he has omitted to mention the shrine built by his father, while the Tirumāḻgūr temple, which is situated close to it, is the subject of a hymn8 by Nammāḻvar.

TEXT OF No. I.9

1 10kaṇṇaṅpuruvirayi Amiṇaṃis: gītā-
2 3 saṅi viṣṇi: [19] Bhaṅk jante Maṅraṇaṇaṅ-

---

1 It occurs in p and s of the word maṇgalappṛarasiyaṅ (l. 3 f.), in a of Māragdāri (l. 4 f.), in y and s of eṣeṣuṣu piṣṇa (l. 7), in ṣ of auṣan (l. 8), in y of eṣeṣuṣu (l. 9), in s of Pāṣi (l. 9), and in s of Maṅraṅ (l. 11).
2 Above, Vol. IV, p. 177.
3 In the Madras Museum plates, the king (called Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māravarman, in the Sanskrit portion and Neṇaṇājaḍaiyaṅ in the Tamil portion) bears the surname Parāntaka along with a number of other titles. This would lead us to identify the Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ of the subjoined records with the donor of the Madras Museum plates. But the alphabet of the latter seems to be more developed than that of the former. A vēṟgal in the Vaṭṭēlutta alphabet (No. 276 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1895) set up in the Tiruvandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ. The writing seems to resemble that of the Museum plates, and the inscription refers to Viṉjaṅam.
4 Here again the minister is called Vaiḍyaṅ. The Madras Museum plates tell us that Mārti Eyiṅaṅ alias Viramaṇgalappṛarasiyaṅ, who was the king’s Mahādēmaṅ in the 17th year of his reign, was a Vaiḍyaṅ. The inscription quoted in the paper on the Madras Museum plates refers to a fourth member of the same family, viz. Sāṭṭaṇaṅaṅciyai alaṅ Amṛtaṇaṅgalavaiṣaiyaṅ, who was a Mahādēmaṅ in the 6th year of Māraṇājaḍaiyaṅ. The last as well as the two brothers mentioned in the Āpaimalai inscriptions were natives of Karavandupuraṇa.
5 The Tamil word nīṟṟaḻiḷal (or more correctly nīṟṟaḻiḷal) is synonymous with the Sanskrit ṣampṛḍi ḍhava, which according to Monier-Williams’ Dictionary means ‘the act of sprinkling well over, consecration (of a temple, etc.).’
6 No. 41 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904.
7 No. 705 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.
8 Pattāṅapattu, Mudal Tiruvāyūmoli beginning tīṭa Eنموvai-vaṭṭēlutta-vaiṣai-Tirumāḻgūṛ.
9 From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopāḷa Rāo.
10 The metre of this verse and of the next is Āṟāyā.
3 भृतरो मार्टर चूहरिन्म। (19) मल्ली स पि—
4 व मतिमार्यायाय घरा[ल]कामिकान—
5 तो [19] पमिमा पियस: [प्रादाम्—
6 मगहसम्पि [29] कलि: [सातसि—
7 तिवायनचरे [ग]तेंग—
8 बामलिपण संकसतो [19] छातप—
9 तिङो भगवानमुक्तमादिहे—
10 व पीशंहि माल कैलिके [11 19]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Pre-eminently charming (in manners), a resident of Karsvandapura, the son of Māra, (and a) learned (and) illustrious (member of the) Vaidya (family),— Madhurakavi made this stone temple of Vaihū.

(V. 2.) The same (viz. Madhurakavi), the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya (king) named Parāntaka, also gave away to the first-born (i.e. Brāhmaṇas) this immensely rich agrakāra.

(V. 3.) When three thousand and eight hundred and seventy-one years of Kali had passed—on the day of the sun in the month of Karttiika, this (image of the) god was duly set up here.

TEXT OF NO. II.3
1 Kō Māraṇaṇaḍaiyarika un—
2 tta-as-mantri Kajakkuḍi Vai—
3 dyan Mūvendamaṅgala-परारaiyan āgiya Māraṉ—
5 [sā]ri iːkkarati āṣyda
6 nīr[tt]a[li]yādi svarg-g-ārā—
7 ha[sa]ʃi-jeya paṅgai ava—
8 gukkku amanjan uttara—
9 mantra-padam-eydiya Paṇḍi—
10 maṅgalaviśiṣṭaiyaṇ1–
11 āgiya Māraṇ—El—
12 gaṅ muga-maṇḍamaṇ=ʃje—

TRANSLATION.

Māraṇgāri alias Vaidyan Mūvendamanagala-pararaṣṭiyan of Kajakkuḍi, the prime-minister (uttara-maṇtri) of king Māraṇaḍaiyan, made this stone temple and ascended heaven (i.e. died) without consecrating (it). Subsequently, his younger brother Māraṇ Eyiṇaṇ alias

1 The metre of this verse is Vaṭāśtha.
2 Literally, "when a trial of thousands and eight hundred together with seventy-one had come within the range of the years of Kali."
3 From an inked stamspan supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.
4 In the original there seems to be a š after the guttural ś.
5 Read "viṣṭiyāraṣṭīyaṇ. The r of rai looks like š.
6 Read "Eyiṇaṇ.
7 Read "maṅgaṇaṇa."
Anaimalai inscriptions.

No. I.

No. II.

From inked estampages supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.
Panditmaṅgalavīśaiyaraiyar, who attained to the dignity of prime-minister, made the mukhā-
mandapa and consecrated (the shrine).
INDEX.  
By V. Venkata, M.A.

A | Page |
---|------|
abhaya-mudrā, | 177, 181 |
Abhishāmadeśatamāla, quoted | 34n, 215n |
Abhiranyu, Rākṣatrāka k, | 164, 165 |
Abhināva-Pándyādeva-Ojaya, ch., | 123 |
Abhināva-Siddhārāja, sur. of Jayantasinha, | 99 |
Āhāra, ṣa., | 89 |
Abu, vi, | 207 |
Ābū, m, | 200, 201, 202, 207 |
Ābūya, s.a. Abu, | 206, 207 |
Āchāleśvara, te, | 206 |
Āchāra-purāṇa, | 300 |
Āchārara-pākṣa, vi, | 280 |
Āchūtarāya, Vījāyanagara k, | 124 |
Ādām, measure, | 128n |
Addakhi, vi, | 10, 11 |
Ādhipa, measure, | 129n |
adik-tithi, | 56n |
adībhāsana, s.a. sthāna, | 161n |
Adhvarya, a student of the Yajurveda, | 230 |
Ādikāśa, te, | 151 |
Ādikāśa-guṇaṭa, | 161 |
adīpma-mālīti, | 124, 137 |
Aditya I, Chāka k, | 202 |
Ādīvarāha-Purumāl, te, | 277 |
Āgāmāsvāmin, m, | 290 |
Āghara, a house, | 124, 135n |
Āgastikāgraḥāra, vi, | 180, 194, 195 |
Āgastya, rīṣhī, | 9 |
Āgastīyōḍvara, te, | 12, 267, 275 |
Āgastīyōḍvara, vi, | 267 |
Āgrāha, m, | 163, 163 |
Āgrāvan, m, | 91 |
Āgrāvan, m, | 189 |
Agulvarman, m, | 89 |
Agra, vi, | 174 |
agrahāra, 9, 10, 11, 288, 306, 306, 315, 316, 320 |

Page |
---|---|
āgrahārya, the full-moon tithi of Mārgaṭhira, | 163 |
Āhāra (ādīhra), | 170 |
Āhāra, a district, | 67, 84 |
Aharagāya, | 261 |
Āhuṇādevī, f, | 203, 217 |
Āhuṇābād, vi, | 206n |
Āhuṇālam, vi, | 12 |
Āhuṇāla, vi, | 250, 333 |
Āja, mythic k, | 213 |
Ājakālakṣya, field, | 72 |
Ājayā, vi, | 27 |
Ājila or Ajilar, family of Jainas chief, | 129 |
Ājīva, Jain teacher, | 17 |
Ājīnavardhi, do, | 318 |
Ājīnavardhi, do, | 81 |
Ājīnavardhi, vi, | 145, 146, 238 |
Ājīnavardhi, s.a. ājaś ājīnavardha, | 163n |
Ājīna, | 34 |
Ākara-vaṇita, co, | 41, 47, 61, 62 |
Ākṣetra, vi, | 206 |
Ākṣetra, ādīhra, | 70, 157n |
Ākṣisālika, | 70 |
Ākṣīyam, f, | 207, 269 |
Ākṣīyam, te, | 206, 207 |
Ākṣīyam, vi, | 299, 300 |
Ākṣīyam, vi, | 3 |
Āḷa, vi, | 163 |
Āḷaḷa, Calchuri queen, | 203n |
Āḷaḷa, law of inheritance, | 127 |
Āḷaḷāhābād, vi, | 161, 169 |
Āḷaḷāpajaka, field, | 138 |
Āḷaḷa, m, | 140 |
Āḷāura, vi, | 278 |
Āḷuḍara, s.a. Alurā, | 231 |
Āḷuḍara, s.a. Alurā, | 25 |
alphabet:— box-headed, | 99, 166, 172, 174 |

1 The figures refer to pages; "n." after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vi and vii. The following abbreviations are used:— ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or dist. | 272 |
| vi. = village or town; W. = Western. | 318 |
Grantha, 8, 291, 298, 307, 318, 319
Kanarese or Kannada, 16, 50, 123, 124, 208, 307, 314
Kharâbâhî, 296
Nágari, 96, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 200, 207
Telugu, 9, 124
Vaishnavi, 318, 319
Ájupa, dy., 126n
Ánârâ, vi., 231
Áñâva, s. o. Ájupa, 126n add.
Ályâr, a Vâsiśtvâna saint, 296n, 319
Ályâr-Tirunagari, vi., 294, 295
Ámalkiśvâra, te., 267
Amara or Amarakosâ, quoted, 166, 214n, 215n
Amaranandasârî, s. o. Amarasârî, 208n, 205
Amarasârî, Jaina teacher, 203, 218
Amârâvatî, the city of Indra, 315
Amârâvatî, vi., 10, 11, 12, 68
Amârâvîrâ, te., 10
Amârâvatsakan, poem, 99
Amâbhâchârya, Vâsiśtvâna teacher, 305n
Ambalâhâra, mythical k., 61
Ambikâ, goddess, 219
Ambîpâjaka, vi., 285
Ambîllâ-pattalâ, di., 150
Ambîlâbô, vi., 13
Amûrânâñâgalavâraiyâñ, sur. of Sântângapâ-vâdi, 319n
Amûrânîpââdi, a rice offering, 318n
Anîrûpadî, s. o. Amûrânîpââdi, 318n
Anâgaharman, m., 238
Anâhîla, m., 190
Anahilâpâjaka, vi., 99, 204
Anahilâpura, vi., 200, 213
Anâkâlâs-Perumâl, te., 277
Anâlîsâlai, hill, 317, 319
Ánanda-sârî or Ánanda-sârî, Jaina teacher, 203, 206, 218
Anânta, serpent, 315
Anûntâkârâyaña, m., 317
Anûntanâkârâyaña-bhûta, m., 317
Anûpóta or Anûpóta-Râddî, Râddî k., 10, 11
Anûpóta, vi., 317
Anûpóta-âñjû, ch., 12
Ánûrâ, co., 315
Âpattî, s. o. Áñjû, 146n
Anâvâma, Râddî k., 10, 12, 13
Anâvóta, s. o. Anûpóta, 10
Agîla, vi., 6, 270
Añjâvâîlai, vi., 69
Añjâvâîlai, Pîllai, m., 317
Anûrâ, dy., 317
Anûrâbhîrî, dy., 317
Anûkârtâsaghraha, quoted, 215n
Añgââra-sangha-vîha, 216
Añgûtarnikâya, quoted, 243n
Anûmâ, s. o. Anûmamâbâ, 10
Anûmâ-vêma, s. v. Vêma, 10
Anûnya, Râddî k., 9
Anûmamâbâ, queen of Kûmâti-Prâla, 9
Añtarâla-pattalâ, di., 150
Añtarvâdi, di., 151
Añgûmâ, vi., 80
Añmûpa, s. o. Añmûpa, 61
Añmûpa, co., 41, 47, 63
Añnapadâvî or Añnapamâ, wife of Tûjâpâlîa, 203, 208, 208n, 217
Anuvâsara, 16, 26, 59, 61, 153, 158, 194, 222
Añyôr, vi., 177n, 178
Añpabhâra, a burden, 204
Añpaga, co., 19
Añpara-Kakhadi, s. a. Western Kakhadi, 74
Añparanta, s. a. Añparanta, 61
Añparanta, co., 41, 47, 62
Añpasama, rîjâ, 312n
Añpastambhâtrasattrajâ, 305n
Añpastahâvâra, te., 3
Añs, Jaina saint, 126, 134, 183n, 198
Añrâcchôsî, co., 91
Añrâlalya, m., 91
Añrûma, vi., 140
Añnâmsâîddhi, astronomical work, 205n
Añrûla, s. a. Añbû, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 215,
218, 219
Añrûhat, 65
Añrûvatamângâlam, vi., 4
Añrîyâ-saîndjâ-sâvâpi, birûda of the Kapsâ- Kârkâla chief, 126, 127, 128, 184
Añrîshânîmi, s. a. Nêmi, 134n
Añrûma, mythical k., 61, 93
Añrûma, Arjunâdâva or Arjunâvarman, Paramâra k., 98, 99, 100, 101, 241
Añkham, vi., 291n
Añrûvara, metre, 38n
Añrûropâjê, Pîghâlâ k., 201, 215
Añrûcâdi, dy., 63
Añrûlalâ-Perumâl, te., 8
Añrûpalâ, Perumâl, te., 4, 6, 7, 285, 289, 272
Añrûr, vi., 139
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>129, 138</td>
<td>Árūru, s.a. Arur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136n</td>
<td>Aruvattumalikkun-manḍalkurana-talegānḍa-ganḍa, biruda,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241, 261, 290n</td>
<td>Áryasiddhānta,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99n</td>
<td>Ásagāra, Jaina poet,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 62</td>
<td>Asaka (Ashaka), s.a. Ásvaka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ásandi, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Ásaraśa, s.a. Ásvaraśa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Ástātikā or Asatikā, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230, 221</td>
<td>Ástātigṛāma, s.a. Ástgām,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39n</td>
<td>Ásthādhyaś, quoted,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204 and add.</td>
<td>Ásthāhika,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124, 127, 204 odd.</td>
<td>Ásthāpithaka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137n</td>
<td>Ásthāpitavādhārane,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231n</td>
<td>Ásthāgām, s.a. Ástgām,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Ástika, rā. Rishika,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149, 152, 155</td>
<td>Ástoka, Maurya emperor, 37, 40, 41, 46n, 47, 93, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 178, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>Ásthāprobhaktra, Kanauj k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Asam, co,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Ástgām, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Ásvaṁchala-pattala, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171, 172</td>
<td>Ásvaghōśa, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Áśvaka, co,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ásvamāda, sacrifice,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200, 203, 207, 214, 215, 218</td>
<td>Ásvaṁsathah, a horsemann,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ásvatithāman, mythic hera,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299n</td>
<td>Ásvabhātā, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79, 81</td>
<td>Ásthulikā, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Átaka, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 10</td>
<td>Áttūrū, s.a. Gani-Áttūrū,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>attarāhā, a northerner,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97, 163</td>
<td>Ávāchī-Dēva or -Dēvaya, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ávājarāṇādikā, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Ávānjanāhāra, sur. of Pulakāśirāja,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214n</td>
<td>Ávāsarpit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Ávimukta-kehotra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>Ávippalām, field,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189, 194, 195</td>
<td>Áyakākārahāra, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291n</td>
<td>Áyanaṣāran, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308, 316</td>
<td>Áyurveda,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>Áyyaṇa, family,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Áyyapāṭhēva, Nandāmba, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25n, 46n, 231</td>
<td>Bādāmi, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Bādāneguppe, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Bagguji, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>Baghiṅkhaṭṭi, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Bāgārāsa, m,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Baguji-alme, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200, 291</td>
<td>Bāhirakā-vishayaya, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bahmanta, dy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Bāhu, Jaina saint,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134n</td>
<td>Bāhuttalika, rā. Gummaţa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>Bāhūr, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Bāh, title,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 17, 22</td>
<td>Balā or Balāṣapa I, ch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 22</td>
<td>Balāṣapa II, ch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Balrāt, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Baijakala,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179, 180, 181, 182</td>
<td>Bala, Buddhist friar, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177n,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139n</td>
<td>Bala, measure,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135n</td>
<td>Baladeva, ch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Bābāḍīṭḥya, sur. of Dhruvāśena II,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200, 203, 218</td>
<td>Balānaka, s.a. balāḥṣ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Balālā, ch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Bālasaṅvatī, sur. of Madana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99n</td>
<td>Bālasaṅvatīyan, poem,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 188n</td>
<td>Bālasidora (bēlasidora), those who have cultivated,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Bāli, demon,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Bāljāmī, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Bālmēyasa-hec, stream,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>Bāllāla, author,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 202, 216</td>
<td>Bāllāla, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Bālār, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124, 133</td>
<td>Bālju, land held,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>Bāmrā, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99n</td>
<td>Bāpa, demon,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28n, 99n</td>
<td>Bāpa, dy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, 29</td>
<td>Bāpa, poet,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, 35</td>
<td>Bāpa, the great, k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, 147</td>
<td>Banaśva, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Bandhogar, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bangara-mola, golden sprout,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Banahalfi, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135n</td>
<td>Bāpana-bhūva, biruda,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163n</td>
<td>Bappa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Barahār, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130n</td>
<td>Barakaṇḍa-gadyagṣa, coin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Bārasaka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>Baragā, di,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 86, 87, 88</td>
<td>Bārāpaśā or Barāśa, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300n</td>
<td>basadi, s.a. basti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122, 126n, 198, 200n</td>
<td>basti, a Jaina temple,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonsi, <em>di,</em></td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bopaki (Vopaki), <em>ascetic,</em></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borá Sámbar, <em>di,</em></td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bower Manuscript,</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōya, <em>s.a.</em> Vāstavaya,</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmadēva, <em>Jaina god,</em></td>
<td>128n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmadēva-mañdpapa,</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmadēva-pillar,</td>
<td>123n, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brahmādeva,</td>
<td>163, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmagupta, <em>astronomer,</em></td>
<td>238, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-Kuṇḍi, <em>s.a.</em> Gupṭalakam,</td>
<td>10, 11n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman, <em>god,</em></td>
<td>22, 22n, 216, 233, 236, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman, <em>s.a.</em> Brahmadēva,</td>
<td>125, 186, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmapa, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmaṇa, 28, 33n, 34, 49, 61, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 86, 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brahmaparī,</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma-siddhānta, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 57, 58 add., 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 288, 289</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brhapati,</td>
<td>22, 214, 217n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brihatasamhitā, <em>quoted,</em></td>
<td>62n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Museum plates,</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broach, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būkha-Reḍḍi, <em>s.a.</em> Tērāla-Būkha-Reḍḍi,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha, 67, 70, 71, 91, 168, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhacharita,</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhāmitra, <em>Buddhist nun,</em></td>
<td>173, 177, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhakāshita, <em>mi,</em></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhavarman, <em>Pallava k.</em></td>
<td>234, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism,</td>
<td>80, 91, 167, 173, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhāt, 64, 68, 70, 75, 79, 80, 167, 170, 172, 177, 178, 180, 290n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhavahaka, <em>Pallava prince,</em></td>
<td>144, 146, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budhavēmin, <em>mi,</em></td>
<td>194, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budh-Gaya, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukka II, <em>do,</em></td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukkana, <em>ch,</em></td>
<td>16, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukkārya, <em>s.a.</em> Bukka I, 16, 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull erost,</td>
<td>144, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma, <em>co,</em></td>
<td>172, 173n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busballa, <em>s.a.</em> Bhujabal-Mahākāya,</td>
<td>127n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būtuga I, <em>W. Ganga k,</em></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būtuga II, <em>do,</em></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byravan Wodears, <em>the Kārkala chief,</em></td>
<td>114n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calkutta, <em>city,</em></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chādhunāḍa, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chārā or Chārāpā, <em>mistake for Balacha,</em> 16, 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitrapravarn, <em>s.a.</em> Vasantōtava,</td>
<td>98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitrī, <em>the full-moon day of Chaitra,</em></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaithrothava, <em>s.a.</em> Vasantōtava,</td>
<td>98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaityagrāha,</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakora, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalikeya, <em>s.a.</em> Chalukya,</td>
<td>230, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalikeya, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāliyār, <em>ri,</em></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalukya, <em>Eastern, dgy,</em></td>
<td>142n, 234, 235, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalukya, <em>Western, dgy,</em></td>
<td>128n, 230, 231, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalukya, <em>family,</em></td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chālukya, <em>do,</em></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamāruvāmi, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamayya, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambal, <em>ri,</em></td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chārakya, <em>minister,</em></td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandalādevī, <em>queen of Vikramāditya VI,</em> 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandapa, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>203, 203, 207, 214, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandaprasāda, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>230, 203, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandāvarman, <em>Kaliṅga k,</em></td>
<td>288n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandavēga, <em>metro,</em></td>
<td>33n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandēsvara, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>203, 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandodā or Chandoria, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrāh-bhāṣṭa, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>316, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandravela, <em>Kanauj k,</em></td>
<td>149, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrāditya, <em>ma,</em></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragiri, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta, <em>Maurya k,</em></td>
<td>40, 41, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragūti, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>134n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandramañilēvara, <em>te,</em></td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrāsana, <em>Jaina saint,</em></td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandramātha or Chandramāthasvāmin, <em>te,</em> 125, 128, 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrapur, <em>di,</em></td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrapatraka, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrasāvatī, <em>vi,</em></td>
<td>201, 202, 203, 206, 206, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandangarānda, <em>mistake for Vaṅganarānda,</em> 126n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charaka,</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāraṇa, <em>demi-gods,</em></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charitra,</td>
<td>22n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charu,</td>
<td>34, 136n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charudēvi, <em>queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman,</em> 144, 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chārukīrti-Paṇḍitaḍeva, Jaina teacher,</td>
<td>328, 128, 129n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāṣṭāna, Kṣetrapa kṣa,</td>
<td>41, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chātuṣṭhāna, sacrile,</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturmukhābāsa, te,</td>
<td>122, 123, 124, 135, 127, 129, 134n, 135n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturthavarpa, the fourth (Śudra) caste,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturvedin,</td>
<td>189, 194, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauhārā mound,</td>
<td>173n, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaulukya, dy,</td>
<td>99, 100, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 215, 216, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauṭar, family of Jaina chieft,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattarā, s.a. Chanṭar,</td>
<td>129n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāṭhāṭhikā, s.a. Chāṭhēṭ,</td>
<td>183, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chēchāṭhī, vi,</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chēṭhul, vi,</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chendalūr, s.a. Chendalur,</td>
<td>233, 234, 236, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chendalur, s.a. Chendalur,</td>
<td>234, 236, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chendoruma, do,</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chetika, community of Buddhist monks,</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhākalepa or Chhāgalepa, vi,</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh (the thirty-six forts), di,</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhavata, mo,</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhindwārā, di,</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chidambaram, vi,</td>
<td>300, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chidambaranātha, te,</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikhalapada, vi,</td>
<td>79, 80, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikkabēṣṭha, hill at Kārāla,</td>
<td>122n, 125, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikkabēṣṭha, hill at Śravāṇa-Belgoa,</td>
<td>122n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikka-Magāḷa, s.a. Chikmagaḷa,</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikkāḷa, vi,</td>
<td>26, 28n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikmagaḷa, vi,</td>
<td>60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China, co,</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippakāvar, s.a. Soppakkāvar,</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitārguḍh, vi,</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitraṅgupta, god,</td>
<td>152n, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitraprabandha, a metrical puzzle,</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrawāhana, Āṣupam kṣa,</td>
<td>128n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitṛa, Reddi ch,</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chitrakīrti,</td>
<td>83, 84, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōla, co,</td>
<td>1, 8, 86, 241, 260, 261, 276, 290, 291, 292, 293n, 295, 300, 306, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōla, family</td>
<td>131n, 150n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōla-maṇḍalam, di,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōtaṇki, co,</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōṭiṣa-ṛṣya, śīrṣa of Buddhākṣhita,</td>
<td>66, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuhukya, s.a. Chuluṅka,</td>
<td>200, 201, 203, 213, 214, 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chumā, vi,</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūṭānā, Nāgpura, co,</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjeeveram, vi,</td>
<td>3, 17, 28n, 234, 292, 293, 295, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuttack, vi,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dābhālā, co,</td>
<td>285, 286, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāhala, Dāhala, Dāhala or Dāhala, s.a. Daḥhālā,</td>
<td>285, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāhanukā, vi,</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāhanukā, vi,</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daivalā, s.a. Daiva,</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dākhāmīṭhā, f,</td>
<td>83, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dākhā, demon,</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dākṣiṇa-Bhājārāja, sur. of Rāvivarman,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dākṣiṇāpatha, co,</td>
<td>41, 47, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dākṣiṇā-Siva, te,</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālōra, vi,</td>
<td>145, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmāchikā, clan or district,</td>
<td>95, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmāṇa, vi,</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmāsakas, vi,</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmādara, Parivaṭābha kṣa,</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmādara-bhāṭṭa, mn,</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmādaraśarman, mn,</td>
<td>155, 157, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dānaśāɡhita, chronogram,</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāṇḍaka, metre,</td>
<td>26, 33n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāṇḍakavilī or Kōṇḍāvali Dāṇḍakavilī, Telugu poem,</td>
<td>11, 12, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāṇḍanaṭha,</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāṇḍanāyaka,</td>
<td>29, 155n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāṇḍin,</td>
<td>48n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntapura, vi,</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntidunga, Ēdakāpaṭa kṣa,</td>
<td>184, 294n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntiga, s.a. Dāntivarma-Mahārāja,</td>
<td>293n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntiga, s.a. Dāntivikramavarma,</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntipāṭṭarās, Pallavac kṣa,</td>
<td>283, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntivarma, Pallavatilaka kṣa,</td>
<td>293a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntivarma, s.a. Dāntipāṭṭarās,</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntivarma or Dāntivarma-Mahārāja, Pallavac kṣa,</td>
<td>292, 293, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāntivikrama or Dāntivikramavarma, Gaṅga-Pallavac kṣa,</td>
<td>292, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dānu, demoness,</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārasana,</td>
<td>22n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārasanas, the six,</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārsi, vi,</td>
<td>161n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dārakāranāvara, te,</td>
<td>261, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāsakumāracharita,</td>
<td>41n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāsanapura, vi</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāṣāparādha,</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Dāspura, s.a. Dasdr, 79, 95, 189, 194, 196
Dasartha, mythical k., 215, 216
Dasārūpam, quoted, 98n
Dasdr, vi., 196
dates:
  recorded by a chronogram, 8, 305, 308, 315
  recorded in numerical symbols, 38, 188,
  189, 194, 196, 230, 231, 284, 288
  recorded in numerical words, 10, 134
Dāṭhavānśa, name of a Buddhist work, 161
Dattamītrī, vi., 91
Dattāṅga, m., 296
Dattāsvāmin, m., 194
Dāvānd, vi., 206
Dayādāmi-pattalā, dī., 150
Dāyū Īy&aacute;ika, m., 152n
Dāyūśāraman, m., 152
days, lunar:
  bright fortnight:
    first, 68, 271, 272, 306
    second, 267, 273, 274, 278
    third, 5, 155, 163, 202, 207, 262, 277,
      278, 280, 281, 282
    fourth, 271, 293
    fifth, 4, 7, 58 add., 158, 236, 264,
      266, 270, 281
    sixth, 124, 134
    seventh, 3
    eighth, 277
    tenth, 183, 268, 269
    eleventh, 8, 9, 17, 21, 273, 277
    twelfth, 6, 17, 24, 308
    thirteenth, 231, 269, 270, 274, 289
    fourteenth, 3, 5, 267
    fifteenth, 271
  full-moon:
    10n, 54, 57, 58 and add., 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 337,
      240, 241, 283, 288
  dark fortnight:
    first, 2, 5, 41, 45, 98n, 283
    second, 274, 283
    third, 195, 203, 204, 205, 219, 222, 263,
      279, 280, 289
    fourth, 267, 288
    fifth, 4, 560, 157, 169, 275, 278, 279, 283
    sixth, 279
    seventh, 2, 7, 208, 280
    eighth, 6, 208, 266, 269, 275, 276
    ninth, 3, 6, 265, 206, 276
days, lunar:
  dark fortnight:
    tenth, 7, 276, 277, 280
    eleventh, 1, 2, 264, 365, 278
    twelfth, 160, 263, 264, 285, 272
    thirteenth, 6, 266, 272, 276, 278
    fourteenth, 208, 270
    fifteenth, 271, 299
    new-moon, 57, 58, 305
days, solar:
  first, 267, 277
  eighth, 4
  fourteenth, 263
  seventeenth, 269
  twenty-fourth, 265
  twenty-fifth, 299
  twenty-eighth, 268
  thirtieth, 279, 293
  thirty-first, 279
  thirty-second, 271, 272
days of the week:
  Sunday, 4, 7, 153, 154, 203, 204, 205,
    219, 265, 267, 269, 270, 274, 282,
    283, 318, 320
  Monday, 5, 6, 54, 57, 58 and add., 153,
    154n, 163, 207, 265, 280, 287,
    268, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277,
    278, 280, 281, 282, 289, 290
  Tuesday, 4, 56n, 263, 266, 273, 276, 278, 290
  Wednesday, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 50n, 124, 134,
    157, 262, 263, 264, 265, 271,
    272, 274, 275, 277, 279, 281, 290, 296
  Thursday, 1, 2, 3, 50n, 153, 208, 263, 304,
    265, 288, 279, 276, 278
  Friday, 6, 7, 10, 155, 208, 238, 240,
    267, 280, 291, 303, 314
  Saturday, 8, 9, 361, 265, 270, 277, 278,
    283, 289, 290
Demetrias, vi., 91
Deoha, sur. of Gogra, 159
Dēśa-gana, 123n, 124
Dēśānāma-māla, quoted, 20n, 117n, 247n, 262n,
    263n, 256n, 257n, 266n, 272n
Dēśi-gāsara, ch., 129n
dēśi words, 242
Dēśāvājā, s.a. Dilwara, 203, 204, 207
Dēupāli, vi., 150
Dēvābhāga-hala, 163
Dādā-dāh, Parivājāka k., 288
Dēvagana, m., 69
Dēvāgiri, vi., 25, 30, 60n
Dēvāvītā, vi., 2
Page 380

Dharaśāna, *Valabhi k.* 229, 199, 196, 241

Dhārākara, *e. of Jayasimhabharman,* 230, 231

Dhārāvaraha, *Paramāra k.* 201, 202, 216

Dhārakaṭa, *family,* 206

dharma, *s. chārtira,* 232

dharmachakra-mudrā, 178

dharmamahārāja, 30, 147

dharmamahārājāḥbhārāja, 58

Dharmarāja, *s. Aśoka,* 167

Dharmāśāstra, 140

Dhāuli, *vi,* 116, 207

Dhāuli, *s. Dhauli,* 306, 307

Dhārtikara, *m,* 140

Dhāruva or Dhruvarāja, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa k,* 183, 184

Dhāruvabhāṣa, *Paramāra k.* 201, 216

Dhāruvasena II, *Valabhi k.* 188, 199, 190, 196

Dhāruvasena III, *do,* 190

Dhulisa, *vi,* 182

Dhūmarāja, *Paramāra k.* 201, 202, 216

dikā, 36

Dilanda, *vi,* 196

Dilwara, *vi,* 207

Dīnaka, *vi,* 78, 82, 85, 86

Dīvīkara, *m,* 317

Divel Khedi or Dibal Kher, *vi,* 196

divirapati, *a chief secretary,* 199, 190

Doddā, *Reḍḍi k.* 10

Doddāvaṭṭa, *hill at Śravana-Belgoa,* 128n

Doddahundī, *vi,* 53

Doddambikā, *Reḍḍi queen,* 10

Doddāya, *Reḍḍi k.* 9

Donti Allāja-Reḍḍi, *Reḍḍi ch,* 11

Dorica, *s. Gummata,* 124, 134

Drākṣārāma, *vi,* 12

drishād, 34

Dudhāli, *di,* 161

Dudhi, *vi,* 31

dudigai (dvidyā), 267a

dūtaka, 70, 140, 145, 180, 190, 288

Drāvakatikā, *s. Āavāra,* 234, 235, 236

Drāvāra, *vi,* 206n

dvītiya-Śrāvana, 127

Drāvaśa, *vi,* 285

eclipse, lunar, 10, 237, 240, 271

Egnore, *vi,* 290

Ekāmara-bhaṭṭa, *m,* 316

Ekāmarāṇāthe, *vi,* 3, 300
### INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Elephant crest</th>
<th>50, 52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PG43</td>
<td>Elkuru, vi</td>
<td>54, 56, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG43</td>
<td>Elumbar, s.a. Egmore</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG43</td>
<td>Elumurparu, di</td>
<td>300, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG43</td>
<td>Elumur-nada, di</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gupta:**
- *Gupta-Valabhi:* 284, 288, 289, 290
- *Kalahur-Chedi:* 185, 190, 195, 201
- *Kaliyuga:* 202n, 231
- *Kanishka:* 232, 238, 286, 318, 320

**Saka or Saka (Sali or Saliyana):**
- *Saka or Saka (Sali or Saliyana):* 314, 138, 184, 231, 240, 241, 261, 274, 276, 277, 281, 283, 289, 300, 305, 308, 315, 319

**Vikrama:**
- *Vikrama:* 282, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158, 201, 302, 308, 207, 208, 219

**Ereyamma, m.**
- *Ereyamma:* 59

**Ereyappa, W. Ganga k.**
- *Ereyappa:* 53, 54, 56

**F**
- *Fethpur-Sikri, vi:* 181
- *Firdus Shah, Bahmani k.*
- *Florence, city:* 173
- *Forest kingdoms, the eighteen (aṭhārāgarh):* 235, 236, 288

**Fort St. George:**
- *Fort St. George:* 291n

**Pra Angello:**
- *Pra Angello:* 173

**G**
- *Gabhbara, s.a. sabhā-manjapa:* 200
- *Gadhada, s.a. Gadara:* 206, 207
- *Gadara, vi:* 207
- *Gadara (Gadhada, s.a. Gadara):* 207
- *Gaddi, a tārōne,*
- *Gaddige, do:* 290
- *Gadyama or Gadyama, a pagoda,* 125, 130, 132n
- *Gāgā, m.*
- *Gagah, vi:* 157n
- *Gagóka, m.*
- *Gagóka, m.* 153
- *Gagáka, m.* 155n
- *Gadhavalla, family,*
- *Gahiyasahasra, a.s.a. ghaiaśa:* 28m
- *Gajalakshmi,*
- *Gajapati, title:* 63
- *Gavdhau, a pagoda,* 120
- *Ganapāhaya,* 29n
- *Ganaśaka, an accountant,* 89

**Gandapara, ri:** 138 add.
**Gandhara, co:** 174, 177, 178, 181
**Gandharva, demigods:** 36, 63
**Gandhi, god:** 23n, 200, 218n
**Gangā-chaturthi, m.:** 266n
**Gangā, Western, dy:** 56, 57, 58
**Gangā (Ganga), ri:** 23n, 151, 152, 153, 155
**Gangadār, m.:** 98
**Gangāditya, te:** 153
**Gangākondacholapuram, vi:** 294n
**Gangā-Pallava, dy:** 292, 298, 296, 318
**Gangāya, Kalachuri k:** 98
**Gangāya, s.a. Bālāṃa:** 98
**Gangōli Somānātha-bhaṭṭa, m:** 306
**Gangpur, di:** 286
**Gani-Ātukuru, vi:**
**Gajigere, vi:**
**Garbhā, the eighteen:**
**Garuḍa, god:** 63
**Garuḍa banner:** 8
**Garuḍa crest:** 162, 164
**Gāthā:** 293n, 170
**Gāṣṭavāḍi, vi:** 53
**Gandā, co:** 38, 98
**Ganjavaho, quoted:**
**Gaur, co:** 117n, 118n
**Gauri, s.a. Pārvatī:**
**Gautamputra, sur. of Sātakarni:** 174
**Gayà, vi:** 65, 73
**Gayā, vi:**
**Ghaḍābhā (ghaṭikābhāṭa), s.a. Gobhīṭh:**
**Ghalesa:**
**Ghūṭikā:**
**Ghaṭikābhāṭa, s.a. Ghaṭikābhāṭa:**
**Ghōṭerāya-Bhāṃya-guru, s.a. Ghoṭerāya- Ganga:**
**Ghōṭerāya-Ganga, m:**
**Ghōṭerāya-Bhāṃya-vāra, s.a. Ghoṭerāya-Ganga:**
**Girinagara, s.a. Junagadh:**
**Girnak, mo:**
**Goi, vi:**
**Gōḷāvarī, vi:**
**Goora, vi:**
**Gōcha, m:**
**Gōkara:** 153, 157

2 v 2
| Golden Hall, | 300, 305 |
| Gōmaṭṭār, *family name* | 300n |
| Gōmaṭṭātta Karupakara-bhāṭṭa, m., | 306 |
| Gōndwāṇa, co., | 286 |
| Gōpana, ch., | 306n |
| Gōsalādevi, *queen of Gōrvindachandra*, | 149 |
| gōṭhī, | 26n |
| Gotami, *Andhra queen*, | 94 |
| Gotami Balasiri, do., | 61 |

| Áṭrāya, | 306, 316 |
| Bharadvāja or Bhāradvāja, 144, 146, 152, 153, 163, 236, 284, 265, 288, 292, 293n, 296, 306, 316, 317 |
| Bhārgava, | 317 |
| Garga, | 286 |
| Gantana, | 140 |
| Kālabara, | 238 |
| Kāitya, 126, 135, 147, 148, 155, 163, 250, 315, 316, 317 |
| Kaṇḍānya, | 226, 228, 306 |
| Kaṇḍika, | 183, 189, 316 |
| Mānavya, | 34, 148 |
| Nīdrāravāya-Kāitya, | 317 |
| Parāśara or Pārāśara, 189, 194, 195, 306 |
| Pārvatv, | 153 |
| Saṅkṛiti, | 306 |
| Saṅhamaraḥṣa, | 306 |
| Sāvarṇi, | 306 |
| Śāhāhuṣa, | 316, 317 |
| Śāleśī, | 317 |
| Vatsa, | 306, 316, 317 |
| Viśvāmitra, | 306 |

| Gōra (Gua), vi., | 12 |
| Gōvadhanas or Gōvarshana, vi., 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 79, 80, 82, 89 |
| Gōvarshanaṅgir, *hill in the Shēmoga district*, 125n |
| Gōvarshnagir, *hill near Kārkaḷa*, 125, 128 |
| Gōve-Chandragnūti, di., | 124n |
| Gōve-Guttī, di., | 124n |
| Gōvīndī II, *Rāṭhrakṛta k.*, 183, 184 |
| Gōvīndī III, do., | 184, 292 |
| Gōvīndī-bhāṭṭa, m., | 306, 316 |
| Gōrvindachandra, *Kanakaj k.*, 149, 163, 163, 154n, 155, 157, 158, 159n |

| Gōvīndanāthas, do., | 316 |
| Gōvīndapāṃḍita, m., | 308, 315 |
| Gōvindavāmin, m., | 147, 148 |
| Gōvīśālakās, di., | 151 |
| Gōwra, vi., | 150 |
| Gōyara, s.a. Gōwra, | 150 |
| Gōyara-pattalā, di., | 150 |
| Gṛnḍo-Buddhīśart, | 174, 177, 178 |
| Grahavarman, ch., | 48n |
| Gṛmaka, *a small village*, | 164 |
| Gṛmam, vi., | 261 |
| Gṛmam Kṛṣṇa, | 147 |
| Greek, | 96 |
| Gūgūlī (Gūgūlī) Brāhmaṇa, | 206 |
| Gūhīla, *family*, | 202 |
| Gūjarāt, co., | 99, 101, 231 |
| Gūjarāt Chalukya, *family*, | 231 |
| Gula, *battalion*, | 89 |
| Gūlarā, vi., | 286 |
| Gūnda, *a niche (?)*, | 136 |
| Gummāṭa, *Jaina saint*, 15, 122, 134n |
| Gummāṭāmbā, f., | 126, 134 |
| Gummāṭērava, s.a. Gummāṭa, 17, 24, 126, 135 |
| Gupāpāla, m., | 155 |
| Gupāṣa, the six, | 30n |
| Guroḍhakamā, vi., | 10 |
| Gupāṭṭānā, m., | 317 |
| Gupāta, dy., 29, 31, 36, 37, 172, 174, 175, 177, 179, 296, 298 |
| Gūrjana, co., | 99, 202, 216 |
| Gūṭti, s.a. Chandragutti, | 134 |
| Gūṭti, vi., | 134n |
| Gūṭṭi thirty-four, di., | 134n |
| guttun (guttigadava), | 138n |

<p>| hāḍa, <em>measure</em>, | 124, 129, 137, 138 |
| Hagāna, <em>Katharagā k.</em>, | 174n |
| Haḷhaya, s.a. Kalachuri, | 296, 298 |
| Hāla, <em>author</em>, | 117n, 118n, 243n, 259n |
| Hālaḍhāre, | 124, 137 |
| Halōḍaya-pattalā, di., | 160 |
| Halāyudha, <em>quoted</em>, | 48n, 215n |
| Halājgī, vi., | 26n |
| Hālī, vi., | 30, 147 |
| Hampaṇa-bhāṭṭa, m., 308n, 316 |
| hand, <em>coin</em>, | 150 |
| Hānasāgī, vi., | 122n, 125n |
| Hāpaḷādrā, vi., | 206 |
| hāne, <em>measure</em>, 124, 129, 130, 136, 137 |
| Hāravī, s.a. Paravā, | 136 |
| Hāravīsām, <em>Telugu poem</em>, | 11, 12 |
| Harbhadrāsūri, <em>Jaina teacher</em>, 203, 206, 218 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harichandujjālī, vi,</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harihar, vi,</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harihar, god,</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haritharivarsa, s. a. Harihara II,</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hārītputra,</td>
<td>34, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivināha, Jain work,</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivinsāna, Telugu poem,</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivarman, Kadamba k., 30, 31, 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivatsākūṭa, fort,</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haraharcharita, quoted</td>
<td>28, 40n, 47n, 48n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastimallā, the elephant of Indra,</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastin, Purivivājaka k.,</td>
<td>288, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastisēna, m,</td>
<td>208n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[H]aupāyaj-pattalā, dī</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāmañcandra, 26n, 26n, 34n, 39n, 117n, 144n, 208n, 216n, 242, 246n, 247n, 248n, 249n, 252n, 254n, 256n, 257n, 259n, 260n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēmantā, the winter season</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēmāsaṇā, Jain teacher</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēmāvati, vi</td>
<td>135n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēmatā, vi</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hēthāsāñjī, s. a. Hēmatā,</td>
<td>206, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himālaya, m</td>
<td>215n, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himavat, s. a. Himālaya</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hīrāja-gāndhāli, vi,</td>
<td>144, 145, 146n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiranyas,</td>
<td>153, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hīrē-Bāśir, vi</td>
<td>52, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hīrēmagnālū, vi</td>
<td>50, 53, 54, 66n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hīrīyagandhi, vi,</td>
<td>122, 126, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitpahebāglī, vi</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiuen Tsang,</td>
<td>100, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōma,</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hombucha, s. a. Hombha</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homamāmbhikī, j</td>
<td>126, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honu, coin</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooghly, vi,</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hōsabetti, te</td>
<td>125n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hōsāla, dy,</td>
<td>101, 185n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hōmbaka, vi</td>
<td>122n, 126, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurumāṇji, s. a. Ormuz,</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husukūra, vi</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huvishka, Kusāñjāna k,</td>
<td>172, 173, 180, 181, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Íbā, vi</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Íja-lamp,</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139, 140</td>
<td>37, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 22</td>
<td>75, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>31n, 289, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152, 155</td>
<td>127, 128, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>41, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>294n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274, 275</td>
<td>148, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278n, 279, 280, 281</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279, 280, 281</td>
<td>28n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294n, 318, 319</td>
<td>28, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>28n, 48n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>209, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54, 55</td>
<td>208, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149, 150, 152</td>
<td>1381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 45n</td>
<td>9, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54, 56</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 64, 65n</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128n</td>
<td>127, 128, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>153, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>98, 202n, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99, 100</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99n</td>
<td>279, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>288, 418n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208, 216, 217</td>
<td>219, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203, 204, 205, 206</td>
<td>209, 210, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>212, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 202</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 9</td>
<td>19, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 18, 19, 20</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124, 125, 126, 127</td>
<td>295, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127, 128, 129</td>
<td>127, 128, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127, 128, 129</td>
<td>127, 128, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalasa-rāya, dī.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalavai, vi.</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalavai-paṟṟu, dī.</td>
<td>308, 309n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalavai-ṉirvīth, s.a. Kalavai-paṟṟu</td>
<td>308, 309, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kales Dewar, s.a. Māvarman Kulaśēkhara I.</td>
<td>291n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalhaṇa, author</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali age,</td>
<td>34, 134, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālidāsa, poet</td>
<td>98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālima, co.</td>
<td>161, 288n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāliṅgagāna, s.a. Mukhaliṅgam</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāliṉjar, vi.</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālesvara, vi.</td>
<td>279, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāḷḷa-Perumbūr, vi.</td>
<td>265, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāḷḷogra-gaṇa, school of Jaina teachers</td>
<td>123n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalpa,</td>
<td>217, 315, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalpātī, tīṭhī</td>
<td>264n, 274n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalpa-sūtra, Jaina work</td>
<td>134n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśi, vi.</td>
<td>168, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalyāṇi, a square pond</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalyāṇika, festival</td>
<td>204, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇṭhaṇḍa, m.</td>
<td>136n add.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇṭhasḥi, queen of Sāṅgama,</td>
<td>209, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇṭhasḥi-dharmā-mpaḻapa,</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇṭhaṇikalaṁhāsa, uṇṭikā</td>
<td>98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāņṭha, vi.</td>
<td>175, 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṁndaki, author</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmali, vi.</td>
<td>153n, 154n, 155n, 157n, 159n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmbojā, co.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kambula</td>
<td>134, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānmulva, m.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānḳandalā palace</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānḳāka-va Kārakahā-rāḥṭra, s.a. Kāmaka- rāḥṭra</td>
<td>234 and add., 236 and add., 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and add.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṃṇa-va Kāraṇārāḥṭra, dī.</td>
<td>234, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmpavikramaṇarman, Gaṅgā-Pallava k.</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmrōj, vi.</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇakalēkāḥ, f.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānakapura, s.a. Pambuchcha</td>
<td>128n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānauj, vi.</td>
<td>149, 180n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapānta, vi.</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇēṭhī or Kāṇēṭhpura (Conceveram), vi.</td>
<td>8, 28, 34n, 35, 233, 234, 266, 292, 294n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅgalī-pattalā, dī.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅgavaran, Kadamba k.</td>
<td>28, 30, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅgṛa, vi.</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅhadādva, s.a. Krishparāddva,</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅhpāri, me.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅhāhindī, Western, vi.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅhpavāḷāhāra, dī.</td>
<td>230, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅhēri, vi.</td>
<td>83, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅhwāḥ, vi.</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅishka, Kūśaṇa k.</td>
<td>172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāntāsānti, sur. of Sāntinātha,</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṣūr-gaṇa,</td>
<td>129n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāpālamōchana-gaṭṭa,</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāpāḷēvāra, te.</td>
<td>290n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāpāḷēkhaṭam, s.a. Kāpāḷēvāra,</td>
<td>200n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāpanaṇaka, m.</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapāḷēvāra, te.</td>
<td>2, 4, 5, 6, 263, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapāṭhitā, vi.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapīla, rīṭhī</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāpura, dī.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karabūṇa, vi.</td>
<td>68, 79 and add.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārākālān, m.</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārakāla, s.a. Kārkāla.</td>
<td>122, 123, 128, 129, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārāmbicchheṭṭa, family name</td>
<td>300n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārāmbicchheṭṭa Mahādāva-gaṭṭa, m.</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaṇa:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāga,</td>
<td>299, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraṭpika,</td>
<td>152, 157, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karavandapura, sur. of Kajakkudi</td>
<td>318, 319n, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karavandāvāra, te.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārli, m.</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārmaṇṭu, sur. of Nammāḷvār,</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārkalā, vi.</td>
<td>122, 123, 124n, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārkalā, Rājārākūṭa ch.</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārkūr Gāh,</td>
<td>146n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārli, vi.</td>
<td>59, 66, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārnāpya, s.a. Kamrōj</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārṇa, myāṭaṇa ḳ.</td>
<td>8, 98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karpanḍarā, māṭiṭhī</td>
<td>98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārtūkāyā (Sandal, god)</td>
<td>20, 35n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārāṃkāṛāchhērī, vi.</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karāvūr, vi.</td>
<td>5, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāsahṛdā, Kāsahṛdā or Kāsandṛ, s.a. Kāsandṛ-Pālāṭi,</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśkukūṭi, vi.</td>
<td>26, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśābōḷā, dī.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśī, s.a. Benaṭes,</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśīkā-rīṭṭī</td>
<td>39n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśhāṅjam, Telugu poem</td>
<td>9n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāsandṛ-Pālāṭi, vi.</td>
<td>206n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāṭaka, a camp</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭavā-Vēma, Bēḍā ḳ.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāṭhā-anukṣan-gaṭṭa, oc.</td>
<td>150n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭhāśāriśagāra, quoted</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭi-pattalā, dī.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>[Vol. VIII]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202, 216</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234, 236</td>
<td>9, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308, 309, 315</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>12, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>127, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>130, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129, 138</td>
<td>168, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203, 219</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>162, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>168, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173, 174, 177, 179</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 and add.</td>
<td>217n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203, 204, 208</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 12</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237, 240</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>201, 206, 206, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>127n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 51, 58</td>
<td>30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203, 204, 208, 217n</td>
<td>30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 148</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 12</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>72, 73, 82, 85, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 45n, 78, 82, 85, 86, 172, 174, 175, 180</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, 34, 47, 61</td>
<td>38, 29, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, 77, 91</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124, 126, 130, 136, 137</td>
<td>120n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133n</td>
<td>41, 47, 61, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulaips, cå., 41, 49</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulañgår, priest, 295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kularika, a potter(?) 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulañkabaradévå, sur. of Ravivarman 8, 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kullégere, vi. 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûl-Mahâtârakå, te. 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulätùnâga I, Chêla k. 280, 281</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulätùnâga-Ubâla II, do. 261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulätùnâga-Chêla III, do. 1, 4, 7, 260, 264, 265, 266, 291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulätùnâga-Chêla-vañamå, s. a. Puliyâr-kottam 291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâra, s. a. Kârttikâya 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâradévå, f. 200, 207, 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâragadîâpaka 132, 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâragiri, Reôji k. 11, 12, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâra-Hakasiri, cå. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumârapåla, Chaulkâya k. 201, 202, 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumârasamîn, m. 189, 194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâra-Vêdâgiri, s. a. Pina-Vêdâgiri 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâravishqak I, Pallava k. 234, 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumâravishqak II, do. 233, 234, 236, 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhakôram, vi. 294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbânaîa, demoness 30n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumudakântam, Jaina teacher 129n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kundâkana, do. 129n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûpôli, s. a. Gñuplañkamma 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûpôli-Prawha, do. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûntala or Kûntala, co. 103, 305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûpaka, co. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûppa, m. 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûpphaparâ, vi. 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûram, vi. 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûryîda, vi. 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûrmasêtaka, poem 242, 243n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurni, caste 284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurnool, di. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûrûôti Dêvârâja-bhâtta, m. 306</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuśa, grass 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuśa, 82, 83, 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusañqa or Kushan, d.y. 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûshåmañçint-yañkå, goddess 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuñumâkara, m. 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuñumamåñêjå, s. a. Pàriññatamañêjål 101n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuñumañêjå, do. 101n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuñûtâlam, vi. 293, 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuvaliya (Kolar), vi. 52, 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuveya, m. 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Page**

| lagna — | 124, 134 |
| laga — | 124, 134 |
| Lahore, vi. | 297 |
| Lahul, vi. | 174 |
| Lakhalghûrv, vi. | 183 |
| Lahmâpâ, m. | 180, 293n |
| Lahmâpô-bhâtta, m. | 316 |
| Lahmô, goddess | 139 |
| Lahmîvarman, Paramârâ k. | 202n |
| Lalitâdôli, wife of Vastupâla 203, 216 |
| Lalitakârti, title of Jaina teachers 122s, 124, 129 |
| Lalitakârti-Bhâtårâkådôva, s. a. Lalitakârti 122n |
| Lalitañkura, Pallava surname | 145 |
| Lalitavistâr, quoted | 45n |

**Languages**: —

| Apabhramsa | 242 |
| Bengali | 139 |
| Gujarati | 145n |
| Kanarese | 51, 123, 124, 281, 307 |
| Mâgadhi | 168 |
| Mâhârâshâtrî | 100, 242 |
| Pâli | 26n, 39n, 40n, 45n, 71 |
| Prâkrit | 39, 97, 100, 143, 144, 170, 173, 180, 181, 204, 207, 241 |
| Sarsasînt | 100 |
| Tamil | 8, 261, 261, 292, 298, 307, 318 and add. |
| Telugu | 9, 13n, 261, 291n |

<p>| Lâtå, co. | 231 |
| Landôśvara, te. | 152 |
| Lavañaprudâda, Vâghôla k. | 201, 205, 215 |
| Lâvânyañcînha, m. | 203, 217, 218 |
| Lîlukâ, f. | 203, 217 |
| Lînâ, ch. | 13 |
| lion erest | 164 |
| Lûkânâtharsa, Sânâtara ch. | 128, 129n |
| Lûkapâla, m. | 165 |
| Lûlâkara, te. | 152 |
| Lûlîpqadhô or Lûlîkpqadhô, vi. | 158, 159 |
| Lûtâ, m. | 74 |
| Lucknow, vi. | 149, 173, 179, 181 |
| lunar race | 126, 128 |
| Lûpåshâ, s. a. Lûpâsînâma | 207 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>130n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98n</td>
<td>197n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>16, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>237, 238, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 148</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 11</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 203, 205, 214, 217, 218</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299, 305</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>36n, 48n, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318, 320</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293n</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319, 320</td>
<td>319, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318, 319, 320</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308, 315</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>276, 277, 278, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274, 276</td>
<td>274, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>274, 282, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135n</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 47</td>
<td>41, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>122, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178, 179, 181, 182</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 214</td>
<td>201, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62n</td>
<td>62n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145, 146n</td>
<td>145, 146n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3x2</td>
<td>3x2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayūravarman, s.a. Mayūravarman, 28a, 148n</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayūravarman, Kadamba k., 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 148n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādāpatā or ṭūjaka, di.</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhuna, m.,</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālaṅkāra, vi.</td>
<td>308n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māndāmara, m.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānmatrī, vi.</td>
<td>101, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārkar, vi.</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahān, m.</td>
<td>8, 61, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māruttāng, author,</td>
<td>199, 202, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhaw, vi.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīdhā (mīdhā),</td>
<td>45n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīmāṃsā,</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miraj, vi.</td>
<td>30n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālsēchhha, a Muḥhammadas,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōdha, family</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōgulā, di.</td>
<td>147, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monghyr, vi.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*months, lunar:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashādha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣvayuṣya or Āśvina,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādrapada,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra, 10n, 11, 53, 88, 98n, 124, 134, 182, 225, 205, 208, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeshtha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika, 10, 17, 24, 54, 57, 58 and add., 59, 140, 147, 148, 202, 236, 284, 288, 292, 290, 300, 308, 318, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaśira or Mārgaśirha, 41, 45, 58, 153, 184, 202, 241, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausa or Pushya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phālguna or Phālguna, 203, 204, 207, 219, 292, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisākha or Vesākha, 54, 52, 155, 208, 237, 238, 240, 241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*months, solar:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ādi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttiga,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pānguni,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Moon, race of the, 8, 134, 135, 140, 300, 307, 315 |  |
| Mothers (Mātrī), | 35, 148 |
| Mōṭupalli, vi., | 10, 12n |
| Mrigēvarman, Kadamba k., 25, 28n, 30 |  |
| Mritāntra, rājā, | 216 |
| Mūḍabudure, vi., | 122, 125n, 129, 130n |

| mođe, measure, 124, 128, 129, 130, 136, 137, 138 |  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍagiri, s.a. Monghyr,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍgere, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍigopasaśiparam, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍudāsa, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍgilī, s.a. Hirāmagālī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍgīlī, tr.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍgīlī, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mũḥammadan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhalingam, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukha-muḍḍapa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukkaḍapina-hole, stream,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḷaka, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḍasangha, school of Jaina teachers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlıkā, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḷār, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇṭagī, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇḍiyādaraiyan, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇḍaka, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇḍa-rāṣṭra, di.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇḍasthala, s.a. Mūrthala,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrīṣvarta, s.a. Suvarta, 125, 128n, 185n, 186, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇjadēva, Paramārā k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mura, demon,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muraṭhāṭha(ḥ)-ghaṭṭa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsakṣa, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrthala, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrti Kṛṣṇa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murunjya, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murvārā, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūḷi, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūṇḍamangalappāraṇaiyaṇ, sur. of Māṇu-gāri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore, co.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N

| Nābbha, mythic k., | 61 |
| Nādamupigal, Vaishnavī daśūrya, | 294, 296 |
| Nāḍāśīr, f., | 93 |
| Nāḍumbarai, vi., | 291 |
| Nāga, dy., | 292n |
| Nāga, Reddi ch., | 10 |
| Nāga, kulyā, channel, | 308, 315 |
| Nagarkot (Kāhgrā), vi., | 171 |
| Nāgavardhana, teacher, | 220, 221 |
| Nāgendra-gaṇchāhha, school of Jaina teachers, | 203, 218, 219 |

<p>| Nagode State, | 285 |
| Nāgpur, vi., | 188 |
| Nāhāpāna, Kaṭṭhara k., 75, 82, 85, 86, 174n |  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Nabusha, mythic k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306n add.</td>
<td>Naināra, sur. of Sudarśanāchārya, nakara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128n and add.</td>
<td>nakhataras:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Anurādhā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Ādrā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Aśvinī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Chitrā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Hastā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>Jyēṣṭhā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>Kṛiti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Maghā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Mṛignāśīrā, Mṛignāśīras or Mṛignāśrīsa, 124, 183, 203, 289, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57, 58 and add.</td>
<td>Mūla,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 6, 263, 274, 278</td>
<td>Fumārvasu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 267</td>
<td>Pūrva-Phalguni,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 271, 272, 275, 279</td>
<td>Pushya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265, 267, 270, 278, 279, 299</td>
<td>Rōvati, 6, 261, 263, 269, 270, 278, 279, 299, 305, 308, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 264, 265, 273, 280</td>
<td>Rākṣīṇī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 263, 267, 273</td>
<td>Satabhishaj,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272, 273, 276, 277, 282, 283</td>
<td>Śravāṇa, 3, 272, 273, 276, 277, 282, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265, 267, 270</td>
<td>Uttara-Bhadrapadā, 4, 265, 268, 271, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266, 273, 278</td>
<td>Uttara-Phalguni,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265, 270</td>
<td>Uttarakāśīṭhā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>Visākhā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Nakhaśaspara-chaturāśīṭikā, div.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290, 294n</td>
<td>Nālāyiraprabhandham, name of a work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>nālī, measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Nallunūṇka, Roḍi ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Nallur, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125, 129, 136, 138</td>
<td>Nallur, s.a. Nallur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Nambīṣṭi-Nāraṇa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294, 295, 319</td>
<td>Nammāḻvār, Vaḻhuva saṁtai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Nānāghāṭ, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79, 80</td>
<td>Nānarāngola, s.a. Nārgol,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52, 58</td>
<td>Nandagiri, m.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288n</td>
<td>Nandaprabhaṉaṉvarman, Kalōga k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Nandavai-mattalai, div.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150, 155</td>
<td>Nandippottharaiyaṉ, Pallaṉattakam k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296n</td>
<td>Nandivira-mattalai, div.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160, 163, 164</td>
<td>Nandivarman or Nandivarman Pallaṉmallai, Pallana k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 292, 293, 294</td>
<td>Nandivikramavarman, Gaṅga-Pallana k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215n</td>
<td>Nāṅgumērī, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Nambur, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Nandīlam, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308, 309, 315</td>
<td>Nṛpatajakā, s.a. Kadappēri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>Nṛgaṇḍil, tank,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Nīruka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145, 146, 288</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa, s.a. Viṣṇu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Nārāyanaḥ-bhaṭṭa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Nārāyanaḥvilāsa, drama,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Nārgol, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145, 183</td>
<td>Nāsil, vi., 41n, 47n, 48n, 59, 73, 84, 92, 93, 148, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Nāsik, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>nālīkā, a drama of four acts,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188n</td>
<td>Naugama, s.a. Nōghwā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229, 231</td>
<td>Nausārī, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Naṉagāṇḍa-pattalā, div.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Naṉagāṇḍa-saṁkṣapana, s.a. Nōghwā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Naṉagāṇḍa-pallā, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Naṉaṉkuru, Pallana surname,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Nāṉinār, m.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>818</td>
<td>Neḷumāṟṟaṉ, Pāṇḍya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>818</td>
<td>Neḷuṉṭaṉāiṉ, sur. of Jaṉilavarman, 294, 318n, 319n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Neḷatur, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nellore, div.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nellore, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134, 218, 319</td>
<td>Nāṉi, Jaiṉa saṁṭai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128, 200, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207</td>
<td>Nēmēṅkha ṅe Nēmēṅkhaṉavāmin, tc., 128, 315n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nōlamārī, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167n</td>
<td>Nigāḷ, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Nīḷamārī, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Nīḷasamabhā, the public hall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Nīḷasamabhā, the public hall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Nilavel, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Nilambūr, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 58</td>
<td>nilpaya, measure of land,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Nīṟpaṇḍil, tank,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Nīruka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Nishāda, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄t̄imār̄ga, <em>sur. of Western Gaḡa kings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n̄vartama, <em>land measure</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n̄vrit, <em>a division</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n̄ȳgika or n̄iȳgika, <em>an officer</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄ḡk̄wa, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄rip̄k̄ama-P̄oya-la, <em>Ho̲ḡa-la k.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄rip̄ut̄aṇa or N̄rip̄ut̄aṇavīra-ma-van̄, <em>Gaḡa-P̄alla-k</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄ri̲ś̄in̄ha, te.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄uka, <em>a.a. N̄lla-n̄u-n̄ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N̄nḡambākkam, vi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Odayantika, <em>guild</em></th>
<th>89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲d̄ia, <em>a.a. Oriss̄a</em></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲dh̄ēm̄, vi.</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲d̄ra, <em>a.a. Oriss̄a</em></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oil̄-miller (t̄il̄ap̄ishak̄a), <em>guild of</em></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Os̄avāla, <em>a.a. Us̄avāla</em></td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲ja or vājā, <em>an artificer</em></td>
<td>140n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Os̄avāla-pathaka, <em>di.</em></td>
<td>150, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onḡe-la, vi.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲nt̄i̲ya, vi.</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲rāśa, <em>a.a. Oris̄a</em></td>
<td>206, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲ri̲a, vi.</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O̲ri̲sa, co.</td>
<td>140, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Or̄muz, vi.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Os̄umbhāla, <em>a.a. Umbhēl</em></td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>P̄ad̄marhi, vi.</th>
<th>165</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ad̄maladēri, <em>j</em></td>
<td>201, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ad̄pāṭha, <em>k</em></td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ap̄aṭiyā, vi.</td>
<td>167n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ap̄i̲ka (pratika), <em>coin</em></td>
<td>82, 83, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ad̄manābha, <em>Jaina teacher</em></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ad̄manābha, te.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ad̄manābha, <em>a.a. Velma</em></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ad̄ma-vat̄i or P̄ad̄ma-vat̄idēvi, <em>goddess</em></td>
<td>124, 125, 126, 128, 134, 135, 136, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄au̲v̄u̲r̄-kōṭṭam, <em>dī</em></td>
<td>308, 309, 318n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄āḡa, vi.</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄āh̄avā, <em>tri̲ce</em></td>
<td>41, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄āiȳal̄a-chhi-hi N̄m̄am̄māl̄a, <em>quoted</em></td>
<td>117n, 247n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄āk̄a-nāḍu, <em>dī</em></td>
<td>254n, 257n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>P̄al̄akk̄a, vi.</th>
<th>161</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄āl̄a, <em>rī</em></td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄aṇ̄gaṇ̄, vi.</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄aṇ̄ni, <em>rī</em></td>
<td>42, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄uṇ̄a, vi.</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄ava, <em>s.a. Paḥl̄ava</em></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄av̄aku-t̄il̄aka, <em>biruda of Danti-varma</em></td>
<td>293n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄av̄at̄il̄aka, <em>family</em></td>
<td>293n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄ava-Ṭrin̄ṭrâ, <em>sur. of Vēma</em></td>
<td>9, 10, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄ain̄k̄di, vi.</td>
<td>51, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄al̄u̲v̄u̲r̄-kōṭṭa, <em>s.a. Paḥu̲v̄u̲r̄-kōṭṭa</em></td>
<td>308, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄āmb̄hāya Sarv̄ōt̄am̄a Aṭharvaṇa-m,</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄aṇ̄j̄a, vi.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄aṇ̄m̄paṭi, <em>te.</em></td>
<td>308n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P̄aṇ̄ṣe̲ga (Panaṇ̄k̄a), <em>s.a. Haṇ̄saṣe̲ga</em></td>
<td>122n, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ch̄hākha-jāya,</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ch̄haladēśa, <em>co.</em></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ch̄ham̄pta,</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ch̄hōṇ̄kārā, <em>te.</em></td>
<td>152, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ι̲l̄ala-pattal̄a, <em>di.</em></td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍ̄imaṇ̄ḡalavaiyaraiya, <em>sur. of Māṇ̄ḡ</em></td>
<td>319, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍ̄i̲ta,</td>
<td>153, 154, 155, 157, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄j̄i̲t̄ārya, <em>sur. of Śrutamanī</em></td>
<td>17, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍy̲a, <em>co.</em></td>
<td>5, 8, 265, 266, 274, 275n, 291, 294, 300, 305, 313, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍ̄ya-nagāri, vi.</td>
<td>125, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍ̄ya-vaṇ̄ya, <em>Kālaṇ̄a-Kaṇ̄ka-la ch.</em></td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍ̄ya-vaṇ̄ya, <em>s.a. Vira-Paṇ̄ḍ̄ya</em></td>
<td>125, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ḍ̄ya-vaṇ̄ya, <em>ch.</em></td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄i̲ni,</td>
<td>25, 26, 39n, 46n, 91, 98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄j̄āb, <em>co.</em></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ne-Ōja, <em>m.</em></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄gr̄uti, vi.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄pan̄k̄a, <em>m.</em></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄p̄ād̄a, <em>rī</em></td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄k̄es̄a-vi̲ma-r̄va-ma-n̄, <em>sur. of Chōja kings, 1, 2</em></td>
<td>3, 261, 262, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ama-hat̄t̄araka,</td>
<td>140, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ama-ra, d.y.</td>
<td>96, 98, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ma-ra, <em>k</em></td>
<td>201, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄m̄e-s̄a-vara, <em>9, 140, 152, 153, 155, 157</em></td>
<td>168, 183, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ama-s̄a-vara, *Vinnagaram, <em>s.a. Vaikuptu-ha</em></td>
<td>293, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paṇ̄ma-s̄a-vara, <em>Perumāl</em></td>
<td>293, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parantaka, <em>sūr. of Jaśilavarman</em>,</td>
<td>201n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parantaka, <em>sūr. of Mārañjājaśaiyan</em>,</td>
<td>318, 320</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parantaka I, <em>Koñā ḍā</em>,</td>
<td>260, 261, 292, 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parāśarabhūṣaṇa, <em>Vaishnava teacher</em>,</td>
<td>308n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parava, <em>tribe</em>,</td>
<td>138n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārīchāta, s.a. Pārīyātra,</td>
<td>61, 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārījātamañjāri, sūkṣma,</td>
<td>98, 99, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārījātamañjāri, <em>queen</em>,</td>
<td>100, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parinirvāṇa,</td>
<td>167, 172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parināma (parināma),</td>
<td>176, 177n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parivraja, <em>family</em>,</td>
<td>284, 285, 286</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārīyātra, s.a.</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkham, vi,</td>
<td>174n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārṣāva, <em>Jain saint</em>,</td>
<td>208n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśvanātha, <em>dō</em>,</td>
<td>125, 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārśvanāthaśaśvāmin, te,</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṭhapaśākrama, <em>drama</em>,</td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṭhasārātivahāmin, te,</td>
<td>290, 291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārvaṇa,</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parpararvata, vi,</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārvati, <em>goddess</em>,</td>
<td>314, 315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paśchimachchhapana-pattalā, <em>dī</em>,</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paśa, <em>animal sacrifice</em>,</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṣupata,</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṣupatāḷa, vi,</td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāṭaka,</td>
<td>157, 158n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṭaliputta (Patna), vi,</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṭāllāvāra, vi,</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṭhanakōṭi, vi,</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭika, ch,</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭna, <em>dī</em>,</td>
<td>286</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭparā, vi,</td>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭtana, vi,</td>
<td>208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭṭi, s.a. nivartana,</td>
<td>236n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭṭi, s.a. Paṭṭi-rājya,</td>
<td>126n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭṭikā,</td>
<td>189, 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭṭikā, s.a. nivartana,</td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭṭi-Poṁbhaṣapura, s.a. Humcha,</td>
<td>126, 128, 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭṭi-rājya, <em>co</em>,</td>
<td>126n, 128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paūṣa, <em>year</em>,</td>
<td>31n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāvānā, m,</td>
<td>316</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavanavādhi, s.a. Uddhava,</td>
<td>217n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāvāṇi,</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peśa-Kuṇaṭi-Vēma, Reśṭī, <em>k</em>,</td>
<td>12, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peggūr, vi,</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemmañḍi, m,</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemmañḍagīmaṇḍa, m,</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemmañḍagaṇḍa, m,</td>
<td>58n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemmañḍaṇḍa, m,</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemamanaṇḍi,</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penkūḍa, vi,</td>
<td>135n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perkūṇḍa, vi,</td>
<td>135n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periyatirumōli, <em>quoted</em>,</td>
<td>390n, 393n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia, <em>co</em>,</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perumbāḻappāṇṇi, <em>dī</em>,</td>
<td>28n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peruṭgai Dēvārājan, <em>m</em>,</td>
<td>317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perunēgal Vēṅkaṭa, <em>m</em>,</td>
<td>317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesūvar, vi,</td>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pēṭhāja, <em>m</em>,</td>
<td>293, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pēṭha-Pāṅgara, s.a. Pagāra,</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pēṅyārā, <em>Vaishnava saint</em>,</td>
<td>280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phēṅgūna, s.a. Phēṅgūna,</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phēṅpēṅi, vi,</td>
<td>206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phīnaṇīpuram, vi,</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phīṇjār, <em>dī</em>,</td>
<td>286</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīḍena, vi,</td>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīkīra, vi,</td>
<td>160, 161, 163, 204, 278n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīṅgūṭakāṇḍa, vi,</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīnā-Vēṭagiri, ch,</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīppirai Varadārkā-bhaṭṭa, <em>m</em>,</td>
<td>306</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piprāvā, vi,</td>
<td>317n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīṟṟagamalai, <em>kīl</em>,</td>
<td>318n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīriya-Mugula, s.a. Hirēmagaṟūr,</td>
<td>50, 51, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīsāṭhāpadra, vi,</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīsāṭhāpadra, s.a. Pīsāṭhāpadra,</td>
<td>62, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pīṭṭhī-bhaktah, <em>legend on seal</em>,</td>
<td>288n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piyadasi, <em>sūr. of Adōka</em>,</td>
<td>87, 169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokhara, <em>vi</em>,</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokhara, s.a. Pokhara,</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polai, vi,</td>
<td>291n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pōlaya-Vēma, Reśṭī, <em>ch</em>,</td>
<td>11, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polākṣaṇiyada-hoḷe, <em>stream</em>,</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poṁbucha or Poṁbucha, s.a. Humcha,</td>
<td>124, 126, 134, 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poṁbulcha, <em>dō</em>,</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poṁburcha, <em>dō</em>,</td>
<td>126n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poṁvula, <em>dō</em>,</td>
<td>126n add.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pōṭa, Reśṭī, <em>ch</em>,</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pōṭa, s.a. Anāpōta,</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabandhacintāmaṇi, <em>name of a work</em>, 99,</td>
<td>202, 243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhāṣaṇa, <em>Pariṣṭākā ḍā</em>,</td>
<td>288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhāśa, vi,</td>
<td>79, 208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhūtavaraḥsa, <em>s. of Gōvinda II</em>,</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhūtavaraḥsa, s.a. Gōvinda III,</td>
<td>294n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prabōḷhāni, s.a. uttāma-dvādasi,</td>
<td>308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragītā, <em>family</em>,</td>
<td>201, 203, 205, 206, 214, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhādana, <em>Pariṣṭākā ḍā</em>,</td>
<td>201, 202, 203, 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prāppāḥārya,</td>
<td>153, 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prapavaliṣa, s.a. Prapaveśvara, ... 24a
Prapaveśvara, te, ... 24
pranayakriyā, ... 49a
prāśasti, ... 98, 98, 24a
Prastaravijaka, s.a. Patparā, ... 23a, 286, 288
praṣtha, meṣeure, ... 189b
Pratāpadēvarāya, Viṣṇavagurupā, prince, ... 308
Pratāparudrā, Kākātiya k., ... 11, 12
Pratāparudriyam, name of a work, ... 101
Pratāpārīla, eur. of Karkarāja, ... 183
Pratīhāra or Pratīhāra, family, ... 150n, 206
Pratīshthāna-kotā, s.a. Paṭhānkot, ... 171
pravajikara, ... 153, 154, 155, 157, 158
pravaras: —
Āgirāna, ... 140, 152
Autaṣṭhya, ... 140
Āvāsāra, ... 155
Bhrāha-patya, ... 152
Bhāravadāja, ... 152
Dhauṣya, ... 154
Gautamā, ... 140
Kākāśyana, ... 154
Kāśyapa, ... 155
Kausikā, ... 154
Nādhra, ... 155
Pravarasena II, Vākātaka k., ... 31 and add.
pravājita, ... 164
Prayāga, s.a. Allāhābād, ... 150n, 151, 152
Prēharā or Prēharā (?), ... 28, 29, 35
Prēma-puruṣāvare, te, ... 6
prīthivīvallabha or prīthivīvallabha, 129, 189, 230, 231
Prīthu, mythic k., ... 35
Prīthivīśrīkā (?), queen of Madanapāla, ... 149
Pripadārāni, nātikā, ... 98n
Prōlaya-Vēma, s.a. Vēma, ... 10
Puduppākha, vi, ... 291
Pugāṭhaṇa, Viṣṇuvarṇiy, m, ... 295, 296
Pulakēsin II, W. Chaluka k, ... 233
Pulakēśirāja, Gajjāna Chalukya ch, ... 231
Pulakēśi-Vallabha, s.a. Pulakēsin II, ... 230, 231
Pulal-nādu, vi, ... 291
Pulakōṭṭha, vi, ... 291
Pulīca, vi, ... 161
Pulindānaka, s.a. Paldūnā, ... 189
Puliyūr, vi, ... 291
Puliyūr-kōṭṭha, vi, ... 291
Pulālikē, kill, ... 13a
puḻi, s.a. virāma, ... 291, 319
Pulōman, demon, ... 216
Prudvīrana-Perumāl, te, ... 305
Pujumāyi, s.a. Sirī-Pujumāyi Vasiṭṭhiputta, ... 68
Puruṣavas, m, ... 338
Punandhikshha-bhaṭṭa, m, ... 316
Punēdahali, vi, ... 126
Pūṇiga, di, ... 10, 11
Pūṇija- or Puṇija-kīrīṭa, di, ... 129
Pūrāṇa, ... 183
Purusādatta, f, ... 75
Pūrṇasimha, m, ... 203, 217
Pūrṇimānta, ... 289
Pūrāṇapa-pattal, vi, ... 151
Puruḥita, a family priest, ... 200
Puruḥamaṇa, rāshi, ... 170
Puruṇavas, mythic k, ... 213n
Puruṣamaneppa, vi, ... 140
Pushpitāgriha, metre, ... 28
Pushyagupta, ch, ... 41, 46
Pushyavuddhi (Pushyavṛddhi), Buddhist friar, ... 173 and add., 175, 177, 180, 181
Queen's cave, ... 67
Rāche or Rāche-Vēma, Roḍdi k, ... 13, 13
Rāhamaṇa, W. Gaṅga k, ... 62
Rāhamaṇa II, ... 56, 57, 58
Rāhamaṇa III, ... 51, 52, 54, 57, 58
Rachchha-Gaṅga, W. Gaṅga k, ... 54, 56
rāhī, ... 98
Rāhī, f, ... 98n
Rāhanpur, vi, ... 134
Rājakā, vi, ... 168
Rāgu, Kadamba k, ... 29, 30, 35
Rāgu, mythic k, ... 22, 213
Rākṣamānī, quoted, ... 26n, 35c, 36n, 46n
Rāru, planet, ... 305
Rāṣṭagā, di, ... 286
rainy season, ... 73, 74
Rāpur, vi, ... 286
Rārākhola, di, ... 286
Rāivata, mo, ... 208
Rāvāna, vi, ... 134n
rājādhirāja, ... 206
Rājādhirāja II, Chōka k, ... 261
rājaguru, ... 98, 99
Rajahmundry, vi, ... 12
INDEX.

Rājakṣasārvirman, Chōla k. 299n
rājakula, 204, 206
rājamalla, W. Gaṅga k. 55
rājan, 171, 172
rājaparamēvara, 306
rājaputra, 189, 190, 206
Rājarāja (Kavērā, god), 220
Rājarāja II., Chōla k., 1, 2, 3, 260, 263, 264
Rājarāja III., do., 1, 6, 260, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 291
Rājadeva, vī, 146
Rajagirīvāra, te., 270, 273
Rājatarāṅgiṇi, quoted, 34n, 101
Rājendra-Chōla k., 56
Rājendra-Chōla I., Chōla k., 360, 361, 362, 291, 294n, 295n
Rājendra-Chōla III., do., 1, 7, 260, 272, 273, 274
Raju, mythicel k., 213
Rājputāna, co., 79, 286
Rajula, Katakrapa čh., 174
Rājapāla, Kanaūj k., 149, 157
Rājapālapura, vī, 157, 159
Rakkhula-grāma, s.a. Lākhalgantī, 153
Raksha, 36
Rābāsha, 62
Rābhāsha, 149
Rāhāpāra, Rāhādāval, mother of Govinda-
dra, 22n, 36n, 48n, 61, 213n, 216, 230
Rāma, saṁt, 305, 309
Rāma or Rāmadēva, s.a. Rāmachiandra, 299, 305, 306
Rāmabhūpati, Yādava prince, 299n
Rāmachiandra, Yādava k., 299
Rāmadēva, m., 98
Rāmadēva, Paramādra k., 201, 216
Rāmagiri, vī, 264, 268, 271
Rāmaśaka, m., 90
Rāmanātha, te., 300, 305
Rāmanuja, Vaishnava āchārya, 294
Rāmarāya, Viṣṇunagara k., 290n
Rāmatīrtha, vī, 79
Rāmāyana, 26n, 30n, 36n, 39, 40, 45n, 46n, 48n, 49n, 215n
Rambhāmayūrana-gari, vī, 306n, 315
Rāmōvaram, island, 300
Rānpūrera, vī, 168
rāpaka, 140, 205
[Rāma P.-pattalā, di., 161
Rānarāga, W. Chalukya k., 46n
Rasapāraka, Ālava prince, 126n add.
Rānapārika, W. Gaṅga k., 53
Rāpdavai, vī, 151
Rāgha, Viṣṇunagara k., 291
Rāganāthā, te., 8
Rājājāla, s.a. Rēnjāla, 125, 129, 136
Rājījula, s.a. Rēnjula, 174, 180
Rākṣtrākūṭa, dy., 126, 164, 183, 184, 206n
Rāla, 293, 294n
Rāsikasājanī, commentary, 99
Rāsa Māhī, quoted, 206n
Ratapura, vī, 285, 286
rāṇhiya, 204, 206
rātra-traya, the three jewels, 134n, 135n
Ratnākara, nāṭikād, 98n, 100
Rāvana, demon, 30n
Ravidhura, m., 153
Ravirman, Kadamba k., 31, 31, 147, 148
Ravirman, Kēroa k., 8, 9
Rāyachokōlānada, sur. of Vēma, 9
Rāyakōta, vī, 293n
Rayaṇa-ujjha, m., 140
Rebhala, m., 89
Rēdjō, dy., 9n, 10, 11, 12, 13
Rēnjāla, vī, 129
Rishabhá, Jaina saint, 208
Rishabhadvaita, Kṣarkarutā k., 72
Rishika, co., 62
Ridha, vī, 185n
Riddadā-gōva, bīruda, 135
Rohapīgutta, m., 69
Rōhinggāpā, m., 145, 146
Rādamunyasvāyālā-pattalā, di., 151
Ruddrā, s.a. Sīva, 23
Rudradāman, Katakrapa k., 40, 41, 45, 47n, 48n, 49, 62
Rukmatīgada, mythicel k., 10
Rummandōi, the Lumbini garden, 167n, 168
rāpsakara, a sculptor, 98
Rūpānātha, vī, 168, 170, 171
Rūlam, vī, 188, 193

S

sahā-maṇḍapa, 200
Sādālī, vī, 202
Sādālera or Sādakara, 62
Śādiyān, s.a. Mārāśādiyān, 319
Sādāśiva, Viṣṇunagara k., 291
Sākharapura, m., 140
Sagara, mythicel k., 35, 61, 149
Sahasā, vī, 60, 163

2 r
INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 add.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55, 56, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180, 181, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160, 163, 234, 237n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308, 309, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 67, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128, 130n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 35n, 130, 239n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23n, 216n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291, 296n, 314, 315, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37, 38, 42n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160, 234, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174, 180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sīhāvarman, Kadamba k., 30
Sīhāvarman, Pālava k., 160, 163, 234, 237n
Sīhāvakrama, sur. of Indrabhāṣāvakaran, 237
Sīhāvakramapāṭha, sur. of Nellore, 11
Sīhāvishnu, Pālava k., 234
Sīhū-Saivara, co., 41, 47
Sīdinagara, s.a. Sinnar, 183
Sīngha, ch., 12
Sīṅgara, family, 149
Sīṅgavaram, vi., 277
Sīnnar, vi., 183
Sīrūkkāvur, s.a. Śrūrūkkāvur, 298, 300, 305
Sīrīl, s.a. Sirīr, 151
Sīrīl-pattalā, dī., 151
Sirī-Pulumaio or Sirī-Pulumāl, Andhra k., 59, 55
Sīrī-Pulumākūr (mārī) Vaiṣṭhulpeta, dō., 61, 67, 72
Sīrī-Sādakāpi (Sādakāpi) Gotamimpeta, dō., 61, 72
Sīrītana, s.a. Sīrītana, 61, 62
Sīrīnā-Sādakāpi, s.a. Yaṇasirī Sādakāpi, 72
Sīrī, vi., 151
Sītra, metre., 13n
Sīsila or Sīsīla, s.a. Sīsukali, 128, 130n
Sīsukali, vi., 128
Sīsūpālavadhā, quoted, 26, 35n, 130, 239n
Sītā, 22n, 216n
Sīva, god., 10n, 28, 29, 35, 137, 214n, 215n, 301, 296n, 314, 315, 316
Sīvā, s. a. Pārvati, 213
Sīvadatta, Ābhāra k., 99
Sīvagupta, s.a. Mahāśāvakapurāṇa, 140n
Sīvaguta, m., 72
Sīvakandana, m., 67
Śalākānātha, te., 261
Sīvamāra I., W. Gaṅga k., 26c
Sīvamāna, 90
Śīvalōkanātha, m., 282
Śīvaratha, Kadamba k., 30, 31
Śīvakandavarman, Pālava k., 144
Śīvāpata, s.a. Śīvāpaprata, 189n
Śīvālopa, vi., 152n
Śīyūrika, quoted, 166n
Śakabhaṭta, m., 189, 190
Śakandagupta, Gupta k., 37, 38, 42n
Śakandakumara, m., 317
Śakandasīghya, mythica k., 292n
Śakandasīghyavakramavarman, Gaṅga-Pal-

lava k., 222n
Śakandavarman I., Pālava k., 160, 234, 238
Śakandavarman II., dō., 160, 162
Śōbhana, m., 140
Śōdāsa, Khaṭrīrāja ch., 174, 180

Sūdana, Ceylon, island, 2 Y 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tejāra, s.a. Tellār,</td>
<td>125, 129, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tellār, vi,</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teljīyasāgā-Nayagar, te,</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu country,</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēmishapachottara-pattalā, di,</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tegkā, vi,</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tērāla-Dūchā-Reddī, Ređī ch,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēvūr, vi,</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēwar, vi,</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thakkura,</td>
<td>152, 155, 157, 207, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thakkurājī,</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanaurā, vi,</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thērigāthā, quoted,</td>
<td>234n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilāda (tilaka),</td>
<td>239n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tippa, m,</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirapānu, s.a. Tiramānī,</td>
<td>62, 64, 65, 66, 74, 76, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirtha,</td>
<td>17, 78, 79, 86, 88, 206, 207, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirakakara or Tirtha, a Jaina saint,</td>
<td>124, 125, 134, 135n, 136, 137, 207, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirthankara, vi,</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruchchūgai, vi,</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruamālai-Alvār, Vaiṣṇava saint,</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumālagai-Alvār, do,</td>
<td>290, 293, 294, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumaiyāppur, s.a. Mallapur,</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumōgūr, vi,</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirunāsambandar, Śaiva saint,</td>
<td>295n, 291, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirunellikāval, vi,</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppalattūrāi, vi,</td>
<td>261, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppāmbūram, vi,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppāmbūram, s.a. Tiruppāmbūram, 299n,</td>
<td>300, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirupparuttikugro, vi,</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppullāci, vi,</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppugavādal, vi,</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruttēngūr, vi,</td>
<td>270, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvadī, vi,</td>
<td>1, 8, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvadigai, s.a. Tiruvadi,</td>
<td>8, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvakkara, vi,</td>
<td>265, 266n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāḻangādu, vi,</td>
<td>291n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvallāṇjuli, vi,</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 263, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāḻavāy, te,</td>
<td>318n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvallam, vi,</td>
<td>28n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvallikkēdi, s.a. Triplicane,</td>
<td>290, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvallavar, Tamil poet,</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāmūr, vi,</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvānaimalai, s.a. Ānalaimalai,</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvānmaiyr, s.a. Tiruvāmūr,</td>
<td>290, 291n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvānmaiyr, vi,</td>
<td>4, 6, 7, 268, 269, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvārūr, vi,</td>
<td>262, 263, 274, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāyam, poem,</td>
<td>294, 295, 318n, 319n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takhasilā (Takhasilā), s.a. Taxila,</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tājagunda, vi,</td>
<td>24, 28, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tālakād or Tālakād, vi,</td>
<td>51, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talavanamgar, s.a. Tālakād,</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talakāṭa,</td>
<td>123, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tālītōta, vi,</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāmra, tāmraka or tāmra-patāka, s.a. tāmra-śāsana,</td>
<td>153, 157, 158, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāmra-śāsana, a copper-plate edict,</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāpasa, m,</td>
<td>72, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāpasini, f,</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāpī, vi,</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāpti, vi,</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārka,</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārkaṇa, a mendicant,</td>
<td>34n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarupākura, Pāllaṇa surname,</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tathājñātiyya,</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatvālokā, chronogram,</td>
<td>308, 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatvas, the twenty-five,</td>
<td>288n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxila, vi,</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēdī,</td>
<td>279n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tējāpāla, m,</td>
<td>200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 214, 215, 217, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tējācintha, Guhāla ch,</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tējāpāla, s.a. Tējāpāla,</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekirasi, sect of ascetics,</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Vanaśparo or Vanashparo, <em>Kśatrīya ch.</em>, 173, 174, 177, 179</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Vadinatapalli, <em>vi.</em>, 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78, 82, 85, 86, 87</td>
<td>Vanga or Vangavolu, <em>s.a.</em> Ongole, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Vangipurattār, <em>family name</em>, 306n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206, 207</td>
<td>Vangipusattu Bhagavān-bhūtta, <em>m.</em>, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135n</td>
<td>Vaṅga, <em>vi.</em>, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Varadāraṇja, <em>m.</em>, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79, 81</td>
<td>Varadāraṇja-bhūtta, <em>m.</em>, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Varaguṣa, <em>Pāṇḍya k.</em>, 274n, 294, 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126n, 128</td>
<td>Varagupamaśagai, <em>vi.</em>, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293, 294</td>
<td>Varaha, <em>a pagoda</em>, 125, 129, 130, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309, 315</td>
<td>Varahanagara, <em>s.a.</em> Gadyāna, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140n</td>
<td>Varahamihira, <em>astronomer</em>, 41n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Vārāhi, <em>f.</em>, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Vārāhōṭaka, <em>s.a.</em> Bhārōḍā, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Vārāhamāna, <em>Jaina saint</em>, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Vārīśēga or <em>ōśēga, do.</em>, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28n</td>
<td>Varman, <em>ending of Kshatriya names</em>, 28n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Varṇas, the four, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Varṣhagranthi, <em>an anniversary</em>, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200n</td>
<td>Vasati, <em>a Jaina temple</em>, 200n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Vasā, <em>s.a.</em> Indra, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 205, 215</td>
<td>Vasīkṣita, <em>risāli</em>, 201, 205, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Vasīśthā, <em>te.</em>, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59, 95</td>
<td>Vāsā, <em>Andhra queen</em>, 59, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>Vāsāṭavya, <em>a resident</em>, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Vāsū, <em>f.</em>, 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Vasudēva, <em>mythical k.</em>, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175n</td>
<td>Vasudēva, <em>Kushāna k.</em>, 175n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td>Vasudēva-bhūtta, <em>m.</em>, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178n</td>
<td>Vasūkha, <em>Kushāna k.</em>, 178n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>Vātaka or pātaka, <em>ending of village names</em>, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183, 184</td>
<td>Vataṃsika, <em>s.a.</em> Oghēn, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Vataṃsika, <em>vi.</em>, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189, 190</td>
<td>Vatrabhaṭṭi, <em>m.</em>, 189, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Vatsarkāra, <em>Śiṅgara prince</em>, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Vatsapiṭuka, <em>Buddhist patriarch</em>, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Vatsapiṭikāra, <em>s.a.</em> Vatsapiṭukāra, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Vatsapiṭukāra, <em>school of Buddhist monks</em>, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201, 214</td>
<td>Vayājukā, <em>f.</em>, 201, 214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Vaiśāya, <em>caste</em>, 26n, 75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300, 305n, 318n, 319</td>
<td>Vaiśīya, <em>tribe</em>, 41, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Vaiśīya-maheṣaḥbhāsaṭhi-pattalā, <em>di.</em>, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Vaiśaṭaka, <em>family</em>, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99n</td>
<td>Vaiśapatrāja, <em>sur. of Muṇjadēva</em>, 99n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Vaiśābh, <em>vi.</em>, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163, 167</td>
<td>Valaurā-pattalā, <em>di.</em>, 163, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264, 268, 271</td>
<td>Vālīvara, <em>te.</em>, 264, 268, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318n</td>
<td>Valīṭṭalai, <em>hill</em>, 318n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vāgā-Kaiyilāya-Tirumalai, <em>shrine</em>, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318n</td>
<td>Vāgānāmalai, <em>s.a.</em> Nāgavēri, 318n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28n</td>
<td>Vānāpuram, <em>sur. of Tiruvallam</em>, 28n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikrama-Sántara, Sántara k.</td>
<td>120n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramádevvarman II, Vishnukundíla k.</td>
<td>26, 28n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidásārman, m.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viññāna, vi.</td>
<td>319n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinayakārī, W. Chatukṣuṣa k.</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vināyaka, s.a. Gāpēsa,</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vināśyana, mo.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vināśyageri, hi.</td>
<td>15, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīghunāśa (Vīghunāśa), m.</td>
<td>67, 70, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīghunāśa, m.</td>
<td>71, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīnibandhakāra,</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra, m.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Bairarasa-Voḍeya, Kālasa-Kārkāla ch.</td>
<td>128, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Ballāja II, Hoyasa k.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Balludrāja, Kālasa-Kārkāla ch.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, do.</td>
<td>120n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, s.a. Bhairava II</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, Kālasa-Kārkāla ch.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Bhayararasa-Voḍeya, do.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Chudālamā, sur. of Arjunavarman,</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Dhavala, Vāghelā k.</td>
<td>200, 201, 202, 205,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Gummaṭaḍevari, s.a. Gummaṭambā,</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Harihāraya, s.a. Hariharī I</td>
<td>298, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar, Vijayanagara prince</td>
<td>308n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrala,</td>
<td>97, 129, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīramahālapprāriṣad, sur. of Mūrti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyyapā</td>
<td>319n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Narasimha-Vajraśeunda, ch.</td>
<td>126, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, sur. of Komaṭi-Vēma</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Pāṇḍya, ch.</td>
<td>125, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīragōḷḍra, Chola k.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīragōḷḍra-Chollaṭēva, s.a. Kulōṭṭangā-Chola III</td>
<td>260, 264, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Rudra, s.a. Pratāparudra,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Sārman, m.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virāṭaparvan</td>
<td>35n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viratara-manḍalin, m.</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viratānēvara, te.</td>
<td>8, 281, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viravartman, Pallava k.</td>
<td>160, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra-Viṣṇuppaṇḍa-Uḍaiyar, s.a. Viṣṇupākha, 298, 305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṅgūchhipura, vi.</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṅgūpākha, Viṣṇunagaragura k.</td>
<td>298, 299, 300, 305, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣalēva, Vāgheḷā k.</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visārtha,</td>
<td>25, 38, 97, 143n, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśēṣhājīta, m.</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇu, god,</td>
<td>9, 17, 24, 134, 214, 316n, 230,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇudatta, m.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇudatta, f.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇugopā or Vishṇugopavarman, Pallava k.</td>
<td>160, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇupura, vi.</td>
<td>159n, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇu-purāṇa</td>
<td>35n, 45n, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇu-smṛti, quoted,</td>
<td>47n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇuvarhāna, Hoyasa k.</td>
<td>156n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇuvarhāna I, E. Chatukṣuṣa k.</td>
<td>215n, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇuvarhāna II, do.</td>
<td>237, 238, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇuvarman, Kadamba k.</td>
<td>30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visvānavātha, te.</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇuvarman, m.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṭaraṇa, s.a. Jina</td>
<td>124, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṭeya, m.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṃkā, m.</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṃśākāra, m.</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṭalāpurvāra, te.</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṭā(bri)hagrihākamisāra-pattalā, di.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṭā(bri)hagrihāk(ar)ya-pattalā, di.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṭhabhāmuṣaja, adītkā,</td>
<td>98n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vṛti, s.a. vēlī,</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuddhika, m.</td>
<td>95, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyākaraṇa,</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāsa, rishi,</td>
<td>160, 163, 288, 291n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyāyāga,</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wapi, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wārā, s.a. vātaka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warangal, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheel of Buddhist law, winter,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 95, 171, 172, 173, 176, 179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yādana, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yada, mythic k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāmūrti-bhāṭṭa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñānāraya-bhāṭṭa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñānāśa-bhāṭṭa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāvalkya[smṛti], quoted,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yajñāvadyā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaksha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakṣhiṭṭa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam, god,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamāna (Jumma), vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yagnāsirī-Śātakṣapī, Andhra k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
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Zodiac, signs of the:-

| Year of the reign, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 25, 31, 35, 36, 37, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 67, 72, 74, 80, 83, 89, 94, 95, 139, 140, 147, 148, 160, 161, 163, 167, 171, 173, 175n, 176, 179, 181, 182, 233, 236, 238, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 291n, 293, 296, 318, 319 |

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