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**Note:** The list may continue beyond what is visible in the image.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 7, l. 26.—For Kasmira read Kasmira.

15, l. 7 of G.—For Bhaṭidevā read Bhaṭidevā.

22, l. 26.—For māvā[ṛ][hā]*re read Mahā[ṛ][hā]*re.

23, l. 11.—For Taṁbapaṇṇa read Taṁbapaṇṇi.

32, l. 38.—For (G. l. 12) read (H. l. 12).

35, l. 17.—For Aśoka read Aśoka.

penultimate line.—For China read China.

36, l. 17.—For Nāharā[ṛ][abōḍu] read Nāharā[ṛ][abōḍu].

39, l. 8.—For he read the.

44, f.n. 3.—For hould read should.

45, penultimate line in translation of Verse 1.—For fishes (engraved) read makaras (through)

(suggested by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.—ed.).

l. 2. in translation of Vv. 4-6.—For asif read as if.

l. 3 " " V. 9.—For copious read copious.

47, l. 35.—For Parāntak ṣ read Parāntakaṇ.

48, l. 25.—For latter read later.

l. 36.—For Vēḻrapāḷaiyam read Vēḻrapāḷaiyam.

l. 2 of f. n. 5.—Insert ( before Stambha).

49, l. 6.—Insert 4 after Aparājita.

f. n. 5.—For Tillaḷhānam read Tillaḷhānam.

50, col. 4 in the table.—For Prithvipati I read Prithvipati I.

l. 1 of f. n. 3.—For Varaguna read Varaguna.

51, penultimate line of the letterpress.—For Iḷamperūṅkāy- read Iḷamperūṅkāy-.

53, l. 5 of translation.—For th esun read the sun.

l. 5 of text of C.—For 1-ppon read i-pon.

56, l. 29.—For writer read writers.

58, l. 30.—For karamisa read karamiśa.

61, l. 2 of f. n. 5.—For Nāṭha-sarmā read Nāṭha-sarmā.

63, f. n. 7.—For mahimatāṁ read mahimatāṁ.

65, l. 10.—For Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa read Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa.

66, l. 20.—Omit be.

f. n. 1.—For Hebbal read Hebbāl.

f. n. 6.—For elonged read belonged.

67, text l. 24.—For bhaṭṭa- read bhaṭṭa-.

68, text l. 43.—For mukhyarggaṁ read mukhyarggaṁ.

69, f. n. 4.—For तापदेशिचिन्द्र: read तापदेशिचिन्द्र:.

70, l. 2 of translation of Ll. 46-48.—For Vāraṇāsi read Vāraṇāsi.

79, text line 6.—For Rāja[s]ūya[ṁ] read Rāja[s]ūya[ṁ].

83, l. 2.—For Kaliṅgapatanam read Kaliṅgapatanam.

86, f. n. 5 l. 3.—For Bhaṭṭoja read Bhaṭṭoja.

87, f. n. 11.—For For instance read For instance.
Page 88, f. n. 6.—For D. P. J. read K. P. J.

89, l. 5 of translation of l. 15.—For Sindhuja read Sindhuja.

90, f. n. 2.—For Vīramaśtrōdaya read Vīramitrōdaya.

91, l. 6.—For Yasodharacharīya read Yasodharachariya.

92, l. 16.—For Girnar read Girnār.

95, translation of Ll. 19 ff.—For Paramēśvara read Rājparamēśvara.

97, l. 2.—Insert a comma after Sanākara-sēṭṭī.

99, text l. 7.—For gaṇḍaṃśā read gaṇḍaṃśāḥ.

99, text l. 11.—For rājugrā read rājugrā.

102, text l. 25.—For Dakhīṃṣa-pālī—read Dakhīṃṣa-pālī—

103, text l. 41.—For Bhu(Bhū)mi—read bhu(bhū)mī—

104, text l. 45.—For hara[n*]—read hara[n*]—

104, text l. 13.—For utkīrnīṣa read utkīrnīṣa—

110, l. 5.—For Yogēśvara—read Yogeśvara—

112, l. 32.—For Vira-Pāṇḍya read Vira-Pāṇḍya.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XX.

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

By Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D., Leiden.

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

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

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

1 A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1926, Madras, pp. 4 and 93 f. Cf. also Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1926, Leyden, 1928, pp. 14-16.
Amaravati, although perhaps they cannot boast of the high artistic merit which we admire in the best work from that place. Among the sculptural decoration of the two pillars discovered by Mr. Longhurst there are figures which clearly betray Roman influence. The full report of his excavations will be received with the greatest interest. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Nāgarjunikoṇḍa represents, next to Amaravati, the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in Southern India. The results which Amaravati might have yielded have, for a large part, been irreparably lost owing to the deplorable vandalism perpetrated on that monument more than a century ago. It is all the more gratifying that the site of Nāgarjunikoṇḍa is now being systematically explored so that no piece of evidence is likely to be overlooked. Mr. Longhurst estimates that the complete excavation of the site will require three years more.

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

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

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

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

4 Burgess, op. cit., pl. XLV, 1-4. The finest specimen is the square lower end of a pillar decorated on the four sides with as many Buddhist symbols—a stūpa, a bōdhi-tree, a chaitya-hall, and a wheel. There is an inscription in four lines beneath the figure of the stūpa (pl. LX, no. 47) in which the pillar is called chaitya-khaṇḍha.
Jaggayyapaṭa three inscribed specimens were found, only one of them being complete. These, as we have seen, must have belonged to a set of five such pillars which were placed on the east side. Dr. Burgess noticed large pillars or stele at three of the sides of the stūpa, but it would seem that those found on the other sides were uninscribed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ This is the usual spelling of the name. The more correct form Siri-Virapurisadata occurs in inscr. G.
² It is somewhat difficult to decide whether Chāṇṭamāla or Chāṭamāla is the correct form of these two names. In some cases there appears to be the sign of the anusvāra over the ā. We may, therefore, assume, that elsewhere it has been omitted by mistake.
Vedic sacrifices Agniḥōtra, Agniḥṭōma, Vājaḥṣya and Aśvamedha. It follows that Siri-Chāṁtāmūla was a devotee of Brahmanism. His son, Siri-Virapurisada, though partaking in the religious merit, does not seem to have had an active part in the foundation of the religious monuments of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. They owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikhāku and evidently devotedes of the Buddhist faith.

The principal founder was a lady called Chāṁtisiri (śiripikā in inscr. B 3) who is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in not less than nine of the āyaka-pillar inscriptions. In these inscriptions she is called the uterine sister of Siri-Chāṁtāmūla and the paternal aunt of Siri-Virapurisada. She was married to the Mahāśenāpati, the Mahātālavara Vāsiṭhiputa Kamādasiri of the Pūkiya family, and, in consequence, she herself bears the title of Mahātālavari. Moreover, she is called the mother of Khamādasāgarainakaka. In one of the pillar inscriptions (B 5) it is distinctly stated that it was she who erected the Great Chaitya of the Great Vihāra or Monastery. It is curious that here the instrumental plural (mahātālavarinī . . . . . Chāṁtisirisūriṇikā) is employed, but it will be noted that several ladies of that name took part in the donation.

Or, can it be a pluralis majestatis? The date regularly found at the end of the pillar inscriptions—the sixth year of Siri-Virapurisada, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season; the tenth day—marks, no doubt, the time when the great monument was consecrated. Chāṁtisiri was, moreover, the foundress of the apsidal shrine (No. 1), built opposite the eastern or principal side of the Great Chaitya. This is distinctly stated in the long inscription (E) cut on the floor of that building. In this document the edifice founded by Chāṁtisiri is designated first as a chaṭṭāya-ghara, and subsequently as a stone maṇḍapa surrounded by a cloister (chatusṭāla-parivahitam sela-maṇḍapam). The building was dedicated to the dāhāryas of the Aparamahāvinaselīya sect. The time of the dedication is expressed by the date found at the end of the inscription—the eighteenth year of Siri-Virapurisada, the sixth fortnight of winter, the fifth day. The date is given both in words and in figures.

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

Two of the pillar inscriptions (C 2 and 4) mention another sister (sōdarā bhāyini) of King Siri-Chāṁtāmūla, whose name was Ḥāṁmasiri or Ḥāṁmasiriṇikā, and two of her daughters named Bapitērṇikā and Chhāṭhisirī. Both these princesses were married to the reigning king, their cousin, and consequently bear the title of Mahādēvi.

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

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1 Here, too, there prevails some uncertainty whether the name is Chāṁtisiri or Chhāṭhisirī.
2 Inscr. E has Pāpya.
3 The eastern side being the principal side of the Great Chaitya, it is significant that the three āyaka-pillars recovered on that side of the monument were all dedicated by Chāṁtisiri.
4 In Sanskrit: chatusṭāla-parivahitam sela-maṇḍapam.
5 Pall pituchkā.
all the more plausible to assume that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭṭarikā mentioned in the inscription belonged to that illustrious house.

The pillar inscriptions acquaint us with three more noble ladies who were associated with Chāntisirī in her pious foundation. The one mentioned on the second pillar of the south side (B 2) is called Aḍavī (?) Chānteṭisirī. The inscription calls her the daughter of King Sīrī-Chāntamūla, the sister of King Sīrī-Virapūrisadat, and the wife of the Mahāśēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanākaka Khaṇḍavisākhāṃaka (= Skt. Skandavīśaka) of the house of the Dhanakas. She herself is distinguished by the title of Mahātalavari.

The other lady, who was the donor of the fourth pillar of the southern row (B 4), is called Chula-Chānteṭisirinikā, i.e., Chānteṭisirinikā the Less or the Younger, the adjective chula evidently being added to distinguish her from her namesake, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya. The junior Chānteṭisirinikā, as stated in the inscription, was a daughter of the Kulahakas and the spouse of the Mahāśēnāpati Mahātalavara Vāṣṭhiputa Khaṇḍacalikērthamāṇaka of the Hiraṇnakas. She herself bears the title of Mahāśēnēpatini.

The fifth pillar of the western side (C 5) was dedicated by a lady whose personal name is not mentioned, but who is called the wife of the Mahāśēnāpati Mahātalavara Vāṣṭhiputa Mahākaṇḍadosi of the Pūkhyas and the mother of the Mahāśēnāpati Mahātalavara Vīpūsirī (= Skt. Vaiśṣūrī). She is, moreover, distinguished by the title Mahātalavari. If we may assume that Mahākaṇḍadosi and Kaṇḍadosi are one and the same person, it would follow that the anonymous lady of the pillar-inscription C 5 was a co-wife (sāpata) of Chāntisirī.

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

The inscription records the foundation of a vihāra by Mahādevī Bhātīdevī who is called the daughter-in-law of Sīrī-Chānteṭamūla, the wife (t) of Sīrī-Virapūrisadat, and the mother of a Mahārāja, whose name appears to be Sīrī-Ehuṇa-Chānteṭamūla. The three syllables which we read—e-huṇa—are uncertain. The same is the case with the one or two initial syllables of the word following the name Sīrī-Virapūrisadat, so that it is doubtful what relation existed between that king and the lady Bhātīdevī. The word in question, however, can be hardly anything but bhātī. Thus it would follow that Bhātīdevī was the consort of the king. The last two lines of the document seem to have contained a date, but unfortunately this part of the inscription has been obliterated to such an extent that our reading must be regarded as conjectural. Evidently the vihāra was founded during the reign of Bhātīdevī's son, the Mahārāja whose name is mentioned in the inscription.

The inscribed pillar of Koṭṭampulu is also the foundation record of a vihāra. The foundress was a Mahādevī who was the granddaughter of Sīrī-Chānteṭamūla, the daughter of Sīrī-Virapūrisadat, and the sister of Mahārāja Vāṣṭhiputa Sīrī-Ehuṇa-Chānteṭamūla. It is, moreover, stated in the inscription that she was the consort of the Mahārāja of Vanavasā. Her personal name is somewhat indistinct but may be read as Kodabalisiri. It will be noted in the sequel that Vanavasā, the ancient name of North Kanara, occurs also among the countries which in the chaitya-inscription F are stated to have been converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese monks.
The pillar inscription of Koṭṭamalugu is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Sri-Ehuvulā-Chāntamulā.

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

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

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

Chāntisirī, the sister of king Chāntamulā, was married to a personage who bore the titles of Mahāseṇapati and Mahātalavara. The same is stated with reference to other princesses of the ruling house. The title Mahāseṇapati (lit. “great chief of the army” or general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of rāhitas or districts under the Andhras, and the same meaning may perhaps be assumed here. The word is, therefore, to be taken as a title of nobility. We may compare the Anglo-Saxon heretoga (Dutch heerog, German heersoj), which etymologically means an army-leader, but has become a title of nobility. The word mahāseṇapati could, therefore, be best rendered by “duke.”

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

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2 This custom was known to several ruling families of ancient India, such as the Gupta, the Vākṣṭaka, the Chalukyas and the Pallavas (Cf. V. Smith, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXV, p. 125). Besides, as shown by the Mahābhārata, L. i. 1. 1... (कुमारसम्भव...कृś एव कृś भूमिका, and Kalpaśra on it “विश्राम एव ओषध: भुवनभाषणके विश्रामम्”), it had a śāstric sanction behind it.—Ed.]
Dravidian language. Evidently it penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word taravara which, coupled with mahāpratihāra ("a great chamberlain") is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr. Bloch at Basār, the site of ancient Vaiśāli. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word terika, which occurs in lists of officials in mediaeval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of teravara.

In the inscriptions of Nāgarjunikoṇḍa not only frequent mention is made of persons bearing the title of mahātalavara, but they also contain the feminine form mahātalavari (more correctly stalavari) indicating the wife of a mahātalavara. In the same way the consort of a mahāsesāpati bears herself the title of mahāsesāpatini (Skt. sēnāpatini). It is found in B 4 (1.5).

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

The first apsidal shrine (No. 1), as we have seen, was dedicated by Chāntisiri, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya, at the foot of which it is built. The other buildings of this type, on the contrary, as stated in the inscription P on the floor, was raised by a simple upādikā, Bodhisiri by name, who does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikhākus. Her relatives, who were to share in the merit of her pious enterprise, are enumerated at great length. They include a Kusālādāraka, Kusālādāraka, either a treasurer or, perhaps, a superintendent of a royal store-house.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Next comes the date which unfortunately is incomplete. This much is certain that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of a king Mājhariputa, who in all likelihood is identical with the Mājhariputa Sīri-Virapurisadata of the āśaka-pillar inscriptions of Jaggayyarpeṣa and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa. The shrine is further stated to have been dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kasmīra (Kashmir), Gandhāra, China, Chilā (Skt. Chīlā), Tosa, Avaranta (Skt. Varānā), Vaṅga (i.e., Bengal), Vaṇavasi (i.e., North Kanara), Yavana (?), Damila (?)... Lūna and the Isle of Tambaparṇī (i.e., Ceylon). Some of the countries are mentioned in the Mahāvamsa among the territories which had been converted to Buddhism after the Third Council, namely, Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Vaṇavasī, Avarantaka and Yona. We may also compare two passages in the Mīlindapañha mentioning a number of

1At the end of the Kṣṇāmatu copper-plate grant (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.) the late Dr. Hultzsch read Mahātalavara mahādayādanāyaka Bṛāpahānavasaṃmendra jatāti. There can be little doubt that mahātalavara is a mistake, due either to the scribe or to the engraver, for mahātalavaren. This term occurs also in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription found at the village of Allāru, in the Nandigamā taluk, Kistna district. Cf. Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy, 1924, p. 97 and A. S. R. for 1923-24, p. 93.

We must leave this question to the decision of students of South-Indian languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamil tālavy (as general), Tamil talaiyari (as a village watchman), or Ceylonese talavara, tālavra (as watchman, a beadle)? The Mahātalavara are mentioned in early Saṅkha literature along with 18 Gaṅgasāyas. So Mahātalavara must be taken as a title of nobility. Cf. Kalpasūtra (ed. Jacobi, Leipzig 1879) 61, II. 21-23. The Subdhākiha, a Sanskrit commentary on it by Vinayavijaya (Nirgaya-nagara Press, Bombay, leaf 60, II. 8-7) explains the term talavara thus: talavaraḥ tūṣṭaḥ bhuja-paśta-patana-patava vaśaka-rikiḥ kūtā Śikṣṭhāniṣṭā. In the Punjab there is a sub-division of high class Khatri (Sanskrit Kṣatriya) which goes by the name of Talwar.—Ed.)


3 Cf. kathayala in Sohagura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, List, No. 927) and Kusālādāraka in Nālik inscription (Lüders, List, No. 1141).

4 Mahāvamsa, Ch. xii. Cf. Dīrghaṃkara, Ch vii.
regions which used to be visited for purposes of trade.\(^1\) In these two passages the first countries mentioned are Saka-Yavana and China-Chilāta. The printed text has Vilāta, but, as has been pointed out by Professor Sylvain Lévi,\(^2\) this is an error for Chilāta. The Chilātas are the same un-Aryan tribe often met with in Sanskrit literature under the name of Kirāta. In a well-known verse of the Panchatantra they are characterized as dishonest traders. We find them, moreover, referred to both in the Periplus and by Ptolemy. The former says: \(^3\) "Beyond this [Dūṣārēṇā], the course trending towards the north there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cīrhrādēa, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage." Ptolemy locates them along the Gulf of Bengal, \(^4\) "beyond the Ganges mouth called Antibolei." Their country is said to produce the best malabathron (tamālapatram).\(^5\) In his chapter on Trans-Gangetic India (VII. 2; 15) the same author describes the Tilādai (V. 1. Pīlādai), also called the Sasaūdai, as hairy dwarfs, with a flat face and a white skin. Evidently this passage too refers to the Kirātas, the name Tilādai (Tilādai) being an attempt to render in Greek the alternative form Chilāda.\(^6\)

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

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

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

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

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5. Kālīga in his *Māphadāta* locates the Daśārāpas between the Vindhyā and Vidiśā.
The latter part of inscription F enumerates the various pious foundations—several of them evidently additions to existing buildings—dedicated by Bodhisiri, and mentions, moreover, the localities at which each of them was found. It is a point of considerable importance that this list includes “a stone maṇḍapa at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at Kaṭṭakasala.” Evidently this locality Kaṭṭakasala (Skt. Kaṭṭakaśāla, lit. “Thorn-hill”) must be identical with “the emporium Kantikosaśāla” which Ptolemy mentions (VII.1, 15) immediately after “the mouths of the Maisōlos.” It follows that the river known to the Greeks under the name Maisōlos has been rightly supposed to be the Kistna.4 The country watered by the lower Kistna is consequently called Maisōlia by Ptolemy. The Periplus speaks (§62) of “the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country,” and adds that “a great quantity of mosques is made here.” The ancient name by which this part of Southern India was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the town Masulipatam.

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

Huien Tsiang further relates that to the east of the capital on a mountain there stood a convent called Pūrvasali and on a mountain to the west was another, called Avamālī. Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being saṅgha, whereas ṣaṅgha means “stone.” Now, it is worthy of note that among the localities mentioned in inscription F, we meet with the name Puvasāla, which is clearly a Prakrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvasāla. A name, meaning “Eastern Mountain or Hill,” may, of course, have been used at different places of India. But it is a point worth considering whether the remains of Nāgārjunikōṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaṇṇakaṭaka, which archaeologists have sought both at Dhāranikōṭa near Amarāvati and at Bezwāḍā.

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

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

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3 Prof. Lüders’ List, Nos. 1224 and 1271. The form Dhaṇṇakaṭa occurs in the Maydavōin copper-plate grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śvavandavarman.
under the name of Kulahaka. The other, if we may judge from its appellation, must have been a convent founded either by a Singhalese or, more probably, for the accommodation of Singhalese monks. This “Ceylonese Convent” appears to have contained a shrine with a Bodhi-tree (Bodhi-rukha-pāśāda = Skt. Bodi-vriksha-pāśāda) which is, indeed, a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of a Saha-vihāra, but also the dedication of a chetiya-phara to the theriyas or “fraternities” of Tambapannī point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Dhaññakaṭaka and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and Kaṇṭaka-sela, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kistna river.

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

In connection with Buddhism attention must be drawn to the mention of sect-names in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. In Nos. C 1, line 10 and E, line 2, the dedication is stated to be made for the benefit or acceptance of the Aparamahāvināselyis. In both cases the sign for 𑄕 over the fifth अक्षर is quite distinct so that we are not allowed to read -mahāvam-, as was done by Drs. Burgess and Hultsch in the case of an Amaravati inscription. The latter was inclined to associate the name with the Mahāvajñāsālā at Vaśāli, well-known from the Buddhist legend, The Amaravati inscription in question, however, has certainly Mahāvināselyānām. At the end of the fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Allūra we read: ayāśā[mi] Puvase- 

The Pali chronicles of Ceylon make mention of the Pubbā- and the Aparā-selikas, the two sub-divisions of the Mahāsāṃghikas. The latter of those two expressions is perhaps an abbreviated form of the Aparamahāvināselyis in our inscriptions. Can it be that the two sects,
known as Pubba- and Apara-selikas, originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pubbasela and Aparasela which, according to Huen Tsang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dhaññakāśaka.

The inscription G, line 8, contains the name of another Buddhist sect—Bahuṣutiya—which corresponds to Pali Bahuṣutiya (Skt. Bahuṣrutiya). Besides, we have Ayira-hamγha (Skt. Aγya-saγga) in C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 10, and Mahiśasaka (Skt. Mahiśasaka) in H, line 12.

Language and Script.

A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgarjunikopada inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted. We find, moreover, that only in one instance it has been considered necessary to correct such an omission, i.e., in the word Mahācetiya (E, line 1) where the aksara ṭha has been placed under the line. In other instances syllables have been repeated (C 2, lines 1 and 3), or interchanged (e.g., bhaññkhai for khaññkhain in C 4, line 7). Very often the length of the vowels ṭ and ũ is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Sīri-Vinapurisadata, is written with vṛti instead of ṭr̥ti except in a very few cases where we find the correct spelling with ṭ. Much less frequently the long ũ has been substituted for the short one, e.g., in Mahācetiya.

Considering the frequency of the omission of the ḍ-stroke, we have ventured to assume that this omission has twice taken place in the long compound samaña-buññha-paññha-vanija-din-ānugaha-velāni-kā-viṣṭha-vocchhina-dhāra-paṭṭana, which re-occurs several times in the passage relating to the principal donor, Chañntisiri. This compound, as far as we can see, does not yield an intelligible sense, unless we read dān-āpataḥhā-āvocchhina, thus assuming that the two adjectives required here are apataḥhā and avocchhina. With regard to the latter word we may compare the use of the Sanskrit equivalent avyavacchhinna in the following line from the Harivānśa (verse 3580) where we read: avyavacchhinna-dhār-aughaisamudra-augha-samair-dhanaish.

The sign for dha is sometimes substituted for that of thā, whereas a certain confusion seems to prevail between thā and ṭhā. The looped characters thā and na are very similar and are not always clearly distinguishable. The same is the case with the aksaras, the initial a and e.

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

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

It is difficult to say who is to be held responsible for the negligent treatment which we have noticed in these epigraphs. The additional passage found in two of the pillar Inscriptions of Chañntisiri, namely C 1 and 2, mentions a "Bhadanta Ānanda, carrier of the Dīgha- and the Majjhīma-nikāya" who acted as the navakāmika of the Mahācetiya. In the case of the apsidal temple
and other religious works founded by the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri there were even three *navakāṣāṃkīs*, the theros Chaṇḍamukha, Dhanumaṇḍi and Naga (F, lines 3 & 4). As the *navakāṣāṃkī* was the monk commissioned by the Saṅgha to superintend the foundation (*navakāṣāṃ*), dedicated by some lay-member, his responsibility may be supposed to have extended also over the inscrip-tional records of the *deyadhānaṃ*ma. It is, however, quite possible that the author of the inscrip-tions was some other learned member of the Saṅgha. We may perhaps assume that the text of the inscriptions having been fixed, some copyist, either a bhikkhu or a professional writer, was employed to prepare one or more copies in the very ornamental writing of the period for the use of the stone-mason. At the end of inscrip-tion F we find the name of the stone-mason (*sela-vaḍākaṇī*) Viḍhika recorded immediately after those of the three *navakāṣāṃkīs*. It must be admitted that, as regards its technical execution, not only this epigraph but also the sixteen *āyaka-pillār* inscriptions leave nothing to be desired. It is noteworthy that inscrip-tion H which, as we saw, must belong to a somewhat later period, shows at once a marked deterioration in technical skill.

With regard to the style of writing used in the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscrip-tion, it will suffice to refer to the observations made by Dr. Bühler with regard to the inscriptions from Jaggayya-petaja.1 Here we wish only to draw attention to the use of *ja* in *Sihala-*, *taḷakaṇī*, and *aḷaṇḍā* in F, line 3, and to the occurrence of the following ligatures: *dra* in *Rudradhara* (B 5, line 4), *nā* in *sūnīkhāna* (F, line 3), *mku* in *Vihusirisa*, *mha* in *bansha* (A 3, line 6 etc.), *mhi* in *imamhi* (A 3, line 2) and *mahācheṣṣayamhi* (C 4, line 2 and X, line 8), and *tē* in *nättīya* (H, line 8).

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

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

The *ri* vowel is represented by a in *kavaṇa* (Skt. *kriṇaḥ*) and *vasabha* (Skt. *vriśabha*), but elsewhere, by u. Examples: *bhutuṇa* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhurtṛi*; *pituṇa* (F, line 2) from Skt. *pitṛi*; *bhātunā* (F, line 3), *bhātunāna* (F, line 2) and *bhātupūtānaṇi* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhūṛi*; *māũya* (F, line 2 and G, line 7) from Skt. *māṛī*; *mahāmātukāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *mahāmāṛī*; *dhiṁyā* (F, line 3; H, line 9) from Skt. *dhiṁṛī*; *jāṁṭukāya* (E, line 1) from Skt. *jāṁṛī*; *māṭukā* (C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 9) from Skt. *māṭiṛī*.


The *p* between *vowels becomes u. Examples: *Avarāṇa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Aparāṇa*; *kavaṇa* (passim) from Skt. *kriṇaḥ*; *uṇḍikāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *uṇāśiṇī*; *uvarivāṃṣatam* (F, line 3) from Skt. *upaśiṇī*; *tṛīṇaṇa* (F, line 3) from Skt. *sthrīṇaṇa*; *Gavāṇa* (F, line 2) from Skt. *Gopāṇa* (1); *maṇḍapa* (E, line 2) and *maṇḍapa* (F, line 3) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

The *meda* is changed into the *tenuis in koṭhāṭāriṇa* (F, line 2) from Skt. *koṭhāṭāriṇa*; and *maṇḍapa* (E, line 2) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*. But elsewhere *maṇḍapa* (thrice in F). Cf. also *dhamma-parichāka* from Skt. *pratītya*, in the Alluru fragmentary inscrip-tion, line 14.

The *tenuis* has been changed into the *meda in Pugīyina* (E, line 1), but elsewhere *pāpiyaṇh- or Pāpiyaṇh* and *sugāya* (G, line 10) from Skt. *sukha*.

Cf. *nigūnya* from Skt. *nīkāya* in the Alluru inscrip-tion. As regards *Pāpiya* and *Pāpiya*, it is, of course, possible that the latter is the more correct and original form. May it be connected with Skt. *pīya*—"betel-palm"?

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1 G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44.
The initial ʰ in some personal names appears to have been developed from s. Examples: Ḥaṁmasi (C 4, line 5); Ḥaṁmasirii(k)ā (C 2, lines 5-6 and 7; C 4, line 7); Ḥaghaṁna (F, line 2). Also, Ayira-haṁghāna (C 1, line 11; C 2, line 10) from Skt. Ārya-SAΗNgHāN. But saṁghān (H, line 13) and mahābhikṣu-saṁghasa (E, line 2).

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

**LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.**

_a. Inscriptions on the āyaka-pillars of the Mahāchetiya._

A. 2. East side, second pillar. One large and two small fragments. The large piece contains lines 1—7 (śidham to =raḥhāla ma-), line 7 being incomplete. Besides, there is a gap on the right hand side by which several aksharas at the end of lines 2—4 and 6 are lost. One of the smaller fragments supplies the initial aksharas of lines 6—10, and the other, a few aksharas of lines 7—8. The inscription, when entire, must have consisted of 10 lines, 24\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches long. It records the gift of a pillar by the Mahātalavari Chāntisirī (name lost), the sister of King Chāntamūla and the maternal aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date lost.

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

A. 4. East side, fourth pillar. Two large and one smaller fragment. The one large piece contains ll. 1—5, incomplete and partly obliterated. The other contains lines 5—11, viz., the latter half of the inscription, almost complete, although partly indistinct. The small fragment supplies the initial aksharas of lines 1 to 3. The inscription must have consisted of 11 lines, measuring from 21—22\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisirī (cf. sub A. 2). Date as above sub A. 3 in last short line.

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

B. 2. South side, second pillar. Inscription complete in 7 lines, measuring 20 to 22 inches in length. Gift of a pillar by the Mahātalavari Āḍavī-Chāntisirī, the daughter of King Chāntamūla. Date as above.

B. 3. South side, third pillar. Complete in 10 lines, measuring 21 to 23\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in length. A few aksharas at the end of lines 5—9 missing. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisirīnīkā, evidently the same person as Chāntisirī (cf. sub A. 2). Date as above in last short line.

B. 4. South side, fourth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 22 inches. Gift of a stone pillar by the Mahātenāpatini Chula-Chāntisirīnīkā. Date as above in 6th and short 7th line.

B. 5. South side, fifth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 20 to 22 inches. Gift of a pillar by Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā. Date as above in last short line.

* Besides the āyaka-pillar inscriptions enumerated here, twenty-three small fragments have been found which must have belonged to this class of inscriptions.
C. 1. West side, first pillar. Two pieces: the smaller piece, containing lines 1 to 6 (l. 1 complete, l. 2 with the first akṣhara missing, ll. 3—6 incomplete), fits wedge-like into the larger one, which consists of ll. 3 to 13, ll. 3 to 6 supplying the missing portions of the upper piece. The inscription, when complete, consisted of 13 lines, 21 to 23 inches long. Donation of a pillar by Chāntisiri. Date as above.

C. 2. West side, second pillar. Two pieces. The larger piece contains ll. 1—5 complete, besides the initial and concluding portions of ll. 7—9. The smaller piece supplies the middle portions of these three lines and the remainder of the inscription, viz., ll. 10—12 entire. Twelve lines, 19½ to 22 inches long. Gift of a stone pillar by Mahādevī Bapisiriṅjikā, the daughter of Hāṃmasiṅjikā and wife of King Sirī-Virapurisadata. Date as above in ll. 11—12, the concluding line being a short one.

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

C. 4. West side, fourth pillar. Complete in eight lines, 19 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by Mahādevī Chāṃśisīri, the daughter of Hāṃmasiṅjikā and wife of King Sirī-Virapurisadata. Date as above in concluding line.

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

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

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


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

b. Chetiya-ghara inscriptions.

E. Inscription on floor of apsidal shrine, No. I, immediately to the east of the Mahāchetiya. Inscription complete in two lines, measuring 14 feet 5 inches. Average size of akṣharas ¼ to ¾ inch. Inscription well preserved except first portion of the second line. It records the dedication of a chetiya-ghara or stone mañjuna (Skt. maṇḍapa) provided with a cloister (chatusśala) at the foot of the Mahāchetiya by the Mahātalavari Chāntisiri, mentioned in several of the āyaka-pillar inscriptions, who here refers to King Sirī-Virapurisadata as her son-in-law, for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. Date, the fourteenth year of King Sirī-Virapurisadata.

F. Inscription on floor of the apsidal shrine, No. II, on the mound Nāharāḷabodū, consisting of three long lines, 18 feet 4 inches to 19 feet in length, and of a fourth short line of 1 foot 9 inches. Average size of akṣharas ¼ to ¾ inch. The inscription is fairly well preserved; here and there some akṣharas have been lost. After a lengthy invocation of the Buddha it records the foundation of a chetiya-ghara and of various other religious edifices by an udāsī (Skt. upāsī). named Bodhisiri, together with her relatives, for the benefit of the fraternties (therīya) of the Ceylonese monks who had converted a number of countries which are enumerated at great length. Date, the fourteenth year of King Māṭhariputta (=Sirī-Virapurisadata).
c. Detached pillar inscriptions.

G. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele decorated with carvings, at a distance of about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. It consists of ten lines of writing. The inscribed surface shows three cracks and the right hand portion damaged. Some three or four akṣharas at the end of ll. 1—5 are lost. Lines 9 and 10 are partly obliterated. The lines, when complete, must have been 15 inches in length. The average size of the akṣharas is ½ to ¾ inch. The lettering has become worn owing to exposure to the weather. The inscription records the foundation of a vihāra by Mahādevi Bhāṭidāvī, who was the wife (1) of King Sirī-Virapurisadatta and the mother of King Ehuviḷa(1)-Chāṟũ]tamūla. The date in ll. 9—10 is no longer legible.

H. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele found at Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgarjunikonda. It consists of fourteen lines of writing, measuring about 12 inches in length. The inscription is fairly well preserved, but here and there some akṣharas have become indistinct. The execution is fair, but less ornamented than in the earlier inscriptions. The size of the akṣharas is from ¾ to ½ inch; they miss the long-drawn strokes of the earlier inscriptions and the lines are placed close together. The inscription records the foundation of a vihāra by Mahādevi Koda[ha]līsiri, who was the daughter of King Sirī-Virapurisadatta, sister of King Ehuviḷa-Chāṟũ]tamūla, and wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa. It is dated in the 11th year of King Ehuviḷa-Chāṟũ]tamūla.

d. Inscriptions on sculptures.

J. Inscription along the lower edge of a frieze showing the adoration of the Wheel of the Law (first sermon at Benares) in the centre and an amatory couple or mūhuna on both sides. These three scenes are separated and flanked by railings. The frieze is supported by a row of crouching lions. The inscription consists of two lines, measuring 38 and 16 inches in length. The execution is fair and the preservation, satisfactory. The average size of the akṣharas is ¾ inch. The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha and records the donation of a slab and of a coping stone to the Mahāchetiya by an individual of the name of Chhadakapavatichā and by his housewife Padumavānī together with their sons and daughters. No date.

K. Inscription along the lower edge of a long sculptured beam found on the mound Polugubūḍa. It consists of one line of writing, the beginning and concluding portions of which are almost entirely obliterated. The inscription, as far as preserved, measures nearly five feet in length. It records the donation of a slab (1) by a person whose name is lost, together with his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandsons, granddaughters, relatives and friends. The preserved portions contain no date.

TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 3.

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

(l. 1) Sīdhāṁ namo bhagavato devārāja-saṅkatasa supabuddha-bodhino savarnāhuno (l. 2) sava-sat-ānukāmpakasā jīta-rāga-dosa-macha-vipamutasā mahāgaṇi-vasabhā- (l. 3) [gām]yaha-hathisa sarma-saṁbudhājasa dhātuvara-parigabitasā mahāchetiye mahārajassā (l. 4) Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigabitasā hiraṇa-kōjī-ga-satasahasā-hala-sa- (l. 5) tasaha[sa]-dāyasā savathesa apathitā-saṅkapasā Vāsīṣṭhiputasa Ikhākusa (l. 6) Sīri-Chātumulasa sodara bhagīni rathīno Mañjarīputasa Sīri-Virarpurisadattaśa (l. 7) pituchhā mahāsaṅnapatīsa mahātalavasāsa Vāsīṣṭhiputasa Pūkṣīyāṇasa Kāmḍasirīsa (l. 8) bhariya samaṇa-bam[h]a-kaṇe-vaṇijaka-din-ānunaha-velāmīka-dāna-paṭibhaga-vo-chhīnma (l. 9) dhāra-padāyini saya-sādhu-vachhalā mahādaṇnapatīmahātalavari Kambāsagarānaka-mātā (l. 10) Chāṭāsiirī apaṇo ubhaya-kuḷasā atiṣhhitam-anāgata-vatamāna-kaṇāna parināmetumā (l. 11) ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āvahavanāya atana cha nivāpa-sampati-saṁpādake (l. 12) sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahahanāya cha imām khambhān patiḥpitaṁ ti (l. 13) Rathīno Sīri-Virarpurisadatassā sav ā và pa diva 10

1 Invocation of Buddha omitted in X.
2 supabuddha-bodhino omitted in B 3, l. 1; C 1, l. 1; D 2, l. 1; D 4, l. 1.
3 imamhī mahāchetiye in A 4, l. 3; D 4, l. 1 (mahāchetiye); imamhī mahāchetiye in A 3, l. 3; D 2, l. 1; mahāchetiye in A 2, l. 3.
4 Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigabitasā omitted in D 2, l. 2.
5 Agītha-Agīthema-Vājapey-Ānunadhagītasā after-parigabitasā in A 2, l. 3; A 3, l. 3; A 4, l. 4; parigabitasā in B 3, l. 2; D 4, l. 2.
6 hiraṇa-kōjī in A 2, l. 4; A 3, l. 4; B 3, l. 3; D 4, l. 3.
7 Vāsīṣṭhiputasa in A 3, l. 5; A 4, l. 5; B 3, l. 4; X, l. 13; Vāsīṣṭhiputasa in C 1, l. 4; Vāśkhi in D 2, l. 3; Vāsīṣṭhiputasa in D 2, l. 4.
8 Chāṭumulasa in A 2, l. 5; A 3, l. 5; A 4, l. 5; C 1, l. 5; D 4, l. 4; X, l. 3.
9 Mañjarīputasa omitted in A 3, l. 5; D 4, l. 5; Mañjarīputasa in A 4, l. 6; X, l. 3.
10 Vāsāndputasa omitted in X, l. 4.
11 Read: Vāsīṣṭhiputasa with A 4, l. 6; B 3, l. 6; C 1, l. 6; X, l. 4. The reading is Vāsīṣṭhiputasa in A 2, l. 6; Vāsīṣṭhiputasa in D 2, l. 5; Vāsīṣṭhiputasa in D 4, l. 5.
12 Pūkṣīyāṇasa in B 3, l. 6; X, l. 4.
13 Kaṇḍasirīsa in A 4, l. 7; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 4. Omitted in A 3, l. 6.
14 -rupā- in A 3, l. 6; -rupākasa in A 4, l. 7; B 3, l. 6; C 1, l. 7; D 2, l. 5; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.
15 -vālāmasā in A 4, l. 7; -vālāmī in B 3, l. 7; D 2, l. 6.
16 Read: paṭiḥbhaga, the reading of A 2, l. 7; A 4, l. 7; B 3, l. 7; C 1, l. 7; D 2, l. 6; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.
17 vācchāna in A 2, l. 7; A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 8; B 3, l. 7; C 1, l. 7; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.
18 mahādaṇnapatī in B 3, l. 7; D 2, l. 6; D 4, l. 7.
19 Kambāsagarānaka in A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 8; C 1, l. 8; X, l. 6. Kaṇḍa in D 2, l. 7; D 4, l. 7.
20 Chāṭāsiirī in A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 9; C 1, l. 8; X, l. 6. Chāṭāsiirī in B 3, l. 8.
21 -vātāmānakase in B 3, l. 8; D 4, l. 8; X, l. 7.
22 parināmetunā in A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9; parināmetunā in D 4, l. 8; parināmetunā (l) in X, l. 7; apaṇo ubhaya-kula-parināmetunā in C 1, l. 8.
23 ubhaya-loka-sukka-niśadpathakasā in A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 10; X, l. 7. Omitted in B 3, l. 9; C 1, l. 9; D 4, l. 8.
24 X, l. 8 has after-saṅpādake the following: bhagavato sarma-saṅbuddhara sktā- (sktā) nāma-parigabitaṁ mahāchetiyaṁ.
25 -sukka-niśadpathakasā in A 3, l. 9; A 4, l. 10 (l); D 4, l. 9. Sukka-loka-omitted in B 3, l. 9.
26 16 6 written under the line. In A 3, l. 10 and A 4, l. 11 these akārās have been omitted.
TRANSLATION.

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

Additional Passage in C 1.²

TRANSCRIPT.


TRANSLATION.

For the benefit of the Masters of the Apararamahāvīnaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the Dīgha- and the Majhima-nikāya by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-hāṅgha (Skt. Ārya-sāṅgha) who are resident in Paṁga[āma] and who are preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha, the Majhima-[nikāya] and of the five Mātukas. This pious work, the Mahāchetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sirī-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Ayaka-pillar inscription B 1.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Siddhānā mahārājāsa-.sena-parigahitasa Agiho-(l. 2) t-Āgiṭhomā-Vāja-.[hi] rais koṭi-go-sata-.(l. 3) sahasa-hala-.savathesu apati-.(l. 4) hata-sa[ṁ]kapas ṝ[ā]se-.

¹ My translation is based on the assumption that we must read -dān-āpaṭhā[ḥ]-dṛkāṁkāṁ-
² Cf. the corresponding passage in line 8 of the āyaka-pillar inscription C 2, infra.
³ Read : -dēsaka- (C 2, l. 9).
⁴ Read : bhuddāmā-Ānandāna (C 2, l. 10).
Chāṭamūlasa bhagini- (l. 5) ya mahāṭalava[rasa]...[siri]sā bha[riyā]ya ma- (l. 6) hāṭalava-variya...mahā[rājasa]

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


TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhāṁ mahārājasa Asamedha-yājīsa aneka-hiraṁṇa-koti-go-satasa-saṁhaha-hala-sata-
(l. 2) sahasa-paḍāyina savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsithūputasa Ikkākusa (l. 3)
Sīri-Chā[r]tamūla duhutā rāmno Sīri-Virapurisadatasa bhagini mahāsenāpatisa mahā-
(l. 4) talavaraasa mahādāmaṇāyakasa Dhanakānaṁ Khāmādivisa-khaṁṇakasa bhayā mahāṭalavari
(l. 5) Aḍavi-Chātisiri apano ubhaya-kulaṁ pariṁme[tu]ṁ atano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhāvathanaṁya
(l. 6) bhagavato saṁma-saṁbhusa2 dāṭuvarasa-parigahitasa Mahācetiye imaṁ
khaṁbhanaṁpatidhipaṁyā2 ti (l. 7) rāmno Sīri-Virapurisadatasa sariva 6 va pa 6
diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success. The Mahāṭalavari Aḍavi-Chāṭisiri (who is) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsithūputa
Ikkāku Sīri-Chā[r]tamūla, the offerer of Asvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold,
hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), of unimpeded purpose
in all (his) aims; (who is) the sister of King Sīri-Virapurisadat, (and who is) the wife of the
Mahāsenāpati, the Mahāṭalavara, the Mahādāmaṇāyaka Khāmādivisa-khaṁṇaka (of the family)
of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the attain-
ment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahāceti-
ya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., by
Nirvāṇa). In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sīri-Virapurisadat, the 6th fortnight of the
rainy season, the 10th day.

Ayaka-pillar inscription B 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhāṁ namo bhagavato deva-rāja-saṅkata-saṁpada-ḥo[ṇo]3 saṁvaṁśuno
sava-se[t-ā]-l. 2) kaṁphakaṁ jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vaipamutas saṁvaṁśuno
sava-sa[t-ā]-l. 4) maha-vaipamutas mahāgaṇi-vaśabha-
ɡaṁhahā-[thisa] (l. 3) saṁma-saṁbhusa2 dāṭuvarasa-parigahitasa mahācetiye Kulhakānaṁ-
[l] bālikā (l. 4) mahāsenāpatisa mahāṭalavaraasa Vāsithūputasa Hiraraṇakānaṁ Khām-
dāmaṇṇaṇaṇāṇaṇa[k][a] (l. 5) bhayā mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chāṭisiriṣipika apano ubhaya-loka-
hita-sukha-ni- (l. 6) vaṃṭhānaṇaṁ imaṁ sela-khaṁbhann patidhipatam ti rāmno Sīri-
Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) sariva 6 va pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

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

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2Read: *patitihapatam.
3Read: *saṁbhusa.
PHAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST SITE AT NAGARJUNIKONDA (II).

B.4.

B.5.
**No. 1.] PRAKRT INScriptions FROM NAGARJUNIKOna. 19**

**Mahāsenāpati** Chula-Chāṭhisīrīnikā, (who is) a daughter of (the family of) the Kulahakas, and the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vāsitbiputa Khāndachalikārīnmanaska of (the family of) the Hiraṁnakas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sirī-Virapurisadāta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

**Ayaka-pillar inscription B 5.**

**TRANSCRIPT.**

(l. 1) Sidham na ma bhagavato devarāja-sakatasasupabudha-bodhi nosavānunomo savasat-[ānu.*] (l. 2) kampaka jita-rāga-dosa-moka-vipanutasamahāganivasabhagātha-hadhisa1 (l. 3) samma-sambudhhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasamahāchetye Ujanikā2 mahārābalīka3 (l. 4) mahādevi Rudradharabha[kārikā imaṁ sela-khambham apana hita-sukha-nivāgadhanaūya4 patiṁ-founder (l. 5) mahātalavarīhi cha Pākiyānaṁ Chāntisirinikāhi imasa mahāvihārasamahāchetyiyamā5 (l. 6) samuthapiyamāne mahātalavarīa ubhayātā dinārī-māsakā satari-satāṁ 100[+*70*] khaṁbho cha (l. 7) raṁno Sirī-Virapurisadatasasasāvā vā pa 6 diva 10

**TRANSLATION.**

Success! Adoration to the Lord, etc. (see above, sub B 4). At the Mahāchetya the Mahādevi Rudradharabha[kārikā, a Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjeni (Skt. Ujjayinī) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. And while the Mahāchetya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the Mahātalavari, Chāntisirinikā of (the family of) the Pākiyas, one hundred and seventy (100+70) dinārī-māsakas and a pillar have been raised by the Mahātalavari,* in the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sirī-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

**Ayaka-pillar inscription C 2.**

**TRANSCRIPT.**

(l. 1) Sidham na ma bhagavato devarāja-sakatasasamāsa-samāsa-sambudhhasā7 dhātuvara-(l. 2) parigahitasā4 Mahāchetye mahānāja Vīrūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasā (l. 3) Aghot-Agīthogīthomā2. Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājista hirana-koṭī-go-sata-(l. 4) sahasa-hala-sa-sahasahasapadāya savathesu apathitasa-samkapasa (l. 5) Vāsitbiputasā Ikhākusa Sirī-Chāṭhamūlasa sodarāya bhaginyā Harūma-(l. 6) sirinjikāaya bālīka raṁno Sirī-Virapurisadatasabha-yā mahādevi Bapīsinikā (l. 7) apanā mātaraṁ Haṁmaśirinipakā pariṇamasthāna10 atane11 cha nivāya-saṁpati-saṁpādake (l. 8) imaṁ sela-thāṁbhāṁ patiṁ-sūtaṁ acharitaṁ añnāṁ Apara-mahāvinayēyeṇāṁ suparīgahitaṁ[*] (l. 9) imaṁ Mahāchetya-nava-kamaṁ Pannagama-vatthāvānaṁ Digha-Mahīma-pañda15. m[a]ntuka-desa[k]-vā[]* [chakānaṁ] (l. 10) araṁṇa[n][h].12

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1 Read : khaṁbho.
2 Read : Ujjainī.
3 Read : mahārāja-bālīka.
4 Read : nivāya-nāthaṇāya.
5 Read : mahāchetye.
6 The meaning probably is that the Queen Rudradharabha[kārikā, besides dedicating a pillar, contributed a sum of 170 dinārī-māsakas towards the expenses incurred by Chāntisirī for the building of the stūpa.
7 samma- has been written twice by mistake.
8 Perhaps parigahitasā.
9 The two aksharas gi tho have been written twice by mistake.
10 Read : pariṇāmasthāna(n).
11 Read : atane.
12 Read : pānīka (cf. above, C 1, l. 11).
13 Read : aharīgānāha.

TRANSLATION.

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

Ayaka-pillar inscription C 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Siddhāṃ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasā saṃma-saṃbudhhasa dhātuvara-parigahhitasa (l. 2) mahādeityahe[ṃ] mahārājasa Virākmapati-Mahāsenapa-righahitasa Agihāta—⁴ (l. 3) Agihoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hirāna-koṭi-go-satasaḥasa-hala satā—(l. 4) sahasa-padāyaśa savathesa apathatha-saṃkapasa Vāsiṭhiputasa Ikhākusa. (l. 5) Sīri-Chāntamulasa sodarā-bhaginya Hāmimasariya⁵ bālikā mahārājasa (l. 6) Mādhariputasa Sīri-Virapurisadatasa bhaya mahādevi Chhaṭhisiri apano (l. 7) mātaraḥ Hāmimasirinikāḥ parināmetuna atanām⁶ cha nivāṇa-saṃpati-sampadake imaḥ bhāṃkhāṃ⁷ (l. 8) patiṭhapitah mahārājasa Sīri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6 dāva⁸ 10

TRANSLATION.

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, etc., (see above, sub C 2) the Mahādevi Chhaṭhisiri (Skt. Shāṭhisīri), (who is) the daughter of Hāmima, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhiputa Ikhāku Sīri-Chāntamulā, etc., (see above, sub C 3) and (who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mādhariputa Sīri-Virapurisadatta, with due regard for her mother Hāmimasiriṇikā and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sīri-Virapurisadatta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Ayaka-pillar inscription C 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Siddhāṃ namo bhagavato saṃma-saṃbudh[ha*]sa dhātuvara-parigahhitasa Mahāchetiye (l. 2) mahāsenāpatiṣa mahātalavaraṇa Vāsiṭhiputaṣa Pūkiyānaṃ Mahākathadasirīsa (l. 3)
Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagajunakonda (III).

E. Section-1.

E. Section-2.

E. Section-3.

Scale: One-third.
bhaya mahāsenāpatīsā mahātālavarasa Viṃhusirisa mātā mahātālavarī apano (l. 4) ubhaya-
kulaṁ parināmetu[na*] atano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathaya cha imaṁ (l. 5) sela-
khambhāṁ pataṁ pataṁ māhārajasā Siri-Virapurisādatassā samvivā 6 və pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahātālavarī (who is) the wife of the Mahāsenāpatī, the Mahātālavarī Vāsishthiputa Mahākāndiṣāri of (the family of) the Pūkiyas and (who is) the mother of the Mahā-
senāpati, the Mahātālavarī Viṃhusirī (Śkt. Viṃhusirī), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Siri-Vira-
purisādata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

First Apsidal Temple inscription E.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato Budhāsa chetiya-gľhara mahārajasā Virūpakhapati-Mahā-
sena-parighahitasa
Agihot-[A]githoma-Vyājey-Āsamēdha-ya[j]isa
[ae]ka-hirana-koṭi-gos-
satasahasa-halasatasas[hasa*]-padayasa savathesu apatihata-sanhapasa Vāseṣhiputasa Ikhākulasa
Siri-Chātamulasa sahodar[ā] - bhagini mahātālavarasa Vāseṣhiputasa Pugiyaṇa[ṁ*]
Khaṇḍasiṣā bhariy[ā] mahātālavarī Khamḍasāgaramnagam[ɑ]ntā Chāṭisitri apano jām-
[ɑ]tukasa raño M[ɑ]thhariputasa Ikh[a]kunain Siri-Virapurisādata ayu-vadhahṅke
veja[yik]e (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-[loka-[hita-sukha-[nivānathan[ā]ya samma-sambadhasa
dhā*] tu-perighahitasa mahāchetiya-pādamūle[3] pavajitānāṁ nānā-desa-samanāgatānāṁ
sava-sādhūnāṁ mahābhikṣu-sa[ṁ]ghasa apar[no] cha u-[bhaya-kulasa aṭicḥita[m-janāgata-
vaṭamānake nikanpanike cha parināmetunāṁ Aparamahāvinasesi[ɑ]nāṁ parīgahe sava-
purisādata samvachharaṁ āṭhāra saḥ 10[+*]*8 hemāhita-pakṣaṁ chāṭhaṁ 6 divasamāṁ paṁchamaṁ 5 sava-saṁṭānaṁ hit[ɑ]ya sukhaḥ hotu ti

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A chetiya-gihra (chetiya-hall). Chāṭisitri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāseṣhiputa Siri-Chātamulā of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāśēna, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agniḥṭra, Agniśṭō-
ma, Vājapāya and Āśvāmedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāseṣhiputa Khaṇḍasiṣā of (the family of) the Pugiyaṁ and (who is) the mother of Khamḍasāgaramnagam, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, King Māṭbari-
puta, Siri-Virapurisādata of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, having due regard to the past, present and future bliss (!) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (1) into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided

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1 Probably Ikhāku-kulasa.
2 The akṣara placed between square brackets are still partly traceable.
3 The akṣara ṣ is written under the line.
4 Read: chatusala.
with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvīnaselīyas. In the eighteenth year, anno 18, of King Śrī-Vīrapurisadatta, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the fifth—5th—day. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

**Second Apidal Temple inscription F.**

**TRANSCRIPT.**


gga-magha-dhamachaka-pavatakas chaka-lakṣaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-charaṇaśa taruṇa-divasa-
kara-soṣa-sasi-sas inorderasa savak-loka-chita-mahītas Āmadha ranāmo Māṭha[riputtas]4; . . . 10[+*]3 hemamha-pakhaṁ chhaṭham 6 divasah teraṁ 10[+*]3 . . . ta [rā]-

jācharīyāśarāmī9 Kasmira-Gaṁdhāra-Chiti-India-Tosali-Avarama-Vaṅga-Vanavāsī-Yaṅa[na]-


suparighe (1. 2) Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihaer Chula-Dhammargiyān

chetiya-gharan sapata-saintharam sacheiyām savayuyataṁ kāritaṁ uvasikāya Bodhisiriyā

apana baṭuṇo Budiḍhānukasā māturo cha se Govagama-vaṭahavasa Revata-gahapatī-

māturo cha sa Bathanānika bhūṭhānathā cha se Chaṇḍamukhānasa Karuṇhubbhudhānasa

Hagāṁhānasa bhāgiṇīya cha Revatiśūkīnāya bhūṭu-pūṭanāṁ cha Mahā-Chaṇḍamukha-Chula-

Chaṇḍamukhānāṁ bhāṣīnēyānāṁ cha Mahā-Mūla-Chula-Mūlānāṁ apana cha ayakṣa

Mūlavānīyasa ayikāya Budhavāṇik[a] mātulaka-[sa cha] koṭh[a]kārikāsa Bhadha-

Bodiṣṭhitamāsasa Chaṇḍāsasa Bodhiṣṭhāna mahāmātukāya Bhadiso[k]a Bodhiṣṭha aparān

cha apāna pitun Boṭhi-vāṇiṣyāsā māṭyāya). 1 bhāṭumu Mūlaṁ bhāginnāṁ Bodhānāka[k]a-

Mūlaṁkāya Nāga-bodiṣṭhitāya cha dhāṭuva Viṇāṁkāya putānāṁ Nāgaṁnāsas Viṇāṁnāsas

cha suṁhūkanāṁ cha Bhadasi-Miśrān evam-eva cha Kulaha-vihaer chetiya-gharaṁ Siha[k]-

vihāre bodhi-rukha-pāsādo Mahā-Dhammargiyām ovaṛakā 1 maḥāvīr[h[a]rre maṇḍja-

vahas-khaṁbo Devaṅgiriyaṁ padhāṇa-sālā Pūvase rājaktuśā [sahth][ś]-[maṇi*]davo wo Kauṭkāse-

mahācetiya puva-dāre sela-maṇḍavo Hirumūthuvo ovaṛakā tiṇānā 3 Paṭpāyām ovaṛakā

sata 7 Puḥpahgiyā[ṇ] hela-maṇḍavo Dhaṁ[ṇ] . . . vihaer sela-maṇḍavo etanā cha savasā


lokasa iman navakānaṁ tiṇhi nava[k]a[m]ihe kāritaṁ Chaṇḍamukha-theraṇa cha

(l. 4) Chaṇḍamukhādhi-therena cha Nāga-therena cha sela-vadhākīsisa Vidhiṣṭhāna kāṁṇaṁ ti
TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (which is) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikhāku’s lineage; who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra’s hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the-Law (pertaining to) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (are marked with) the sign of the Wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth—14th—(year) of King Māthariputra, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth—13th—day. For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tathāpatha (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Chilā (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avarānta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana(?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and the Isle of Tathāpatha (Ceylon). At Siripavata (=Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapuri at the Convent on the Lesser Dhammarāja a chaitya-hall with a flooring of slabs, with a chaitya and provided with all the necessary, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt. Bodiśīri) for the sake of her own husband Budhivānaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhānīmikā and of his brothers Chaṇḍamukhana, Karunībudhīn (and) Haghānāmi and of (his) sister Revatiśīri and of (his) brother’s sons Mahā-Chaṇḍamukha (=Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chaṇḍamukha (=Skt. Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (his) sister’s sons Mahā-Mūla and Chula-Mūla, and (for the sake) of her own grandfather Mūlavāṇiya and of her grandmother Budhavāṇिकā and of her maternal uncle(s) (?), the treasurer Bhāda (=Skt. Bhādra), Bodhisāṇa (=Skt. Bodiśīraman), Chaṇḍa (=Skt. Chandra) (and) Bodhikā, and of her maternal grandmother Bodhi and of her own father Budhivānaka and of her mother (?),... of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhānīmikā, Mūlānīmikā, and Nāgabodhīni, of her daughter Virāṇīni, of her sons Nāgāni and Virāṇa and of her daughters-in-law Bhadāsiri (=Skt. Bhadrāsiri) and Misī (=Skt. Misī). And even thுwise a chaitya-hall at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Siha-la-vihāra one—1—cell at the Great Dhammarāja, a maṇḍava-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagarī, a tank, verandah and maṇḍava at Puvāsala (=Skt. Pūrvaśīla), a stone maṇḍava at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kaṇṭakaśāla (=Skt. Kaṇṭakaśāla), three—3—cells at Hirumūtha, seven—7—cells at Papīlā, a stone maṇḍava at Puphagiri (=Skt. Pushpagiri),... a stone maṇḍava at the... vīhāra. And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the thera Chaṇḍamukha, and the thera Dhammanāthi and the thera Nāga. (It is) the work of the stone mason Vīdhika.

Detached Pillar inscription G.

TRANSCRIPT.4

(l. 1) [Sil]dhāma nāmo bhāgavato teka-dāhms-dhurā-vahasa mahāraja[sa Virū-]
(l. 2) [pa]kha-pati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Aghiot-Agīthosa:[Vajape-] (l. 3) y-Āsamedha-y.

1 Koṭhārika = Skt. koṭhāgrīka.
2 If gāmghā is the correct reading, it may perhaps be taken for another form of Pali alīnā = a verandah
3 The vowel-mark of the fourth alākṣara has the appearance of an o-stroke, but this I believe is due to an error not unfrequent in these inscriptions.
4 The first half of the inscription has been restored with the aid of the corresponding passage in other inscriptions.
Translation.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Leader of the Law of the Three Worlds.—Mahādevi Bhaṭi-devā (who is), the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Chātamūla, of (the house of) the Ikhākus, etc., (see above, sub C 3); (who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mādhariputa Siri-Virapurisadasa of the house of the Ikhākus; (and who is) the mother of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvala (who is)?-Chātamūla, has erected this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the Masters of the Bahuṣṭiṣya sect.⁷

Detached Pillar inscription H.

Transcript.


Translation.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the 11th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Ehuvala-[chāta]mūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, the 1st (fortnight of . . . ,) the 7th day. Mahādevi [ko]da[ba]lisēri, (who is the) grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa, Siri-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, etc., (see above, C. 3); (who is) the daughter of Mahārāja Māṭhariputa Siri-Virapurisadasa of (the house of) the Ikhākus; (who is) the sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Ehuvala-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus; and (who is) the wife of the Maharāja of Vānāvasa has erected this pillar and monastery

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⁷ The second akahara may be either da or dha.

² This mutilated word can hardly be anything but bhagya.

³ The akaharas -huvula are damaged owing to a crack, but 4u is still legible.

⁴ Or should we read sava-jina-niyuta? The akahara following sava- is certainly 4a. In the other inscriptions we find savaniyuta.

⁵ [..... Virapunāvyudhiha] (proper name?) raṇa.—Ed.

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

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

⁸ Read Aghnā-Asphoma-Ṭījapya.

⁹ The third syllable sa is still traceable.

¹⁰ The third akahara has become very faint. At first I felt inclined to read Dhammayasa, but the long horizontal base-stroke which is still clear rather suggests the letter ṣa.
for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahāyāna sect, on behalf of the community of the Four
Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. (It has been)
carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the theravāda Dhamma-ghosa.

Sculpture inscription J. ¹

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Siddhaṃ namo bhagavato aga-pogalasa Budhhasa Chhadakapavaticch[ena Paduma-
[vā]-niya gharaniya sagayā saputakānāṁ Hagə[i]ri[i]sa sagasə Nagatarasa cha saha[ha]sa
(l. 2) saputikāna[sa] cha deyadham[c]o paṭo unisa cha mahāchetiye pati[th][ā]vito

TRANSLATION.

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

A meritorious gift (consisting of) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great
Chaitya by Chhadakapavatica, Padumavati his house-wife, together with their sons Hagaṣir and
Nagataras with his wife and together with their daughters.

Fragmentary Sculpture inscription K.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) saputak[ā]na[m] cha Dhamasa Padumasa cha [Bha]dasa Hughasa saput-
m[i]ta-ba[m] dhavānas[m] cha deyadham[ō] paṭa niba sapadka.*....

TRANSLATION.

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

Postscript.

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

"In the first place I should like to draw your attention—perhaps unnecessarily—to the
suffix *aṣaka* in Viśākhāṣaka, Sāgarāṇaka, formed from Viśākha, Sāgara, respectively. This
same suffix is frequent in names from the Bombay Presidency; cf. Lüders, Nos. 985, 993, 1000,
1018, 1020, 1033 (Kaṇha), 1100, 1100, 1100, 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kāli), 1109, 1111,
(Bedsa), 1141 (Nāsik), 1171 (Junmar). It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, per-
haps Kanarese, substratum. The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese. Moreover, some of the names
seem to find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus kanda means 'child' in Kanarese, and
chali 'cold.' Chalikiremmanaṇaka probably is Chalikireṇaṇaka='Moon.' It also strikes me
that Kanarese karpanbu means 'envy.' I have not access to a Telugu dictionary. But it
seems to me that Kanarese is more likely. The other characteristics which can be gleaned from
your quotations do not help us. They show that we have to do with a Standard Prakrit, re-
lated to Pali, which was, as you know, used over a large territory. The change of *p* to *c* is

¹ The transcript and translation of inscriptions J and K should be regarded as provisional.
² Perhaps sapādaka-paytā. [Perhaps the reading is 'pātāni be sapādakāni,' meaning two slabs with foot-
prints.—Ed.]
³ His, her, or their, as the case may be.
general in most Prakrits and cannot be used for localizing the dialect. A similar language is also used in the Khasavēla inscriptions. I would therefore be inclined to define the dialect of your inscriptions as follows: We are faced with a normalized semi-literary Prakrit, used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanares. If I am right, we should a priori be inclined to infer that the Khyakhūs had come to the Kistna country from the West. But all such conclusions are bound to be uncertain. Khaṇḍa is, as you say, probably = Skanda, and Chāṇḍa might be Kākāṇḍa, but might also have something to do with Chāṇḍaka, the designation of some actors from Mathurā (Lüders, No. 85)."

Glossary.

**aga-pogala** (J, 1, 1), Pali agga-puggala = Skt. agga-pudgala, an epithet of Buddha.


a[chanta] (F, 1, 3), i.e., ančhanta = Skt. atyanṭa.

eṭhaṅga-magga-dhammāca-pavattaka (F, 1, 1), i.e., attaṅga-magga-dhammāca-pavattaka = Skt. asāṅga-mārga-dhammāca-pravattaka, an epithet of Buddha.

atthāra (D, 1, 2), "eighteenth."

atichchhita, i.e., atichchhita (A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9, etc.), always followed by anāgata-vaṭṭa-māṅake or "māṅakānē. Cf. Pali atichchhāti (Skt. ati-richchhāti) which is only preserved in the expression atichchhātha bhanṭe "Please go on, Sir." The past participle atichchhita, therefore, stands for the usual atita.

Adhvī-Chāṭisiri (B, 2, l. 5), a personal name. The second akṣara is possibly da.

anusthitaḥ (H, l. 14). Cf. Pali anuṭṭhita (= Skt. anuṣṭhita), past participle of anuṭṭhatho, meaning "carried out, effected."


antarāśika (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), Pali anantarśika, "a disciple."

sahāsraṃ apatiḥata-sahākara = Skt. saṁvartika, a pratiṣṭhāna-sacikṣāpatiḥ, epithet of Siri-Chāntamāla. Cf. apatiḥata-sacikṣāpad in the Hirahādagallī grant, l. 10.

Aparasāsālya (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8; E, l. 2), name of a Buddhist sect. See above, p. 10. The name presumably is identical with Pali Aparāsālīya, Skt. Aparsāsālīya, a subdivision of the Thāravāda. Cf. M. Welleser, Die Sektiten des alten Buddhismus p. 7; but cf. p. 21.

ayaka (E, l. 2), i.e., ayyaka = Skt. āryaka.

ayikā (F, 1, 2), i.e., ayyikā = Skt. āryikā.

[Nota: The rest of the document contains various Pali terms and their Skt translations, along with notes and references.]
longevity, power and fame of (his) own family and race." (Bühler) in the Hir-a-hadagallī grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, l. 9, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 6; omha-vejyake [dhanam]-āyu-bala-veditamkṣe "for conferring on ourselves victory (in war) and for increasing (our) merit, length of life, and power". (Hultzsch) in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 87; omhaṁ āyu-bala-veditamkṣe "making (it) a means for increasing our length of life and power." (Hultzsch) in the British Museum plate of Chārudāvi, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 146. The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is found in the Chammak and Siwani grants of Pravarasena II (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 238 and 246) and in the Uruvapalli grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 52). Cf. also chhatrapasa saputra-darasa āyu-bala-vardhīsa in the Taxila plate of Patika (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 56) and J. R. A. S. for 1924, p. 402.


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

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

Ikkhāku, i.e., Ikkhāku=Skt. Ikkhaśu, Pali Okkāka, the legendary progenitor of the Solar race.

Ikkhāku-rāja-pravara-viśva-pahāra-viśva-sambhava (F, l. 1)=Skt. Ikkhāku-rāja-pravara-reṇu-
vaiśvadeva-rāja-prabhava-sambhava, an epithet of the Buddha.

uddivika (H, l. 13). Cf. Skt. udvidya, Pali udhipuṇa (absol. of ud-śīvatī) "to point out", "on behalf of, on account of."

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

ubhaya-loka-hīva-sukha-nitupatthānāya (A, 3, l. 8, etc., passim) and ubhaya-loka-hīya-sukhā-
cakṣukṣanāya (B, 2, l. 5). Cf. Spence Hardy, Eastern Monasticism, p. 229.

ubhyayikā (B, 5, l. 6), i.e.: ubbhaya-yikā=Skt. *ubhyayikā from ubbha=Skt. ubhā. Cf. Pischel, Grammatik, § 300.

uttariśūla (F, l. 3)=Skt. uttarisūla.

uttārīkā (F, l. 2)=Skt. uttārīkā.


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

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

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

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

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

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

Kosandari (A, 2, l. 6, etc., passim), a personal name.
Kulakaka (B 4, l. 3), name of a clan.
Kulaka-vikara (F, l. 3), name of a monastery.
lakṣñ?[i]kārika (F, l. 2) = Skt. kōshṭhāpyārika, “a treasurer, a superintendent of a royal store house.” Cf. kōshṭhagāla in Sohagura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, List, No. 937).

[Khāda[ba]lisiri (H, l. 11), a personal name.
Khānida, i.e., Khanda (in personal names) = Skt. Skanda.
Khāndakali-kirimanauka (B 4, l. 4), a personal name. Dr. Sten Konow suggests Kanarese chālikiraya = moon, from Kanarese cha = cold.
Khāndavisūkhāya (B 2, l. 4) = Skt. Skanda-viśākha, a personal name.
Khāndasāgaravīṣayakā (A 3, l. 7, etc.) and Khāndasāgaramānaga (E, l. 1) = Skt. Skanda-śāgara, a personal name.
Khāmbha, i.e., khambha (passim), “a pillar,” from Vedic skambha. Cf. Pischel, Grammatik, § 306. Also in selā-kambha (q.v.).

Purushpata (F, l. 2) = Skt. gṛihapati.
Gharani (J, l. 1) = Skt. gṛihīṣṭi.

Chakalakāna-sukvāmaru-sujāta-charāna (F, l. 1) = Skt. chakra-lakṣhāna, an epithet of the Buddha.

Chāndamukha (F, l. 3) = Skt. Chandamukha, a personal name.
Chāndamukhana (F, l. 2); cf. Skt. Chandamukha, a personal name.
Chāntamūla; see, Sīri-Chaṁtamūla.

Chāntisiri (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim) or Chaṁtisiriṇikā (B 5, l. 5), a personal name.
Chāntudasa saṅgha (H, ll. 12-13) = Skt. chaṭṭuḍisaḥ saṅghaḥ.

Chātusala (E, l. 2), i.e., chaṭṭusāla, Skt. chaṭṭusāla, Pali chaṭṭusāla, “a quadrangular building built round an inner courtyard, a cloister or quadrangle.” Cf. Mṛñcchasūnatā, kātiṅka (ed. Stenzler) p. 46, l. 20; viḥāram sachatuṣṭālam; Rājat. III. 13; Mahāvamsa XV, 47 and 50; XXXV, 88; Nāsik Cave (No. 10) Inscription, L. 2, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 78. Acharya, op. cit., p. 193.

Chula-Chaṇḍamukha (F, l. 2) = Skt. Kshudra-Chaṇḍamukha, a personal name.
Chula-Chaṁtisiriṅkā (B 4, l. 5), a personal name.

Chula-Buddhā (K) = Skt. Kshudra-Buddhā, a personal name.
Chula-Mūla (F, l. 2) = Skt. Kshudra-Mūla, a personal name.

Chetiya-ghara (E, l. 1 and F, ll. 2 and 3) = Skt. chaitya-grīha, “an apsidal temple or Chaitya-hall.” The term seems to be employed synonymously with selā-maṇḍapa. The word chetiya-ghara is frequently met with in inscriptions and applies equally to structural and rock-cut shrines. Cf. Lüders, List, Index and Mahāvamsa XXXI, 52.

Chhatha (E, l. 2; F, l. 2), i.e., chhatha “sixth” = Skt. ḍhaththa.
Chhaṭhi, i.e., chhaṭhi, in the personal name Chhaṭhisiri (C 4, l. 6).

Chhadakapavatiṣa (J, l. 1), a personal name (1) Cf. below under “Geographical Terms.”
Jāmāyukasa (E, l. 1) = Skt. jāmātyukasa.

[See footnote 1 on page 22, above.—Ed.]
jita-rāga-dosa-moha-viparamuta (A 2, l. 2, etc.) = Skt. jita-rāga-deva-moha-viparamukta, epithet of the Buddha. Rāga, dosa, moha, "lust, hatred, and delusion" are the three Agga, Khiñchanas, or Akusala-mulas symbolised in the centre of the "Wheel of Existence" by three animals: a dove or cock, a snake, and a hog.

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

tarupa-dīvāsakara-pabha (F, l. 1) = Skt. dīvāsakara, an epithet of the Buddha.

tālaka (F, l. 3) = Skt. tālaka, "a tank or cistern."

tīṇi (F, l. 3), instr. tīṇhi, (F, l. 3) "three."

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

teloka-dharmam-dhurā-vaha (G, l. 1) = Skt. trailoky-dharma-dhurā-vaha, an epithet of the Buddha.

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

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

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

darīsana (F, l. 1) = Skt. darśana, Pali dassa. Cf. Pischel, Grammatik, §135.

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

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

dīvasa (E, l. 2) = Skt. dīvasa. Elsewhere (C 2, l. 11) abbreviated as dīva.

Dīgha-Majhima-pāriñjaka-mātukama-desaka-vāchaka, and Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dhara (C 1, ll. 11-12 and C 2, ll. 9-10); corrected reading. Cf. Vinaya-dhara and Mahāvīrya-dhara in Amaravati inscriptions. Burgess, Amaravati Stupa, p. 37, No. VIII, and p. 102, No. 25. The word -dhara in these compounds must have the same meaning as Arabic ḫāṣiq "one who has the whole Qurān by heart."

duhūṭa (B, l. 3) = Skt. duhūṭa "a daughter," gen. instr. sing., duhūṭya, (F, l. 3; H, l. 9).


deva-rāja-sakata (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim) = Skt. devarāja-sakrya, an epithet of the Buddha.

-desaka (C 1, l. 11 "osaka"; C 2, l. 9 "desa") "a preacher."

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

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

Dhanama[ghosa] (H, l. 14) = Skt. Dharmaghosa, a personal name.

Dhanmanandhi (F, l. 4), i.e., Dhammanandi, a personal name.

dātuvarṇa-parighāha (B 4, l. 3, etc., passim) = Skt. dātuvarṇa-parighāha "absorbed by the best of elements (dātu), i.e., by Nirvāṇa."

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

[To me it does not appear to be impossible that the Mahāsanghikas have been specified in these inscriptions as "protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha," and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this stūpa from others not similarly consecrated. Inscription E gives dātu-part only.—Ed.]
navakarma and navakarmna (C 1, L. 12; C 2, L. 11; F, L. 3) = Skt. navakarmma, Pali navakamma, “a religious building dedicated by some lay-member to the Sāṅgha”. The procedure by which a superintendent of works (navakammika) is appointed by the chapter of Bhikkhus in order to supervise the construction of a navakamma is described in Chullavagga VI, 5 = Vinaya Piṭaka (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, pp. 159 f. (S. B. E., Vol. XX, pp. 189 ff.). “If the buildings were for the Bhikkhus, then a Bhikkhu, if for the Bhikkhunis, then a Bhikkhuṇī, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments”. Cf. also Sutta-vibhaṅga, Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga I, 1 = Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. IV, p. 211. The word navakamma frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions.

navakammika (F, L. 3) “a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuṇī appointed by the Chapter as a superintendent of the building operations of a navakamma, (see preceding article). Cf. Lüders, List, Nos. 164, 773, 987 and 1250. A synonymous term is kammā-ācariya, Mahāvamsa, XXX, 98.

Nāka (K) = Skt. Nāga, a personal name.

Nāga (F, L. 1) = Skt. Nāga, a personal name.

Nāgastara (J, L. 1), a personal name.

Nāgara (F, L. 3), a personal name.

Nāgābodhitaka (F, L. 3), a personal name.

Nāmā-buta-samādāgata (E, L. 2) “assembled (f) from various countries”.

nāma-paṇika (E, L. 2), a word of uncertain meaning.

nāmā-pita or nāma-pita (C 1, L. 12; C 2, L. 11), Pali nāmā-pita, past participle of nāmā-pet, “to complete”, Mahāvamsa, XXXI, 1, 2. Cf. Pali nāmā-pita “completed”, thāspa anīthi sāya, Mahāvamsa, XXIX, 53; thāspa anīthi kamaṁ nīthāpehi vṛddhi, ibid., XXXII, 2.

nīpita-sampatti-saṃpādaka (A 3, L. 9, etc., passim) = Skt. nīpita-sampatti-saṃpādaka, paṇḍhinaka (E, L. 2) “fifth”.

pāta (J, L. 2 and K) “a slab.” Frequently in Amaraviṭṭhi inscriptions; see Lüders, List, Index. Also in compound sapata-saṅkhara (F, L. 2), “with a floor of (stone) slabs”.

paṭāhāga (A 2, ll. 6-7, etc., passim) in compound saṃpaṭāhāga. The word corresponds with Skt. paṭāhāga, Pali paṭāhāga = counterpart, likeness. But the word wanted here is apāṭāhāga, Pali appaṭāhāga “unequalled, unparalleled, matchless.”

paṭāhāpa (A 3, L. 9), i.e., paṭāhāpa, Skt. paṭāhāpa “erected, set up, dedicated.”

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

Padumā (J, L. 1), a personal name.

Padumā (K) = Skt. Padmā, a personal name.


parighaka (E, L. 3) = Skt. parighaka, Pali parighaka, “grace, favour.”

parighaka or parighaka in dhātuvardha-parighaka (q.v.) and Vīrīparighaka-Mahāvaṃsa-parighaka (q.v.). The meaning of parighaka in these two compounds appears to be “absorbed by.”

* But Skt. pratiḥāga means ‘gift’ or ‘share’ also.—Ed.

* “Protected by”—Ed.
parināmetun[a]ni passim, absoluticum of parināmeti=Skt. paripāmayati, Pali pariṇāmayi (caus. of pariṇāmati) "to bend to, to change into, to turn to use for somebody, to apportion, to destine." Mahādevi Bapsirīṣīkā apano mātaram Ḥammasirīṣīkān parināmetuna (C 2, l. 7) and Mahādevi Chhaṭṭhisiri apano mātaram Ḥammasirīṣīkān parināmetuna (C 4, l. 7). It is clear that parināmetuna is used here in the same sense as purato katūnaṁ in the Jāggāyapaṇa inscriptions: apano mātaram Nāgalinī, purato katūnaṁ "having associated [with him] his mother Nāgalini" (Bühler). In the expression apano ubhaya-kulam parināmetuna (B 2, l. 5; C 1, l. 8; C 5, l. 4) it is also used with the object in the accusative. Elsewhere we find apano ubhaya-kulam atichhitam-anāgata-vatamānake or vajamānakānāṁ in which the connection with the absolutivum parināmetuna is not clear. Cf. Buddhist Skt. pariṇāmayati (Mahāvastu, Vol. I, pp. 81 and 309).

pavoṣita (E, l. 1), i.e., pavoṣita, =Skt. pavoṣita, Pali pavoṣita.

pavoṣiṣṭa (E, l. 1)=Skt. pavoṣiṣṭa, Pali pavoṣiṣṭa “converting to the Buddhist faith”.

pāśāṁ in Bodhi-rukha-pāśāṁ (F, l. 3) q.v.

pitukha (A, l. 5, etc., passim)=Pali pitukkhā: “a father’s sister, a paternal aunt”.


pitukha (F, l. 1, 2) gen. sing. =Skt. pitukhā.

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

pāśa-dārāḥ (F, l. 2)=Skt. pāśa-dārāḥ-dārāḥ.

Pākiya, Pukiya (A, l. 6; C 3, l. 7; C 5, l. 2), Pugiya (E, l. 1), a clan name.

Bapsirīṣīkā (C 2, l. 8), a personal name. Cf. Bapsirī in Lüders, List, No. 1213 (Amarāvati inscription) and names like Bappuka (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 282), Bappārya (Gupta Inscrip., p. 243), Bappasāmin (ibidem, p. 105) and Bappaddāva . (ibidem, p. 249), Bappika (Rājat. VII, 1138).

Bahuṣutiya (G, l. 8)=Skt. Bahuṣutiya, Pali Bahuṣutiya, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Gāndhāra sect which belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas.


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

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

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

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

Buddha (F, l. 2)=Skt. Buddha, a personal name.

Buddhā (F, l. 2)=Skt. Buddhā, a personal name.

Buddhā (F, l. 2)=Skt. Buddhā, a personal name.


Buddhasamana (F, l. 2)=Skt. Buddhasamana, a personal name. Cf. Lüders, List, No. 1291.

Buddhasiri (F, l. 2)=Skt. Buddhasiri, a personal name.

Bhagyā (A, l. 5, etc., passim, instr. sing. bhaginīīṇa) (H, l. 10)=Skt. bhaginī “sister”, bhaginīīṇa, bhaginīīṇa (C 1, l. 12) and bhaginīīṇa (C 2, l. 10)=Skt. bhaginīīṇa, bhaginīīṇa “by the Reverend Ananda”.

Bhagīdeva (G, l. 7), a personal name...
bhatuno, gen. sing. (F, l. 2) = Skt. bharuṭaḥ.
Bhada (F, l. 2), i.e., Bhāda = Skt. Bhadra, a personal name.
Bhadsirī (F, l. 3), i.e., Bhādāsirī = Skt. Bhadāsirī, a personal name.
bhāriya (A 2, l. 6, etc., passim) and bhāya (B 2, l. 4; B 4, l. 5) = Skt. bhārīya, Pali bhāriya.
bhūginēya (F, l. 2) = Skt. bhūgīnēya, “a sister’s son”.
bhūta (F, l. 3) gen. sing. = Skt. bhūtauḥ; bhūtunām, gen. plur. = Skt. bhūtariṇām.
bhūtu-puta (F, l. 2) = Skt. bhūtri-puta, “a brother’s son”.
Majhima-nīkāya, see Dīgha-Majhima-nīkāya.
manjāva, maṇḍava (F, l. 3) = Skt. maṇḍapa.
Mahākāndasirī (C 5, l. 2), a personal name. Cf. Kāndasirī.
Mahā-Čandramukha (F, l. 2) = Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha, a personal name.
mahātalavara (A 2, l. 6, etc., passim), a title of uncertain meaning, evidently denoting “a high dignitary or a feudal lord.” See above, p. 6.
mahātalavari (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim), “the wife of a mahātalavara.”
mahādevi (B 5, l. 4; C 2, l. 6; G, l. 7; H, l. 11), a title borne by the consort of a ruling chief.
mahādāharmakāthīka (H, l. 14) = Skt. mahādāharmakāthīka “a great preacher of the Law.” Cf. Burgess, Amaravati Stupa, p. 94.
mahābhikkhu-saṅgha (E, l. 1), i.e., mahābhikkhu-saṅgha.
mahāmūla (F, l. 2). Cf. Pali mahāmūla “a grandmother”.
Mahā-Mūla (F, l. 2) = Skt. Mahā-Mūla, a personal name.
mahāvīra (B 5, l. 5; F, l. 3).
mahāsenapati (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim) = Skt. mahāsenapati, lit. “Commander-in-Chief” but here used as a title designating a feudal lord. According to the late Dr. Fleet it “denotes equal rank with Mahāraja and Mahāsāmanta.” (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 15, n.). See above, p. 6.
mahāsenapati (B 4, l. 5), Skt. *mahāsenapati “the wife of a mahāsenapati”
Mahīṣāsaka (G, l. 12), Skt. Mahīṣāsaka, Pali Mahīnāsaka, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Theravādins and appears to have flourished in the Andhra country. Cf. M. Walleser, Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus, pp. 7 and 22.
Mādhariputa (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) and Mādhariputa (E, l. 1; F, l. 1; H, l. 8) = Skt. Mādhariputra, metronymic of Sīra-Virapurisadatta.
mātā (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim) “mother”, acc. sing. mātāram (C 2, l. 7; C 4, l. 7) instr. and gen. sing. mātāya (F, l. 2; G, l. 7).
mātaka, see pañcāpa-mātaka.
Miti (F, l. 3), i.e., Miti = Skt. Mitri, a personal name.
Mūla (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Mūlānīkā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Mūlārūnyā (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Rudradhārabhaṭṭārikā (B 5, l. 3)=Skt. Rudradhārabhaṭṭārikā, a personal name of a queen, probably belonging to the ruling house of Ujjayīni. See above, p. 4.

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

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


-vathava (C 1, l. 11; F, l. 2), i.e., vathavavas=Skt. vāstavaḥ "residing at".

vāchaka (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 9, restored), "a preacher".

Vāśitthiputra (A 2, l. 3, etc., passim) and Vāśiṭṭhiputa (G, l. 5; H, ll. 7 and 9), i.e., Vāśiṭṭhiputra=Skt. Vāśiṭṭhiputra, metronymic of Sīra-Chāntamūla, Kāṇḍasiri, Khyandacchali-kireṇaṇaṇaka (1) (B 4, l. 4) and Sīri-Ehuvala-Chāntamūla (H, l. 9).


Viḍhika (F, l. 4), a personal name.


vihāra (F, l. 2; G, l. 8; H, l. 11), "a monastery".

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

Virān(ṛ)māṇa (F, l. 3), a personal name.

velāmi(kā) (B 3, l. 7, etc., passim; once velāmika A 4, l. 7) in compound samapā-baramaṇa. The word appears to be an adjective meaning, "belonging to Velāma." Buddha (Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 228; Cambridge translation, Vol. I, p. 101) refers to the time of Velāma when he (Buddha) "stirred up all India by giving the seven things of price, and in [his] largesse poured them forth as though [he] had made into one mighty stream the five great rivers." He then preached the Velāmaka-Sutta (Velāmaka-Suttan kathā) which is also mentioned in Sumanigala-Viśātī, Vol. I, p. 234, l. 11. It would seem, that Velāma was a legendary personage renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence like Vessantu-rā with whom his name is combined in Vihārāgattha-kathā, p. 414, l. 6.

Vochhina, i.e., Vochchhinna (A 2, l. 7, etc., passim) in compound samapā-baramaṇa. =Skt. vyavachhinna, past participle of vyavachhikhati, passive vyavachchhīdyutī, Pali f
vochhiyate "to be cut off". The word wanted here evidently is aavochhina,
Pali abbochchhina, abbochchhinna "not cut off, uninterrupted, continuous".

saivachhara (E, l. 2)=Skt. saivatara, "a year". Elsewhere (A 3, l. 9, etc., passim)
abbreviated as saivara or saiv (E, l. 2).
sata (F, l. 3), i.e., satta,=Skt. satpa, "seven".
satari-satani (B 5, l. 6), i.e., satari-satani "one hundred and seventy." Cf. Pischel, Grammatik,
§ 60.

sanathara in sapata-samathara (F, l. 2)=Skt. samatara, Pali santhara, santhara "a layer,
stratum, couch, flooring". Cf. Mahāvamsa XXX, 70.
samaṇa-bamhaṇa-kavaṇa-vanijaka[k]-dīn-anuvaha-velami[k]-dāna-paśībhoga-vacchina-dhāra-paddhāyi
yina (A 3, ll. 6-7, etc., passim)=Skt. śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-kriyāṇa-vanijaya-dīn-
anuvrāṇa-valāmiṇa-dāna-dīpatībhoga-āvavacchina-dhāra-praddhāyi, an epithet of Chānti-
isiri. Cf. above, under kavaṇa, vanijaka[ka], velami[ka], paśībhoga, and vacchina.
sammasamabheda (A 2, l. 1)=Skt. sammak-sambuddha, Pali sammā-samabheda "perfectly
enlightened, a universal Buddha".
samuthapiyamāna (B 5, l. 6)=Skt. samuthapiyamāna, present participle passive of sam-
uthāpilayati, Pali samuthāpiteti "to found, originate".
sarada-sasi-soma-darasaṇa (F, l. 1)=Skt. sārada-sasi-somaya-darasaṇa-, an epithet of
the Buddha.
savanī, gen. savanīna (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim)=Skt. sarvājaṇa, Pali sabbanīna "omnis-
cient", an epithet of the Buddha.
sava-niyuta (E, l. 2; F, l. 2; cf. sava-jāta[1]-niyuta G, l. 8), i.e., savva-niyutta=Skt.
sarva-niyukta.
sava-loka-chita-mahita (F, l. 1)=Skt. sarva-loka-chita-mahita-, an epithet of the Buddha.
sava-loka-hita-sukh-ārakhanaiya (C 1, l. 9; C 3, l. 12), cf. ubhaya-loka-hita-.
sava-satt-ānucampaka (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim), i.e., savva-satte-ānucampaka=Skt. sarva-
satte-ānucampaka, an epithet of the Buddha.
sava-sudhu-vachhalā (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim)=Skt. sarva-sudhu-vatsaldā, an epithet of
Chāntisiri.

[S]ādhu-vagga (F, l. 3), i.e., sādhu-vagga=Skt. sādhu-varga.
Siri-Ehuala-(Ehuela-) Chāntamula (G, l. 7, H, ll. 3 and 10), a personal name.
Siri-Chāntamula (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim), a personal name. Sometimes Chāntamula.
Siri-Virapurisadatta (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) -Vira- (E, l. 2 and G, l. 6)=Skt. Śrī-Vira-
purushadatta, a personal name.
suññā (F, l. 3, G, l. 5)=Skt. snukha, Pali suññā, suññhā "a daughter-in-law."
suprabuddha-bodhi (B 5, l. 1)=Skt. suprabuddha-bodhi, an epithet of the Buddha.
suparigaha (F, l. 1; H, l. 11)=Skt. suparigha, "grace, acceptance".
supariṇahita (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8)=Skt. supariṇahita, Pali supariṇahita, "well favoured,
graced, i.e., accepted by."
sela-kharibha (B 4, l. 6; B 5, l. 1; C 2, l. 8; C 5, l. 5)=Skt. śaila-skambha "a stone
pillar." Cf. above, under kharibha.
sela-thanibha (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. śaila-thambha, "a stone pillar." Cf. above, under thanibha.
sela-manjāva (E, l. 2) and sela-manjāva (F, l. 3)=Skt. śaila-manjāpa, "a stone shrine."
sela-vādāki (F, l. 4); above; under vādāki.
sodarā-bhagini (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) and once sākodara[b]-bhagini (E, l. 2) "a sister
born from the same womb"; gen. sing. sodarāyā bhaginiya (C 2, l. 5).
soma (F, l. 1)=Skt. somaya, Pali soma,
PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA. 35

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

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

Hângha, i.e., Hânhga, =Skt. Saṅgha, in personal names. Cf. Lüders, List, Nos. 1240, 1262, 1271, 1274, 1281.

Hirnmasirinikâ (C 2, ll. 5 and 7; C 4, ll. 5 and 7) or Harinmasiri (C 4, l. 5), a personal name.

Harisa (F, l. 1) =Skt. kṛṣa.

Hiranta (i.e., Hirantaka) (B 4, l. 4), a clan name.

hiranta-koti-go-satasa-hasta-hala-satasaha-padāyī (A 2, l. 4, etc., passim); see anekāhiranta-koti-5.

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

Hemanta-pakha (E, l. 2; F, l. 1) =Skt. hémanta-pakha.

Geographical names.

Avaranta (F, l. 1), i.e., Avaranta, Skt. Aparânta, Pali Aparantika, a country of the Western coast of the Peninsula, corresponding to the Northern Konkan, the capital of which was Sōpārā, the ancient Sūrāpāra.1 Aparanta is mentioned in Rock-Edict V of Asoka in connection with the appointment of dhanamahādīnās in Nāsik Cave III inscr. among the dominions of Gautamiputra Sātakarpī (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60) and in the Junāgadh rock-inscription of Rudradāman. It was converted by Yonaka-Dhammarakkha, Dipav. VIII, 7. Mahāvīra XII, 4 and 34. Cf. also Miśinda, p. 331, Lüders, List, Nos. 965, 1013 A[p]a-rāhtikā (?), 1123, Skt. Aparântaka, Cf. Raghu, IV, 53.

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

Kanṭakasela (F, l. 3, ex conjectura for "Kanṭakasola"), i.e., Kanṭakasela, Skt. Kanṭa-kasāla, Gr. Ἐντακσύς ἐξεπότον (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15) a town in Maisonia. See above, p. 8.

Kasmira (F, l. 1) Skt. Kāsmira, Pali Kasmira, modern Kashmir, a country in the Western Himalaya. Converted by Majjhantika, Dipav. VIII, Mahāvīra XII.

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


Chilā (F, l. 1), Skt. Chīlā, Mahārāṣṭri Chīlā, Chīlā, Ardhamāgamdh Chīlā, Gr. Κιρράδη (Peripl. § 62; Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2), Κιρράδε (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 16) and Τιλάδ (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 15), an un-Aryan tribe frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. Cf. Miśinda. pp. 327 and 331. (Read Chīlā instead of Vīlāta.

Chind (F, l. 1, coupled with Chilā), name of a country and its inhabitants.

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

Chhadakaparâ śrīka (J., 1, 1), perhaps an adjective from Chhadakapavata. Cf. [Chhadakaparâ śrīka “an inhabitant of Chhadaka.” (1) Lüders, List, No. 1220 (Amaravati).

Tambapāmī-dīpa, i.e., Tambapāmī-dīpa and adj. Tambapāmica (F., 1, 1), Skt. Tambapāmica-dīpa, Gr. Ταμπρόζανη (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 1), the Island of Ceylon.

Tezali (F., 1, 1), a country and town on the coast of Kaliṅga, mentioned in the two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli and two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district (Ep. Ind., Vols. IX, p. 286 and XV, p. 1), Τωσάλη μητρόπολις erroneously located by Ptolemy (VII, 2, 23) in Trans-Gangetic India. Perhaps identical with Δωσάρα (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 77) and Δωσχαρή (Periplus, 47). Cf. above, p. 7.

Damiḷa (F., 1, 1, reading uncertain), Skt. Dravīḍa, Pali Damiḷa, the Tamil country and people on the coast of Coromandel.

Devagiri (F., 1, 3), a hill (1), site of a padhāna-sūla founded by Bodhisiri.

Dharmagiri (Mahā- and Chula- in F., II, 2 and 3), i.e., Dharmagiri Skt. Dharmagiri, a hill. The Chula-Dharmagiri was site of a monastery, where Bodhisiri founded the chetiya-ghara or apsidal shrine mentioned in inscr. F. It appears, therefore, to be the ancient name of the hill now known as Nāharāl[abōju.

Pāṇḍagāma (C 1, 4, 4; C 2, 4, 10), i.e., Pāṇḍagāma, Skt. Paṇḍagāma (1), a village.

Papīḷa (F., 1, 3), a locality.

Pāḷura (F., 1, 1, first syllable restored), a town in Kaliṅga, identified with Dantapura (S. Lēvi, J. A., Vol. CCVI, 1925, pp. 46 ff.; Ind. Ant., Vol. LV, pp. 94 ff.). Ptolemy mentions Παλούρα πόλις ἐν Γαγγηντικῳ κόλπῳ (1, 5, 16) and Πάλουρα πόλις at the western-most mouth of the Ganges.

Pupphaṇī (F., 1, 3), i.e., Pupphaṇī, Skt. Pupphaṇī (“Flower Mountain”), a hill (1), site of a sela-maṇḍapa or stone shrine founded by Bodhisiri.

Puvasela (F., 1, 3), i.e., Puvasela, Skt. Purvāśila (“Eastern Mountain”), a hill.

Mahā-Dharmagiri (F., 1, 3), see Dharmagiri.


Vanīga (F., 1, 3), i.e., Vanīga, Skt. and Pali Vaṅga, modern Bengal.

Vanavāsi (F., 1, 1) and Vaṇavāsaka (H., 1, 10), Skt. and Pali Vaṇavāsaka, Gr. Βανοβάσις (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 83), a country corresponding to North Kanara. The village of Banavāsi is situated in latitude 14° 33’, longitude 75° 5’ in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. It lies close to the border of Mysore territory and North Kanara. Vanavāsa was converted to Buddhism by Rakkhita, Mahāv. XII, 4. Cf. also Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 117. Vikramānākṣāvatāra V, 23 (ed. Bühler), p. 34; Mahāvamsa XII, 31, XXIX, 42.

Vijayapuri (F., 1, 2), a town (1) to the east of which the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri was situated. Cf. Lüders, List, No. 1285.

Siripavata (F., 1, 2), i.e., Siripavata, Skt. Śrīparvata, a mountain, apparently the site of a vihara or monastery mentioned in connection with the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri. See above, p. 9.

Śīlā in Śīlā-vihāra (F., 1, 3), the Singhalese or Ceylonese Monastery, where Bodhisiri had founded a Bodhi-rukkha-pāsāda or “Shrine of the Bodhi-tree.”

Hirunīthura (F., 1, 3), a locality.
TWO ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

By J. PH. Vogel, Ph.D.

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

One of these inscriptions occurs on a "footprint slab." It consists of one line of writing and comprises twenty-three aksharas, the concluding letter being written below the line owing to want of space. The aksharas measure from \( \frac{1}{2} \) to \( \frac{3}{4} \) inches in height. The lettering is distinct, except some of the vowel-marks. It will be observed that the inscription is crossed by a series of nine vertical lines which possibly have some connection with the footprint carved on the slab.

The inscription records the donation of a patipadā. It would follow that this word, corresponding to Sanskrit pratipadā, ought to indicate the object on which the inscription is engraved. The technical term, however, by which a footprint slab is indicated in the Amaravati inscriptions, is paduka-pata (i.e., pāduka-pata), or patuka\(^2\), patuka (i.e., pāduka).

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

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

TRANSCRIPT.


TRANSLATION.

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

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

Dhamasa

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

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

By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper was excavated at Nālandā, the well-known ancient site of Magadha, by Mr. J. A. Page in the official year 1925-26.\(^1\) It was found buried in the debris of the southern verandah of the old vihāra—now called Monastery I—which has yielded not only a large number of bronze or copper images of various kinds and the very valuable copper-plate inscription of Dēvapāladēva that has been published above,\(^2\) but also the earliest remains so far discovered at Nālandā.

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

\(^1\) See A. S. E., 1925-26, pp. 131 & 158.

\(^2\) Vol. XVII, plate between pp. 320 and 321.
for a crack at the middle, is fairly well-preserved. The execution is neat and calligraphic. The record is a prasasti drawn in florid Sanskrit and, but for the initial symbol and the words api cha coming between the sixth and the seventh stanzas, is entirely in verse. The characters, in which it is written, belong to the northern class of alphabets and present a very marked development in contrast with those of the contemporary and even somewhat later inscriptions which have been found in Northern and Eastern India. They largely resemble the characters of the Aphaśā stone inscription of Ādityāśena¹ and would, thereby, indicate that the development, we notice in them, must have taken place not later than the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, i.e., the time to which this inscription belongs. Till now, the Gayā inscription of A.D. 588-89 was considered to be the earliest inscription to illustrate such forms. But the epigraph under publication is decidedly anterior to that record and, therefore, becomes the earliest known inscription to represent that development. The alphabet to which these characters belong may well be called acute-angled (Bühler)² or Siddhamātrikā (Bhārati)³ in preference to the term 'nail-headed' or 'kuśa'. Dēvanāgarī is an outgrowth of this līpi. The present record uses the bipartite form of ya throughout, as does the Bōdhi-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman.

Nālandā is not far off from Bōdhi-Gayā. This epigraph, therefore, will not countenance the supposition that the use of the bipartite ya in the Mahānāman inscription was "premature." The tripartite form of ya is found even in the Udāppūr inscription of Aparājita,⁴ which belongs to the Saka year 718 (=A.D. 661). It is to be met with not only in the inscriptive records named above, but also in the Horuzh palm-leaf manuscripts of Japan which are believed to have existed in the second half of the 7th century (A.D.). To regard an inscription as late or early merely on the ground that it uses the bipartite or the tripartite form of ya would not, consequently, be quite accurate. The alphabet used in this inscription is, to a large extent, identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī or Nāgarī. The chief points of difference which it presents are these: The ā-mātrā is generally indicated by a sort of small wedge attached to the right of the top line, whereas in Nāgarī it is expressed by a full perpendicular stroke. In the case of pā, however, a somewhat different mode is adopted by slightly bending the right end and extending it upwards beyond the top towards the right side. The ā-mātrā is slightly different in shape, as, e.g., in bhūṛa,¹¹ l. 2. The ě-mātrā is marked in two different ways, sometimes in an elongated form of the Nāgarī symbol with a bend at about the middle, as in dēhinā,¹¹ l. 1, and sometimes by a short curve appended to the left of the top line of the akṣara to which it belongs, as in ॐānike,¹¹ l. 1, or in karēna,¹¹ l. 21. Similarly, the ai-mātrā is expressed in two ways. In ॐ-sch-aisha, occurring in the penultimate line, it is practically similar to the Nāgarī symbol, whereas in the majority of cases it is expressed by the hook-like mark attached to the left of the top line and the slanting ē-mātrā, as, e.g., in ॐuchhaia,¹¹ l. 21. The ō-mātrā is shown by the symbols of the ō and the ē-mātrās combined, see, for instance, ॐokshāya and ya in l. 1. The ou-mātrā is also different, e.g., see ॐgaurā in l. 6, or ॐauddhaianēr- in l. 9.

As to the initial vowels, only the ā and the i retain their comparatively earlier forms. The former keeps the hook attached to its leg as in ādēdā,¹¹ l. 12, and the latter, the two small circles placed above the reversed crescent, as in iyā,¹¹ l. 20.

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

In respect of orthography, the points which call for remark are (1) the use throughout of $v$ for $b$, e.g., in vādhi, l. 15 and 17, or in Vālādiya, l. 19, and (2) the use of the $g$-like symbol for the conjunct $i$, as in sarveśhān-vajraṁ, l. 17.

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

The inscription, as I have stated above, is a praśasti and its object is to record that Mālāda, the son of the minister (mantrin) of Yaśovarmanmadēva, made certain gifts, specified herein, to the temple which king Bālāditya had erected at Nālandā in honour of the ‘Son of Śuddhādana’, i.e., the Buddha. It consists of fifteen beautiful stanzas written in three different metres, namely, Śāradālavikṛti, Vasantatilaka and Srāgālbara, and is a Buddhist record. Commencing with an invocation of the Buddha, it extols the great king Yaśovarmanmadēva as the Lokād dép i.e., guardian of the world, who had risen like the sun after dispelling the darkness in the form of the enemies and after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings though, unfortunately, it does not mention the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. It, then, introduces the donor Mālāda and describes him as the wise, magnanimous, benevolent and victorious son of Yaśovarmanmadēva’s minister, whom it calls the Mārgapati as well as Udīcītopati and praśasti Tikina, though it does not give his name or any other particulars about him. Mālāda is mentioned here as the brother of Nirmalā (v. 11), son (mandana) of Bandhumaṭi and scion of a noble family, whose name is not stated. Giving a vivid description of the magnificent temple which king Bālāditya had built at Nālandā like a column of victory constructed after conquering the world (vv. 4-10), the inscription specifies the benefactions which the donor made for that sanctuary, as well as, for the bhikṣus or Buddhist monks. The gifts consisted of ghee, curds, a brilliant lamp, pure water mixed with fourfold fragrant objects (chatur-jālaka) and refreshing like nectar, and a permanent endowment (akṣaya-nivāra), the nature of which has not been made quite clear. We are further informed that Mālāda distributed delicious food and scented water to the bhikṣus and, purchasing a lā الرياض and other things from the ‘revered Saṅgha’ gave them back to the monks, herein called Śākyāniṣa (=the spiritual sons of the Buddha), excepting a chīvarikā (monk’s robe) and sraddha up to and beyond Narādirākā. The afore-mentioned gifts Mālāda brought himself out of his great devotion for the Buddha when he was ‘awakened’ or enlightened by the illustrious monk Pārṇāndrasaṇa and gave them to the monks for the welfare of his parents as well as of other relations. At the close of the inscription we are told that the kirtti should be respected not only because of the fear of committing the five sins (pañca-aṇanta), which accrue from the infringement of such pious deeds, but, also, because of the fear of the sword of king Bālāditya, the subduer of the enemy.

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1 See Amasrebā, Sābdaśākṣat parārama and also Monier Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary under Śāstra.

2 Or, does this word refer to an image of the Buddha (Śāsta) which might have been set up by Bālāditya in the temple he had built at Nālandā (see v. 6 of the text)?

3 The four fragrant articles are: (1) Tonk, i.e., Bamboo mappa, (2) Ėlī, i.e., Cardamom, (3) Patraka, i.e., Laurus Cusia and (4) Nāgakṣara, or Mora Rambhīkā. Cf. Bājau-rattatāka and Bhavaprabhā quoted in the Sābdaśākṣat parārama:

**Vṛgālī-patrakās-tulyās-tri-sadvāndhi tri-jāgatam**

Nāgakṣara-sanyuktam chatur-jāgatam-ucchyate
The last stanza tells us that the praśasti was composed by Śilarchandra and the celebrated Karnika Svāmīdatta under the inviolable command of the Saṅgha.

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

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1. Early History of India, 4th edn., p. 386.
2. It is not impossible, however, that Bālāditya fought Mihirakula—though under the supreme command of Yaśovarmmadēva—and got the credit for ousting him (i.e., Mihirakula).
3. The guess made in A. S. R. 1925-26, p. 131 was wrong.
5. Ibid., foot-note 2 on page 145.
6. Jāṁendra in the Mandaśore inscription (I. 4) does not necessarily mean a tribal ruler as Fleet seems to have imagined. The word should be taken as a synonym of nārāṇḍra in the general sense, i.e., the king of men. Besides, his mention before Vīshṇuvardhāna clearly shows his suzerainty. Prof. Dr. Vogel has kindly drawn my attention to the Yaśovarmmaṇḍa of the Ghāsīṅwāsi Buddhist inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, pp. 207 ff.) which might have been designated after this monarch. The whereabouts of this place are not known. Sir Alexander Cunningham took it to be the town of Bihār which is not far off from Nālandā.
the real name of the subduer of the Hūnas in Northern India, as stated above, though, unfortunately, it does not add anything to our knowledge of his ancestry or of his successors, whoever they were. That it lends an additional support to his claim for fame and that it proves for certain that what is stated about him in the above-mentioned epigraphs is not a mere ‘oriental hyperbole,’ but rests on facts need not be emphasized.

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

3 However, it reminds me of Mālāda of the Mahābhārata (Sabhā XXXI, 3) and of the Kāryanmabhā (Geok. Or. Series No. 1, p. 93).
Asian countries are seen bringing to the images of the Buddha at Kasi in the Gorakhpur district or at Bödh-Gaya and other sacred places even now.

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

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

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

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

3 (2) Kaṇpadhāra of Bhadrabāhu (ed. H. Jacob), Leipzig, 1879, p. 64, para. 122.

Rāyagihān nagaram Nālāndām cha bāhiriyam.

(3) The Pārṇāntikasūryapariprasthitā which was composed by Pāpinda Hāmasēma in V. S. 1566 and has lately been published in the Yaśōvijaya-Janagrāhalamāla, Bhāvanagara (Kathiawad) says:—
Nālandai pādai chauda-chaumāsa sunįmaj
Hauḍā lokaprajīddha te Badagama kahijai
Sopārāṣiddhīkāt achenkhai Jina-bim-bamamfái.

(4) The SammadhīNāharatPrithhamāla is more explicit. It records:—
Bāhīri Nālandha pādo
Sūṇayo tasa punyapavājio
Vīra chaundaraḥ chaumāsa
Hauḍā Badagama nivāsā
Rimithihede ekasā pratimā navifrāhi i Bodhanip gapinā.

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

"Tathā sākhā maṃfaṃi gahapati: Ayam Nālandā iddā te eva phūtā cha bahuṣṇaśaśā kinnā-namamā ti."

"Evam bhante, ayam Nālandā iddā te eva phūtā cha bahuṣṇa-śākam-namamā ti."

"..."
As to the name Narddarika occurring in this record, it might have been an ancient streamlet or a lake, at Nalanda.

Text:

1. From the excellent impressions supplied by Mr. J. A. Page,
2. *Symbol for Oṃ or Siddham.*
12 नोय दुधानीकरं । सामो चाषयनीयित्वा भगवते बुध(ञ) ब्रह्म युजने मानातन्त्र योगकथा यात्रा नि०('[०]*') चाषयनीयित्वोऽस्तथात्मकरणं

13 यो मिश्राक्ष्यं भूयो दृशनोबेल सन्यास(ञ) हृदयतद्विभिष्मयनीयकरणं
(ः)भयं । मिश्राक्ष्यस्त्रालग्नं [ञ]हृदयत चतुर्तत्कालोऽद नित्यं तोऽसं ॥[०]
विषयं पुनः केषप

14 विषयं मिश्राक्ष्यं दृशनम् ॥([०]*') तेनवात्सत्तमित्वा निःस्तिः श्रीकर्मण[ञ] 
(ः)संहार्भकाः सीढिविक्रमन्यां प्रदाय विषया सामायमेकस्य ।
कालोधितं सुखः

15 न साधनं त्वेदेशीयम् तेन्या नागविवेचनं परतः शाक्यालमेष्
पुनः ॥([०]*') दाने यज्ञदात्रकेष्ट्रालिभिष्मयस्त्रालग्ननास्तिसवनप्रतियो(ञ)षणं।
विषयं वेदन

16 यगस्ता सृष्टि निमित्ताया भाषा यथायम् गर्दनस्कन्धभाषाया: ॥([०]*')
पिनोञ्चर: कालसहस्रसृष्टिसदायाः धर्मस्वतः विद्वाने दाने यज्ञदात्रकेष्ट्रालिभि
गतसरुष्ट्रकरणो बो

17 रोचकेतर: सर्वपात्रभाषां भव्यजस्तिः पारसंतारणवृत्ती श्रीकर्मण(ञ)
(ञ)संहार्भकाः चालोमद्यस्त्रालग्नप्रतीचारे चालोमद्य ॥([०]*') चतुर्दशी यज्ञवाचकि
शुद्धुकिकरणो बो

18 कालीय भाषाय एवं यावत् धातो सधारिविवाहा वो दातसा
काले यावते महाको भुवनभरदर्शायग्नो महोपास्त्रविज्ञायण
दाने चतुर्दशी दिशः

19 काले कोलिकेतर: ॥([०]*') यो दानस्य स्थितस्तत्तमविचारसम्बन्धी विद्वान
आर्याचार्याः चारणे चित्त वाच भगवानसाह: सदास्ते । वा(ञ)लाब्धमेव राजाः
प्रदेवितर:।

20 पुष्पाभिपिन्चेव भाषाय पद्यान्तरे[ञ] वर्तमात्रित्वितिवस्थारणिशीरक: स
यायात् ॥([०]*') देवे योजनद्राप्रतित्कालकारिकस्त्रालग्नसंहारे ।
संहारम् सृष्टि ज्वालयं

21 विषयवाचकीय भारं । कथात्मात्सुदारां लक्षणामुक्तामपर्यं
प्रस्तृतं वाचको विभं यंगु विशिष्टिकालसाधनस्य: करणं ॥([०]*')

1 मेक्स: सामस्मृतीभिक्षितम्।
2 मेक्स: समग्रणम्।
3 मेक्स: याष्टितलक्—The last akṣara of the first pada should be treated as guṇम्।
TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

And—

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

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

(V. 9.) Under the order of the community of friars of bright intellect, great piety and learning, he again distributed daily, in a fitting manner, rice with (various) preparations, curds and copious ghee, to the four monks. He again gave to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water, perfumed with the four objects (scents) and distributed daily at the antara.
(V. 10.) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (everything of) his own here (at Nālandā) from the revered Saṅgha and gave it back (to the bhikshus) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the Śākyu, i.e., Buddhist monks, a common dwelling place (therein) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Nariddarikā, excepting a place for himself.¹

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

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

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

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

(V. 15.) Thus, Śilāchandra and the well-known Karoṇḍa Śāmīdatta, having placed the order of the Saṅgha on their head, without considering the weight (of responsibility), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, prāsasti, although the wealth of their knowledge is small, for, will not even the cripples¹ wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by raising (their) hand?

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No. 3.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALEGUDI

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACUMUND.

The three inscriptions which form the subject of this article are incised on the north wall of the Saptarishīvarā temple at Lalāgudi in the Trichinopoly district. For the sake of convenience, I call them A, B and C. Inscription A is dated in the year opposite to the fourth (i.e., the fifth year) of some king whose name is not given in it. It registers a gift of money made by the Pallava king Nandippottaraiyar who fought the battle of Teṇṭūru and gained victory in it, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādeva at Tiruttatturai in Iḍaiyāḷḷu-nādu. The amount was received by the members of the assembly of Nallimāṇi-galāṁ who bound themselves to bring to the temple and measure out daily (one) māḷi of ghee.

¹ Does all this mean that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and again became a prāsasti as the Burmeses do even now-a-days? See above, page 41.

² See footnote 1 on page 29 above. The construction of this verse is not quite clear. Dr. Vogel thinks that the stanza might be referring to two images of the Buddha—the Buddha of the Vajrāiśana, being the Boddhi image enshrined in the principal temple, and second, of the Teacher, perhaps an image of the Buddha shown in the act of teaching, which had been consecrated by Bāḷāṭiṭṭya.

³ The word paśī is put in the dual number because the prāsasti was composed by two authors.
Inscription B is dated on the day of Sadaiyam (Satabhishaj) corresponding to a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus falling in the ninth year opposite to the fourth (i.e., the thirteenth year) of the reign of king Mārañjaṭṭāṭaiyana. In the body of the record the king is called Paṇṇyakulapati Varaguna-Mahārāya. The inscription states that the king gave 120 kāsu to a certain Aḍḍacāṭṭu-Velān. This amount was finally received by the members of the assembly of Ḥampuranūkai-irukki in Iḍaiyāru-nādu who bound themselves to supply towards interest, the capital remaining intact, one nādi of ghee daily for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. In case of default the assembly further agreed to pay a fine of 500 kūṟam (of gold). Inscription C is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakēsiarivarman. It states that the king's uterine sister Naṅga-Varaṇga-Perumānār gave 30 kalaṇju of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple with one urī of ghee daily. The assembly of Maṇ kcalī, a brahmadeya of Kalāra-kūṟam which was a subdivision of Vaḍagāra-Maja-nādu, received the amount given and sold a piece of land in exchange to the temple.

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

The inscription which I call C purports to belong to a ruler who is the latest among the kings mentioned in these three inscriptions. The princess referred to in it figures as the queen of Parantaka Īḻaṅgovēḻār in another inscription of Rājakēsiarivarman which was found at Tillaisthānam in the district of Tanjore. She is also mentioned in a somewhat later record belonging to the third year of Parakēsiarivarman.2 The Tillaisthānam inscription of Rājakēsiarivarman, unlike the Lalgudi inscription, marks the pūlli or virama as do the Takkālam and other inscriptions of Rājakēsiarivarman, i.e., Āditya I, and ought to be assigned to the same ruler. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalāthurai refer to Tenpavāṇa Iļaṅgovēḻār which is another name for Parantaka Iļaṅgovēḻār. They tell us that he was also called Māpavāṇa Pudiyār. One of them mentions his queen Karpalippiriṭṭiyār also. The name Pudiyār given to Iļaṅgovēḻār and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Koḻumbāḷir chief Bhūti-Vikramakēssari who is reported in the Muvarkovīl inscription to have married Karpalī and Varagunā.3 From a Tiruchchendurai inscription we learn that he had a daughter named Pūdi-Aidlichchipalāiyār who was the queen of Arūkalakēssari, i.e., Athiñjaya4 the son of the Chōla king Parantaka I. I have shown

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1 See plate (VII) opposite to p. 173.
3 Ibid. No. 127.
5 Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1907-08, para. 90 of Part II.
elsewhere¹ that Aditya I must have ascended the throne in A.D. 871. Accordingly, the Lalguḍi inscription, which also belongs to him, must be assigned to A.D. 883-4, for it is dated in the 13th year of his reign.

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

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

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ff.
⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 196. The name Kampavarman, just like Nripatūngā, also suggests that he might have been so called after Kamboha (Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāḥtrākėta king Dhrēvārāhā Dhrūva. In that case Nandivarman might have married a daughter of Kamboha (or Stambha).
or with both. Therefore, it is needless to take his reign into consideration to determine the period when the later Pallavas ruled. From the Ambur inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign of Nṛpatuṅga, we learn that the Gaṅga king Prithviṉati I was a subordinate of that Pallava king. And since it is recorded in the Udayendrīmatya plaques that this very Gaṅga king was an ally of the Pallava king Aparājīta and fought under his standard and secured victory for him in the battle of Śrīpuramabhyam against Varaguṇa (II), it might be said that Aparājīta was the immediate successor of Nṛpatuṅga. That he was the last Pallava ruler of Kānchi is known from the Tiruvālāṅgādju plaques which report that the Chola king Āditya I killed him and took possession of his kingdom. This event, we have reasons to believe, must have taken place before A.D. 891, for it is stated in an inscription at Tirumālāpuram near Conjeeveram that the village of Śrīrāyāṟṟū in Mārapiyil-nādu was granted as devarān as and as brahmāyāṛṇ in the 21st year of Tōḍalaijan-ĀṟṟūnuṆṭunjā-udaiyāṛ, i.e., Āditya I. If we allow at least two years for his settlement in the newly conquered country, it may be said that Āditya I killed Aparājīta in about A.D. 888. The latest dates furnished by the stone inscriptions for Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman, the victor of Tēḷḷāru, i.e., Nandivarman III, Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājīta are 65, 52, 22, 26 and 18, respectively. With the help of these, supplemented to a certain extent by the light of contemporary history, we shall try to settle the chronology of the later Pallava sovereigns. Keeping A.D. 888 as the last year of Aparājīta and deducting from it 18, which is the highest reign year known for him, we get A.D. 870 for his accession. This date must, therefore, be the year when his predecessor Nṛpatuṅga ceased to rule. Since the latest reign year so far found for him is 26, we get A.D. 844 for his accession. It may be noted here that the initial year of Nṛpatuṅga's reign cannot be earlier than this date because in a record of his 18th year the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II) figures as donor and we know for certain that that king's accession took place in A.D. 862. We have to take A.D. 844 as the last year of Nṛpatuṅga's father Nandivarman III, the victor of Tēḷḷāru. The latest reign year found for him in the inscriptions mentioning the victory of Tēḷḷāru is 22. But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer. If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case for, we learn from the Western-Gaṅga grants that the Rāṣṭhrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the shillet of royalty on the forehead of Śrīvāmārā II Saĩgoṭṭa. The last year of Gōvinda

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1 In a Tamil inscription of Uttramallir of the time of KamavARRam dated in his 15th year whose text (No. 328) is published in the S.I.I. (Texts), Vol. VI, the donor is Śeyya-Aparājīta, and he is called Perumāṇḍaiyāḷ-adiyāḷ.
2 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 182.
4 It is learnt from No. 350 of Vol. VI of S.I.I. (Texts), that Aparājīta bore the title Rājamārttāṭḍāṭṭa.
5 S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49. This statement is confirmed by a stone inscription found at Tōḷḷaṇṭhānam which styles Āditya I as "Rājakṣatrivarman who extended his territory into Tōḍai-nādu" (Ibid., p. 221, No. 89).
7 No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.
8 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 182.
9 No. 350 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.
10 No. 705 of the same collection for 1905.
11 No. 180 of the same collection for 1907.
12 In the numerous epigraphs dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithets "Pallavamalla" or "Tēḷḷāruvarṇa," there must be some belonging to Nandivarman III, while the others may be of Pallavamalla.
The given text discusses the chronology of reigns of various kings and their connection to the Records of Manmatha. It mentions the significance of certain dates and the implications of these records on understanding historical events. The text also refers to the Lalgudi inscription A, dated in the 5th year, which is crucial in determining the reigns of Māṇīrajadaiyaṇḍa and Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I. The text highlights the importance of these inscriptions in establishing a timeline for historical events. Additionally, it references the Madras Epigraphical collection and the calculations made by Mr. R. Sewell, which provide context for the dates mentioned in the text.
tained both sets of details, the days corresponding to the combinations (a) and (b), the initial and fifth years of the king:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Equivalents of (a) and (b.)</th>
<th>Initial year.</th>
<th>5th year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 19th Dec.</td>
<td>801 A.D.</td>
<td>806 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 30th Novr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 15th Dec.</td>
<td>804 A.D.</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 26th Octr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 29th Novr.</td>
<td>811 A.D.</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 7th Novr. f.d.n. 71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 12th Dec. f.d.n. 38</td>
<td>818 A.D.</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 20th Novr. f.d.n. 01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 8th Dec. f.d.n. 56</td>
<td>821 A.D.</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 16th Novr. f.d.n. 70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 22nd Novr. f.d.n. 23</td>
<td>828 A.D.</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 31st Octr. f.d.n. 94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>(a) Tuesday, 1st Dec.</td>
<td>838 A.D.</td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Monday, 9th Novr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Of the places mentioned in these inscriptions, many can be easily identified. Tiruttavattururāsi must be Lalguḍi itself because, the inscriptions are found there. Maṇakkā el the homonymous village in the Trichinopoly district and Edāyattimaṅgalam, not far from Lalguḍi, might have been the principal place in Idaiyārū-nādu in which Tiruttavattururāsi is said to have been situated. I am not able to trace Nallimaṅgalam and Iḷamperiṅgāy-irukkai. Thēllār, where Nandivarman gained a victory, is in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district.

2 There is also a village, called Tiruttavatturukkaḷai in the Trichinopoly District.
3 A village of this name is in Idaiyārāḷaiyam taluk, but this cannot be the one referred to in these inscriptions.
TEXT OF A.

1 Svasti śri [\*\*] Yāṇḍu 4-vadīṃ edirām-āṇḍu Iḍāiyāryu-ānāṭtus-ānī Tiruttavatturai-Māhādvērakk [\*\*] Telēṣṭr̥-erinduvēra Nandippōṭta[\*]aī-

2 yar kuṭutta paḷaṇ-kaṇḍu 60-du [\*\*] ivv-arāpdu kāśum i-ṇāṭṭu Nallimaṅgalattu sabhāyōṃ ivv-arāpdu kāsū(m) Tiruttavatturai-Māhādvēr-

3 idai koṇḍu nārāya-nālīyāl nisadi nālī ney oru nonda-vilakkku śandir-śāttat-

4 m[\*\*] Nallimaṅgalattu sabhāyōṃ Tiruttavatturai-Mahē(hā)dēvērakkku ajavōmāyil muṭṭil muṭṭi-iraṭṭiyum mūlappatā paṇ-maḥēsvār[\*]

5 sabhāy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nilaikkālam-ullīṭṭa tāp vēṇḍu kōviṇkku pukka

6 \*\*\* iruv-ūruṇ-ppadīp-śu kāpam ḍapḏam-īḍa [\*\*]\

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite to 4, Nandippōṭtaraiyar, who fought the battle of Telēṣṭar and gained victory (in it), gave 60 old kaṇḍu to (the temple of) Mahādeva at Tiruttavatturai in Iḍāiyāryu-āṇḍu. Having received from the temple of the Mahādeva of Tiruttavatturai these sixty kaṇḍu, we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam in this nāṇḍu, bound ourselves to take (to the temple) and measure out daily (one) nāḷī of ghee by the measure called nārāya-nāḷī, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and moon last. If we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, fail (in our undertaking) and do not measure out (the ghee) to the temple of the Mahādeva of Tiruttavatturai, all the Maḥēśvaras attached to the central shrine shall levy on (us, the members of) the assembly, as a body or individually, a fine of two hundred and sixteen kaṇḍam and this shall be paid to the royal officers inclusive of the nilaikkālam whichever they desire. Thus we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, had this (edict) incised. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the Forty-Eight Thousand Maḥēśvaras.

TEXT OF B.

1 Svasti śri [\*\*] Kō-Maṇḍaviḍayarkku yāṇḍu 4-vadīṃ edir 9-ām-āṇḍu Dhan-

2 nu-nāyiyyu Śevvā[y\*]-kci-jamāṇa pṛṣṭa šadaiya(m)tu [ nā] I]-

3 erippadāga kō-Maṇḍaviḍayaga[\*]yīpā Pāṇḍya-kulpati Varaguna-Maḥāṛayar[\*]

4 Aṇḍa-ṇāṭṭu-Vēḷān [kaijya[\*]-kuṭutta palla[\*]]-

1 Read Mahādvērakkku.
2 The symbols can be read as vijā (mistake for vijā) which with the preceding pukka becomes pukka-vijā.
3 The words 'ivv-arāpdu kāśum' are repeated twice in the record.
4 The words 'mūlappatā paṇa māḥēsvāra' here used stand in the place of 'mūlappatā[\*]p aṇa-ḥēsvāra dēvakāṃśi' occurring in other inscriptions. The body meant by the term appears to have been constituted into an assembly for managing the affairs of the temple and was called 'uṇāṣaṣa[\*]-dēviya' or 'uṇāṣaṣa[\*]-śabdāi.
5 Kō 'literally means 'a king'.
6 Nila=stationary and kaṇam=field or body. As such, the expression may mean 'a standing committee'
7 Read Maḥāṛayar.
THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALGUDI.

A AND B.

Hinduanda Sastri.

SCALE ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

5 aḷappōm-ayinōm impadī oṭṭ[i]i i-kaśu koṇḍō[ṃ] Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Ṇāṭṭu Ilampurukkāy-
iruk[ka]i [sahaiyō].

6 m [*] i-ṇēy niśadi iṟu-Ṇāṭiyum muttī muṭṭ-irāṭṭiyum mūl[pa]ṭṭa pan-
māḥēvararē sahbaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum ni . . . .

7 ḍīṭṭa tāṅ vēṇḍō kōviṇkku pukka ḍōṭ[ṇ]2 aṇṇūru kāṃpa daṇḍam-iḍa oṭṭi-
kkuduttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādevarkku [¶*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 9th year opposite to the 4th year of (the reign of) king Māṇḍarāyaṇaiṇaṇa corresponding to the day of Sādaiyam, i.e., Sātabhishaj (falling) on a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus, king Māṇḍarāyaṇaiṇaṇa alias Pāṇḍyakulapati Vara-
gupa-Mahārāya gave into the hands of Anḍa-Ṇāṭṭu-Vēḻḷō 120 old kāśu for burning day and night, till the sun and the moon last, two perpetual lamps in the temple of the Mahādēva
at Tiruttavatturai in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Ṇāṭṭu. As interest on these one hundred and twenty kāśu—the capital remaining un-affectted—we bound ourselves to measure out daily [two nāṭṭi of ghee by the nāṟṇaya-nāṭṭi measure]. Thus agreeing, we, (the members of) the assembly of Ilampurukkāy-irukkai in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Ṇāṭṭu, received these kāśu. If (any) default occurs in (giving) these two nāṭṭi of ghee daily, we agreed on behalf of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai to pay, either in a body or individually, double the (quantity of) default and a fine of five hundred kāṃpa (of gold) to the royal (officers) inclusive of [nīlaikkal] as the Māḥēvaras attached to the central shrine desire.

TEXT OF C.

1 Svasī śri [¶*] Kō-Rājakēsaipana(r*)kkku yāṇḍu 13-āvadu Iḍaiyāṟṟu-
ñaṭṭu-Tiruttavatturai I.

2 śava-baṭṭāra[ka]kkku ŚoḷapperumāṆ-aḍīga) tiru-uḍappuṇḍār Naṅgai-
Varagupa-perumāṆār sandir-ā.

3 dittāvar inavum pagulum ora noppā-vilakku niśadi uriy ne[y]yālē erivārkk-
ku kuṇṭutta po[u]

4 30 muppadiṅ kaḷaṇju pongum Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-ñaṭṭu Kalārakku(ku)ṟṟattu
mēl-kūṟṟu pirama-

5 dēyam Maṇḍakāl sabhaiyōm koṇḍu īppō 30 kaḷaṇjuṅ-koṇḍu Tiru[tta]-
vatturai PerunṆ-aḍigajjukku tiruvilakkiṇkuku viru-kuṇṭutta nilammāvaduē Me[r]-
ppulattu Maṇḍumūṭṭi-ttiṭsālin-kḷai ēn[ga] nāṅgu-mā-kaṅkiyum pōyum virkk[ra]

8 nilattukku ellai Śirugāvūr veṭṭappēṆī vaṭṭavāy mēru mā-kaṅkiyum po-
[yu]-

9 m virkkēṅga nilattukku ellai Śirugāvūr ellai va[y*]kkālin-kḷaiṅa Ṣṟaṇ-
mēva

10 pōyum virkkēṅga nilattukk-ellai nāṅgaiṅē Talaiv’aiṇkku kuṇṭutta ve-

11 [ṭa[p]pērrēṅ-kḷai arai-mēva mā-ṭṭadhā nāṅgiṅē nilam aruyum u-

12 upilam oḷjīvōi īppō 30 [ka*]aḷaṇjuṅ-koṇḍu i-ūlum pattu-chheyum īpāiy-
iyōgā viru vilaiy-avaiṅ-čeṅdū‘ śē.

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1 This gap may be filled up with the words "rāya nāḷiyāl iru-Ṇāṭṭi neyy".
2 The letters loṣṭhagam-as are damaged.
3 The first y in neyyāl is corrected from yı.
4 Read "ṭīṭṭi".
5 Read "ṭīṭṭi".
6 Read "ṭīṭṭi".
7 See note 2 on p. 82.
8 Read nilammāvadu.
13 \text{nnir veś\text{ti} utpada mar\text{u}m epp\text{r}ppaṭṭa veś\text{ti}yum i\text{gaiyym e}chchörum vediv\text{a}iyum epp\text{r}ppaṭṭaḍum-i\text{r}aḍaśa vi\text{r}yu vi.}
14 \text{laïy-ā\text{va}nā\text{a}-che\text{y}y\text{a} kudūttom Tiruttavattur\text{ai}-Mahādēvarkku Māṇ\text{a}r\text{k}āl sabhaiyōm i-\text{nīlattukku pugundu.}
15 \text{kuttukkāl tīrttu-kūḍuppāmānōm tīrttu-[kk\text{u}ḍōmāgil kuj\text{u}ttakkāl pugundu(pugundu)-pōḍu murpaṭṭa pannī].}
16 \text{hē\text{ś}varē nilaik\text{ka}ḷaṃ-\text{ū}ḷiṭṭa tān [vēṇḍu] kō[vigu]\text{kkunu} =\text{kāg\text{a}m}
17 \text{sabhaiya\text{i}-āgavum tanīt-āgavum daṇpa.}
18 \text{\text{ŋ}ja\text{nda} iṭṭa i-\text{nīl}am pattu-çe\text{hey}yum vi\text{r}yū vilaiy-ā\text{va}nām \text{s}eydu kudūttom
}
\text{Tiruttavattur\text{ai}[-Majhādēvarkku Māṇa-}
The inscription consists of two lines. The first line appears to be complete, though it is difficult to say that the portion of the slab hidden under the sill of the doorframe does not contain one or more lines. Of the second line, the left hand portion is completely effaced, though some slight traces that have survived make it certain that the whole of this portion was originally inscribed. The characters are Brāhmī which show considerable resemblance with the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and some archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā. The characteristics of this type are discussed in Bühler's Indian Palaeography and these are the equalization of all the upper verticals except in la, the constant use of the serif and of the angular forms of gha, ja, pa, pha, ma, la, sha and ha. Another peculiarity of the Brāhmī script of this period is the slightly bent base line of the letter na. The inscription under discussion exhibits all these peculiarities in a marked degree and should be classed with those mentioned above. The document is written in correct Sanskrit and is thus one of the few early inscriptions recorded in that language. The only grammatical mistake noticed in it is the use of Dharmarājā in place of Dharmarājēna.

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

The inscription records the erection of a shrine or other memorial in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of the Dharmaśa. Dhana (dēva, bhūti, etc.), Lord of Kosala, son of Kauśikī, the sixth of the Senāpati Pushyamitra, who had performed the Aśvamedha twice.

The inscription is important for more reasons than one. It is the first inscription on stone or metal yet discovered which mentions the name of Pushyamitra, the celebrated founder of the Suna dynasty. Hitherto he was only known from literary sources, e.g., the Divyavadāna (XXIX), Patañjali's Mahābāṣya (III-2-123), where reference is made to a sacrifice performed by him, some of the Paṇḍaṇas, Kālidāsa's drama, the Mālavikāgīnimitra, etc. The passages referring to the Suna dynasty in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas are quoted in parallel columns in Pargiter's The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 30-33. From the extract from the former we learn that the dynasty was founded by the General Pushyamitra after he had slain the last Maurya king Bhadrārtha. His son was Agnimitra, who was succeeded by Vasuṇyūṣabhā. The latter's son was Vasumitra and his son Andhraṇaka. He was succeeded by Pulindaka and the
latter by Yōmāja. He was followed by Vajjamitra. He was followed by Samabhāga. The latter's son was Dēvabhūmi.

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

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

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

¹ Modern Review, October 1924, p. 432.
² The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 4) p. 120.
³ Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1926-27, p. 204.
is the case in the expression under discussion. Mr. N. G. Majumdar has hunted up a parallel expression in verse 88 of the 16th Sarga of the Raghuvamśa. The expression in question is pañchomāṁ Taksahakasya, which is interpreted by three commentators as meaning "grandson of grandson of Takshaka." Mr. Majumdar therefore sees no difficulty in interpreting Pushyamitrasya shasṭaḥ as "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra." In his third article1 on this inscription, however, Mr. Jayaswal points out that the example from the Raghuvamśa referred to above is actually interpreted by Mallinātha as meaning the fifth son of Takshaka. "The sixth of Pushyamitra" in the Ayodhyā inscription should therefore mean the sixth son of Pushyamitra. As, however, this interpretation would make Phalgudēva identical with Pushyamitra, he proposes to read Dharmarājī in the 2nd line as Dharmarājī, and to compound it with the following word pitaḥ. He thus construes the record as meaning that Dhanadēva, the sixth son of Pushyamitra, erected a house in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of his lawful queen.

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

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

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

**TEXT.**

Line 1. Kauśāl-ādhipēna devī-alvamētha-yājnīnā sēnāpatē Pushyamitrasya śaśṭhaṁ

Kauśāli-puratēṇa Dhana . . .

Line 2. Dharmarājī pitaḥ Phalgudēvasya kētanaṁ kūrtaṁ

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

समालोचना अध्ययनीयन्ती.
The chief point of interest in the inscription is the use of the genitive case in the expression *Pushyamitrasya shashṭikhaṇḍena*. According to Pāṇini (रत्न युगस्त्र हट, मालादसंक्षयाक्रमेन and दक्षिणकालिकांविना युगस्त्र युगस्त्र, *Ashādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48, 49 and 51), the suffix दष (with the augments मत and धुक) is used in the sense of पुरा, i.e., जेत संख्या संख्याश्रयं पूर्वोत्तरं संख्याश्रयं. पूर्व, (Kāśikā on the *Ashādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48), 'that with which a number is completed'. So दष means दष्टा पूर्व: and पूर्वम्, पूर्वमानी पूर्वः, and so on. In other words, this suffix does not signify any order of descent or kinship and पूर्व of the inscription, taken by itself, would simply mean 'by the sixth.' The genitive case, however, would show the सम्बंधाभिः or relationship which this person had with Pushyamitra, for that is one of the chief functions of this वधक्षटी. To express 'order of descent' the ablative case should be employed, as a reference to the comments on चंद्रादिकृते दिब्यं पुरा-पुरा-मान्यर: (Ashādhyāyī, II. iii. 29) would show. We generally say चंद्रादिकृते पूर्व:; चंद्रादिकृते. This will be made clearer by the following quotation given in the *Sabdamalahāra* under the word *sapiṇḍa*:

"पुरनां सातमानुः सातमात्त: पिन्दतः क्रामातः।
धर्मीकारिता निर्विन्नत: सातवण्मय: विविधः।" पुरा-पुरा-मान्यरः।
That *paṇchamāni* and not śaśṭikhaṇḍa is generally used in such cases is further shown by the *Visākhu-Purāṇa* (Aska III, Adhyāya X) and the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (Adhyāya LXV) as quoted in the *Sabdamalahāra* under the word *vivāka*.

"पुरनां मात्रमापाः पिन्दपापाः सातमात्त:।
पुरनां सातमानुः सातमात्त: पिन्दक्रामः।"

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

'चतुर्विधाय सत्यते सत्यते सत्यते
पुराणमित्र: पिन्दक्रामः।"

Therefore, if it was the order of descent which the author of the inscription had in view, he would have said पुरानमित्र: and not पुरानमित्र:सह. Consequently, it becomes evident that if any word is to be supplied, it should be रुपम् and not रुपम्. In consideration of these points, Mallinātha seems to be quite correct in taking पुराणम् तत्काल (Raghu., XVI, 88) in the sense of 'the fifth son of Takshaka.' To get the meaning attributed to this passage by Chāritravardhana or by Dīnakarabha, we should expect the ablative case or the form तथाकाल instead. We say तथाकाल but not तथाकाल: पुराणम्, चेत: प्रसंस्कृतो य:। Here, we should remember that the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives the reading *Pushyamitra-sūdā-ch-āśatou* which strongly supports the interpretation of च-āśatou as 'by the sixth son'. Besides, there is no inherent impossibility in the version given in this *Purāṇa* which would necessitate a summary rejection of it. Nor does it imply a sense which is wrong or impossible. Accordingly, the meaning 'by the sixth son of Pushyamitra' seems to be preferable.

As to the two new references given in this article one (सम्मेलकालिक: तन्म्बस्त्रतय) has no bearing whatsoever on the point under consideration. The other, which is a quotation from the *Vānīkāvalī* of the rulers of Chambā, would only support the prati-pakṣa or the opposite view in that it uses *paṇchamāni* and not śaśṭikhaṇḍa to express the order of descent of Mēruvarman.—Ed.
No. 5.—PAHARPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE [GUPTA] YEAR 159.

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

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

The characters in which the inscription under notice is written belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the grants 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur copper-plates of the time of Budhagupta. The formation of the medial ठ by the addition of a stroke at the right lower end of the letters ga, ga, dha, ba, ra and sa may be noted. The terminal ङ is written slightly below the top line as will be seen in ज्ञानिकारायभ (l. 1), चतुर्स्थायम (l. 8), राम (l. 20), and नालम (l. 24). The rare letter ठा occurs in डाहवो (l. 15). The forms of the conjunct letters क्ष (as in दक्षिणा l. 1), ख्म (as in ब्रह्मा l. 3, 12 and 17) and श्च (as in अपविष्काश्च ी l. 20) are noteworthy. The numerical signs for 100, 50, 9, 7, 4 and 1 are to be found in l. 19 to 21. The unusual form of 9 in l. 20, seems to be the prototype of the modern Bengali sign for that digit.

As regards orthography, the doubling of k before य (in दिनारक्षया l. 4 and 11), and before र in विक्रम्य (l. 5 and 12), and क्रमेण-ा (l. 5 and 17) requires notice. The consonants k, g, d, m and ध are doubled after र, as in रक्षा (l. 20), सुवर्ण्य-ा (l. 3), निर्माण (l. 18), शरम्मा (l. 4 and 12), कर्म (l. 17), अर्या (l. 1), भार्या (l. 4, 12 and 17), श्चार्या (ll. 6 and 13), and शर्मो (l. 16 and 19). The c symbol is used for च in संमुद्या-वध-ा (ll. 4 and 11) and स्वकुवहर (l. 23).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The rules of sandhi have been very often violated, specially in respect of a visarga at the end of a word, as in असुकसरा अर्या (l. 1), गोहारार्दा (l. 9), वरूहा गुप्ता (l. 16), कुलसरा अध्यर्द्धा (l. 19), नातशा-वर्मा (l. 12) and 12 is also wrong grammatically.

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

1 The left hand margin presents a broken appearance in the central portion. It is probable that, as in No. 3 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, there was a semi-circular projection at this place for attaching the seal.
2 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff.
3 [See fn. 5 on p. 61 below.—Ed.]
4 Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.
5 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.
The grant under notice records that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited 3 dināras or gold coins with the city council (adhikeśhān-ādhikaraṇa) to secure 1 kulyavāpa and 4 drōpanāpas of land situated at 4 different villages all lying in the Dakshinānāka-sīhi and Nagārāṭa-mapṛdala for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc., of the divine arhats at the vihāra of Vaṭa-Gohāli which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor (Śrāmap-āchārya) Guhanandin, belonging to the Paśca-stūpa section (nīkṣyā) of Benares. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinas, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it bespeaks of the religious tolerance of the people of the period.

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

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

2 Above, Vol XVIII, p. 74.
3 [If the rate was 3 dināras to a kulyavāpa, the price of 5 drōpanāpas, i.e., 5 of a kulyavāpa must be 2 dināras.—Ed.]
4 [Does this fact support the author's view regarding the situation of the Jaina vihāra at the site or suggest that the document under notice was brought from outside? Of his remark about the find in para. 1, p. 69, above.—Ed.]
The procedure followed in ancient Bengal in respect of applications for the purchase and donation of land, as elaborated in the present case, is interesting. The intending donors approached the District Officer (Ayuktakha) and the City Council (Adhishthān-ādhikaranam) headed by the venerable Mayor (Nagara-ārahaṁ) and requested them for sale of land for charitable purposes at the prescribed rate. The Officer and the Council referred the case, in the first instance, to the committee of record-keepers consisting of one chief record-keeper and at least five other record-keepers. The latter after making necessary enquiries submitted their report with recommendation in favour of the transaction. The authorities thereupon realised the necessary amount from the applicants and intimated the elders and other householders belonging to the villages concerned to measure out the land and make it over to the applicants for the purpose in view.

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

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

Regarding the identification of the places mentioned in the plate, Pundravardhana has been identified by General Cunningham with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahāsthān-gaṛh,' 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. Vata-Goḷāśī, as stated above, may be the modern Goḷābhitā. I am unable to identify the other localities.

**TEXT.**

**Obverse.**

1 Svasti [[*]] Pundravardhanād-Ayuktakha Āryya-nagara-ārahaṁ-purgojan-ch-ādhisṭhān-ādhikaranam Dakshināḥaka-viḥēya-Nāgiraṭṭa-

2 māntha-Paraśvika-Vaṭā-Goḷahī-Jambudēva-prāvēya-Prasāṭhā-pottaka-Goḷahī- 

3 Nitva-Goḷāshī Brāhmaṇ-ottarān-Mahattar-ādi-kutumbinaḥ kuśalam-anuvarṇya- 

   ānuśādha-vant[1 2 Vijnāpayasya-asmān-Brāhmaṇa-Nāthā-]

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

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


From the original plate.

3 The plate correctly gives 'yukta-kā ṛgya'. This reading would show that there were more Ayuktakha than two and that Nātha-sarmanā and his wife Rāmi approached these Ayuktakha with their request for the land.—Ed.]
4 śarmmā ētad-bhāryyā Rāmī cha yushmākam-ih ādhiḥiṣṭhān ādhikaraṇo
dvi-dinārikka-kulyavāpēna śaśvats-kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nīvī-samudaya-vāhyā
dā
dvā
dvā
5 pratikara-khuśa-khētra-vāstu-vikramyō-nuvṛittas-tad-ārāha-ānēn-āiva kramān-
āvāyōś-
sakśād-dināra-trayam-upasangrihyā-āvayōś[?] sva-puṇyā-pūryā-
6 yanāya Vaṭa-Goḥāyāṃ avś-āśyān-Kāśika, paśca-stūpa-nīkāyika
migrantra-Śramaṇa
āchāryya-Guhaṇandi-śaśya-praśisya-ādhiṣṭhita-vihiīrē
7 Bhaga-vatam-Arhatām ganda-dhūpa-sumanō-dip-ādy-arthan-tala-vāṭaka-nimittān-cha
a[?ta] śva Vaṭa-Goḥālītō vāstu-drōvavāpam-adhyadhanā-Ja-
8 mbudēva-prāvēya-Prāśhām-pōttakē kahētra drōvavāpa-chatushtayan Gōhā-
tapunij-drōvavāpa-chatushtayan Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa;
9 prāvēya-Nīvya-Goḥālītaḥ aridha-trika-drōvavāpan-īty-ēvam-adhyadhanā khētra-
kulyavāpam-śāṃkaviyā dātum-śāṃkaviyā rataḥ prathama-
10 Pustapāla-Dvākarananda-Pustapāla-Dhritivinshu-Vīrōchana-Rāmaṇa-Hariḍāsa-Śaśaṃdi-
shu prathamaṇu[?] . . . . . [nām] avadhera[ ].
11 y-āvadhṛtam asty-asmad-adhiṣṭhān ādhiṣṭhān dvi-dinārikka-kulyavāpēna śaśvats-
kāl-śāṃkaviyā-ākshaya-nīvī-samudaya-vāhyā[?] pratikara-
12 [khuśa]-khuśa-vāstu-vikramyō-nuvṛittas-tad-yad-yuṣmāṃ[ ] Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-śarmmā
ētad-bhāryyā Rāmī cha Palāsāṭṭa-pārśvika-Vaṭa-Goḥālīṣthā[ ] (I)-ya

Reverse.

13 ... [khuśa]-stūpa-kula-nīkāyika-āchāryya-migrantra-Guhaṇandi-śaśya-
praśisya-ādhiṣṭhita-sad-vihiīrē Arahatām[ ] ganda-[dhūp]-ādy-upayōgīya
14 [tal-a]-vāṭaka-nimittān-cha tatr-āiva Vaṭa-Goḥāyāṃ vāstu-drōvavāpam-adhyad-
ārdhanā khētra-Śramaṇa-Jambudēva-prāvēya-Prāśhām-pōttakē drōvavāpa-chatushtayan
15 Gōhātampunij-drōvavāpa-chatushtayan Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēya-Nīvya-Goḥālītō drō-
vāpa-dvayam-ādhavā-pa[d-va]y-ādhiṣṭhita-śaśya-ēvam-ā-

1 Read "bāgya-ā.
2 Read "ēśe".
4 This expression is further characterised as paśca-stūpa-kula-nīkāyītī in l. 13 of the text. The word paśca-nīkāyīta is familiar to the students of Buddhism in the sense of ‘ one who knows the five Nīkāyas’. In the present case, however, the word stūpa or stūpa-tulas occurring between paśca and nīkāyītā and its connection with a Jain preceptor would seem to show that Nīkāyas must be taken here in the sense of a branch (śākhā) of the Jaina Āchāryas. Paśca-stūpa may, in that case, be a place name from which a particular branch of the Jaina Āchāryas may have been known.
5 It is redundant here.
6 The engraver first wrote drōvanāpam, but finding his mistake later, appears to have made an attempt at correction. The erased letters drōna are clearly visible below kula.
7 Some letters after this are lost.
8 The text of the Dānōdarpur plates would suggest that avasthātāṣṭ’aiṃ was preceded by the names of the record-keepers which were put in the genitive plural.—Ed.
9 Read "bāgya".
10 Read "yushmānā".
11 [Compare the reading in l. 6 above.—Ed.]
12 Read Arhatām.
Abstract of Contents.

Nāṭha-sārmā, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approach the District Officer10 and the City-Council headed by the Mayor (Nagara-Śrēṣṭhī) at Pujārvaradhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they may be allowed to deposit three dīnāras in return for 1½ kulivāpas of land distributed among 4 different villages to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower,11 lamps, etc., and for the construction of a resting place at the vihāra of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vaṭa-Gohāli. The details of the lands required were:—Fields measuring 4, 4 and 2½ drōṣavāpas, respectively, at the villages of Priyāhima-pōttaka, Gohāṭapuṇjaka and Nīva-Gohāli; home-stand land measuring 1¼ drōṣavāpas at Vaṭa-Gohāli.

1 Read “prārthayaṭ” (“prārthayaṭ”).—Ed.
2 This expression can be compared with asthaṅgana-sāmbhava-s dūḥhāya occurring in the Dāmōdarapura Plates. The present practice in parts of Bengal and Assam is to measure out the lands by nālas or reeds of a definite measurement in cubits, which differ in different localities. The sāṅkha, asāṅkha and nāsaka as referred to the nālas may therefore mean nālas of so many cubits (i.e., 6, 8 or 9).—Ed.
3 [Dr. N. P. Chakravarti connects it with the Bengali word bhāhā meaning to select or choose.—Ed.]
4 Read krīmi. [But krīmi, in is also allowed.—Ed.] * Read “bhāhāhāḥ.”
5 Read mahimatiham. [The reading mahihamatiham given in the plate is also correct.—Ed.]
6 Read unambhuṣati. [The plate correctly gives anambhaṣati.—Ed.] * Read asyahād.
7 [See foot-note 5 on p. 61 above.—Ed.]
8 The mention of flowers in the worship of the Arhats or Jinas indicates a point of difference between the practices of the old Nigranths and the modern Digambara Jinas. The latter do not permit the use of flowers in as much as the insects likely to be present in the flowers may be destroyed thereby. The Śvēttāmbaras, however, have no objection to this practice.
The Council, in the first instance, consulted the Board of Record-Keepers presided over by Divākaraṇandin, who pointed out that there was no objection to the transaction, especially as, besides bringing some revenue to the treasury, it would entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from the endowment. The Council, therefore, decided to accept the offer of the Brāhmaṇa couple and recorded the transfer of land.

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

No. 6.—KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V.

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

Kōṭavumachgi is a village about 14 miles to the north-east of Gadag, the headquarters of the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. The inscription, which is edited below, is engraved on a stone-tablet set up in front of the temple of Kalamēśvara which is standing there. The inscribed portion of the stone covers an area of 6' 2" by 1' 11" and is in a state of very good preservation. The inscription is neatly written in the Kanarese script of about the 11th century A.D. As regards palaeography, the chief points requiring notice are: (i) the lingual ŋ and ñ are not clearly distinguished from the dental d; compare for example chhandav-alajīkōra (l. 25), pāmneraṇḍu (ll. 17, 29), kūṇde (l. 33), pādiyale (l. 34), etc.; (ii) the u-sign is indicated in three different ways, viz., (1) by a short hook at the bottom of the letter as in Puligere (l. 7), pāmneraṇḍu (ll. 17, 29), vondu (l. 36), etc., (2) by a mark with a downward bend by the side of the letter, as in kuṇṭise kuṇḍe (l. 13), māttar-aṇḍu (ll. 18, 20), kuruva-gey (l. 28), etc., and (3) by a long right side stroke shooting from the bottom of the letter as in Pushya suḍḍha (l. 10), nīkkananṯa (l. 46); (iii) the e-sign is given, sometimes, below the letter and resembles the u-sign, as in Puligere (l. 7) or in belgoṇḍe (l. 13). In one case it is represented by a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the letter, as in Bejvola (l. 7); (iv) the final m is used in two places, i.e., in ll. 52 and 54 and is shaped like the secondary ma. Excluding the three imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, which come at the end, the record is written in Kanarese prose of the medieval period. The words ghatige (l. 13) (which is a tadbhava of ghajīkō) and chhaṭṭa (l. 24) (which is the tadbhava of chhaṭra) are of lexical interest; so also, kuruva-gey (l. 28), kūṇde (l. 33), pādiyale (l. 34) and pārīkṣāya (l. 41). In orthography the only point which requires mention here is the use of r and l in place of r and l as in māru (l. 33) and elu-kōṭi (l. 48) respectively.

After svasti, the inscription opens with the usual prelude announcing that Tribhuvanamalla Vikramadityadēva (V) was reigning at the time and that Bejvola—Three Hundred and Puligere—Three Hundred were administered by his subordinate Daṇḍanaṅgaka Kāṣṣavayya whom it describes as 'the obtainer of the five great sabdas, the Mahāśamantābhipati, the great and fierce commander-in-chief of armies and a favourite hero of his master' (ll. 1-8). After giving the date (ll. 9-11) it records that Daṇḍanaṅgaka Kāṣṣavayya granted, with the king's permission, the village Ummachige situated in Nareyaṅgal—at Maunara Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa of Rōga (ll. 9-13). The latter, in his turn, entrusted it to the 104 Mahājanas of the place specifying certain conditions to be observed by them. Lines 14-32 mention the income of certain estates under
different headings, namely, the maintenance of the temples and temple servants, the emoluments of Bhatja and Akkariqa, the stipends of students and the feeding of the elkoeti ascetics. Then follow the specifications of land and taxes levied on festive occasions such as upanayana, marriage, vedic sacrifices, Bادube, Kārapuṇime and Dipalīge, with a remark that they should be enjoyed by the Uroqeya (ll. 33-36). It further states (ll. 36-43) that fines on certain crimes it has specified, incomes derived from spools, dāsavandha (dāsabandha) of eschatic property of persons dying intestate and taxes on musical instruments such as kāle and maddale are to be utilised for repairs, etc., of the tank called Dūyirigēte at Ummachige. Lines 43-46 contain the stipulation that the Mahājanas should protect the estates and maintain the gift even in adverse circumstances. The record was written by Gorinda-Bhatja and engraved by Chāvōja (l. 54).

The inscription is dated the Śaka year 934, the 8th day of the bright half of the month Pushya, Paridhāvin samvatsara, Sunday and the Uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti. These details do not appear to be quite regular. Except for the week day, the date corresponds, according to Swamikannu Pillai’s Ephemeris, to Tuesday, 23rd December A.D. 1012.

The inscription is important as it reveals the name of a new subordinate of Vikramādiya, viz., the Mahāsāmanṭahātipati Kēśavayya who was administering the two Six-Hundreds at the time of the grant. A record1 secured from Hosur in the Gadag Taluk dated in A.D. 1029 refers to the Mahāsāmanṭahātipati Kēśavaraṇa in the passage “Mahāśanṭahātipati mahāprachayda-dāṇḍanāyakaṁ śrīmat-Śvētavasara tadoṭraṇūṣaṁ [??] Svasti samadhigata-pancha-mahāsabda mahāsandhi-vigrah-ādhipati mahāprachayda-dāṇḍanāyakakāṁ śrī-Śvētavasara-eyadaranūnāmaṁ . . . . . nāluttam-i.e. . . . . .” as the father of Vāvaṇarasa who was then governing the two Six-Hundreds under Jayasimha, the younger brother and successor of Vikramādiya V. It is this Vāvaṇarasa who figures as a subordinate of Jayasimha II in the Hoṭṭūr inscription of Śaka 969 (A.D. 1037) and the Hulgur inscription of Śaka 960 (A.D. 1038)2 Kēśavaraṇa appears to have succeeded Śohhanarasa3 in the administration of the two districts, sometime after A.D. 1004 when, according to a record4 of Yelisirur, the latter was still the governor. We know from the Nilgund inscription5 of Tails II dated in Śaka 904 that Kannapa was appointed as the governor of Belvoh-300 and Purige-300 by Tails II and that he was succeeded by his brother.

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1 Akkariqa is made up of Akkara (Skt. Akeka) and ina, a taddāta termination indicating knowledge, according to the Sūtra सत्वदेवन्तं न ि || 167 || of the Karṣṭaka-Balignmenta of Nāgavarma, p. 62 (Mysores Government edition). The word, therefore, means ‘one who is well versed in (the science of words).’
2 Elkotis ascetics are probably the devotees of Siva in the form of Mallari who with an army of ‘seven crores’ destroyed the demons Mall and his brother. See for the story Imp. Gaz., Vol. XVII, pp. 30 31.
3 Bādube is a Kannarese name for the new-moon of Vaṣākha, Kārapuṇime for the full-moon day of Jyēṣṭha and Dipalīge for the new-moon day of Āśvina. For Kannarese names of all the full-moon days and new moon days of a year, see Dr. Fleet’s note in Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.
4 An inscription of Vikramādiya V bearing the Śaka date 933[5] is noticed in Appendix B (No. 722) of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1923. But the reading of the last figure is doubtful. (See ibid p. 101). A record from Karṇḍiḥalji in the Mysores State (Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 237) belonging to the same king is dated clearly Śaka 933, Paridhāvin, Pushya, Śr. 13, Monday (=Monday, the 29th December A.D. 1012) which may be regarded as his latest date known so far. The present inscription is thus six days earlier than the latest epigraph of Vikramādiya V.
5 No. 110 of the Bombay Karnataka collection for 1926-27.
6 See above Vol. XVI, pp. 75 ff. and pp. 332 ff. In the published text of the former record, the name appears to have been wrongly read as Chāvaṇarasa.
7 The relationship between Śohhanarasa and Kēśavaraṇa is not disclosed by inscriptions.
8 No. 62 of the Bombay Karnataka collection for 1926-27.
Śobhanarasas in the government of those provinces in about A.D. 982. It is likely that Tālā II, after overthrowing the Gaṅga chief Pañchaladēva shortly after A.D. 975, invested Kannapa with the governorship of the two districts as stated in the above record. Thus we get, after the downfall of the Gaṅgas, a succession of rulers of the Belvē and Purīgē provinces in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, namely Kannapa, Śobhanarasas, Kṣāvavarsañas and Vāvanaarasas.

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

The record is interesting from another point of view also. It gives us a peep into the system of village administration in ancient times in Karpāṭaka. From the details of the grant given in ll. 14-41, it seems that the proper conduct of worship in temples, the impurities of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village people and the punishment of criminals were the chief items which claimed the immediate attention of the administrator. Regarding the last item, it is worthy of note that the inscription mentions a number of crimes taken cognisance of by the authorities and the penalties imposed in each case. They are: (1) for abusing one another (bāydāde), 2 parṇas; (2) for assault (bāyādāde), 12 parṇas; (3) for drawing out the dagger (mṛgī-gīdāde), 3 gadāyānas—a māni5 who ascends the processional māṇḍapa with weapons is excepted, (4) for stabbing (gīdāde), 12 gadāyānas and (5) for a bachelor (māni) committing adultery (māni sauli-gīdāde), 3 gadāyānas. It is stated that the fines thus realised together with the spoils (kaṅgīte), one-tenth (daśāvānta)6 of the eschat property (apurīka-draya)7 and taxes on musical instruments must be utilised for the upkeep and repairs of the tank called Debīngère mentioned above. The Urodaya, i.e., the village officer was authorised to change the amount.

1 Hebbal inscription of A.D. 975 mentions a certain Kannapayya as the Peggada of Bhujagabharasi, the grandmother of the Gaṅga chief Mūrathihā II. See Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.
2 References to Nyāsa in Sanskrit literature show that it must be a grammatical work. See Catalogus Catalogorum by T. Aufrecht, p. 312 and Ind. Ant., Vols. XLIV, p. 275 and XLV, p. 35 and Māṭha, II, 122.
4 Māni is a brahmacārīna who does service in the temple. See S. I. L., Vol. III, part iii, p. 227. In line 35, however, it is used in the sense of upaṇayana.
5 Daśāvānta means a tenth part; it does not seem to have been used here in its technical sense of land or of revenue granted as a compensation for the construction, repairs, etc., of a tank, well or channel. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XXX, p. 107, note 12 and page 267, note 2.
6 According to Manusmṛti, IX 189, apurīka-draya was the state property. In this case, however, it belonged to Śrīhara-Bhāṣṭa who set apart one-tenth of it for the purpose specified.
of fines in respect of certain crimes according to the caste of the offender. This is in keeping with the laws laid down in the Dharmasāstra.\(^1\)

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

**TEXT**\(^2\)

1 Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āsraya-Śrī-Pṛthvi-vallabha-mahārā-  
2 jādhirāja-paramēvara-paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya-ku-  
3 la-tilakaḥ Chāḻukyābharanāṁ śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-Vikra-  
4 mādhuraẏaṛa rājyam-uttarōttar-ābhivṛddhīga salutma-  
5 mār [**] - Samadhipaga-pancha-mahāsāda mahāśamantādhipati  
6 mahā-prachandra-daṇḍanāya kakaṁ pati-mechche- gaṇḍaṁ śrīmad-Daṇḍana-  
7 yakaṁ Kēsavayāṅgal-Belvola- mūnūrāṁ Puligere-mūnūruvaṁ su-  
8 kha-sāṁkathā-vinōdadin-āṅuttam-īdām [**] Śrīmat-Tribhuvanama-  
9 mār [**] dēvamāḥ prā[r]thisi Rōṣada Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭargge Šaka-varsha 934-  
10 Paridhāvi-saṅvatsara Puṣhya śuddha asaṭamā Śrīvidyavāra vuttarā-  
11 yapa saṁkrāntiyandu Nareyāṅgal-Pannaṛda-panjagaṇa Ummachig-  
12 [gelyaṁ sarvābhāyaṁtara-siddhiyāga sarvānāṁśayaṁ-aggranārāṁ mā-  
13 ḍi śāsaṇaṁ belgoḍe ghalige versu paṭedu kuḍise kuḍe paṭed-āyū-  
14 ran-ā-Śrīdharabhaṭṭar-śeṇanārvar-mahājanakē bharaṇaṁ-gedku tavagaṁ  
15 mahājanakē prajgatā mahājanaṁ vyavasthayaṁ dharmma-bhyad-upabhyada  
16 māṇyade bhūmiya nīvēsanaṁ pramāṇamu[m-e]nt-ene Sōmēśvaradēvargge ma-  
17 ttar-āru Bhāgīyabhyārakke matteṛ-ppanneraṅu elkōti-tapōdhanara  
18 satrakke matteṛ-ppanneraṅu Āyachāvīḍana degeḷakke matteṛ-aydu maney-o-  
19 ndu Śrīvidyadēvargge matteṛ-aydu maney-ondu Beṭṭada-Bhagavatige  
20 matteṛ-aydu maney-ondu Nārāyaṇadēvargge matteṛ-aydu maney-onda-  
21 nt-ayvvatu matteṛ-kkeḷyuman-avara nīvēsanāṁgaḷuvan Bendeṭhābhaṭṭāram  
22 satiya brāhmaṇachāryayavul[a] naishṭhika-tapōdhanar-āgiy-anubhavisvar [**]  
23 Mārakabbe-Bhaṭārīge matteṛ-ppanneraṅu maney-ondu Nyāsāṁ Prabhākara-  
24 vakkhaṇisi guṇapāśananadinaṁ uṇba bhaṭṭa-vṛtti matteṛ-ayvvatu maney-ondu chāḍhaṭṭargge

\(^1\) Compare Manusmrītī, Chapt. VIII, Vv. 267-268 and Yājñavalkyasaṃśārī, Chapt. II, Vv. 220-224.  
\(^2\) From ink-impression.  
\(^3\) The u-mark is indistinct and resembles the consonant y mark.
25 mattar-irppattaydu gaṇitam jōyisa-chchhandah-vaḷaṁkāravuṇaṁ-ābhaya... veyuvam ba-.
26 reyaluṁ bājisaṁluṁ balla śabda-samākāravuṇaṁ Nāgādēsīgargaṁ nityaśaṭṭhiy-o-
27 ndu poṭṭal-āharamuṁ vārāhakko-ondu kappādavuvam-ikkīy-ōdisi guṇaśāsa-
28 nadin-āṭv-ākkariy-vṛtti mattar-irppattaydu maney-ondu kuruva-geya-mattar-
29 ppante-
30 raṇu maney-ondu gaḷaṁtiy-gēya-mattar-āru maney-ondu nāvida-geya-mattar-
31 em-
32 tu maney-ondu paṇekārggra mattar-ppanneraṇu maney-ondu guṇaśaṇanadi-
33 n-āḷvaram satrakke mattar-ṇuṇu् mane yeraṇ-antu dharmma-vrayaṅkam
34 vupabiyakam
35 mattar-ṇuṇuṛ Īroḍeyargṛ māṇyāda key-mattar-ṇuṇuṛ maneg-enqa-
36 yagala virppattaygay-nilā[da] nivēśanāṁ mūrṛ [sāśva]t[a] suṁkaṁ gāṇa-veiyiḷi-
37 ngūḍṛ mu-
38 ṭiṅge padiyaḷe yajnadāl-ondu gadyāpaṁ... sa-yu paṇaṁ maṇu-
39 veyal-er-
40 ḍu paṇaṁ māṇiyal-ondu paṇaṁ Bāḍu[be] Kāra-puṇṇami Dīpāḷige mūrṛ
41 parvadālam
42 pratyēka vondu gadyāpa int-inītuṁ-Īroḍeyargṛ orbar-orbarāṁ bayḍāde
daṇḍaveraṇu
43 paṇaṁ baḍidaṇḍe pannaṛaṇu paṇaṁ sūrī-gīṭṛaṇa mūrṛ gadyāpar-iṛīḍaṇa
44 panneraṇu gadyā-
45 ṭaṁ jāti-bhāḍaḷ-aridu daṇḍavaṁ viśēśhaṁ-mālpa[r] māṇi sūle-gāḍaḷe
46 mūrṛ gadyā-
47 ṭaṁ prāyaścittam-goḷvandu mūrṛ gadyāpar māṇiy-āyudha berasu maṇḍa-
48 pa-
49 vṛtal-sallad-int-i-daṇḍadālam kava[r]tṛeyolv-aṇṭutikra-dravyaṛ daṇṇaṃhāldolam
50 pūti-
51 da dravyamuṇam kaṇe maddalaya paṇaṁparuṁ Dēyinherege [I][I] Ṛtan-
52 upēkṣiṣiḍṭam
53 keṇyaṇ-oṣeda pātakaṇ-akkuṁ pārīkようanāmodalaṅg-eḷa mūrṛgge... ni-
54 vēsanaṁ koṭṭa yikkuvavargṛ gamaṇḍargṛ kīḷjāṭyāyā mukkyargṛ pra-
55 tēkāṁ maney-ondāchandrārāka-tārāṇbaranāṁ māṇyāda satrada dharmma-
56 bra-
57 yad-upabiyad-ant-anītuṁ-eḍeyā key-mattar-ainūruman-āliy-alli-
58 ya nivēśaṅgaḷaman-enitu duṣkhāḷav-āḍaṇāṁ mahājanāṁ kōḍu-
59 āṭvar-īḍakke tappiḷav-Kuruhaṁṭradiḷam Vāraṇāṅyolam
60 eḷu-kōṭi Brāhmaṇaparuvan-eḷu-kōṭi tapōdhanaruṇaṁ-eḷu-kōṭi

1 The word mūrṛ is written below the line.
2 Read [sāśva]tu.
3 The writing here is completely effaced.
4 Read 'geyaḍaḷe'.
5 Between ṛṣi and ṛu a superfluous letter which looks like ṛu is written and erased.
Translation.

(Ll. 1-4) Hail! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya V., the refuge of the whole world, the lord of Fortune and Earth, the Mahārajādhirāja, the Paramēśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the decoration of the race of Satyāditya, an ornament of the Chājudyas, was increasing in prosperity,

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

(Ll. 8-13) (Kēśavaṇya), after requesting the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva, made (the village) Umachigche situated in Nareyanīgal-Twelve into an agrahāra on sareṇamasya tenure along with full and complete rights of enjoyment of all the properties and obtaining it (from kaim) together with the royal charter, the white umbrella and ghajīne (i.e., an assembly hall), caused it to be granted to Maunara Śrīdharabhāṭṭa of Roga, on the eighth day of the bright half of Pushya, Sunday, the Uttarāṣaya-saṃkrānti, in the Śaka year 934 corresponding to the cyclic year Paridhāvī.

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

(Ll. 16-22) Six māttar to god Sūmēvra, twelve māttar to (the temple of) Bhāgīyabbēvra; twelve māttar to the feeding house of elkiṣi ascetics; five māttar and one house(-site) to Āyachāvuṇḍa’s temple; five māttar and one house(-site) to Ādityadēva; five māttar and one house(-site) to (the goddess) Beṭṭada-Bhagavati; five māttar and one house(-site) to god Nārāyaṇa—these fifty māttar of land in all and the house-sites attached to them must be enjoyed by the bachelors of the family of Bendeyabhaṭṭa, following the course of the naishṭhikas ascetics.

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1 Read viṣṭhāvyām.
2 See above Vols. XIII, p. 327n and XV, p. 93.
3 The temple was perhaps named after Bhāgapalabbe, the mother of Vikramāditya V.
4 Naishṭhika is one who lives in the house of his preceptor as a brahmachārin throughout his life. He is described as follows in the Garuda-purāṇa:
(Ll. 23-32) Twelve mattar and one house(-site) to the deity Mānakabbe Bhaṭṭārī, fifty mattar and one house(-site) towards bhaṭṭa-vṛitti to be enjoyed in return for performing the duties of expounding Nyāsa and Prabhākara, twenty-five mattar to the pupils, twenty-five mattar and one house(-site) as akkara-gṛiti to Nāgādesa who was able to compose and expound (the works on) mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics and ....... and who had a knowledge of sounds (i.e., Vyākaraṇa), to be utilised for his daily requirements in virtue of his services of teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day and supplying (them) with a cloth every year; twelve mattar and one house(-site) for (the supply of) tender cocoanuts; six mattar and one house(-site) for (the supply of) vessels for abhishēka; eight mattar of land and one house(-site) for barbers; twelve mattar and one house(-site) for drummers; (one) hundred mattar and two house(-sites) to the feeding-house of those that manage by guṇakārana. Thus in all three hundred mattar (were set apart) for charity and auxiliary expenses.

(Ll. 33-36) Two hundred mattar as māṇya land and three house(-sites)—eight hands broad and twenty-five hands long each—to the Uruṇeya. Moreover, the Uruṇeya shall get these following) taxes permanently—a kūndaka for the open space of an oil-press; the reaper of a door-frame for every set of wooden materials (for building purposes); one gadyāṇa for a vedic sacrifice; five paṇas for .........., two paṇas for a marriage; one paṇa on the occasion of upanayanana, one gadyāṇa severally on the three puṇas of Bālaba, Kāraṇaśīva and Dipālīga.

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

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

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

(Ll. 48-53) Three imprecatory verses.

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

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1 Kuruva seems to stand for kurūva which means a tender cocoanut. (See Kittel's Kāsarese Dictionary, p. 446.)
2 The word used here is galantiṣa which is a kadhara of the Sanskrit word galantiṣa. It means a small water-jar with a hole in the bottom from which the water drops upon a liṅga.
3 The exact significance of this word is not clear.
4 For the meaning of the word matta, see Kittel's Kāsarese Dictionary, p. 1293.
5 This parenthetical clause evidently provides an exception to the fine stated above for drawing out the sword.
THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA

No. 7.—THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, ESQ., M.A., BARRISTER AT-LAW, PATNA, AND PROFESSOR R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

This inscription is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hathigumpha, an artificial cave, on the southern face of the Udayagiri, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvanesvar in the Puri district of Orissa. It was noticed for the first time by Stirling in 1825 and was published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837. In 1877 Cunningham published a tracing in the first volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. In 1880 the late Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra published another version of this inscription. About this time a cast of this inscription was prepared and taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The first reliable version of the record was issued from the able pen of the late Dr. Bhagvanal Indraji in 1885. In 1895 and 1898 the late Dr. Bühler proposed certain corrections. The first inked impression was taken by the late Dr. T. Bloch in 1906 and sent to Prof. Kielhorn from whom it passed on to the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, who published two short notes proposing certain corrections in the reading of the 16th line. In the same year Prof. Lüders of Berlin published a summary of this inscription. In 1913 RDB examined portions of this record at the request of KPJ, and in 1917 he prepared two inked impressions at the request of the late Dr. V. A. Smith and KPJ, one of which was published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and the second sent to Dr. F. W. Thomas, the then editor of this journal. Soon after the publication of the text, KPJ went to the cave and prepared a revised text of his readings from the rock itself and published the same in 1918 in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Sir Edward Gait, then the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who was greatly interested in the decipherment of the inscription, arranged a deputation of RDB, then the Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, to go with KPJ, and in 1919, we both examined the entire inscription on the spot. In the meantime a cast of the inscription was prepared at the suggestion of KPJ by the Government of Bihar and Orissa. The order of Sir Edward Gait in this respect was executed by the late Mr. H. Panday of the Archaeological Survey Department who had accompanied KPJ formerly and had become familiar with the inscription and the problems connected with it. This cast is now preserved in the Patna Museum. It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be. Two impressions on paper were also taken for the Patna Museum. With the help of these materials the study was carried on by KPJ at Patna. In 1924 both of us again went over the corrections. In 1927 KPJ published the results of his further studies in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society with new plates prepared

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

3 J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, pp. 1075-91, pl. LVIII.
4 Pp. 27 f., 98-101, 132 ff., pl. XVII.
10 [Author's initials].
from the paper impressions preserved in the Patna Museum. In 1928 some further notes were published by him in the same journal. We have again, conjointly examined the cast and the impressions and effected a few important improvements in the reading and explanation as offered below. Amongst notable contributions on the problems connected with the inscription, we refer to the articles by Dr. Sten Konow and Dr. F. W. Thomas. We have to thank our friend Prof. Anant Sadashiv Altekar for the help he has rendered to us in preparing the notes for this edition.

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

As regards orthography the inscription presents very few peculiarities. Ligatures are carefully avoided and the only instances where we meet with them are Kānaka-beṣāṇa (l. 9) and vinīśrito (l. 17). In the majority of cases the nasals are replaced by anuseva excepting the places where they are used either as initials or medials. The initial forms are to be seen in nāvakehi (l. 14) and nāmanā (l. 15) and the medial forms in raṇi (l. 15) and in the ligature in Kānaka-beṣāṇa (l. 4). The use of the cerebral nasal is erratic and in the majority of cases the dental has been used but the cerebral is rather rare and is to be met with in sampusa (l. 2) and guṇa- (l. 17) only. With the exception of two cases all the sibilants are dental. These two cases are the cerebral in -desha- (l. 11) and the palatal in vinīśrito.

1 Vol. XIII, pp. 221 ff.  
The writing seems to have been done by three different hands, and it is possibly on this account that the forms of the characters sometimes differ. The first part of the inscription was written on a carefully dressed surface but after the 4th and 5th lines the surface was undressed; and towards the end of all the lines after the 5th there are numerous chisel-marks which make the decipherment extremely difficult.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. The use of ra, the affix o at the end of the nominatives of masculine stems ending in a, and the absence of palatal ka show that it is not Magadhi or any eastern dialect of it. Throughout the inscription the dental has practically replaced all other sibilants. The doubling of consonants, even when necessary, has been omitted. The cerebralisation of dentals is also to be seen, as in *tita* in *tita*- (l. 3). There is also an attempt to approach classical Sanskrit in certain cases, e.g., *Māhāmekhavanena* (l. 1) and *vaṃbapayati* (l. 12), etc. Throughout the record the liquifaction of consonants is absent. This would indicate that the record was composed by a man from Western India who wrote in a literary dialect. It is quite possible that the record was composed by a Jaina monk from Gujarāt or the Mahārāṣṭra who might have been brought into Kaliṅga by King Kharavela for the purpose mentioned in l. 16. The language of the record is a very near approach to the canonical Pali. But, as in Jaina Śauraseni, thā in this dialect becomes ḍha, cf. padhane (l. 3), *radha* (l. 4), vitadha (l. 5), Goradhagiri (l. 7), Madhuram (l. 8), Bharadharasa (l. 10), Utarapada (l. 11), but not in all cases, cf. Pitumha (l. 11). The extraordinary form chavuthe (l. 5) is a graphic form of chašthē, but Prakrit chaš becomes cho in Chogyathi (l. 16) which is a later Prakrit form of chaṭhushashī. So also Sanskrit taurīm becomes turiya (l. 16) instead of tuṛīm. Perhaps turīm was the characteristically Pali form but the change of ta into ya instead of a is exceptional.¹

The characters of the inscription show great variety. Among the vowels, the initial forms of a, ā, ī, e, o are to be found in it. The medial ā is denoted by a perfectly horizontal line in many cases as well as by a slanting stroke, as in *pahapayati* (l. 4) and *samadhipiti* (l. 15). The medial form of the long i shows two diverging slanting strokes, in *sāriṇa* (l. 2) and two converging curved strokes in *kīṭa* (l. 2). Among consonants two different forms of kha are noticeable, Kharavele (l. 1) and *lekha* (l. 2) in which the triangle at the bottom is either present or absent. Two different forms of ga are present, the angular Maurya form, as in *nagarī* (l. 5), and the broad-backed Kushāṇa form, as in *Kalāṅgā* (l. 1). Three forms of gha are clear: (1) the Maurya form with a circular bottom, (2) the transitional form in which the only side of the curve has turned into a right angle, cf. *oḍha* (l. 6), and (3) the complete second century form in which, though the length of the left-hand side vertical is not reduced, the lower part of the letter consists of two right angles instead of a curve. Two different forms of ta are to be found: the Maurya, as in *hita*, *ti-tasa* (l. 6) and the later, as in *pataye* (l. 6). In the case of da also we find two forms: the Maurya, as in *padhara* (l. 2) and the later, as in *dāti* (l. 9). Three different forms can be distinguished in the case of pa and ma: (1) the Maurya form, as in *pahapayati* and *pachhima* (l. 4); (2) the transitional form, as in *patinā* (l. 1), *kārubhāni* (l. 5), *mukha* (l. 7), Madhuram (l. 8), etc.; (3) the later form with angles fully developed in the place of curves as in *kapa-rukhe* (l. 9), *apayado* (l. 8), *samāja* (l. 5), and *Satamā* (l. 7). It should be noted that the Kushāṇa form of ma is altogether wanting in this inscription. So also in the case of ka we find the Maurya form in *sukhe* and *kaya* (l. 4), the transitional form in *Māhārāja* and *Māhāmekhavanena* (l. 1) and the angular form in *vaṃbapayati* (l. 2). The general duct of the writing shows that the Hāthigumpha inscription was inscribed at a time when the length of the verticals had not begun to decrease and the curves had just begun to become angularised. Therefore, this inscription

¹ [See ll. 11 & 12 on page 89 below.—Ed.]
belongs to the same period as the earliest inscription from Mathurā edited by Bühler\(^1\), and it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. or later than that of the 1st century B.C. For \(\text{sa}, \text{sa}\) and other letters a reference is invited to the detailed palaeographical analysis by RDB, elsewhere.\(^2\)

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

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

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\(^1\) \textit{Apte, Vol. II,} p. 198.


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

\(^5\) \textit{Apte, Vol. X, App. Nos. 1248 and 1240.}

before the formation of the Sātvāhana empire covering the whole of Marāṭhī-speaking (e.g., Barhaṣi, Khānsāt, Northern Marāṭhi and Koḍkāṇi) area.

The reference in the 6th line to the canal from Tanaṣulīya-vīha, which was excavated in the year 103 of King Nanda, will fix the upper limit of Khaṛavela’s time, like the reference to Muriya-kāla (the time of Muriya in l. 16). Chālukya Vikramādiyata VI in the Yeṣārāve inscription is said to have established his Chālukya era after abolishing the eras of Vikramādiyata, Nanda and Śaka. ‘Having said ‘Why should the glory of the Kings Vikramādiyati and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?’, he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (era) which has the Chālukya counting’.

Again, we have the definite datum that Alberuni found in use in his time an era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king (Nanda Vardhana). The year 103 of the Nanda era would correspond to 355 B.C. when the Tanaṣulīya canal, which Khaṛavela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated. If we take this Nanda to be the last Nanda, Khaṛavela would be referring to (355 B.C. – 103 =) c. 252 B.C. and not to any later year. But we have something more definite in the next datum, namely, the contemporaneity with Bahāsatimitra. In line 12 Khaṛavela reaches the Sugamgiya palace, i.e., the famous Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the Mudrārākhasa. Bahāsatimitra is expressly called the King of Magadha. Now we know from coins that Bahāsatimitra and Agrimitra issued coins of the same type. This much we may take as certain that the time of Bahāsatimitra, whichever he may be, is the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

Aṣāḍhasena, who belonged to the royal family of Adhichchhatarā, describes himself as the maternal uncle of King Bahāsatimitra in the Pabhosā inscription, and Aṣāḍhasena dates his record in the 10th year of Odra, whom KPJ has identified with a king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Bahāsatimitra’s coins have been found at Kosam (Kausāmī) which was a state on the borders of Magadha. The characters of the coins agree with those of the Hāthigumpha inscription. As Bahāsatimitra does not occur in the list of the Mauryan kings and as his connection with the family of Odra is indicated by the Pabhosā record, we are justified in taking him as one of the early Śuṅgas before Odra, the fifth king of the line. In other words, Khaṛavela’s contemporary Bahāsatimitra would belong to a period between 188 B.C. and c. 125 B.C. It is true that we do not find the name of Bṛhaspatimitra in the Śuṅga list. But we have the explanation given in the Purāṇas themselves. It is reported there that Pushyamitra made others rule; the Vāyu says that he made his 8 sons rule equally, i.e., with equal powers. We know that Agrimitra ruled at Vidiṣā with a separate court of his own. Probably the 6th son was ruling in Kōśala as the Śuṅga inscription at Ayodhya would suggest. It is significant that Pushyamitra is not called king in this record, but his title Sēnāpati is there just as it is in Kalidāsa’s Mālavikāgnimitri. Similarly the dating on the Bhārhut gate “in the reign of the Śuṅgas” confirms the Purāṇic datum that several sons ruled at the same time (in different parts) under Pushyamitra. The Vāyu-Purāṇa places in the imperial list (of Magadha) the sons of Agrimitra, and not Agrimitra himself, after Pushyamitra.

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3 Act III.
6 Ibid. For Odra as a proper name compare Divyāsudāna, p. 392.
7 Ibid., p. 243 n. 17.
Brihaspatimitra is not in the royal list of Magadha between Agnimitra’s sons and Odraka, we shall be justified in taking him to a period before Agnimitra’s sons succeeded to the Magadha throne, i.e., to the time of Pushyamitra himself.  

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

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


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

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

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

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

One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 Āṅgas were recovered after the loss. If we read "Āṅga-satika-turiyām" instead of "Āṅga satika(m) turiyām" we may get the meaning that the re-compiled Āṅgas were in two groups, Satika = sapta, group of seven texts, and Turiya = turiya, a group of four texts. In any case the Jaina tradition about the loss and the recovery of the texts stands confirmed, and here we find another instance of the faithfulness of the Jaina tradition. The monks honoured at the Kumārī Hill in the 13th year were Śvētāmbaras as they were given pieces of China-cloth (silk) (china-satāni = china-vastrāṃ) and white robes (vāsa-sitāni). Khāravela, by his religious enterprise, was emulating Chandragupta and Asoka. But posterity has completely forgotten him.

Fortunately the majority of the names of places mentioned in this record can be identified. Kalīrāgana-gari is the ancient capital. Kalīrāga, a city which has now disappeared, lay close to Kalīra-gapatanam, a place on the Bay of Bengal in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. Kaṭha-bērīna is Krishṇa-verīa of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa period and the modern Krishnā. Mursikana-garam was a city on the river Mūsī in its upper reaches near Gōlkoṇḍa and Hyderābād.

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2 [The Kaṇḍaprapaṇṇa or Kaṇḍapaṇṇa of Pali literature.—Ed.]

3 The confluence of the Mūsī and the Krishnā is mentioned in a copper-plate, ante, Vol. VI, p. 209. [Muziris on the Malabar coast is suggested as a possible alternative.—R. D. B.]
As to the peoples mentioned in the inscription the Raṭhikas are probably the Mahārathis or the people of northern Mahārāṣṭra, i.e., the inhabitants of the modern districts of East Khandesh, Nasik, Ahmadnagar, Poona and the northern taluks of Sholapur; the Bhojakas are likely the same as Mahābhūjas, i.e., the inhabitants of the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār.

The Tanaśuḷiya or Tanaśuḷiya-vāṭa cannot be identified by us. Vajiraghara remained under the same name till the 12th century A.D. when it is mentioned by Kulottunga Chōla I or the Chāḻukya-Chōla Rājendra Chōla II, as Vayirāgara in the Tiruvōrriyur Ādhipurāvara temple inscription of the second year. It states that Rājakēśarivarman alias Rājendra Chōla II captured elephants at this place and defeated the king of Dhāra at Chakrakōṭṭa. In the Pāṇava-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram another Tamil inscription of the 5th year of the same king, who is called Rājakēśarivarman alias Kulottunga Chōla I, informs us that the king’s victories at Vayirāgara and Chakrakōṭṭa were gained while he was the heir-apparent, i.e., before 8th October 1070 A.D. Chakrakōṭṭa has been correctly identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Chakra-Kotjā in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces. It is therefore certain that this Vayirāgara is the same as modern Wairagarh in the Chanda district of the same province. Kiellhorn restored the name Vayirāgara as Vajirākara. The form Vajiraghara in this record shows that the original form was Vajra-griha or Vajra-gatha in Prakrit which came to be written as Vayirāgaram in Tamil. Both Chakra-Kotjā and Wairagarh are on the road from Central Kalinga to Southern Māḷāwa. Goradhagiri is no doubt the ancient name of the Barābar Hills in the Gaya district, as proved by Mr. V. H. Jackson, I.E.S., the late principal of the Patna College, who, along with Mr. Russell, discovered the inscriptions on boulders near the top, giving the name correctly as Gorathaagiri. Mr. Jackson also described immense fortifications on the hill top. The place was an important outpost on the western flank of the ancient capital of Magadh, Girivraja or Rajagriha or Rājagaha. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata where the route of Bhima and Krishnā to Girivraja is described. Rājagriha or Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadh, still exists as Rājgir, famous as a Jaina Tirtha and for its hot springs, in the Bihār sub-division of the Patna district of Bihār and Orissa. Madhura is undoubtedly the northern Mathurā in the United Provinces. Bharadavasa (Skt. Bhāratasvarsha) means the plains of Northern India. Pithunḍa is Ptolomy’s Pituṇdra, a city which no longer exists, but which was an important port even in the first century A.D. Tamira or Tramira is equal to Dravīḍa or Draviḍa, i.e., the Tamiḻagam or the Tamil speaking districts of the Madras Presidency known as Damirikas to classical writers. Uttarāpadha is Sanskrit Uttarāpatha which included our North-Western Frontier Province. Magadh is south-western Bihār consisting of the modern districts of Patna, Gaya and the north-western Hazāribāgh, while Anga consisted of the portions of the districts of Bāgalpur and Monghyr which lie to the south of the Ganges, adjoining Magadh. The Pāṭaṅga-Rāja of this inscription refers to the kings of the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula from Madura to Cape Comorin.

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

1 [Two symbols] Namaya Arjuna.[*] Namaya savahis瀚.[*] Aireya Ma-
lakhanama chaturamita-luñhita-guñ-opahitinâ Kalining-ôdhipatinâ[6] sira-Khâra-
velena

2 parândrasa-vâsâni sira-kañjâra-sânîrâvatâ kîdîtâ kumâra-kîjik[.] Tato
lekhâ-rûpa[5]-gañânâ[10]-vavahâra[11]-vidhi[12]-visâradena savâ-vijayâdâtena nava-
sesayo Ven-ôbhivijayo[15] tatiye

3 Kalininga[16]-râja-vâ[r]jâse purisa-yuge Mâhâraj-ôbhisechanañ[17] pûpunâtîf[.*] Abhi-
sîta-mata cha padhame[18] vaso[*] vâta-vihita-gopura-pâkâra-nivesanânâ pâti-
dhârayati[.*] sav-uñâm-pa[t]i]samthapanañ cha

4 kârayati panatîsâhi sata-sahasohi Pakatiyo cha râjâyati[*] Dutiyâ cha
vase achityaitâ Sâtaka-nirî[22] pachhima-disam haya-gaja-nara-radhâ-bahulañ
dâmân pañhâyati[.*] Kâthha-berinâ[23] pûtâya cha senâya bitañtâm
Mûsi[sika-nagaram[24] [*] Tatiye puma vasa

5 garthâva-veda-budhu dapâ-mata-gîta-vâdita-sanâhdhâsanâhi usava-sanâja-kârâ-
panâhi cha kîdâyapati nagarîn[*] Tathâ chavuthe vasa Vijâdhâ-
adhivâsân ahata-puvarâ Kalining-puva[25]-râja-[nivesitañ] . . . . . . .
vitadha-mâ[k]u[j]a-sâbâlima[ã]t]e cha nikhiita-chhata-

6 bhîngâre hita-ratana-sâpateye savâ-RathiKa-Bhojake[26] pâde vândhâpayati[*]
Parâchame cha dâni vasa Narinda-râja[27]-ti-vasa-sata-ôghîsitañ Tanasultiyâ-
vâtâ pañjârim Nagaram pavesa[y]â[ti [*] So . . . . . . bhisito cha Râja-s[28]
[ulu]t[ã] sarâdsayañto savâ-kara-vañnam

7 anugâba-ankâni sata-sahasâni visajâti Porâni Jânapatâ[.*] Satamañ cha
vasañ pañsañto Vajirgharâna-vati-ghusita-garini sa matuka-pada-puñâna
[ku]ma . . . . . .[*] Athame cha vasa mahatâ sen[ã] . . . . . .
Gorodhagirîn

8 ghâtâpayitâ Râjagaham upapûrjâpayati[.*] Etin[ã] cha kathmapadâña-san[ã]-
nâdêna[29] samb[i]t-ena-vâhane vipamû[30][m]chhitu Mahuram apayâto Ya-

savâ-gahanam cha kârayitum Banhaopanân jâtîm parihâram dadâtî[*]
Arahato [va f] . . . . [gîlys[to]

10 . . . . k.i. mân[a][t]i-râja-sânînivâsam Mahâvijyamân pâsîdham kârayati atha-
tisâyâ sata-sahañhei[*] Darse cha vasa danhâja-sanhî-sã[m]a]-mayo Bha-
radhavasa-pâthânañ mah[1]jâyanañ . . . . . . . . . . . . kîrûpayati
[pã]yâtanâm cha man[i]-rathnâm upalabhsate

11 [mânâ] cha Ava[33]-râja-nivesitañ Pithumdham[34] gadabha-nângalena kâs-
desha-sarîngâhtaran[.*] Bârasame cha vasa . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ha[sa]. ke [saha]-
sehi vitâsayati Uttarâpadhâ-râjano . . . . . .

(a) [The reading seems to be jananapa-ôbhavanam.—Ed.]
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1. For facsimile plates see J. B. O. R. S., Vols. III, IV and XIII.

2. [The reading Arñ was corrected from Arab after Mr. Banerji’s death, with the help of Muni Jinaivijaya.—K. P. J.]

3. Airena is the equivalent of Ailenia, meaning a descendant of Ila or Ilä, father or mother of Purūravas. The same title is also to be found in the Mañcchauri Cave inscription of Kūdepasirus. For the change of ī into īr see Tr [r]śimila in line 11 below. [In connection with this title the description of this line rājasī-Vasū-kula-viniśrito may be noted. The Purānic tradition of Rājarśi as well as of the Aila dynasty was thus well-established before Khārvela’s time.—K. P. J.]

4. Mahāmeghavāhana.—Probably the reading in the Mañcchauri inscription is also Mahāmeghavāhana and not Mahāmeghavāhana. The long vowel over the first syllable Ma is quite clear in this inscription. The increase in the strength of the vowel indicates that King Khārvela was a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, who might have been the recent founder of the dynasty.

5. Cheti-rāja-vasa.—Evidently Cheti is the same as Chāḍi. The later Chāḍi, Kajachuris or Haihayas of Dāhhala or Dāhala were in occupation of modern Baghelkhand and Chhattisgarh in the medieval period. Before that in the 7th century the Kajachuris Sanakaraguna and Bhanvati were in possession of Multā and the Northern Mahārāṣṭra and in their conquest by the early Chañjukyas of Bādāni. The Buddhist books mention Cheti as one of the sixteen great kingdoms or nations of Northern India. In the dynastic lists given in the Purāṇas, the Haihayas

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

6. Kalīngā-ādhikāpatīna.—The term Kalīṅga is usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency. In the Purāṇas, Kalīṅga is associated with Anīga (south-eastern Bihār), Vaiṅga (eastern Bengal), Pūndra (northern Bengal) and Suhma (south-western Bengal). The names of these five countries were given according to the names of the five sons of Bali, i.e., the tradition treats the kingdoms to be early Aryan conquests and states. In the Vaiṅga and the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Kalīṅga is associated with the Mahiśa country (later Māhishmati, modern Maheswar in the Indore State on the river Narmanda). This text would indicate that Utkala was included in Kalīṅga in the time of Khāravela and the later name Oḍra had not come into existence. The Purānic texts further indicate that the term Utkala was applied in early times to the hilly country between Gayā and Orissa, i.e., modern Chhoṭā Nagpur and the Garhjat States. "The Sauryumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Anavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa." The transfer of the term Utkala to the plain country along the sea-board is therefore later.

7. Sīrī-kaḍāra-sarira-vatā.—Kaḍāra means reddish hair, according to Amara, and a slave according to the Mādīnī. If it is a Prakrit derivation from kaḍāra, then it means "nāgaraḥ or kāmin," according to the Śabdāṃlā (Vāchaspatyam). The explanation given in the Amara-kōśa is more suitable as meaning "of beautiful reddish body."

8. Lēkha or Royal Correspondence, a manual of which was written in the time of the Chālukyas of Aṇapalapāṇa and has been published from Baroda. This lēkha cannot refer to the art of writing. The subject is dealt with in the Arthāśāstra of Kaṇṭāla.

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

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1 Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 102.  
2 Ibid., p. 272.  
3 Ibid., p. 109.  
4 Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 54.  
5 Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 292.  
6 Lēkha-paddhati, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 58.  
7 Mysore edn. (1919), pp. 70–75.  
8 It is impossible to imagine that the prince learned acting. We can compare the word lūpadakha in the Jōgimārā cave inscription where also it may mean a currency officer. The term is also taken to mean a City-Magistrate who could recognise offenders at a glance. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903–04, pp. 128–30. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, p. 131.  
reference to currency. The term did not refer to silver currency alone but to other metals also, as we find the term śāma-rūpa in the Arthasastra.¹

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

11. Vyvahāra.—Vyvahāra meaning Civil Law or Municipal Law as opposed to—

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

13. Yovarajam = Yuvvarajyan.—Yovarajam shows the shortening of the internal medial vowel in the second member and the graphic lightening of double consonant, as in the case of Māhārāja² (l. 3), rañī (l. 15), etc.

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

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

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

17. Māhārājā-ābbheṣeṣamaham.—The regular abhishēka of a Chakravartin Monarch (called the Aindraka-mahābhishēka in the Satapatha and Aitārya Brahmaṇas).³

18. Paḍhame.—In this dialect tha becomes ḍha in the majority of cases, e.g., Goradha = Goratha, radha = ratha, Bharadvāsa = Bharathavasa and Madhurām = Mathurām. The change is well-known and probably it is an influence of Dravidian origin.⁴

¹ Text p. 84, Engl. trans., p. 95. (Dr. Shamasascty's edition.)
² Mānasāsthamsāstra, Ch. IX, vv. 66-67.
³ Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Pt. II, p. 27.
⁴ [This peculiarity is found in Jaina-Sauraseni, Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ĉākāki. See Pischel, Gramma t der Prākrit Sprachen, para. 203.—Ed.]}
19. Kaliṅga-nagari.—The capital of the Kaliṅga country, very likely now represented by Kaliṅgapatanam in the Ganjām district. The ancient capital of Kaliṅga, according to the tradition prevalent in the Chikacole taluk of the Ganjām district, was swallowed up by the sea. Fragments of bas-reliefs of the Mauyra period with the well-known protuberance on the head-dress have been, however, discovered by RDB. in the temples of Mukhaliṅgēvara and Kūrmiṅgēvara in the locality. The coast from Chhatrapuram to Masulipatam is subject to great cyclones during the north-eastern monsoon and the majority of ancient sites on this coast are buried in drift sand.

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

21. Pādiyō=Śkt. Pāthī.—Perhaps the same as the Podhiya of Western India, cf. Pāṇḍu-lēṇa cave No. 10, inscription No. 10, l. 3.¹

22. Sātakaṁnīṁ.—Evidently Śrī Sātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nāyanikā of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions in the Junnar taluk of the Poonā district.² [As to the Sātakarṇi whose architect Vasiṣṭhiputra Ananda gave a tōrana to stūpa No. I at Sāñchi see J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 254.—K. P. J.]

23. Kaṇṭha-beniṇa—The Sanskrit Krīṣṇa-vāga or the modern Krīṣṇa which rises near Dhom in the Sātārā district. The river flows through the Sātārā, Belgaum and Bijāpur districts and the Kolhāpur and Hyderabad States into the Bay of Bengal through the Krīṣṇa district of the Madras Presidency. It forms the boundary of the Nizam’s State from Alampur near Karnūl to Nandigāma in the Kistna district. The rise of the Krīṣṇa and its particular sanctity are described in the Pāṭalā-khaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa.³ The earliest epigraphical reference is to be found in this inscription and the second in the Nāsik inscription in cave No. 10 of the Pāṇḍu-lēṇa group where it is called Karabarṇa.⁴ In mediaval inscriptions it is called Krīṣṇa-Veṇṇa.⁵ There is no doubt about the fact that Khāravela reached the Krīṣṇa somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is possible that he went westwards because the term pachhima-disam is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Krīṣṇa.

24. Musika-nagara.—The Mūšikas are a people of Southern India as in the Mahābhārata they are mentioned along with the Vanaṇāsas.⁶ In the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata they are probably coupled with the Tōsālas and the Kōsālas under the name Mōsālas.⁷ In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the Mūšika country comes with the Śrī-ṛāja. According to the commentary Jaya-māṅgalā on the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, the latter was a kingdom in the western part of the Vindhyā country.⁸ There is a river Mūśi which joins the Krīṣṇa about the Nalgonda and the Krīṣṇa districts. It is mentioned under the same name in the inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

¹ Ante, Vol. VIII, p. 78.
² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III, plate 3. As to the letter-form of this inscription reference may be made to the Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions, Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 131 ff. RDB. has proved elsewhere that later and earlier forms of the character used in an inscription depend on the first place on locality.
⁴ Ante, Vol. VI, p. 211.
⁶ Bhishma-parva, Ch. 1X.
⁷ XIII, 27. (Kāvyamālā edition, p. 148.)
Gövinda II of the Śaka year 692=769 A.D. It is quite probable that the Musika city stood on this river.  

25. Kaliṅga-puṇa-rāja.—The reading is absolutely certain and the phrase should be read with reference to tatiyā Kaliṅga-rāja-varnā.  

26. Rathika-Bhojakas stand for the Mahāraṭha and Mahābhōjas of Sātavāhana inscriptions and the minor inscriptions of the same period at Kānhēri, Kuḍā and Bāḷā. The Rathikas are mentioned as Raṭhikas in the Gīnār, Raṭhikas in the Shāhbbāzgaṛhi and Raṭhakas in the Mānsēhrā version of the 5th edict of Asōka. The Dhauli version supplies the analogous form in Laṭhikā. In the 13th edict we find the Bhojakas mentioned with the Pūtānakas in Shāhbbāzgaṛhi, Mānsēhrā and Kāḷī versions. In the Kānhēri cave inscription of the time of Vīṇhukṛṣṇa Chūṭukulāṇanda a Mahābhōja is also called a Mahārāja showing that Bhoja probably was a title. Mahābhōjas or Mahābhōjīs are mentioned in five votive inscriptions in the Kuḍā cave. In later periods a Bhojakas is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śivakandavarman.  

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

28. Rājaśāgayā.—The reading is perfectly clear on the rock.  

29. saṁnādena.—The form of the first letter seems to be a sā of the same type as that which we find in Ḍhamatiśivātva in l. 12.  

30. vipamuchitu.—It seems more probable that the reading is vipam[n]chitu not vipamuchitum.  

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

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

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

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* I am of opinion that Khāravela reached the Mahārāṣṭra country and touched the river Krishṇa near its source where it flows directly north to south instead of touching it at any other place, because to reach the Krishṇa at any other place he would have had to travel almost due south instead of west. Moreover, I put more reliance on the Mahābhratā than on any of the later texts. As the Māśikas are coupled with the Vanavāsikas it is more probable that they lived on the western coast below Banavāsi (Sīrī taluk of the North Kanara district of Bombay). In my opinion Muziris, a famous port on the western coast, should be identified with Musikanagari of this inscription. (R. D. B.) [See J. R. A. S., 1922, pp. 166 ff., and Ind. Ant., 1923, p. 128.—Ed.]  
* See also Hindu Polity, Pt. i, pp. 143, 195.  
mentions a people called Avarna or Aruarni near the Krishna. It is quite possible that the city of Pithunada mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitandra (Ind. Ant., Vol. LV, p. 145), was founded by these people (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIV, pp. 15 ff).

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

35. Trumira or Tamira is the equivalent of Tamiḻa just as Aīra represents Aiḥa. It has been pointed out that Tamiḻ is the origin of Dvēḍa and of DvAMILA. Trumira would thus be a perfectly correct substitute for DvAMILA.

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

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

38. Kāśīṅga-Jīna perhaps means Śitalanātha who was born at Bhadrapura, which is the same as Bhadrarupa or Bhadrāchala in the Godāvari district of the Madras Presidency.

39. pādiśāhībi stands for pratiśāhībi.—The du denotes its difference from pratiśāhī in l. 9.

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

41. pata-vidhikār.—The reading is not doubtful though it was read slightly differently before. The reference seems to be to architects (pratiśāhībā).

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

43. Patiḍā-ṛiḍā.—For the form of ṛiḍā in l. 15. The Sanskritized version of the name of the great Dravīḍian clan is Pāṭalīṣa and it is derived from Pāṭalīṣ by a special rule of early grammarians. In the inscriptions of Aśoka also the vowel in the first syllable is long.

44. Pa-khiṇa-samāleḥi.—The reading seems to be tolerably certain on the rock, though it looks doubtful in the impressions. Pa-khiṇa=prakhiṇa, samāle=saṁekaṇa.

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

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

47. Ucč行使-Khāravela previously read as Ucālī-Khāravela. The ja and khā are indistinct.

48. samāgya-vanam.—The reading is certain except of the vowel value on ph: Certain improvements have been effected, e.g., samāyam which makes the purport of this term fairly certain.

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLIII, p. 64.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 196.
3 J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 84.
4 Cf. Kāmanshāṅga-maṭīśa (Delhi), XV, 7.
5 [See Muni Puyaviṣaya, 'Anokeśa' (Delhi), Vol. I, p. 142, where he cites Jatam texts or 'yāpa']
6 (religious life) —K. P. J.
49. Sīndhuḷāya.—The recognition of the cerebral īa is due to a suggestion of Prof. H. Lüders. In other cases the cerebral īa is changed into ra in the dialect used in this inscription.

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

51. (The reading Rājasī-Vasū-kula* has been corrected by me (from -vasa-kula) after Mr. Banerji’s death. King Vasu of Chēdi is known to the Purāṇas (see J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 22; MĀhā, I. ch. 13). Cheti-rāśi in l. 1 refers to King Vasu. The inscription here confirms the Purānic genealogy. The Jaina Harivīma Purāṇa also gives Vasu in the Chēdi list (Ch. VII) and as an Aiśvārya. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XV, p. 277.—K. P. J.)

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

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to the Arhats (Arihats=lit. ‘Conquerors of Enemies,’ i.e., Jinas). Salutation to all the Siddhas. By illustrious Kāḷāravala, the Aira (Aila), the Great King, the descendant of Mahāmogha-vāhana, the increaser (of the glory) of the Cheti (Chēdi) dynasty, (endowed with) excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) the four quarters, overlord of Kaliṅga,

(L. 2) for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youthsome sports; after that (by him uho) had mastered (royal) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (and) who had become well-versed in all (branches) of learning, for nine years (the office of) Yuvārāja (heir apparent) was administered. Having completed the twenty-fourth year, at that time (he) who had been prosperous (vardhamāna) since his infancy (1) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena,

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

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

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1 In Kaliṅga-adhipati, adhipati like adhirāja of the inscriptions, would literally denote an ‘overlord.’ The chief queen of Kāḷāravala in the Maṅkçapuri record calls her husband a Kaliṅga emperor (Kaliṅga-chakravarti). In our record he is expressly described as belonging to the Kaliṅga dynasty. The expression ‘overlord’ would not indicate that he was the overlord of Kaliṅga, but an emperor belonging to Kaliṅga.

2 A member of the ministry (Hindu Politics, Pt. II, pp. 124, 136). According to the DīvaśīrVadāna, Samprati, a grandson of Adōka, was the yuvārāja, while his father Kuṇḍa was a viceroy at Takhasāla. Yuvārāja was generally, but not necessarily, the Crown Prince.

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

4 Purār-gopus.—This has a reference to the 25th year, see the note above.

5 The meaning given above is in consonance with the use of similar figures in lines 10 and 16 (Mahāśrījayaṃ padādhih kṣayātīti ahukśitaṃ sota-sahasārnī, and pāparatītā, etc.). The instrumental case before pārtaṇi may equally be taken to denote the number of the subjects (see Siddhāntakumāra of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita on Pāṇini, II, 3, 23, and II, 3, 46). RDB. would connect the figure with the sentence beginning with pārtaṇi in the sense that by the expenditure indicated by the figure the king pleased his subjects (see J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 315).
army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (nara) and chariots (ratha) and by that army having reached the Kañña-^benā, he throws the city of the Musikas into consternation. Again in the third year,

(L. 5) (he) versed in the science of the Gandharvas (i.e., music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of dāpa, dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (samajjas); similarly in the fourth year, the Abode of Vidyādharas built by the former Kaliygan king(s), which had not been damaged before .......... with their coronets rendered meaningless, with their helmets (b) (bilm) cut in twain (!), and with their umbrellas and

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

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

(L. 8) causes pressure on Rāja-gaha (Rājagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimiṭa] retreated to Mathura having extricated his demoralised army and transport. (He) gives .......... with foliage

1 In Sinhalese this term is found in modern vernacular applied to a village-performance by a row of men who move on cutting antics. Drava in Sanskrit, meaning a dance, is connected with motion or running.
2 On its meaning as a theatrical performance, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, p. 235.
3 (Māvuka.)—Crowns or coronets according to the Nāṭya-śāstra (XXI, 118). The Raṭhikas and Bhojakas were non-monarchical communities (Hindu Polity, Vol. I, p. 89).
4 Bilm in the Yajur-veda, XVI, 35, comes in the company of kausaka (coat-of-mail or breast-plate).
5 Bhirāśpura which was made of gold, formed part of a ruler's paraphernalia according to the Nāṭya-śāstra (XXI, 138). So did the chhatra or umbrella.
6 Tanasuliya-vaṭa means 'from the road of Tanasuli' or it might have been the name of the canal. Vāṭ also means an enclosure.
7 The opinion of Lüders (List No. 1345) and Konow (Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, p. 26) is in favour of interpreting tīsas-āsas as 103 years and not 300 years. This is acceptable in preference to 300 on considerations of chronological and historical data of the inscription discussed elsewhere (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 237-238). Such uses of numbers are not unknown in Vedic Sanskrit. The natural explanation is 'the year one hundred and three of King Nanda'. On a Nanda era, see Yeđarāve inscription of Chālukya Vikramādiya Vi (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 43) and on an era beginning in 458 B. C. current in the time of Alberuni, the discussion on the subject in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Vol. XIII, pp. 237-241).
8 Annapada.—Consult Hindu Polity, II, 93; Kauṭiliya Artha-śāstra, 19, XIII, 171.
9 Parivara.—See the discussion on the subject in Hindu Polity, II, Ch. 27, and the next note below.
10 Jānapada.—The discussion in the Hindu Polity, II, Ch. 27, sets out the materials. The question of identification of Jānapada as a corporate body is now put beyond controversy by the seal discovered at Nālandā which reads Purikā-grāma-Jānapadasya 'of the Jānapada of the Purikā village'. This seal is in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century. (I am publishing it in my article on 'Some Clay Seals of Nalanda'.—Ed.) Probably the central Jānapada was made up of the representatives of local Jānapadas. In the Hāthigumphā inscription we have Jānapada in the singular, that is, it refers to one (general) Jānapada.
11 It is an ancient royal mannerism to refer to different queens by the name of the country of their origin of, Kauṭiliya, Kalki, etc. The custom still continues in the present ruling families where rājas are so referred to. For instance, a princess of the Udahlur family, if married in the Jodhpur family, would be styled Siōdias mahal.
12 Uparip aparipu means presses down, inflicts pain (Manu, VI, 62; XII, 86). With the meaning 'devastating, laying waste', which the dictionaries give, the word may mean 'he sacks', but as it is contrasted with ghatāpuṣṭa ('sacked') we take it that Khāravela only laid siege to the fortress of Rājagriha.
(L. 9) Kalpa (wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses. And to make all these acceptable (he) gives at a fire sacrifice (!) exemption (from taxes) to the caste of Brähmaṇas. Of Arhat

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

(L. 11) And the market-town (?) Pithumda 2 founded by the Ava King he ploughs down with a plough of asses; 3 and (he) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy 4 of the Trājāmira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years, 5 which has been a source of danger 6 to (his) Country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the Utabapatha 7 with thousands of

(L. 12) And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (he) drives (his) elephants into the Sugangliya 8 (Palace), and (he) makes the King of Magadha, Bahasatimita, bow at his feet. And (he) sets up 9 (the image) the Jina of Kalīngā 10 which had been taken away by King Nanda. ..... and causes to be brought home the riches of Amba and Magadha along with the keepers of the family jewels of ...

(L. 13) (He) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue. And a wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade 11 for driving in the elephants (he) ..... and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (he) causes to be brought here from the Pāṇḍya Kings.

(L. 14) (he) subjugates. In the thirteenth year, on the Kurnārī Hill where the Wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved 12 (i.e., the religion of Jina had been

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1 Giving of Kalpa trees was one of the Mahādānas or great gifts according to Hēmādri (Chaturvarga-chintāmoṇi, dōna-khaṇḍa). The tree was made of solid gold.
2 Prithu-ayda 'the big egg', probably had its origin in the physical feature of the situation of the city.
3 In the Jaina book Avasayabuddhi, Hēri-bhāhrī (pp. 685-87) and Hēmāchandra's Vīrakarita (pp. 170-71) it is stated that Kōpika ploughed Vaśāli with ploughs drawn by asses. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIII, p. 231.)
4 saṇghkara—According to Pāṇini (III, 3, 76, 86; V. 1, 59) and Hindu Polity, I, p. 27 the form should be here saṇgha and not saṇghkara. Evidently this distinction of Sanskrit grammar is not followed by Jaina writers of the time and the regular use of saṇghkara is probably owing to the religious significance already attaching to the term saṇgha amongst them.
5 Terasv-sas-astikām.—We take it to mean 113 years, not 1,300 years old in conformity with the interpretation of ti-vas-ata above.
6 [Bhāvanā—Skt. bhāpna (cf. 'bhāpayate' in the Siddhāntahamsud Int. Pān'' 1, 3, 68). I am adopting the former reading janapada. The other reading will also yield nearly the same meaning.—K. P. J.]
7 As the record distinguishes Utara-pāthā from Bharadahanasa it should be taken to refer to that part of the country in which Takshaśīla was the capital as in the Divyāvadāna (p. 407). Cf., Kāṇakamātakā, p. 94.
8 Supānsa Palace is mentioned in the Mātrāryāksha (Act III) as the palace of Chandragupta Maurya. This must have been near or on the Ganges. Kārlavala's entry by means of elephants implies that it was a fortified palace.
9 saṃkṣara, probably saṃvītiṣuka, 'sets up an image'. Saṃkṣetra in the sense of an image is mentioned in the dictionaries. The image called the Kālīṅga Jina was set up by Kārlavala. This image had been taken away by King Nanda. There is no doubt about the reading of the text and the translation of Nandā-saṃkṣeta.
10 sañca-parisarum = sañcā-parisarum. Compare the Kāndandākṣa on niraśa of elephants (XV, 7), parisarum enclosure or stockade.
11 māyā-chakṣu (Skt. māyā-chakṣu, māyā-chakṣu) in L. 17; māyā-chakṣu, 'the wheel of conquest'. Evidently this was a term common to Buddhism and Jainism. That Vardhamāna Mahāvīra preached Jainism in Kālīṅga is attested by the tradition contained in Jaina literature (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIII, p. 223). The Hēri-bhāhrī-ṛṣṭi says that Mahāvīra went to Kālīṅga where his father's friend was ruling.
preached), (he) offers respectfully\(^1\) royal maintenances, China clothes\(^2\) (silk) and white clothes\(^3\)
to (the monks) who (by their austerities) have extinguished the round of lives,\(^4\) the preachers\(^5\)
on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial.\(^6\) By Khrāvāla, the illustrious,
as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (the nature of) jīva and dēha\(^7\).

(L. 15) .............. bringing about a Council\(^8\) of the wise ascetics and sages, from
hundred (i.e., all quarters, the monks (samaṇas) of good deeds and who have fully followed (the
injunctions)) ............. near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the top of the
hill,\(^9\) ............. with stones .............. brought from many miles (yojanas) quarried
from excellent mines (he builds) shelters\(^10\) for the Sinhapatha Queen Sindhuja. .............

(L. 16) .............. Paṭalaka(?) \(\text{(he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl...}
...... at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands; (he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the
(text) of the seven-fold Aṅgas\(^11\) of the sixty-four\(^12\) (letters). He is the King of Peace, the
King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (bhikkhus), the King of Religion (Dharmas), who has been
seeing, hearing and realising blessings (kalyāṇas)—

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

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

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A.

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

\(^1\) arahayate = arghayate.
\(^2\) China-castāni = chīrṣa-castānī or Chīnacastānī. The latter gives a more reasonable meaning.
\(^3\) vāsā-saṅkāna.—This was formerly read as vāsā-saṅkāna. It would be the earliest reference to the white clothes
later on connected with the Svetāmbara sect.
\(^4\) samaṇa = Skt. samāraṇī.
\(^5\) Nāraka = Skt. Jāpaka.—Yāpa in yāpa-nākenkha may be interpreted in view of its use in Charaka as
"mitigating pain," or as "supporting life" according to the Mahābhārata. [The translation given above is
adopted now from the Jaina texts. See above, p. 85, s. 6—K. P. J.]
\(^6\) The Jainas raised symbolical graves of saints and Nishātī or Nishāāčā was the name given to them. (Cf.
\(^7\) Soul and body: these relate to the Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent (Stevenson,
Heart of Jainism, Ch. VII).
\(^8\) Samahayana = annamāla.
\(^9\) pūbbāra = pūga-bhāra.
\(^10\) nāṣyāni = Skt. niṣaṇapī.
\(^11\) Aṅga is a technical term meaning the sacred canon of the Jainas. If we read Aṅga-avikā-avīrụṇa instead
of Aṅga-avikā-avīrụṇa then we may translate it as "the Aṅgas (in collections of) 7 and 4". According to
the Jainas tradition the Aṅgas, eleven in number, were discovered after their loss.
\(^12\) Aṅga-avikā-avīrụṇa, "expeditiously", or avīrụṇa, "four-fold". Jainas authors maintain that the Jaina
Canon is covered by 64 letters; see Śrūva-vāraṇa, Jīva-bhāṣya (Sacred Books of the James, Vol. V, 1627 edition
"The plate which is rectangular in shape is 16'4" long and 11'5" broad. At the top of the plate, just in the centre, there is a flat projection 1'4" broad and 1" high shaped into the form of an arch. There is a small hole in the arch through which passes an ordinary copper ring 1'75" in diameter. The plate has suffered a slight damage at its proper right corner at the top. But the writing on either side is in a good state of preservation. The plate with the ring weighs 230 tolas."

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

The object of the inscription is to register a grant of land made by Madda-Heggađe, the chief of Kāp with (the consent of the assembly (nāśināvaru)1, communal and professional guilds (gāga-pāṇa) and subordinate officers,2 for offerings to Dharmanāṭha, the 15th Jina Tirthamkara. The gift was made at the instance of the Jaina teacher Dēvachandradēva for the spiritual welfare of his guru Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavaśvākirttidēva.

The date of the record is Śalivahana-Saka 1479, the cyclic year Nāja, the first tīthi of the bright half of Kārttika, and Sunday. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's Ephemeris the details correspond regularly to A.D. 1556, October 4, Sunday.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Dharmanāṭha which is followed by a verse in praise of the Jina-doctrine (kāśana). It then invokes Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra), the 24th Jina. Verses 3 to 6 describe the high spiritual attainments of a Jaina sage named Bhānu who belonged to Tinтриpi-gachchha, Kāṇḍr-gaṇa and Māla-saṁgha. The Kannada verses, which follow, extol the donor Madda-Heggađe but tell us nothing material except that he belonged to the Paṅgula line (bala) and that he was the administrator of the beautiful town of Kāp. (Vv. 7-12.)

The inscription then states that Rāmarājaya, though he was the lieutenant of king Sadāśīvarāya, was ruling the (Vijayanagara) empire (ll. 18-21) and that Sadāśīva-Nāyaka (of Ikkeri) was the ruler of the districts of Bārakūrū and Maṅgalūrū. Next comes an eulogy of Madda-Heggađe in an elaborate prose passage which tells us that he was administering the chief town of Kāp with (the help of) the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers. Then follows the formal portion of the grant. The lands granted were

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1 nāśināvaru is the corrupt form of nāśināvaru which comes from nāḍu meaning assembly.

2 gāga is an aggregate of kulas (kulaśātra or samākhas=two gāpas=sahāsākāśā=Kāśmīrī, Viramitrodaya, p. 426; quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his "Economical condition of Ancient India", p. 64); and gāga is a sectarian division. Eighteen gāpas are referred to in an inscription of the 17th century, viz.: Vidyākarēśas, pāñjakās (five sects of suśhita), bālobhikās (potter), srastrāṇyas (weavers), svasrādakas (cloth dyers?), tīlapāñjakas (oil-sellers), kuraśakas (kuraśakas: shoe-makers), vastra-rakṣakas (tailors), dērāgas, parikēlīs (parikēlīs: keepers of pack-bulklocks), gāsrakṣakas (cow-herds), kirātas (hunters), rajakas (wahermen) and kāhas, rakas (barber). These formed a recognised part of the local assemblies. (Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1918, part II, paragraphs 84 and 85.)
situated in the village of Mallāru and yielded an income of 80 varāhas. This income, it states, was to be utilized for the daily rice offering, for the hālu-dhāre (milk-bath) and for feeding the assembly (of sages) on the 17th and 25th days of every month. Provision was also made for extra expenses to be incurred when either of these days happened to be a Maṅgala(ā)-trayōdaśī. Muni Charanaṇavijayaji from Poona has kindly pointed out that, according to the colophon of the Digambara Jaina work Yāsodharachariyā, Maṅgalā-trayōdaśī is the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina.

Sadāśiva-Nāyaka of the record was the first prominent chief of the Ikkerī-Kejadi family which held sway over the whole of South Kanara and parts of the Mysore State from the 16th to the 18th century A. D. Since very little is known about him, a short account of his career may be given here. He was the elder of the two sons of Chaudappa, the governor of Malladēṣa, the younger being Bhadrappa. Soon after Sadāśiva succeeded his father, his first act was to reduce to submission by the order of Rāmarājaya, who was the de facto ruler of Vijayanagara, the kings of Bijāpur and Kalyāṇa. Immensely pleased with this achievement of Sadāśiva, the emperor appointed him governor of Chandraguttī, Bārkūru and Maṅgalūru, besides bestowing on him the title of Kōte-kōḷakalā (disturber of forts) and the privilege of affixing the term of honour rāga-nāyaka to his name. Sadāśiva’s next expedition was against the rebellious chiefs of Chandraguttī and Bidar and in recognition of his achievements he got the biruda of Satru-saptāṅgakaraṇa. He next put down the chiefs of Tulu and Kēraḷa and set up a pillar of victory. Shortly afterwards, he punished the defection of two chiefs named Yeḍava and Murāri in the country of Jāḷihāḷu and received as a reward the title of Yeḍava-Murāri from the emperor. Sometime later, he marched against Mādaraś of Baṅkāpurā and took him prisoner. By this time Sadāśiva’s younger brother Bhadrappa who had gone on a pilgrimage came back. After governing the provinces conjointly with his brother for sometime, Sadāśiva nominated him as his successor with the surname Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka and retired to the forest.

The date of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka may now be ascertained. Our grant is dated in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1556). The latest date available for him, viz., Śaka 1486, Dundubhi (A.D. 1562) is furnished by a record at Maṇḡārkēri near Bārkūr. And Śaka 1473, Sadāśarṇa (A.D. 1550) is the earliest date that we have for him from his inscriptions. In Śaka 1488, Kāhaya (A.D. 1566) Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka is known to have been ruling. Sadāśiva-Nāyaka must, therefore, have ceased to rule sometime between A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1566. So the period in which he flourished may be taken to be A.D. 1550-1562. The date assigned to him by Rice, viz., A.D. 1513-1545 is, therefore, not correct.

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1 A varāha is equal to 3½ rupees. But the expression used here is dōḍha-(big) varāha, the exact significance of which is not clear.
2 For an account of this family see A. S. R. for 1911-12, pp. 196 ff.; and Rice’s Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, pp. 196 ff.
3 This title as well as others that follow are found in most of the inscriptions of the Nāyakas of Ikkerī.
4 This account is based on Kallōlas 2-5, Tarunā V of the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia Śivatātvavatākara edited by Messrs. B. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Vidvāna P. Sundara Śastri.
5 No. 168 of 1901, Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1901.
7 Ibid., Nagar 1.
8 Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, table on p. 157.
of his inscriptions has been discovered he has not been included in the table of the house published by Rice, perhaps, because his relationship to other members of the dynasty was not known to that scholar. Now the work Śivatetaratnaṇākara enables us to say that Immacī Śadāśīva-Nāyaka was the younger brother and successor of Śadāśīva.

The sage Bāṇu, who has been highly eulogised in the record, must have been one of the Jaina teachers of that name which were replaced by Lalitakirtī in about Śaka 1286. Nothing is known about Dēvachandradēva at whose instance the grant was made, his guru Munichandradēva and his guru Abhinavadēvakīrttideva.

With regard to the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the village Mallāru may be identified with Mallāru in the Uḍipi Taluk; Belūgula is the well-known Śravāṇa Belgoḷa in the Mysore State; Kopāṇa is Kopaṇa, a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jainas in the Nizām's Dominions; Parvata is probably identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, which is one of the twelve great centres of Śaiva worship. Gōkarna is the village of that name in North Kanara; Tirumale is the celebrated Tirupati in the Chittoor District. Ujjantagiri, which appears as Urjaya-t-giri in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, is the Mount Girnar on which there is an ancient temple of Neminātha.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Śrī-Dhammaṇāṭha[ne] saruṇa || Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-svādvād-amogha-lāmbhahanam || [1*] jiyā
2 t-trailokyana-nāthasaya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ || [1*] Svasti Śrī sakala-jūna-sāmrāṣṭya -pada-raijita[h*] || Va-
3 rthḍha(ṛdhḍha)mana-Śrīṅāḍhudiṣṭa-svādvāda-maṭha-bhāṣuraḥ || [2*] Tīṁṭhriṇi-gachchha- vāraśeṣa-sudhāṃśur-jūna-dī-
4 dhiṭiḥ [1*]sa[2*]-dharma-sarasṛ-haṁṣaḥ pravādi-gaja-kēśarī || [3*] Kāṇḍṛ-gaṇa-nabhō- bhāgō bābbhāti muni-
5 kumāraḥ || ajūna-timir-oddhūti[h*] Śrīmān-Bhānu-mun-[i[vai]raḥ || [4*] Patnch-śāhara- śara-dhvesta-pancha-
6 bāṇa-śa[a]ra-vrajāḥ | akhamṇa-śrī-tapō-lakṣhmi-nayaka Bhānu-saṃyami || [5*] Śrīmad-Bhānu- mu-
7 n-śa[vai]rō Vijayaṭe svādvāda-dharmu-āṁbarā āṭṛmad-jauna-vinūṭ[naj]-dīdhiti-[ṣa]lta-dhvaṣt- ōdhdhakaṁ
8 ra-vrajāḥ[1*] Śrī-Mūl-āmala-samgha-nīrāja-mahā-ṣaṃbhūdeva-akhamṇa-ṣrīyam vyāta[nva]-
9 n-muni
10 da[kad]aṁte yesarg(se)guṇaṁ nīkaṁ* | dharey-ojage Kāpīna nagarada nelanān-ālva bhūpa 
Madda-Heggeṇi-embaṁ || [7*]

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*Mycore and Coor, p. 157.
*Above, Vol. VIII, p. 129, f. n. 2.
*Noolal Dey’s Ancient Geography of India, p. 193.
*Above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.
*Read Jīnaḍāṭṭha.
*Read Kshaghṛ-
*Read mā́jjaun.
*Read nīkam.
11 Paţu-gaļa-nilā adhipatiyanu poṁ-gaṛasa-de(a) nelake tānu nṛpa-kula-tīlakaṁ | san complète sāheyyo
14 kk-adhipatiyacin Śrī-pati Tiru[mra]sana-nṛpa [a]vāni-tīlakaṁ | vōmanadali1 ātānum vōtu karaṁ Muktī-La- [ ]
15 kāsimit-tītan manamaṁ || [10*] Yën-ehbe Madda-Heggače dāna-chatu[r]-vīdihakke tāne chīmi-t-ratnaṁ sanmu(nmu)ta-gūṇa-gaṇa-[ ]
16 nīlēyaṁ2 unānvaṁ3-sīhavan tādā [nri]pa-rīpu-sāmhaṁ || [11*] Dharmanad[ha]ṁ [drīḍha]-chittanu nirmlama-
17 guru-bhaktiyalli Tirumaras-nīpaṁ Dharma-Jina-Jaina-sāsanaṁ vōn-mandini tānu mādi kṛiti[ya]- [ ]
18 mm[n]n-it-tān || [12*] Vasti Śrī [++] Jayābdhaktya4 Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha 1479 neya saṁda Naḷa-saṁvatsara- [ ]
19 da Kārttkā-suddha 1 Ādityavāradalu Śrīman-mahārājādhirājā rājaparamēvara satya-ratnākara [ ]
20 śaraṇgata-vajra-pariṣa[r]a chatu[++]samudr-ādhiśvara Kaliyuga- chakravartti śri-virapratapā Sādāvīva- [ ]
21 rāya-rāja-rājēnḍra-dakṣiṇa-bhāga-bhāgya-dēvatā-saṁnihumarum-appa Rāmarājaya- [na var[ ]u] yē- [ ]
22 ka-[cha] tradhi rājya[va]nu pratipālisut-iṛddā kādalalu Bārakūru Manīgalūralu Sādāśi- [ā]va-[Nāyaka]- [ ]
23 rājyavar ꞈ[y]i5 iṛddā kādalalu Tuḷ[va]-dēśa-kāmini-mukha-kamala-tīlakāyaṁ[ ]- 4]
24 ddha-prasiddha-Kāpi-sīttihāsan-śāhy-āchal-ālankaraṇa-taruṇa-[č]araṭ-prakāsāram añanya-rājana-sau[ ]- [ ]
25 nany[ ](au)dāryya-vīryya-dhāryya-[mā]dhuryya-gāṅabhṛṣṭya-nayavīnaya-satya-śauch-ādy- [ ]
26 gaṇa-nūtna-ratuaḥbharaṇa-gaṇa-kīraṇ-dvīptita-Bharatādī-sakala-[pu]rūpa-purusharum-appa [ ]
27 Tirumarasàrāsārā Madda-Heggačeyaruru avara nā[li]navaru gaṇa-paṇa-āvartaru Kāpīna rājyava- [ ]
28 nu pratipālisut-iṛddā kādalalu || [8*] Vasti [++] Śrīmad-rāya-rāja-guru-mathādī-śāhṛṣya mahā- [ ]
29 vāda-vāḍiśvara rāya-vāḍi-pīthāmaḥ sakala-vīdva[j]jana-chakravarttigajam6 ity-ādy-anēka-bi- [ ]
30 rudāvali-virājāmānaram Kāṇugra-gaṇ-śgra-gaṇygaru[ | ]m-appa Śrīmad-Abhinava- [ ]
31 dēvakṛttidēvaragaja śiṣyaru Munichamdrēvaragalu [a]varugalu śiṣyaru Dēvacham- [ ]
32 varucaatu tamma guru Muniamchadhravaraghilge svargg- śavarggakke karaṇav-āgi Kāpina-
33 lu dharmavanu mādabēk-ēnba chittadīñḍā Tirumalarasar-āda Madda-Heggadeyara
kūnī(kū)-
34 deyu avara nālinavaru gaṇa-[p]aṇa-sāmanṭhāra kūdeyu Kāpina halara sahāyadīn-
35 da dharmakakke voṇdu kshētravanu koḍabēkē yeṇdu chittaisal-āgi avarucaatu dharmma-
36 pāriṇāma-svarūpavane vūj[ar]-āda kāraṇa guru-bhaktiyāndā tamma śimeya-
37 lu Ma[ll]a[r]-erīha [vūṭ]-oḷage pātu[va]* tu dikkinalu Kājaṃṭopatina bālkeyal agaḷ-
38 nīda vōlage beṭṭina gadde l kkaṁ bīja babā mūvajāttāra lekkada batta mūde 2 māttāṁ-
39 a-
40 mūde 4 māttāṁ bāgila gadde l kkaṁ bīja babā mūvattāra lekkada bīja
41 rakkaṁ bīja mūde 10 1 bhūmīgalige vūl]a kare mure mane bāvi halasu māvu su-
42 mbe nikkil-urkkahārde kādiru jala pāṣā(shā)pā saha mūla-dhāreyanu yera(eredu) ko-
43 ṭu yisikōnda dōḍḍa vara(ā)ha ga 80 aksshā(radalu yembhattu vara(ā)ha yi ho-
44 nīge yeraṇu beḷeyalu saha varā 1 kke baha akki amāḍiya horigeya
45 bāl[la] aivattara lekkada akki mūde 24 l akkige nādava dharmma vivara Kāpina bast-
46 ya keḷaṇaṇa neleyalu Dharma-Tirtha[m][kara-sannīdīyalu madhyāna-kālalalu nityada-
47 lu dina voṇḍdake voṇḍu bāl[la] akkiya naivēḍyakku [Mu]nichandhradhvarugulu hesa-
48 rinalu nād[y]a hāla-dhāregu saha akki mūde 10 tīNGaḷu tīNGaḷu tappade tīṇ-
49 gaḷallī 17 hōḥaṇa nādava vāra 1 māttāṁ ippatta-ādī 25 hōḥaṇa nādava
50 vāra 1 atiṇu tīNGaḷalī yeraṇu vāra samadāya* nādvudakke akki mūdevi2
51 12 i vāraṇaḷailī Maṅgala(ā)-trayōḍāsi bahāga ā Maṅgala(ā)-trayōḍāsi nādana-
52 [d-e]’ū[du*] viśēṣav-āgi yirisida akki mūde 2 atiṇu akki mūde yippatta-nālku
53 yī dharmma stẖaḷadalli Bāḷajārīge anāya sanāya sallau illa ā stẖa[n]a[‘]gadalu* idda
54 vokkalige biṭṭi bidāra sallau kāpikē dey apāne padadalli yettu(a) sallau yeṇdu
55 sarvamāṇav-āgi Tirumalarasar-āda Madda-Heggadeyaru avara nālinavaru ga-
56 pa-paṇa-sāmāntaru saha tamma dharmma-paripāma-nimitṭav-āgi tamma svarū[ru]chi-
57 yīndā guru-bhaktiyāndā voḍamāṭṭu barasi koṭṭa tāmbra-sāsana imt-a
58 ppudakke sākṣhigalu ati(dh)kārī Kāṅkṣa-setṭi Chaṭṭa Bikra-setṭi Śaṃśi Śaṅkara-
59 setṭi Rāja-setṭi Bagge-[se*]ṭṭiyā alīya Kōsana Mūḷāra Beḷjile Bīrumāḷa
60 Dugga Bāṃḍārī Bīrusāmaṇi yimt-īnivarā vubhaya-ānma[ta*] jīldī Ma-
61 ṭhgalūrī Śaṅkṣa-Sēnābōvana baraha [*] yimt-l dharmma-śāsna[na*]kkē maṅgala-
62 mahā-śrī śrī śrī[!]Sva-datta[d*]-dviṃgūṇaḥ punyaṁ para-datta-anūpālanaṁ[*]
63 para-datta-āpahāreṇa sva-dattaṁ niḥ(sh)phalam bhavet || Dāna-pālanaṁr-śammyēḥ
64 dānāḥ-chhṛtyā-tyāpālaṁ dānāḥ-svarggo-avāpṇoḥ pālaṇād-aḥcyaṭaṁ
65 padaṁ || ye(l) dharmma-śāsanaṇkē śvanāṇ-obbba Jainan-śādava tappidare Beḷugu-
66 jada Gummataṇāṭha Kōpaṇa Chandraṇāṭha Ījjanṭa-giriya Nāmīvara-
67 modalāda Jina-bimbagalan-ōd(a)da pāpakke hōharu Śaivaṇ-śādare Pa-

* Read samudāya.
* Read mūde.
* The letter [ja] is written below the line.
* Read stẖadali. 
TRANSLATION.

V. 1. Obeisance to Dharmanātha!
V. 2. Hail! The illustrious Vardhamāna, the lord of Jinas, who adorns the seat (symbolic) of universal sovereignty of all knowledge and who brightens the Syādvāda school.
V. 3 and 4. Bhānu, the lord of sages, the ray of enlightenment of the moon to the Tim-trīṇi-gachchha ocean, the swan in the lake of pure faith (i.e., Jainism), a lion to the elephant of religious disputants, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the elephant among ascetics, shines in the sky of Kāṇḍrī-gaṇa.
V. 5. The sage Bhānu who broke asunder the multitude of arrows of Cupid by his arrows, the five practices (āchāras) is the lord of the ever prosperous Goddess of Penance.
V. 6. The illustrious Bhānu, the lord of sages, the reducer of the masses of darkness to dust by hundred fresh rays of knowledge, stands victorious in the heavens of Syādvāda religion fostering eternal prosperity among the assemblage of lotuses in the (lake of) the pure Mola-sarṣiga and immersing sages, the herds of lovely kōsas, in the ocean of happiness.
V. 7. Madda-Heggaṇe, the ruler of the city of Kāpu—be he ever radiant on the earth like the shining pendant worn by the king, in the form of the Tuju country.
V. 8. (This) jewel of the community of kings, the lord of the territory adorned by golden pinnacles, born in the Paṅguṇula lineage, a bee at the lotus feet of Jina the conqueror of Cupid, is being praised in assemblies (of great and learned men).
V. 9. The city known as Kāpu is the mirror of the goddess Earth; therein shines the Jina who Dharmanātha honoured by the world.
V. 10. The lord of that city and the favourite of Fortune, king Tirumaraṇa, the ornament of the goddess Earth, gave himself up with one mind and with great zeal to (the service of) the Goddess of Final emancipation.
V. 11. How shall I describe (him)? Madda-Heggaṇe is the wish-giving gem (chintāratna) for the four kinds of gifts, the abode of all virtues and the vanquisher of enemy kings who have haughty demeanour.
V. 12. King Tirumaraṇa possessed of firm faith in dharmma granted a Jaina-śāsana (endowment) with one mind and with great devotion to his spiritual preceptor and got an inscription written (to that effect).

Ll. 18f. Hail! Prosperity! In the prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka year 1479 expired (corresponding to) the cyclic year Nāla, on the 1st (day) of the bright half of Kārttika, on Sunday,
Ll. 19ff. when Rāmarājaya, who was, as it were, the Goddess of Fortune on the right side of the Mahārājādhiraṇya, the Paramēśvara, ocean of Truth, and adamantine cage for those who seek refuge, the lord of the four oceans, the emperor of Kaliyuga, Virapatāpasa-Sadāśivaraṇa, was protecting the kingdom under one umbrella and while Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was ruling (as viceroy) the (provinces of) Bārakūru and Maringalūru.

1 Read *dauṣṭyaśālī*.
2 The five āchāras are: 1. Darśan-āchāra (to induce steady faith), 2. Jñān-āchāra (to increase knowledge), 3. Charitr-āchāra (to improve one's daily life), 4. Tapa-āchāra (to become a great ascetic) and 5. Vīry-āchāra (to increase the power of one's inner self). (*Sarasuṣa-Belgoja Inscriptions, Translations p. 54, f. n. 2*).
Ll. 23ff. and while Madda-Heggeḍe who had the name Tirumalarasa, an ornament to the lotus face of the damsel the Tulūva country, the young sun (emerging from) the eastern mountain, viz., the throne of Kāp which is from time immemorial famous in all directions, (the incarnation as it were of) all the ancients like Bharata\(^1\) radiant with the rays of multitudes of ornaments of fresh gems, the collection of many virtues, which were possessed by no other man of royal descent, viz., friendliness, generosity, prowess, sweetness, profundity, policy, politeness, truth and purity, etc., was ruling the chieftainship of Kāp assisted by his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his subordinate officers;

Ll. 28ff. hail! 'Munichandrādēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvakirtidēva, the udārāya of the circle of royal preceptors, the lord of great disputants, emperor of all learned men, resplendent with several such birudās, the foremost (follower) of the Kāśār-gaṇa;

Ll. 31ff. his disciple Devachandrādēva requested Tirumalarasa alias Madda-Heggeḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his officers to grant a piece of land with the help of several (people) of Kāp, with the intention of instituting a charity at Kāp for the final beatitude of his guru Munichandrādēva;

Ll. 36ff. and as they were of a charitable temperament, they, out of devotion to their preceptor, granted, with pouring of water, on the western side of the village of Mallāru (situated) within their province, in the place called Kaḷantopatina-bālē, on the inner side of the trench, one bēḷu\(^2\) land requiring seed (for sowing) of 2 mūḍe of paddy calculated at 30 baḷa\(^3\) (for each mūḍe) and outside the trench one wet land called Pāpinadi requiring 4 mūḍe calculated at 30 baḷa and a bāḷa land requiring seed of 4 mūḍe calculated at 30 baḷa; (in all) three wet lands requiring seed of 10 mūḍe, with the properties attached to them, viz., kārē, mūrē, house, well, jack-trees, mango-trees, sūmbe, nīkkē, urkkāṁrda, crop, water and stone; (and Devachandrādēva) received 80 big vaṛāhas—in words eighty—(being the money income of the said lands).

Ll. 44ff. From this gold (was to be purchased), at both crops, 24 mūḍe of rice calculated at 50 baḷa of the standard prevalent in the bazaar. The (following are the) details of the charities to be managed with this rice:

Ll. 46ff. 10 mūḍe of rice for the rice offering at noon at the rate of one baḷa each day and for the kāḷu-dhāre, conducted in the name of Munichandrādēva to Dharmanātha-Tirthaṅkara in the lower storey of the temple at Kāp; 12 mūḍe of rice for feeding Jain ascetics (samudāya) on 2 days in the month, viz., the 17th and 25th day. If either of these days happened to be a Maṅgāḷa-trayōḍaśī, 2 mūḍe of rice were provided for the extra expenses that would have to be incurred to celebrate that Maṅgāḷa-trayōḍaśī. Thus the total is 24 mūḍe.

Ll. 53ff. In this place of charity the taxes anāya\(^4\) and saṇāya\(^5\) were not to be levied by the Ballīḷaś; the Vokkala had no bīṣṭi\(^6\) and bīḍāra\(^7\) and the fees kāṅike, dēṣe and appaṇe could not be raised.

Ll. 55ff. (This is) the copper-plate inscription recording the sarvamāṇya gift caused to be written and granted by Tirumalarasa alias Madda-Heggeḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and subordinate officers out of their own free will and devotion to their guru.

\(^{1}\) Bharata was the brother of Bāhubali or Gommaṇa and son of Ādinātha, the first Tirthaṅkara. (Above, Vol. VII, p. 108 and Mysore Arch. Rep. for 1913, p. 5).

\(^{2}\) bēḷu is a wet land capable of yielding one crop annually.

\(^{3}\) baḷa is equal to 2 seers generally.

\(^{4}\) āṇa generally means income but the import of anāya is not clear.

\(^{5}\) saṇāya is perhaps a mistake for sīṇāya, i.e., tax paid towards the maintenance of an army.

\(^{6}\) Bāḷīḷaś are like the Heggesās, a sect of the Bant class (South Canara Manual, Vol. I, p. 169).

\(^{7}\) bīṣṭi generally means free labour.

\(^{8}\) bīḍāra is perhaps a mistake for bīṇḍā, a tax. (See S. I. I., Vol. 14, Nos. 255 and 276).
LI. 58ff. The witnesses for this (transaction) are: Atikāri (Aḍhikāri) Kāṁṭha-setṭi, Chaṭa Bikra-setṭi, Sāmaṇi Sanhkar-setṭi Rāja-setṭi, Bagge-setṭi's nephew Kēsaṇa, Mūḷūra Belje, Bhirumāla Dugga and Baṇḍārī Bhirūśamī. With the consent of all these, Saṅkhai-Sēnabōva of Maṅgalūr wrote this. Prosperity and good fortune to this charity deed!

LI. 62ff. Imprecatory verses.

LI. 65ff. Any one who violates this charity, if he is a Jaina, shall incur the sin of breaking the images of Gumaṭanāṭha of Belagula, Chandranāṭha of Kopāna and Nēmāvāra of Ujjana-Tagiri and other Jaina idols; if a Śaiva, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of liṅgas at Parvata, Gokarna etc.; if a Vaishāv, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Viṣṇu in (holy) places like Triyāmba. May there be prosperity to the Jina-śāsana (doctrines). Fortune!

No. 9—SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA;
[VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPATANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This short inscription was found at Sāmōli in the district of Bhōmaṭ in Mewār and is now preserved in the Rājputana Museum at Ajmer. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has already noticed it. It consists of twelve well-engraved lines of writing, covering a space of about 94" × 10½". The stone being slightly broken at the lower right corner, a portion of the inscription is missing. A few letters here and there are also indistinct. The average size of the letters is about ¾". On account of its importance as the earliest inscription of the Ghiḷa family of Mewār, a detailed notice of it is given below.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the acute-angled type. They are almost similar to those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājīta of V. S. 718 (A. C. 661) though the mātrās of the vowels a, ē, i, u and ū have different forms. The language is incorrect Sanskrit and the inscription is written very carelessly. As a result, the metres employed do not always stand scanning, and the meaning is also not quite clear in a few places. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted:—a is used for ē in ripūnā (l. 4), and ē for n in jayānamāndi (l. 5), and vāśīvā (l. 9); the anusvāra is used for m in sanvābāham (l. 8) and is redundant in jayānamāndi (l. 5) and upādānām-ārya (l. 7); the visarga is omitted in Harē (l. 2), narapati (l. 5) etc., while it is redundant in bhayāh (l. 2), mahārāha (l. 10) and jāniveh (l. 4) etc.; sandhi is not observed in jivanaṁ āgara (l. 6), āgata ashtādasa (l. 7) and other places, while it is wrongly used in nivaham māvālokan (l. 3). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the text and the footnotes thereto.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows:—After the invocation of the goddess Chaṇḍikā (ll. 1-4), the epigraph praises Śilāditya as the conqueror of his foes (ll. 4-5). Ll. 5-7 record that a Mahājana (communit) headed by Jēntaka who had migrated from Vaṭanagāra, started an āgara (ñ Skt ākara, a mine) in Āranyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people. In the next two lines it is said that the Mahātara (Mahātara) Jēntaka, at the command of the Mahājana, founded at the place a temple (dēvakula) of Aranyavāsini (Durgā), which was noted for its eighteen vaṭālikas (bars), hailing from different parts of the country and was always crowded with rich and wealthy people. The sense of the last two lines

1 PRAS., W.C., 1908-09, p. 48 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.
2 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 298.
is not very clear, the inscription being broken at the corner. It appears, however, that the Mahatara Jëntaka, having seen the approach of the messengers of Yama entered fire (?) or committed suicide at the holy place of Dëbuvaika. The record ends with the date 703 Katika (Kàrtika) di (?). Evidently the year belongs to the Målya-Vikrama era and corresponds to 646 A.C.

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription it would appear that Śilāditya was a scion of the Guhila family of Mewär. This inference is supported by the documents which have already been published—e.g., the Aṭapura inscription of Śaktikumāra, the inscription of Chítôr, dated V. S. 1331, the Mt. Abû inscription of Samarasinha. As has been pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, the name Śila in the Aṭapura inscription stands for Śilāditya who was succeeded by Aparājita whose inscription, dated V. S. 718 (A. C. 661), has been alluded to above. Nothing of importance is recorded about the Mahatara Jëntaka.

Vaṭanagara of the inscription is evidently the same as Vaṭa (Vaṭapura) which has been identified with Vasantagad in Sirôhi State and is about 16 miles from Sâmõli, where the inscription was found.

This inscription is of special interest, as it enables us to rectify a mistake made in connection with the pedigree of Göha. Col. Tod supposed that Göha (Guhila, Guhadatta, Guhâditya, etc., the founder of the Guhila family of Mewär, to which Śilāditya of this inscription belongs) descended from the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhîpura. The Aññâ copper-plate inscription of the last Śilāditya of Valabhîpura dated in Gupta Saññvata 447 (A. C. 766-77), would show that he was the ruler of the Valabhi kingdom at least up to the date of his inscription, i.e., the latter half of the eighth century A. C. As the date of Śilāditya of the present inscription is Saññvata 703 (A. C. 646), that of Göha or Guhila, the fifth predecessor from him, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A. C., if an average reign of twenty years be assigned to each of the rulers preceding Śilāditya (of Mewär). Thus there is a difference of about two centuries between the reigns of Göha (Guhila) of Mewär and the last Śilāditya of Valabhîpura. In other words, we might say that Göha (Guhila) had established his rule in Mewär about two centuries prior to the break up of the Valabhi kingdom. Therefore Göha could not have been the descendant of the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhîpura.

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1 Śilāditya Abûvat Savitri Sivapraparayana-Bhânuvarsa[सितावरसा][भृत्सितावरसा] [Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.
2 Bhânavagar Inscriptions, p. 75, v. 18.
5 Cf. note 1 above where the kings are mentioned in succession.
7 Ibid, p. 191. Cf. also Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 187. [But Vasantagad cannot be philologically derived from Vaṭanagara.—Ed.]
9 C. I. L., Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription to Śilāditya VII. In fact, Śilāditya II of his book (note 41, introduction) did not actually reign at Valabhi (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 265 and Duff’s Chronology, p. 308). Hence Śilāditya VII ought to be Śilāditya VI. [This is a matter of opinion only; cf. Kishorn’s Northern List No. 457, footnote 5.—Ed.]
11 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.
TEXT.

1 चाँ 2 नाम: "पुनातु दिनकम(न)रोचिच्युरितालमध(प)चर्चाव दुरितमाघ च(च)रिहानादृष्टू."

2 याड "ढेर(र)भिखिजिक्षाशयस्कर्षिमाघसर(क)नूपरा(ब)वया(च)चर्चितिर दिविभाग(दिविभाग)साधन"

3 धा(र) [10] युबरेण(र)मल(ल)शुद्विनिर्मित(न)संवृद्धिचित्रितविवरण "[चा]नोका केरिरे(स)बताति विनाश.

4 रथ चॅपलमास्वें भासुव्यनिविवरण: "जयति चित्रित चित्रितचं (चं)देव.

5 जसा(र)नान्दो(नन्दो) [10] श्रीकासादियो नरसिंग(स)शालकात(क)रचः। "जयति वर.

6 दमक्रितिनिर्मितमहाजन(नी) च[ल] [कमुख] (ह) "विशाखा लोकाकीरण चा (नम) गणमु.

7 सा(स्व)चित्रित(न)माराट्कृपित(रा) [10] नानादिमाश्मागत [क] [ह] [का] [च] [न] [त] "(1)

8 चवधाराववत्तु खुदरजननिर्मितम(भ) "एमितर्कुबे(क)तं तत्त [जेल] -

9 कामस्तर(चर) श्रीकरस्वासिकक(क) देवकुल चन्द्रः महाजनारिपत(ट) "

10 देवो च च[म] -

11 चर्चातुव (10) समवेच(क) देवकुल चित्रित(ब)वत[म] -


1 From the original stone.
2 Expessed by a symbol.
3 "सैं" is engraved above the line, while "या" of "पार" is engraved just below "पार". The sign of चा in "पार" is bent downwards and is different from other चा marks.
4 Read तिरहु "पारमामयू."
5 Read अतविकासिन.
6 Read नानादिमाश्मागत.
7 The "चा" of "चार" is written below the line under "चा". If we read "नानादिमाश्मागत" (In 1.6) then the metre would be Udgiti.
8 Read नानादिमाश्मागत.
9 Read प्रविक्ष.
10 Read देवकुल.
11 Probably चर्चातुव was intended.
12 Read कति.
No. 10.—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RANABHANJA—THE YEAR 22.

By R. D. Banerji, M.A., Benares.

These plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, in 1915-16. A summary of the contents of the inscription they bear, as drawn by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrī, was published in the Annual Progress Report of the Eastern Circle for that year.

The plates are three in number and are joined together by a copper ring to which is attached a seal (1¼" x 1½") which is ellipsoid in shape and bears the legend Sīr-Raṇabhāṇjadēvāsya. They are identical in size and measure 7¼" by 4½" each. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only while the remaining two bear inscription on both the faces. There are altogether fifty-seven lines of writing on these three plates, which are distributed as follows: the first plate has eleven lines, the second, eleven lines on each side; and the third, twelve lines on each side. The writing on the whole is neat and clear but each line abounds in mistakes due both to the composer and the engraver.

The record is written in incorrect Sanskrit. The first eleven lines of it are in verse. They contain four stanzas of which the first three are already known from the two Baudh plates of the same prince. These verses contain an invocation to Śiva and the genealogy of the donor. This grant mentions two ancestors of Raṇabhāṇja, namely, Śilābhāṇja and Ātrubhāṇja, while the Baudh grant (B) names only one, i.e., Ātrubhāṇja, his father. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Vāhiravāḍā which stood on the banks of the Mahānadi and was included in Dakshinapali and the Khīnjali-maṇḍala, to the god Vijaśara (Vijayśvara), by Mahādevī Vijyā (Vidyā) who was the daughter of the illustrious Rāṇaka Nivārma. The god Vijaśara is evidently a Śiva-liṅga and the donor, the wife of Raṇabhāṇja himself. The document describes Raṇabhāṇja as a devout worshipper of Vishnū, the tūlaka of the spotless Bhaṅja race and master of both the Khīnjalis, who had obtained the five great 'śabdās' whose feet were worshipped by the Mahāśāmantas and who had obtained the blessing of the goddess Stambhāvāri.

Mahānadi is evidently the well-known river of that name in Orissa. Khīnjali is mentioned in several Bhaṅja grants which have already been published. I am unable to identify the village Vāhiravāḍā.

The date of the inscription is, apparently, regular and is given in a half chronogram as Induvāk-viśanti varisē (=Indu-vāk-viśanti-varshē). Ordinarily this expression would denote the year 2011 of some era but the Baudh plates (B) which are written in the same script as this inscription would show that it stands for 22, vāk being taken in the sense of 1.

I edit the inscription from the original plates which were kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.I.E., the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa.

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2 P. 4, para. 5.
3 Above, Volume XII, pp. 323-28.
4 [But vāk (vāch) does not mean 'one' though it might stand for 'four' as it is supposed to have four stages, namely Pari, Patyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikhārī.—The reading, however, is not certain.—Ed.]
No. 10.] PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RAṆABHANJA—THE YEAR 22. 101

TEXT.

[ Metres :—Vv. 1-3, Vasantatilakā ; v. 4, Sārdulavikṛṣṭam ; vv. 5-19, Anushṭubh ; and v. 20, Pushpitāgrā. ]

First Plate.

2. tad-bhū(ḥai)ravam Ṣaṁ-
3. ra-vapu[ r̥ṣ ]-bhā[ḥ]hvataḥ prapāṭuḥ [ ] Durvāra-vāraṇa-raṇa-pratipa[kṣha-
4. pakṣa-la[*]kṣmī-haṭha-grа-
5. haṇa-suprasrīta-pratāpā[ h * ] Bhaṇjan(ān)-narādhipatayō va(ba)havau(vō) va
6. (ba)bhu(hū)vuruddhīta-
7. yō(yō) tra bhūva(vi) bhū(ḥū)ri-sahasra-sa[ m ] khyā[ h ] [ ] [ 2 ] Tēshāḥ kulē sakala-bhu(bhū)ta[ la * ]-pā-
8. la-mauvill(li)-māl-ārccchhit-āṁghri-jugalō vaḷavāṁ[ * ]ṛṇipō=bhuḥ(hū)t śrī-
9. Śilābhāṇjādēva[ h[*] ] pravaṁraṭa-[^ pauruṣa-ṛaśmi-chakra-nirdārit-śrī-
10. ḍrāvyā-vya niṭā ni *[ * ]Ja[ s * ]-tōjōbhir-yalanō =ryamā samatayā || śubhrāir-jjaśōbhi śaśi[*] [ * ]
11. aṁā sarvva-jagana-mana[ ]sthitatayā datt-āvakaśō viyajāta śrī-
12. Satrubhaṇja[ * ] ity-atula-dhī[ h * ] tasy-ātmajā[ h * ] Svayaṁmbhū(Śambhu)vata(t) ||[
13. 4 * ] Anyō-nya-mada-

Second Plate : First Side.

12. māṇa-milīta[ ]samuddhāta-ṛipā-chakra-chaturāṅga-va(ba)la-kahōbha-chali(li)ta-dha-
13. rā-manḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasaras-atu-la-dhūli[ ]-vitāṇa-saṁ-
14. chchhan[ n * ja-jany-āṅgana-ga[ja * ]-akandha-vēdikā-svayaṁmva(yamva)r-āyāt(ta.-)][ * ] paripīṭa-
15. ja[ya * ]-lakṣmī-

1. Expressed by a symbol.
2. Read Ṭṭatpatram.
3. Punctuation superfluous.
4. Read prapāṭu.
5. [Bhaṇजः narādhipatayो.—Ed.]
6. Read -āṅghri-jugalō.
7. Read balaśu-n-.
8. Read prakṣa-.
10. Read sthiratayā.
11. Read =yulamō-.
12. Read "yukṣākśi-"
13. Read "javan-\-manah-\-
14. Read viyaj-jātā-.
15. Read Satrubhaṇju.
16. Read "mīlīta-.
17. Read \-dālii-.

Read "dālii-"
15 samānandita-paura-jana-ma(ā)nasāḥ śrīmad-Bhaṇja-bhu(bhū)patiḥ purād-Dhṛtipurānā.

16 manaḥ[ḥ*] || Sa(Śa)rad-amala-dhavala-kara-yasaḥ-paṭala-dhavali-dig-va-

17 daṇḍa[nah] || Ā(A)nvarata-pravṛt(t)ā-sammāna-ś-dān-ā[na] * āndita-sakala-jano(ṇah) ||

18 Ā(A)nājan-a-vaṁ(n)a-prabhavāḥ Parama-vaiṣṇava(vō) mātā-pitrī-pāda(d-ā)nu-

19 dhyātaḥ[ḥ*] || Bhaṇj-āmala-kula-tilaka Ubbhaya-Khiṇjal-a(y-a)dhipati[ḥ*] sama-

20 dhigata.-

21 da[ḥ*] || Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇabhaṇīdēva[ḥ*] kuṣalī-[*] Ṣaiva Khiṇjali-maṇḍalē

22 bhavisyad-rāja-rāja(a)n-āntataṅga-kumāra(rā)mātya-mahāsāmanta-vrā(brā)hma-

**Second Plate : Second Side.**

23 ṛṇa-pradabha[n] ā[n] anyā[ḥ] jā-cha daṇḍapāśaka-chāṭha-bhāṭṭa-ś-vallabha-jātīnā || ya-

24 thārī[ḥ] mānayati vaidhayati[ḥ] samādissayati(śati) ch-ānyat || sarvataḥ[ḥ*] si(śī)vam-an-a-

25 smākaṁ || Vidyatama-as-tu bhavataḥ[ḥ] Dakh(i(kshi)ṇa-pa(pāli-pratīva(ba)ddha-ḥMa(Ma)hānādi(dī)-vi-ma-

26 la-jala-vijita-prakshālita-taṭa-Vāhina(Bāhira)vāḍā-grāma(ś*)[ś] chatul[ḥ*] jīs(aī)mā-paryanta-

27 nidhyā upanidihi[ḥ] sahitam(taḥ) mātā-pitrō-yatma-jaśa-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayā

28 salili-dhārā[ḥ] puraḥsarēṇa vidhinā Śrī-Vijaya-mahādevyā[ḥ]

29 [Para]ma-maṁśvarī(śavaryā) Rāṇaka-Śrī-Nīyārṇama-sutā(tayā) Vijāśarēṇa

30 datvā vidhi-vidhānēna sa-vidhāya-tāṃvraṇa-sāsana[ḥ] pratipāditō-yath || Pāraṁ-ma[ḥ]
31 parya-kulavatārēṇa ya(yā)vat-Vē sarvva-vachanēṇa yathā dharma(mā)[ḥ*] prarōhaṁti ||² śa(yā)

32 sanē(tē)na pratīnā(tanō)si sahasrēṇa virōhasi [[*] ēva[rh*] vup(bu)ddhā(dhvā) par-
ārddhaṁ-chā paratō

33 vahś-āvatārēṇa(ṇ-āpy-asmad-antarōr(um-parōdhād)-dharma-gauravā[ḥ*]-chā na kēnachī
amalp-āpi²

Third Plate: First Side.

34 vā(bā)dhā karaṇiyā | tathā ch-au(ch-ō)ktaṁ dharmaṁ-śāstrēśhu [||*] Phāla-krishṭā-
[rh*] mahī[rh*] dadyā[t*]-sa-

35 vija(jā)ṁ sasya-mōdina[rh*](śalinīṁ) | yāva[t*] su(sū)ryakrit-ālokaṇa⁴ tāva[t*] = svargga³
mahiyate | [† 5*]

36 Vēda-vām-asmayōjī⁵ vadanti rishī'-dēvatāḥ[†*] bhu(bhū)mi-hartrā⁵ tathā-sānyach-
cha ā-

37 hō mā hara mā hara , [†6*] Yathā-āpsu patitam Śakra tō(tai)la-vindu[r*]-
visa[r*]ppati i

38 ēvaṁ bhu(bhū)mē-
kritam dānāṁ sasya(syē) sasyē prarōhati | [† 7*] Ādityō
Varu-

39 ṇō Vishṇu[r*]-Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāśana[ḥ*] | Śulapāṅśa⁶-tu bhagavāṁ[t*]
-

40 bhīnandanti¹¹ bhu(bhū)mēda[m*] | [† 8*] Āspḥōtaṁa[rh*]tī pitaraṁ pravāgya(ga)-

41 nti pitāmaha(hāḥ) | Bhu(Bhū)mē-dētā kulē jātā(taḥ) sa mē trātā bhavīhy-
ti | [† 9*] Rvvaḥu-¹³

42 bhūr-vvasudhā dat[t*]ā rājānāḥ¹³ Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*]¹⁴ | [† 10*] Mā-ru(bhū)d-
apal-sānkhā ya paradatēśu

43 pālitaṁ¹⁵ | yasya-yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mē[a*]-tasya tasya tadā phal[a[rh*]
[† 11*] Sva-dat[t*]ā[m*]-para-dat[t*]ā-

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1 Read Vēd-ārthā.-
² [Punctuation superfluous. Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 324, l. 22 & f.n.—Ed.]
3 Read kēnachī smalp-āpi.
4 Read "āloka"².
5 Read "svargga".
6 Read vēda-uk-smrūtyayājīvā.
7 Read rishī".
8 Read hātā. [See above Vol. XII, p. 325, l. 40.—Ed.]
9 Read Śulapāṅśa.—
10 Read bhagavāṁ.
11 Read abhinandanti.
12 Read Bhuhūvā."¹²
13 Read rājahāḥ.

¹⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted. [The second half has been put as the second half of
the next verse, the latter half of which (viz. , śudānt phalām etc.) has been omitted.—Ed.]
¹⁵ Read bhūv—apal-sānkhā yah para-dattē śūrī nītāhā.
Third Plate: Second Side.

46 samplavaḥ(vab) | [1 13*] Bhu(Bhū)m[=m]* yaḥ pratigriṇaṭi yach(ḥ)-cha bhu-
-h(ḥ)m[=m]* prayachchati 1 ubhau tau puṇya-karmmanau

47 niyatau 2 s[=s]*jargga-gāminau | [1 14*] Haratē hārayatē bhu(Bhū)-mi[m]*
-manda-va(=u)dhis-tamā(mō)-vṛitaḥ | sa va(ba).

48 ddhō vāruṇaḥ pāda[u]*-tirya[g]*-yāni(n)iṣhu jāyatē | [1 15*] Mā pār-
thivaḥ(va) kadāchid[-dhi]* vr(a)hmasvaṁ mana-

49 sād-apī(sā api) | aneṣa padham*-abhaiva(sah)jyaṁ śat hālāhalah vishaṁ

| [1 16*] Ā(Na) visha[m]* visham-ity-ā.

50 hu[=h]* ν&rα(bra)hmasvaṁ visha[m]* ucyatē | visham-ekākinō(naṁ) hanti
-ν&rα(bra)hmasvaṁ putrapautri[tra]ka[m]* | [1 17*] Lauha-chu(chū).

51 rṣu-āśva 4-chu(chū)r̥ṇaṇi-chα vishaṇa-chα jāra(y)ḥ[n]*-naraḥ | ν&rα(bra)hmasvaṁ trṣ-
-shu lokēṣu kaḥ pumāṁ(n).

52 jāramāyaramishtyaḥ 5 | [1 18*] Vājapēya-sahasraṇi 6 y-Āśvamēsha-satānī

53 cha | gavāṁ-kōṭi-pradattēna 7 bhu(bhū)mi-hartta na śyudhyati 8 | [1 19*]
Iti kamala-dal-ā.

54 muv(bu)-vī[=v]*lōlā[=l]* ārīyaṁ*-anuchintya shantasya 9-jitvitaṁ-chα sakalam-idam-
udāhrītaḥ-chα

55 vudaiḥ 10 na hi purushaḥ parai(ki)ttā(tttā)yō vilōpyā[=h]* | [1 20*] Vijaya-
rājye saṁmva(samvat)sar-ēndu-vvāg-vi
d-vi

56 santi-varisē(varshē) uktimnaḥ 12-chα vaṁika(k)-suvarṇakāra-Sivaśaṇa(gēṇa) Pāṇḍi-suta
(tēṇa) 13* mahā.

57 rājākiya-mudrēgati 14 ||

1 Read bhūmē.
2 Read niyatah.
3 Read param-ahāra.
4 Read tēṇa.
5 Read *jārayāsyaṭiti.
6 Read *sāha: tēṇa-Āśvamēsha-satānī.
7 Read -pradattēna.
8 Read "saddhyati.
9 Read śrīgum.
10 Read maṇḍuṣya.
11 Read "uddhāra.
12 See note 4, p. 100 above—Ed.
13 Read uktimnaḥ.
14 Possibly meant for "mudrēga lāśchhitam—lit.—Ed."
No. 11.—THE KADAMBAPADRÄKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN—V.S. 1167.

By R. D. Banerji, M.A. 1

The inscription edited below is incised on two thick plates of copper which weigh 15 lbs. 7 oz. and now belong to Mr. J. J. Gardar of Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, who purchased them at some place in Central India, and lent to me in November, 1920, for publication. There are two holes in each of these plates through which they appear to have been once tied together by means of two rings like many of the Valabhi plates which have now been published. There is no seal attached to them but a kneeling figure of Garuḍa, holding a snake in each hand, is incised at the proper right corner of the second plate, as is seen in the Dharampurī plate 2 of Vākpatirāja of V.S. 1031, the Ujjain plate 3 of Bhōjādēva of V.S. 1078 and the Māndhātā plate 4 of Jayasimha I of V.S. 1112. The plates measure 12½ by 8" each and are incised on one side only. In all, there are twenty-nine lines of writing on them, seventeen being incised on the first plate and twelve on the second. The average height of letters is ½".

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses at the beginning, two in the middle and five imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is written in prose. It refers itself to the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara, the illustrious Naravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious Udayādityadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious Bhōjādēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., Sindhurājadēva.

The object of the charter is to register the grant of certain pieces of land given on different occasions to a Brāhmaṇa named Dvivēda Āśādhīrā, son of Nārāyaṇa of the Kātyāyana-gōtra and Madhyandina-tākhā. The gift-land consisted of twenty nīcārttanās given by the king Naravarmadēva himself on the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1167 (= Thursday, the 3rd February, 1110 A.D.) when this grant was issued. The charter also refers to a previous grant of twenty halas of land, out of which ten halas were given by the Mahāmaṇḍalika Rājādēva on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttikeya in the year 1154, four halas by his daughter-in-law, 4 the illustrious Mahādēvi, probably on the same date, and six halas by the king himself, on the 15th day of the bright half of Pausha in the year 1159 on the occasion of the Bhūtaraprana (Bhūtarātri?)-parvan. Thus, three different dates are mentioned in the inscription, probably, with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee up to the time when the present charter was issued. The gift-land lay in the village of Kadambapadraka which was in possession of the Mahāmaṇḍalika Rājya(ja)dēva and was situated in the pratijāgaraṇaka of Mandaraka in the Upāṇḍrapuramaṇḍala. The measurement was called a plough measure (hala) which was of ninety-six rods (daṇḍas). The length of the daṇḍa in Mālaw at this period is unknown. A town named Upāṇḍrapura is mentioned in the Ranod inscription 2 of the Mattamayūra ascetics which seems to

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1 [This article was taken up for publication after the sad and premature demise of the author and was revised by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy.—Ed.]
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 51 ff.
3 Ibid., pp. 53 ff.
5 [Probably sadāh is to be taken in the sense of 'wife' here.—N. P. C.]
6 [The correct reading seems to be Uḍogyaṭas-pārvaṇi. According to Swarnikancru Pillai's Indian Ephe-
meris, the udogyaṭas nukrini took place on Wednesday, the 24th December, A.D. 1102, i.e., two days before
the date given in the present grant.—N. P. C.]
have given its name to the maṇḍala. I am unable to identify either Kadambapadraka or Mandāraka. The grant was issued under the sign manual of the Mahārāja Naravarmadēva and the Dūtaka of the charter was Thakkura Kēśava.

**TEXT.**

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 2, 4 and 5, Anuṣṭubh; Vv. 3 and 7, Vasantatilaka; V. 6, Indravajrā; V. 8, Śālinī; V. 9, Pushpītāgṛā.]

**First Plate.**

1 Oṁ² svasti || Śrī[*]—jayō-bhuydayaś-cha || Jayati [Vyõ]makēś—sau yah sarggāya vi (bi)bharttri(ṛtti) tāṁ || aindavīṁ śīraś lēkhān jagad-vijāṅga sa kritiṁ || [I][*] 

2 Tanvantu vah Śmar-ārāṭāḥ kalyāṇam-anisān jatāḥ || kalp-ānta-samay-ādāta-ṭaddīvalaya-piṅgālāḥ || [II][*] Paramabhadvā(ṛṛatra) Mahārājā—

3 dhīrāja-Paramēsvara-śrī-Sindhurājādeva—vā(pā) ṛāṇudhyā-sta-Parana(ma)bhaṭṭāraka—Mahārājāḥ dhīrāja-Paramēsvara-śrī-Bhōjādeva—pāṇudhyā—

4 ta-Va(Pa)rambhāṭṭāraka—Mahārājāḥ dhīrāja-Paramēsvara-śrī-Udayādityādeva—pāṇudhyā-sta-Parambhāṭṭāraka—Mahārājāḥ dhīrāja—Pa—

5 ramēśvara-śrī-Naravarmmadēvaḥ kuṣalī || Upe[*]n]drupura—maṇḍalē Mandāraka—pratijāgaranakē Mahāmamāṇḍalika—śrī-Rājya(ja)deva—bhųyya(ya)—

6 māna-Kadambva(mba)padraka-grāmō samupagataśanamasta—rāja—puruhān—Vṛ(ṃ)hman—āntarān—{prāṭitinivas—paṭṭakila—janapadādī}[ṃ*]—cha vō(bō). || 7

7 dhayatasya vah saṃviditaṁ || yathā śrīmad-Dhār—vasthitair—asmābhīḥ snātvā charāchara-gurum bhagavatam Bhavānipatiḥ samabhya[*]jehchyam saṃsā—

8 rasy—āśārāṭā[ṃ] drīṣṭvā || Tathā hi || Vāt—abhra—vibhramam—iṃdāṃ vasudh—ādhipatya—


10 prāpya yē na dadas—tēśhāṁ paścāttāpāḥ param—phalāṁ || [IV][*] Iti jagatō vinašvaṃgāṃ svarāṇaṃ—sakalyaḥ—ādṛśhita—phalāṃ—āngkṛtyaḥ chand—ārkk—


12 Kapila—Viśva(śvā)mītra—ēti—trī—pravara—Mādhyaḥnidina—sākhd—ādhyāyi—Vṛ(ṃ)hman—Dvīr(Dvī)—

13 vēḍa—Nārāyaṇa—pautra—Dikshita—Dvāsama—(ś)rama—suta—Dvīvēḍa—Āśā(śā)dhara—


1 From the original plates and impressions.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read jagat-vij-āṅkura-āṅkrītim.

4 Read—samay-ōddāma—

5 Read—gatānasmadēva—

6 Read—ōttā⋆rā⋆m—

7 Daṇḍa unnecessary.

8 Daṇḍa unnecessary.

9 [Probably we have to read ṛṛṇud ... —N. P. C.]

10 Read āṭraḥ | ātś. 
15 śyā[ṛḥ] sva-bhūktō kasyitam vādhāpita(I)-bhū-hala-daśakati{-bhī}r̥vva\(^1\) Mahāman-
ḷalika-srī-Rājadēva-vadhū-srī-Mahādvēyā pū[ṛ]jvva-kal phê ta(ḍa).\(^2\)
16 tvān(tā) bhū-hala-chatushtyayadhika-sat-
t(a)i)kādaśaka-samvatsarē Pausha-sudī-
17 parīchādaśyā[ṛḥ] saṇītābhūtaraprana-parvyaṃ kasyitvatvam\(^3\) (I) bhū-hala-śaṭka
[ṛḥ*] | Evam yathāyathām bhū-hala-vi[ṛḥ*]ṣa-.\(^4\)

Second Plate.

18 tiḥ sa-sīmā-trīṇa[-yū]ti-gōchāra-parvyaṃtā sa-hiranyā-bhāga-hō(bhō)ga-sōparikara-savv-
āyā-samētā
19 savā(ṃtā)-piṭrōr-āṭmanās-cha punya-yāsō-bhidrī(ṛ)ḥdhayē īśanēn-ōdaka-pūrvva-
katyād pradattā \( [* \) Tē(Ta)n-matvā tan-ni-
20 vāsī-ptaṭkāla-janaṇadair-yathādiyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirāṇy-ādikē(ka)m=m-ājñā-ēra-
vana-vidhēy-air-bhu(hū)tvā sārvvam-anusmēn(ēhmai) samup-
21 nētavayaṃ | Śāmānyam ch=ait=puṇya-phalam vu(bu)dhvā asma[j]mannajair*=any(āi)r=\[ * apī bhāvi-bhōktiribhir-asmāt-p[ṛ]*]padatta-dha[r]*mm-ādāyō-yam-anumantavyāḥ \( [\) Yān-ṛha
22 dattānī purā narzendrār-dāṇānī dharmm-ārthā-yāsaskarāni | nirmāya-vānti-pratimānī
tāni kō nāma sādhūḥ punar-ādāntā \( [\) 6\(] * Asma-
24 t-kula-[k]*jamam-udāram-udāharadbhir-anyais-cha dānam-idam-ābhyanumōdanīyaṃ
Lakah[m]*jyās-ṭaṭid-valāya-vudvuda(budvuda)-chāmchālāyā dānam phalam para-
śaḥ(ya)śaḥ.
25 paripālanam cha | \( [\) 7\(] * Sarvān-ṛta(tān)=hā(bā)vināḥ pārthivēndrām-nripō nūyō*
yāchate Sa(Rā)mabhadrāḥ | śā(a)ṁyāṁ-śyāṁ dharma-sētūr-nripāṣāṁ kāle kāle
pa-
26 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | \( [\) 8\(] * Iti kamala-dāl-āmvu(bu)-vind[u]*-lōlāṁ śriyam-anuchira
(nya) manusya-jīvitaḥ cha \( [\)
27 sakalam-idam=udāḥ[ṛ]ta sa vudha\[^{6}\] na hi purumai[haih] para-kīrttayaō vilōpyā iti \( [\) 9\(] * Sarvān \( 1167
28 Māgha-(a)udi 12 | \( [\) * Do* | Thak[k]*]jura-śrī-Kēsavaḥ | Maṅgalarā mahā-śrīḥ
cha sriḥ ||
29 Svahastō-yam mahārāja-śrī-Naravarmmadēvasya ||

TRANSLATION.

Oṃ ḫail! (May there be) prosperity, victory and success. Let that Vyāmakēśa (Śiva), who,
for the sake of the creation, holds on his head the crescent of the moon which has a form like
the shoot from the seed of the Universe, be victorious (1). May the matted hair of the Enemy
of the god of love (i.e., Śiva) which is reddish like the fierce circles of lightning at the time

\(^1\) [I would read sem-bhēktō(ktna) kulpūto-ād-dāgīta[ṛh*] bhū-hala-daśakat[ṛh*] сидिन (I) Tāthā.\(—\)N. P. C.]
\(^2\) [I would read pū[ṛ]*]jvva-kal phê ta(ḍa).\(—\)N. P. C.]
\(^3\) [The reading appears to be "nī(U)ṣāgpra(ya)na-parvyaṃ Kasyū(ṛī)pita(to)a\(.)\(—\)N. P. C.]
\(^4\) Daṇḍa unnecessary.
\(^6\) Read vomad-vahajair. 
\(^7\) Read bhāgyo bhāgyo.
\(^8\) Only one daṇḍa is required.
\(^9\) Read vākṣītaḥ-cha buddhāā.
of the end of the world, grant you prosperity incessantly (2). The Paramabhaṭṭaraka-Mahārāja-
piṭaka-Paramēśvara the illustrious Naravarmanādeva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P.
the illustrious Udayādityaṇḍava, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. the illustrious
Sindhuśrīrajaṇa, being in good health, informs the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others,
Paṭṭakilas and inhabitants of towns, assembled in the village of Kadambapadraga which is
being enjoyed by the Mahāmāṇḍalika Śrī-Rājaṇa (and which is situated) in the pratī-
jāgaranāka of Mandaraka of the Upāṇdrapura-maṇḍala. Let it be known to you that
while residing at Dhārā, having bathed and worshipped Bhagavān (Śiva) the ruler of the world
and the lord of Bhavānī and having perceived the worthlessness of the world—as it is said, "This
ownership of the earth is (as transient) as clouds moved by the wind, the enjoyment of property
is sweet only for the time being, lives (of men) are (as unstable) as drops of water on the points
(of blades) of grass, Dharma is the only friend in the journey to the other world (3). Those who,
having obtained this fortune which is as unstable as the sharp edge of the moving wheel of
the world, do not give it (to the needy or the deserving), for them the only result will be great repent-
ance afterwards (4). So, having ascertained the transient nature of the world and having agreed
to the result of fate, with great devotion, twenty niyorattas of land, measured by the rod of
ninety-six pāraṇas in length (?) and forty-two in breadth (?) from the above-mentioned village1
are given by us, to last as long as the sun, the moon, the earth and the sea, to the Brāhmaṇa
Dvīvēda Āśādhara, son of Dīkshita Dēvarṣarman and grandson of Dvīvēda Nārāyaṇa, who
was an immigrant from Śrīpura, situated in the Middle-country (Madhyadēva), who belonged
to the Kātyāyana-gōtra with the three pravaras Kātyāyana, Kapila and Visāvādītra, (and) who
was a student of the Mādhyanandinsākkhā. Also2 twenty plough measures of land were given
by the Mahāmāṇḍalika, the illustrious Rājaṇa on the 15th day of the bright half of
Kārtika, in the year 1154, from land being enjoyed by him and therefore retainted (? vaddhā-
pita); also ten plough measures given by the illustrious Mahādevi, the daughter-in-law of the
Mahāmāṇḍalika, the illustrious Rājaṇa. So also four plough measures given in a previous
kalpa; so also six plough measures given by us on the occasion of the festival of Bhūtāraprana(?)
on the 15th day of the bright half of Pausha, in the year 1159. Thus, the twenty plough
measures of land, in its regular order, with its boundaries, with rights of grass, yūṭi and pastur-
age, with rights of mining gold, of shares and easements with additional taxes and with all other
income is given for the increase of the merit and fame of our own self and of our father
and mother, by means of a (copper)-plate after a previous libation of water. Having regard to this,
all shares, easements, taxes, rights of gold mining, etc., hitherto given by the Paṭṭakilas and the
townsmen inhabiting the place, are to be given to him (the donee). (Here follow the usual formula
and five imprecatory verses.) The year 1167, the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha.
The Dūtaka (of this grant was) Ṭhakkura Śrī-Kāśava. My own sign manual "the Mahārāja,
the illustrious Naravarmanādeva."

1 [The passage may be translated as 'twenty niyorattas of land from the abovementioned village out
of the forty-two (niyorattas) measured by the rod of ninety-six pāraṇas,' etc.—N. P. C.]

2 [The meaning of the word kalpa as used in the text is not certain. This term also occurs in the grants
of Bhūjādeva of V.S. 1078 (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 53) and Yāsōvarmanādeva of V.S. 1192 (Ibid., Vol. XIX,
p. 349). Possibly it has to be taken in the sense of 'settled' or 'fixed'. I would translate ll. 14-17 as
follows—

Additional twenty plough measures of land (were also granted). Out of these ten haelas of land were caused
to be given in his own bhūti by the Mahāmāṇḍalika the illustrious Rājaṇa on ..........from (his own)
settlement (?), four haelas of land (were given) by the illustrious Mahādevi, the wife of the Mahāmāṇḍalika
the illustrious Rājaṇa, from her previous settlement (?) and six haelas of land (are now given) by us on ..........on
the occasion of the udopayaṇa-pūrṇas from (our) settlement (?).—N. P. C.]
No. 12.—TWO SINDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENACHAMATTI, SAKA 1088 AND
SAKA 1109.

By R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A., Ootacamund.

These two records are engraved on a stone tablet lying in front of the temple of Isvara at Benachamaṭṭi in the Gajendragad State which is included in the Run taluk of the Dhārwar district. They are edited here for the first time from the manuscripts secured by me under the orders of the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1927-28. The first inscription covers an area of 2' 9½" by 2' 3½" and the size of each letter being about ¼" in height. The area occupied by the second inscription is 2' 3½" by 6½" and the size of each letter is roughly ¼". The latter is the continuation of the former. I am calling them A and B respectively for the sake of convenience. They are in a fairly good state of preservation excepting that some letters of B are lost at the right corner of the lower edge where the stone is broken.

Both the inscriptions are Kannadā records of the twelfth century of the Christian era. In A the long i is distinguished from the short one by an inside coil at the top as in pāṭhina (l. 1), Chāmdaladēvi (l. 19), etc.; the u-sign at times has a short downward bend by the side of the letter with which it is connected as, for example, in Chāvuṇḍa (l. 10), sudhā (l. 11), etc.; the a-sign is represented, in some cases, by a horizontal line at the bottom of the letter concerned with a curve on the left side and, in others, by a cursive upward stroke shooting from the bottom to the right end, as in Mandara-dhāiyāyam (l. 18), saṇyāsām (l. 26); the letters m, y and v have very often been represented by their special cursive forms as in bāṣyām (l. 6), ‘y-āliyām (l. 7), and dēv-aṇyatanamumāṇ (l. 37) respectively; the anusvāra is written by the side of the letter connected therewith in four places, i.e., in yenśīdayām (l. 19), kulanta-liyām (l. 29), dēv-aṇyatanamumāṇ (l. 37) and gāṇbhīrya (l. 42). The Orthography is generally free from errors. It may be noted that in A the engraver has filled up the space left at the end of lines 2, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 24, 35, 38, 41, 46, 49, 51 and 52 by the addition of a superfluous mark resembling the English letter S. In B the consonant ḫa is, in several places, wrongly used for ḫa, as in pāṭha (ll. 3, 5 and 6), kṛaṇāloṣu (l. 5), etc., and the letter te in Nōhila teradi (l. 4) is written like ḫe.

Excepting the first verse which is in Sanskrit, A is written in Kannadā poetry interspersed with prose in ll. 8, 10, 31, 32, 36-38 and 44-54. B is also composed in Kannadā poetry with a prose passage in ll. 10-16.

After the usual invocation to Śambhu (i.e., Śiva), A describes the ocean (ll. 2-3), the Jambu-dvēpa and the Mēru mountain (ll. 3-4), the Kuṇṭala country and its past kings (ll. 4-5) and the reigning sovereign Kālachurya Bijjaṇa who is stated to have wrested the royal glory from the (Western) Chāluṇyās (ll. 5-7). It then introduces Bijjaṇa’s son-in-law Chāvuṇḍa-nṛīpa of the Sinda family whose pedigree is given in lines 8-29. Further it tells us that, of the seven brothers—namely Ācharaṇa, Nāka, Sirgā, Dāsā, Dāvaṇa, Chāvuṇḍa and Chāva—Chāvuṇḍa was a powerful warrior and that to Ācharaṇa was born Bammarasa, a moon to the ocean of the Sinda family. His brother was the renowned Ācharaṇa (II), son of Sirṇha (or Singa). To him were born Perma by queen Mahādevī and Chāvuṇḍa (II) by queen Āmalaṇḍāvi. Of Chāvuṇḍa it is recorded that when the Hoysala king met him with a huge army, the Sindha prince destroyed its general together with other opponents and captured his elephants in large numbers. Again when the Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmanṛīpa waged a war against Chāvuṇḍa with a view to conquer him, he met with a crushing defeat and had to flee away for life in the forest. When Chāvuṇḍa was ruling his territory from his capital at Erambaḷage (which is compared in lines 28-31 to the celestial Amaṇḍavati, Ayūdhyā, Mathurā and Ujjayini), the Fifty Families of Telliṅgas extolled in ll. 32-36 constructed the

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temple of Teiligśvara in the south-east quarter of that town and made certain gifts to it after laying the feet of Chāndramauli-vratin of the Lākula sect, the āchārya of Sinhśvāra-maṭha, on the day specified in ll. 46-47 during the reign of the Kajachurya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjanadēva (ll. 44-45). Lines 38-44 give the genealogy of the Āchārya Chāndramauli-vratin as follows: —Vigrahśvara-vratin, his disciple Yogāśvārya-yati and his disciple Chāndramauli-yati.

Inscription B introduces, after prayer to the god Teiligśvara, mentioned above, Vira-Bijjala and Vira-Vikrama as sons of Chāvunḍa by Śrīdēvi and describes the elder of the two, namely Vira-Bijjala, as a great devotee of Śiva like Naṁbi² and Ohila³ and a scholar like Bāga (ll. 1-4). His wife was Tripurādēvi (l. 5). His brother Vikrama was a munificent donor and an invincible warrior looking majestic as if he was a Chakravartha (ll. 6-9). In lines 10-12, the two brothers are mentioned with the usual titles, Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara, Sāhasāṭṭhunga, etc., as ruling over Kusākūṭa-70, Bāgaśage-70, Kējashā-300, Nareyāṅgal-12 and Karividi-30. At the request of the Fifty Telligas and a certain Murhjaya-Sāhaṇi they are stated to have granted some land to the temple of Teiligśvara (ll. 13-16) on the date specified in lines 12 and 13.

The details of the date given in A are: —Śaka 1088, Vyaya, Pushya amāvāsya, Monday, Uttarāyana-samkṛānti and vyatipāta. They are not quite regular. The Pushya amāvāsya ended on Sunday at 96 and the Makara (Uttarāyana)-samkṛānti had occurred on Mārgaśirsha 30, Saturday (24th December). The date intended probably was Monday, 23rd January, A.D. 1167 which was a day of Kumāśa-samkṛānti in Uttarāyana.

The details of the date given in inscription B are: —Śaka 1109, the cyclic year Plavanagha, ................. chaturdāśi, Monday, Samkṛānti. According to Swamikannu Pillai's Epemeris, chaturdāśi combined with a samkṛānti did not fall on Monday in any of the months of Plavanaga. But, for Chaitra 14 which was a day of Mēśa-samkramaṇa, the details would be correct except for the week day which was a Tuesday. The nearest equivalent would, therefore, be 24th March, A.D. 1187.

The two inscriptions under publication are important inasmuch as they furnish in unambiguous phraseology the genealogy of the Sinda princes of Erambarage from Āchūgī I down to Vira-Bijjala and Vira-Vikramādiitya, sons of Chāvunḍa II. Inscription A reveals for the first time that Perrma and Chāvunḍa were the sons of Ācharaṇa II from different mothers, viz., Mahādēvi and Charīdulādēvi respectively and thus supplements the information contained in the Ron record of A.D. 1180, where they are represented apparently as full brothers. The genealogy given in A is in perfect agreement with the one gathered from the published records of the family, although an ambiguous verse in the Paṭṭadakal inscription "āṇa tamman Simgama-ṇa-lēśa-ṇa-patiy-āṇa-āmaśaṇa bhuvana-khyātām ............ negaṇa-Ācharaṇa " had led Fleet to introduce another Simhū (II) and make him the father of Āchūgī (II). Dr. Barnett

¹This maṭha was, apparently, named after Simha, a brother of Āchūgī I.
²Naṁbi probably refers to Sundaramāṭi-Nāyivā who was known as Naṁbi-Ārūr. See Tamil Lexicon S. V.
³Ohila was a great devotee of the god Sīmanātha in Saṅkṣhita. The story of his gullest devotion is narrated in the 43rd and 44th chapters of the Rasaga-Paṭṣhān of Bhimakavi.
⁷The Dynasties of the Kannada Diet acts, p. 573. Subsequently the mistake was rectified by him in a footnote on p. 336 of Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXX.
who has written an excellent note on the Sinda chiefs in this journal, evidently followed Fleet in this respect; but, while editing the Śūḍi inscription of the Kajachurya king Sankamadēva, he felt the incongruity of this interpretation and remarked "it seems to confuse Āchugi’s brother Śiṅga I with the former’s son Śiṅghī II." Since the Ron record edited by the same scholar states clearly that Ācharasa II was the son of Śiṅga, a brother of Āchugi I, he has recognised this difference as being only a variant version of the pedigree recorded in the Śūḍi inscription mentioned above. But it may be remarked that all the epigraphs, if understood properly with the aid of A, yield the same genealogy. The verse in praise of Āchugi II in A runs as follows:—


meaning that his (i.e., Bammara’s) brother was the powerful Ācharasa who was the son of Siṅha. This statement is fully borne out by the relevant portion in the Śūḍi inscription, viz., "vistarīsīdu-aliś Śiṅgarasa-āṭmajan-Āchugimāṇḍalēśvarāñ (l. 24), i.e., among them (allī) Śiṅgarasa’s son was Āchugimāṇḍalēśvara." As Ācharasa II is thus described in unmistakable terms to be the son of Siṅha without introducing any prince of the latter name before, excepting Āchugi (I)’s brother Siṅga, there is no other alternative but to suppose that he was the son of this Siṅga and consequently a cousin of Bammara’s. The expression ‘āṭana tamam’; must, therefore, be taken to mean his brother, i.e., the brother of Āchugi I.

We know from inscriptions at Arasibūḍi and Katgēri that Chāvuḍa had married three queens, namely, Dēmalādevi, Lakṣhmādevi, and Siriyādevi, of whom the last two were the daughters of the Kajachurya King Bījjala. He bequeathed to Dēmalādevi, Āchugi III and Permaṇi III and on Siriyādevi, Vīra-Vijjana and Vīra-Vikrama, the donors of inscription B. Vīra-Vijjana’s queen was Tīpurādevi. The portion containing the name of Vikrama’s wife is unfortunately broken off.

The Sinda chiefs who played an important part in the mediaeval history of Karnāṭaka began their political career as feudatories of the Western Chājuṣyas of Kalyāṇi during the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. The first prince of the family was Āchugi I who is described in the Śūḍi and Nidgundi inscriptions with the significant epithet “āṭmaṇḍajika,” thereby indicating that with him came into being the rule of the Sinda princes of Eranzhurage. From the fact that he is extolled as Vikramāditya kattī-alaṭu (a sharpened sword-edge of Vikramāditya VI) and that his son Bammara was, according to an epigraph at Savadi, ruling Kusukūḍu and other provinces in the Chājuṣya Vikrama year 7 (A.D. 1083), the origin of the family as a ruling power may be placed in or about A.D. 1076, the year of Vikramāditya’s accession to the throne. It is therefore not possible that the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Siṅgaṇṇadēva of a Nidgundi inscription who was governing Kusukūḍu-70 in A.D. 1076 under Bhuvanakamalladēva, could be identical with the Sinda prince Siṅga I as originally suggested by Fleet and still accepted by Dr. Barnett in his note referred to above. There is no evidence to show that Āchugi’s brother Siṅga ruled at all whereas it can be definitely inferred from

1 Above Vol. XIV, pp. 268ff.
3 The expression vistarīsīdu-aliś has been taken as one word and translated "In dwelling upon the excellence etc." See ibid, p. 112. But it has to be split up into two words as vistarīsīdu and aliś.
4 No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29.
5 No. 151 of the same collection.
6 No. 205 of the same collection for 1926-27.
7 No. 35 of the same collection for 1927-28 and the Śūḍi inscription mentioned above.
8 No. 2 of the same collection for 1927-28.
inscription A that Bannarasa, the son and successor of Āchugi I was succeeded by Āchugi II, the son of Sinaha to whom there is only a passing reference.\(^1\) Bannarasa had, according to the Paśadakal record, won the favour of the reigning sovereign, i.e., Vikramādiya VI and received from him a position of honour and rank in the State. His territory comprised Kusakādu-70 and Narayaṇgal-12.\(^1\) He appears to have died without issue as, otherwise, the Sindha throne would not have passed to the descendants of his uncle Sinha. From an inscription at Arasiyadi\(^2\) which states that Mahāmayalēvara (Avadārapara was administering under Vikramādiya VI, Kusakādu-70 and Karividi-30 in A.D. 1087, it may be surmised that at the time of Bannarasa’s death, Āchugi II was either a minor or not powerful enough to assert the rights of his family. Subsequently, however, he appears to have acquired possession of his hereditary provinces through the favour of Vikramādiya, which, thereafter, continued in his line till the end. Only three dates\(^4\), viz., 1113-14, 1121-22 and 1125-26 are known for Āchugi II who defeated, for his master Vikramādiya VI, the Pāṇḍya, Hoysala and other rebels. Thus it may be stated that the three chiefs from Āchugi I to Āchugi II were the feudatories of the Western Chāluika emperor Vikramādiya VI and took a prominent part in the conquests of their overlord.

After Āchugi II, the two brothers Pernādi\(^3\) and Chāvuṇḍa II held the Sindha territory as subordinates ofPerma-Jaṇḍakamalla and Trālōkiyamalla Taila III, respectively. It was during the latter’s reign that the Chāluika dominions were usurped by Kalachurya Bijjala who is described in A as having dragged by force the lady of the Chāluika sovereignty. Pernādi is stated in his inscriptions to have vanquished Kulaśekhara, besieged and decapitated Chaţa pursued Jayakēśi and seized the royal power of Hoysala Viañhuvardhana.\(^8\) The Ron inscription adds that he “captured the Hoysala king’s elephants as well as his treasure-waggons.” In the present record (A), however, the defeat of the Hoysala king’s army and the capture of his elephants are attributed to Chāvuṇḍa II for whom we have several dates ranging from A.D. 1151\(^1\) to 1168-70. Besides, he is credited with having put to flight a certain Pāṇḍya chieftain named Kāmakēva. These events must be different from those noticed above.\(^5\) For, it is natural that the Hoysala prince should again have risen in vengeance against the declining power of the Chāluikyas and tried to assert independence and that the Sindas, as faithful servants of the Chāluikyas, should have checked his aggression on the battle-field. And Kāmakēva, evidently Kāmakēva of Uchchangi, otherwise known as Vijayaṕāṇḍyadēva, who succeeded his brother Vira-Pāṇḍya sometime after A.D. 1148\(^8\) and lived on up to at least A.D. 1189\(^9\) was for a longer period a contemporary of Chāvuṇḍa II than of his elder brother Pernādi. It is worth noticing that Chāvuṇḍa, who had abstained from acknowledging the Kalachurya suzerainty in his earlier records dated before A.D. 1163,\(^1\)

\(^1\) Not a single known inscription has described Sinha independently except as the father of Ācharasa II. This would suggest that he never enjoyed any power.

\(^2\) Savādi inscription referred to above.

\(^3\) No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1923-29.


\(^5\) An inscription at Kōōpkop bearing an impossible date in Sandak 572 introduces this prince as a feudatory of Vikramādiya VI. Since we know that Āchugi was living in A.D. 1125-26, the last year of Vikramādiya, it may be presumed that he ruled conjointly with his father or his father must have died in that year so that Pernādi, who succeeded him, could become Vikramādiya’s feudal chief.


\(^7\) No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1923-29.

\(^8\) These exploits of Chāvuṇḍa do not find mention in other records of himself or of his sons. Excepting the defeat of Kāmakēva which is nowhere ascribed to Pernādi, the rest might as well be supposed to have been achieved by Chāvuṇḍa in conjunction with his elder brother as the latter is known to have accomplished similar acts.

\(^9\) Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 151.


though it was well established by then, had begun to recognise it by A. D. 1167, as is evident from the preamble to the grant portion of inscription A. It appears that he was holding the reins of government in conjunction with his sons Āchugi and P̄ermādi in A. D. 1163 when the Paṭadakal inscription was engraved. It is not known under what circumstances the Sinda chieftain passed to the sons of Siriyādēvi after the death of Čhāvunda II.

Čhāvunda’s rule must have ended in A. D. 1169-70, for we find his sons Vira-Bijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama ruling over Kiskukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, and Keḷavadi-300 in A. D. 1170 as recorded in the Aihole inscription¹ dated in Vīrōdhin, corresponding to the 94th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, whereas an epigraph from Hirēmaṇṇur² bearing the date Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169) introduces Čhāvunda as a donor of some gift. Further the Harti inscription³ of Vira-Bijjaṇa dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in his 7th year fixes the date of his accession sometime in Vīrōdhin. Vira-Bijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama appear to have ruled conjointly as is shown by the preamble to inscription B which states that both the princes were ruling together from their capital at Eranharage. This is corroborated by other inscriptions also.⁴

There are, however, a few epigraphs⁵ which were issued by the two brothers independently of each other. But this does not vitiate the above conclusion inasmuch as joint rulers could make donations separately as well. There are reasons to hold that the two princes were very young when they were invested with power. Two inscriptions at Nīḍgundhi⁶ with dates in Śaka 1094 (A. D. 1172) and Śaka 1096 (A. D. 1174) style them as kumāras and introduce paṭṭamahādēvi Siriyādēvi as making some gifts in conjunction with her two children. This seems to indicate that their mother Siriyādēvi was actually governing the Sinda territory as regent during their minority.⁷ That they were children then, as said above, is rendered quite probable by a record⁸ of A. D. 1220 in which year Vikramādiya was still holding the Sinda dominions under the Yādava Siṅganaḍēva, after a rule of not less than fifty years.

It is significant to note that inscription B does not mention any overlord but proceeds to describe the two brothers straightaway as if they were independent rulers. After the Kalachurya usurpation which lasted for twenty years, the Sindas retransferred their allegiance to the Chalukyas under Somēsvara IV, who revived his ancestral sovereignty in A. D. 1183. Sometime after this date, the Chalukya territory appears to have again become a prey to the constant attacks of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri on the north and the Hōysalas of Davarasmudra on the south. During this period of turmoil, the Sinda princes must have declared independence. This is indicated by the expression “Čhakravarti-paṭāv-patiy-inn-ītan-enal-evev-irmsv-khimata-yāsām Vīra-Vikramādēvanipālām” in inscription B which means that the powerful Vikrama was then the fit person to bear the title of Čhakravartin. But this independence did not continue long, for we find from the Arunigere and Gadag inscriptions of Yādava Bhillamaḍēva, dated respectively in A. D. 1189 and 1191, that the Yādava king held the country south of the Malaprabhā and Krishnā as well as the northern provinces, thus precluding the possibility of the Sindas remaining free and unassailed. Since Jauṅgi counts his reign from the latter date, Bhillama must have died in that year probably in an encounter with Vīra-Ballāḷa. This is proved by the existence of Vīra-Ballāḷa’s record at Gadag.

² No. 4 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.
³ No. 57 of 1926-27 of the same collection.
⁴ Ibid, No. 221 of 1926-27.
⁵ Two and Harti inscriptions mentioned above.
itself dated in A. D. 1192 and by the statements contained in his Anagir inscription of A. D. 1203 representing Bhilama as having been killed in the fight. The Harihar inscription of his son Narasinha II adds to his father’s conquests the capture of all the strongholds between Soraftur, Eranbarage, Kurugarjot, Gutti, Bellittage, etc. From this it is evident that Vira-Ballala had successfully wrested from the Yadava king some portion of the territory which the latter had taken from Somesvara IV, subjugated the Sindas of Eranbarage and made them pay homage to his banner. The Yadasas, however, were not keeping quiet all this while. They were biding time to reclaim the lost country. Jaitugi’s son Signagaundava who carried his conquests far and wide led an expedition against the Hoyasalas during the last days of Vira-Ballala and snatched back from him the portion of land lying to the south of the Krishnâ and Malabarhâ and even extended his arms farther south as is proved by his inscription at Balaghavre in Mysore, dated in A. D. 1215. This event must have taken place in or about A. D. 1210 for, an epigraph at Döig states that the sixteenth year of Signagaundava’s entry into that tract corresponded to the cyclic year Vijaya (A. D. 1226). This statement proves that the Yadasas were once again in possession of the territory under contest which must have included Kusakâdu-70 of the Sindas. That the Yanda chief became their subordinates and continued to acknowledge their suzerainty till the end is clear from a stone record at Kajakapantagudja in which the Yinda Vikramâditya figures as a feudatory of Signagaundava in the latter’s 21st regnal year falling in Vikrama, i.e., A. D. 1220. Nine years later, we find Mahârâdhâna Vâsuvedâ-Nâyaka ruling under the orders of Sinhâna, Eranbarage “which had caused itself to be called the capital of Kusakâdu-70” 8. Presumably the Yinda prince Vikrama had passed away between A. D. 1220 and 1229 and his territory was then annexed to the Yadava kingdom, thus ending the rule of the Yinda chiefs after a glorious career of about 150 years.

From the facts set forth in the foregoing pages, a revised genealogy of the Yinda princes with dates is reconstructed below for the sake of ready reference.

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X
  | Acharasa I
  | Nakâ
  | Singa
  | Dasa
  | Dava
  | Chavuna I
  | Chava

Bamaarasa
(A. D. 1083)

  | Acharasa II
  | (Achugi II)
  | (A. D. 1112, 1121-22 and 1125)

by Mahadewi

| Perma
| (A. D. 1144.)

  | Chavuna II (A. D. 1161 and 1167)

( Married Demaladevi, Lahmâdewi and Sârijâdevi.)

| Achugi III
| (A. D. 1163.)

  | Permadû
| (A. D. 1163.)

Vira-Bijana
(A. D. 1166 and 1187.)

Vira-Vikrama
(A. D. 1192, 1193 and 1203.)
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1 No. 193 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29. Among the descriptive epithets applied to Vira-Ballala in this record occurs the expression “BhIlama-bala-jaladdi-baKandna am”.
4 No. 79 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak collection. See also A. S. E., 1927-28, p. 141.
6 No. 200 of 1926-27 of the same collection.
No. 12. TWO SINDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENACHAMATTI, SAKA 1088 & 1109

The following places and subdivisions are mentioned in the two records:—the celestial Amaravati, Ayodhya, Madhure, Ujjaini, Erumbarapurah, Kalluru, Kisukadu-70, Bagadage-70, Kejavadi-300, Nareyanganal-12 and Karividi-30. Of these Kalluru is the modern village of that name near Mushiğeri in the Ron taluk of the Dharwar district. On Kisukadu-70 and Karividi-30 see Fleet’s exhaustive note in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, pp. 259 ff. Bagadage-70 comprised a portion of the modern Bagalkot taluk in the Bijapur district with Bagadage, i.e., Bagalkot as its chief town. Kejavadi-300 derived its name from its chief place Kejavadi which is at present a small village in the Badami taluk of the Bijapur district. Nareyanganal-12 was a small circle of villages with its headquarters at Nareyanganal, i.e., the modern Naregal in the Ron taluk of the Dharwar district. The remaining places are too well known to require any remarks.

TEXT.

A

1 Nama-s-tunga-sirnas-chunbhi-chandha-chamaras-charavē | trailokya-nagar-arambha-mulajastabhaya Sambhavē || [1]** Vri || Vulnthat-pāthina-puchcha-sphurita-
2 gurutar-āśphala-s-āśphara-kōljha-nirryad-dhairyā-nakra-krama-kasāpa-nishām-ōru-
3 nirēbha-bhikrīchhajalha-hast-āghātamasta-
4 prakaṇṭhina-kamathā-bhāṇtā-nirmmukta-āvīlā-vīchhi-sāṁchhayām kah-en-esedudek-
5 bahāla-dhvāna-raudra-amudrah || [2]** Tad-vārdhāi-chāru-pa-(S)-
6 rikhā-sadvalayitam-enisi nāde sogaysuvudu Jāmbūdvipa-v-ali chäru-kubhrīd-
7 varan-en nāde Mēṟu-giri ranîjusugum || [3]** Ā Kanak-lāri.
8 ya tethkal-Bhū-kāntā-kunthal-ōpamaṃ Kunṭalaj-saṅt-ā kāṁṭa-vishayā-raksharām-
9 Kaliyugadallī puṭṭidār-Chālukyar || [4]** Ā Chāḷukyana-mahi-
10 sarindē balijinā durvītāram geldu dāṭrī-chakram nege bāṁṇisal-bhujā-
11 bal-āvastha-mhadrahī Kunthalārvī-chāntchach-chatur-āṅgana kachā-samakarṣa(S)-
12 grahaṃ Biḷḷaṇa-Śri-chakrē-varanām opputirppan-daṭaṃ vīdviṣha-viddrāvapaṃ ||
13 [5]** Ā Tach-chakravarttiy-ālam sath-charitam viṣada-kirtti Chāḷuṃdhā-ōpimanaṃ
14 nīcchhaṇa.-
15 galī Kali-kāla-viyach-charan-en pesarin-eśevas-ī vasumatiyō || [6]** Ā mahānubhāvan-anvay-āvatarav-emh-emhade Āchuh-
16 gi-bhūmi-pājana sah-ōdarar-apratima-pratāpa-bhūp-āchala-vajra-damḍar-enē Nāka-
17 nripaṃ nripa-tunga Siṅhag-āṭm-ōchita-vikra-
18 maṃ negaḍa Dāsarasam kali Dāvāpaṃ jaya-Śri-chatur-sriyam vībh-
19 Chaṇḍarasam guni Chāva-bhūhām || [7]** Avarolage || Ahit-ōdyad(S)-
20 bala-jalaṅkaṃ kadanadōr-mārṇu tāgali-mahā-mahīmā sūḷige-goḍu kōpad-odavih-
21 konda-ikki vidviṣharaṇaṃ mahīyōl-tāldī sūḥ-ān-
22 ānu-nirmāja-ūsah-Śri-kāntiyam saṁtatam mahāniyam kali Chaṇḍiṣa-bhūpan-
23 esевam śri-Sirnḍha-varṇā-ōddhavam || [8]** Ka || Avarolage-Āchara-sangun
24 (S)-
25 dhavaisan-adhika-pratāpa-nidha jaya-lakṣham-pravatam Barhmārasam kirtti-vilajam
26 Sirndā-vārdhī-vārdhdha-chaṇḍram || [9]** Āṭan-anujātan-avanί-khyātah(8)
27 śri-Siṅḍha-jātan-uddhata-rīpam-samghātah-hati-niratan-enisidi-enat-tējam prat-
28 tapidhīl-Ācharaśam || [10]** Ant-emisid-Ācha-bhūpana kāntam
29 daya-vamta, bhāgia-vamta niťāntam ānte naya-vamta sat-kula-vamta
30 Mahādēvī-emba pesariṇḍ-en eseva || [11]** Vri || Ācha-mahībhujāntaṃgav-
31 eseva ā
16 Mahadévĭgav=udgha-vikramaṁ kho-ĉara-kīrtti saṁbhavisadāṁ kāli Perma-
mahidharāṁ manojñī-ācharaṁ ran-ōdhata-viruddha-nrīpāla-ja-la-bā-
17 lākā-ločhana-nirṛgaṛa-vimala-lōla-jal-avila-sāragar-anagamam || [12]** A Perma-
bhūpan-saunjam rūpa-Manojñī manojñī-guṇa-gaṇa-yu-
18 ktaṁ vēpīta-ripa-ripa-bhrday-āḷāpam Chāvunḍha-maṇḍal-ēśan negajām || [13]**
Mandara-dhariyam ripa-arpa-bhrunda-śīrah-kadukā-āńśī-ka-
19 jitaṁ Charmedalāurvī-hūtapam ama-śīnd-ōjvala-kīrttiy-enisaśāṁ Chāvunḍaṁ || [14]**
Munis-ābhiṣa-ripa-śiṣṭa-śatva-śradhā-rajaṁ-
20 jhānīṣaṁ vanadhi-prāvīta-kīrtti sāndra-vikarat-kālīya-pāp-āndhakāra-nirāj-ōjvala
chandha-dhihitī lasad-dānam budha-brātā(3)-
21 dausthya-nag-ōdhhadana-vajrā-āgal-esvaram Chāvunḍha-bhūpālaṁ || [15]**
Samar-ōdhyā-bal Hoysala-kṣhitpa-sen-anikām-ōmb-āgī
dikramadīṁ tāge parākrama-krama-yuṭam Śīnḍ-āṇavay-ānabhodhi-ĉamhradanaṁ
ērvatī tudd-īśanā mandarāṁ kōnd-ūgra-mattā-e-
22 bha-saṁgham-anādam pīdidaṁ pratīpa-tapanam Chāvunḍha-bhūpālaṁ || [16]**
Vṛi || Bhṛugaṇam saṇā-buguvaram bhaya-ūttudan-ikki nilu-
23 varam vāruvadīṁ-īñā-taṁ bapramanāṁ āṁśat-irīyalke pāsi sad-vīraṇaṁ-yeḍe
kōnd-eseva mīsagāṁ huri-gondā gahā perṇḍarā-
24 man-āḷda Śīṛnda-kula-mahājanano paḍīya-appy gahār-ār || [17]** Nija-
chaturbala-gadbadhīṁ bhuj-balā-prakshobhadhīṁ Pāṁdyan-ājī-jay-ā-
25 kāṁkaheṭin-yeḍe vandho kudūpīṇḍam tā[ge] Chāvunḍha-bhūbhunjan-e-kā
āṁgade gelda sainyam-aṅādam kariṇ-ūttudāṁ bīṣṭu nirvījayaṁ
26 Kāma-nripālaṁ-ōdīdan-svayam beṁgoṭṭu kāl-vaṭṭeyin || [18]**
Varhita[v-I]hādraniṁdaṁ-Amaravati Rāghhavanimā-Ayōdyhe
27 Gōvīṁdanim-uḷvajan-Madhure Guttanim-Uṭjayanipuram Marunmahādananirḥam
Hastinapuram nege rāhhīṣuv-ante sanṭectaṁ Śīṛnda-Chavunḍaṁ-
28 bhūbhunjanim-oppamam-āḷadud-Erāmbarāpuram || [19] Dēvakulaṅgāṁ [va
vadhūkuḷa-harmya-saṭaṅgāṁ mahīdeva-grihamāṅgāṁ Dhana-
29 pati-prabha-vāṣya-kadamba-gēhadīṁ pavanavat-tapō-vana-tapō-dhana-sālegaṁ
kange-vandh-i vasudh-āgrado] saṇa virāḷyṣut-irppu-
30 d-Erāmbarāpuram || [20]** Allī || Telliṅgar-ayvatt-okkal-sal-lalita-guṇ
32 ta-sīt-ābhra-kīrtti-vallabhar-eniper || [21]** Mattaṁ || Vṛi || Sārań-āẏēt-ādri-
raķeshā-keshama-saraṅaṁ-uddahā]-vīdviṣha-duṣṭ-ōtkara-
33 kāntāra-pradāha-prabalatara-mahōĨcr-āṇājar-Śambhū-Śrībhach-ĉarā-āṁbhōjāta-gunjat-
su-ruchistara-rēlamba-
34 rēnd-ēṇdu bāsvad-dhāray-sivatt-okiḷam takkaran-ātisayāṁ kīrttikun
mecheh ničheham || [22]** Sujana-stutyapar-su(su)-satya-bratar-āparimīt-
āṁbhā-sad-dharuma-
35 varnumm-prṇāpīja-śāṅk-āṇāja-mādā-pramudita-vimala-svāṁṭer-śūnṭya-ādeva-dvīja-pād-
āṁbhōja-pājā-nīrtas-enute kay-vā(8)-
36 rādiṁ kūre bāṁdu-braja-vivatt-okiḷam tannipūd-vānu-talam medihe
śaṅḍadāṁdīṁnaṁ || [23]** Va || Aṅtuyu pogaite-vadēd-sivatt-ōkkagal-ēka stha-
37 rāgijī-Erāmbarāpuram-śāna-dg-rvibhadgoj Telliṅgāvaram-dvāva pratish-
ṭheyaṁ tad-dv-āyatanamanāṁ mādiśarā sthānār-ā-
38 chāryya-appa Chaundramaulidēvara gurukul-śanvayav-emt-emndače || Math-
neya-valiyoh-situ-stutam-anusaha-yās(S).
39 n-āṣrit-āṣrayam kali-kāl-ōtpaṁna-Lakulīsa-enipam satña-maṭi Vigra-
hēvāra-bratī-jākaṁ || [24] Tat-pāda-kamaḷa-sēvā-tatpā-
40 ran-anavya-charita-Aṅgaja-kudhār-ō(r)dyat-pavi Yōgēsvayaty sat-pūmnyam
41 śishya bhū-mahitaṁ naśahṭik-āgra-gaṁyam vibudha-stōma-sura-bhumān-
Aṅgaja-sāmaja-gaja-vairi Chaundramauli-yatīṇārāṁ || (S) [26]||
42 Niḍa-dān-ṣūnata kalpa-bhūja-tatiyaṁ mūla-brataṁ stutya-Vāyu-jaṁnaṁ sat-
yav-ananidhā-Satyatapanaṁ gāmbhiryayav-anbhodhiyam tri(tri)-jagad-byā-
43 pta-yastha śaś-āṅkā-ruchiyaṁ kīl-māde rārajīpaṁ vijit-ōdyat-Kali
Chaundramauli-yatipama vidvaj-jan-aik-āśrayaṁ || [27]||
44 Vachana || Svasti [||] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha ma-
hārāj-ādhirājā paramēvāra parambhaṭṭāraṁ Kajachuriya-kula-
45 kamaḷa-mārtirāḍaṁ kadana-prachandhaṁ nām-ādi-samasta-prāṣasti-saṁtaṁ
śrī-mat-Tribhuvanamalla Bijjadēvara vijaya-rājyaṁ-
46 ttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarāḍhamānaṁ-a-chaund-ārka-tāraṁ saluttam-ire [||] (S)aka-varsha 1088-neya Byaya-sahvatarasa Pusyad-amāvāya(S)
47 Sāmaviṣav-uttārayaṁ-saṁkrānti byatipātad-aṁdu śrī-mat-Telligōś-
varāvarga Telligar-ṣayatt-ōkkalagā-ēka-sahāragī Sīhās-
48 rada maṭhād-āchāryya-appa Chaundramaulidēvara kālaya karecchi
dhāra-pūrvvakaṁ mājī biṭṭ-āyav-emt-emndače [||] Durḍina-ōkkatuṁ talaṁ-o-
49 kkalum devasav-alav-enmē gāṇadalli sūlasav-eradu dēva-gāṇad-ōkkalallī
devasav-alav-enme sūlasav-ōndu chaitra-paviṛtanga(S)-
50 lōju gāṇadalli visav-ōndu gāṇam meṭṭuvarallī vīṣav-śīdu maṭhakke
barā-ābhīgyatattaṁ nāḍava mūnshyārā-sāhā-dānakkī tiṅgaḷing-ōkkā-
51 lgalo lōla koḷagav-ōndu Kallītra bāttōyīṁ paḍuvala...... pahd-ījuva
ōntaṁ mātta-ōndu Dēpāvalīya pasvavadallī(S).
52 y-ōkkalou-emmē māṇev-ōndu mālīgēyolag-anmüṛvvar-Svāmigā biṭṭ-āyam honge
koṭṭavvaralī-ādakey-ōndu kōṁḍaya(S).
53 raḷiḷi-ādakey-ōndu emiṣa dhoregallī pratyēkav-adakey-ōndu tva-
buligav-viṭṭ-āyam bhāndīg-ele nūru hē-
54 rīṅge nūru tal-e-voreg-aiy(ai)vaṭtu dēva mūndaṁ-amadgaḷy-eradu ||

B.

1 Śrī-vidita-Telligōśvaradēvaṁ manam-ōsedu kuḍuge rājya-śri-

2 yaṁ [||] bhū-śinuta-Vīra-Bijjalaśvarāṁgaṁ Vīra-Vikrama-kṣhitiparamaṁ
[||][||] Nuta-gūpa-Chāvuraḥ-ōrvē-patīgaṁ Sīrīdēvīgaṁ kumāraṁ-kkān-
[ñum] || gatiyeem-
3 ne puṭṭidar-ā(h)bhūpāṭi-Bijjala-Vīra-Vikrama-śavipāḷu || [2][||] Avaroṇu
piṛiyam Bhāv-ōḍhava-rūpaṁ Vīra-Bijjaṉ-ōrvē-nāthaṁ [||] Śīva pada-
paṅkaṇa-satpadaṅ-akhila-stūta-ki-
Verse 1. Invocation to Śaṁbhū.

V. 2. The ocean, terrific on account of excessive roar, looks fair to the sight with voluminous billows mixed with pearls that are tossed about by the motion of tortoises with stout heads, by the slashes of fearful trunks moving to and fro of the big water elephants that are seated, and by the rubbings of the feet of crocodiles losing courage at the increasing tumult caused by the blows, rendered heavier by the movements of the tails, of the wallowing pāśāna fishes.

V. 3. Encircled by the beautiful ditch, the ocean, Jaṁbūdvīpa looks highly charming; in it the Mount Mēru appears very attractive as if he is the best of all beautiful mountains.

V. 4. To the south of that golden mountain is Kuṁtaja, resembling the lock of hair of the lady Earth. Of such a charming land the Chāḷukyas were born the protectors in the Kali age.

V. 5 After the Chāḷukya kings (had passed away), the illustrious emperor Bijjapa the scarer of enemies, looked majestic seizeing the braid of hair of the handsome and clever
lady, the land of Kunatala by resorting to strength of arms, after conquering the refractory (chiefs) so as to be highly praised by the whole circle of Earth.

V. 6. The son-in-law of the emperor was the well-behaved prince Chaivuunda of white fame, a tough warrior, renowned on earth as a Gandharva of the Kali age. As regards the genealogy of that high-souled (hero):

V. 7. King Achugi's brothers, viz., prince Nakka, Sirdga, the chief of kings, the famous Dasarasa endowed with valour befitting his rank, the valiant Davana, king Chaivu-marasa, a handsome lover of victory and prosperity and the virtuous prince Chaiva were (powerful) like a thunderbolt to mountains, the kings of incomparable prowess. Among them

V. 8. The brave king Chaivuunda, born of the Sinda family, ever praiseworthy shines on earth with the splendour of fortune and fame unsullied like the nectar-rayed (moon), looting and crushing the foes in furious rage when the confederacy of hostile armies met him in fight.

V. 9. Among them, to Acharasa was born Bammarasa, a moon to increase the ocean, the Sinda (lit. age), brilliant with fame, a repository of great prowess and endeared to victory and wealth.

V. 10. His younger brother was Acharasa of exceeding splendour who, born of the illustrious Simha and renowned on earth was, on account of his valour, (known to be) ever engaged in killing the hosts of haughty foes.

V. 11. The wife of Acha-bhupa, thus described, was known by (lit. shore with) the name Mahadevi and was of noble family, prudent, extremely calm in disposition, kind and possessed of good fortune.

V. 12. To king Acha and the beautiful Mahadevi was born the powerful prince Perma, famed like a Gandharva, exceedingly brave, pleasing in conduct, who rendered the battlefields impure with pure and rolling tears proceeding from the eyes of the young wives (lit.-girls) of the collection of enemy kings who rose in battle.

V. 13. The younger brother of that Perma-bhupa was the renowned chief Chaivuunda a Cupid in form, possessed of a number of excellent qualities and who was a woe to the trembling hearts of the enemy kings.

V. 14. Chaivuunda, son of Charandaladevi, courageous like Mount Maadhara and expert in playing with the rows of balls, the heads of the groups of hostile kings, attained fame glowing like the clear moon.

V. 15. The king Chaivuunda was, when exasperated, a storm to disperse the gathering of clouds, the formidable hostile kings, a brilliant ray of the moon to remove the enveloping and dense darkness, the sins of the Kali age, with fame encompassing the oceans. (A bestower) of magnificent gifts he shone like a bolt to tear asunder the mountains, the vanities of groups of scholars.

V. 16. When the army of the Hoysala king who had prepared himself for battle met him bravely with a united front, prince Chaivuunda, the moon in the ocean of the Sinda family stepping forth valiantly (lit. with valorous steps) rushed through, burning like the sun, killed its general and other opponents and, further, captured groups of fierce and intoxicated elephants.

V. 17. What hero, indeed, would equal the ornament of the Sinda family who was the master of valiant marauders that stimulated themselves by twisting their moustaches after destroying completely brave warriors, feeling disgusted to fight and kill those that were timid, those that sought his protection, those that cast away their garment through fear and stood (helpless) and those that got down on earth from horse (back)!

V. 18. Puffed up at (the strength of) his fourfold army and itching with the might of his arms the Pandyya chieftain started immediately and met king Chaivuunda with force to conquer him
(Chāvunja) conquered (his) army single-handed. Seeing it king Kaṇa threw off his garment and losing (hopes of) victory fled by the forest track turning his back.

V. 19. Just as Amarāvatī looked ever beautiful with Indra who was bowed to (by all), Ayodhya with the descendant of Raghu (i.e., Rāmachandra), the lovely Mathurā with Gṛvinda, Ujjayini with Gutta and Hastinapura with the son of Mārut (i.e., Bhūmaśena), so also Erāhrāpara attained much gracefulness with the Sind chief Chāvunja.

V. 20. Erāhrāpara shines greatly on the face of this charming earth with temples, numerous palaces containing groups of maidens, houses of gods on earth, i.e., Brāhmaṇas, and of the hosts of Vaiṣyas who resembled Kubera (i.e. wealth) and with the hermitages of ascetics in sacred groves of penance.

V. 21. There, Fifty Families of Telligas (i.e., oilmen), endowed with pleasing virtues and possessing brilliant fame (bright) as white clouds, were like bees on the pure and full-blown lotuses, the two feet of Śiva.

V. 22. Further, the bright Earth is ever pleased with the deserving Fifty Families and praises them high saying "They are like the ocean capable of protecting the mountains, the refugees, like the intensely furious conflagration powerful enough to burn away the forests, the turbulent foes and chief villains, and like the handsome bees humming in the lotuses, the beautiful feet of Śambha.

V. 23. Groups of (their) relatives extol with gestures of hands the Fifty Families so as to be well appreciated by the whole world saying, "They are worthy of praise by the good, avowedly truthful, armoured with piety and inestimable conduct, gladdened in their pure hearts at the innumerable delights of their wives and are ever busy in the worship of the lotus feet of gods and of devas"

V. 24. There was an ornament of ascetics named Vigrāhasvara of much extolled intellect, who was greatly praised (his) respectable family, an abode of refugees, and was known as Lakṣūla born in the Kali age.

V. 25. The meditator on his lotus feet was the righteous Yogeśvarayati of blameless conduct, a bolt lifted up at the mountain, the Cupid, a sun to the lily of Lākūla (i.e., works of the Lākula sect).

Vv. 26 and 27. The disciple of that excellent muni was the best yati called Charhdramul, the sole resort of learned men, who has conquered the rising Kali; his generosity surpassed the group of desire-yielding trees, his vow of (sustaining on) roots, the praiseworthy son of Vāyu (i.e., Hanūmān), his truthfulness, the unblamable Satyata, his serenity, the ocean and his fame pervading the three worlds, the lustre of the moon.

Ll. 44-46. Hail! When the victorious reign of the illustrious Tribhuvanamalla Bījapadeva, an asylum of the whole world, Land of Fortune and Earth, possessed of all the laudatory titles like Mahārājanīrīja, Paramāsāra, Paramabhaṣṭāra, a sun to the lotus of the Kailashchuriya family, terrible in fight, was advancing in the course of continuously increasing prosperity as long as the sun and the moon last.

\* Manes may also be taken to mean a particular sub-division of the teacher's lineage.
L. 46-48. On Monday, the new-moon day of Pushya, which was the day of Uttarayana-sarnkarânti and Vyapita in the cyclic year Vyaya corresponding to the Saka year 1088, the Fifty Families of Telligâra met together and granted the following income with the pouring of water to the glorious god Telligârâvara after laying the feet of Chandramaulâdevâ, the achârya of Simhâsvara-mathâ.

L. 44-52. Each family in Cantonment and Town (should) each day measure out two sojas of oil for an oilmill; in the family (maintaining) the god's oil mill, oil measuring one sojas (should be received); five visas on an oil mill for (the offering of) chaistara and povitra; and five visas from every one of those that press the mill; one kolaga of iuvarry per month from each family for conducting the feeding of people (i.e., guests) that come to the mathâ; one matarr of garden situated at............west of the path leading to Kallârâ; on the sacred occasion of Dipârâjâ, one mâna of oil from each family (should be received).

L. 52-54. The income granted by the Five hundred svâmins in (their) storehouse: for every gold coin, one areca-nut from sellers and one from buyers; one areca-nut from the counting officers each time (they count). The income granted by the dealers in betel-leaves: a hundred leaves for one cartload, a hundred for a bullock-load, fifty for a man's load and two shops in front of the temple.

B.

Verse 1. May the glorious and famous god Telligârâvara grant with kindness the prosperity of kingdom to the world-renowned Bijjâlalâdevâ and king Vîra-Vikrama.

V. 2. There were born to king Châvânsâ of reputed virtues and to Sâridâvi (two) sons namely, king Bijjâla and king Vîra-Vikrama as if they were the (two) eyes or (two) goals of life (of their parents).

V. 3. Of them, the elder was prince Bijjâla, a Cupid in form, a bee in the lotus feet of Śiva, with fame sung by all and an ocean of polity.

V. 4. King Vîra-Bijjâna trusted Śiva like Nambâ and was like Ōhila, a devotee who did not observe any religious rites—what more—he was learned like Bâra.

V. 5. This prince Vîra-Bijjâla of increasing fame, a shaft in the hearts of his foes and an expert, foretho, in the sixty-four arts was the husband of Tripurâsvâdi.

V. 6. King Vîra-Vikrama looks majestic with fame extolled on earth ............ as if he was then the (proper) lord (to bear) the title of Chakravartin.

V. 7. If (the name of) a tiger is taken (to compare his valour with) he would mock at it, he would .......... host of serpents, oppose in a fitting manner.............and cow down the Death God. O! God! Vîra-Vikrama is indeed a veritable warrior.

V. 8. Who, indeed, can survive............(after witnessing) the force of the prowess of his arms? Who does not shrink in power? Who does not run away helpless after opposing (him) in battle? Who does not tremble or be perturbed in mind and will not .......... offer everything of his own? What person is there that does not stretch his hands for the gifts of the renowned Vîra-Vikrama?

V. 9. The powerful chief Vîra-Vikrama gives (gifts) to one that praises him; protects if one sees his shelter and is a beautiful swan to the lotus plant............dâvi who equalled Lakshmi.

Lines 10-12. Hail! When the illustrious Mahâmaṇḍalâdevâ, Sâhasottaru, Bhujabalâ....

............king...............ladéva and Vîra-Vikramâdevâ, possessed of all the laudatory birudas, were ruling in their capital Brahmarâge, with the diversion of pleasant conversation, Kiskuṣalu-70, Bâgâra-70, Kelaâvi-300, Nareyârangâ-42 and Karividi-30.

L. 12-16. On Monday, the auspicious day of Sârkarânti, the fourteenth day........

............in the cyclic year Plaviraga, corresponding to the Saka year 1109, Bijjâlalâdevâ
and Virā-Vikramādēva..................granted at the request of the Fifty Families as sara-
namasya, with the pouring of water and with immunity from all claims, twelve matra of land
field by the pole (measuring) twenty-seven (?) spans, on the north of the land of god Jagatēś-
vara, to god Telligēśvara of Eranharage, the fortunate town existing from times immemorial
(anādi-pattana), and at the request of Murjēśvara-Sāhāni, one matra of paddy land to the
west................

No. 13.—DAWOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADĖVA; [HARSHA—]
SAMVAT 207.

BY
R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription was found engraved on a large stone lying in a field at the village of Dābōk,
eight miles to the east of Udaipur in Mewār. It was removed to the Udaipur Museum by Rai
Bahādur Gauri Shankar H. Ojha, and I edited it from the ink-impression, which he so kindly placed
at my disposal.1 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noticed it in this journal.2

The record contains fifteen lines of writing covering a space of about 3 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 7 ins.
The average size of the letters is ½ in. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets,
commonly known as Kuṭila lipi. They are almost similar to the Jodhpur Inscription3 of Pratihāra Bāuka. Palaeographically, the inscription is important, as the date given in it contains
the letter-symbol of 200, which is worth noting. The language is incorrect Sanskrit and, ex-
cepting the two imperative verses, the whole record is in prose. In respect of orthography,
the following points may be noted—consonants are doubled after r, as in Durgādēvyā (l. 4),
mārgya (l. 9), etc.; and before r, as in -puttra (l. 2), kshetram (l. 5), etc.; s is written for s,
as in śvarasya and sāradya (l. 4), and for sh, as in śādhyā (l. 13), śatavīśa (l. 14), etc.;
the anusvāra is used for n in asminh- (l. 1), chanḍrākka- (l. 11), etc., and is redundant in
-vidhīyatā (l. 11), and harām- (l. 15); m is written for v in -nimi (l. 3), etc.; rules of sandhi
are, as a rule, violated in almost all the lines. The upadhmāniya is used in punar-ādātaya (l. 14).
Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The inscription is of the time of Śrī-Dhavalappadēva, who, as shown by the titles Parama-
bhāṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramātman, appears to have been a paramount chief. The record
is dated in the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the Samvat 207. The
object of the inscription is to record the grant of some fields and, probably, shops, too,
by Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman, a resident of Dhavagartā (the present town of Dhōr
in the JAΗJzpur district of the Udaipur State) to the temples of the god Mahāmahēśvara and
the goddess Durgā called Ghatēvasīni.

As the era to which the year belongs has not been specified, the date cannot be ascertained
with certainty. The characters, however, are of a period not earlier than the 5th or 9th century
A. D. In consideration of this fact, the date can be referred to the Harsha era, in which several
other inscriptions4 of Rajputānā are dated. In that case the date would correspond to
Monday, the 8th August A.D. 813. The family to which Dhavalappadēva belonged is not
mentioned in this inscription. From the Dhanōp inscription5 of Chachcha, dated Samvat 1063

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1 The impression is not very clear. Consequently the reading is not free from doubt in several places.
2 Above Vol. XII, p. 11.
3 Above Vol. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.
4 See Annual Reports of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for 1916-17 and 1919-20, 4(3) L.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 174
DEBOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADÉVA.

(A.D. 1006), we know that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ruling over Rājputānā in the eleventh century A.D. We also know from the Sirūr inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I that Gōvindarāja III conquered Kērala, Mālava, Gūrjara, etc., as far as Chitārakūṭa (Chitēr in Mēwār). This would show that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan held their sway over some parts of Rājputānā in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Possibly the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Dhanōp, which is near Mēwār, were related to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, and Dhavalappadēva may also have been related to them. His name seems to be of South-Indian origin.

The epigraph under notice describes Dhanika as the son of Guhila, who then ruled over Dhavagartā (l. 2). The Chāṭṣū inscription of Bālāditya mentions a Dhanika as the son of Guhila. One Dhanika figures as a local ruler in the inscription dated Samvat 887 (A.D. 830), recently discovered at Nāsūn in the Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwara, but, there, he is described as the father of Isānabhaṭā. The Dhanika of the Chāṭṣū inscription was the great-grandson of Isānabhaṭā. Consequently there must have been two Dhanikas and two Isānabhaṭās.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows:—

After making an obeisance to the god Śiva and giving the date as the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the samvat 237 (200 in letter-symbol and 7 in figure), the first five lines state that, during the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhiraṇya Paramēśvara Śri-Dhavalappadēva, Vaidya Gīyaka, son of Nāgādāman of the Kāγastha family and an inhabitant of Dhavagartā, which was being ruled over by Dhanika, a Guhilot, made permanent endowments of some tāradyagraishika fields (the fields that can be tilled in autumn as well as in summer) to two temples—one of Mahāmahēśvara established by him (Gīyaka) and the other of Durgādevī previously established by Vaidya Vatēdēva. Lines 4-5 inform us that the above fields were in the share or inheritance of Chachchha (probably one of the sons of the donor). In lines 5-10 are given the boundaries of the fields and of the two shops. Lines 10-11 tell us that the fields were granted for the increase of religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents, as also for the repairs and maintenance of the above temples. In lines 12-13, the allotment of the fields and the share of their produce is made. The fifteenth or the last line tells us that the inscription was engraved by Vṛiddhināga, son of Vaidya Gīyaka.

TEXT.

1 भोष मत्वि श्रावयरं सं २०० त राजपन्धूर्ति २ चर्चविद्वि (भिन्नित्र)वसे
   परमब्हट्टारकाराधिकावकाराधिकारीक (प)वयादेवप्रपशिन (ह)

2 मानाने नुक्रियमाणाने शीघ (च)निक्कलोपुर्शुक्लामनायपयय (उ)वगर्ताणवात्स्वविद्विनवनमानकट

3 जालम रोमोकविवैवसर्वानन्याफायलोकयनिरोधी (ल)प्रयक्तिधि
   ज्ञानिन्ययम्य रारितदेवद्रोषीप्रतिबिंकतय (क)देवानन्याफामलम् (म)

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2 Names ending in ppa generally denote the names of persons of South India; for instance, oppo (above, VI, 117), Tālippa (ibid., III, 217), Dhōrappa (ibid., II, 217), Dādiappapa (ibid., II, 217), etc. Such instances are rare in northern India. The name Dhavalappa also occurs in a grant of Kṛishṇa II (ibid., I, 53), but he must be a different person.
4 From the impression.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
4 ॥ ॥ तत्त्वा ॥ च ॥ पूर्वतरंवैधव्यः (मृ) देवकारितेदंकोपिनितं ॥ पिताया ॥ चतवायिनीनामीपेद्वृंद्विः ॥ च ॥ एर्कायामःसंस्कृति (श्री) ॥ सरस्वतिकिष्कियानीपूर्वसुक्मां (श्री) ॥ शुच्यः

5 ॥ मानः ॥ भाषांमटवेश्यः ॥ श(सं) ॥ पुराणां ॥ शीष्यां ॥ शीिबधादायः ॥ श(सं) ॥ यथावाटानि ॥ पुराणः ॥ (श्री) ॥ अतवर्गेऽवकटाच ॥ अर्थादिष्टान् ॥ पर्वमतः ॥ (श्री) ॥ पूर्वागम्य

6 ॥ पञ्चाकाँ ॥ उत्तरात (तो) ॥ वर्णः (कृ) ॥ तथा ॥ नागार्जुनभार (क्र) ॥ चाप्तितानि (श्री) ॥ शारस्वतः (श्री) ॥ शिखरकृतिः ॥ पुप्पकः (विशालः) ॥ दशामहाब्रह्मवाणवेश्यः ॥ वाचः ॥ दशिष्टानि (तो) ॥ नराश्रयेऽवकटाच ॥ उत्तरात (तो) ॥ भ्रमणविशालकृतिः ॥ तथा ॥ श(सं) वगुत्तानः

7 ॥ दशिष्टानि (तो) ॥ वाचिकांशि ॥ चरितः (क्ष) ॥ पुप्पकः (तो) ॥ नराश्रयेऽवकटाच ॥ श(सं) ॥ च ॥ दशिष्टानि (तो) ॥ राजकृति (क्ष) ॥ पर्वमतः (श्री) ॥ पुराणः (क्र) ॥ जीवानि ॥ उत्तरात (तो) ॥ वर्णः (क्र) ॥ तथा ॥ बकुतरात्सः ॥ चाप्तिताणार्थादिष्टानि ॥ श(सं) वगुत्तानः (श्री)

8 ॥ गार्तः ॥ दशिष्टानि (तो) ॥ राजकृति (क्र) ॥ शककुस्कु (श्री) ॥ पर्वमतः (तो) ॥ वाचः ॥ उत्तरात (तो) ॥ राजकृति (क्ष) ॥ तथा ॥ पघोष्ठादकवादकाम्पकु ॥ पूर्वात उत्तरात (क्र) ॥ अभावाच्येऽवकटाच ॥ दशिष्टानि (तो) ॥ पर्वमतः (श्री) ॥ विखुम्येऽवकटाच ॥ दशिष्टानि (श्री)

9 ॥ मतः (तो) ॥ राजकृति (क्र) ॥ उत्तरात (तो) ॥ गोर्जेश्वरः ॥ तथा ॥ श्रास्त्रवेश्वरः वेश्वरः ॥ दशिष्टानि (तो) ॥ श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (क्ष) ॥ पुप्पकः (तो) ॥ पर्वमतः (क्र) ॥ श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (श्री) ॥ उत्तरात (तो) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ एत तः

10 ॥ तुशारादनोक्तिः (क्र) ॥ तत्त्वाधीनां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ गुमुलां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ तथा ॥ स्वात्त्वाधीनां स्वात्त्वाधीनां ॥ श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ तत्त्वाधीनां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ एत तः

11 ॥ श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ तत्त्वाधीनां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ गुमुलां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ तथा ॥ स्वात्त्वाधीनां स्वात्त्वाधीनां ॥ श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ तत्त्वाधीनां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ एत तः

12 ॥ दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ गुमुलां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ तथा ॥ सम्बधीनां श्रास्त्रशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ तत्त्वाधीनां दशिष्टानि (क्र) ॥ प्रथा (क्र) ॥ एत तः

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1 Read भार्ज्याज्यायां लिपिक्रियायां।
2 'सं' is written below the line.
3 'ह' is written below the line.
4 Read वास्तवीरसः।
5 The stroke is redundant.
No. 14.—FOUR CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

By Rai Bahadur Hiralal.

Impressions of the four inscriptions, edited below, were forwarded to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, who received the plates from the Ruling Chief of Chakkrhari State, Bundelkhand, Central India, through the Director General of Archaeology in India. No details as to their provenance were available from the State office records. For the sake of convenience, I am here noticing the inscriptions in their chronological order.

A.—CHAKKRHARI PLATE OF DEVAVARMADEVA: [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1108.

This charter is incised on a large copper-plate, 18½" by 12½", with its corners rounded off and weighing 360½ tolas. The plate is surmounted by a copper-hook, 2½" long, which is rivetted to it and holds a ring 2½" in diameter. Just below this is carved the figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with raised trunk. Under her seat is inscribed the sign-manual Śrīmad-DēvaVarmmadēvaḥ sva-hastāḥ in two lines. The figure occupies a space, 4 inches long and 3 inches high, just in the middle of the first 6 lines. Each complete line is on the average 16½" long.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgari characters, their average size being ¾". The language is Sanskrit. But there are numerous mistakes in spelling, etc., some of which appear to be due to the oversight of the engraver. There is a palpable instance of the latter being influenced by local patois, viz., the Bundelkhandi Hindi in which jē is still used for the Sanskrit yē, of which it is an exact equivalent. In line 21 the engraver had used the correct form but in the next line the more familiar vernacular word asserted itself. The orthographical peculiarities are similar to those which the late Dr. Kielhorn pointed out in editing another copper-plate charter of the same king issued a year before the present one.7 The latter was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death, while the present record was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the religious benefit of himself and

1 Probably this word is connected with draṇaṇa.  
2 Read व्य.  
3 Read व्य.  
4 Metro, Indranajāra.  
5 Metro, Avamjōbā.  
6 Read व्य.  
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 206.
his parents. The date of this record is Sapvat 1108 Mārgašīra śudi 15, Sūma-dina. On this day the Chandellian king Dēvavarman Deva, Lord of Kāliṇījara, meditating on the feet of Vijayapaladeva who meditated on the feet of Vidyādhara Deva, offered water to the names of his ancestors, worshipped Śūlapāpi or Śiva and gave the village Bhūtapallikā, situated on the bank of the Yamunā river in the viṣhaya of Nava-rāṣṭra-māṇḍala, to Pañjita Kākkaṇa of the Krishṇapātra-gōtra with 3 pravasas whose ancestors had emigrated from Kum-bhaṭbhaṭagrāma. This Brähmaṇa was ever ready to expend the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsas, the Purāṇas and Mīmāṁśas and was devoted to shat-karma (shat-karm-abhiṣkara), the prominent mention of which leads me to infer that he practised Yōga, which is more awe-inspiring than the ordinary six duties of a Brähmaṇa.

The localities mentioned in this record have not yet been identified, excepting Kāliṇījara, whence the record was issued, and the Yamunā river on whose bank the village of Bhūtapallikā was situated. Both of them, viz., the fort of Kāliṇījara and the river Yamunā or Jumna are too well known to require identification. The mention of the latter indicates sufficiently the locality of the village and the district in which it was included. Dēvavarman Deva was the 12th king of the Chandella dynasty and, if this record shows anything in regard to his capital and extent of his dominions, it indicates that he lived in the Kāliṇījara fort and that his rāj extended at least up to the Jumna in the north. But almost the same conclusion is derivable from his other record referred to before and those of his predecessors, an account of which has been given by the late Dr. V. A. Smith in his exhaustive essay on the history and coinage of the Chandella dynasty. But it may be noted here that in his zeal to show the great antiquity of the Chandella dynasty and its kingdom Jējākabhakti—the designation was later on changed to Jajhauti and taken as given after Jēja or Jayaśakti, the third king of the line—he has fallen into a blunder, to which enthusiasts, however great, are sometimes liable. In his article he has attempted to prove that Chih-chi-t'o, visited and described by Yuan Chwang in 641 or 642 A.D., was no other than Jijhōti. This would mean that the country was named after a king, who was born about 200 years later, as according to him Jēja ascended the throne about 860 A.D.

**TEXT.**

1. चांदे नमः विवाह || चांदे परमधिकाम्बराचारिरराजपरमेश्वर(ख) ||
   चांदे (ख) वादनवात्त्वः तत् च परमधिकाम्बराचारिरराजपरमेश्वर(ख)  

2. चांदे चांदे चांदे चांदे चांदे चांदे चांदे चांदे  

3. परमेश्वर(ख) चांदे (ख) चांदे चांदे चांदे (ख) चांदे (ख) चांदे चांदे  

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1. This date is irregular. According to Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indus Ephemeris', V. S. 1108, Mārgaśīra āś, 15 fell on Wednesday, the 20th November of A.D. 1051, with no lunar eclipse on that date. The date in V. S. 1109 would correspond to Tuesday, the 8th December, A.D. 1052, when there was a lunar eclipse.
2. The six hātha-yāga practices are:
   - Dhautir-basti tathā nātī nāulikā trākalas-tathā
   - kapāla-bhūtu ch-ālāni shat-karmānām samākṣara
3. Ā. See Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary under shat-karma.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 131. The kingdom was known as Jajahuti (Jajahūti, Jijhōti).
4. ख्याससहस्रके चट्टोपाद्याधिके चाकावेश १०८ । माणसिर(शीव)स(य)दि ॥
5. । साधुदा(श) [१०८] चाकावेश ॥
6. । कालिजर(तु) शक्तिशाली ले वर्तमाने शा(श)सन्दर्ता नायामय(?)
7. । एकाः[१०८] स्व(य)द्रव्य(क)द्रव्यनिश्चितसिद्धारादाः
8. । रंतिदमः विष(श)द्वित सवर्णवर(चर्च) कल्याणव(श)क्षायस्र(श)
9. । वलितद्रव्यानुवर्तन(न) व(व)विल्लकिर्ती(स्वर्णीय)व कः
10. । नक्षोघराडाणविश्वा(श)त(त)कृतिः[१०८] सुविद्धवर(चर्च)सम्भवः
11. । गद्यविही(चर्च)पर(चर्च)कृपसुभायबुधः(श)परकुटःसहायः
12. । (च)सुः[१०८]
13. । सुविद्धवर(चर्च)वसिन(चर्च)लामानतुसिनच(श)तिः[१०८]
14. । विस्तारपी विस्तारचन्दन(श)नीच(चर्च)को विदेशमेव(चर्च) विदेशमेव(चर्च) परमाणुः[१०८]
15. । वृत्तिः[१०८] विदेशमेव(चर्च)वृत्तिः[१०८]
16. । स्व(य)द्वित सवर्णवर(चर्च) कल्याणव(श)क्षायस्र(श)
17. । नक्षोघराडाणविश्वा(श)त(त)कृतिः[१०८] सुविद्धवर(चर्च)सम्भवः
18. । गद्यविही(चर्च)पर(चर्च)कृपसुभायबुधः(श)परकुटःसहायः
19. । (च)सुः[१०८]
20. । सुविद्धवर(चर्च)वसिन(चर्च)लामानतुसिनच(श)तिः[१०८]
21. । विस्तारपी विस्तारचन्दन(श)नीच(चर्च)को विदेशमेव(चर्च) विदेशमेव(चर्च) परमाणुः[१०८]
22. । वृत्तिः[१०८] विदेशमेव(चर्च)वृत्तिः[१०८]
23. । स्व(य)द्वित सवर्णवर(चर्च) कल्याणव(श)क्षायस्र(श)
24. । नक्षोघराडाणविश्वा(श)त(त)कृतिः[१०८] सुविद्धवर(चर्च)सम्भवः
25. । गद्यविही(चर्च)पर(चर्च)कृपसुभायबुधः(श)परकुटःसहायः
26. । (च)सुः[१०८]
27. । सुविद्धवर(चर्च)वसिन(चर्च)लामानतुसिनच(श)तिः[१०८]
28. । विस्तारपी विस्तारचन्दन(श)नीच(चर्च)को विदेशमेव(चर्च) विदेशमेव(चर्च) परमाणुः[१०८]
29. । वृत्तिः[१०८] विदेशमेव(चर्च)वृत्तिः[१०८]
30. । स्व(य)द्वित सवर्णवर(चर्च) कल्याणव(श)क्षायस्र(श)
31. । नक्षोघराडाणविश्वा(श)त(त)कृतिः[१०८] सुविद्धवर(चर्च)सम्भवः
32. । गद्यविही(चर्च)पर(चर्च)कृपसुभायबुधः(श)परकुटःसहायः
33. । (च)सुः[१०८]
34. । सुविद्धवर(चर्च)वसिन(चर्च)लामानतुसिनच(श)तिः[१०८]
35. । विस्तारपी विस्तारचन्दन(श)नीच(चर्च)को विदेशमेव(चर्च) विदेशमेव(चर्च) परमाणुः[१०८]
36. । वृत्तिः[१०८] विदेशमेव(चर्च)वृत्तिः[१०८]
37. । स्व(य)द्वित सवर्णवर(चर्च) कल्याणव(श)क्षायस्र(श)
38. । नक्षोघराडाणविश्वा(श)त(त)कृतिः[१०८] सुविद्धवर(चर्च)सम्भवः
39. । गद्यविही(चर्च)पर(चर्च)कृपसुभायबुधः(श)परकुटःसहायः
40. । (च)सुः[१०८]
41. । सुविद्धवर(चर्च)वसिन(चर्च)लामानतुसिनच(श)तिः[१०८]
42. । विस्तारपी विस्तारचन्दन(श)नीच(चर्च)को विदेशमेव(चर्च) विदेशमेव(चर्च) परमाणुः[१०८]
43. । वृत्तिः[१०८] विदेशमेव(चर्च)वृत्तिः[१०८]
44. । स्व(य)द्वित सवर्णवर(चर्च) कल्याणव(श)क्षायस्र(श)
45. । नक्षोघराडाणविश्वा(श)त(त)कृतिः[१०८] सुविद्धवर(चर्च)सम्भवः
46. । गद्यविही(चर्च)पर(चर्च)कृपसुभायबुधः(श)परकुटःसहायः
47. । (च)सुः[१०८]
48. । सुविद्धवर(चर्च)वसिन(चर्च)लामानतुसिन�(श)तिः[१०८]
49. । विस्तारपी विस्तारचन्दन(श)नीच(चर्च)को विदेशमेव(चर्च) विदेशमेव(चर्च) परमाणुः[१०८]
50. । वृत्तिः[१०८] विदेशमेव(चर्च)वृत्तिः[१०८]

1. Read "दरिवाळिर (?)
2. Read "शैव (७) च चापेक्षता (भविष्यति) (?)
3. Strokes not required,
4. Read "कालियोऽशीर ()
5. See Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 197.
These are two copper-plates having raised rims (\( \frac{3}{4} \) high) rivetted to them. Each plate weighs 180\( \frac{1}{2} \) tolas, but their sizes differ a little, the first measuring 14\( \frac{1}{4} \) by 11\( \frac{1}{4} \) and the second 14\( \frac{1}{2} \) by 10\( \frac{1}{2} \). The former contains 18 lines of writing against 14 of the latter. On the first plate there is a figure of Lakṣmī in the middle of the first three lines, and at the bottom, a round hole in the middle of the last line. In the second plate space was left for a hole, but it was never made and hence the plates were not strung together as was originally intended. The size of the letters in the first plate is \( \frac{3}{4} \). They are smaller and more beautiful than those in the second plate, to cover the whole of which the engraver Pālhaṇa, a skilful artisan, as he calls himself, had had to raise the size to \( \frac{3}{4} \). In the case of the Mahōbā plates of Sanvhat 1230, I remarked how Pālhaṇa worked up his way from the position of a pītalāhāra to that of a vijñānatī, and this time, i.e., six years later, he raised himself to the position of a vaidagdhī-vātivakarman. Despite this, there is hardly any improvement in his engraving. The fact remains that the

\[1\] Read शादनेन.
\[2\] Read य्युषरः.
\[3\] Daṇḍa not required.
\[4\] Ahov, Vol. XVI, p. 10.
\[5\] [The Ichchhāwar plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, pp. 208 n., l. 38) also give this epithet.—Ed.]
letters va, dha, cha and ra have been so formed as to cause confusion with one another, for instance, in l. 4 Paramarddiddēvō has been engraved as Paramarddiddērō. Ba has not been at all distinguished from va and the symbol for the medial u has been sometimes so broadened as to give the appearance of a ta, e.g., bhūvē (l. 17). In the text letters or their parts are, in some cases, omitted in consequence of which the sense is also affected. The anusvāra and the rēpha have been in many cases omitted through sheer inattention, cf. shat-trī[ṃ]*jān (l. 8) and Prithvīca[r]*jāmā (l. 3). On the whole the record is well written. The language is Sanskrit and the text is similar to the one found in other records of the same king. The composer of the record or rather the adopter of the prescribed form, with necessary changes, was one Subhānīda Vāstavya, who was probably a relative of Prithvīdhara Vāstavya, the writer of some of the previous records of Paramarddiddēva.

This charter was issued from Vilāsapura and records the grant of Sagaudō village situated in the district of Kirāyida to a number of Brāhmaṇas, whose forefathers had immigrated from Mutāutha-Bhaṭṭāgrahāra, by the P. M. P. Paramamāhēvara Paramarddiddēva, meditating on the feet of the P. M. P. Madanavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Prithvivarmadēva, descended from the heroes Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti of the Chandrātēya (Chandellā) lineage. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents on Monday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the Vikrama-Saṃvat 12361 which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th March 1178 A.D. The record does not supply any new information worth being mentioned and which is not given in the numerous inscriptions2 of this king which have already been found. [It is interesting to observe here that in the gift-village exception was made of the five halas of land gifted to Buddha (l. 14) for that would show that a Buddhist monastery was in existence there and was endowed with that land.—Ed.]

Of the localities mentioned in it, Kālaṇjara is too well known to require identification. Kirāyida may be Kirādi, 5 miles from Mahōbā. I have not been able to trace Vilāsapura, Sagaudō and Mutāutha villages.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 [चो] सखित || जयवाद्यद्विनवसे विलेखश्चर्यरोक्तः || चन्द्रशिवमध्राम || संपितः सचिवः || [१२०] तच प्रविषयः-

2 ने विरोधविग्नीः(य)चालितेऽविज्ञाविनयमवादिदीरविप्रभावमवाध् प्रमभा

3 अपरमश्रवस्योपज्ञव्यवस(स)देवदात्तपरमभावकरकरकाराधिराधायिनिः

4 दात्तपरमभावकरकाराधिराधायिनिःपरमपरमभावकरकाराधिराधायिनिः

नामस्य देवायिनिः संवेदनः

1 This must be taken as the current year.

5 तुत्तीत्वस्य भाष्यमात्राः पिट्टसकारणपुकः: कुलद्वश्तकश्रियोऽमर्क्षः समारामश्वराकः। विनियमः। किरायि-
6 भाविकः: पालिस्मवाचार्यमप्रत्ययः श्रीशास्त्रानां श्रीशास्त्रानां। साधनाविनियमां।
7 केशिङ्ग्यास्योऽध्यवित्तमात्रां। चारस्य प्रथमाणां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां। 
8 विष्णुस्य प्राप्ते मात्रां। श्रीशास्त्रां।
9 सुभाषिते वेद्विष्णुयो श्रीमात्रां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां।
10 विष्णुस्य प्राप्ते श्रीमात्रां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां।
11 प्राप्ते मात्रां। सुभाषिते श्रीमात्रां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां।
12 विष्णुस्य प्राप्ते मात्रां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां।
13 प्राप्ते मात्रां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां।
14 काश्यं प्राप्ते मात्रां। केशिङ्ग्यास्य प्रथमाणां।
15 सा। मध्ये। ति। तिनी। दारापृष्ठ। ति। संमिश्र। पद्धतमं। ति। वाजुपृष्ठ। ति। 
16 ति। रत्नस्य। पद्धतमं। ति। सूक्ष्णपृष्ठ। ति। सौदाः। पद्धतमं। ति। वाजुपृष्ठ।
17 तिनी। त्वाश्च। सथोस्य। काश्यं। सत्त्वोस्य। काश्यं।
18 तिनी। त्वाच। सत्त्वोस्य। काश्यं।

¹ The letter ॐ is superfluous.
² [Plural ought to have been employed.—F.d.]
19 निधान सलीके जावियन [खण्ड] भार जम्पे(वि) जाल [भ] सचास्वायक-विषय विषय वातत्व ॥

20 कावे(दे) विकापाप मुगा कलमपर(के) रघुकीमाला [सी] तेघ (अ) समान: सहितं च वा (दे) शालयरावय भुजा(जा) ॥

21 माय (लक्ष) "के(क)बैठा (त) " कष(व) गदो(न) तानाधानित्रिक चौक्षी य न केनाच (मच) लासी(दु) वा चक्षु ॥ चतु(च) च राजः ॥

22 जयुक्षदिभिक्षतातिधिम: संबद्धमायथ परिष्ठमिद्यत्ता यस्तुर्मायथे(द्र) मनोहारिणी ॥

23 भावित्यपर्य भूमिपाती: पालनविवित्त(ति) । उकः ॥ राजेन्द्राम(स) चा चा चर्म । वर्षा वर्षायण: । मृत्यु ॥

24 मिदानक पुषाणि सकं स्वाग: पुर्णरं करता ॥[२०] बौद्धा य च प्राया-(सा) च चा (सा) शाही(हा) ॥ राष्ट्रा: । मन्हवान- ॥

25 पारसो यज्ञ तच गच्छति भूमिदा: ॥[३१]" भूमिम ये निरंत्रान्ति या भूमिम प्रयच्छ(क्ष)ः । उभै: तो (सी)

26 पुष्करमाणि नियतां स्वागामनी ॥[३१]" व(व) तुम्रवेदिसुधा सुधा राजमिः समसाचिफिताः: । यजा

27 यज्ञ यदा भुमिस्तत्त्व तथा तदा पत(क) ॥[३४]" सर्वनिताभाव(वि) न: पारिविवेदनमयौ सूक्ष्म याचते ।

28 रामभ: । समानव(व) धर्मधूतानुपापान कालि कालि पालनो[यो] भव-विनितति ॥(वि) ॥ रजः ॥[६]" चार्दा (स्तो)- ॥

29 य(व) महाराजीपरमहितेश्वर सत्याम ॥ विसेदुपाणि(सी) चोत्रामवास-अव(व)- ॥

30 [खण्ड] विधितसकलशाख: त्रिपाणानमान: । सबिकीवचनपालकशाखा भयं- ॥

31 लेखि स्वरूपातिनांतिवेद(व) रजिः (व) सत्यामवह (स) ॥[४१]" रजपालसंपुष्पन- पाल्लां- ॥

32 न च सिम(सिम)किन्या । उकाया व कच्छत्तता वेदोविविश (स) कानृता ||[५२]" महाकालमाजी: ॥

¹ This expression appears to be new. Its exact implication is not understood. [Does it mean, "together with potter's mud and what has been left by merchants?" Vāstugas is applied to what is left as a worthless remainder on any spot.—Ed.]

² [Plural should be used.—Ed.]

³ आयुक्त I took to be "wild tribe", see above, Vol. XVI, p. 14, n. 1, but it indicates a Government Officer, viz., one in charge of the forest and wild tribes. This finds a mention even in Kauṭalya's Arthāśāstra. See Dr. Shama Sastri's Sanskrit Text, p. 254.
C.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF VIRAVARMADÉVA: [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1311.

The present charter is the earliest record of the Chandélla king Viravarmadéva yet found. The copper-plate on which it is engraved measures 15½" by 11½" and weighs 230½ tolas. It has a raised rim, ¾" in height, rivetted with nails all round it. In the middle of the first six lines there is a seated figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi, holding lotus flowers in the two upper, and water pots in the two lower, hands. Over her head is a semi-circular hole apparently meant for a ring, which is wanting. There are 19 lines of writing with well formed letters the size of which is ½" on an average.

The language is Sanskrit and the orthographical peculiarities are the same as found in other Chandélla records published before. The record is not free from spelling and other mistakes, but they are comparatively fewer than in other similar records of the family.

The charter was issued from Vilasapura by the P. M. P. Viravarmadéva the devout worshipper of Mahésvara, and the Lord of Kálanjara, son of the P. M. P. Trailókyavarman, son of the P. M. P. Paramardiddéva, son of the P. M. P. Madanavarmadéva, descended from Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the famous heroes belonging to the Chandhratréya (Chandélla) lineage. It records the grant of Tumutumá village in the Dái vishaya to Ràuta Abhi, son of Ràuta Haripála, son of Ràuta Jagadéva, son of Ràuta Dévasamú of the Káyapa-gótra belonging to the family of Chandrévara, on Ásvina śudi 8, Sómavára, Samvat 1311, which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 21st September 1254 A.D. The grantee is stated to have performed a deed of valour in a tussle with Dabhyuhađavarman in the battle of Sóndhí, as a recognition whereof this grant appears to have been made in spite of the fact that the purpose has been recorded as one for increasing the religious merit of the grantor Viravarmadéva and his parents. In the present case the grantee does not appear to have been a Bráhmaṇa, as the omission of his pravaras indicates. Moreover, the family name Chandrévara and the title Ràuta point to the same conclusion. Apparently Sóndhí is identical with Seodhá fort, now called Kanharágadh, lying on the banks of the Sind river in the Datia State, whence it took its name. It is stated in the State Gazetteer (Luard’s, p. 129) that “Seodhá is certainly an old town as the remains of the earlier settlement can be traced close to the present town. It has been suggested as the Sarua fort taken by Mahmud of Gazni in 1018 when in pursuit of Chand Rai”. Our record refers to a battle a little more than a hundred years later, apparently between members of the same lineage, viz., the Chandéllas, if the termination of the opponent’s name Dabhyuhađavarman would indicate anything to that effect. It must have been a battle of some importance to have been referred to as sañgráma or war. That was the time of disturbance as Viravarmadéva’s grandfather Paramardiddéva had been defeated by Prithvíraj Cháhármaná in 1182 A.D. In fact the late Dr. V. A. Smith remarks that “the history of the Chandélla dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A.D. with the death of Parmal (Paramardiddéva) and the capture of Kálanjara and Mahobá by the Muhammadan invaders. Trailókyavarman succeeded his father Parmal as a local chieftain holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom and in due course was succeeded by Viravarm and Bhójavarman”¹.

The other villages referred to in this record have not been traced yet.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.
TEXT.

1. "भृ असि: यथाज्ञानादवनिश्चित विषेषसरिते(गिरो)दुः: || चन्द्रसे
(२)महर्षिद्वादा वंश(५)संदर्भ कहोऽकाश्च: ||[१२*]

2. तत्र ग्रहापुर्वसे विरोधीविजयाभा(४)जितव(४)जयस्म(४)जिविजयव(४)कस्म(४)दिवी
राविविभावस्य(४)रेष]

3. ग्रहापुर्वसे विरोधीविजयाभा(४)जितव(४)जयस्म(४)जिविजयव(४)कस्म(४)दिवी
राविविभावस्य(४)रेष]

4. गुरानां ग्रहापुर्वसे विरोधीविजयाभा(४)जितव(४)जयस्म(४)जिविजयव(४)कस्म(४)दिवी
राविविभावस्य(४)रेष]

5. ग्रहापुर्वसे विरोधीविजयाभा(४)जितव(४)जयस्म(४)जिविजयव(४)कस्म(४)दिवी
राविविभावस्य(४)रेष]

6. गुरानां ग्रहापुर्वसे विरोधीविजयाभा(४)जितव(४)जयस्म(४)जिविजयव(४)कस्म(४)दिवी
राविविभावस्य(४)रेष]

7. गुरानां ग्रहापुर्वसे विरोधीविजयाभा(४)जितव(४)जयस्म(४)जिविजयव(४)कस्म(४)दिवी
राविविभावस्य(४)रेष]

8. दरानं परिप्रेक्ष्यप्रतिविनिमित्तः: दशस्विन्यान्तः(४) तिरु:
स्तुमार्गमोमयाः

9. न(२) व(४) ब्राह्मणमायांः मायाः (२) कुर्विन्तव(४)काजखूटवैपदचां(४)
पय(२)मायाः (२) समस्तप्रजालोकांश्यं(२)धः

10. यति समाजः(४)पश्चिच च भस्व न: श्री(२)विदितं यथेरितिश्चिताय
याम: श्रीन्घर्ष[४]सःैः समाजमार्गं

11. शिस्माविचित्र(४) साधकशर(४) कुशतत(४)विष्णव(४)सत्माननिस्म(४)थाधाय
सहित: प्रत्येक(४)वृह(४)गद्ध(४)वास्तवभव: योः

12. बिष्णुपुरेसे संवत्त(४) १९२१ ब्राह्मणवृह(४) सोमवारे पुष्च्यविद्याणे खाला
भारतपुजापुर(४)धरे मातार्चिरोः

13. कन: पुष्च्यविन्यांविवेके(४)वर्णे) || च(४)चेतकननार्ये क[४] श्री(४)पगोराय
रादावयस्मूप्रवेजाय राजस्मृदेवपीवाय राजस्मृदेरि

14. पालपुजाय सोमवारे द्रव्यकृतवस्युपे कल्याणयितस्म(४)वे प्रसा(४)सति राजस्मृदे
भेन्याजे शास्त्रीय(४)कृतमं पद्धति एति खला

15. भविविराज(४) वर्णन(४)विम्बनेला महमोगकिंच सबस्वम(४) सम्परीपिनथे
स्तेतमथे प्रायसम समजिद्विक्षेर सनम(४)मम

16. वें(४) वर्णन(४)वाजा(४)भान्सरिव भृजनास्तव(४)वाता(४)ने केनापि न
कायाः। यत्र च। राजस्मृदेवपीवादिभः सबस्वमात्याः(४) परिग्रह(४)
सुभथः।
This is the first copper-plate charter of the Chandella king Hammiravarmadēva, whom I brought to notice, a decade ago, in my Damoh Dipaka, the Hindi Gazetteer of the Damoh district in the Central Provinces, from a satī record which I found in the village Bambhnī of that district. When I visited the Ajayagadh fort, I came upon another satī stone record mentioning his name, which I included in the new account of the Ajayagadh fort inscriptions revised since the visit of General Sir Alexander Cunningham as detailed in his Survey Report, Vol. XXI. It appears to me that the Hamirpur district of the United Provinces, in which Mahōbā, the civil capital of the Chandellas, is included, derives its name from this Chandella king. Of course, this district which borders on the Charkhāri State, took its name from the town of Hamirpur, which is situated on the confluence of the Jumna and the Betwā, 110 miles north-west of Allahābad.

The record is engraved on a copper-plate 11½" long and 8½"-broad, with a raised rim ½" in height running all round the plate and secured on the latter by nails. Its weight is 48 tolae only. In the middle of the first four lines of writing there is a figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi holding lotuses and water pots. On the top of the figure there is a hole for a ring which was either not put in or has been taken off and lost. The plate shows signs of corroding without serious damage to letters, which are rather small, their average size being ¼". The engraving is badly executed.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, the style being in the prescribed form used by the Chandellas; but, from what little the writer composed, it is clear that he was no Sanskritist, as he has committed many spelling as well as grammatical mistakes. The insertion of the title Sāhi against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence, which finally ousted the Chandellas, apparently during the reign of the grantor of this very charter. Hammiravarmadēva, who styled himself as the Paramabhatṭāraka Sāhi Ṛāj.

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1 See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.
2 The record runs as follows:—
L. 1. चंडवा(ः) १२५५ संस्ते नामचुङ्दिति ६ तुषे
L. 2. सती नामबंधनेन या तुषे जीनिति
L. 3. राजाधिकारदेशिनिति सुभी संग
L. 4. संते जीनिति
3 Contributed to Mādhur, a Hindi Journal of Lucknow, see Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2,
**Text.**

1. [出し: කාලාභා (ශ්‍ර) දෙදිනිභේත් විස්‍රතු (කා) පිටුරු: [ශ්‍ර]
   කි (කි) මායිමාරීන් මැටි විස්‍රතු (කා) ක්‍රි.

2. ආශෝකාල (කා) [ශ්‍ර] ප්‍රොස්සමන්නේ වේදිභේත් කාලාභා (කා) දෙදිනිභේත් (කා) ක්‍රි.

3. ප්‍රොස්සම (ප්‍රොස්සම) මාජිරා (රාජා) සාහිතියක් දෙදිනිභේත් (කා) ප්‍රොස්සම (ප්‍රොස්සම) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ක්‍රි.

4. මාජිරා (මාජිරා) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ප්‍රොස්සම (ප්‍රොස්සම) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ක්‍රි.

5. මාජිරා (මාජිරා) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ප්‍රොස්සම (ප්‍රොස්සම) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ක්‍රි.

6. මාජිරා (මාජිරා) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ප්‍රොස්සම (ප්‍රොස්සම) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ක්‍රි.

7. මාජිරා (මාජිරා) මාජිරා (රාජා) වේදිභේත් (කා) ක්‍රී. See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

8. Lord of Kāṇaṇjara, meditating on the feet of P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Trailokāyavarmādeva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Paramaraddendī, announced the grant of Kāḍagramā in the Vādēsaitha-vihāya to two Brāhmaṇas who were apparently brothers, on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of Bāhārapada and the Pushya-nakshatra in the Vikramā Sarnat 1346, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th September, 1289 A.D. It will be noticed that in his own case Hammāravarmādeva has left out the grandiloquent title of the Mahārāja Mahārāja Paramaraddendī, which he duly attached to his elders. This indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the Mahārāja while his elder brother Bhājavarmādeva was on the throne. In the Ajayagirī fort there is a sāri record of Sarnat 1346, which refers to the reign of Bhājavarman. This copper-plate dated in the same year would therefore point to a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhājavarman died in the same year before the month of Bāhārapada, when the grant under publication was made.

The document was written by Pārṇaṭa Rāma pāla.

The localities mentioned in the record are not traceable.

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2 This is exactly the title used in the Bāmbhū sāri record which I misread as परम्भरान्धराजविराज परस्मायिति.

3 In Bhāhārapada of V. S. 1346, ba. 12 commenced on Sunday at '98 but the nakshatra Pushya ended on that day at '33.

8 तरापुपालिवे(वि) तम(क) कटरी(पु) कुब(ल) कुजकघर्मिन वज्रभरा निराकुलां व(प) रिट. लताग(च) विकालिवेकनि।

9 सं(चं) भोज(क) तमतिसा(च) चामी: ॥ वंदेयस्विति (वि) पार्वति (वि) कृतिकारम- गताभास्यान्तिय (चामोपणमाण्ड्रास्यान्तिय) मानकुटै।

10 कायनापितवहरेदीवरचोंडलयुङ्रताणमानकृत्वा कायनापितमहरेदीवरचाखापयैवाना ॥ क(च) पदात समाजपयि च ॥ व(च) चतु व: संविदिन्त यथा(की)।

11 परविकिरितौः यामः । सचाक्षर(च) सचाव(च) रघुगम्भ(च) सलोचा(सलोच) विविक(च) विचार(च) साधकभूमित्वादिवसमाः

12 मा(च) मि(वि) [तिपदादिसहितः ॥ र(च) मि(वि) हितार्दिकः[प्रेषः ॥ कोषार्गप- पस्यर्धभूमित्वादिसहितः साधकभूमित्वादिवसमाः सा(च) वा(च) ज्ञानात्म(र) शयेः[र(च) व(तु) भिः[सू] इत्यतः।

13 संवत(तु) १९५६ समवे ॥ भार(क) पद्य(व) दि १२ यो ॥ पुजनपचे ॥ भार(र) कोशा(च) ॥ तै ॥ सुभाषप्रेरणार्थ ॥ वि(द्रा)।

14 [व्र] प्रपिताय ॥ ॥ ॥ सिद्धोपन्यास ॥ पं ॥ ब्रह्म ॥ पं ॥ भामिक (उमाभ्यं) भा(च) ज्ञानाभ्यं को(वा को) कड्यामो ॥ तोस्कारो (तामस: ?) विजा।

15 वहः ॥ वाकात्तः ॥ वाकाति । संस्कृतस(क) प्रदत(च) ति। ॥ चति महामुद्रा(वि) राजार्गनविविचीर्मेला भागः।

16 समगर्गिक समयेंद्रव्यं ॥ दुग्धः(दुग्ध) मिच्छेमुच्छः(दुग्धा) सुखा राजभक्ष्यगरादिभि: [ः ॥ यशः यशः यदा भूमिस्मित(स)।

17 ॥ ख तथा तदाः फलं। ॥ यशसदहिणः वर्षेश्वरजस्त्री(स) स्वस्मित(म) वस्ति भूमिस्मित: [ः ॥ चाकेताकाखेताकानुमता च तायें (नामध्य) नः।

18 रक्षः ब्रह्मेण ॥ ॥ खद्रसं परद्रसं वा यो हरेलः(त) सु(चुः) चारं [ः ॥ म(स) विविधाय(वि) काल(म) मिश्रें ला पवित्रद्रशा महति [ः [ः।

19 भूमिस्म वादः। भृतिधर्मोपलक्ष्यम्(प्रतिष्ठितः यथा) भूमिस्म प्रवचित्तः [ः ॥ भोगो ती पुष्प(क्ष) कार्यापो नियतो खं (गम) मामविजः [ः [ः ॥ पं देशे।

20 पवित्रः ॥ विद्विधितवदिः ॥

1 Punctuation unnecessary.
2 Abbreviation for ठाकुर or ठाकुर.
3 Omka रुः.
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1 My assistant Mr. N. Lakshminarasayan Rao, M.A., has rendered immense help in checking this Index.

The figures refer to pages: n. after a figure, to footnotes; and add. to the additions. The following other abbreviations are used: ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; m. = mountain; r. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; t. = temple; v. = village or town; W. = Western.
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E.=Eastern; f.=female; k.=king; m.=male; mo.=mountain; ri.=river; s. a.=same as; sur.=surname; te.=temple; vi.=village or town; W.=Western.
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1 The figures refer to pages: n. after a figure, to footnotes; and add. to the additions. The following other abbreviations are used: ch. = chief; co. = country; dl. = district or division; dd. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; m. = mountain; ri. = river; s. a. = same as sur. = surname; t. = temple; v. = village or town; W. = Western.