

Barcode : 9999990270618

Title - epigraphia indica vol. - viii (1905 - 1906)

Author - hultsch, e.

Language - english

Pages - 430

Publication Year - 0

Barcode EAN.UCC-13



999999 027061

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume VIII (1905-06)



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011
1981

CALCUTTA:
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,
8, HARTING'S STREET

CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAGE
D R BHANDARKAR, M A. —	
No 19 Dhulia plates of Karkarāja , Śaka-Samvat 701	182
T BLOCH, PH D. —	
No 18 Two inscriptions on Buddhist images	179
J F FLEET, ICS (RETD), PH D, C I E —	
No 7 Chikmagalūr inscription of Rāchamalla III, of the period A D 989-1005	50
T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A —	
No 31. Śoraklāvūr plates of Virūpāksha , Śaka-Samvat 1308	298
T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A , AND G VENKOBARAO —	
No 13 Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman	146
HIBA LAL, B A —	
No 28. Betul plates of Samkshōbha , the Gupta year 199	284
PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D. —	
No 2 Tiruvadi inscription of Ravivarman , A D 1313	8
„ 9 Dhār prasasti of Arjunavarman Pārijatamañjarī-nāṭika by Madana	96
„ 11 Nāgpur Museum plates of Mahābhavaragupta I Janamējaya	138
„ 12 British Museum plates of Chārudēvi	143
„ 15 Pīkīra grant of Simhavarman	159
„ 16 Undīkavātikā grant of Abhimanyu	163
„ 20 Two grants of Dhruvasēna II.	188
„ 22 Nausāri plates of Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya , the year 421	229
„ 23 Chendalūr plates of Kumāraviśnu II.	233
„ 24 Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya , A D 673	236
PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, PH.D, D LITT, LL D., C I E —	
Nos 1 and 26 Dates of Chōla kings (<i>continued</i>)	1, 260
No 5. Talagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman	24
„ 6 Junāgadh rock inscription of Rudradāman ; the year 72	36
„ 14. Five copper-plate inscriptions of Gōvīndachandra of Kanauj	149
„ 27 Dates of Pāndya kings (<i>continued</i>)	274
H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A —	
No 10 Kārkaṣa inscription of Bhairava II.; Śaka-Samvat 1508	122
PROFESSOR H LÜDERS, PH D —	
No 4 Śravana-Belgola inscription of Irugapa , A D 1422	15
„ 21 Jaina inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha on Mount Âbū	200
„ 30 Taxila vase inscription	296
M. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR, B A , B L —	
No 32 Madras Museum plates of Śrīgurībhūpāla ; Śaka-Samvat 1346	306
PROFESSOR B FISCHER, PH D —	
No 25 Two Pīākṛit poems at Dhār	211
J. RAMAYYA, B A , B L —	
No 3 Madras Museum plates of Vēma , A D. 1345	9

CONTENTS

	PAGE
[Faint text]	59
[Faint text]	290
[Faint text]	317
[Faint text]	166

[Faint text]	323

[Faint text]	1-19
[Faint text]	1-27
[Faint text]	1-27
[Faint text]	1-27

LIST OF PLATES.

	PAGE
1 Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kāluṣṭhavarman	to face page 32
2 Junāgadh rock inscription of Rudradaman, the year 72	" " 44
3 Nasik inscriptions —Plate I	60
4 " " " II	74
5 " " " III	76
6 " " " IV	78
7 " " " V	82
8 " " " VI	86
9 " " " VII	88
10 " " " VIII	90
11 Dhar praśasti of Arjunavarman Parijatamañjuri natika b Madana — Plate I	106
12 The same —Plate II	112
13 " " " III.	116
14 The Chaturmukha-Basti at Kārkāla	124
15 Nagpur Museum plates of Mahabhavagupta I Jananujaya	between pages 140 & 141
16 Plates of Vijaya-Shandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman	" " 144 & 145
17 Nalambur plates of Ravivarman	" " 148 & 149
18 Pihira grant of Simhavarman	" " 160 & 161
19 Undikavātika grant of Abhimanyu	" " 161 & 165
20 Asoka pillar inscription at Sarnāth	to face page 168
21 Sarnath inscriptions of Kanishka and Aśvaghōsha	" " " 176
22 Inscribed Buddhist image from Set-Mahet	" " " 181
23 Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathura	" " " 182
24 Dhulia plates of Karharaja, Śaka-Samvat 701	between pages 186 & 187
25 Nogāwā plates of Dhruvasena II, [Gupta-]Samvat 320	" " 192 & 193
26 Mount Ābū inscription of Tājapāla, A D 1230	to face page 212
27 Mount Ābū inscription of the reign of Bhīmadēva II, A D 1230	" " " 222
28 Nausāri plates of Śryaśraya-Śilāditya, the year 421	" " " 232
29 Chendalūr plates of Kumaraviṣṇu II	between pages 234 & 235
30. Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkaśraya, A D 673	" " 238 & 239
31 Prakrit poems at Dhār —Plate I	to face page 248
32 " " " " " II	" " " 254
33 " " " " " III.	" " " 260
34 Betul plates of Samkshōbha, the Gupta year 199	between pages 286 & 287
35 The Taxila vase	to face page 296
36 Śorākkāvūr plates of Virūpāksha, Śaka-Samvat 1203	between pages 302 & 303
37 Madras Museum plates of Śrīgīribhupala, Śaka-Samvat 1316	" " 312 & 313
38 Āṇaimalai inscriptions	to face page 320

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 11, last line from bottom,—for Anapôtâ-Reddî read Anapôta-Reddî
- „ 15 —Cancel footnote 1.
- „ 22, note 7,—for “His enemies clenched their fists in rage” read “The palms of his enemies’ hands closed together in token of submission”
- „ 31, paragraph 2, line 7 from bottom,—for Pravarasena read Pravarasêna
- „ 58 —The date of the inscription published by Dr Fleet on this page is intrinsically wrong, but admits of an easy and certain correction. In the date, as published, the full-moon *tithi* of Kârttika is joined with the *nakshatra* Mûla (the 19th *nakshatra*), but in Kârttika the moon is full in or near Kṛttikâ (the 3rd *nakshatra*). On the other hand, an examination of native calendars for different years shows that in the majority of cases the *nakshatra* is Mûla on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika¹. This observation some years ago, when I first saw the text of the inscription in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Roman text, p 95, at once convinced me that the writer of the text erroneously must have put *suddha-punnameyum* (where the word *suddha* would really be superfluous) for *suddha-pañchamiyum*. The date thus would give us for calculation the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, a Monday, and the *nakshatra* Mûla; and during the period (A.D. 989-1005), to which according to Dr Fleet the inscription must be assigned, it would be correct for Monday, the 7th October A.D. 989, and for Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992. Monday, the 7th October 989, was entirely occupied by the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, and on it the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. And on — Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika ended 20 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system from 5 h. 16 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 50 m., and according to Garga for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise. Which of these two days, or whether either of them, is the true equivalent of the original date, it is impossible to say at present — F. K.
- „ 59, No 8, l 15,—for (Pr) read (N.)
- „ 78, text line 2,—for Karabenâ- read Karabenâ-.
- „ 79, l 5,—for Karabenâ read Karabenâ.
- „ 82, No 12, text line 1,—for Dinikaputrena read Dinikapûtrena (i.e. °putrêna)
- „ 101, text line 1,—for अतिलेख read अतिलेख, and for °यगारिणी read °यगारिणी.
- „ 104, note 1,—for आमुख read आमुख
- „ 111, „ 6,—for महृष्या° read महृष्या°
- „ 115, text line 73,—for सनममित read सनमंमित
- „ 121, l 15,—for वार read वार
- „ 123, l 2 from bottom,—for left side read right side
- „ 126, note 3, l 3,—for Balagâmi read Baligami

¹ In 7 calendars out of 12 Mûla is joined with the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, and in 8 with the 4th *tithi*; in 2 (in which Kârttika is preceded by an intercalary month) Mûla goes with the 3rd *tithi*.

- Page 126, note 3, ll 5 to 12 — [Professor Hultsch has critically edited the three Udiyāvāra inscriptions quoted here (Nos 108, 98 and 97 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) on pp 18, 22 and 23 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IX, respectively. In the light of his remarks some alterations in this note appear necessary. In numbers 97 and 98 the alternative forms *Ponvūlcha* and *Udayapura* also occur. The word *nakara*, which I took to mean 'trading classes' in both these inscriptions, is taken by Professor Hultsch as being placed in apposition to *Pombūlchada* and *Udayapurada*, and as meaning 'city'. In No 108 the attribute *Patti-odeyon*, which I took as applying to Śvētāvāhana, probably refers to a Śaiva priest. It was not Svētāvāhana that fell in battle, but a servant of the Āluva prince Ranasāgara, named Kāmakōda — H K S]
- „ 127, note 2, last line,—for *leunmolested* read *unmolested*.
- „ 128, l 16 from bottom,—for *decidedly* read *decidedly*
- „ 138, No 11 — In a letter dated Nagpur, 4th October 1906, Mr Hiranand communicated to the Editor the following extract from a letter of the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur District, to the Superintendent, Nagpur Museum, dated 15th September 1889 — “The plate (*viz* the plates edited on p 138 ff) was found by Dusti Kulta, resident of Satlama in the Barpal Zamindari, in June 1897 (read 1887?) He found it under a stone while he was constructing the embankment of his field near the Gandapara.” Mr Hiranand adds — “From this it is evident that the Satallamā of the inscription is the very place where the plates were found.”
- „ 147, paragraph 5,—for “Multagi is represented as forming the eastern boundary” read “Multagi figures . . . among the boundaries”
- „ 173, paragraph 2, l 5,—for *Pushyavuddhi* read *Pusbyavuddhi*
- „ 183, l 11,—for *southern* read *northern* — Note the form of *rtha* in ll 15 and 31 of the inscription
- „ 200, l 12 from bottom.—With *khattaka* Mr Krishna Sastri compares the Kannada *gaddige* and the Hindi *gaddi*, ‘a throne’
- „ 204, l 14 from bottom — With *āshṭāhikā* Mr Krishna Sastri compares the *ashṭāhnikā* of the Southern Jainas, see p 137, note 4
- „ 216, v 37.—Regarding this verse see Prof Kielhorn's remarks in the *Journ R As Soc* 1907, p 175 ff
- „ 216, v 42 — Mr Krishna Sastri remarks — “I suggest that the word *मन्त्र* be taken as an apposition referring to *Yaśodā*, and not independently as is done in the translation. I cannot understand how Krishna's splendour was *augmented* by his mother स्वयम्भिकप्रतापस्य भगवान् न अन्यतस्त्वमुच्छ्रावमपेक्षते”
- „ 219, text line 2 f — Prof. Kielhorn supplies *प्रसादावातगुर्जराजामडले*
- „ 234 ll 4 and 7 — In accordance with Vol IX p 50, read *Karmāka-rāshtra* and *Kammāka-rāshtra* (without *n*).—The same correction has to be made on p 235, text lines 14 and 16, p 236, ll 14 and 17, and p 238, l 8 from bottom.
- „ 295, note 1, l 7,—for *Tiruvaymoli* read *Tiruvāymoli*.
- „ 305, note 1, line 1,—for “Sudarśanāchārya who wrote” read “Sudarśanāchārya, also called Namāra, who was the son of Vāgviyaya, and who wrote”
- „ 307, l 2.—On “Madras Museum” add a footnote — “[No 16 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report* for 1905-06 of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle—V V]”
- „ 318, l 16,—for “three verses” read “three Sanskrit verses”
- „ 318, l 7 from bottom,—after “The second inscription,” insert “which is in Tamil, and”

A date of the month of Simha (July-August) of the 7th year of Vikrama-Chôla would be expected to fall in A D 1124, and this date actually corresponds to Thursday, the 7th August A D 1124. This was the 12th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 20 h 6 m, while the *nakshatra* was Ârdra, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 1 h 58 m, and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

B — RAJARAJA II.

85 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjuli.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû maruviya [T]iru-mâdum
4 kô=Pparakêśarīpanmar=â[na Tri]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga[1] śr[ī]-Râjarâjad[ê]var̥ku
yâṇdu 4âva[du] Vriśchika-nâyarru apa[ra-pa]kshattu [sa]p̥tam[1]yu[m]
[B]uda[ṅ]-[k]i[am]am[ai]yum [p]er̥ra [P]ûra[tt]u nâ[1].

“In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Parakêśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Pûrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the 7th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika.”

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

This date, No 85, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1146, which was the 27th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mârgaśīrsha) ended 14 h. 10 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pûrva-Phalgunī, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m, and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m, after mean sunrise

86 — In the Karavandiśvara temple at Udayârkôyil.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû maruviya Tiru-mâdum
8 k[ô=Ppara]kêsa-
9 [r]ip̥atmar=âna Tribu[va]nachchak[ka]ravattiga[1] śrī-Râja[r]âjadêvar̥ku yâṇ[du]
âra[va]d[ā] Ku-
10 m[bha]-nâyarru apara-paksha[t]tu pratham[ai]yu[m] Vi[y]âla-kkīlamaiyum per̥ra
Maga[tt]u nâ[1]

“In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakêśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Maghâ, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 24th January A D. 1152,³ which was the first day⁴ of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Mâgha) ended 15 h 27 m, while the *nakshatra* was Maghâ, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h 53 m., and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m, after mean sunrise.

87.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjuli.⁵

1 Svasti śrī || Pû maruviya Tiru-mâdum
5 [k]ô=Pparakêśarīpanmar=âna Tir[ī]bhuvanachchak[ka]ravattiga[1] śrī-
Râjarâja-

¹ No 622 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 407 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ Between A D 1131 and 1178 this is the only day for which the date is correct.

⁴ The Kumbha-saṅkrânti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of the 23rd January A D 1152

⁵ No 628 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

6 dévaṅku y[ān]du pannurandāvadu Meshā-n[āya]ṅṅu apara-pakshattu navamiyumu
 B[uda]n-kīlamaiyumu[m p]eṅṅa Tī-
 7 ruvōna[ttu nā]l

“In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 26th March A.D 1158, which was the 2nd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 6 h 35 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h 29 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise

88 — In the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādum
 2 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=ana Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-
 Rājarājadēvaṅku yāndu padīṅṅāvadū Tai-māsattu pūrvva-pakshattu
 Pūarpūsamum chatu[r]ddasīyumu Viyāla-kkīlamaiyumu=a[na] nāl

“In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which was a Thursday and the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tai ”

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

89 — In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Ālangudi.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pu maruviya Tiru-mādum
 6 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āna
 7 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal
 8 śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yā-
 9 ndu āṅṅāvadū
 14 Mīna-nāyaṅṅu pū-
 15 rvva-pakshattu saptamiyumu Viyāla-k-
 16 kīlamaiyumu peṅṅa Orōśani-nā-
 17 l

“In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

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

¹ No. 9 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893, compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 79 and note 4

² No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899

mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhini, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

90 — In the Pâtâlîsvara temple at Aridvâramangalam.¹

1 [cha]kkaravattigal śrî ra³ Madurai kond aru[!]iya śrî-Kulô[t]tunga-
Śôladêva[r*]kku yâudu 10vadu pattâvadu Ma[ga]ra-nâyaru npara-pasha(ksha)ttu
pañchamiyum Śevvâ[y*]-kkilamaiyum perra Uttirattâdi-nâl

“In the 10th — tenth — year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong. As in the dates of the inscriptions Nos 480 and 604 of my *Southern List*, either the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadâ has been quoted erroneously instead of Uttara-Phalgunî, or the second fortnight instead of the first. My calculation has shown that really the latter is the case.

The intended day undoubtedly is Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1188, which was the 11th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the *bright* half (of Mâgha) ended 19 h 42 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 5 h 55 m. after mean sunrise

91 — In the Arunâchalêsvara temple at Tiruvannâmalai.⁴

1 Svasti [||*]
2 Tiribuvanavi(vî)radêvaraku yâudu 35va[du]
3 M[1]duna-nâyaru eṭṭân=diyadiyum A[nu]lamum perra tiru-Nâ[ya]ru-
kkilamai-nâl.

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

The date should fall in A.D 1213. In this year the Mithuna-samkrânti took place 3 h. 1 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna. The 8th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1213; and on this day the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise

92.—In the Kapardîsvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjuli⁵

1 Svasti śr[î] [||*]
2 T[1]bhuvanachchakkara[va]tt[1]ga[1] Madurayum Î[la]-
3 mum Karuvâium Pâ[n]diyanai mudî-ttalai[u]-
4 n=gond-ar[1] vîrar=abhîshêkamum vi-
5 jayar=abhîshêkam[um] panṇi-a[1]liya śrî-Tir-
6 [b]uva[na]v[îra]dêvaraku yâ[ṇ]du mu[p]pat[t]ârâ-

¹ No 611 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² The beginning of the inscription is built in ³ Cancel the syllables *śrî ra*.

⁴ No 557 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁵ No 631 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

- 7 vadu Mēsha-nāyarr[ru] pū[rvva]-pakshattu
 8 tri(tri)tiyayum Tingal-ki[lam]ayum peṟ-
 9 ṟa Rōsanī-nāl

“In the thirty-sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 14th April A D 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha, *i.e.* the *akshaya-tritīyā*) ended 19 h 29 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhinī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise

93 — In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kalappāl¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakravattiga[l Ma]dhurayum Īlamun=Garuvūru[m]
 Pāndiyan mudī-ttalayun=gondū [vi]rar=abhishēkamum vijai[ya]r=abhi[sh]ē-
 2 kamu[m] paṇṇi-aruliya śrī-Tri[bhu]va[ṇa]viradēvaṟku yāndu 37du
 Vri(vri)schika-nāyarr[ru] pū[rvva]-pakshattu [cha]ta(tu)[r]dda[si]yūn=Dingal-
 kīlamayum[m] peṟṟa
 3 Kārttigai-nal

“In the 37th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Krittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A D 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśirsha) commenced about sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Krittikā, by the Brahma siddhānta for 11 h 50 m, according to Garga for 13 h 8 m, and by the equal space system from 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise

94 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūli.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī][||*] Trib[hu]vanachchak[k]rava[r]ttigal Madurai[yum] Īlamum Karuvūrum
 Pāndiyanai mudī-ttalayum kondū virar=abhishē[ka]mmum³ vijayar=
 abhishēkammum³ paṇṇi[ya-a]ruliya śrī-Tribhuvana[vira]dēvaṟku yāndu 39āvadū
 Kumba-nāyarru a[pa]ra-pakshattu prathamayum [Bu]dan-kīlammayum⁴ peṟṟa
 Magattu nal

“In the 38th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāndya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

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

¹ No 659 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 618 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ Read =abhishēkamum

⁴ Read =kīlamayum

D.— RAJARAJA III.

95 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūli.¹

1 Tirubuvanachchakkaravattiga[1] śrī-Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāṇdu eṭṭāvaḍin e[ḍiā]m=
āṇdu Tul[ā nā]yāṟṟu apāra pakshattu na[vam]iyu[m] Tiru-
2 ga[1]-kilamai[yum] peṟṟa Pū[śattu] n[ā]

“In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[ja]rā[ja]dēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

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

96 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.²

1 Svasti śrī [[*] Tirubuvanachchakkaravatt[1]gal śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku [y]āṇdu
32vaḍu Kumba-nāyāṟṟu pū[rva]-pakshattu tu[vāda]śiyum Vel[1]-kk[1]lamai-
yum peṟṟa Punai[p]ūśattu nā

“In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

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

97 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.³

1 Svast[1] śr[ī] [[*] T[1]irubuvanachchakkaravatt[1]gal śr[ī]-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇdu
32vaḍu Mēsha-nāy[1]āṟṟu apāra-pakshattu trayōdaś[1]iyum Budan-k[1]lamaiyum
peṟṟa Irēba(va)d[1]-nā.

“In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

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

E — RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98 — In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Anbil.⁴

1 T[1]i[1]bu[va]nachchakkaravatt[1]gal śr[ī]-Irā[śō]ndira-
Ś[ō]ladēva[r]kku yāṇdu 4vaḍu Kann[1]-nāyāṟṟu pū[rva]-pakshattu pañchamiyum
Nāy[1]āṟṟu-kkilamaiyum peṟṟa A[ni]lattu nā[1]

¹ No 629 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 491 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁴ No. 596 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

“In the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā ”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 12th September A D 1249, which was the 16th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āsvina) commenced 1 h 42 m, while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h 56 m., after mean sunrise

99.— In the Sākshināthasvāmīn temple at Avalivanallūr¹

- 1 . . . Tribu[va]ṇṣakkara[va]-
- 2 tthal śr[i]-Iraśēndira-Ś[ó]-
- 3 ḷadava[r*]kku yāndu 22[va]du
- 4 Mēla-nāyaru apara-pakshattu
- 5 de(da)śam[ī]yum Budanṅ kalamayum [p]e-
- 6 ra [Śa]ḍai[yattu] n[a]l

“In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

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

This result reduces the time² during which Rājēndra-Chōla III must have commenced to reign to the period between approximately the 21st March and the 20th April A D. 1248

F.— TRIBHUVANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmala³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[r]ibhuvanavira-Śōladēvaṅku yāndu llāvadu
- 2 Chitrabhānu-varushattu Simha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu la-
- 3 ptamiyum Ve[l]i-kkalamayum perṅa Urośani-nā-
- 4 l.

“In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha of the year Chitrabhānu ”

If the Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva of this date were identical with Kulōttunga-Chōla III who bears the name Tribhuvanaviradēva, the date would fall in A D 1188, but for that year it is in every respect incorrect. Between A.D 1000 and 1500 the only day for which the date is correct is Friday, the 23rd August A D 1342 This day by the southern luni-solar system fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu (Śaka-samvat 1264 expired) It was the 26th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 10 h 8 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h 42 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h 3 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No 605 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² See above, Vol VII p 176

³ No. 522 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

If correctly recorded, the date would prove that there was a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla who commenced to reign between approximately the 24th August A. D. 1331 and the 23rd August A. D. 1332 (in Śaka-samvat 1253-54).

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

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D.; HALLE (SAALE).

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

The Sanskrit portion (ll 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Ranganātha inscription of Ravivarman, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,¹ as far as the word *Kulaśekhara-dēva*. The Tamil portion (l 3 f) records that Ravivarman *alias* *Kulaśekhara-dēva* bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Tiruvirattānam temple at Tiruvadigar² in the fourth year of his reign, the Kaliyuga year 4414 and the Śaka year 12]35, on the day of Rôhini, Saturday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of Makara.

Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that this date corresponds to Saturday, the 20th December A D 1313, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h 14 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rôhini for about 21 hours, after mean sunrise

In verse 4 of the Arulāla-Perumāḷ inscription of the same king we are told that he stayed at Kāñchi in his fourth year³ The subjoined inscription is dated in the same year, and adds the information that this year corresponded to A D. 1313.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī-Jayasī[m]ha ity=abhihitas=Sômanvay-ôttamsakô râj=āsīd=īha Kēraḷēshu
vishayô nāthô Yadu-kshamābhritam || jātô=smād=Raviva[r]mma-bhūpatir=
Um[ā]dēvyām kumāras=śivād=dēhavyāpya-Śakābda-bhāḷi samayê dēh=īva
vīdō ra[sa]h ८ [1*] Kshayan=nitvā sô=yam kali-bala[m=iv=ār]āti-nivaha[ñi]=
ja[ya*]srivat kritvā nija-sahacharim Pāndya-tanayām || trayastrimsad-va[r]shô
yasa i[va] yayan Kēraḷa-padam(dam) raraksha svam rāshtra[n=na]garam=īva
Kôḷambam=adh[ī]pah ८ [2*] [Ji]tvā Samgrāmadhirô nripatir=adhira[na]m(ṇam)
vidvisham(sham) Vira-Pāndyam(ndyam) kritv=āsau Pāndya-Chôḷān=naya iva
tanum[na]n Kēralēbhyô=py=adhī[n]ān || shatcha-
- 2 tvāstrimsad-abdas=tata-bhuvī mukutan=dhārayan=Vēgavatyāh kridām sumhāsana-sthās=
chram=akrita mahī-kirtti-vāni-ramābhuh ८ [3*] Â Mōḍr=â Malayād=â
pūrvāād=ū cha pāschimād=acha[ī]āt || Yadukula-sēkhara ēsha kshônīm
Kulaśēkharas=svayam bubhujê || ८ [4*] ८ Svasti śrī [||*] Chandrak[ula-
mangal]piadipa || Yādava-Nārūyana || Kēraladēśa-punyaparināma || Nāmāntara-
Kairṇa || Kūpaka-[s]arvvabhauma || Kulaśikhari-pratishthāpita-Garudaddhvaja ||
Kôḷamba-puravai-ādhisvara [||] Śrī-Patma(dma)nābha-padakamala paramārādhaka [||]
Prapatarāja-pratishthācharyya || Vimatarāja-bandikāra || Dharmmatara-
mūlaka[nda] || Satgu(dgu)n-ūlamkāra || [Cha]tushshashti-

¹ Above, Vol IV p 140

² Above, Vol IV p 147

³ For this ancient name of Tiruvadi see above, Vol VII p 162

⁴ From an inked estampage prepared by Mr G Venkoba Rao.

- 3 kalā-va[lla]bha || Dakshina-Bhōjarāja | Sa[m]grāmadhira || Mahārājādhirāja-
paramésvara || Jayasimhadēva-nandana || Ravivarmma-mahārāja || [᳚] Śrī
[||] ᳚ Śrī-Kulaśékharadēva || ᳚ [I]vaṅku yāndu nālāvadu Kalyuga-varsham
4414 idil nīngiya Śa . . . 35¹ idan mēl śellānīra Magara-
nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṅi-kkī[la]m[aiyum] p[e]ṅṅa
Rōśan[i]-nāl Tiruvadi[g]ai udaiyār Tiru[vira]ttānam-udaiya nāyaṅṅar kōyil
Vāṅa-Kaiyilāya-Ttirumalai stūpi-paryyantamāga tūmaṅṅanamum pannu
[pu]rachchāranai tūrukallum ś[āt]ta-
- 4 y-arul[i]ṅṅar Raviva[r]mma-ma[h]ārā[ja]r-āṅṅa perumāl Kulaśégaradēvar ᳚ Svasti
śrī ᳚

TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Lane 3) (In) the fourth year of this (king),—the Kalyuga year 4414,—the Śa[ka] year 12]35 separated from this,²—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Makara current after this (Śaka year),—Ravivarma-Mahārāja *alias* the lord Kulaśékharadēva was pleased to bathe up to the pinnacle the Vāṅa-Kaiyilāya-Ttirumalai³ (in) the temple of the lord of Tiruvirattānam, the god of Tiruvadigai, and to fix the stones which were bulging out Hail! Prosperity!

No 3 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA,
A D 1345

By J RAMAYYA, B A, B L

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

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Vishnu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v 2). In that caste was born Vēmaya, the founder of a family (*vaṁśa-kartā*, v 3). To him was born the great hero Kōmatī-Prōla (v 4), whose wife was Annemāmbā (v 5). To Kōmatī-Prōla, Annemāmbā bore five sons — Mācha, Vēma, Dōddaya, Annaya and Mallaya (v 6). Of these Vēma ruled the earth (v 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad *manne* chiefs,⁴ a very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēchchhas⁵ (v 9), and bore the *biruda* Rāyachēkōluganda (v. 10). King Vēma restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmanas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēchchha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Budra of the Kākati-vaṁśa (v 12). King Vēma, surnamed Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghōderāya-Gaṅga⁶ (v 13). Vēma's

¹ Restore Śakābdam 1235

² The meaning of this expression is perhaps 'separately stated along with this (Kalyuga year)'

³ *I.e.* 'the holy mountain of the heavenly Kailāsa'. This seems to have been the name of the central shrine in the Tiruvirattānam temple.

⁴ The reference seems to be to the hill-chiefs whom Vēma vanquished.

⁵ *I.e.* the Muhammadans.

⁶ This person seems to have been the family *Guru* of the Reddis. He is referred to in Śrinātha's *Bhāmakhandam* and *Kāśikkhandam* as Ghōderāya-Bhūmaya-Guru and Ghorarāya Bhimésvara, respectively.

capital was the city of Addanki in the country of Pūngi, which extended from the eastern slopes of Śrīgiri¹ to the eastern sea² on both sides of the river Kuṇḍi (vv. 14 and 15). At an eclipse of the moon on Chaitri³ in the Śāka year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons (6) and the suns (12),— in figures 1267,— in the presence of Māndūka-Śaṁbhū,⁴ King Vēma gave as an *agrahāra* to several Brāhmanas the village of Âtukūru, which was situated on the northern bank of the river Kṛishnâ, and which was renamed Vēmapuram after the donor (vv 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account of the boundaries of Âtukūru,— boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the signature *Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra* (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the Reddi dynasty as yet discovered. There is another inscription of Vēma at Amarāvati, also dated in the Śāka year 1267,⁵ but in the month of Kārttika. The Śāka year quoted in the subjoined inscription was the expired and not the current year, and the date of the grant corresponds to Friday, the 18th March A.D. 1345, on which date there was, according to Professor Kiolhorn, "a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 42 m. to 22 h 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India." In the Amarāvati inscription the corresponding cyclic year is given as Pārthiva.

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

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the Reddi chiefs open with Kōmati-Prōla. This inscription gives us the name of Prōla's father Vēma, after whom his illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu *Harivamsam*, which was dedicated to Vēma, the donor of the present grant. In this book Vēma is called indiscriminately Vēma, Kōmati-Vēma, Prōlaya-Vēma, or Annama-Vēma. The second and third names are combinations of Vēma's own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from his mother. From the *Harivamsam* we learn that Prōla's wife Annamâ was the daughter of Dodda, who had three sons, viz Pōta, Chitta and Nāga. Chitta had a son named Nūka who is said to have been a very dear friend of Vēma. He is perhaps identical with Nallanūka, who married Vēma's daughter Vēmasāni.⁶ From the same book we learn that Vēma's younger brother Malla took Mōtupalli⁷—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to Vēma. The latter statement derives corroboration from the Amarāvati inscription already referred to, which says that Vēma fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of Amarēsvara for the eternal benefit (*punya*) of his younger brother Mallâ-Reddi. Before taking leave of the *Harivamsam*, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of Vēma, viz Pōta (afterwards called Anapōta or Anavōta) and Kōmati. Anavēma, Doddāmbikâ and Vēmasāni were apparently not yet born when the *Harivamsam* was composed, and Kōmati probably died while yet a boy.

¹ Srīśailam in the Kurnool district

² The Bay of Bengal.

³ I.e. the full moon day in the month of Chaitra.

⁴ I.e. at the Siva temple called Māndūkēsvara.

⁵ No 268 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

⁶ See above, Vol III p 287, and the genealogical tree published in the *Report on Epigraphy for 1899 1900*.

⁷ In the Bāpatla tāluka of the Kistna district.

The statement in the inscription that Vēma restored the *agrahāras* wrested by the Muhammadans from Pratāparudra is, so far as I am aware, the only epigraphical reference as yet discovered to the Muhammadan conquest of Warangal. It also shows, as has been already pointed out by Mr V. Venkayya in his *Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, that the Reddis were the political successors of the Kākatiyas. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence for determining exactly when the Reddis came into power. The account of the Kākatiya dynasty compiled for Colonel Colm Mackenzie and deposited in the Madras Library of Oriental Manuscripts says that Pratāparudra's generals were all Padmanayakas or Velamas, and this is confirmed by the poem entitled *Velugōtvāri Vamsācali*, i.e. 'Genealogy of the Velugōti family (of Venkatagiri).' The only reference made by the former book to the Reddis is a short passage in which one Tērāla-Būchā-Reddi is said to have fought for Pratāparudra in his final battle against the Muhammadans. It is not known whether this Būchā-Reddi had anything to do with the Reddis of Kondavidu.

According to the traditional history of Kondavidu preserved in the *Kondavīti Dandakavilī*, the Reddis became suddenly rich in the time of one Donti Ailāda-Reddi, who robbed a man named Vēma of the Kōmatī caste, who was his guest, of a piece of philosopher's stone (*sparsavēdi*). When the stone in securing which he had spent the best part of his life, was stolen, the Kōmatī, the book says died of broken heart, and on his death-bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the Reddis, and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity. The account proceeds to state that, with the money thus obtained, Pōlaya-Vēma raised troops, seized Dharamkōta and the neighbouring country from the officers of Pratāparudra, and subsequently established himself at Kondavidu. It is difficult to say what truth there is in this story. It may have been suggested by the fact that Kōmatī was a recognised name of several members of the family. From Śrinātha's *Haravilāsam* we learn that a Kōmatī named Avāchi-Dēvaya, son of Pāvāni, a great merchant of Sīmhavikramapattana (Nellore), was the chief source of support (*prāpu*) to Vēma. Avāchi-Dēvaya's son Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, was also a great merchant and was purveyor to Kumāragiri-Reddi. It would seem that Avāchi-Dēva supplied Vēma with the sinews of war and thereby enabled him to found and extend his kingdom, and that his descendants rendered similar assistance to the descendants of Vēma.

The original sphere of influence of the Reddis was Pākanādu or Pūngidēśa. It may be that they originally governed this province subject to the authority of the kings of Warangal, though no proof of it exists. When the power of the Kākatiyas began to decline, the Reddis became independent and made Addanki their capital. It seems to have been the fashion with the Reddis to have a surname for each. Vēma signed as Pallavatrīnētra, Kumāragiri was Vasantarāja, and Kōmatī-Vēma was Viranārāyana.

According to the *Dandakavilī*, Vēma was the first independent Reddi chief, and there is no evidence that any of his predecessors was such. The present inscription shows that Vēma himself extended his dominions at least up to the northern bank of the Krishnā, while the Amarāvati inscription shows that his territories extended up to the banks of the Godāvāri.¹ There are no means of knowing when the capital was removed from Addanki to Kondavidu. That this was not done prior to the Śaka year 1283 is clear from the Amarāvati inscription of that year,² which refers to Addanki as the capital. This inscription also shows that Vēma, son of Malla, was at that time governor of Dharamkōta or Dhānyavāti under Anapōtā-Reddi. I

¹ He is described as having granted to Brāhmaṇas villages on both sides of the Brahmakundi, the Krishnā and the Godāvāri, and also in the country between these rivers (*Brāhmakunḍi-Krishnavenuā-Gōdāvari-mahanadī-tatadraya-tanmadhyadēśa-datt-ānēk-āgrahāra*)

² No 253 of the Government Epigraphists' collection for 1897

presume that Konḍaviḍu did not become the capital till the time of Anavêma, and that, prior to this, Dharanikôta was the chief seat of Redḍi power in what is now the Kistna district. The fact of Vêma building steps leading to the temples at Śrîsailam and Abôbalam is not mentioned in this inscription, though it is mentioned in the Amarâvatî one. This omission can hardly be regarded as due to oversight, seeing that the act was considered so meritorious as to be mentioned in almost all the subsequent inscriptions of this dynasty. A more probable explanation seems to be, that the work was not finished when this inscription was composed.

Vêma was succeeded by his eldest son Anapôta, and he by his younger brother Anavêma. Both these kings were, according to the *Danḍakavilî*, wise and strong rulers, and they consolidated the kingdom founded by their father. In the *Valugôṭivârî Vamsâvalî*, Anapotanîdu and Mâdânîdu, sons of Singa who was a general of Pratâparudra, claim to have defeated Anapôta-Redḍi at Dharanikôta about the Śaka year 1283, which is also the year of an inscription at Amarâvatî,¹ in which Anapôta's minister is referred to.² I know only of two inscriptions of the time of Anavêma, both dated in Śaka 1299 (expired). One of them is at Drâkshârâma in the Gôḍâvarî district,³ and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of Agastyêśvara at the junction of the Mûsi and the Kṛishnâ in the village of Vâdapallî in the Mîrîyâlagôdem tâluka of the Nallagonda district in the Nizam's dominions. The poet Śrinâtha seems to have first flourished at the court of Anavêma, in whose praise there are several verses extant.

On the demise of Anavêma, the crown passed on to Anapôta's son Kumâragiri, who, according to the *Danḍakavilî*, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the *Haratilâsam* we learn that Kumâragiri was a contemporary of Harihara II of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1379-1399) and of the Bahmanî king Firûz Shâh (A.D. 1397-1422). Tîppa, to whom the book was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great annual spring-festival (*vasantôtsava*) which Kumâragiri seems to have instituted. It is interesting to note that, at this period, the Telugu country had extensive trade relations—not only with other parts of India, but also with foreign countries. For, Tîppa is said to have imported camphor trees from the Panjâb, golden sprouts (*bangaru-molaka*) from Jalânogi,⁴ elephants from Sinhala (Ceylon), horses from Hurumâñji (Ormuz or Persia), essence (*drava*) of civet (*sankumada*) from Gôva (Goa), pearls from Âpaga,⁵ musk from Chôtañgi,⁴ and silk cloths from China. It was in the time of Kumâragiri that the kingdom was divided into two and the Eastern part with Rajahmundry as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister Kâtaya-Vêma.⁶ This separation seems to have been effected not later than the Śaka year 1308, for we have inscriptions of Kâtaya-Vêma issued in that year.⁶

Kumâragiri seems to have been the last of Vêma's branch of the family, and on his death the crown passed to Vêma or Peda-Kômatî-Vêma, grandson of Vêma's elder brother Macha. I know of two inscriptions of Kômatî-Vêma, one dated in the Śaka year 1331⁷ and the other in 1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of Kistna by the Tahsildar of Guntûr. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by Śrinâtha, who is described as the *Vidyâdhikârî* to Kômatî-Vêma. The *Danḍakavilî* says that Kômatî-Vêma was a wise prince and walked in the ways of Anavêma, and it proceeds to state that Kômatî-Vêma was succeeded by his younger brother Râcha-Vêma, who was the last of the dynasty. In

¹ No. 258 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² An inscription of Anapôta dated in the Śaka year 1281 is at Môtupallî.

³ No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

⁴ I am not able to identify these places.

⁵ Above, Vol. III p. 319.

⁶ No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

⁷ No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

the village of Aminâbâd in the Sattenapalli tâluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription¹ of Râcha-Vêma, son of Vêma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santâna-Sâgara, which had been dug by his mother Sûrâmbâ. We know from the Phirangipuram inscription² that Peda-Kômatî-Vêma's wife Sûrâmbâ had a tank excavated and called it Santâna-Sâgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kômatî's successor Râcha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the *Velugôṭṭvârî Vamsâvalî*. This book says that Mâcha (who was the only brother Peda-Kômatî-Vêma seems to have had), son of Kômatî, was killed in battle by Pina-Vêdagiri or Kumâra-Vêdagiri, great-grandson of Mâdânîdu who had fought with Anapôta-Reddî at Dharanikota, and that Mâcha's elder brother Vêma killed Pina-Vêdagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vêdagiri's younger brother Linga. When Peda-Kômatî-Vêma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The *Dandakavilî* says that the Reddis of Kondavîdu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows —

Pôlaya-Vêma or Vêma, Śaka 1242 to 1253 (both years inclusive)
 Anapôta, Śaka 1253-1283.
 Anavêma, Śaka 1284-1295
 Kumâragiri, Śaka 1296-1309.
 Peda-Kômatî-Vêma, Śaka 1310-1337
 Râcha-Vêma, Śaka 1338-1341

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

Pôlaya-Vêma or Vêma, Śaka 1242-1271 (30 years)
 Anapôta, Śaka 1272-1283 (12 years).
 Anavêma, Śaka 1284-1299 (16 years)
 Kumâragiri, Śaka 1300-1320 (21 years)
 Peda-Kômatî-Vêma, Śaka 1321-1337 (17 years).
 Râcha-Vêma, Śaka 1338-1341 (4 years).

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 ❀ श्रीमत्कीमलनीलनीरजरुचिर्लीलावराहचिह्निर नातिप्रौढमृणालकंद-
- 2 ऋलसद्द्राकुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्दहति क्रमेण विगळत्पाथोधिनीलांश-
- 3 का रागादाद्रंतनूरिव क्षणमभूदामोदिनी मेदिनी । [१*] आसीत्कीस्तु[भर]-
 लमं-
- 4 डिततनोर्देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्विषो भगवती गंगीव पुखीदया ।
- 5 आकल्पस्थिरजीवना त्रिजगतोसतारणोद्योगिनी पर्यायेण चतुर्थ-

¹ This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sisa metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock named Pullaribôdu, north east of Aminâbâd which adjoins Phirangipuram. At the end of the verse are the words *Śrînâtha kṛiti*, i. e. 'Śrînâtha's composition'

² No 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899

³ From ink impressions

- 6 वर्णविततिर्गाभीर्यधैर्यप्रसूः । [२*] तदंशाब्धौ सकलजनतानेत्रसं-
 7 पूर्णचंद्रो जात[ः] की[र्त्ति]प्रभवसदनं वेमयो वंगकर्त्ता ॥ यस्योदघ्रे स्फुर-^१
 8 ति सततं भास्वतीव प्रतापे नासीत्कठेष्वरिसृग्दृशां हारतारा[व]म्बिः
 [॥ ३*] तेना-
 9 जनि द्विजनिकायहितावतार[*] श्रेयान्गुणैस्तनुभृता मरुतामिवेद्रः । वी-
 10 राश्रणीर्जगति कीमटिप्रोलनामा^२ प्रत्यर्थिभूपतिभुजंगविचंगराजः । [४*]

Second Plate, First Side.

- 11 शभोरद्रिसुतेव पवनभुवो देवी यथा भारती विष्णोस्त्रागरसभवेव सरितां प-
 12 त्पूर्यथा जाङ्गवी । सूर्यस्येव सुवर्चला शशभृतः पुण्या यथा रोहिणी रुद्रा
 13 कीमटिप्रोलयस्य^२ सदृशी भार्यान्नेमावा सती । [५*] उत्साहाच्चिदियौकसां
 सुरत-
 14 रून् चीरोर्मिरेखा यथा पुत्रान्कीमटिप्रोलयाद्गुणवती^३ सासूत पच क्र-
 15 मात् । अग्रे माचनृपालसुन्नतमथ श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं पद्याद्दोड्डयभू-
 16 पमन्नयनृपं श्रीमल्लयक्ष्मापति । [६*] सत्येन सत्येन^४ पराक्रमेण रूपेण
 17 बुध्या^५ च विराजतस्तान् । त्राणाय भूयोपि भुवोवतीर्णान्नूनं जनीमन्यत
 18 पाडुपुत्रान् । [७*] अथ सकलबुधानामाश्रयः पालनाय चितितलमवती-
 19 र्णः कसमर्हीव देवः । कलिसमयविदृष्यद्दस्युभूपान्निरस्यन्वहति सकल-
 20 पृथ्वीं वेमयचीणिपालः । [८*] दृष्टानंतरराजभूरुहमहासोतीवहा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 21 निर्भरी मैत्रीसंगतराजकैरववनीसंपूर्णचंद्रोदयः । माद्यन्मन्नेनृपा-
 22 लतूलपवनी स्नेच्छाब्धिकुभोद्भवः श्रीमान् कीमटिवेमभूपतिरसौ वीरः
 23 कथं वपर्यते । [९*] रणशिरसि विचित्र रायचेकीलुगडप्रकटतर्हणपाणक्षु-
 24 ष्णगात्राः क्षणेन । सपदि वियति भिदंत्युहतास्तत्प्रतापप्रतिकृतिमिनत्रिव
 25 प्रत्यनीकक्षितीन्द्राः । [१०*] नित्यं 'तारुण्यदर्पस्फुरितकुचभरोदारभृंदा-
 26 रनारीहेलासचारलीलासुभगसुरपुरप्रांगणारोहणा-
 27 य । आ विंशदशजानामतिकरुणतया येन पूर्वापराणां [नित्यं]^६ दा-
 28 नातिदानव्रतसुकृतमहादाननिश्रेणिशिल्पं । [११*] श्रीमत्काकेतवशशेखरमणे-
 29 रा वीररुद्रानृपात्पापैस्नेच्छनराधिपैरपहता विप्राग्रहाराः कलौ । सर्वे ये-
 30 न समुद्धृतास्तमनघं श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं वीरं विष्णुपराक्रम कथम-

^१ Read स्फुरति

^२ The metro requires a single instead of a double consonant after टि.

^३ Read सत्येन

^४ Read बुद्ध्या.

^५ Read एण.

^६ Read 'स्फुरित'

^७ Read व्यक्त ?

^८ Read श्रीमत्काकति°.

Third Plate, First Side

- 31 [ही] स्तोतुं समर्था जनाः । [१२*] श्रीपद्मवचिनेत्रांकी धन्यो वेममही-
पतिः । श्रीघोडे-
- 32 रायगंगाख्यगुरुपादाजवद्दः । [१३*] आस्ते श्रीगिरिपूर्वपादनिकाटादा
पू[र्वपा]-
- 33 धोनिधेर्देशः कुंडितरगिणीसुभयत[:*] श्रीपूंगिनामांकितः । तस्मिन् भासु-
34 रसौधगोपुरवती नित्योत्सवालकता नदत्पौरजना विभाति नितरामहकिना-
35 मा^१ पुरी । [१४*] उदंडमंडलिकमंडलकालदडदोर्द्विक्लमविनिर्जि-
36 तवैरिलोकः । सोयं विभर्त्ति नगरीं नगराजधीर[.*] श्रीवेमभूपतिरिमां^२
37 जगनोव्वगंडः । [१५*] सप्तसंतानवत्यासीन्मही वेमविभोरिति । स्रद्धयेव
धृताः कीर्त्या
- 38 गर्भे लोकाद्यतुर्दश । [१६*] ❀ शाकाब्दे कुधरर्तुभानु १२६७ गणिते
चैत्र्यां श-
- 39 शांके तमोग्रस्ते विप्रगणाय वेमभूपतिर्मांडूकशंभोः पुरः । प्राट-
40 त्त स्फुटमातुकूरुमनघस्रैश्वर्यभोगाष्टकं श्रीकृष्णोत्तरकूलसंस्थम-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 41 तुलं ग्रामं महात्रेयसे । [१७*] स्वनामचिह्नित कृत्वा दत्तो वेमम[ही-
भु]जा । त्रे-
- 42 ष्टी भात्यग्रहाराणां ग्रामो वेमपुराद्वयः । [१८*] ❀

No 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA,

A D 1422

By PROFESSOR H LÜDERS, PH D., ROSTOCK

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanarese characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr Rice³ My edition is based on excellent inked estampages⁴ received from Prof Hultzsch

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kúshmāndinī-yakshī which is set up in the Brahmadvā-mandapa in front of the Gummata temple on the Vindhya-giri at Śravana-Belgola The inscription begins on the south face Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two *chauris*, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised Next come two lines of the

¹ Read °नामी.² Read स्फुट°³ No 7 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891⁴ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line⁵ *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola*, No 82

inscription, after which we have another row of figures, *viz* a woman seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes, a man seated with folded hands and wearing necklaces, and again a female figure seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes. Then the inscription continues. I am unable to offer any explanation of these sculptures, and I do not even venture to decide whether they have any special reference to the events and persons spoken of in the inscription or not.

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanarese. The average height of the letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ " but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes, compare *śrī* in ll 1 and 3, *jā* in l 21, *ja* in l 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l 31, the sign for *anusāra*, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A D, medial *é* is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in *ḍé* in l 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in *dhé* in l 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial *ai* and *ô*. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. *Ti, e g,* shows the first form in ll 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll 7, 34, 77, 96, 111, *ni* the first in ll 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll 58, 59, *re* the first in ll 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll 101, 110, *ba* the first in l 3, the second in l 8, *va* the first in ll 6, 33, 89, the second in l 71, *mô* the first in l 1, the second in ll 44, 80, 100, *yô* the first in ll 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll 31, 109, 110, *etc* — The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are *janghāḷaka*, 'swift-footed,' in l 17, *prakopa*, 'incensed with passion,' in l 33, *dhat*, 'to charge,' apparently meant as the root of the noun *dhātī*, in l 34, *próllásat*, 'shining,' which owes its origin merely to the metric, in l 39, *saustava*, 'praise,' in l 63, *vaikhari*, 'speech,' in l 80 — As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final *t* is changed into *d* before *j* in *jagad=jayamta* (l 9) and *-bhatad=jagati* (l 15), but the correct *sandhi* is found in *atanôj=jainâ-* (l 20). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in *varnam* (l 44), *ākarnnanāshu* (l 59), *karnnair* (l 66), *akarnnair* (l 68) and *-ārnnaia-* (l 94). Initial *r* appears as *ri* in *Yirugapa-* (ll 12, 61, 105) and initial *r* as *ri* in *supātra yēva* (l 57). The *y* after *j* is dropped in *jāyān* (l 24). *S* is written instead of *ś* in *āśrayas* (l 16). The spelling *sallôpī* (l 86) instead of *samlâpī* is according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* a Kanarese peculiarity. Occasionally the groups *chchh*, *ddh*, *bbh* are spelt *chhchh*, *dhdh*, *bbbh*, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

After an invocation of the Jaina religion (v 1), the inscription gives in the next 18 verses an account of a certain Irugapa Bukkarāya, who must be identical with Bukka I of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a minister Baicha (v 2) or Baichapa (I) (v 3), who had three sons (v 4) — Mangapa, Irugapa (I) and Bukkana (v 5). Mangapa, the eldest of them, who was a follower of the Jaina religion (v 6), was married to Jānaki (v 7). They had two sons, Baichapa (II) (v 8) and Irugapa (II) (v 9), who in vv 12, 13, 14 is called also Irugēśvara and Irugendra. As appears from vv 8 and 16, the two brothers were Jainas like their father. With the exception of Bukkana, all the members of this family are called generals (*dand stāra*, *dandan tṛi*, *dandanatha*, *dandapati*, *dandapa*, *dandādhipati*, *dandādhiśvara*, *dhanajapati*), and most of the verses devoted to the praise of Irugapa II (9-19) refer in general terms to his military achievements. Twice (vv 10, 11) Irugapa II is given also the title of prince (*śarāpa*), and twice (vv 13, 14), with a strange blending of his two titles, he is even called *dandanapati*!

The family of Irugapa II is partly already known to us from other records. An inscription at Vijayanagara, dated in Saka 1307 = A D 1385,² mentions, according to Prof. Hultzsch, a certain Chuchha or Chuchapa, the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II, and his

¹ Compare above, Vol VII p 116

² *South Ind Inscr* Vol I No 152

son, the general or prince Iruga or Irugapa, who adhered to the doctrine of the Jainas, but as the letters *cha* and *ba* closely resemble each other in the Telugu alphabet, I have no doubt that Chaicha and Chaichapa are merely misread for Bucha and Baichapa.¹ Two other inscriptions in the Jaina temple at Tirupparuttikunru near Conjeeveram, dated in A.D. 1382 and 1387-88 respectively,² record some donations by the general or minister Irugappa the son of the general Vaichaya³ and a follower of the Jaina religion. The two persons referred to in these three inscriptions have already been identified by Prof. Hultzsch with Baichapa I and Irugapa I of the present record. If in the Vijayanagara inscription Baichapa is called the minister of Harihara II, the successor of Bukka I, this proves only that he remained in office after the death of his first master.

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (*ya'i, yamun*) called Panditārya. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of Śrutamuni is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this Śrutamuni stood to Panditārya. The second group of verses is added to the first quite abruptly, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that Panditārya and Śrutamuni are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jaina monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The Śravana-Belgola epitaph of Mallishēna,⁴ for instance, furnishes the following parallels: Śrīpāladēva-Traividya, Hēmasēna-Vidyādhanamjaya, Ajitasēna-Vādībhasimha-Vādībhanthura, Śāntuītha-Kavitākānta-Kāntasānti, Padmanābha-Vādikōlāhala, Mallishēna-Maladhāru.

The object of the grant is stated in verses 24-26. They record that at Belugula, in the presence of Śrutamuni, the general Irugapa gave away for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara, the village or *tīrtha* of Belugula, supplied with a grove and a new tank built by Irugapa himself. The donation took place 'while the year Śubhakrit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tithi* of the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase,' or, in plain language, on Vishnu's 11th or 12th, *tithi* in the bright half of Kārttika in the cyclic year Śubhakrit. According to Mr. Rice, the Śubhakrit year corresponds to A.D. 1362, but from the dates for Irugapa I quoted above it appears that this is too early, and Prof. Hultzsch has already noticed⁵ that the true European equivalent of the year is A.D. 1422. The rest of the date does not admit of verification.

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that Belugula is Śravana-Belgola itself, and that the holy Gummatēśvara is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the Vindhya giri to the south of the village.⁶

TEXT 7

South Face

- 1 श्रीमत्परमगंभीरस्याद्वादामोघलाङ्कनं [1*] जी-
- 2 यात्तैलोक्यनाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनं ॥ [१*] ◎ ॥ ◎
- 3 श्रीवृक्करायन्य बभूव मंत्री श्रीवैवदडेश्व-
- 4 रनामधेय । नीतियदीया निखिलाभिनद्या नि:-

¹ The same mistake was made by Mr. Rice in editing the present inscription.

² Above, Vol. VII p. 115 f.

³ [This Tamil form proves that Prof. Lüders' reading *Baicha* is correct, for *v* can only correspond to *ś*, and not to *ch* — E. H.]

⁴ Above, Vol. III p. 180 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII p. 115, note 2.

⁶ See *ibid* p. 108 and Plate

⁷ From inked stampages supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.

- 5 शेषयामास विपक्षलोकां ॥ [२*] दानं चैकथयामि तु-
 6 ध्वपदवीं गाहित संतानको वैदग्धीं यदि सा बृहस्पति-
 7 कथा कुत्रापि संलीयते । क्षांति चेदनपायिर्नां जड-
 8 तथा सृश्येत सर्वसहा स्तोत्रं वैचपदंडनेतुरव-
 9 नौ शक्यं कवीना कथ ॥ [३*] तस्मादजायंत जगदुजयंतः^१ पु-
 10 न्नास्यो भूषितचारुशीलाः । यैर्भूषितो-^२
 11 जायत मध्यलोको रत्नैस्त्रिभिर्जैन इवापव-
 12 र्णः ॥ [४*] ^३विरुगपदंडनाथमथ बुक्कणमप्यनु-
 13 जौ स्वमहिमसंपदा विरचयन् सुतरां प्रथि-
 14 तौ । प्रतिभटकाभिनीपृथुपयोधरहारहरो
 15 महितगुणोभवदुजगति^४ मगपदंडपतिः ॥ [५*] दा[ि]क्ष-
 16 ख्यप्रथमास्पदं सुचरितस्यैकात्म्यसत्यवा-^५
 17 गाधारस्तत वदान्यपदवीसंचारजघाल-
 18 कः [६*] धर्मोपहतः ^६क्ष्माकुलगृह सौजन्यसके-
 19 तभूः कीर्ति मगपदंडपोयमतनो-
 20 ज्जैनागमानुव्रतः ॥ [६*] जानकीत्यभवदस्य गेहिनी
 21 चारुशीलगुणभूषणोज्वला^७ । जा-
 22 नकीव तनुवृत्तमध्यमा राघवस्य रमणी-
 23 यतेजसः ॥ [७*] आस्तां तयोरस्तमितारिवर्गौ पु-
 24 त्रौ पवित्रीकृतधर्ममार्गौ । ^८जायानभूत्तत्र
 25 जगदिजेता भव्याग्रणीर्वैचपदंडनाथः ॥ [८*] इ-
 26 रुगपदंडाधिपतिस्तस्यावरजस्मस्त-
 27 गुणशाली । यस्य यशश्चद्रिकया मीलंति दि-
 28 वाप्यरातिसुखपद्माः ॥ [९*] वृ ॥ ब्रह्मन् भाळलि-
 29 पिं प्रमार्ज्य न चेद्ब्रह्मत्वज्ञानिर्भवेदन्यां^९
 30 कल्पय काल राजनगरी तद्वैरिपृ-
 31 थ्वीभृतां । वेतालव्रज ^{१०}वर्धयोदरततिं
 32 पानाय नव्यासृजां ^{११}युधायोध्वतशात्र-
 33 वैरिरुगपक्ष्मापः प्रकीपोभवत् ॥ [१०*] यात्रा-

^१ Read जगज्जयंतः

^४ Read °भवन्जगति

^७ Read °शीकज्वला.

^{१०} Read वर्धयो°.

^२ Read यैर्भूषितो°.

^६ Read °काश्य°

^८ Read न्यायान°

^{११} Read युधायोध्वत°.

^३ Read इरुगप°

^५ Read क्ष्माकुल°.

^९ Read °ज्ञानिर्भवे°

- 34 यां ध्वजिनीपतेरिरुगपक्ष्मापस्य धाटीध-
 35 टद्वोटीघोरखुरप्रहारततिभिः प्रो-
 36 'धूतधूम्रजैः [1*] रुध्वे² भानुकरेगम-

Last Face

- 37 द्विपुकराभोज च संकोचन प्रापत्कीर्तिकुसुद्वती
 38 विकसन दीप्तः प्रतापनलः³ ॥ [११*] यात्रायामि-
 39 रुगेज्जरेण सहसा शून्यारिसौधागणप्रो-
 40 लासद्विधुकांतकांतशकलेगच्छद्वनेभाधिपः [1*]
 41 हत्वा स्वप्रतिमां प्रतिद्विपमिति क्लिन्नैकदत्-⁴
 42 स्तदा त्राहि त्राहि गजाननेति बहुधा वेता-
 43 ऋवृदैः[*] स्तुतः ॥ [१२*] को धात्रा लिखितं लन्ताटफ
 44 लक्ने वने⁵ प्रमाष्टुं क्षमो वार्त्ता धूर्त्तवचो-
 45 मयीमिति वय वार्त्तात्र मन्यासहे ।
 46 'यध्वात्रामिरुगेद्रदडनृपतो सजा-
 47 तमात्रे प्रियो नि[:*]त्रीरप्यधिकत्रियाघ-
 48 टि रिपुस्रत्रोरपत्रीकृतः ॥ [१३*] यद्वाहाविरु-
 49 गेद्रदडनृपतेर्विभ्रत्यनताधुरं⁶ शेषा-
 50 धीशफणागणे नियमितां स स्वागनाया-
 51 स्तदा । गाढान्निंगनसाद्रसभवसुखप्रोद्भू-
 52 तरोमावलिः माहृषीं रसनामधात्तव गु-
 53 णान् स्तोतुं ह्य[ता*]त्यः फणी ॥ [१४*] आहारसपदभया-
 54 र्पणमौपधं च शास्त्र च तन्य समजायत
 55 नित्यदानं । तिसानृतान्यवनिताव्यसन स-
 56 चौर्य सूच्या च देशवशतोस्य वभृ-
 57 व दूरे ॥ [१५*] टान चास्य सुपात्र येव⁷ करुणा
 58 दोनेषु दृष्टिर्जिने⁸ भक्तिर्दर्मपथे जिनेन्द्रय-
 59 शमासाकर्त्तनेषु¹¹ श्रुती । जिह्वा तद्गुणकीर्त्त-
 60 नेषु वपुषः सौम्य च तद्ददने घ्राणं तच्च-
 61 रणाजसोरभभरे सर्व्वं च तत्सवने ॥ [१६*] यि-¹²

¹ Read °दृत्

⁴ Read क्लिन्नैक°

⁷ Read लदाहा°

¹¹ Read भक्तिर्दर्म°

² Read रुध्वे

⁵ Read वणं

⁸ Read °नृपते विभ्रत्य°

¹¹ Read °कर्त्तनेषु

³ Read दीप्ति प्रतापानल .

⁶ Read यद्वाहा°

⁷ Read एव

¹² Read इ°

- 62 रुगपदडनाथयशसा धवले भुवने
 63 मलिनिमसौस्तवः परमधीरदृशां चिकुरे [1*]
 64 वहति च तस्य बाहुपरिघे धरणीवल-
 65 य १परमितरितराक्रमकथापि च
 66 तत्कुचयोः ॥ [१७*] २कनैर्व्विन्मृतकुंडलै-
 67 रतिलकामंगैर्लला-
 68 टस्थलैराकीर्णैरल-^३
 69 कैः पयोधरतटैर-
 70 स्पृष्टमुक्तागुणैः । विंबो-
 71 छैरपि वैरिराजसदृशस्तांबू-^४
 72 लरागोज्जितैर्यस्य स्फारतरं मू-^५
 73 तापमसकृद्ग्राकुर्वले^६ सर्वतः ॥ [१८*]

West Face

- 74 यत्कीर्त्तिभिः सुरधुनीपरिलंघिनीभि धीते^७ चि-
 75 राय निजविबगते कळंके । स्वच्छात्मकस्तुहिन-
 76 दीधितिरंगनानामव्याजमाननरुचि क्ववलो-
 77 करोति ॥ [१९*] यत्पाटाजरज.कणो^८ प्रस्रवते
 78 भक्त्यानताना भुव यत्कारुण्यकटा-
 79 चकांतिलहरी प्रचालयत्याश्रय ।
 80 मोहाहकरणं क्षिणोति विमला यद्वे-
 81 खरोमौखरो वंद्यः कस्य न माननीयम-
 82 ह्योमा^९ श्रीपडिताय्यो यतिः ॥ [२०*] सदा-
 83 रद्रुममजरोमधुक्षरीमंजुस्फुरन्मा-^{१०}
 84 धुरोप्रौढाहकृतिरूढिपाटवपरोपा-
 85 टीककाटोभटः । ^{११}नृत्यद्द्रुकपर्द्दरात्तं-
 86 विलुठत्स्वर्णोक्तकस्योलिनीसल्लापो^{१२} खलु पं-
 87 डितार्ययमिनो व्याख्यानकोळा-

^१ Read °मितरितरा°

^२ Read °जसुदृश°

^३ Read °नीभिर्धीते

^४ At first °मधुक्षरी° was engraved, but the ज has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small भ has been written above it

^५ Read नृत्यद्द्रु°

^६ Read कर्णैर्व्वि°

^७ Read प्र°

^८ Read °कणा°

^९ Read °राकीर्णैर°

^{१०} Read °कुर्व्वते

^{११} Read °महिमा

^{१२} Read °सल्लापी

- 88 ह्रः ॥ [२१*] कारुण्यप्रथमावतारस-
 89 रणिष्ठांतिर्निष्ठांतं स्थिर वैदुष्यस्य तपःफ-
 90 लं सुजनतासौभाग्यभाष्योदयः ।
 91 कर्णद्विरद्रेद्रपंचवदनः काव्याष्ट-
 92 तानां खनीर्लनाध्वांवरभास्करः श्रुत-
 93 मुनिर्जागतिं नम्रात्तिजित् ॥ [२२*] यु-
 94 ऋयागमार्धवविलोलनमदराद्रिः^२ शब्दाग-
 95 मांबुरुहकाननवालसूर्यः । शु-
 96 ध्वाशयः^३ प्रतिदिनं परमागमेन संवर्धते
 97 श्रुतसुनीर्यतिसार्वभौमः ॥ [२३*] तत्त्वनिधौ
 98 वेङ्गुगुळे जगदग्रतीर्त्यं श्रीमानसावि-
 99 रगपाह्वयदडनाथः [१*] श्रीगुमटेश्वर-
 100 मनातनभोगहेतोरग्रामोत्तमं वेङ्गु-
 101 ळाख्यमदत्त धीर. ॥ [२४*] शुभकृति वत्सरे ज-
 102 यति कार्तिकमासि तिथौ सुरमय-
 103 नस्य पुष्टिसुपजम्बुपि शीतरुचौ । सदुप-
 104 वन स्वनिर्मितनवीनतटाकयुतं सचिव-
 105 कुलाग्रणीरदित तीर्त्यवरं मुदितः ॥ [२५*] यि-^५
 106 रगपदडाधीश्वरविमलयशःकलम-
 107 वद्वनचेत्र । आचंद्रतारकामिदं वे-
 108 ळुगुळतीर्त्यं प्रकाशतामतुलं ॥ [२६*] ◎ ॥
 109 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानात् त्रियोनुपालनं^६ । दानात् स्वर्गम-
 110 वाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पद ॥ [२७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च
 व-
 111 सुधरां । पटिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः^७ ॥ [२८*] ◎ ॥
 112 मगल^{१०} महाश्री श्री श्री श्री श्री [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

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

^१ Read खनीर्ल^{१०}.

^२ Read मुनिर्व^{१०}.

^३ Read पटि वर्ष^{१०}.

^४ Read मगल

^५ Read नारणव^{१०}.

^६ Read इ^{१०}

^७ Read विष्टायां

^८ Read शुभाशय .

^९ Read दानाच्छ्रेयो^{१०}.

^{१०} Read क्रिमि.

(V 2) There was a minister of the illustrious Bukkarāya, known as the illustrious general Baicha, whose policy, which was to be approved by everybody, completely destroyed the multitude of his enemies

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

(V 4) From him were born three sons, conquerors of the world, who had good morals for their ornament, adorned by whom the middle world became similar to the final bliss of the Jainas (*which is adorned*) by the three jewels²

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

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

(V 7) His wife was Jānaki, shining by the ornament of her excellent moral qualities, as the daughter of Janaka with her slender round waist (*was the wife*) of the descendant of Raghu, possessed of agreeable splendour³

(V 8) They had two sons, through whom the hosts of the enemies perished, (*and*) who cleansed the path of religion. The elder of them was the general Baichapa, a conqueror of the world, the foremost among the pious⁴

(V 9) His younger brother was the general Irugapa, possessed of all virtues, through the moonshine of whose fame the lotuses of the faces of his enemies close even in daytime⁵

Metre (*vṛtta*) — (V 10) Brahman, wipe off the writing on the forehead! Otherwise thy reputation as Brahman will suffer damage⁶. Build another capital, Death, for the kings hostile to him! Thou host of Vêtālas, widen the extent of your bellies to drink the fresh blood! Prince Irugapa was incensed with passion to fight with the haughty enemies

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

¹ The author wants to say that it is impossible to describe the virtues of Baicha, because they are not to be equalled. His liberality and his cleverness are so great that, compared to him, the tree of desires appears to be covetous and Brihaspati a mere nothing, and as for his patience, even the earth is not a fit object for comparison, because it is *jada*, which may mean inanimate or dull

² The three jewels (*triratna*), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a Śramana who wants to attain eternal beatitude, are *jñāna* or knowledge of things as revealed in the *Āgamas*, *darsana* or faith in what is taught there, and *chāritra* or *dharma*, moral discipline, see Dr Bhandarkar's *Report on Skt. MSS*, 1893 84, p 100

³ The attributes of Rāma and Sitā are applicable to Mangapa and Jānaki also, and *vice versa*

⁴ *Bharva* must be understood here as in other Jaina inscriptions as referring to the Jaina community

⁵ Generally the *padma* has its flowers opened by daylight

⁶ Brahman's predictions of a happy lot to the hostile kings will prove false, because they will be slain by Irugapa

⁷ His enemies clenched their fists in rage

(V 12) (*Once*), a huge wild elephant was reflected by a beautiful fragment of glimmering moon-stone in the court of an enemy's palace, which had been deserted in a hurry through (*fear of*) the lord Iruga (*who was*) on the march. Thinking that it was a hostile elephant, he struck his image (*and*) broke one of his tusks, (*and*) was (*therefore*) afterwards often invoked by the hosts of Vêtâlas (*with the words*). 'Have mercy, have mercy, Gajânana!'¹

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

(V 14) While thy arm, O general Irugêndra, was carrying the burden of the earth (*originally*) laid on the group of the hoods of the lord Śêsha, that serpent, contented, the lines of his hair always bristling with joy on account of the frequent opportunities for closely embracing his wife, used his thousandfold tongue in praising thy virtues!¹

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

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

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

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

(V 19) Since his fame, surpassing the river of the gods,² has washed off, at last, the spot in her disk, the moon, being (*now*) perfectly clear, really swallows the beauty of the faces of the women.

(V 20) Who would not do homage to the ascetic (*yati*), the venerable Panditârya, whose greatness is to be honoured, the grains of dust of whose foot-lotus produce a world for those who bow (*to him*) in devotion,³ the wave of loveliness of whose compassionate side-glances purifies the heart, the faultless fluency of whose speech destroys delusion and self-conceit.

(V 21) The roar of the discourse of the ascetic (*yamin*) Panditârya which is a warrior (*in cutting*) the neck of the succession of great self-conceit, fame and skill of the pleasant and distinguished sweetness of the streams of honey of the flowers of the *mandâra* tree, verily resembles the river of the celestial world,⁴ winding through the hollows of the braids of the dancing Rudra.

¹ *I.e.* Ganêśa, who has the head of an elephant, but only one tusk.

² *I.e.* the Gangâ.

³ The dust of the lotus like foot of Panditârya is compared to the pollen of the lotus of Brahman which produces the world.

⁴ *I.e.* the Gangâ.

(V 22) Śrutamuni, the main-road for the descent of compassion, the lasting dawn of calmness, the fruit of the austerities of learning, the mountain from which benevolence and prosperity and happiness rise, a lion to the mighty elephant of passion, a mine of the nectar of poetry, the sun in the sky of the Jaina sect, is watchful, removing the distress of the humble.

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

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

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

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

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual implications]

No 5 — TAIAGUNDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C I E, GOTTINGEN

This inscription was discovered in 1894 by Mr B Lewis Rice, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore¹ From a photograph and a transcript furnished by him, a preliminary notice of it was published by the late Prof Bühler in September 1895, in the *Academy*,² and about the same time a summary of its contents was given by Dr Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p 286 f, from an ink-impression lent by Mr Rice. The inscription has now been edited by its discoverer, with a photo-lithograph and translation, in *Ep Carn* Vol VII p 200 ff. I re edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Prof Hultzsch³

According to Mr Rice, the inscription is engraved on a pillar of very hard grey granite, which stands in front of the ruined Pranavésvara⁴ temple at Tālegunda, in the Shikarpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. The pedestal of the pillar is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at the top, a little more at the base. The shaft is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high,⁵ each face being 7 inches wide, but tapering slightly towards the top. Seven faces of the shaft contain each two vertical lines of writing which commences at the bottom, while on the 8th face there is only one short line (line 15 of the text), written in the same way. "The invocation at the beginning" of the inscription (i.e. the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaś=Śivāya* || of line 1) "is on the pedestal, and runs up connecting with the first line." In the impressions the length of lines 1-14, disregarding the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaś=Śivāya* ||

¹ See *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introduction, p 1 f

² Prof Bühler's article is reprinted in *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 27 f

³ In October 1898 Dr Fleet kindly gave me his own transcript of the text and the photograph which had been sent to Prof Bühler by Mr Rice, and my translation was prepared in the summer of 1899, at the time when I published a note on the principal metre of the inscription

⁴ So the name is given in *Ep Carn* Vol VII p 200. On pp 4 and 47 of the Introduction of the same volume we find, instead of it, 'Pranavaśvara'. Prapaivalinga is the name furnished to me with the ink-impressions

⁵ Judging by the length of the lines, the shaft must really be slightly higher.

of line 1, varies between 5' 11" (in line 10) and 6' 5" (in lines 1 and 2), that of line 15 is only 2' 5". The size of such *aksharas* as *ja*, *ma*, *ya*, *va* is between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $\frac{7}{8}$ ", while the average height of *aksharas* like *a*, *la*, *ra*, *pra*, *vya*, *jja*, *má*, *mr* is between 2 and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription is most carefully written and engraved, and is generally in so perfect a state of preservation that nearly every syllable of it may be read with certainty — The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet. Among Kadamba inscriptions, they seem to resemble most those of the Dévagéri plates of the 4th year and the Hitnabebbáglu plates of Mrigésavarman,¹ but, as is elsewhere the case with stone-inscriptions, they exhibit a more regular and artistic style of writing than is found in the copper-plates. Of initial vowels the text contains *a*, *á*, *i* (e.g. in *ity* =, l 10), *u* (in *udrararha*, l 5) and *é* (e.g. in *évam* =, l 3), and of the consonants, all excepting *jh*, *th*, *ph*, and *l*, but *chh* occurs only as subscript letter (e.g. in *chchháya* -, l 11). Attention may perhaps be drawn here to the signs for *lh* (e.g. in *-sélharah* l 8), *n* (e.g. in *bhangur* -, l 7), *y* (e.g. in *jayati*, l 1), *ñ* (e.g. in *yajñá*°, l 2, and *pañchabhír* =, l 13), *d* (in *-mridita* -, l 11, *-chúdāmanayah*, l 13, and *tadūlam* =, l 14), *dh* (in *-samrūdna* -, l 3), *th* and *dh* (e.g. in *vidha-yajñārabhritha* -, l 2), *b* (e.g. in *brahma* -, l 4), and *l* (e.g. in *-tulam*, l 2, and *Pallavéndra* -, l 4), and to the peculiar form² of the subscript *n* in *-aparānna* -, l 7. As regards medial vowels, it may suffice to point out the two forms of the *al-hara* *rā*, employed e.g. in *guruní* and *śarmmanā*, both at the commencement of line 4, and the manner in which *á* is written in the *akshara* *tá*° (of *-jatá* -, l 1). The alphabet includes the signs of the *jihāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya* (e.g. in *-nipunah=lavih* and *-l isalah=prajā* - both at the end of line 9), those of final *n* (e.g. in *siādham*, l 1, and *-mandalam*, l 2), final *t* (e.g. in *bhayāt*, l 1, and *tat*, l 3), and final *n* (in *yō=rín*, l 9), and the sign of punctuation consisting of two vertical lines — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *Siddham* [||] *Namas=Śivāya* || and the words in line 15, the whole is in verse. The orthography suggests the following remarks. Within a half-verse and in the words *Namas=Śivāya* of line 1, the final *visarga* of a word before one of the three sibilants is always (altogether 19 times) assimilated to the sibilant. Before a surd guttural (*k* or *kh*) it is nine times changed to the *jihāmūliya* and left unchanged twice both times at the end of a Pāda (in *-lilah Kākustha*, l 10, and *-sthañ Kubjas* =, l 14). The *jihāmūliya* is also employed in *dhilham* =, l 4. Before *p* — *ph* does not occur — *visarga* is changed to the *upadhmaniya* five times and left unchanged seven times (once, in *putrah prathita* -, l 9, at the end of a Pāda). Before the conjuncts *sn* and *st* (but not before *sv* and *sr*) *visarga* is dropped, in *brāhmanai snātakai stūyamāné*, l 13. In the words *say=īha* (for the ordinary *sa īha*) of line 13 the final *visarga* of *sañ* has by Pāṇini, VIII 3, 17 (or 18) been changed to (the ordinary or the *laghuprayatnatara*) *y*° — The final *m* of a word remains unchanged, and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in the word *siddham* in line 1 and always at the end of a half-verse, exceptionally (and wrongly) also at the end of the odd Pādas of verse 28. Otherwise final *m* before a consonant is changed to *anusāra* except in *āpadan=tān=dhārayām-āsa* (for *āpadam tān dhā*°), l 6, *yan=dāva* - (for *yam dāva* -), l 13, *yam=mitram* =, l 7, *prithvīm=prasahya*, l 9, *tam=bhūpāh* =, l 11, *-sambhrama*, l 12, and *tadāham=mahat*, l 14. In

¹ See *Ind. Ant* Vol VII p 37, Plates, and *Ep. Carn* Vol. IV p 136, Plates, compare also Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palæographie*, Plate VII Col. XIII.

² In the Goa plates of Satyāsraya Dhruvarāja Indravarmān (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol X p 365) the Satarā plates of Vishnuvardhana I (*Ind. Ant* Vol XIX p 303), and elsewhere, the subscript *n* of *rnna* is denoted by the sign of the dental *n*. The subscript *n* of the present inscription has a somewhat similar form.

³ In the collotype facsimile the upward stroke, rising from the end of the top-line of the sign for *t*, by which *d* is denoted, is not clearly visible. The same sign for *tá* is quite clear e.g. in the word *ghatá* in line 10 of the Ahoje inscription, above, Vol VI p 6.

⁴ Hemachandra gives as an example *kay=īha*, for the ordinary *ka īha*. With this we may compare *kay=īca* for *ka īca* in line 25 of the Kauthīm plates of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant* Vol XVI p 22. In line 11 of the Bādām (Mahakūta) pillar inscription of Mangalesa (*ibid.* Vol. XIX. p 17) I would similarly suggest *say=īta*° for *sag=ūta*°.

the interior of a simple word a nasal before a consonant of its own class is always denoted by its own sign, nowhere by the sign of *anusvāra*. After *r*, a consonant (other than a sibilant or *h*) is generally, about five times out of six, doubled. Before *r*, *t* is doubled in *māttra*, l. 6, *śakti-ttray-*, l. 13, and *paṣṭa-ttray-*, l. 14, while it remains single in twelve similar cases, and *ḷ* is doubled in *vikramaiḥ*, l. 7, *parākkramatas-*, l. 9, and *-ākkrāntā*, l. 11. Before *y*, *dh* is changed to *ddh* in *addhyēya-*, l. 2, *ārāddhya*, ll. 4 and 7, *addhyuvāsa*, l. 5, and *asāddhyās-*, l. 13, but not in *anudhyāya*, l. 8. The number of clerical errors is very small, I need only point out here *Sthānur-* (for *Sthānur-*) in line 1, and *utkrishṭa* (for *utkrishṭa*) in line 8.

In respect of grammar generally and lexicography the text calls for few remarks. The use of the gerunds *ārāddhya* and *adhītya* in verse 12 does not accord with the rule of the grammarians, but may be defended by the less strict practice of even classical writers. Similarly, the employment of *bhojya* (instead of *bhōgya*) in *prithvīm . . . svavamsa-bhōgyām* of verse 25 is contrary to Pāṇini, VII 3, 69, but the word is often used in the same way elsewhere, especially in epic poetry. Like other inscriptions, this one also contains some words which are not found in the published dictionaries. Of these, *antarālaya* (formed like *antarāgāra*, *antargriha*, *antarbhavana*) in verse 6, *sānāmya* (an abstract noun derived from the adjective *sandāman*, 'having the same name') in verse 8, *brahmasiddhi* in verse 12 and *samutthāpana* in verse 16 can offer no difficulty. The word *aśvasamstha* in verse 11 I take to be synonymous with *aśvārōha*, 'a horseman,' and I would compare with it such words as *gajastha*, *rathastha*, *syandanastha*, as well as *turagādhirūḍha* and *tuṅgasādīn* (e.g. in *Ragh* VII 34 and *Śis.* XVIII 2). On the word *ghaṭikā* in verse 10 I have published a special note in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1900, p. 345 ff, where I have tried to prove that a *ghaṭikā* was an establishment (probably founded in most cases by a king) for holy and learned men, such as is often mentioned in other inscriptions under the name *brahmapurī*. In the note referred to I have shown that *ghaṭikā* is used in this sense e.g. in the Kāśākudī plates of the Pallava Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 349, lines 56 and 59) and in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarmān II (above, Vol. IV p. 196, line 14)¹. The last remark which I would offer on the wording of the present inscription is, that the author in verse 29 uses *iva . . . tadvat*, instead of *yadvat* (or *yathā*) . . . *tadvat*. This, so far as I know, is foreign to the usage of classical writers, from whose works I am unable to quote quite analogous instances².

The inscription contains 34 verses. The metres of nine of them (verses 25-32 and 34) are the ordinary ones. Pushpitāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The metre of the long verse 33, with which the poem proper here presented to us fitly closes,³ is a species of Dandaka, called by the general name Prachita. It consists of four Pādas, each of which contains six short syllables and eight amphimacers (—◡—).⁴ Most interesting from a metrical point of view are the verses 1-24, composed in a metre⁵ which is found rarely elsewhere

¹ Since writing my paper on *ghaṭikā*, I have come across the word *ghaṭikāsāhasa*, which in line 41 of the Hallegere plates of the W. Ganga Śivamara I (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 108, where it is wrongly transcribed by *ghaṭikā sahasa*) occurs as an epithet of a Brahman. I have little doubt that this word is identical with the words *ghaṭiyasāhasa*, *ghaṭisāsa*, mentioned above, Vol. VI p. 241, note 2. In Hēmachandra's *Dattānamāla*, ll. 105, to which Prof. Pischel has drawn my attention, we find *ghaṭiyaghada* (i.e. *ghaṭikaghata* or *ghaṭikāghatā*), paraphrased by *gōshlī*.

² In the *Ramāyana*, *iva . . . tathā* is used like *yathā . . . tathā*, but passages like VII, 7, 18 ff, where this is the case, are somewhat different from the one in our text. Exactly like the *iva . . . tadvat* of the text I find *iva (or va) . . . evam* used in the Pali Gāthās; compare e.g. *Jāt.* Vol. IV, p. 172, l. 11. *Garari va singino singam eaddhamānassa vaddhati evam mānassa posassa bālassa avijānato bhīyyo tapāḍa pīpāḍa cha eaddhamānassa vaddhati*, 'as the horn grows, so thirst grows.'

³ Verse 31 gives the name of the author, who also wrote the inscription on the stone.

⁴ For a much longer species of Prachita (in which each Pada contains six short syllables and 10 amphimacers) see *Atlatlīmādhara*, Dr. Bhandarkar's ed., p. 181.

⁵ I have published a short paper on this metre in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1897, p. 163 ff. As that paper is in German, I repeat here what has been stated in it.

and has not, so far as I know, been described in any treatise on prosody. This metre may be described as a species of *mātrāsamāla*, the name of which as yet is unknown. Each verse contains four Pādas, the general scheme of which is —

Pādas 1 and 3 $\underline{\cup} \cup - \cup - \cup - \underline{\cup} \cup$ (15 Mātrās),
Pādas 2 and 4 $\underline{\cup} - \cup - - \cup - \cup \cup$ (15 Mātrās).

In Pādas 2 and 4 this scheme is uniformly adhered to. But in Pādas 1 and 3 we find it strictly observed only in 30 cases out of the 48. In 14 others of the odd Pādas a long syllable takes the place of the 6th Mātrā of the general scheme, followed in 4¹ out of these 14 Pādas by two short syllables instead of a long one. And in the four remaining odd Pādas² a trochee (— \cup) occurs instead of the 6th Mātrā of the above scheme. This gives us, as subsidiary schemes for Pādas 1 and 3 —

' $\underline{\cup} \cup - - \underline{\cup} \cup - \underline{\cup} \cup$ (16 Mātrās),
and $\underline{\cup} \cup - - \cup - \cup - \underline{\cup} \cup$ (17 Mātrās)³

Examples of Pādas showing these subsidiary schemes are —

V. 2, Pāda 3 yat-prisādas=trayate nityam,
V. 4, Pāda 1 atha babhūva dviya-kulam prāmśa,
V. 5, Pāda 1 vividha yajñ-ārabhritha-puny-āmbu-
and V. 11, Pāda 3 Kali-yugé=smunn=abo bata kshatrat,
V. 21, Pāda 3 Prāhar-antām=ananyasamcharana-

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

Jitam=abhikshnam=ēva Jāmbavatī- vadanāravind-ōrjūt-ālinā |
dānavāngana-mukhāmbhoja- lakshmi-tushārēna Vishnunā | (||)

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

[Ari]narēndra-manu-vinyasta- mani-karana-lidha-kramāmbujah [I]
Pravarasēnas=tasya putrō=bhūd= vikasannavēndīvar-ēkshana [h II]

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

Iti sur=ēyam pancha-pañch-āhād= rasa-varnna-gandhah samanvitā [I]
bhavati tailam nāmataś=ch=ēdam= undīram=⁶atyarthakārmukam [II]
Tailam=ētad=yah surām=api vā purushah prayumjita yatnatah [I]
pariharanti tam gad-ānikāny= ājan krit-āstrān=iv=ētarē [II]

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

¹ Viz in V. 4, Pāda 1, V. 5, Pāda 1; V. 10, Pāda 3, and V. 12, Pāda 3.

² Viz in V. 11, Pāda 3, V. 17, Pāda 3; V. 21, Pāda 3, and V. 24, Pāda 3.

³ According to Mr Rice a long syllable occurs in place of the second — Mr Rice means the third — Mātrā in the third Pādas of verses 19 and 21, but this remark is due to wrong readings.

⁴ Thus, not *-ālidha-*, was the reading of Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji, which is shown to be correct by the metre.

⁵ The metre shows that this may not be altered to *udīrnam*.

have been rescued from oblivion is due to, and is a point of special interest in, the present inscription

In the 7th of the introductory verses of the *Harshacharita* Bâna says ¹—

“In the North plays on words are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense, in the South it is poetical fancy, in Gauda pomp of syllables”

Judging hereby the present little poem, which the author himself in verse 34 calls a *Kāvya*, I would say that, taken as a whole, it would certainly be assigned to the West of India. There is in it no pomp of syllables, and little of poetical fancy (*utprékshā*) or any of those other ornaments which lend their charm to the classical *Kāvya*s. But the author presents to us a vivid picture of the persons and events dealt with, and does so in plain, but vigorous language. This, at any rate, is the case with the verses 4-24. The verses 25-32 are in a different style, approaching somewhat to that of a real *Kāvya*, but they mainly contain such conventional phrases as are met with in any ordinary *prastāva*.²

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

The³ Kadambas were a Brahman family, devoted to the study of the Vêdas and the performance of sacrificial rites, their name, the poet says, they had received from the fact that they carefully tended a *kadamba* tree which grew near their home. Now once upon a time a member of this family, named Mayûrasarman, went with his *guru* to (Kāñchîpura,) the city of the Pallavas, to study fully the sacred writings. The poet tells how he became exasperated there with the Kshatriya Pallavas and, abandoning his priestly vocation, took up the sword, ‘eager to conquer the earth.’ Mayûrasarman defeated the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest stretching to the gates of Śrîparvata.⁴ He levied tribute from the Great Bâna⁵ and other kings, and caused much trouble by his raids. The Pallava kings of Kāñchî, finding it impossible to subdue him even when they had taken the field with a large army, and recognizing his valour and ability, then made a compact with him by which he entered their service and eventually received a territory of his own, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east (?) by the (?) Prêhara(?), of which he was anointed chief or king. His son was Kangavarman,⁶ and

¹ I quote from the English translation.

² It will be seen from the above that in my opinion this poem, however interesting, is not ‘written in the highest *Kāvya* style.’ So far as I can see, its author was better acquainted with the *Mahabharata* than with the *Kāvya*s which may have existed in his time.

³ For the details, see the translation, below.

⁴ Śrîparvata, which we also find in line 1 of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramêndravarman II (above, Vol IV p 195), I here as there take to be the sacred Śrîsaila in the Karnul district. It is the modern Srisaïlam situated on the west of the Eastern Ghats, between them and the river Kistna, see Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 34, D a.

⁵ According to Prof Hultzsch (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 89) the capital of the Bana dynasty appears to have been Tiruvallam, ‘as one of its names was Vānapuram, and as it belonged to the district of Perumbānappādi,’ i.e. the country of the Great Bâna. Tiruvallam is only about 40 miles west by north of Conjeeveram (Kāñchîpura). It may be noted that the *Bṛihad Bâna* of our text exactly corresponds to the Tamil *Perumbāna*, *br̥ihat* apparently forms an essential part of the name, and is not a mere *epitheton ornans*.

⁶ It is significant that, while the name of the founder of the family, Mayûrasarman, ends with *śarman*, the names of nearly all his descendants (Kangavarman, Kākusthavarman, Śântivarman, Mṛigêsavarman, Māndhātṛivarman, etc) end with *varman*. The former is the characteristic ending of a Brāhman's name, the latter that of a Kshatriya's. In the inscriptions of the later Kādambas Mayûrasarman's name, too, appears as Mayûṛavarman, see my *Southern List*, No 210.

his son was Bhagīratha. Bhagīratha's sons, again, were Raghu and Kākustha (Kākusthavarman). Nothing of note is recorded of these later chiefs, excepting that Kākusthavarman is intimated to have married his daughters to the Gupta and other kings

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

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

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

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

¹ There is of course no *a priori* reason why the word should denote a river more than anything else.

² See *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 27.

³ See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kādambari anēka-Gupt-ārchita pādapanākajah Kuvēra nāmā*. The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Vaiśyas and Śudras.'

⁴ See *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 333, and Plate.

⁵ See *Ep Carn* Vol VII p 251, No 263, and Plate.

his son was Bhagiratha. Bhagiratha's sons, again, were Raghu and Kâkustha (Kâkusthavarman). Nothing of note is recorded of these later chiefs, excepting that Kâkusthavarman is intimated to have married his daughters to the Gupta and other kings

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

The word Gupta in verse 31, which implies that Kâkusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, has been understood² to refer in all probability to the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Samudragupta who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. But beyond the fact that Samudragupta conquered many kings of Southern India, nothing has been adduced to prove this. Granted that Kubja's account cannot be due solely to poetical exaggeration, the Gupta king or kings mentioned by him might irrespectively of other considerations, be any of the Gupta rulers down to the seventh century A.D., and the reference to them cannot in my opinion be used to establish the time of Kâkusthavarman with any degree of accuracy. When the poet Bâna³ tells us that the lotus-feet of his great-grandfather Kuvêra were adored by many Guptas, we may infer that these Guptas were kings who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century, because we know Bana himself to have lived at the beginning of the seventh. But if nothing were known regarding Bâna's own time, the statement would not help us in the least to fix in any definite way the time of his great-grandfather.

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

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

¹ There is of course no *a priori* reason why the word should denote a river more than anything else.

² See *Ind Ant* Vol. XXV p. 27.

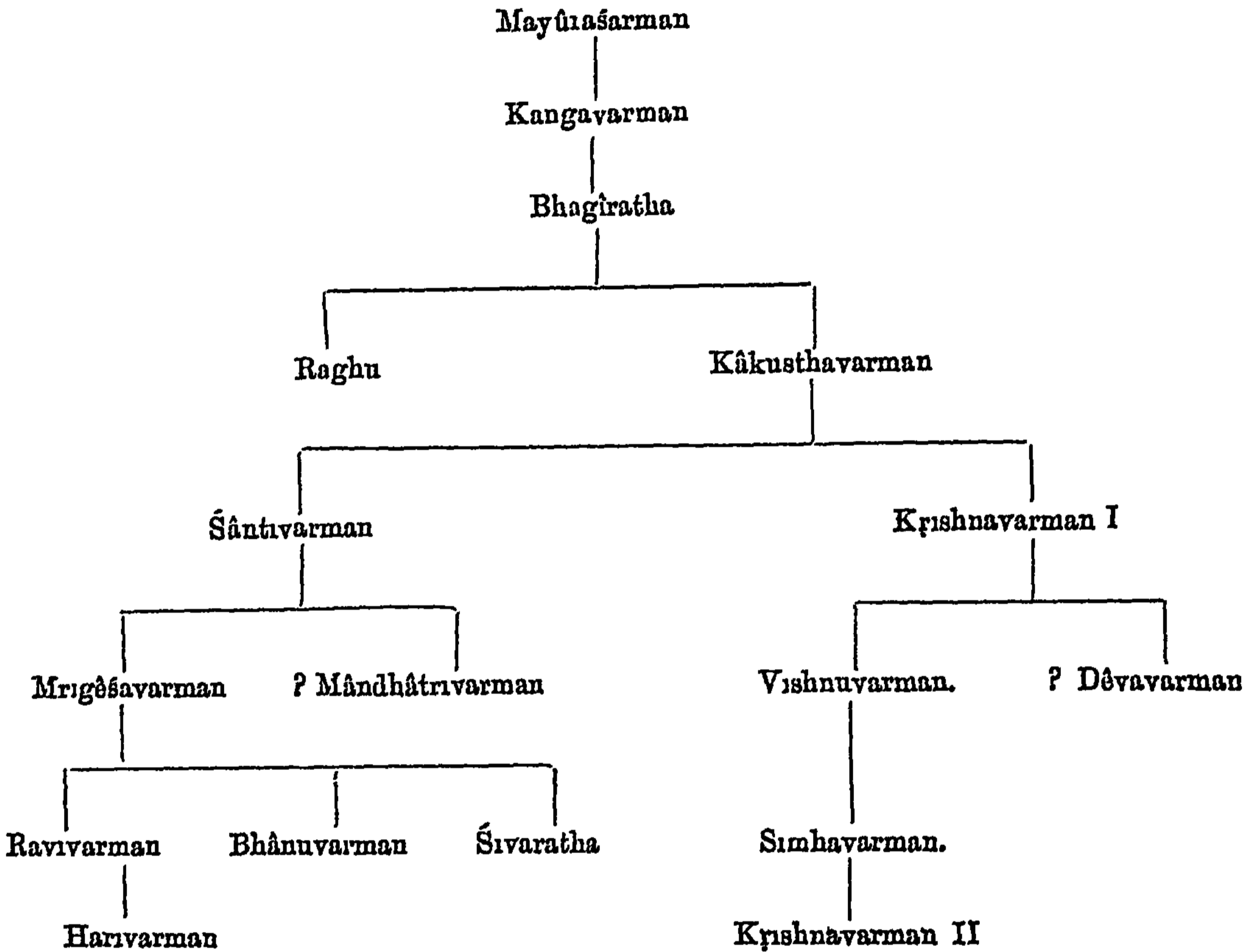
³ See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kâdarîbarî anêsa-Gupt-ârchita-pâdapankajah Kuvêra vâmad*. The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Vaiśyas and Śudras.'

⁴ See *Ind Ant* Vol. XIV p. 333, and Plate.

⁵ See *Ep Carn* Vol. VII p. 251, No. 263, and Plate.

and the plates¹ I have compiled the following genealogical Table, which will be found to differ considerably from the one published by Mr. Rice in *Ep Carn Vol VI* Introduction, p 4.

Genealogical Table.



I ought to state that the correctness of this Table greatly depends on the reliability²—assumed here—of the Birūr plates, published by Mr Rice in *Ep Carn Vol VI* p. 91, No. 162. These plates record a grant by the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* Vishnuvarman, the eldest son of the *akvamēdha-yājñ*, the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛishnavarman. By stating that Vishnuvarman was making the grant with the permission of his *ṃyēshṭha-pitṛi* (i.e. his father's eldest brother³) Śāntivarman (Śāntivarman), they enable us to combine, as shown in the Table, the information given by the Bannahalli plates of Kṛishnavarman II (above, Vol VI p 17) with that furnished by various plates from Halsi and Dēvagēri (Nos 604, 606, 608, 610-612 of my *Southern List*). What I am not sure about in the Table is, whether I have correctly placed Māndhātṛivarman and Dēvavarman. Mrigēśavarman was an eldest son, and Māndhātṛivarman

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

² I have some doubts about the genuineness of the Birūr plates, but see no reason to question what is stated in them regarding the degree of relationship between Vishnuvarman and Santivarman

³ The word *ṃyēshṭha-pitṛi* is synonymous with *ṃyēshṭha-tāta* which in the *Vaiṃyanṭi* is explained by *pitṛi-ṃyēshṭha*, 'a father's eldest brother', and it is actually used in this sense in the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II. Jagadekamalla, *Ind Ant Vol VIII* p 17a, l 4. I may note besides that in *Rām VII*. 25, 23, Malyavat, the eldest brother of Sumali, is called the *pitṛi ṃyēshṭha* of Sumali's daughter Kaikasi, i.e. 'the eldest brother of the father' of Kaikasi. (*Ibid* verse 24 Malyavat's granddaughter Kumbhinaśi is called 'the sister' of Sumali's grandson Ravana, and in verse 47 Ravana is called 'the brother' of the same Kumbhinaśi. This shows how vaguely words denoting relationship were used already in early times in India.)

may have been his younger brother,¹ but there is nothing to prove this with certainty. Dêvarman, described as the son of a Kṛishṇavarman, in my opinion more probably was a son of Kṛishṇavarman I (and younger brother of Viṣṇuvarman who was an eldest son) than of Kṛishṇavarman II,² but of this, again, we have no definite proof. It is also not certain that Śivaratha was a younger brother of Bhānuvarman. Of the three brothers, Bhānuvarman is described as the younger brother of Ravivarman, Śivaratha as the paternal uncle of Harivarman — It will be seen that according to the Table the number of generations is eight, not eleven, as found by Mr Rice

There remains the question as to the age of this inscription. The inscription itself is not dated in any way. Of the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions, four are not dated at all, ten are dated in regnal years,³ varying between 2 and 11, and the plates of the Yuvarāja Kākusthavarman are dated in the 80th year, which, as intimated already by Dr Fleet, in all probability was reckoned from the commencement of Mayūrasarman's reign. Neither in the present inscription nor in the plates is there any reference to a king whose time can be determined with any certainty, and the inscriptions of other dynasties do not mention any specific Kadamba king. That our inscription belongs to comparatively early times, there can be no doubt. I have shown that the rare metre, chiefly employed in it, is elsewhere found in records from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D., and much the same period is indicated by Kākusthavarman's connection with some Gupta king or kings. Of the copper-plates which are later than this inscription, two—instead of quoting the ordinary lunar months which are quoted in seven others—quote fortnights of the rains and winter (*varshā* and *hémanta*). This also would suggest a considerable antiquity, although we must not forget that we have a similar season-date in the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II (above, Vol III, p 260), which have been assigned to about the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁴ To what particular portion of the time from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. our inscription should be referred, seems to me extremely difficult to say. I have carefully studied all Kadamba inscriptions from a palæographical point of view, and have compared them with other inscriptions from the South, without being able to arrive at any certain and definite conclusion. My general impression is that the present inscription may be assigned to about the first half of the 6th century A.D.⁵

TEXT⁶

- 1 Siddham⁷ [||] Namaś=Śivāya || Jayati⁸ viśvadê[va]-⁹sa[m]ghâta-nichit-aikamûrttis-sanâtanah Sthānu(nu)r=indu-rasmi-vichchhurita¹⁰dyutimaj-jatâbhâra-mandanah || [1*]
Tam=anu bhûsurâ dvija-pavarâs=sâma-rg-yajur-vveda-vadinah yat-prasâdas=trâyâtê
nityam bhuvana-trayam pâpmanô bhayât || [2*] Anupadam Surêndra-tulya-
[va]puh=Kākusthavarmmâ viśala-dhîh bhûpatih=Kadamba-sênânî-brihad-¹¹anvaya-
vy[o]ma-chandramâh
- 2 || [3*] Atha babhûva dvija-kulam prâmsu vicharad-gunêndvamśu-mandalam
tryârshavartma-Hârîtiputram=rishimukhya-Mânavya-gôtra-jam || [4*] Vividha-yajñ-
âvabbriṭha-puny-âmbu-myat-âbhishék-ârdra-mûrddhajam pravachan-âvagâha-nishnâtam

¹ See above, Vol. VI p 13

² See *ibid* p 17

³ Two dates, with reference to the motion of Jupiter, qualify the regnal years by the statements that they were Vaisakha and Pausha years respectively, compare *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p. 83 f

⁴ Compare above, Vol IV p 195, note 4.

⁵ See also Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p 291

⁶ From impressions supplied by Prof Hultzsch

⁷ This word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

⁸ For the metre of verses 1-24 see the introduction

⁹ The *akshara* in brackets might perhaps be read as *da* (or rather *da*), but the preceding *akshara* is clearly *dê*, not *vê*

¹⁰ The reading *vichchhurita* is certain

¹¹ The *akshara* *br* of *brihad* has no superscript *r*

- vidhivat=samiddh-âgni sôma-pam || [5*] Pranavapûrvva-shadvîdhâddhyâya-¹
nânardyamân-ântarâlayam ||² akriśa-châturmmâsya-hôm-ôṣṭi paśu-pârvvaṇa-śrâddha-
panshtakam [||³ 6*]
- 3 Atithi-nityasamśrit-âvasatham savanatrâya-³âvandhya-naityakam gṛiha-samîpa-dêśa-
samrûdha-vikasat-kadamb-aika-pâdapam || [7*] Tad-upachâravat=tad=âsya tarôś-
sânâmya-sâdharmyam=asya tat pravavritô satirtthya-vipranâm piûchuryyatas=tad-
visêshanam || [8*] Èvam=ôgatô Kadamba-kulô śrîmân=babhûva dvij-ôttamah
nâmatô Mayûrasârmm=êti śruta-śîla-śaucha-âdy-alamkṛtah [||] [9*]
- 4 Ych prayâya Pallavêndra-purim gurunâ samam Virasaimmanâ adhiyigâmsuh-
pravachanam nikhilam⁴ ghatikâm vivêś=âśu tarkkukah⁵ || [10*] Tatra
Pallav-aśvasamsthêna kalabhêna tivrêna rôshitah Kali-yugê=sminn=ahô bata
kshatrât=paripçlavâ vipratâ yatah [||⁶ 11*] Guru-kulâni samyag=ârâddhya
śakhâm=adhity=âpi yatnatah brahma-siddhir=yyadi nrip-âdhinâ kim=atah=param
dukhham=ity=atah [||] [12*]
- 5 Kusâ-samid-drishat-srug-âjya-charu-grahan-âdi-dakshêṇa pâninâ udvavarha⁶ diptimach-
chhastram vijigîshamânô vasundharâm || [13*] Yô=ntapâlan=Pallavêndrânâm
sahasâ vinirjitya samyugô addhyuvâsa durggamâm=atavim Śriparvvata-dvâra-
samśritâm || [14*] Âdadê karân=Brihad-Bâna-pramukhad=babhûn=râja-mandalât
èvam=ôbhîḥ=Pallavêndrânâm bhrikuti-samutpatti-kâranaih || [15*]
- 6 Svapratijñâ-pâran-ôthhâna-laghubhîh=krit-ârtthais=cha chêshtitaih bhûshanaiv=iv=âbabhan
balavad-yâtrâ-samutthâpanêna cha || [16*] Abhiyuyukshay=âgatêshu bhṛisam
Kâñchi-narêndrêshv=arâtishu vishama-[d]êsa-prayâna-samvêśa-⁷rajanîshv=avaskanda-
bhûmishu || [17*] Prâpya sênâ-sugaiam têshâm piûhan=balli śyônavat=tadâ
âpadan=tun=⁸dhârayâm=âsa bhujakhadgamâttra-[vya]pâsrayah || [18*]
- 7 Pallavêndrâ yasya śaktim=imâm labdhvâ pratâp-ânvayâv=api n=âsya hânîś=
śrôyas=ity=uktvâ yam=mitiam=êv=âśu vavrirê || [19*] Samśritas=tadâ mahîpâlan=
ârâddhya yuddhêshu vikramaih prâpa pattabandha sampûjâm kara-pallavaih=
Pallavair=ddhṛitâm || [20*] Bhangur-ôrmmi-valgitair=nṛityad-aparârnnav-⁹ambhañ-
krit-âvadhim ¹⁰Prêhar-ântâm=ananyasamcharana-samaya-sthitâm bhûmim=êva cha
|| [21*]
- 8 Vibudha-samgha-mauli-sammrîshita-charanâravindash=Shadânanah yam=abhishiktavân=
anudhyâya Sênâpatim mâtribhis=saba || [22*] Tasya putrah=Kangavarmm=ôgra-
samar-ôddh[u]ra-prâ[m]śu-chêshtitah pranata-sarvva-mandal-ôtk[r]ishita-¹¹sita-châmar-
ôddh[û]ta-śêkharah || [23*] Tat-s[u]tah=Kadamba-bhûmivadhû-ruchit-aikanâthô
Bhagirathah Sagara-mukhyas=s[v]ayam Kadamba-kulê¹² prach[chh]an[n]a-jan-
[m]â jan-âdhipah [||¹³ 24*]
- 9 Atha¹³ nripa-mahitasya tasya putrah prathita-yasû Raghu-pârthivah prithu-śrîḥ
Prithur=iva prithivim=prasahya yô=rin¹⁴ akrita parâkkramatas=svava[m]śa-bhôjyâm
|| [25*] Pratibhaya-samarêshv=arâti-śastr-ôllikhita-mukhê=bhimukha-dvishâ[m]

¹ Originally °ddhyâyam seems to have been engraved, the akshara ddhyê is certain

² This sign of punctuation should be struck out

³ Perhaps the original has savanatrâya-

⁴ Read nikhilam, the sign of anusvâra of lam is quite clear

⁵ So far as I can judge, this, and not tarkkakah, is the reading of the original

⁶ Originally udvavarhê seems to have been engraved

⁷ Originally -samvêśa- was engraved, but the lower v of the akshara viê is clearly struck out.

⁸ Originally âpadantârnndhâ² seems to have been engraved

⁹ This word is quite clear in the original

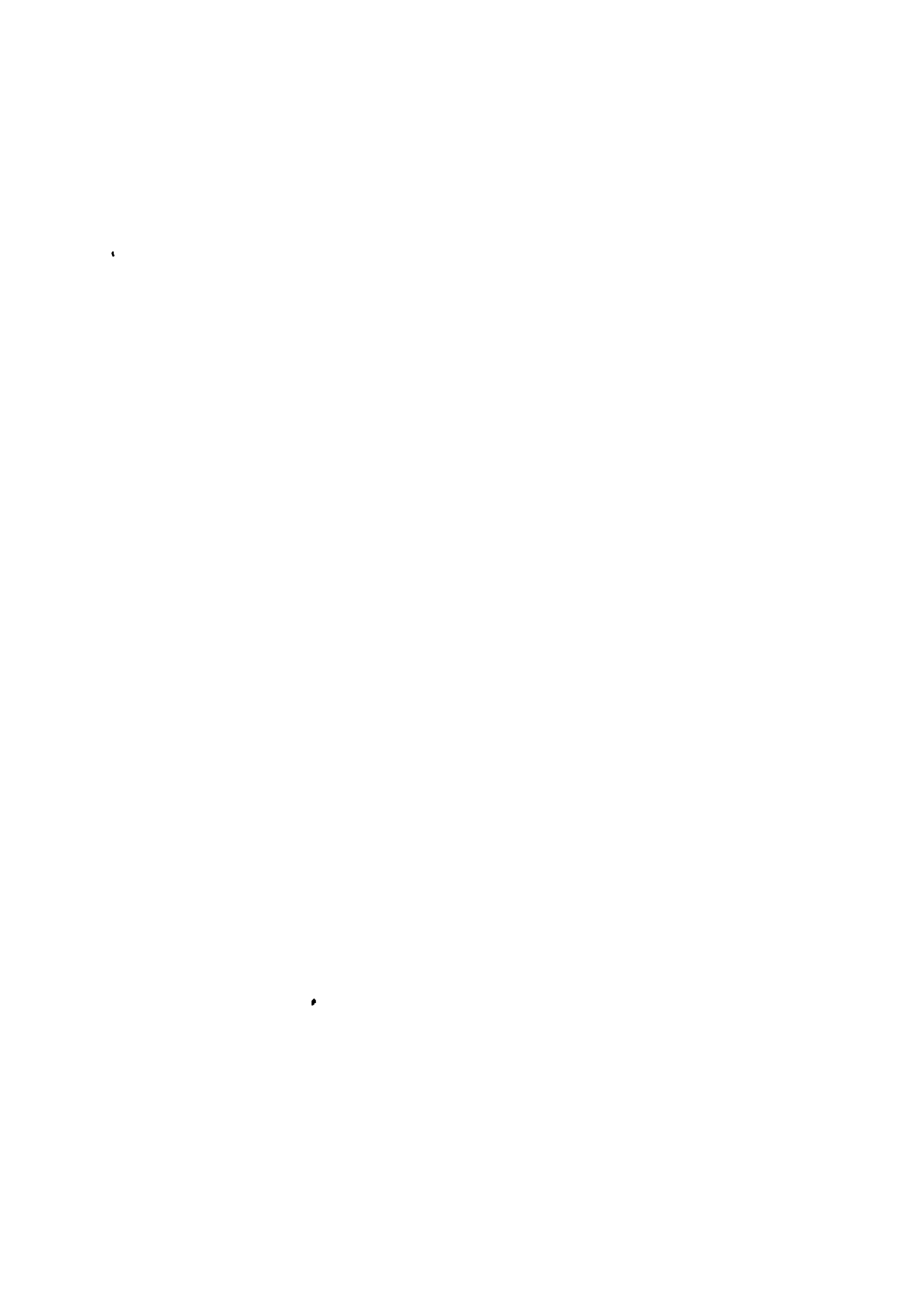
¹⁰ The second akshara of this word is distinctly ha, and cannot possibly be read md

¹¹ Read -ôtk-rishâ-

¹² This reading is certain

¹³ Metre of verses 25 and 26 Pushpitâgrâ

¹⁴ Read =rin=akrita



- praharttâ śrutipatha-nipunaḥ=kaviḥ pradâtâ vividha-kalâ-kuśalaḥ=prajā-priyaś=cha
 || [26*]
- 10 ¹Bhrât=āsya chāru-vapur=abda-gabhīra-nādō mōksha-trivargga-patur=anvaya-vatsalaś=cha
 Bhāgirathir=nnarapatir=mrigarāja-līlah Kākustha ity=avanī-mandala-ghushta-
 kirtih || [27*] ²Jyāyobhis=saha vīgrahō=rttishu dayā samyak=prajā-pālanam³
 din-ābhyuddharanam pradhāna-vasubhir=mukhya-dvij-ābhyarhanam
- 11 yasy=aitat=kula-bhūshanasya nripatēh prajā-ōttaram bhūshanam⁴ tam=bhūpāh=khalu
 mēnirē sura-sakham Kākustham=atr=āgatam || [28*] ⁵Gharmm-ākkrāntā iva
 mriga-ganā vriksha-r[ā*]jīm pravīsyā chchhāyā-sēvā-mrīdita⁶manasō nrvritim
 prāpnuvanti tadvaj=jyāyō-vihata-gatayō bāndhavās=s-ānubandhāḥ prāpus=sarmm=
 āvyathita-manasō yasya bhūm[īm] pravīsyā || [29*]
- 12 ⁷Nanāvidha-dravina-sāra-samuchchayēṣhu matta-dvipēndra-mada-vāsita-gōpurēṣhu sam-
 gita-valgu-ninadēṣhu grihēṣhu yasya Lakshmy-anganā dhritimatī suchiram cha
 rēmē || [30*] Gupt-ādī-pārthiva-kul-āmburuha-sthalāni snēh-ādara-pranaya-sam-
 bhrama-kēsarāni śīmantiy=anēka-nripa-shatpada-sēvitani yō=bōdbayad=duhitṛi
 didhitibhir=nrip-ārkkah || [31*]
- 13 ⁸Yan=daiva-sampannam=adīna-chēshtam śakti-ttray-ōpētam=ath=āsana-stham śeshair=
 gunaiḥ pañchabhir=apy=asāddhyas=sāmanta-chūdāmanayah pranēmuh || [32*] ⁹Say=
 iha bhagavatō Bhavasy=ādī-dēvasya siddhy-alayē siddha-gā(ga)ndharvva-rakshō-
 ganais=sēvitē vividha-niyama-hōma-dikshā-parair=brāh[m]anai snatakai stūyamānē
 sadā mantra-vādais=śubhaiḥ
- 14 sukṛitibhir=avanīsvarair=ātma-nīśrēṣyasam prēpsubhis=Sātakarny-ādibhis=śraddhay=
 ābhyarchchitē¹⁰ idam=uru-salil-ōpayōg-āsrayam bhūpatih=kārayām-āsa Kākustha-
 varmmā tadākam=¹¹ma[hat ||] [33*] ¹²Tasy=aurasasya tanaya[s]ya viśāla-kirttēh
 [pa]tta-ttray-ārppana-virā[jita]-charu-mūrttēh śrī-Sāntivarmma-nripatēr=vvara-sāsana-
 sthah Kubjas=sva-kāvya=īdam=aśma-talē līlākha || [34*]
- 15 Namō bhagavatē Sthānakundūra-vāsīnē Mahādēvāya [I*] Nandatu sarvva-samant-
 āgatō=yam=adhivāsah [I*] Svasti prajābhya itī [II]

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Victorious¹³ is the eternal Sthānu,¹⁴ whose one body is framed by the coalescence of all the gods, who is adorned with a mass of matted hair, lustrous because inlaid with the rays of the moon

(V 2.) After him, (victorious are) the gods on earth,¹⁵ the chief of the twice-born, who recite the Sāma-, Rig- and Yajur-vēdas, whose favour constantly guards the three worlds from the fear of evil

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

¹ Metre Vasantatilakā.

² Read -pālanam

³ Metre Mandakrāntā

⁷ Metre of verses 30 and 31 Vasantatilakā.

Metre A kind of Dandaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specifically Chandavēga or Arnava, see *Ind Stud* Vol VIII p 409

¹⁰ Read =ābhyarchchita

¹¹ With verses 1-3 compare the first three verses of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēsin II, above, Vol VI p 4 and p 7, note 15

¹⁴ I.e. the god Śiva

² Metre Śardūlavikrīdita

⁴ Read bhūshanam

⁶ The akshara dī of this word is quite clear

⁸ Metre Indravajrā

¹² Metre Vasantatilakā

¹⁵ I.e. the Brāhmins

(V. 4) There was a high family of twice-born, the circle of whose virtues, resembling the moon's rays,¹ was (ever) expanding, in which the sons of Hārītī trod the path of the three Vēdas, (and) which had sprung from the gōtra of Mānava,² the foremost of Rishis

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

(V. 6) Where the interiors of the houses loudly resounded with the sixfold subjects of study³ preceded by the word *ōm*; which promoted the increase of ample *chāturmāsya* sacrifices, burnt-offerings, oblations, animal sacrifices, new- and full-moon and *śrāddha* rites

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

(V. 8) Then, as the (family) tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of (these) Brāhman fellow-students, currently (accepted) as distinguishing them⁴

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

(V. 10) With his preceptor Vīrasarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords,⁵ and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the *ghaṭikā*⁶ as a mendicant⁷

(V. 11 and 12) There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (he reflected) 'Alas, that in this Kali-age the Brāhmins should be so much feeble than the Kshatriyas! For, if to one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēda, the perfection in holiness⁸ depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this?' And so—

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

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

¹ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 20, line 5 of the text *guṇ-āntubhir-vyāpya jagat-samastam*

² In the fourteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions enumerated under Nos 602-614 of my *Southern List*, to which may now be added the Benpur plates in *Ep Carn* Vol V Part I p 594, the two epithets *śānava-sagōtra* and *Hārītī putra* are six times applied to the Kadambas generally, and four times to individual Kadamba kings, in one case (No 613) *Mānava sagōtra* alone is applied to a king. The word *trayārsha-vartman* of the text, which with *Hārītī-putra* forms a Bahuvrīhi compound, I take to be practically equivalent to *śrāddhāya-charchāpāra* (-*charchika*, etc.) in the terms *pratikṛta-śrāddhāya charchāpāra*, etc., of the plates, see above, Vol VI p 15, note 3. None of the terms mentioned here occur in my No 602, the only plates which are earlier than the present inscription

³ I.e. the six Vēdangas

⁴ The simple meaning of the verse is that the members of the family, as they tended the Kadamba tree, came to be currently called by the specific name 'Kadamba'. I take the word *śānava-sādharmyam* of the text to be a Karmadhāraya, not a Dvandva compound, it literally means 'a sameness of property which appears as sameness of name' (*śānava rūpam sādharmyam*)

⁵ I.e. Kūñchipura

⁶ I.e. a particular establishment for holy and learned men, probably founded by a king, see my introductory remarks, above, p 26

⁷ The word *tarkuka* is given in Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, v 388, as a synonym of *yāchaka*, etc., and is explained by *yāchaka* in a gloss on *Rājataranqīṭi*, III. 254

⁸ The attainment of holiness was obstructed by the rage caused by the Pallava king's horseman

(Vv 15 and 16.) He levied many taxes from the circle of kings headed by the Great Bāna. So he shone, as with ornaments, by these exploits of his which made the Pallava lords knit their brows—exploits which were charming since his vow began to be fulfilled thereby and which secured his purpose—as well as by the starting of a powerful raid.

(Vv 17 and 18) When the enemies, the kings of Kāñchi, came in strength to fight him, he—in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault—lighted upon the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength. (So) he bore that trouble,¹ relying solely on the sword of his arm.

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

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

(V 21) And (he) also (received) a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) Prēhara,² secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it.³

(Vv. 22 and 23) Of him—whom Shadānana,⁴ whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, anointed, after meditating on Sēnāpati with the Mothers⁵—the son was Kaṅgavarman, who performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars, (and) whose diadem was shaken by the white chowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (before him).

(V. 24) His son was Bhagiratha, the one lord dear to the bride—the Kadamba country, Sagara's chief descendant⁶ in person, secretly born in the Kadamba family as king.

(V 25) Now the son of him who was honoured by kings was the earth's highly prosperous ruler Raghu, of wide-spread fame, who, having subdued the enemies, by his valour, like Prithu, caused the earth to be enjoyed by his race.⁷

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

(V. 27) His brother was Bhagiratha's son Kākustha, of beautiful form, with a voice deep as the cloud's, clever in the pursuit of salvation and the three objects of life,⁸ and kind to his lineage; a lord of men with the lion's gait, whose fame was proclaimed on the orb of the earth.

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

¹ V: the attack made on him by the Pallavas.

² See the introductory remarks, above, p 29.

³ With the wording of the original text I would compare *eg* from the Virataparvan of the *Mahabharata* *ajādtacasa-samayam śēsham carsham trayoḍasam*, but there the meaning is 'the remaining 13th year, to which was attached the condition that they should dwell incognito'. The sense of the passage in our inscription I take to be similar to that of *eg* *ananyasāsasām=urīm* in *Ragh* I. 30, 'the earth, not ruled by any other king'.

⁴ Shadānana and Sēnāpati are really only two different names of one and the same divine being (Skanda, Kārtikeya).

⁵ Compare the epithet—of either the Kadambas generally or individual Kadamba kings—*Svāmī-Mahatēna-māṭṭigan-anudhyat-dōhīshikta* in the copper-plates, *eg* above, Vol. VI p 14, line 2 of the text, and p 18, line 3 of the text. See also above, p 34, note 2.

⁶ See Sir M. Monier-Williams's *Dictionary* under *Bhagiratha* and *Sagara*.

⁷ With the wording of this verse we may compare *Gupta Inscr* p 53, lines 6 and 7 of the text. The story of the earth's conquest by the mythical Prithu is well known from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.

⁸ *Vi.* *dharma, artha* and *kāma*.

pre-eminent wealth, were the rational ornament of a ruler (*who wished to be*) an ornament of his family, kings thought to be indeed Kākustha,¹ the friend of the gods, descended here.

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

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

(V 31) This sun of a king by means of his rays — his daughters — caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups — the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (*for him*), and which were cherished by many bees — the kings (*who served them*)²

(V 32) Now to him, favoured by destiny, of no mean energy, endowed with the three powers,³ the crest-jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down (*even*) while he was sitting quiet — they who could not be subdued by the other five measures of royal policy together⁴

(V 33) Here, at the home of perfection of the holy primeval god Bhava,⁵ which is frequented by groups of Siddhas, Gandharvas and Rakshas, which is ever praised with auspicious recitations of sacred texts by Brāhman students solely devoted to manifold vows, sacrifices and initiatory rites, (*and*) which was worshipped with faith by Sātakarni and other pious kings seeking salvation for themselves, that king Kākusthavarman has caused to be made this great tank, a reservoir for the supply of abundant water

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

Obeisance to the holy Mahādēva⁶ who dwells at Sthānakundūra! May joy attend this place, inhabited by men come from all the neighbourhood! Blessed be the people!

No. 6 — JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN,
THE YEAR 72

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

This inscription was first edited, with a translation and small lithograph, in April 1838, by Mr James Prinsep, in *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol VII p 338 ff. and Plate xv,⁶ from a facsimile which at the suggestion of the Rev Dr J Wilson of Bombay had been prepared by

¹ The proper spelling of this word in literature is *Kākustha*. The mythical being referred to probably is Rāma

² The general idea expressed in the above is very common, compare *e g.*, in a Kadamba inscription, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37, line 13 of the text, *svajana-kumudavana-prabōdhana-sasānkah*, and in another inscription, above, Vol VII p 297, line 4 of the text, *kula-kumudavana-lakshmi-vibōdhanas-chandramāva*. Whether our author has been very successful in elaborating that idea in detail, the reader may judge for himself, he may compare *Ragh* XVII 48, where the spies of a king are compared to the rays (*dīdhiti*) of the sun, and, for the lotus-groups, filaments, bees, and the sun's rays, *Kir* IV 14. The word *duhitri* of the verse must of course denote the king's daughters, and what the poet wishes to say can only be that they were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings

³ *Viz* the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy, see above, Vol VI p 10, note 7

⁴ For the six *gundh*, *i e* measures of royal policy, see *e g.* *Rām* II 100. 69, *Ragh* VIII 21, *Śis* II. 26, and *Manu* VII 160 ff. One of them, *āsana*, 'sitting quiet, halting,' we have in the word *āsana-stham* of our verso, the five others are alliance, war, marching, dividing the army, and seeking protection

⁵ *I e.* Siva

⁶ Compare also *ibid* Plate xix

Captain Lang of the Kâthiâvâd Political Agency¹ A critical essay on that edition was published in 1841 by Prof Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol IV p 146 ff, and Prinsep's translation was subsequently reprinted, with part of a revised translation by Prof H. H. Wilson,² in Mr Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol II p 57 ff. A month after the appearance of Prinsep's edition fresh facsimiles of the original were taken by Luent Postans, but they reached Calcutta only when Prinsep, at whose instance they were made, had already left India,³ and in July 1842 another facsimile, the joint labour of Captain (afterwards General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob, Mr N L Westergaard and a young Brâhman, was presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and a small lithograph of it published in the Society's Journal, Vol I p 148. A great advance in the reading and interpretation of the inscription was made in 1862, when, in the same Journal, Vol VII p 118 ff, Dr Bhau Daj again published the text and a translation of it, with a large lithograph reduced from facsimiles made by Bhagvanlal Indrajî. Moreover, a revised version of Dr Bhau Daj's work, by Prof Eggeling, appeared in 1876, in *Archæol Surv of West India*, Vol II p 128 ff, with a colotype from estampages by Dr Burgess. Two years later Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajî's own text and translation were published, under the editorship of Prof Bühler, in *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 257 ff. And finally,⁴ in 1890, Prof Bühler again gave the text and a translation of part of it, in his essay *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp 45 ff and 86 ff — Some four or five years ago Dr Fleet most generously presented to me his excellent paper impression of the inscription and requested me to re-edit this record. In now, at last, complying with his request, I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to the labours of my predecessors. Though from the first I saw that I could add but little to the main results of their work, I have persevered in my task because I felt that, even in its more minute details, the text of this, our earliest Sanskrit inscription of importance, ought to be given in as reliable a form as possible. A careful study of the impression enables me to add that the accompanying photo-lithograph, made under Dr Fleet's own supervision, apparently is the first facsimile of this inscription that has been prepared by purely mechanical processes.

The inscription is on the western side, near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the Aśoka edicts⁵ as well as a long inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta,⁶ about a mile to the eastward of the town of Junagadh in Kâthiavâd, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnâr⁷. It contains twenty lines of varying length⁸ of well-engraved writing which covers a space of about 11' 1" broad by 5' 5" high. Of these, only the four last lines (17-20) are fully preserved, while in each of the lines 1-16, as will be seen from the facsimile, a more or less extensive part of the writing is entirely gone, through wilful damage or the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Taking the total length of the twenty lines to be about 1900", the missing portion of the writing would be about 275", or approximately one-seventh of the whole inscription. Where the surface of the rock has

¹ See *Jour Bo As Soc* Vol. II p 27, and Vol III Part XIII p 27

² Prof. Wilson's revised translation was based on a Nâgarî transcript of the text, which Mr Thomas 'had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs Westergaard and Jacob,' which will be mentioned below.

³ See *Jour As Soc Bengal*, Vol. VII p 865 ff. and p 887

⁴ Perhaps I should mention that the inscription has also been 'edited,' with a facsimile, in *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, published by the Bhavnagar Archæol Department, p 18 ff

⁵ Some letters of the 6th edict will be seen in the upper left corner of the accompanying facsimile, compare the facsimile of that edict opposite p 454 of *Ep Ind* Vol II, near the upper right corner of which the first word (*siddham*) of the present inscription may be seen

⁶ Edited in *Gupta Inscr* p 58

⁷ See *Jour As Soc Bengal*, Vol VII pp 337 and 871-73, and *Gupta Inscr* p 57; and, for a photograph of the rock, *Archæol Surv of West India*, Vol II. Plate 1x

⁸ The length of line 1 is about 5' 3", of line 9 (the longest line) about 11' 1", of line 11 about 9' 8", of line 17 about 5' 2", and of line 20 only 2' 5".

remained intact, the writing is generally well preserved and may be read with confidence nearly throughout. The average size of such letters as *n*, *p*, *b*, *m* is about $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

The characters according to Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr* p 57) present an earlier form of the decidedly southern alphabet in the inscription of Skandagupta on the same rock. And this agrees with the opinion of Prof Bühler who, in his *Ind Palæographie*, p 42, has described the alphabet here used as one of the precursors of the southern alphabets. Some of the more characteristic features in which this alphabet agrees with the later southern alphabets, according to Prof Bühler, are the curves at the lower end of the vertical strokes of initial *a* and *ā* and of the consonants *k*, *ñ* and *r*, the round form of *ḍ*,¹ the manner in which the upper part of the vertical line of *l* is turned towards the left, and the form of medial *ṛ* which sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the subscript *r*. Of initial vowels the inscription contains only *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *ē* (e.g. in *Aśokasya*, l 8, *ā garbhāt*-, l 9, *idam*, l 1, and *ĉkārnavā*-, l 5), of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants all excepting *n* and *jh*, but *chh*, *ñ*, *ṣh* and *ph* occur only as subscript letters (e.g. in *-ōchōhhraya*-, l 1, *rājñō*, l 3, *saushṣhava*-, l 13, and *sphuṣa*-, l 14). We have besides the so-called southern *l*, in *-pālīkatvāt*-, l 1, *-ppranāḥi*-, l 2, *pranāḥibhir*-, l 9 (but not in *pranāḥyā* in the same line), and *vyāḥa*-, l 10. The signs for *ā*, *ḍ* and *ḍh* are throughout clearly distinguished as may be seen from e.g. *idam*, *taḍākam* and *driḍha*-, in line 1. Of final consonants only *t* occurs, in *-āsīt*, l 7. Subscript consonants, including *y*, are written by the ordinary full forms of the letters, excepting perhaps the *l* of *Pahlavēna*, l 19, which has a somewhat cursive form. The superscript *r* stands well above the top-line of the consonants, and in syllables like *rbhā*, *rṭti*, *rshē*, etc., is the bearer of those vowel-signs which are ordinarily attached to the top of a letter. Medial *ā*, *ī*, *u* and *ō* are mostly denoted by quite horizontal lines which are generally attached to the top of the consonant sign, (see e.g. *taḍākam*, l 1, *parjanyēna*, l 5, *vyamjanair*-, l 15, and *ghōra*-, l 7, but compare also e.g. *ṣā* in *taṣāṣālak*-, l 6, *dhā* in *dhāraṇā*-, l 13, *dō* in *śuranādīna*, l 10, *mō* in *-āyāmōchōhhraya*-, l 1, and other instances in which the vowel-signs are not attached to the top). As regards *ā*, the chief exceptions to this are formed by *jā*—compare e.g. *[va]jātīn*-, l. 2²—, and by *mā* where (except in *°m=Ānartta*-, l 18) *ā* is denoted by a hook-shaped line at the right top of *m* (as in *mālyā*-, l. 15). For *i*, *ī* and *ṛ* compare e.g. *nīhsandhi*- and *-pālīkatvāt*-, l 1, *ṣṛiṣṭa-vriṣṭind*, l. 5, and *-āvishkrita*-, l 11. Except in *ru*, medial *u* is denoted by a subscript curved line which is turned to the right when the consonant sign (as in *g*, *t*, *ś*) is open at the bottom or (as in *k* and *d*) ends in a single down-stroke, while otherwise it is turned to the left, compare e.g. *gu* in *gulma*-, l. 7, *tu* in *sētu*³, l 2, *ku* in *Kukur*-, l 11, with *su* in *Sudarśanam*, l 1, *pu* in *putrasya*, l 4, *mu*³ in *=abhimukh*³, l. 10, etc. For the corresponding forms of *ū* compare *bhū* in *bhūtāyām*-, l 5, *dū* in *°dūrayā*, l 12, with *sthū* in *sthūla*⁴ and *dū* in *vaiḍūrya*-, l. 14, etc. For *ru* and *rū* see e.g. *taru*- and *-ānurūpa*-, l 6. As in the case of *u* and *ā*, there are three forms of medial *au*, one of which appears in the *pau*⁴ of *pauṭra*, l. 4, and *paura*-, ll 16 and 18, another in the *yau* of *Yaudhēyānām*, l. 12, and *sau* of *saushṣhava*-, l 13, and the third in the *nau* of *dhanaughēna*, l 16, and the *mau* of *Mauryasya*, twice in line 8. The signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya* do not occur, but the characters, in line 4, include numerical symbols for 70 and 2. A sign of punctuation, consisting in a single slanting line, is employed only at the end of the inscription.

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

² Compare, similarly, *rājñō* in lines 3 and 4.

³ In the *mu* of *samudyuktair*-, l 17, the subscript sign is exceptionally turned towards the right.

⁴ The *au* of *pau* is not, as has been stated, like the *au* of the *pau* given in Prof Bühler's Table II. Col. xviii. No 28, but differs from it in this that the shorter horizontal line is placed below, not above, the longer one.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, we may notice the use, already mentioned above, of the lingual *l* in the words *pāli*, l. 1, *pranāli*,¹ ll 2 and 9 (but not in *pranādyā*, l 9), and *vyāla*, l 10, the exceptional doubling of *p* before *r* in *pāda-ppratīsparddhī-* and *supprativihīta-ppranāli-*, both in line 2, and of *t* and *n* before *y* in *prabhṛitty=avihata-*, l 9, and *kannyā-*, l 15, (but not *eg* in *°rūpa-pratī°*, l 6, *mahaty=upa°*, l 3, and *parjanyēna*, l 5), the insertion (occasionally found in later inscriptions from the south) of an *anusvāra* before *nv* and *my* in *marudhamnva°*, l 8, and *abhigammya*, l. 9, and the use (common enough everywhere) of *tv* instead of *ttv*, in *satv-ādibhīh*, l 14, and *atimahatvād=*, l 17. There is, besides, a certain want of uniformity in the writing, shown by the facts that, after *r*, consonants (excepting sibilants) are doubled 38 times but left single 29 times, that, in the interior of simple words before *ch*, *t*, *d*, etc, the special nasal of a class is used 12 times and *anusvāra* 8 times, and that at the end of a word, before following *s*, *visarga* is left unchanged 6 times and changed to *s* three times. With reference to the external *sandhi* it may also be noted that no less than 10 times the rules concerning the combination of final with following initial vowels have been disregarded, even where two words are closely connected in sense (as *eg* in *parjanyēna ēhārṇava-bhūtāyām=*, l 5, *-āv[ī]dūrayā anutsādanāt=*, l 12), that before an initial vowel *anusvāra* is three times written instead of *m* (as *eg* in *nadinām atimātr-*, l 6),² and that in *rājñah Chamdra°*, l 8, *visarga* has been left unchanged before *ch*. And as regards the internal *sandhi*, the dental *n* has been wrongly used instead of the lingual *n* in *-ānurāgēna*, l 13, and *Surāshṭrānām*, l 18.³ These two last may of course be mere clerical errors, and so no doubt are *-vōgēna* for *-vēgēna*, in line 7, *rakshan-ārtha* for *rakshan-ārtham*, in line 9, *nīrcyājam=avajity-āvajitya* for *nīrcyājam=avajity-āvajitya* in line 12, and very probably *tasmī*⁴ for *tasmīn=*, in line 9, and *kōsā* for *kōsān=*, in line 16. The *ī* of *vīśad-uttarāny=* in line 7 may be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit *vīśa*, what the author intended was *vīśad-uttarāny=*, where *vīśat* would have been used for *vīśat* in accordance with the practice of literary works like the *Rāmāyana*.⁵ In *-āv[ī]dūrayā*, l. 12, for apparently *-āvīdūratayā*, the syllable *ta* must have been left out by a mistake of the writer, and similarly the syllable *krī* may have been omitted in *Mauryasya tē*, l 8, for which I propose to read *Mauryasya kritē* — Looking at the language in general, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, *vartatē* in line 3 and *āsīt* in line 7, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs, *viz*, in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another *āsīt* in line 8, and perhaps one verb in line 9. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand — and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose

¹ This word is ordinarily spelt *pranāli* or *pranāli* — Attention may perhaps be drawn also to the spelling of *tadāka*, l. 1, and *vaidūrya*, l 14. This last word, according to the Nagari MSS of Pāṇini's *Ashtadhyāyī* and of the *Mahābhāshya* and the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti* on P IV 3, 84, would have to be spelt *vaidurya*, but the Kaśmir MSS known to me derive it from *vidūra*. *Vaidūrya* also is the reading of the MSS of Hēmachandra's grammar which I have compared. In Pali the word is *veḷuriya*.

² This use of the *anusvāra* as well as the non-observance of the rules of *sandhi* may be due to the influence of the Prākṛit.

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

⁴ See the note on the text. If the reading were really *tasmīn*, the *anusvāra* here too might be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit (Pali).

⁵ Compare, *eg*, *vīśad-bhūja*, *Rām* (Bombay ed.) III 32, 8 (*vīśatī-bhūja*, but against the metre, III 35, 9); *vīśad-yōjana*, V 1, 154; VI 39, 20, *vīśat*, VI 67, 7 and 98, *chaturvīśat*, IV 42, 20 — Either *vīśat* or *vīśat* was apparently intended above, Vol. III p 321, l 15.

works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. On a rough calculation the text contains about 1,330 syllables, about 440 of them belong to 144 simple words, while the remaining 890 are taken up by 88 compound nouns, consisting variously of from two to as many as fifteen members. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence. In respect of inflection and syntax, the language is generally correct. Of grammatically wrong forms there is only the instrumental *patinā* (for *patyā*), in line 11, but this form is equally found in the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and similar works, with which the writer seems to have been familiar.¹ An unusual construction we have in *anyatra samgrāmēshu*, 'except in battles,' in line 10, for the customary *anyatra samgrāmēbhyah*,² a redundant word in *ā garbhāt=prabhriti*, 'from the womb,' in line 9, for either *ā garbhāt* or *garbhāt=prabhriti*, and an apparently wrong addition of *pūrva* in *anupasrīṣṭapūrva*, in line 10, used in the sense of simply *anupasrīṣṭa*.³ Of words not found in dictionaries the text presents only *upatalpa*, in line 6, denoting in my opinion 'an upper story,' and *Śvabhra*, in line 11, as the name of a particular country or people, but attention may also be drawn to the words *mīḍha*, l. 3, *rāshṭriya*, l. 8, and *pranaya-kriyā*, l. 16, the meanings of which will be considered below.

The author's disposition of his subject-matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman, of the lake Sudarśana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words 'this lake Sudarśana' with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition (lines 1-3). It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman (ll. 3-7). All the water having escaped, the lake, from being *sudarśana*, became *durdarśana* (ll. 7-8). The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta, and was perfected under the Maurya Aśōka (ll. 8-9). It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (*sudarśanatara*) by Rudradāman (ll. 9-16), under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suvisākhā (ll. 17-20).—From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description, and a record of the exploits, of the Mahākshatrpa by whom it was accomplished (ll. 9-15). The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short, though historically important,⁴ sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in

¹ That the author has used what I may call the epic *vimsat*—the text actually has *vīsat*—for *vimsati*, has been already stated. The phrase *paura-jānapadam janam* in line 16 is a Pāda of an ordinary Ślōka, and actually occurs in the *Rāmāyana*, and we find in the text a number of words which seem peculiar to, or at any rate occur often in, epic poetry.

² *Anyatra samgrāmēshu* has been said to be the quite correct expression for 'except in battles,' but whether correct or no from a theoretical point of view, it is not the customary Sanskrit expression, as may be seen from the numerous quotations under *anyatra* in the St. Petersburg dictionary. In fact, the authors of that work quote only a single passage from the *Mahābhārata* in which *anyatra* "quite exceptionally" is not construed with the ablative. The case, for all I know, may be different in Pāli, but when in Aśōka's edict VI (Girnār, l. 14, *Ep. Ind. Vol. II* p. 455) we read *dukaram tu idam aṅata agena parākramena*, 'but this is difficult to do except by the utmost exertion,' this in Sanskrit would have to be expressed by *dushkaram tu idam=anyatr=āgryāt=parākramāt*. And I could certainly quote many passages from the *Jātakas* in which *aṅātra* is construed with the ablative, while theoretically another case might have been considered more appropriate. With the passage in our inscription we may to a certain extent compare *Rām. V. 63, 19* and *64, 32* *drīṣṭā na ch=anyēna Hanūmatā* for *drīṣṭā na ch=anyēna Hanūmatah*.

³ I must leave it to Pāli scholars to decide whether the author could have been possibly misled by the Pāli to employ *anupasrīṣṭapūrva* for *anupasrīṣṭa* (or *na kadāchid=upasrīṣṭa*). In *Jāt. Vol. VI* p. 78, l. 15 (*tatra mam amachohā puchchhissanti* 'api na kho te mahārāja Himavante vasantena na kiñchā acochchhariyam ditthapubbantī) *ditthapubbam* undoubtedly is equivalent to simply *dittham*.

⁴ I refer to the fact that the Mauryas Chandragupta and (his grandson) Aśōka (under this name) are mentioned in this sentence.

JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN

a piece of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Bühler¹ has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterization of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word *Sudarsana*, the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an *upamā*, the so-called *arthālamkāras* may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of *śabdālamkāra* which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words (as e.g. in *praharāna-utarāna*, l. 10, *samagrānām* -*vishayānām* *vishayānām*, l. 11, *avidhēyānām* *Yaudhēyānām*, l. 12, -*nāmnā* . . . *Rudradāmnā*, l. 15, *śaktēna dāntēna-āchāpalēna-ācīsmīlēna-āryyēna-āhāryyēna*, l. 19, etc.),² and he occasionally makes use of the ornament of alliteration (as e.g. in *akritrīmēna sētubandhāna-ōpapannāna* *supprativihita-ppranāṭi-parivāha-miḍhavidhānām*, l. 2, etc.)

The general purport of the inscription has been given above. It remains to point out briefly some details, the full discussion of which, after all that has already been written about them,³ would necessitate a careful examination of other records some of which are in course of being re-edited critically by another scholar, and lies beyond the scope of this paper. The principal figure in our inscription is (the Western Kshatrapa,) the king (and) Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman; the name of his father (the Kshatrapa Jayadāman) was given in line 4, but has disappeared, his father's father was the king (and) Mahākshatrapa, Lord Chashtana (l. 4). From an epithet in line 15 we learn that Rudradāman himself acquired or assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa. Other epithets in lines 11 and 12 tell us that by his own valour he gained, and became the lord of, eastern and western Ākarāvanti,⁴ the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories, that he destroyed the Yaudhēyas; and that he twice defeated Sātakarni,⁵ the lord of Dakshināpatha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him — The storm by which the lake Sudarsana was devastated is stated (in lines 4 and 5) to have taken place on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the 72nd year — according to the actual wording of the text — of Rudradāman himself, but the meaning clearly is⁶ that it took place during the reign of Rudradāman generally. With other scholars I feel era used by Rudradāman (and the Western Kshatrapas generally) in the ordinary way as an expired year, I find that this is the Śaka era,⁷ and taking the year in the 72nd year of the 16th November, A.D. 150. Accordingly, our inscription may be assumed to have been composed about A.D. 151 or 152.

The minister Suvisākhā, by whom the work of restoring the dam of the lake was carried out, is called (in line 19) a Pahlava and the son of Kulapa, and is stated (in line 18) to have been appointed by the king (Rudradāman) to govern (the province of) Ānarta and Surāshtra — The officials who in earlier times had constructed and perfected the lake under Chandragupta and Asōka respectively were (line 8) the provincial governor, the Vaiśya⁸ Pushyagupta, and the 'Yavana king' Tushāspā, governing (the province or district under Asōka)

¹ See his *Die Indischen Inschriften*, p. 51 f.

² For quite similar instances compare e.g. the first pages of the *Dāśakumaracharita*.

³ See e.g. Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 272 ff., M. Senart, *ibid.* Vol. XXI, p. 204 ff., Dr Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, p. 28 f., Dr Bhāgvanlal Indraji in *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1890, p. 646 f., the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. L, Part I, p. 34 ff., etc.

⁴ For some of these names see the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West India*, Vol. IV, p. 108, line 2.

⁵ I.e. one of the Andhrabhūtya kings, but there is a difference of opinion as to which of them is here intended. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 153.

⁶ Compare the similar dates of my *Northern List*, No. 439, etc., and of my *Southern List*, No. 602.

⁷ The Vaiśyas according to Varahamihira are a people of the western division, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 192.

Proper names, other than those given in the preceding, that occur in the inscription, are (besides the name Sudarśana of the lake itself) Girinagara in line 1, Ūrjayat, the name of a mountain, in line 5, and Suvarṇasikatā and Palāśini, the names of two rivers, in lines 5 and 6. Of these, Girinagara, 'the hill city,' as was recognized already by Prof Lassen, is the earlier name of the town of Junâgadh or its ancient representative,¹ while Ūrjayat denotes the mountain now called Gurnâr.² Of the two rivers the first, according to Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī, is a small perennial stream now called Sonarêkhâ, the name of the other does not seem to survive

TEXT.³

- 1 Siddham [i*] Idam tadâkam⁴ Sudarśanam Gir[i]nagarâd=ap[i] [d][â?]ram=
a[n?][t][a]⁵ [tt]ik⁶-ôpala-vistâr-âyâm-
ôchchhraya-⁷mhsandhi-baddha-dṛidha-⁸sarvva-pâlikatvât=parvata-pâ-
2 da-ppratīsparddhī-suśliṣh[t]a-⁹[ba][ndha?]m¹⁰
. [va]jâtēn=âkṛitrimôṣa
sêtabandhên=ôpapannam supprativihita-ppranâlî-pari[v]âha-¹¹
3 mîdhavidhânâ¹² cha tri-skan[dha?]¹³
. n-âdibhir=anugrahar=mahaty=
upachayê varttatê [i*] Tad=idam râjûô mahâkshatrapasya sugṛihî-
4 ta-nâmnah Svâmi-Chasṭanasya putra¹⁴
. h putrasya râjûô mahâkshatrapasya
gurubhi=abhyasta-nâmnô Rudradâmnô varshê dvīsaptatitam[ê] 70 2
5 Mârggaśirsha-¹⁵bahula-prat[i]¹⁶
. h¹⁷ sṛishta-vṛishtinâ parjanyēna¹⁸ êkârnaṅva-
bhûtâyâm=iva pṛithivyâm kritâyâm girê=Ūrjayataḥ Suvarṇasikatâ-

¹ The town Girinagara is mentioned in an inscription of A D. 706, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIII p. 78, line 19.

² See *Gupta Inscr* p 57

³ From Dr Fleet's impression An asterisk after a letter or syllable shows that such letter or syllable is entirely broken away In the following notes the letter B denotes Prof Buhler's text, the letter I that of Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī

⁴ B has *tadâkam*, but the second syllable is undoubtedly *dâ*, compare *tâ* in *-taḥ-âttâlak-*, l 6 The word is spelt *tadaka* also in the Junâgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscr* p. 61, ll 21 and 23 — It may be noted that Prinsep's wrong reading *tataham* is responsible for the word *tataka*, 'shore,' of our dictionaries

⁵ I and B have *Girinagara[drī pada rama]*, but in his notes on I Prof Buhler stated that the reading *râdrī* is very improbable In the impression, the *akshara* which by Bhagvanlal Indrajī was read *drī* seems undoubtedly to be only *da*, and the following *akshara* cannot be read *pâ*, but is most probably *pa*

⁶ The original apparently had *mṛittik-*

⁷ I has *ôchhhraya-*

⁸ B. omits *dṛidha*

⁹ From here, commencing with the *t* of *shṭa*, the lower part of the *aksharas* is broken away The word read *bandham* might equally well be *baddham*

¹⁰ Here there are remainders of three *aksharas*, the second of which seems to have contained the conjunct *rk.*

¹¹ I and B. have *-parivâham*

¹² The sign of *anusvâra* over *na* looks somewhat like the superscript *r*

¹³ I and B have *-skandham*

¹⁴ The lacuna may be filled up thus *putra[sya râjûah kshatrapasya sugṛihîta-nâmnah Svâmi-Jayadâmnah]*, but I should have expected five or six syllables more.

¹⁵ I and B have *Mârgga*^o

¹⁶ B has *pa*, but the *akshara pra* and the *t* of *ti* are clear in the impression. The original most probably had *-pratīpadī*

¹⁷ I, and B have *susṛishta-*, but the sign of *visarga* before *sṛishta* is quite clear. What remains of the *akshara* preceding the *visarga* looks as if that *akshara* had contained the letter *k* or *r*, or a subscript *u*.

¹⁸ Read ^o*nyēn=aiḥ*^o.

- 6 Palâsini-prabhritinâm nadinâm¹ atumâtr-ôdvrittair=vvêgaih² sêtum=[a?] . . .
 [ya]mân-³ânurûpa-pratikâram=api
 girîsikhara-taru-tat-âttâlak-ôpatalpa-dvâra-âaranôchchhraya-⁴vidhvamsinâ yuganidhana-
 sadri-
- 7 âa-paramaghora-vôgêna⁵ vâyuna pramathita-sahla-vikahipta jarjarikrit-âva[dî⁶] . . .
 [k]sh[î]pt-âsma-vriksha-gulma-latâpratânam⁶ â nadi [ta]-
 lâ[d]-ity=ndghâtitam=âsit [i⁷] Chatvâri hasta-âatâni vîsad-⁷uttarâny=âyatêna⁸
 êtâvamty=⁹êva vistîrêna
- 8 pamcha-saptatim¹⁰ hastân=avagadhêna bhêdêna nissrita sarvva-tôyam marudhamnvak¹¹
 lpam=atibhrîsam durd[d]a¹² [s]y=[â]rthê Maurya-
 sya¹³ râjûah¹⁴ Chamdrag[u][pta^{*}][s][ya^{*}] [r]âshtriyêna [V]aisîyêna¹⁵ Pushya-
 guptêna kâritam¹⁶ Asôkasya Mauryasya tê¹⁷ Yavanarâjêna Tush[â]sphên=¹⁸
 âdhusbthâya
- 9 pranâlibhir=ala[m]krita[m] tat-kâritayâ cha râj-ânurûpa-krita-¹⁹vidhânayâ tasmî²⁰
 bhêdê drishtayâ pranâdyâ²¹ vis[tri^{*}]ta sât[u] nâ²²
 a garbhat=prabhrity=avîhata samud[î][ta²²]-²³r[â]jalakshmî-dh[âra]nâ-guñatas=sarvva-
 varnan=abhigammya²⁴ rakaban-ârtha²⁵ pativê vritêna²⁶ â prân-ôchchhvâsât=
 purushavadhanivritti-krita-
- 10 satyapratijñêna²⁷ anya[t]ra samgrâmêshv=abhimukhâgata-sadrîsa-âatru-praharana-
 vitaranati-âvîguna-rî[pu[?]] ta-²⁸kâranyêna
 svayamabhigata²⁹janapada-pranipati[t[?]]-î[y][u[?]]sha-³⁰âaranadêna dasyu-vyâla-
 nrîga-rôg-âdibhir=anupasrîstapûrvva-³¹nagara-nigama-

¹ Read *nadinam*=

² I and B have *ryamân*.

³ Read *-regena*, which is the reading of I and B

⁴ Read *virîsad-* (for *vîsady-*)

⁵ I has *°cany=evz*

⁶ Read *marudhanca*^o, which is the reading of I and B

⁷ I e, probably, *durdarsa sam=âsit* |, with two or three words introducing the following sentence

⁸ I and B have *Mauryasya*.

⁹ Read *râjûah*=

¹⁰ The initial consonant, the lower part of which is damaged, has been restored by Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajî

¹¹ Read *kâritam*=

¹² For *tê* Dr Bhanu Dajî proposed *têna*, and Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajî *tat* I would suggest *kritê*

¹³ I and B have *Tushâspên*=, but the sign for *ph* is distinct in two impressions of this passage Compare also Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 195

¹⁴ B omits *krita*.

¹⁵ The original may possibly have *tasmîm*, as read by Prinsep Read *tasmîm*=

¹⁶ I has *pranadyâ*, and B *prandîya*, but *pranadyâ* is quite distinct

¹⁷ This *akshara* has been hitherto read *no*, but the back of the impression clearly shows that *nd* was engraved, this must be the last syllable of a noun in the instrumental case Read *nd garbhât*=

¹⁸ The vowel *i* over *d* appears to be quite certain, of the *akshara* which follows upon *di* the upper part is gone, and what remains looks like the remnant of *pa* or *sha* rather than of *ta* But I consider *samudîta* to be certain; *samudaya* would be impossible

¹⁹ Read *=abhigamya*, which is the reading of I and B

²⁰ Read *ârtham*, which is the reading of I and B

²¹ Read *vritên=d*

²² Read *°jñên=ânyatra*

²³ I and B have *(dhri)ta-* and *dhrita-*, but the *akshara* preceding *ta* is quite illegible.

²⁴ Over the *ta* of *°gata* is a mark which might be taken for the sign of *anusvara*

²⁵ I and B have *-pranipati* [visê]sha, I with the sign of interrogation after *vîsê* In my opinion, the *akshara* read *ti* by them is undoubtedly *ti*, with, below it, an accidental scratch (which, if it were really *t*, would stand under the right, not the left, vertical line of the upper *t*) Again, what remains of the consonant of the *akshara* preceding *sha*, does not look at all like a remnant of *t*, but seems to be an almost fully preserved *y*

²⁶ I and B have *°vîshîdâpurcca-*, but two impressions of this passage have clearly *shîta*, not *shîd*

- 11 janapadânâm svaviry-ârjitanâm=anurakta-sarvva-prakritânâm pûrvv-âpar-Âkarâvanty-
Anûpanivṛid-Ânartta-Surâshṭra-Śva[bh*]ra-¹[Ma]ru-[Kach]chha-[S]i[n]dhu-S[au]-
v[i]ra-Kukur-Âparâmta-Nishâd-âdinâm samagrânâm tat-prabhâvâd=[y]a . .
. . . . r[ttha]-²kâma-vishayâpâ[m] vishayânâm patinâ³ sarvva-kshatr-
âvishkrita-
- 12 vîrasabda-jâtôtsêk-⁴âvidhâyânâm Yaudhâyânâm prasahy=ôtsâdakêna Dakshinâpatha-
patês=Sâtakarṇêr=dvir=apî nîrvyâjam=avajity-âvajitya⁵ sambamdh-âv[ī]dûrayâ⁶
anutsâdanât=prâpta-yasasâ mâ[d?] [pta]-⁷vijayêna bhrashta-
raja-⁸pratisbthâpakêna yathârthâ-⁹hastô-
- 13 chchhray-¹⁰ârjita-ôrjita-dharm-ânurâgêna¹¹ śabdârthâ-gândharvva-nyây-âdyânâm vidyâ-
nâm mahatînâm pârana-dhârana-vijñâna-prayôg-âvâpta-vipula-kîrttinâ turaga-gaja-
rathacharyy-âsi-charma-¹²niyuddh-âdyâ [ti]-para-
bala-lâghava-saushthava-kriyêna¹³ ahar-ahar-ddâna-¹⁴mân-âna-
- 14 ramâna-âilêna sthûlalakshêna yathâvat=prâptair=bali-sulka-bhâgaih kanaka-¹⁵
rajata-¹⁶vajra-vaiddûrya-¹⁷ratn-ôpachaya-vishyandamâna-kôsêna sphuta-laghu-madhura-
chitra-kânta-śabdâsamayôdâr-âlamkrîta-gadya-padya
na pramâna mân-ônmana-svara-gati-varṇna-¹⁸sâra-satv-¹⁹âdibhih
- 15 parama-lakshana vyamjanair=upêta-kânta-mûrttinâ²⁰ svayamadhigata-mahâkshatrapa-
nâmnâ narêndra-kannyâ-²¹svayamvar-ânêka-mâlya-prâpta-dâmn[â] mahâkshatrapêna
Rudradâmnâ varsha sahasrâya gô-brâh[m]a
r[ttha]m dharmma-kîrtti-²²vṛiddhy-artham cha²³ apîdayit[v]â kara-vishti-
- 16 pranayakriyâbhih paura-jânapadam janam svasmât=kôsâ²⁴ mahatâ dhan-aughêna²⁵
anatimahatâ cha kâlêna trig[u]ṇa-dṛidhatara-vistâr-âyâmam sêtum vidhâ[ya]
[sa?]r[v]va-ta[t?]â²⁶ [s]u-
darśanatarâm kâritam=ī[t]i [i²⁷] [A?] [s]mīnn=²⁷artthê²⁸
- 17 mahâkshatrapa[s]ya matîsachiva-karmasachivair=²⁹amâtyaguna-samudyuktair=apy=
atimahatvâd=³⁰bhêdasy=ânutsâha-vimukha-matibhi[h] praty[â]khyât-ârambham

¹ From *bhra* to *Sauvi* the upper portion of the *aksharas* is broken away. The text has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji to whom the word *Sindhu* was suggested by Prof. Bühler. Of the first *akshara* of the word *Maru* enough remains to show that the *akshara* was not *bha*.

² I omits this, and B has *rvva*, but the *akshara* is undoubtedly the same which we have in *r[ttha]m*, l. 15, only without the *anusvâra* — B proposed to fill up the lacuna by reading *ya[tthêpsitdvâpta-sarvva]kâma*, I myself would read *ya[tthâvatprâpta dharm arthâ]-kâma*.

³ The grammatically correct form would be *patyâ*.

⁴ The *t* of the syllable *tô* of this word looks as if *th* or *t̄h* had been originally engraved.

⁵ Read *nîrvyâjam=avajity dvajitya*.

⁶ I and B. have *âradûra[ta*]yâ*, but there are clear traces of the vowel *i* above the sign for *v*. The top of the *akshara* *dû* is slightly damaged. Read *-âvidûra[ta*]y=ânurâ*.

⁷ I and B have *[tta]-*

⁸ B has *bhrashtarâjya*, but the reading *bhrashtarâjya* appears to me to be quite certain.

⁹ I has *yathârthâ*.

¹⁰ I has *chhray*

¹¹ Read *-ânurâgêna*.

¹² This *akshara* is *rma*, not *mma*, but the top part of it looks as if some other *akshara* had been originally intended to be engraved.

¹³ Read *kriyêṇ=dhar-*

¹⁴ I. has *=dâna-*

¹⁵ Possibly *lânaka-* may have been actually engraved.

¹⁶ B omits *rajata*

¹⁷ I and B have *vaiddûrya*, but the sign for *d* is most distinct in the impression. Besides, the sign for the *i* of *dû* differs, as has been shown above, from the sign for *û* which is here used, compare the *dû* of *dr[i]dûrayâ*, above, l. 12.

¹⁸ I has *-rarna-*

¹⁹ Read *-sattv-*

²⁰ I has *-mûrtind*

²¹ I and B have *-karyâ*, but the *akshara* *nyâ* is quite clear in the impression.

²² I has *kîrti*

²³ Read *ch=âpi*

²⁴ Read *=kôsêna-*

²⁵ Read *aughêna=dânâ*

²⁶ I and B have *[sarvva]naga[ra]*, but the *akshara* read *na* by them is clearly *ta*

²⁷ The *a* of *asmīnn=* is very doubtful, but I consider it more probable than the *ta* of *asmīnn=* in I. and B.

²⁸ I has *=aribhê*

²⁹ I has *-karmna-*

³⁰ Read *°mahattvâd=*

- 18 punakṣēṭubandha-nair[ā]syād=haḥabhutasu prajasa¹ m=ādhuśchācī p.ura-jalaj-ā-
jan-ānugrah-ārtham² parthivēna kṛtanānam=Ānarta-Surasbtrānam³ [ā]-
ārthan=⁴niyuktēna
- 19 Pahlavēna⁵ Kulaipa-putrēn=āmātyēna Suviśākhēna yathavād=artha-dharmā-
vyavahāra-darsanair=anurāgam=abhivarddhayatā śaktēna dāna=achapalēn=⁶ amiten=
āryyēn=ābhāryyēna⁷
- 20 svadhitiśṭhatā dharma-kirtti-⁸yaśāmsi bhartur=⁹abhivarddhayat=ānushtitām=iti (||)

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished!

(Line 1) This lake Sudarśana, from Girnagara [even a long distance⁹].
. of a structure so well joined as to rival the spui of a mountain, because
all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length and height constructed without gaps as they
are of stone, [clay], furnished with a na-
tural¹⁰ dam, [formed by?] , and with well-
provided conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter,¹¹
. three sections by and other
favours is (now) in an excellent condition.¹²

(L 3.) This same (lake)¹³— on the first of the dark half of Mārgasirsha in the
seventy-second — 72nd — year of the king, the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman whose name is
repeated by the venerable,¹⁴ the son of¹⁵

¹ Read *prajāsa* = *ih* =² I has *-ārtham*³ Read *śāstrānām*, which is the reading of L and B⁴ I has *-ārthan*⁵ I and B have *Pahlavēna*⁶ I has *-dharmā-*⁷ I and B have *ādry'na*⁸ I has *-kirtti-*⁹ I has *bhartur*¹⁰ Literally 'non artificial'

¹¹ The word *mīdhā* of the original text has been translated only by Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji. Taking *mīdhā-
vidhānam* as a separate epithet of the lake, he rendered it by 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of
urine,' to which Prof Bühler added the note that *mūtrarekhā* is a common expression in Gujarāt for "crooked." Both scholars apparently took *mīdhā* to be synonymous with *gōm-traka*, but this could hardly be approved of. Besides, *mīdhā-vidhānam*, as we now see, really forms part of the *śahuvrihi* compound commencing with *śahuvrihi-
vidhāna*, and therefore either *mīdhā* by itself or *mīdhā vidhāna* must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In my opinion *mīdhā* is identical with the Pāli *mīdhā* (eg in *mīdhāna littā*, *Jātaka*, Vol III p 244, l 18, *mīdhā-littam mahāpathari*, *ibid* p 525, l 27, *mīdhāna tarā vadhāna* *pāṭi haññatu pūṭina*, Vol II. p. 211, l. 25, *mīdhāna adenti bāla*, Vol VI p 112, l. 2), meaning 'excrements' or 'dirt, foul matter' generally, according to the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary *mīdhā* is used in this sense also in the *Lalitavistara*, eg in *mīdhā-giri*, 'a dunghill,' Calcutta ed p 240, l 4. Now since foul matter would not have been provided for the lake, that which was so provided must be denoted by *mīdhā-vidhāna*, and I feel no hesitation in explaining this word to mean 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities.' By the context *vidhāna* here as elsewhere becomes practically equivalent to *parihāra* or *pratīkriyā*, on *Edm* III 24, l 1 *anāgata-vidhānari* is explained by *ajagamishitasya=anishitasya pratīvidhānam parihārah*, and on VII 21, 5 *vidhāna* is similarly paraphrased by *pratīkriyā*.

¹² If it were possible to say so with reference to a lake, I should have translated 'is (now) in a highly prosperous state'

¹³ The sentence is continued below, in the words 'with stones, trees, bushes,' etc

¹⁴ As has been pointed out by Prof. S Lévi (*Jour Asiatique*, 1902, p 100), the use of *adhy-ya* and the statement that Rudradāman's name was repeated by *gurus* at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages the name was like another Vēda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit. *Guruḍhīr=adhyasta-nāman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *sugrīhita-nāman* which will be mentioned presently — In *guruḍhīr=adhyasta-nāman* (for the more logical *gurtadhyasta-nāman*) we have one of those constructions which Indian grammarians impeach by the statement *śāpīkīyam=īsamartīyam śāpīkīyam*, but after all justify by *gamakārat=īsamartīyam*, similar constructions occur elsewhere in the text.

¹⁵ *I.e.* 'the son of the king, the Kshatrpa Lord Jayadāman,' see the note on the text. In inscriptions and on coins Jayadāman is called Kshatrpa, not Mahākshatrpa, compare *Ind Ant* Vol. X p 157; *Ar. Soc. Surv. of West. Ind.*, Vol II. p. 140; *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 32, and *Jour Roy As Soc* 1890, p 645

., (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākahatī ३१ Lord Chandrajāna
 the taking of whose name is auspicious,¹
 when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been
 converted as it were into one ocean,² by the excessively swollen floods of the Sudrāṣākatā,
 Palāśinī and other streams of mount Urjayat the dam
, though proper precautions [were taken], the water—churned by a storm
 which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill tops, trees,
 banks, towers, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter—³ cut off, broke to pieces,
 [tore apart],—with stones, trees, bushes and creepers
 plants scattered about, was thus ⁴ laid open down to the bottom of the river—

(L 7.) By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as it was, broad, (and)
 seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake)
 [became] extremely ugly [to look at]⁵

(L 8)⁶ for the sake of ordered to be made by ३ Varāṣya
 Pushyagupta, the provincial governor⁷ of the Maurya king Chandragupta; adorned with

¹ The exact meaning of *suśrīṭhā udātan* is well indicated by a passage in the *Harivāṃśa*, *Śrīmad* २७
 p 310, l 6, which shows the result of uttering a bad man's name *suśrīṭhā udātan*
lipyātā wa mō jīhva, 'as I take merely the name of this miscreant, my tongue seems as if it
Suśrīṭhā naman itself often occurs in the *Harivāṃśa* applied to royal or noble persons who, to their
 deceased, compare p 30, l 6, p 85, l 13, p 101, l 6, p 173, l 3, p 200, l 1, p 216, l 20; p 261 l 23; and
 p 278, l 19 From inscriptions I can quote only *suśrīṭhā udātan* which occurs in the *Śrīmad* २७
 of Maṅgalēsa, applied to Maṅgalēsa's grandfather Rāṇarāga, *Ind. Ant.* vol XIX p 16, l 2 of the text

² For the notion of the earth's being converted into one ocean (*śaśvatsāra*) compare *śaśvatsāra*
 V 19, 20 *ayam hy-utsāhātā kṛddhāh kṛturuṣkaranāraṅgaṁ jayāt* I may add that in *śaśvatsāra* १
śkarnava-bhūta are most common in the *Ramayana*, I have noted *śāśvatsāra*, *śāśvatsāra* *śāśvatsāra*
bh, *nyasa-bh*, *ratna bh*, *Rama bh*, *mita bhūta* etc (III 36, 23), and others.

³ My translation of *upatalpa* and *uchchhṛaya* requires some justification. Dr Bühler translated
 the former by '(pieces of) the neighbouring ground,' Prof Bühler by 'Felsensprünge' (i. e. pieces of
 temples), and both scholars, I do not know on what authority, have rendered *uchchhṛaya* by 'steep
 To me it seems highly probable that the words *affūlā-ōpatālpa* of our text are etymologically
 closely connected in form) with *talpasta* in *Rām.* XVI 11, *śūlpaśraṅgā śāśvatsāra*
 explained to mean 'a room on the top of a house' or 'upper story,' and the same may be said for
upatalpa Uchchhṛaya in line 1 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'height,' and in line 12 in that of 'raising
 lifting up, elevation.' The word also (see *eg* the commentary on *Rām.* VII. 41, 10) has the sense of 'any
 rises,' 'elevation' in the sense of 'an elevated piece of ground,' etc., and if in the present passage we take
śāśvatsāra as one word, there is no reason to go beyond that strictly etymological meaning. *uchchhṛaya*
 would be 'any raised place serving as shelter,' a meaning that seems perfectly appropriate. We may compare
stambhōchchhṛaya in *Gupta Inscr.* p 44, l 13, used clearly in the sense of 'a raised place, a lofty pillar' (see also
stambha, as the expression is *ibid* p 9, l 30) — The reader will observe the contrast between *uchchhṛaya* and the
 immediately following *vidhvamsin*, which two words remind one of *udaya* *śāśvatsāra* and similar expressions found
 elsewhere

⁴ *Viz.* in the manner described in the following paragraph of the inscription

⁵ For the play on the words—the lake Sudrāṣā became *durdarīṣā*—compare *Gupta Inscr.* p 60, l 17.

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

⁷ The position held by Pushyagupta and Tushaspha, who were immediately instrumental in the making and
 improving of the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka, is indicated by the words *śāśvatsāra* and *śāśvatsāra*
 respectively. Considering that *adhīśṭhā* in line 20 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'to govern,' and that
adhīśṭhāna in line 18 means 'government,' it seems most natural to ascribe the same meaning also to *śāśvatsāra*
 in the present passage, i. e. to translate it by 'after having assumed the government' or 'while he was governing
 (this province)' And this again should lead us, I think, to ascribe a similar meaning to *śāśvatsāra*. I accordingly
 take this word, in its etymological sense, to be equivalent to *śāśvatsāra* 'appointed to rule a province or
 district,' as the word is explained *eg* in the commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I 7, 14 (compare also *Pāṇini* IV. 2,
 98). The technical meaning 'a king's brother-in-law,' which the word has in the plays, would seem to be out of
 place here

conducts for ¹ Ashoka the Maurya by the Yavana king Tushāspha while governing and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) in that breach, the extensive dam

(L. 9)² he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and the their lord to protect them, who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles,³ who [showed] compassion not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face, who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him,⁴ who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kauchhha, Sindhu-Sauvirī, Kukurū, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts⁵ of which are never troubled⁶ by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (and) where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained], who by force destroyed the Yaudheyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas, who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated⁷ Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣhiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him, who [obtained] victory, who must be deposed

¹ The word *krītd*, of which 'for' is the translation, is conjectural

² In the original text the subject of this long sentence again is *idam tadākam*, 'this lake,' the predicate is *sudarśanātaram kṛtūm* in line 10; 'this lake has now been caused to be made (even) more beautiful by Rudradāman (l. 16) who, because he was distinguished'. In the translation I have adopted the active construction

³ On the construction of the words *anyatra samgrāmēshu* of the original text see above, p. 10, note 2. Here I would add two minor remarks. In the first place, it appears strange that, where is elsewhere the end of one of the (or phrase serving as an epithet) of Rudradāman is not joined by the rules of *sandhi* with the commencement of the following epithet—compare *vrīḍna ā prāṇ bhochchhīdsat* in line 9, and *krīyāna ahaḥ ahar* in line 11—here the rules of *sandhi* have been observed between *samgrāmēshu* which belongs to the preceding, and *abhimukhajāta* with which a new epithet begins. The observance of the rules of euphony in this case is the more striking, as the rules have not been observed between *aryatra* and the word preceding it with which *anyatra samgrāmēshu* is closely connected in sense. Secondly, the way in which the author has put *anyatra samgrāmēshu* reminds me somewhat of the Sūtra style of literature, the words *ā prāṇ bhochchhīdsat-purushavāḥ* and *vrīḍna kṛta sityapratijudha* contain a rule, *anyatra samgrāmēshu* the exception. Both together look much like, e.g., the two Sūtras of the *Viṣṇu-smṛiti*, III. 48 and 49, the former of which is *na rajakulam=uchchhīndyāt*, 'he should not exterminate a royal family,' while the latter adds *anyatr=akullina rajakulāt*, 'except an ignoble royal family'. Introduced in this way the non-observance of the rules of euphony as between *satyapratijudha* and *anyatra* may lose somewhat of its strangeness; the observance of them as between *samgrāmēshu* and *abhimukhajāta* I can only regard as accidental.

⁴ For the general meaning of this epithet we may compare, e.g., *nrīyām suranyāh śarīn aṣṭamirāntā rān aśhīndm śaranyam* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 59, l. 10, and p. 165, l. 7. The word *dyusha* of the text, translated by 'lfo,' is more or less conjectural, it is used at the end of compounds for *ajus* (see the St. Petersburg dictionary under *dyusha*). In the original I should have expected *pranipatita* to stand before *janapada*, as it is, I can only take *svayamabhiḡatujanapada pranipatita* as a Dvandva compound. For *janapada* itself compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 82, l. 11, *bhīlasya yd janapadasya cha bandhur=dsit*

⁵ With *nagara nigama janapada* compare e.g. *grama-nagara nigama* in *Harshacharita*, p. 220, l. 1

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

⁷ For *ava-gī*, 'to defeat,' the St. Petersburg dictionary quotes only passages from the *Māhābhārata*, it occurs in the same sense in the Nāsk inscription in *Archæol. Surv. of West India*, Vol. IV p. 123, l. 6 *andha samir-dvayita-satvasayasa*.

kings,¹ who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma,² who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar,³ music,⁴ logic and other great sciences, who . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots,⁵ (the use of) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces,⁶ who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment,⁷ who is bounteous,⁸ whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (other) precious things, who⁹

¹ Compare *Gupta Inscr* p 8, l 23, *andka-bhrashtarāgyōtsanna-rājavamsa pratishthāpana*

² In this epithet Rudradaman has been understood to be eulogized for making religious gifts; but I have searched in vain for passages in which 'the raising of the hand' is laid stress on or even mentioned where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterizes the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is moistened by the water (poured into the hand of the donee), compare e.g. *Kādambari*, p 5, l 12, *anavaratapravṛtta dān ārdrikṛita karah*, the Nāsik inscription in *Archæol Surv. of West India*, Vol IV p 108, l 4, *abhayōdakādāna kilina-nibhayakarasa*, *Gupta Inscr* p 175, l 29, *pradānasalila-kshālīt āgrahastāravindah*, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, p 17, note 2, etc. Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or raising the pitcher from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient, see e.g. *Jāt* Vol VI p 341, l 10, *rājā tussitvā gandhōdakapunnam suvanna-bhīmkāram ādāya . . . sēshissa hattho udakam patetvā*, and *Rām* II 118, 50, *aham tatra Rāmāya pitrā udyatā datum=udyanya jalabhājanam=uttamam*, 'there my father, having raised the excellent water-pitcher, proceeded to give me to Kīma'. But that in the latter case the raising of the water pitcher is quite an incidental matter we see from an analogous passage in *Harshacharita*, p 156, *Grahavarmanā kanyāṁ prārthayitum prēshitasya pūrvedgatasya=iva pradāna dūtāpurushasya karē sarvarājakula samaksham duhitṛiddāna jalām=apdāyat*, translated by Prof. Cowell and Mr Thomas: 'in the presence of the whole royal household, he poured the betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Grahavarman to sue for the princess.' Considering these and similar passages, I do not think that *hastōchōhkraya* by itself could convey the idea of donation. In my opinion the expression perhaps finds its explanation in the precept of Manu, VIII 2, according to which a king, when investigating cases of law, should do so seated or standing, *raising his right hand* (*panim=udyanya dakshinam*), etc. This explanation, which would make 'the raising of the hand' during legal investigations equivalent to 'the dispensation of justice' itself, may seem far-fetched, but it would fit in well with the statement that by the right raising of his hand Rudradaman earned the strong attachment of Dharma, i.e. Law or Justice personified.

³ It may seem doubtful whether the compound *śabdārtha* of the original, in connection with the following *vidyāndam*, should be understood to denote two sciences,—viz *śabda vidyā* or grammar, and *artha vidyā* in the sense of *artha śāstra=nti śāstra*—or only one, viz the science of words and their meanings, i.e. grammar (including lexicography). The manner in which *śabdārtha* elsewhere is immediately connected with *nyāya* (e.g. above, Vol VI p 18, l 9, *śabdārtha nyāya viduskā*, and *Gupta Inscr* p 85, l 4 of the text, *śabdārtha-nyāya lōka-jñāṁ=lavāṁ*) seems to render the adoption of the second alternative more natural. *Śabdārtha-nyāya* in my opinion would convey to a Hindu at once the notion of 'grammar and logic,' because these two belong closely together and would hardly be separated by something so different from them as 'poetry'. It may be added that *śabdārtha*, on account of the irregular position of its two members, in grammar is a well-known compound in the sense of 'word and meaning' and frequently occurs in this sense in the titles of grammatical, lexicographical and other works.

⁴ Compare the commentary on *Vishnu purāna*, III 26 *gāndharva-vēdō Bharatamuni-prantō nṛtyagītā-dī-śishayah*. See also e.g. *Rām* II 2, 35 *gāndharvō cha bhuvī trishthō babbhūva Bharat āgrajah*, where *gāndharvō* is explained by *sangīta sastrō*, *Gupta Inscr* p 8, l 27, and p 81, l 7.

⁵ Compare *Rām* I 18, 27 *guja skandhō'sva-prishthō cha rathacharyāsu sammatah*

⁶ I take the sense of the whole epithet to be that by his skill in the management of horses etc. he rendered futile the acts of quickness etc. of opponents.

⁷ Compare e.g. *dana mān arjaya*, above, Vol III p 320, l 2.

⁸ See *Haldyudha*, II 210: *sthulalakshō bahuvyayī*

⁹ After 'who' we evidently have to supply something like 'is skilled in producing compositions in'. On the epithet which begins here compare Prof. Bühler's *Die Ind. Inschriften und das Alter der Ind. Kunstpoesie*, p 53 ff., where Prof. Bühler has tried to show that the adjectives *sphuta* etc. of the text have reference to certain rules of the *Alamkara śāstra*. Agreeing with him in general, I take *sphuta*, *madhura* and *kānta* to indicate the qualities readily understood (*prakti subhaga*), *madhura*, 'sweet,' that which pleases by its sound and (refined) diction, and *kānta*, 'beautiful,' that which is free from exaggeration, is not too far fetched, etc. *Śabdāsamaya* being almost synonymous with *śabdanyaya* in *Kavyādarśa*, I. 75, I incline to connect *śabdāsamayōdāra* with Candin's *artha-*

. prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned, whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs,¹ such as (*auspicious*) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrpa; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayam̐caras* of kings' daughters,— he, the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman, in order to² cows and Brāhmans for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,— without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country³ by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection⁴— by (*the expenditure of*) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length [on] all [banks]⁵ (and so) had (*this lake*) made (*even*) more beautiful to look at⁶

(L 16) When in this matter the Mahākshatrpa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (*regarded as*) futile⁷ on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (*of the work*),⁸ (*and*) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting,⁹ (*the work*) was carried out by the minister Suvisākha, the son of Kulapa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāshtra, (*a minister*) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (*of the people*), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (*and*) not to be bribed, (*and*) who by his good¹⁰ government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master

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

¹ Compare *Rām* V 33, 11, *vyāñjanāni hi tē jāni lakṣhaṇāni cha*, and, for various auspicious marks and signs, *ibid* I 1, 9 ff, II. 48, 29 ff, V. 35, 8 ff, etc.

² *I.e.*, shortly, 'in order to benefit.' The original text may have contained something equivalent to *gō brāhmaṇa-hitārtiāya dēśasya cha hitaya cha* in *Rām* I 26, 5. The expression *gō-brāhmaṇa*, 'cows and Brahmins,' is very common, see e.g. *ibid* III. 23, 28, 24, 21, VI 107, 49, 117, 20, etc., *Gupta Inscr* p 89, l. 9, *gō brāhmaṇa-prōgābhyah sarva-prajābhyah*, and above, Vol. VI p 20, note 1.

³ The words *paura-jānapadāṃ janam* of the text clearly are the second or fourth Pada of an ordinary *Śloka*, the same phrase we actually have e.g. in *Rām* II. 111, 19 and 27, *paura-jānapadō janah* in II 2, 51, *paura-jānapadā janah* in VII 43, 5, etc. *Paurajanapada-jana* occurs again in line 18 of the text.

⁴ Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested that *pranaya-kriyā* may be 'a kind of tax like the modern *pritiḍān*' I have not found the word elsewhere, used as a technical term, and can only suggest that it may denote offerings or contributions which nominally are voluntary, but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody or for other reasons.

⁵ *I.e.*, perhaps, 'planted trees on all banks'

⁶ As above (see p 46, note 5) there is here also a play on the words; the lake *Sudarāna* was made *sudarānatara*

⁷ On the analogy of compounds like *apratishēdhah=anarthakah pratishēdhah*, *avachanam=anarthakam* *vachanam*, which we find in grammatical works, I explain *anutsāha* by *anarthaka utsāha*, 'a futile (or impossible) task.' In connection with this explanation we may note that the two words *pratyākhyata* and *ārambha* of the text are just such as a grammarian would be familiar with.

⁸ Since I have translated somewhat freely, I would state that *pratyākhyat-ārambham*, which has been objected to as grammatically wrong, in my opinion is correct. The word is the subject of *anush'hitam* in line 20, 'that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out.'

With *purahsētubandha-nairāsyāt* compare *kārya-nairāsyāt* in *Rām* V 35, 57, with *hāhābhūtāsu prajāsu*, *Gupta Inscr* p 60, l. 17, *vishādyā[mānāh khalu sarvatō ja]nāh katham-katham kāryam=iti pravādīnāh*. *Hāhābhūta*, 'exclaiming ha ha,' like *hāhākrīta*, is well known from the *Mahābhārata* etc.

¹⁰ For the way in which *su* in *svadhītiśh'hatā* is prefixed to a present participle we may compare *Rām* II 33, 4, *sufakyaṇtē*, VI. 40, 12, *suchēratīh*, VI. 110, 9, *suparivartatē*, V 62, 21, *suparigrīhya*, VII. 30, 36, *sun rbhārīya*, etc.

No 7—CHIKMAGALUR INSCRIPTION OF RACHAMALLA III, OF THE PERIOD
A D 989—1005.

By J. F. FLEET, I O S (RETD), PH D, C I E

Chikmagalūr, or more precisely Chikka-Magalūr, is the head-quarters town of the Kadūr district, and of the Chikmagalūr tāluka of that district, in Mysore. In the Indian Atlas sheet No 43, N E (1892), it is shewn as 'Chikmagalur,' in lat 13° 19', long. 75° 50'. In the present record, as in some others, it is mentioned as Kiriya-Mugulī, "the smaller or junior Mugulī." The Piriya-Mugulī, or "larger or senior Mugulī," of the record, is the modern Hirēmagalūr or Hirē-Magalūr, shewn in the Atlas sheet as simply 'Magalur,' about one mile east-by-south from Chikmagalūr, in an inscription of A D. 959 (? 958) at Uppahallī (*Ep Carn Vol VI, Cm 42*, regarding the date, see note 1 on page 56 below), Piriya-Mugulī seems to be referred to as simply Mugulī. Local imagination, as reported by Mr Rice in his *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol II, pp 379, 395, 396, would account for the names by alleging that one village was the dowry of the eldest daughter (*hirē-magalū, piriya-magal*), and the other was the dowry of a younger daughter (*chikka-magalū, kiriya-magal*), of the epic king Rukmāngada, whose capital is locally supposed to have been Sakarāypatna or Sakkarēpatna, a village about thirteen miles towards the north-east of Chikmagalūr. But it is quite plain that that idea is based upon nothing but the modern corrupted form of the essential name of the two places, namely *magalūr* for *mugulūyūr*. And, as has practically been already suggested by Mr Rice (*loc cit* p 379), the original name is no doubt to be attributed to a local abundance of the *mugulī*-tree, *Acacia suma*.

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

According to the entry above Mr Rice's Kanarese text, the size of the stone is 2' 6" broad by 5' 0" high.—The photograph shews, above the writing, an elephant, which must be about 1' 3" high, standing to the right (proper left) its trunk hangs straight down, almost to the ground, with the tip turned up inwards, and it seems to have a surcingle, like the elephant above the Peggūr inscription of A D 978, *Ind Ant Vol VI p. 101, No I*, and Plate opposite *Coorg Inscrs p 7*.—The area covered by the writing must be about 3' 3" high. It is somewhat irregular in shape, and, if we understand that 2' 6" is its extreme breadth, then in line 1 it is about 1' 9" broad, and the breadth gradually increases to the full measure of 2' 6" in line 11 or 12, and maintains that measure as far as the end. The writing seems sufficiently well preserved for a good ink-impression or estampage to make the whole of it quite legible without any doubt.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and evidently well executed. And they are of a type which is fairly referable to any time about A D 1000. Of the usual test-letters, the *kh* is absent, the *n*, which occurs four times, in lines 9, 10, 12, and 16, and the *j*, *b*, and *l*, are all of the fully developed later type. The initial short *z* occurs four times, in *innūru* for *innūru*, line 9, in *int=*, line 12, in *z* (for *z*) *koḍangeyam*, line 12, and in *indavārada*, line 16; and in each case it is of the fully developed later type. the importance of this palæographic

detail, in guiding us to the real period and attribution of the record, will be made clear further on. The record further presents an initial *ô* in line 10, and final forms of *t* in line 4 of *r* in line 12 (twice), and of *l* in line 7. It does not seem to make any perceptible difference between the dental *d* and the lingual *d* — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. And the vocabulary presents three words which call for comment. In line 9 we have a word which according to Mr. Rice's published texts is *nîr-panya*, and which, in Mr. Rice's translation, has been rendered by 'wet land'. That rendering is based, I suppose, on an idea that *nîr* may occur as another form of *nîr*, *nîru*, 'water'. But there is no justification for that in the late Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary. And from the photograph I read *l*, not *r*, and find the word *nîl*, 'length'. From the context, and the usual method of expression in the records, I should have been disposed to take the whole word *nîlpanya* as denoting some particular measure of land, of the same class with *mattar*, *nîvartana*, etc. But Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *panya*, *panneya*, in the sense of 'a farm, a landed estate,' connected with *pane*, 4, 'ground that is worked, tillage, a quarry,' and Mr. Ullal Narasinga Rao's *Kisamwâr Glossary*, Mangalore, 1891, p. 95, gives *panya* in the sense of 'lands formerly held by the Rajas and now leased out on the condition of their being surrendered when government makes a demand, crown-lands.' I therefore take *nîlpanya* as some particular kind of *panya*-lands, consisting of very long narrow strips such as may be often seen in various parts of the Kanarese country. And I consider that probably the word *mattar* should be supplied. In line 12, assuming that we have the lingual *d* and not the dental *d* we have *koḍangeyam*, as the accusative of a word *koḍage*. This word has not been translated by Mr. Rice. I take it as the older form of the *koḍage*, *koḍige*, 'a gift, a grant,' of Dr. Kittel's Dictionary, and of the later *koḍagi*, which is given in the *Kisamwâr Glossary* as meaning 'a grant of land' (p. 144), and (a) 'lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any change on account of the seasons, etc., and saleable,' and (b) 'lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks, or of their maintenance in good order' (p. 91). It seems sufficient to translate it here by 'allotment'. In line 12, again, we have a word *balasidor* which Mr. Rice, apparently taking it from *balasu*, 1, 'to go in a circle or round, to circumambulate, to surround,' etc., has translated by "those (? who own the land) surrounding". I notice that the *Kisamwâr Glossary*, p. 15, gives *balasu* in the sense of 'husbandry, cultivation,' and, even apart from that, I see no difficulty about taking *balasu* as a variant of *bela-u*, 'to cause to grow, to raise (a crop),' etc.: and I therefore translate the word by 'those who have cultivated,' finding in that meaning an equally good means of defining exactly the grant that was made. As a matter of fact, the photograph shews before the *b* a mark which might justify our actually reading *b[s]lasidor*. That, however, does not seem to be really necessary — In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal *n* in [*gaunḍa*]nge, line 8-9, *narasingayyanuṁ*, line 10, *koḍangeyam*, line 12, and *mangala*, line 16, as contrasted with the use of the *anusvâra* in *komguni*, line 1, *râchamallange*, line 4, *paṭṭamgaṭṭiḍ=*, line 4-5, and *râjyam-geyuttam=*, line 7-8, and (2) the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddha*, line 6.

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

The following places are mentioned in the record, in addition to *Kiṛiya-Muguli* and *Puriya-Muguli*. —

Palmâdi. This is mentioned again in an inscription of A. D. 959 (? 958) at *Uppahalli*, *Ep. Carn. Vol. VI*, Cm. 42. I cannot find its representative in the maps.

Benneyûr. This is probably the Bennûr at which there is an inscription of A D. 1538, *ibid*, Cm 127 I cannot find it in the maps

Maṭtavûra This is probably a village which is not shewn in the Atlas sheet, but is entered as 'Mattavara,' somewhere close on the south of Chikmagalûr but without an indication of its actual site, in the map of the Kadûr district in *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol II. p. 367

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

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

* * * * *

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

Mr Rice originally, in 1884 (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII. p 188 b), brought this Chikmagalûr inscription to notice as being "dated in the 6th year after Mâdhava Mahârâjâdhirâja had enfeoffed Râcha-Malla," which explanation of it would have the effect of placing it, according to the fictitious Western Ganga pedigree and chronology, before at any rate A D 466, and perhaps before A D 248 (see my Table in Vol III above, p 161) Subsequently, however, in 1886 (*Ooorg Insers* p 5), having apparently recognised meanwhile that it does not really mention a Mahârâjâdhirâja Mâdhava, he referred it to a Nîtmârga-Râchamalla who, according to his views, was ruling from A D 902 to 909 And in his last treatment of it, in 1901 (*Ep Carn* Vol VI *Introd.* p 8), endorsing that view with only the alteration that the record should be placed in or about A.D. 899, he has grouped it along with the following other records —

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

(2) An inscription at Hirê-Bâsûr in the Kadûr district, *Ep Carn* Vol VI, Kd 141 This record refers itself to the time of a Nîtmârga whose personal name is not mentioned in it It contained a date in the month Chaitra of a Śaka year which Mr Rice has assumed to be the year 822 (current), with the result of A D 899 (*loc cit* *Introd* p 8, and translations, p 26) But all that remains extant of the passage containing the date is nûra i[r]ppatt-

eradaneya varisuda Chaitra-māsa . . ., "[of] the month Chaitra of the year . . . hundred and twenty-two," and there is nothing whatever to fix us to the year 822

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

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

(5) An inscription at Gattavādi in the Mysore district, *Ep Carn* Vol. III, N₁ 97 This record, however, is dated in the fifth year of the crowning, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya And it does not include any mention either of a Nītimārga, or of a Rāchamalla, or of the Śaka year.

(6) Another inscription at Gattavādi, on the back of the same stone, *Ep Carn* Vol III, N₁ 98, which is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the fifth year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it

(7) An inscription at Kūhgere in the Mysore district, *Ep Carn* Vol III, M₁ 30 This record refers itself to the time of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it And it is dated in the Śaka year 831 (expired), = A D 909-910.

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

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

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

In the second place, we must dismiss the Doddahundi inscription (8) This record is shewn by a palæographic detail to be appreciably earlier than A D 899. And, as has been explained by me in Vol VI above, p 43, it is to be placed roughly about A D. 840, and the Nītimārga of it is Ranavikrama, son of Śripurusha-Muttarasa.

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

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

The Kūhgere inscription (7) does certainly give a date for a Nītimārga in A D 909-910 But it does not contain anything tending to identify that Nītimārga with the Nītimārga

Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record And, as has been shewn by me in Vol VI above, p 69, it is a record of Nītimārga-Eṛeyappa

And as regards the Hirē-Bāsū inscription (2), in the first place, the extant remnant of its date may be understood to mean Śaka-Samvat 922 (expired), in A D. 1000, quite as well as Ś -S 822 (expired), in A D 900¹ And in the second place, its date cannot be A D. 899 or 900, because there was then ruling, not a Nītimārga, but Satyavākya-Bātuga I see my remarks in Vol VI above, p 68 f, and my Table, *ibid* p 59. It is highly probable that the Hirē-Bāsū inscription really is another record of the Nītimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record, but, if so, then its date is certainly Ś -S 922 expired, in A D 1000

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

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

¹ It could equally well mean Śaka Samvat 722 (expired), in A D 800, but for a point, stated by me on page 55 below, about the period of the adoption of the Śaka era in the Western Ganga records

unquestionable, is in the Husukūru inscription, from the Mysore district, of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, which is dated in the Śaka year 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71 (*Ep Carn.* Vol III, Nj 75), and that the era was not used by any means freely in that series of records even after that time, which facts indicate pretty plainly that the Śaka era was not adopted at all by the Western Gangas until long after the alleged date of the Jāvālī plates, and probably was not even known at that alleged date in the southern parts of Mysore, and are sufficient in themselves, even apart from other considerations, to cause any thoughtful person to hesitate before accepting a Śaka date of more than a century earlier, even though it does work out correctly. Further, we who are accustomed to handle Hindū dates, know quite well that the fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious, and it will be obvious, to anyone who reflects, that a Hindū, wishing to set up any particular date with accuracy, could, even in ancient times, by going to a proper person, get it correctly computed for him just as surely, though not so quickly, as we can now test it. And the case about the Jāvālī date simply is that the accuracy of its details *would be* important, if the record were a genuine one, which it certainly is not. Beyond that, Mr Rice took the opportunity to make certain observations in a foot-note (*loc cit* p 7, note 2) and in a postscript (*loc cit* p 29 f), about which I cannot well avoid saying something, though it does not seem necessary that I should say much. As regards his foot-note, its tone speaks for itself, and I have only to add that the modifications and corrections which I could not make in Vol V above, pp 151 to 180, but which I made in Vol VI above, p 58 and p 67 ff, were in respect of details in which I had been misled through relying on Mr Rice himself, and notably in connection with the spurious Suradhēnupura plates (see Vol VI p 58). As regards his postscript, the same remark as to tone applies, and also, anyone who may care to take the trouble can see, by means of the extracts and references given by me in Vol VI above, p 74 ff, and p 80 ff, that Mr Rice did attempt to make out a case, against my views on the subject of the invention of Purānic genealogies, by means of garbled extracts from my writings. It is a matter for regret, because of the complications to which it leads, that Mr Rice, in spite of the exceptional opportunities available to him, is still bent on trying, and by methods which may be ingenious but are certainly not commendable from any other point of view, to bolster up the fictitious early history of Mysore which he has put together from a credulous acceptance of spurious records and imaginative legends and from a resulting failure to deal properly with even some of the genuine records, instead of joining in the much more profitable and really interesting task of working out the true early history and accounting for the existence of the spurious records. But unfortunately that is the case, and it furnishes the explanation of the differences between Mr Rice and me. I would add, though it is hardly necessary, that, if anything should ever come to light to justify such a course, I should not hesitate for a moment about abandoning my present views in respect of the Western Gangas, and cancelling anything in my writings about them which would then be wrong. But nothing of that kind has happened yet. It is true that,—assuming the reliability of a record which I have no means of judging by either a facsimile or an ink-impression or a photograph,—an inscription at Āsandī in the Kadūr district (*Ep Carn* Vol VI, Kd 145) does shew that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa really had a son named Vijayāditya. That fact, however, is scarcely sufficient to establish a whole series of other things which are impossible in themselves.

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

In the first place, we must notice an inscription at Uppahallī in the Kadūr district (*Ep Carn.* Vol VI, Cm 42), which refers itself to the time of a Satyavākya whose personal name is

not mentioned in it, and is dated in A D 959, or possibly 958.¹ Mr Rice (*ibid* Introd p. 8 f.) has attributed this record either to the well known Ereyappa, or else to his immediate predecessor, which of the two he intends, is not clear, but the doubt is unimportant, because the record does not really belong to either of them. And, by the way, in connection with the mention of Ayyapadêva along with Ereyappa in the Bêgû inscription (see Vol VI above, p 47), Mr Rice has in the same place referred to the same period, and has proposed to date in A.D 929, an inscription at Kuppehâlu in the Kadûr district (*Ep Carn Vol VI, Kd 6*) which registers a grant made by the order of a certain Ayyaparasaya. But there is here a very peculiar confusion. The declensional and conjugational forms in the Kuppehâlu inscription mark that record, quite unmistakably, as at least several centuries later than A.D 929.² And Ereyappa, who was moreover a Nîtimârگا, not a Satyavâkya, died before at any rate A.D 940 (see Vol VI. above, p 70), and so the Uppahallî inscription Cm 42, dated in A D. 959 (? 958), cannot be attributed to him, and much less to his predecessor. That record can be properly ascribed only to Rachcha-Ganga, who ruled between A D 953 and 963-64. And it marks him as a Satyavâkya, and shews that the Chikmagalûr record, of a Nîtimârگا, is not one of his records.

In the second place, the photograph of the Chikmagalûr record, which reached me in January, 1900, shews that the record presents, and no less than four times, the later type, and that type only, of the initial short. And this feature, in a Mysore record, is practically absolute proof that we must not place it before A D 982.³

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

Further, an inscription at Elkûru in the Mysore district (*Ep Carn Vol IV, Ch. 10*),—overlooked by me in 1899,—shews (see my Table in Vol. VI above, p 59, and remarks on p 57), that Satyavâkya-Râchamalla II., with a final date in A D 984-85 (see Vol V above, p 173, note 6), was not the last Western Ganga prince, after him there came at any rate a Nîtimârگا, proper name not disclosed, with apparently the *birudas* Jayadankakâra and Komaravedenga,⁴ for whom the Elkûru inscription gives the date A D. 999-1000.

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

Both the transliterated text, p 104, and the Kanarese text, p 172, give us Âshâdha bahula pûrchami Brihaspativâra, and the Siddhârthîni *samvatsara*. And in the 883 *eradaneya* of the Kanarese text we have, no doubt, a misprint for 882 as given in the transliterated text.

According to the so called southern luni solar system, Siddhârthîni was Śaka Samvat 882 current, = A D 959 60. And in that year the given *tithi* ended at about 3 hrs 3 min after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 28th June, A D 959, and did not touch a Thursday at all.

According, however, to the so called northern luni solar system, Siddhârthîni was S-S 881 current, = A D 958 59. And in this year the given *tithi* began at exactly 22 hrs 28 min after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 7th July, A.D 958, and ended at exactly 20 minutes after mean sunrise on the Friday, and it was thus an *adhika-tithi* covering the whole of the Thursday. This, therefore, may possibly be the real date of the record, namely, Thursday, 8th July, A D 958.

The times given above are, as usual, for Ujjain. But they are practically just the same for Chikmagalûr. In view of the time of the year, July, when the sun was rising just about 5-30 A M, a determination of the *tithi* according to actual sunrise would not make any difference in the week-days.

² Even the other date suggested elsewhere, “? 1169 A D,”—see the translations, p. 2,—is far too early.

³ On this point, see my remarks on the initial short attached to my paper on an inscription at Dêvagûri, in the Dharwâr district, which will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal.

⁴ The Kanarese text (p. 4) of the Elkûru inscription presents *jayadamkatâra-kôviravedangam*. The transliterated text (p 2) presents *jayad ankakâra komara vedangam*. Such discrepancies as these are not very assuring. And, if we take this record in connection with the Hirêmagalûr inscription, mentioned as (3) on pages 53, 54 above, it remains quite possible that the first *biruda* here ought to be read *jayaduttaranga*.

It seems reasonable, in these circumstances, to identify the Nitimarga-Rachamalla of this Chikmagalur inscription with the Nitimarga, personal name not disclosed, for whom the Elkuru inscription supplies the date of A D 999-1000, precisely in the period to which we are independently brought for the Chikmagalur record. And, if we assume that the rule of this Nitimarga only began in A D 1000, then the Chikmagalur record, dated in the month Kârttika of the sixth regnal year, cannot be placed later than A D 1005. While, on the other side, with A.D. 984-985 as the final date of Satyavakya-Rachamalla II, it cannot be placed before A D. 989.

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

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

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

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

- (a) During the above-mentioned period, the full-moon was first connected with a Monday in A D 991, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 2 hrs 20 min after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Monday, 26th October. This result would place the commencement of the first year of Nitimarga-Rachamalla III on some day from Kârttika krishna 1 in A D 985 to the full-moon day of Kârttika in A D 986, leaving a short but sufficient period, about eight to twenty months, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be Rachamalla, standing between Rachamalla II and Rachamalla III.
- (b) Other years in which the full-moon *tithi* ended on a Monday were A D 994, 997, 1001, and 1004. In A D 1003, it may have begun very shortly before the actual sunrise at the end of a Monday, but in that case, of course, it could not be connected with the Monday for any practical purposes.

(2) On the supposition that we should regard *purname* as a mistake for *amāvāse*, and should calculate for the new-moon and the Mûla *nakshatra*. Here, the results are as follows —

- (c) In this case, again, during the above-mentioned period, the new moon was first connected with a Monday in A D 991, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 4 hrs 58 min on Monday, 9th November. The moon entered the Mûla *nakshatra* according to the Brahmasiddhanta system at about 17 hrs 7 min., and according to the Garga system at about 22 hrs 6 min., on the Monday, but according to the ordinary system she did not come to that *nakshatra* until about 10 hrs 18 min on the Tuesday. This result, in A D 991, would place the commencement of the first

year of Nitimarga-Râchamalla III. on some day from Mârgasîrsha śukla 1 in A.D. 985 to the new-moon day of Kârttika in A.D. 986, leaving just about the same short but sufficient period indicated under 1, a, above, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be Râchamalla, standing between Râchamalla II and Râchamalla III

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

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

TEXT.¹

1	Ôm ² Svasta Nitimârgga-Komguni ³			
2	varmma-dharmmamahârâjâdhirâ-			
3	ja Kuvaḷâla-puravar-êśvara [Nanda]-			
4	giri-nâtha śrîmat Râchamallaṅge [pa]-			
5	ttam-gattid-âṅaneyya varshada Kârttika-mâ[sa]-			
6	da suddha puṇṇameyu[m] Sôma-vâramu[m] ⁴ Mûla-nakshatra-			
7	mum-âge	Pemmanadigaḷ	prithuvi-râjyam-ge-	
8	yy[n]ttam-ire	Kiriya-Muguliya	Pemmâdig[au ?]-	
9	[ṇda]nge ⁵	kottâ nilpanya	innû(nnû)ṅu	Pemmâdiyu[m] Nilabe-
10	yu[m]	Narasingayyanum	Kêsavayyanu[m]	[Pa ?]nne ôjaru[m]
11	[Ma ?]dhukammôjarum		Bennegêsiyum	Eṅeyamman[um]
12	int-ivar=ḷdu	kottor	i(i) ⁶	kodangeyam balasidor
13	nâlgâmunda-Biyalanum		Piriya-Muguliya	[Ko]ma-
14	rayyanu[m]	Palmâdiya	Mendammanu[m]	Benneyûra Dêva-
15	[gaṇa ?]nu[m]	Maḷ[ti]avûrada	Pemmâdigâmundanu[m]	Urppavaḷliya
16	Chamayyanum	Indavûrada	V[ti ?]yyanu[m]	mangaḷa Ôm

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! Hail ! When it was the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika of the sixth year of the crowning of the *Dharmamahârâjâdhirâja* Nitimârgga-Kongunivarman, the lord of Kuvaḷâla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Râchamalla, and when it was Monday and the Mûla *nakshatra* —

(Line 7)—While the Pemmanadi was ruling the earth, to Pemmâdig[au]nda (?)⁷ of Kiriya-Muguli there were given two hundred— [supply probably *mattars*]—of *nilpanya*-land

¹ Partly from the photograph, and partly from the previously published Kanarese text, see page 50 above

² Represented by a plain symbol, so also at the end of line 16

³ The previously published Kanarese and transliterated texts both give *konguni*, with the guttural *ñ*. But the photograph shows unmistakably *komguni*

⁴ The second *akshara* of this word, the *ma*, was at first omitted by the writer, and was then inserted by him below the line, under the small space between the *so* and the *va*. It is rather faint in the photograph

⁵ The previously published texts both give *gondange*, and the translation presents the name as Pemmâdi Gauda. The period seems rather early for the form *gaunda* (see Vol VII above, p 183), and we have the form *gdmunda* in lines 13 and 15. I suspect that an estampage would show that the real reading here is *gd[ma]ndange*, with a damaged *mu* at the end of line 8.

⁶ Mr Rice's transliterated text gives here the long *i*, for which of course, in such a construction as that which we have here, the short *i* is a mistake. His Kanarese text gives quite properly the short *i*, which is shown by the photograph to be most distinctly the real reading

⁷ See note 5 above.

Pemmâdi, and Nilabe, and Narasingayya, and Kêsavayya, and Pannê-ôja (?), and Madhukammoja (?), and Bennegési, and Ereyamma, — these persons, being (*concensd*),¹ gave (*them*)

(Lane 12)—Those who have cultivated this allotment (*are*) the Nâlgâmunda Biyala, and Komarayya (?) of Piriya-Muguli, and Mendamma of Palmâdi, and Dêvagana (?) of Benneyûr, and Pemmâdigâmunda of Maltavûra, and Chamayya of Urvavalli, and Vitiiya (?) of Indavûra (*May there be*) felicity 'Om'

No 8 — THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVES AT NASIK

By E. SENART, PARIS

For a description of the caves at Nâsik, as well as for those at Kârlê,² it will be enough to refer to Burgess and Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples* and to the *Reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV p 37 ff. As for the inscriptions which these caves contain, the first publication of them goes back to Vol VII. p 37 ff of the *Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, and the first interpretation to Bhandarkar's *Notices*, published in the *Transactions of the London Congress*, 1874, p. 306 ff. To Bhagwanlal Indrap we are indebted for the reproductions on which are based Bühler's translations, printed in the *Archæological Survey of Western India (AS)*, and for the commentary written by Bhagwanlal himself and embodied in the volume devoted to Nâsik in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol XVI p 544 ff. (G.). These two translations, being based on thoroughly reliable documents, are the real tests of our present knowledge on the subject, and I shall constantly refer to them in this article. As in the case of Kârlê, the epigraphs of Nâsik have been distributed by AS into two different series, *viz.* "Kshatrapa and Andhra inscriptions" (Ksh.) and "Nâsik inscriptions of private individuals" (Pr.). The numbering adopted here is that which was used by Bhagwanlal in the *Gazetteer*.

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

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

TEXT.

Sidha (1) raño Vâsithiputasa (2) Siri-Pulumayisa samvachhare (3) chhathe 6
gimhapakhe (4) pachame 5 divase (5)

REMARKS.

(1) AS *sīdham* — (2) G and AS *Vāsathī*^o, but on the estampages the beginning of the *s*-curl is sufficiently discernible — (3) G and AS *sava*^o — (4) AS *gīma*^o, doubtless a simple typographical mistake — (5) AS *divase* 1 . po . hi . ts . ā. I can make nothing of the indistinct traces of letters which follow *divase*.

TRANSLATION.

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

¹ The *śūks* of line 12 of this record is equivalent to the *odan=śūks*, 'being together, being in the company of each other, being convened,' of various other records, see a remark in Vol. VI. above, p 68, note 6

² See above, Vol VII. p 47 f.

No. 2, Plate i. (Ksh. 18).

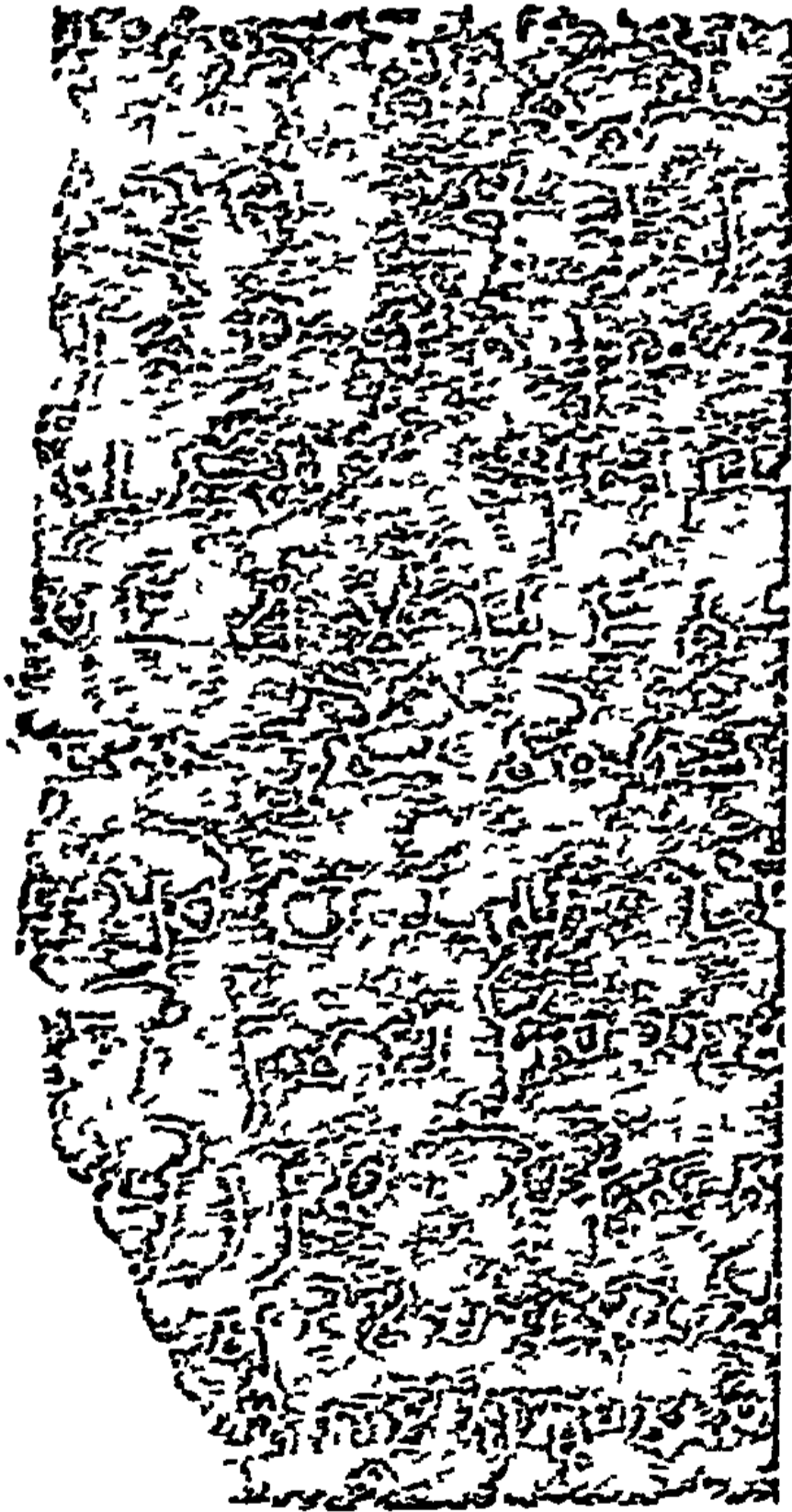
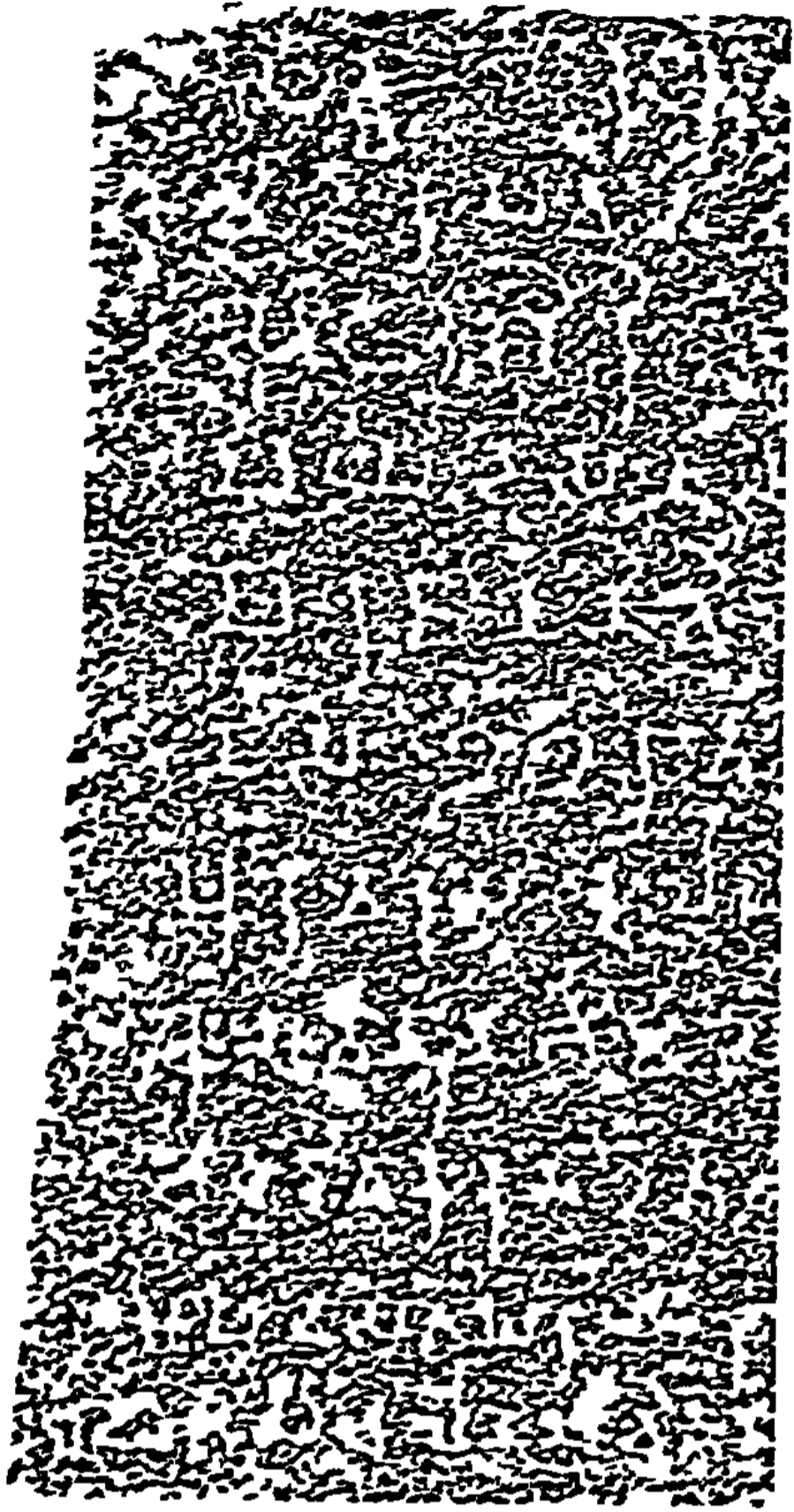
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 3, above the entrance.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham (1) raño Vāsīthiputasa (2) Siri-Puḷumāyisa saviohharo (3) okunaviso 10-
gimbhāna (4) pakhe bitiyē 2 divaso teraso 13 jāraño Gotamiputasa Himavata-
Meru-
- 2 Madara-pavatasamasārasa Asika-Asaka(5)-Muḷaka-Suraṭha-Kukur-Āparānta(6)-
Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvati-rājasa Vijha-Chhavata-Pārichāta(7)-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-
Macha-Siriṭana-Malaya-Mahida-
- 3 Setagiri-Chakora-pavatapatasa savarājalo(8)madala(9)patigabitaṅṅanasa
divasakarakara(10)vibodhitakamalavimalasadisavadanasa tisamudatoyupitavāhanasa
patipunachadamadalasasirika-
- 4 piyadasanasa varavāraṇavikamachāruvikamasa bhujagapatibhogapinavāta(11)-
vipuladīghasuda bhujasa (12) abhayodakadānakilinanibhayakarasa avipanamāta-
susūsākasa (13) suvibhatativagadesakālāsa
- 5 porajanavisesasamasukhadukhasa khatiyadapamānamadanasa (14) Saka-Yavana-
Palhava-nisūdanasa dhamopajitakaraviniyogakarasa kīṭaparādhe pi satujano
apānahisāruchisa dijāvarakutubavivadhā-
- 6 nasa Khakharātavasa(15)uravasesakarasa Sātavāhanakulayasapatithapana(16)karasa
savamadala(17)bhivādītacha . nasa vinivatitachātuvanasa karasa anekasamarāvaji-
tasatusaghasa aparājitavijayapatākasatujanadupadhasaniya(18)-
- 7 puravarasa kulapurisaparaparāgutavipularājasadasa āgamāna (19) nilayasa sapurisānam
asayasa Siriy adhithānasa upachārāna (20) pabhavasa ekakusasa ekadhanu-
dharasa ekasūrasa (21) ekabamhanasa Rāma-
- 8 Kesav-Ājuna-Bhūmasena-tulaparakamasa (22) chhanagghanusava(23)samājakārakasa
Nābhāga(24)-Nahusa-Janamejaya Sakara-Yayāti-Rām Ābarisa-samatejasa aparimitam
akhayam achitam abhuta (25) Pavana-Garaja(26)-Sidha-Yakha-Rakhasa-
Vijādhara-Bhūta-Gadhava-Chāraṇa-
- 9 Chada-Divākara-Nakhata-Gaba vichipāsamarasirasi jitaripusaghasa nāga(27)varakhadhī
gaganatalam abhivigādhasa kulavipulasirakarasa Siri-Sūtakanisa matuya
mahādeviya (28) Gotamiya Balasiriya sachavachanadanakhamā(29)hisa(30)-
niratāya tapadamaniya-
- 10 mopavāsataparāya rajarisivadhūsam (31) akhūlam anuvidhīyamānāya kārta
deyadhama (32) sikharasadise Tiranhupavatasikhare
vim . (33)varanivisesamahidhika lena eta cha lena mahādevi maharājāmūtā
mahārājap . tāmahī (34) dadāti nikāyasa Bhadāvanīyānam (35) bhukhusaghasa
(36)
- 11 etasa cha lenasa chitananimita (37) mahādeviya nyakāya sevakāmo (38) piyakāmo
cha ṇat (39)pathesaro (40) pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti
gāma (41) Tiranhupavatasā aparadakhinapase Pisājipadakam (42)
savaṅgātabhoganirathi.

REMARKS.

(1) G. *siddha ra*°. — (2) G. and AS °*sīthipu*° — (3) G. *savachhare*, AS *samvachhare*; *i* seems clear, and it must be remembered that *savimchhala* = *samvatsara* is found in the Sahasrām edict. As to the change of *a* into *i* in Prākṛit, comp. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, paragraphs 101-3. — (4) G. and AS *gimbhāna*. — (5) G. *Asika-Susaka*°. — (6) G. °*parānta*°, *ta* is followed not only by such a blank as is frequent in this inscription, but by some traces which look like the rest of a letter. As, however, it cannot be a *k*, it is not easy to



24



imagine what it could have been, and it is most probable, as has been admitted by the former editors, that these traces are nothing but accidental deteriorations of the stone — (7) AS °Paruāta° — (8) The character lo is all but clear — (9) AS °mamdala° — (10) The ka of the second kara, which falls into the flaw, is very indistinct — (11) G and AS °pīnavāta° — (12) The ra restored by G and AS cannot be doubted, though injured by the flaw — (13) G °sususā° — (14) The top of the na of dana seems to bear a horizontal stroke, and I am inclined to think that madanisa was intended — (15) AS °vansa° — (16) AS °patithāpa°, this is at least more probable, besides being more correct — (17) AS °maṁdalā°. — (18) AS °padhasasaniya° (a mere printer's mistake) — (19) G °mānam — (20) G °chārānam — (21) AS omits ekasūrasa in the transcript — (22) AS °parāka° — (23) G °chhanayanisa° — (24) AS Nabhāga°. — (25) G °bhutaṁ — (26) G °Geruda° — (27) G naga°, AS naga° — (28) AS °deviya — (29) ā of °khamā° seems to me at least doubtful — (30) G °himsā° — (31) AS. °vadhūsadam — (32) AS restores [Kelāsa]pa[vata]° I feel no doubt at all about this restoration which is confirmed by the still visible e-stroke, but it must be understood that it is entirely conjectural — (33) G and AS restore vimā[na]°, which is certainly right — (34) G °patāma°, AS °p[ṛ]tāma°, the beginning of the r-curl of pṛtā is still visible — (35) AS °nyā°, G and AS °yāna bhī° — (36) G °samghasa — (37) AS °chitanā° — (38) G sevākāmo — (39) AS na[tā . . . Dakṣiṇī]° Except the t which has left some traces, the passage in brackets is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one — (40) AS °pathisaro — (41) AS gumaṁ — (42) AS Pisāchi°, the final anusvāra is at least doubtful

TRANSLATION

“ Success ’ In the nineteenth — 19th — year of king Siri-Pulumāyi Vāsithiputa, in the second — 2nd — fortnight of summer, on the thirteenth — 13th — day, the great queen Gotamī Balasiri, delighting in truth, charity, patience and respect for life, bent on penance, self-control, restraint and abstinence, fully working out the type of a royal Rishi's wife, the mother of the king of kings, Siri-Sātakanī Gotamiputa, who was in strength equal to mount Himavat, mount Meru, mount Mandara, king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidabha, Âkarāvanti, lord of the mountains Vindhya, Chhavata, Pārīchāta, Sahya, Kanhagiri, Macha, Siritana, Malaya, Mahendra, Setagiri, Chakora, obeyed by the circle of all kings on earth, whose face was beautiful and pure like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun, whose chargers had drunk the water of three oceans, whose face was lovely and radiant like the orb of the full moon, whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant, whose arms were as muscular and rounded, broad and long as the folds of the lord of serpents, whose fearless hand was wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness, of unchecked obedience towards his mother, who properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity), who sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens, who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice, alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy, the furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born, who rooted out the Khakharāta race, who restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family, whose feet were saluted by all provinces, who stopped the contamination of the four varnas, who conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles, whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes, who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music, the abode of traditional lore, the refuge of the virtuous, the asylum of Fortune, the fountain of good manners, the unique controller, the unique archer, the unique hero, the unique Brāhmana, in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena, liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies, not inferior in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīsha, who, vanquishing his enemies in a way as constant as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous,

in battles fought by the Wind, Garuda, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Rākshasas, the Vidyādharas, the Bhūtas, the Gandharvas, the Chāraṇas, the Moon, the Sun, the Asterisms and the Planets, (appeared to be himself) plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant, (and) who (thus) raised his family to high fortune, — caused, as a pious gift, on the top of the Tiraṇhu mountain similar to the top of the Kailāsa, (this) cave to be made quite equal to the divine mansions (there). And that cave the great queen, mother of a *Mahārāja* and grandmother of a *Mahārāja*, gives to the *Saṅgha* of monks in the person of the fraternity of the Bhadāvaniyas; and for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the great queen his grandmother, her grandson lord of [Dakṣiṇā]-patha, making over the merit of the gift to his father, grants to this meritorious donation (i.e. the cave) the village Pīśāṅpadaka on the south-west side of mount Tiraṇhu. Renunciation to the enjoyments of every kind."

For all the proper names which are enumerated in line 2, I must refer the reader to the short geographical index given at the end of the Nāsik chapter in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol XVI¹. The names Surāshṭra, Anūpa, Ākarāvanti, Kukura and Aparānta appear again in the Rudradāman inscription at Gīrnār². The observations to which they have given rise, will be found especially in *Arch Surv. West. India, Antiq. of Kāthiāwār and Kachchh*, p. 128 ff, and *Ind. Ant* Vol VII. p 257 ff. This reference establishes the reading *Ākarāvanti*, and even in Sanskrit orthography the form *Kukura*. Of the other names, Asaka may be = Ashaka, or also Asvaka, but I am not prepared to admit for Asika the connection with the Arsacidæ which was proposed by Bhagwanlal. They are simply the Rīshikas who are well known from the Epic, and for whom I may refer to the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol II p. 58 f. The verse from the *Mahābhārata* (V 81) which is noted there (*Kāmbōjā Rīshika yē cha Pāśchīmānūpakāśha yā*) very conveniently brings them into contact with the Anūpa country. Seeing them here immediately associated with the Aśvakas, one is reminded of the legends which were current of their marvellous horses. The Mulakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the Muṇḍakas, known from the *Vishṇupurāna*, and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the Śakas and Tukhāras is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of *ḷ* into *ṇḍ*.³ As to the names of mountains, I do not think there can be any hesitation in reading *Pāriśhāta*. It must therefore be admitted that the form *Pāriyātra* need not necessarily be proscribed as was done by Buhler, who otherwise agreed with Bhagwanlal in the identification of that range. As to Macha (apparently = Mañcha), we have nothing to rely on but the conjecture of Bhagwanlal, too bold I fear to be really convincing. Cases like *gahata* = *grīhastha* (K 5) do not permit us to be quite as positive as Buhler regarding the impossibility of Sīritana being = Śrīstana. I am less inclined to consider *seṭa* = *sveta* in Setagiri. On the other hand, the name can hardly be connected, as Bhagwanlal wanted, with Sādagera, Sādakara, which in the Kudā inscriptions (1, 9) has no *e* in the first syllable, and which, as a family or tribal appellation, rather reminds of the name of Sāta (or Sāda)karṇi.

The compound *savarāja*^o is slightly irregular, but in the somewhat loose style of Prākṛit we often meet with forms like *savalokarājamaḍala* or *savalokamaḍalarāja*. The transposition of *abhayodakaddānakilīna* (= *abhayadānodakakilīna*), proposed by Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar (*Or Congr* 1874, p 313), would give a decidedly better construction and bring out more clearly the antithesis between *bhayadāna* and *nirbhaya*, but it has no bearing on the general meaning. The attribute *dhamopajita*^o is meant to imply that the king not only levied taxes in strict accordance with the law, but used them exclusively for just purposes.

¹ Compare also Mr V Smith's note in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol LVI. p 674 f.

² See p 47 above.

³ Mr V Smith (*loc cit*) refers doubtfully to the Mūlikas and Maulikas of the *Epitaphsamhitā*, XIV 8 and 23.

To all appearance Bhagwanlal is right in supposing that after *patāka* the proximity of the initial *sa* in *satu* has caused the dropping of the genitive termination *sa*, which is required if the compound *aparājita-vijayapatāka* is taken as an independent epithet of the king. Otherwise it would have to be taken as qualifying *puravara*, which would be a far-fetched sort of interpretation and against the phraseology of our inscriptions.

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

The transcription *ékānikuśasya*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, is I think decidedly to be preferred to Bhandarkar's correction *ekakusalasa*. Perhaps the epithet contains an allusion to the title "Gajapati," which by tradition is conferred on the principal regent of Western India (compare Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II p. 27 f.), and which our Gautamīputra may have claimed.

In spite of the form *achitam* instead of *achi[m]ityam*, Bühler is certainly right in his explanation of those adverbs, but I think that they refer not only to *jita*^o, but to the following epithet, which is closely connected with them. Of *nagavarakhadhā* nothing satisfactory can be made, the reading *nāga*^o gives a better sense. On his battle elephant the king appears as if he would rise to heaven. This is not only a hyperbolical way of describing the height of the animal, but implies more. The king is *jitaripusamgha* — he is seen in the glory of his triumph, besides, as he is seconded in his fights by the divine powers, Pavana and others, he appears in some manner in the sky and among the gods. The two epithets *Pavana*^o *jita*^o and *nāga*^o *°vigādha* complement each other conformably to the law which Benfey (*Gesch. der Sprachwiss.* p. 35) has rightly pointed out, and in virtue of which the more general term comes at the end, preceded by the determining word, — a rule which, to state it *en passant*, ought never to be lost sight of in the interpretation of inscriptions and may in more than one instance help to bring out the right shade of meaning in complicated constructions. One more point remains to be settled. *Samarasirasi* has been translated 'in the foremost ranks in a battle,' and in fact this is the way in which, following some Hindu commentaries, it has been customary to interpret *siras* when compounded with some word meaning 'fight.' But not one of the instances which are known to me necessarily requires this signification, and several would much rather exclude it (e.g. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 48, 138), on the other hand the idiom is used, as far as I know, only in the locative case, either simply *°sirasī* or, by way of a periphrase, *°sirasō madhyē* (*Mahābhārata*, IV 1131, VI 4041), which comes exactly to the same. I have elsewhere (*Mahāvastu*, I 624), in connection with another idiom, noted the inclination of the Prākritis to form periphrastic cases, and have drawn attention to the Pāli use, in this case, of *piṭṭhe* (*prishṭhē*) and *matthake* (*mastakē*). Such analogies strongly support a similar interpretation of *sirasī*. It would indeed be puzzling if instances were limited to the expression *ranasirasī* and its equivalents. But such is in no way the case, and to *sarāsirasī*, i.e. 'in, or on, the pond,' which the *St. Pet. Dict.* cites from the *Nāradapañchar.* I 3, 56, other cases will, I believe,

now be added after attention has been invited to this point. Of course the unsatisfactory explanation of *ranasirah* = *sênâgra*, having once been suggested, may have contributed to enlarge the use of the word. Anyhow I consider that here *samarasirasi* means no more than *sumarê* or *samareshu*.

Kelâsapavatasikhara being perfectly certain, *vimâna* ought not to be interpreted as an unspecified 'palace,' but as one of the heavenly mansions of the gods residing on Kailâsa. The Prâkrit *Tiranhu* must, notwithstanding its irregular form, be = Sanskrit *Triraśmi*. The meaning of *raśanâ* is partially identical with *raśmi*, this circumstance may have favoured the transition, especially the substitution of *n* for *m*. Besides, local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure. Of Bhadâvaniya the etymologically correct form is that which we shall find in the next epigraph, viz *Bhadâyaniya* (-ka). Regarding that sect, a subdivision of the Sthaviras, comp Rhys Davids in *J. R. As. Soc.*, N S, 1891, p 411 ff, and 1892, pp 5-7. As to the relation between the three genitives at the end of line 10 of the text, I may refer to my remarks on K 13 above.

Ohitanvumsta is translated 'to allow (this cave) to be taken care of' by Bühler, who reads *chitandâ* and takes it to mean *chintana*, and 'for painting (the cave)' by Bhagwanlal, who reads *chitana* and derives the word from *chitrayati*. This etymology, which is recommended by the *n*, seems to me to be the only acceptable one, although Bhagwanlal probably limits the meaning too closely. *Ohitray* may as well be taken in the general sense of 'ornamentation, embellishment'. Bühler seems to have been influenced by the comparison of *lenasa paṭisaṭharane* which, in the next inscription, sums up the object of the present donation. To be sure, the two expressions cannot contradict each other, but nothing requires *a priori* that they should be exactly synonymous. *Ohintana* has the very definite and abstract meaning of 'thought,' it is not easy to introduce it here without some violence. We shall see on the other hand that the explanation 'for the repairs of the cave,' proposed for *paṭisaṭharane* in N 3, is far from being certain.

The restoration *na[tâ Dakṣiṇî]paṭisaro* is as probable as the translation of *pitupatiyo* proposed by Bühler is inadmissible. *Dharmasêtu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period (above, Vol III. p. 313, Vol. IV. p 207, etc), denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit,' which enables its author to get over the ocean of *samsâra*. The way in which the word is used in ll 12-13 of the next inscription could lead us to fancy that it is here transformed into a proper name, attached to that cave which has been dug out by the king's grandmother. Such a name, however, would be very vague and little significant. I admit that *dhamasetu* must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as an apposition to *lena* either expressed or understood, to mean 'the pious foundation' of the queen. I cannot account for the curious idea of Bhagwanlal, who sees in it the personal name of some 'manager of the cave'. As to *pitupatiyo*, he transcribes it by *patripitrikah*. He evidently thought of the analogy of *pitripitâmaha*, but the two are in no way identical. It might be admitted that they are equivalent, and that *pitripitri* = 'father and (father's) father'. The insuperable difficulty lies in the reading. The stone does not bear *pitupitriyo* or *pitupetiyo*, but *pitupatiyo*. The *-vowel* after the second *p* is decidedly excluded by the tail of the *r* in the preceding line, and no trace of an *e*-vowel can be discovered. It is *pitupatiyo* and nothing else that has to be explained. *Patî* in the Buddhist Pâli, i.e. *prâpti*, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, by a foundation (Childers, sv). It is probably through the intermediate meaning 'a part, participation,' that the word has come to be used in that way. Thus *pitapattiyô* or *ttiko* means 'who is applying to his father the merit of his donations'. The king speaks of his father only because his father alone is dead, and he begins by alluding to his mother, proclaiming his donation to be inspired by his veneration towards her and his wish to share in her views. It is therefore just as if he had said, with an idiom more familiar to the language of inscriptions, *pitaram uddisya*. From this case I am inclined to conclude, without

being able actually to verify the conjecture, that such an application of merit can be made only in favour of deceased persons. However that may be, it will now be seen by what very natural transition of thought the giver is led to use without any other preparation the name *dhammasetu* as given to the cave; he is inspired at this very moment by the line of religious thoughts which have suggested it and which explain it

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

No. 3, Plate II. (Ksh. 19).

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

TEXT.

- 11 Siddha (1) Navanarasvāmī Vāsīthīputo Sīri(2)-Pulumavi ānapayati Govadhane
āmacha (3)
- 12 Sivakhadila ya amhehi (4) sava 10 gi pa 2 diva 13 Dhanakatasamanehi (5)
ya etha pavate (6) Tira(7). na dhavasetusa (8)
lenasa paṭisatharane (9) . akhaya . . . (10) hetu etha Govadhanāhāre
dakhinamsge gāmo Sudisanā (11) bhikhūhi devilenavāsehi nīkāyena
Bhadāyanīyehi (12) paṭigaya (13) dato (14) etasa dānagāmasa Sudasanāna
parivātake etha Govadhanahare (15) puvamage (16)
- 13 gāma (17) Samalipada dadāma (18) etata mahaaīrakena (19) odena (20)
dhamasetusa lenasa paṭisatharane (21) akhayanīvīhetu (22) gāma Sāmalipada (23)
bhi ubi devilepa yena (24) Bhadāyanīyehi (25) paṭigayha (26)
oyapapehi (27) etasa cha gāmasa Sāmalipadasa (28) bhikhūhalaparīhāra (29)
- 14 vitarāma apālasa anomasa (30) alonakhādaka arathasavinavika savajātaparīhārika
cha etehi na parīhārehi (31) parīhārehi (32) eta (33) cha gāma Samalipada (34)
parīhāre cha (35) etha (36) nibadhāpehi (37) Sud na (38) gāmasa cha
Sudasanāna vinībadhakārehi anātā (39) mahāsenāpatinā (40) Medhunena . . .
nā (41) chhato batikā . v . . . kehi (42) hatha . to (43) datā
paṭikā (44) sava 22 gi pakhe (45) . diva 7 . takanīnā (46) katā

Govadhanavāthavāna (47) phāsa . yo (48) Vinhupālonā (49) svāmi-
vanananata (50) nama (51) bhagatasapatpatapasa (52) Jinavarasa Budhasa.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. *śuddham* — (2) G. *Srī-Pu°* — (3) G. and AS. *amacha*, *ā* seems clear, though faint. — (4) G. *°lana sumopa sa°*, AS. *°la ya amhepa sa°*. The reading *amhehi* is required by the context. We might at the utmost read *amhepi* if *amhehi* were not morally certain. — (5) G. *Dhanahka°*. It will be seen that I incline to read *Benāhaka°* — (6) G. restores *pa[va]ta*. I think I can read the three characters — (7) G. and AS. restore *Tira[nhumi]* — (8) G. . . . *na etasatasa le°*, AS. *dhavāsetisa le°*. I have no doubt that the text really had *dhama°* — (9) AS. notes no lacuna between *°ne* and *a°*, and G. only points out an undetermined one. I admit not only that there remains room for one character, but that the back of the estampage seems to retain some traces of it, which might be mistaken for *na*. As, however, in the repetition which will follow, and the phraseology of which is the exact counterpart of this first formula, the reading *°tharane* is certain and perfectly complete, it seems hardly possible that the text should have been different here. — (10) G. and AS. restore *°[nivi]°* — (11) G. notes between *°mo* and *su°* a lacuna which nothing compels us to admit, and reads *Sudisana*, AS. *Sadāsana*. — (12) AS. *°niyena*, only a lapsus. — (13) G. *patikhaya*, AS. *paṭikhaya*. Here and in l. 13 the letter looks like *ga* — (14) AS. *datā* — (15) AS. *°dhanāhāra*. — (16) G. *°vasime* — (17) G. and AS. *gāmo*. — (18) G. and AS. *dadīma*. — (19) G. *mahā°*, G. and AS. *°kana* — (20) G. *olāna*. The back of the estampage seems to warrant *de*. — (21) G. *°samtha°* — (22) AS. *°heta* — (23) G. *°padam*. — (24) G. *bhikhuhī devīlenavā[sehi nīkā]yena*, AS. *ta [. bhī]khuhī lena[vāsehi nīkā]y[e]na*. — (25) G. *°yanayehi*, AS. *°yanayahi*. — (26) G. *°gahya*, AS. *°tikhaya*. — (27) G. *uyapa e°*, AS. *uyapaya e°*. The transcription *u* for the first character and *ya* for the last would, *a priori* and for purely palaeographical reasons, be inadmissible. Besides, in the strokes which Buhler interprets as *paya*, I read with some confidence *pehi*. But the reading *oyapāpehi* is warranted by the Kondamudi plates and by Kārlē No. 19 (above, Vol. VI p. 71, note 1) — (28) AS. *Sama°*. — (29) G. *°hāraṁ* — (30) G. *anama°*. — (31) AS. *°rihara°*. — (32) AS. *°harīhi*. — (33) G. *datam cha* — (34) G. *°padam*, AS. *°malapada* — (35) G. *°hārānaṁ*, AS. *°hāre na*. Although *cha* is not clear, the parallel passage leaves no doubt as to the reading. — (36) AS. *eṣa*. — (37) AS. *°badha la mi gū°*, G. *°bamdhāpanam gū°* — (38) *su* and *na* appear to me certain, *ā[ā]* most probable. These elements lead almost irresistibly to the reading *Sudasan[ā]* for the whole. It must be owned, however, that the third character does not give the impression of an *s* either on the front or on the back, but as it does not resemble any other known character, it must be admitted that its aspect has been altered by some damage of the stone. — (39) G. *ānato*, AS. *°mbakāre°*. The *dha* is not visible on the Plate, but at least very plausible on the back of the estampage, which at any rate warrants the presence of two letters between *ba* and *re*. I have no doubt that the direct examination of the stone has inspired Bhagwanlal correctly. — (40) AS. *°senapa°*. — (41) G. *°na [Sātakanī]nā*. The visible traces make it a puzzle for me how Bhagwanlal could propose such a restoration. — (42) G. *°to Binikaṭavāsakahi*, AS. *°to paṭihā vāsakehi*. The reading *bi* (G.) can hardly be seriously upheld, *pa* of AS. is not much more likely. As to the *sa* on which both agree, it seems less probable on the back than it looks on the front. — (43) G. *hathachhatā*, AS. *hathichhatā*. I feel little doubt that the top-curl belongs to the *ā* of the preceding line, and that the *i* ought to be struck off. — (44) AS. *°tā hīna sa°* — (45) G. and AS. *pa* — (46) G. 7 *Sātakanīnā*, AS. 7 . *Sā kanena*. — (47) AS. *°vathavana* — (48) G. *phāsukāyam*, AS. *phesakaye*. The top of the first letter seems to bear a horizontal stroke on both sides, which would give *pho*, but the two strokes do not exactly face one another, and the one on the right is more clearly and deeply cut. Pro-

bably the stroke on the left is accidental, and we ought to read *phá* — (49) 𑀧𑀲𑀭 𑀧𑀲𑀭 , which is a printer's mistake for *Vinhu*°, G *Venhu*°. — (50) G *sámuva vanárata*, AS. *sámuva anánata* — (51) G. *namo*, which is perhaps right — (52) G *bhaga[ra]jatac*°, AS *bhagatasa*°, G °*patipatipasa*

TRANSLATION.

“ Success! The lord of Navanara, Siri-Pulumávi Vāsithiputa, command- Sivakasa, the officer at Govadhana: The village of Sudasana here in the Govadhana district on the Southern road, which by us, in the 19th year, on the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of summer, by the *Samanas* of Dhanamkata who [dwell] here on the , has been given to be owned by the *Bhikshus* of that fraternity, the *Bhadāyanis* dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave excavated, — in exchange for this gift, — the village of Sudasana, — we give the Sāmalipada, here in the Govadhana district on the Eastern road, and this village of Sāmalipada, by the *Mahā-Āryaka*, you must deliver to be owned by the school of the *Bhadāyanis* dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual care of the cave mentionedly excavated, and to this village of Sāmalipada immunity belonging to monk's land, (making it) not to be entered (by royal or touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities. With all these immunities you and this donation of the village of Sāmalipada and the immunities take care to here at Sudasana. And by the (officers) entrusted with the abrogation of donation of the Sudasana village it has been ordered. Written by the *Mahasenāpti* , kept (?) by the of deeds (?) The deed was delivered year 22, the 7th day of the . . . fortnight of summer; executed by (?) a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Vinupāla proclaims the Lord. Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Buddha ”

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

From the comparison of *Benākatasāmi* in the next inscription, which offers many analogies to the present one, I infer that Dr Bhandarkar was right in understanding *Navanara* as = lord of Navanara, I suppose for Navanagara. Nothing in the other inscriptions can be looked in it for some hypothetical *biruda*.

The sentence beginning with *ya amhehi* rests on two propositions which are roughly balanced and throw light upon one another. The general construction is clearly shown by the symmetry which obtains between the relative proposition *ya amhehi*:

Bhadāyanisyeḥ patigaya dato on the one hand, and the principal one *eta cha patigayha oyapāpehi*. They correspond link to link. The general similarity makes the more conspicuous the discrepancy which exists in respect of a single detail. Instead of *Dhanamkata* *y[e] etha patate Tira na*, line 13 has *mahaāzraḥa odena*. This disagreement is made worse by the lacuna and by the partial uncertainty of the reading of *eta*. The obscurity of these two expressions is to my mind the only real difficulty in this part of the text. One useful result at least, although only a negative one, is gained from their comparison, namely, that the singular construction attempted by Bühler, who supposed *eta* to be governed by *pat khaya* (as he read), must first of all be discarded. The reading *eta* did, *Dhanakatasamaneḥ* and *bhikshuh*, which are separated from *eta* by a lacuna, is too inadmissible to require a lengthy refutation. Better

an instrumental, in one case °*samanehi* (followed by the relative proposition *ya* . . . which determines it more particularly, and the essentials of which have disappeared in the lacuna), on the other, *aīrakena*, secondly another word which we read *odena* is the second case, and the last syllable of which, *na*, alone has been preserved in the first. Unfortunately both *mahaāīraka* and *odena* are of doubtful meaning. One point is proved by the very difference between the two phrases they must have referred respectively to each of the villages in question and must have contained some determination, whatever may have been its exact bearing, concerning not the nature or the application of the gift, but its object, which alone differs in the two, being in the first sentence the Sudisana village, and the village of Sāmalipada in the second. Bühler took *odena* to be an instrumental qualifying *aīrakena*. Besides the fact that this view has led him to a most unlikely translation, the circumstance of [*ode*]na being in line 12 associated with *samanehi* seems to bear evidence to his error. To all appearance it is the instrumental, *samanehi* or *aīrakena*, which must be understood as dependent on *odena* or *odāna*, whichever may be the true reading. As to this word — either a substantive or, more probably, a participle — it cannot well be anything but a nominative or accusative, agreeing with the preceding pronoun, *ya* or *eta*. The last inscription, which informs us of the original gift for which this one is substituted, makes no allusion to the monks of Dhanakata, as to the *Mahaāīraka*, the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious personage. Even admitting that the title *araka* given to Yañasui-Sātakanī by an inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 96) be really = *āryaka*, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title (*Chūḷa-ārya* conferred on the *Ārya* Buddharakshita, who is styled *Aīhat* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, Plate lxx. No 39, p 104). What in any case appears to me above all doubt is that, contrary to the conjecture of Bühler, the title cannot be Pulumāyi's. I refer to the observations on the title *Mahāsvāmika*, which follow the next inscription.

As to the letters which, besides *ode*, are comprised in the lacuna, no parallel passage helps us to fill them up with confidence. The writing is not regular enough to enable us to ascertain even the number of characters which have disappeared. Probably from seven to nine are missing. The two first, *nhumhi*, and the two last, *ode*, being known, it may at least be imagined that *vasanti* or *pativasanti* would fill up the gap conveniently, and that the monks 'who dwell on mount 'Triraśmi' were meant here. On Dhanakata or Dhauankata we have no other information than what has been collected by Dr. Bhandarkar (p 349). Of course I cannot venture to hold my own against those who worked from the stone itself, I must own, however, that, considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*, it seems very tempting to suppose that our *Dhanakata* is not different from the *Benākatāka* in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading *Benākatāka* seems to me to be the better secured one. I should incline to introduce it here. In No 10, 1 2, we shall find a river *Karabandā*. Several *Bonās* are known. *Benākatāka* is therefore quite satisfactory. As to the hypothetical *Dhanakataka*, it could in no case be identified (as postulated by Bhandarkar) with the proper name (equivalent to Dharanikôt or not) which we find again at Amarāvati, as it has there the form *Dhamnākatāka* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, No. 53, p 90)

I think I can explain with certainty one word at least which has led astray my predecessors. The comparison of the two passages establishes the form *patigayha*, i.e. *pratigrihya*, and the preceding instrumental, as it cannot be construed with *dato*, can only be governed by this word, which is therefore the future passive participle — here *pratigrihyah*, and below *pratigrihyam*. It will be observed that the word is intimately connected with the expression *parigraha* which I have explained in K 19, and that it is in the same way applied to a property assigned to a special st. The close etymological relationship of the two terms

justifies their parallelism naturally enough. I have therefore no doubt that *pratigrhya* must mean here 'to be received as property by . . .' As I have stated above (in K 13), the construction *ni'āyena Bhadāyanīyehi* seems to imply that even where the reading *nikāyasa Bhadāyanīyānam* would rather suggest an interdependence of the two genitives, it must be admitted that the two terms are, as is necessarily the case here, co-ordinated, and that the second follows the first as a kind of apposition.

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

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

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

The sequel corresponds exactly with our No 4, in so far as five different acts connected with the donation are enumerated in both places. In the next epigraph they are expressed by the words *ūnata*, *chhata*, *uparakhita*, *datā paṭikā* and *kaṭā*, of which the first, second, fourth and fifth are common to the present text as well. It is a priori probable that the third also is, if not identical in form, at least equivalent in bearing. The reading *hathachhato* gives no meaning which can be made to agree with *uparakhita*. Besides, *chhato* stands condemned by the fact that this word already figures in the same series. Although the transcription *chh*, especially if we judge from the back of the estampage, cannot be said to be impossible, the too angular tracing and the unusual place which would have to be assigned to the vertical stroke surmounting the double curl joins with the general aspect of the front to make it at least doubtful. The reading *hatha* (or *hathe*) *guto*, besides reminding of *Bohanigutto* which I have adduced in K 19, would perhaps satisfy the desideratum of close agreement, but I must own that the actual traces of the estampage do not seem to favour it, and I put it here only as a provisional guess, to stand until a more acute reader or some evident analogy removes every uncertainty.

The two different terms have been explained in K 19. The same is not the case with the two terms which are special to our text, and which the imperfect preservation of the original has rendered more or less obscure. As for the first, as stated before, I join with some confidence in Bhagwanlal's reading *vimbadhakāra*. He understood the word as 'document writer.' It is certain from the analogy of the use of *vimbadhāpehi*, that *vimbadhā*, as in N 5, has to be taken here in some analogous sense. But how did Bhagwanlal dispose of the initial *vi*, which implies a meaning of suppression, or negation? We have seen besides (in K 11) that *vimbadhā* more specifically means 'inversion.' The object of the deed is to unmake the gift of the Śūdras by simply substituting the gift of another. I therefore explain *vimbadhakāra* as 'inversion of investment,' and take it as an epithet applied to the officers entitled to receive the withdrawal of the former donation, whichever may have been the proper qualifications of these *Dātukas*.

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

There remains the third qualification, of which the greater part is erased, and which begins with *baṣṭi*. Although this reading seems more likely than *patihā*, the two forms would be equivalent, and all I venture to say is that the first part of the title seems to refer to some function of an archivist, analogous to what is elsewhere expressed by *akshapaṭalika* and *śāstrī*. This meaning would suit the general bearing which, I think, points to the mention of such an office. At the utmost I would note that the reading *vāsakehi*, which G and AS have substituted for the first of the words, reminds of *sāmnyehi* (= *sāmikahi*) which, in N 4, closes the title of the *Mahāsāmī* as contrasted with an identical task. I must add that the visible traces do not favour the restoration of the reading *sāmikahi*.

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

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

¹ [See my remarks on these two terms, above, Vol VII, p 107, note 4.—E H]

denomination of the Buddha himself? It would be a somewhat unusual application of the word, but perhaps it could, to some extent, be explained by the necessity of avoiding here the names of Bhagavat, Buddha and Jina which follow later on. I take *vannanā* in the sense which is now commonly reserved to *varna*, 'eulogy, glorification'. If taken thus, the sentence introduces the invocation quite naturally. Vinhupāla, whatever may have been his position and the reason for his intervention (nothing enlightens us about the matter, is the name perhaps only an equivalent of Vinhupālita in the following epigraph?), proclaimed this praise of the Lord, 'we adored the Buddha, 'in order to procure the well-being of the inhabitants of Gôvardhana.'

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

No. 4, Plate II (Ksh 13)

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham senāye Vējayantiyo (1, vijayakhadha.ātī Govadhanasa
Benākatakasvīmi (2) Gotamiputo Sivi-Sadakanī (3)
- 2 ānapayati Govadhane amacha Vinhupālita (4) gāme Aparakakhadiye ya (5)
khetam Ajakālakīyam Usabhadatena (6) bhūtam nivatana(7)-
- 3 satīni be 200 cta amhakheta nivatanasatīni (8) be 200 imesa pavajitāna
Tekirasina (9) vitarāma etasa chasa khetasa parihāra
- 4 vitarāma apavesa (10) anomasa (11) alonakhādaka arathasavinayika
savajātaparīhārika (12) cha etahi na parihārehi parihai hi (13)
- 5 ete (14) chasa khetaparihār (15) cha etha nibadhāpehi (16) aviyena (17)
ānatam amachena Sivagutena chhato Mahāsāmyeche uparakhito (18)
- 6 datā patikā savachhare 18 (19) vāsapakhe (20) 2 divase 1 Tāpasena (21)
katā

REMARKS.

(1) AS °jayati° — (2) G and AS °takū svū° — (3) G °dakāni. — (4) G and AS °litam — (5) G. °diyam yam khe°, AS °diya ya khe°. — (6) G Ushabhadātēna — (7) AS. nivatane — (8) AS °satāmni — (9) G °sina, AS °sinā — (10) G apāve°, AS °vesam — (11) AS °masam — (12) G °tapari° — (13) G °riharahi, AS °riharīhi — (14) AS eta — (15) G. and AS. °hāre. — (16) G and AS nibadho lihi. The only point which in my reading seems subject to some material uncertainty is the vocal *e* of the syllable *pe* — (17) G *sviyena*, AS *aviyena*. — (18)

G. °*khitā*. — (19) AS. 14 ; but Bühler has corrected this reading to 18 in *Die Ind. Inschriften und die Kunstpoesie*, p. 58. — (20) G. *vasāpakhe*, AS *vasapa[khe]*. — (21) G °*pasana*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success ! From the camp of victory of the Vejayanti army, Siri-Sadakaṇi Gotamiputa, lord of Benākataka of Govadhana, commands Vinhupālita, the officer at Govadhana. The Ajakālakiya field in the village of Western Kakhadi, previously enjoyed by Usabhadata, — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas*, — that our field — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas* — we confer on those Tekirasi ascetics, and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities ; with those immunities invest it, and this field and these immunities take care to have registered here. Verbally ordered, written down by the officer Sivaguta ; kept by the *Mahāsāmyas* The deed was delivered in the 18th year, on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season ; executed by Tāpasa.”

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

I cannot discover the *ā* which AS and G attach to the second *k* of *Benākataka*. This is not to be wondered at, because it seems impossible to interpret *Bonākatakasvāmi* otherwise than as a compound of the same form as *Navanarasvāmi* in N. 3. When *svāmi* is prefixed as a title, it is placed before the king’s name (*sāmi* Siri-Paḷumāyi, K. 14, N. 25, *sāmi* Sīryaṇa-Sātakaṇi, N. 24), and not, as would be the case here, if Bühler and Bhagwanlal were right, before his metronymic. As to the genitive *Govadhanasa*, it could certainly be explained as governed implicitly by *Benākataka* and pointing out the district where the place is situated. It seems however much more probable that it must be construed with *skandhāvārāt*. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular, but the presence of another genitive, *senāye Vejayantiye*, may have caused *Govadhanasa* to be placed after *kandhāvārā*. As we know nothing about Benākataka (see the preceding inscription), its situation need not be considered here. But it is unlikely that the king, while dating his gift from his head-quarters, should not have stated the name, and, as the gift mentioned here was made by him verbally and personally, it is all but certain that he was himself present at Govadhana.

Bühler and Bhagwanlal understand *ajakālakiyam* = Sanskrit *adyakālīkam*, an adjective qualifying *khetam*, and which, determining the following *Usabhadatena bhūtam*, would mean ‘till to-day’ This meaning would be excellent, it would have the advantage of dating positively the Southern conquest of Gautamiputra, which probably brought about the dispossession of the Kshaharāta Rishabhadatta in favour of the invader. But from the grammatical point of view — without taking into account the singularity of the form *adyakālakiya* = *adyakālīka*, — it would really be an odd way of speaking. It is, besides, necessary that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because, if Rishabhadatta had laid hand on a possession in these parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I, therefore, am inclined to think that *Ajakālakiya* is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology which I have no means to state for certain.

I have no doubt that *Tekrasina* is the equivalent of *Tiranhukānam* and refers to the monks on mount Triraśmi. As to the phonetic change, I see nothing more convincing than the conjecture of Bühler, who corrects the word to *Torasikānam* = *Traviraśmikānam*. But it is really a desperate expedient — so desperate that I may be allowed to ask a question

If really, as is supposed, the name *Tirāsmi*, attached to the hill at Nāsik, had been inspired by its triple top, would it be too bold to imagine that, under the influence of those Yavanas whose traces are rather common in these parts, a Greek equivalent *Τρικεπας* could, by some accident, have obtained currency by the side of the native name?

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

No. 5, Plate II. (Ksh. 14.)

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

TEXT.

- 6 Siddha (1) Govadhane amachasa Sāmakasa (2) deyo (3) rājānito (4)
 7 raño Gotamiputasa Sātakanisa (5) mahādeviya (6) cha jīvasutāya rāja-
 mātuya vachanena Govadhane (7) . . cho (8) Sāmako arogavatavo tato
 eva cha (9)
 8 vatavo etha (10) amhehi pavate Tirānhamhi amhadhamadāne lene
 pativasatānam (11) pavajitāna bhikhūna gāme Kakhadisu puva khetam
 data ta cha kheta
 9 . . kasate (12) so cha gāmo na vasati evam (13) sati ya (14)
 dāni etha (15) nagarasīme rājakam kheta (16) amhasatakam (17) tato
 etesa (18) pavajitāna bhikhūnam Terānhukānam dadama
 10 khetasa nivatānasatam 100 tasa cha khetasa parihāra (19) vitarāma
 apāvesa anomasa alonakhādaka arāthasavinayika savajātapārihārīka cha (20)
 11 etehi na parihārehi parihareṭha (21) eta chasa khetaparihāre (22) cha
 etha (23) nibadhāpetha (24) aviyena (25) ānata paṭhārakhīya Lotāya
 chhato (26) lekho (27) savachhare 24
 12 vāsāna (28) pakhe 4 divase pachame (29) 5 Sujivinā (30) katā
 nibadho (31) nibadho savachhare (32) 24 gūrhāna pakhe 2 divase 10.

REMARKS.

(1) AS *siddham* — (2) G and AS *Sama*^o. — (3) The initial *de* is probable, but not entirely certain. — (4) G. *rājānito*, AS *rājāni*^o. The syllable *rā* is very indistinct in the estampage — (5) G. *Sata*^o. — (6) AS *deviya* — (7) G. *vadhana* — (8) G restores very aptly [*ama*]cho — (9) G and AS do not mention this *cha*, which I believe to discover in the estampage — (10) AS *eṭha* — (11) G. and AS *satāna*. — (12) G. *vakasate*, AS. *va kāsate*. The first letter in the line is very indistinct in the estampage. The traces agree more with the reading *na* which the sense requires, than with *va*. — (13) AS. *eva*. — (14) G and AS *yaṃ* — (15) AS *eṭha*. — (16) G and AS *khetam*. — (17) AS *ama*^o — (18) G. *etasa* — (19) G. *hāram*. — (20) AS omits *cha* — (21) G. *haratha*, AS. *hereṭha* — (22) G. *parihāra* and AS. *hāra* — (23) AS *etha* — (24) AS. *dhā laṭha*. — (25) G. *sviye*^o. — (26) G. *lājaniyamata*, AS *Lotdya mata*. — (27) G and AS *lekhe* — (28) AS. [*va*]sā^o — (29) G. *pachame*^o. — (30) G. *pu[va]-jivinā*, AS *Pujivinā* — (31) G. *badhā* — (32) AS. *saṃvāchhare*.

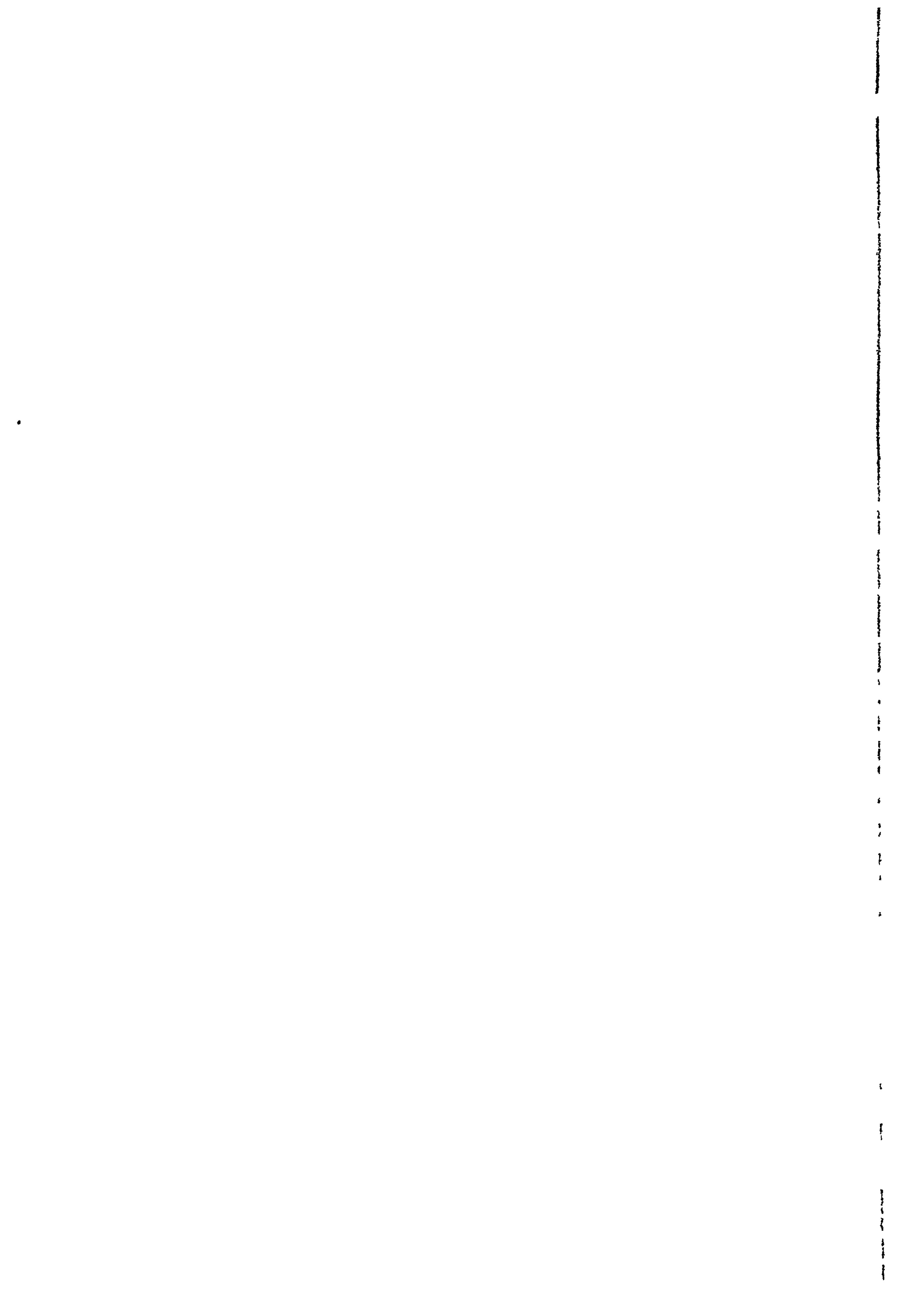
TRANSLATION.

“Success! Order of the king, to be made over to Sāmaka, the officer at Govadhana. In the name of the king Sātakanī Gotamiputa and of the king’s queen mother whose son is living,

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

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

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



in this way it is easy to understand why they do not note many details which could not fail to appear in the official deeds themselves

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

No. 6, Plate III. (N. 8)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 6.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Viragahapatisa nyegamamsa (1) lenam (2)
- 2 deyadhama kuṭumbīniya (3) chasa Namdasariya (4) ovarako duhutu-
- 3 ya chasa Purisadatāva ovarako eva lenam chatugabham
- 4 niyuta (5) bhikhusamghasa chātudisasa niyāchutam

REMARKS.

(1) AS °gamasa, the *anusvāra*, although faulty, seems perfectly clear. — (2) G and AS *lena* — (3) G °bīniya. — (4) AS. °dasarāya The reading *sri* seems sure. — (5) G. *niyuta*

TRANSLATION

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of the householder Vira, a merchant, a cell of his wife Nandasari, and a cell of his daughter Purisadattā, the cave thus completed to four cells has been bequeathed to the universal Sangha”

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

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

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

No. 7, Plate III.

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

TEXT.

- 1 Bhayamta-Savasānam amtevā-
- 2 sūniya pavayitāya Tāpasī-
- 3 niya cha deyadhama [lena]
- 4 chātudāsasa bhikhusaghasa datam.

REMARKS.

This epigraph is missing in AS I give the reading of Bhagwanlal rather than a transcription of my own The estampages appear to be even less legible than the photographs The letters are not deeply cut, so that the back of the estampages shows almost nothing. The direct examination of the stone may have enabled Bhagwanlal to see more than I can discover on the facsimiles. I can only abandon to him the honour and responsibility of the reading Our facsimile is besides probably too short. For in the first line, where the visible traces indeed seem to confirm his transcription, the final *vā* which he has read is certainly wanting, and the following lines also, if compared with his readings, seem to be incomplete on the right. In the second line I am unable to make out *pavayitāya*, and even less *Tāpasī*. The rest looks more probable. I must, however, except the last word. Besides the fact that no trace of *data* appears, it is not that participle, but *nyātita*, which is ordinarily used in that way. In 1 3 the *cha* must be wrong, to all appearance we have to do with a single gift

TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Tāpasīni, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savasa, granted to the universal *Sangha* of ascetics"

It is hardly credible that the name of the donor should be omitted, as the epigraph takes the trouble to commemorate the name of her religious teacher So she must have been called Tāpasīni, admitting the reading to be correct We have already met (in N 4) with Tāpasa as a man's name. As to that of the teacher, always supposing the reading to be correct, I do not see, among several possibilities, any Sanskrit transcription which can be safely admitted The reading *Sovasa* is not impossible, it reminds of *Sovasaka* which in K 20 seems to be an ethnic name, probably = *Sauvarsha*. Bhājā (AS No 4) supplies another instance of the *plurals majestatis* - *therānam bhāimta-Dhamagīrām*.

No. 8, Plate VIII (N. 7.)

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

TEXT.

Dāsakasa Mugūdāsasa (1) saporivārasa leṇa (2) deyadhama (3).

REMARKS.

(1) AS *Mugūdā* The *ū* is not quite distinct The double stroke, however, accounts best for the crack, and besides the *ū* is sure in the following number. — (2) G. *lenam*. Even the *n*, much more the *m*, is extremely indistinct — (3) G. *dhama*.

This epigraph
 tion of my own.
 letters are not de
 examination of th
 facsimiles I can
 mile is besides pro
 confirm his trans
 lines also, if comp
 I am unable to m
 must, however, ex
 participle, but *nn*
 to all appearance 1

"This cave, a
 granted to the uni

It is hardly c
 the trouble to com
 Tâpasini, admittin
 as a man's name.
 see, among several
 reading *Sovasa* i.
 ethnic name, prob
lis majestatis - the

On th

Dâsakas.

(1) AS. *Mug*
 best for the crack
 the *n*, much more 1

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

No. 9, Plate III (N 6.)

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

TEXT.

- 1 Chetika-upâsakiyasa Mugûdâsasa (1) saporivârasa lenam (2) deyadhama (3) etasa lenasa (4) Bodhiguta-
2 upâsakasa putena Dhamanandina datam (5) khetam (6) apariliya Kanhahiniya eto cha khetato chivarikam (7) pavaïtasa.

REMARKS.

(1) AS *Mûgû*. — (2) G and AS. *lena* — (3) Perhaps *°dhamo*, but the vowel-mark would then, contrary to use, be attached to the top of the *m* — (4) AS *lenasa* — (5) G. and AS *data* — (6) G. and AS. *khetâ*. — (7) G. and AS *chivarika*.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

No. 10, Plate IV. (Ksh. 5.)

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

TEXT.

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

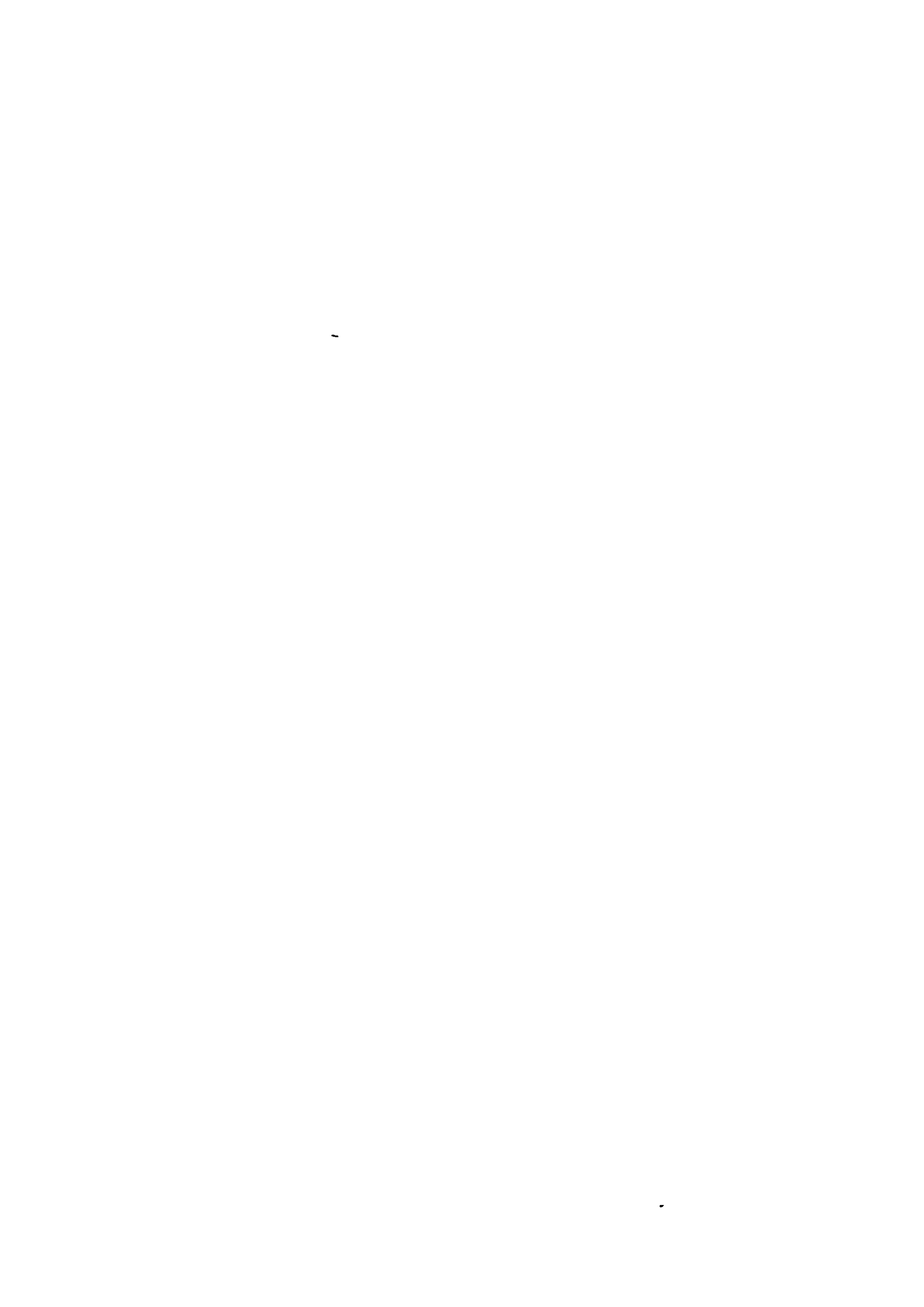
- 1 Siddham rājñah Kshaharātasya kshatrapasya Nahapānasya jāmātrā (1)
Dinikaputrena Ushavadātena trigośatasahasradena nadyā Bārnāsāyām
suvarnadānatīrthakarena devatābhyah brāhmaṇebhyaścha shodaśagrāmadena
anuvārsham (2) bhāhmaṇasātasāhasribhojāpayitrā
- 2 Prabhāse puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ ashtabhāryāpradena Bharukachhe Daśapure
Govardhane Śorpārage cha chatuśālāvasadhapratiśrayapradena ārāmatadāga(3)-
udapānakarena Ibā-Pārādā-Damana-Tāpi-Karabenā-Dāhanukā-nāvāpuṇyatarakarena
etāsām cha nadīnām ubhatotīram sabhā-
- 3 prapākaena Pimditakāvade (4) Govardhane Suvarnamukhe Śorpārage cha
Rāmatīrthe Charakaparshabhyah grāme (5) Nānamgole dvātrīśatanāligeramūla-
sahasrapradena (6) Govardhane Triraśmishu parvateshu dharmātmanā idam
lenam (7) kārītam imā cha podhiyo (8) [||*] Bhatārakā amūātiyā (9) cha gato
smim (10) vaishāratum (11) Mālayehi (12) rudham Utamabhādrām (13)
mochayitum
- 4 te cha Mālayā pranādeneva apayātī Utamabhadrakānam (14) cha kshatryānam
sarve parigrahā kṛitā tato smim (15) gato Poksharāni tatra cha mayā
abhiseko kṛito trīṇi (16) cha gosahasrāni datāni grāmo (17) cha [||*] Data
chānena (18) kshetram (19) bhāhmanasa Vārāhiputrasa Aśvibhūtisa hathe
kīntā mulena (20) kāhāpanasahasrehi chatuḥ 4000 ya sapitusataka
nagarasīmāya utarāparāya disāya (21) eto mama lene vasa-
- 5 tānam (22) chātudīsasa (23) bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhavīṣati.

REMARKS.

(1) The reading *trā* is very distinct, the right side of the *t* however bears a slight trace of the vowel *u*, as if the form *jāmātu* had been present, along with the form *jāmātrā*, in the mind of the writer. — (2) AS. °varsha — (3) AS °tadāga°. — (4) G Pimḍī° — (5) AS grāma. — (6) AS °sahasradena — (7) G and AS lena. — (8) AS. podhiyo. — (9) The syllable *am* (for the *anusvāra* is quite visible) has been added between *kā* and *nā*, probably in order to point out that the initial *a* has been absorbed into the *ā* of *kā*. The *ā* of *nā* is doubtful, the vowel-mark is not ordinarily, as would here be the case, placed at the top of the vertical line — (10) AS *smi*. The *anusvāra* is doubtful. If it exists, it is of course a mistake — (11) The *u* is subscribed in two ways, — the one very similar to *r*, as here and in *putrasa* in the next line, the other in the shape of a small horizontal stroke, as in *mochayitum*, *pitu* — (12) Between *ye* and *hi* there is a blank, which seems to have been filled up by two or three characters that would have been effaced — (13) AS. °bhādrām. The *ā* does not appear to be quite certain. — (14) AS. °kānām. — (15) AS. *kṛitā tato smi*. The *anusvāra*, though faulty, seems to exist on the stone — (16) AS. *tini gosa*° — (17) AS *gāmo* — (18) G *cha nena*. — (19) AS *kshetra*. — (20) G. and AS. *mālo*° — (21) G. *disā*°. — (22) G. and AS. °tāna. — (23) G. °tudīsa°

TRANSLATION

“Success! Ushavadāta, Dinika’s son, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa, — who has given three-hundred-thousand cows, who has made gifts of money and *tirthas* on the river Bārnāsā, who has given sixteen villages to the gods and Bhāhmanas, who



causes one-hundred-thousand Brâhmanas to be fed the (whole) year round, who has given eight wives to Brâhmanas at the religious *tirtha* of Prabhâsa, who at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorpârâga has given the shelter of quadrangular rest-houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibâ, Pârâdâ, Damana, Tâpî, Karabenâ and Dâhanukâ, and erected on both banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and such for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty-two-thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village Nânangola to the congregation of Charakas at Pimditakâvada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha and the Râmatirtha in Śorpârâga,—inspired by (true) religion, in the Triraśmi hills at Govardhana, has caused this cave to be made and these cisterns. And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mâlayas, and those Mâlayas fled at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were, and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadra warriors. Thence I went to the Pokshara tanks, and there I bathed and gave three-thousand cows and a village. A field has also been given by him, bought at the hands of the Brâhmaṇa Aśvibhûti, son of Vârâhî, for the price of four-thousand — 4,000 — *kâhâpanas*, which (field) belonged to his father, on the boundary of the town towards the north-western side. From it food will be procured for all monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave.”

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

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

As for the river names, Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's views agree together. Dr. Bhandarkar proposed to restore °*panya*° and to separate °*vâ-apanyatara*° Such a correction would be rash; but the general meaning would come to the same. *Punyatara* must be compared with *punyatirtha* which we have met before. As it characterises the Prabhâsatirtha as a religious place, *panya* qualifies the ferries by boats established on those rivers as religious, charitable or meritorious ones, i.e. as gratuitous. The phraseology which so constantly associates *sabhâ* and *prapâ* (compare *Mahâbhârata*, *Ānusâsanikaparvan*, vv 1635, 1671 and 6685, *Śântiparvan*, v 1492, etc) proves, contrary to Dr. Hoernle's ingenious, but too artificial conjecture, that the two words have to be taken as a *dvandva*.

Pimditakâvada and Suvarnamukha are, as far as I know, unidentified. In Nânangola it is at least tempting to see with Bhagwanlal Nârgol near Sanjan. The communities of Charakas to whom the gift has been made seem to be identical with the Charakas who are named in a stereotyped formula of Buddhist (e.g. *Mahāvastu*, III. 412-*anyatirthikacharakaparivrâjakâ*) and Jaina texts, namely a certain special category of Brâhmanical ascetics. To take *charaka* for 'Brâhmanical students' would leave the gift too undetermined, and if the Charaka-śâkhâ of the Yajurveda were meant, the expression would have been made more definite.

The real stumbling-block here is the compound *dvâtṛiśata*°. All interpreters understand by it a gift of 'a thousand (coins) representing the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees.' Bhagwanlal alone has translated 'who has bestowed as a gift thirty-two-thousand cocoanut trees.' This text cannot be considered independently from another, perfectly parallel one in N 12, where we read *gâme Ohikhalapadre datâni nâligerâna mulasahasrâni aṣṭa 8000*. The same difference exists there between Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's translations. First of all it must be owned that the gift of a capital amounting to the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees, to be distributed among at least four religious fraternities, would be, especially from so mighty and liberal a donor, extremely

improbable. Secondly, what could be the use of specifying so accurately, as is done in the two cases, the village in which those trees would have been allotted, if the donor merely concerned with the proceeds of the sale? The fact itself, that the king's son a law should have sold a few coconut trees in order to provide himself with funds for his priests or to give the more unlikely as gifts in kind are the more usual ones; or, if money is intended, it is not a 'valued investment' (see N 12), a foundation of a perpetual rent. We see below that the donor does not buy a field in order to secure food for the monks, but not the reverse. If so fully established, we must admit, in spite of the general parallelism of the two phrases, that the number of trees would have been noted in our case, while in N 12 the sum of money, or amount of sale, is representing the coconut trees (*maligerāni*), the number of which could be ascertained. If only we read *mūlam* for *mūla*, so may well construe the word as applied to a plantation. Such an expedient is here out of the question, and that is a very strong reason for taking in N 12 *mulasahasani* as a compound. This must be the spontaneous impression of every unprejudiced reader, even here, where the compound is certain, its resolution into *mūla* and *sahasani* with *mūla* and being in apposition to *ashvina* (which would be excluded by the compound *sahasani* in N 12) is, although possible, certainly too remote to appear probable. Lastly, in N 12, if a gift of 8,000 *kāshāpāni* were really intended, it is very unlikely that it should have been consigned to the third place, without any details regarding the nature of the foundation, while the inferior gift of 3,000 *kāshāpāni*, presumably intended for a different purpose, is here to do with a gift of 32,000 coconut trees, and in N 12 with one of 32,000 *mūla* in the village of Nānāngola, and the second at the village of Chikhalapādra. It is only by the use of *mūla*, which seems to imply 'root of coconut trees' instead of simply 'coconut trees.' Such an idiom is surely not more puzzling than if, in French, we received trees by 'pieds' and say 32,000 '*pieds de cocotiers*'.

The locatives *Govardhana Trirāsimi* have been generally explained in connection with *kāshāpāni* and *dharmaśāstra*, which was considered as a religious, charitable, and would have been introduced here into the text of the inscription without any special signification. The general plan of the construction does not seem to admit of such an interpretation. The words beginning with *Govardhana* and ending with *Trirāsimi* are exactly symmetrical with the analogous groups which precede them. The epithets which form the bulk of our epigraph and end uniformly with a *śāstra*, epithet, preceded by a definite determinative as it requires. It seems difficult to admit that the analogy created by such a concatenation of instances should be disturbed in this only case, and that the strict correspondence which is warranted by the whole structure should here be fallacious. It would be the only case where to the mention of the mountains in which the cave was excavated would be added the name of the neighbouring town of Govardhana, which is perfectly superfluous in this place,—the only one too where, in order to commemorate, on the spot itself, the name of the hill in which it has been dug, the plural would be used. These two particulars rather suggest the idea of some fact which is more general, less strictly localised, and concerning not the cave itself, but the region as a whole. I must add that all the donations previously mentioned are bestowed without any exception on Brahmins or Brāhmin institutions, while the gift which our epigraph records, and which this part of the sentence introduces, is, on the contrary, made in favour of Buddhist monks. I have previously, in connection with the term *dharmaśāstra* in K. 10, expressed the idea that *dharma* has to be taken in the sense of 'Buddhist religion,' and the same is, I believe, the case here as well. This is why I understand the passage to mean 'imbued at Govardhana in the Trirāsimi hills with (true) religion.' I dare not decide if this phrase implies an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhminical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this

explanation I propose in N. 18 to take *dhammātmanā* in a similar way. I believe the reading °*tmanā*, not °*tmano*, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genitives confirms the impression that *dharmātmanā* is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indrāgnidatta

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

In the second additional paragraph, the principal difficulty lies in *yasapitusataka*. Bhagwanlal divides *yasa pitu sataka*, 'belonging to whose (Aśvibhūti's) father' Böhler transcribes *ya sa(sia)pitusa(m)taka* and translates 'which belongs to my (Aśvibhūti's) father,' and he is of course obliged to connect the epithet *sapitusataka* with *nagarasīmāya*. It is evident to my mind that Böhler was mistaken, and that the adjective, which, if applied to *nagarasīmāya*, would be meaningless, must be referred to the field. As to the grammatical analysis, the matter is different. The relative *ya* is construed less naturally with *Aśvibhūti* which is far off, than with *lshetram*, the idea of which pervades the whole sentence. I, therefore, divide *ya sapitusataka* = *svapi*°, *sva* being applied to Aśvibhūti's father. It is just because the field does not belong to this Brāhman himself, and because he plays in this transaction the part of a representative only of his father, that the epigraph uses the expression *Aśvibhūti* *hathe* instead of the ablative case 'at the hand of Aśvibhūti,'—a shade of meaning which ought not to have passed unnoticed.

On account of the proximity of *mama leṇe vasatānaṃ* and *chātudāsasa samghasa*, this inscription is one of those where the exact meaning of *chātudāsa samgha* is most clearly brought out, as I have tried to show in K 13.

No. 11, Plate VII. (Ksh. 10.)

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

TEXT.

1 Sidham (1) rāmño (2) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapanasa dīhi-
2 tu Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa kudumbiniya Dakhamitrāya (3) deyadham-
mam (4) ovarako.

REMARKS.

(1) G and AS. *sidham* — (2) G *rāño*, AS *raño* — (3) AS °*mitāya* — (4) G. °*dhammam*

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

TRANSLATION.

" Success! This cell, the gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, and daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa "

No 12, Plate v. (Ksh. 9)

Immediately below the preceding inscription

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham vase 42 Vesākhamāse rāño (1) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa
Nahapānasa jāmūtaiā Dinikaputrena Ushavadātena samghasa chātudisasa
imam lenam (2) nyātītam data chānena (3) akshayanivi kāhāpanasahasrā-
2 ni trini 3000 samghasa chātudisasa ye imasmim lene vasamtānam (4)
bhavisati chivarika kuśanamūle (5) cha ete cha kāhāpanā prayutā
Govadhanavāthavāsu śreṇisu (6) kolikanikāye (7) 2000 vṛidhi (8) padikaśata
aparakolikanikā-
3 ye (9) 1000 vadhi pāyūnapadikaśata (10) ete cha kāhāpanā apadidātavā
vadhībhojā eto chivarikasahasrāni (11) he 2000 ye padike sate eto mama
lene vasavuthāna bhikhunam vīsāya ekikasa chivarika bārasaka yā (12)
sahasra prayutam pāyūnapadike (13) śate ato kuśana-
4 mūla (14) Kāpurāhāre cha gāme Chikhalapadre datāni nābgerāna mulasahasrāni
atha 8000 eta cha sarva (15) srāvita (16) nigamasabhāya nibadha (17) cha
phalakavāre charitratoti bhūyo nena datam vase 41 Kātikaśudhe
panarasa (18) puvāka vase 45
5 panarasa nyutam (19) bhagavatām devānam brāhmanānam cha karshāpanasa-
hasrāpi (20) satam 70000 pamchatrāsaka (21) suvarṇa (22) kṛitā
dina suvarṇasahasraṇam (23) mūlyam (24)
6 phalakavāre charitratoti

REMARKS.

(1) AS rāño — (2) G and AS. ima lena — (3) G. datā nena; AS. data chānena —
(4) G. and AS vasātāna — (5) G. kuśanamūla — (6) AS śreṇisu. — (7) AS. kolika°. —
(8) AS vadhi — (9) AS °kolika° — (10) G. and AS pāyuna° — (11) G °srāni — (12)
G and AS. ya — (13) G and AS. pāyuna°. — (14) G. °mūla — (15) G. sarvam — (16)
G sāvita — (17) G nibadha. — (18) G. °rase — (19) G °yuta. — (20) G. °srāni. — (21) G.
°trimsāka — (22) G suvarṇam. — (23) G °srānam, AS °sranam. — (24) G. mūlyam, AS.
°mūla.

TRANSLATION.

" Success! In the year 42, in the month Vesākha, Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa, has bestowed this cave on the Samgha generally, he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—kāhāpanas, which, for the members of the Samgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (kuśana), and those kāhāpanas have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govadhana,—2000 in a weavers' guild, interest one pratika (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1000 in another weavers' guild, interest three quarters of a padika (monthly) for the hundred, and those kāhāpanas are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand—2000—at one pratika per cent. are the cloth money, out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the vassa in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (kāhāpanas). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a pratika per cent., out of them the money for kuśana. And at the village of Chikhalapadra in the

Kāpura district have been given eight thousand—8000—stems of cocoanut trees, and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom."

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

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

The words *vridhi paḍikasata* and *vadhi pāyūnapaḍikasata* look perfectly clear, and they have in fact been translated quite naturally - 'the interest amounts to one hundred' and 'to seventy-five *pratikas*'. The matter is, however, not quite so simple. Those expressions cannot be considered separately from others which do not admit of such an interpretation; I mean in this inscription *sahasrāni be ye paḍike sate* and *yā sahasraprayutam pāyūnapaḍike sate*, and at Kanheri, No 15, *kāhāpanāni satāni be saghasa yeva haṭhe palike sate*. It is clear from the first that a capital of 200 *kārshāpanas* cannot possibly bring in the same interest as a capital of 2000. On the other hand, the final *e* of *paḍike* and *sate* being secured by the threefold repetition, we must find an explanation for the double locative which the ordinary translations in no way account for. As to *vridhi paḍikasata*, the translation 'interest a hundred *paḍikas*' is excluded by the consequences it would involve. Bühler was led by reasons which on the whole are, if not cogent, at least very plausible, to consider *pratika* as an equivalent of *kārshāpana*. Of course he was obliged to acknowledge that those hundred *pratikas* were not sufficient to supply the expenses for the clothes of twenty monks, at twelve *kārshāpanas* each, because they would in that case require 240 *kārshāpanas* in all. He was obliged to assume that *bārasaka* (Sanskrit *dvādasaka*) refers to some coins different from the *kārshāpana*. But Kanheri No 16, where the fee of 'sixteen *kārshāpanas*' for cloth money is expressly mentioned, leaves no room for doubt, *kārshāpanas* are

certainly meant. It follows therefore that the translation put forward for *vridhī paḍikaśata* cannot be upheld.

The only safe way is to start from the locatives *paḍika śate*. In Kanheri No. 15, Bühler translated 'two hundred bearing (a monthly interest of) one *kārshāpana*.' Hence he seems to have taken *śate* as a dual. Such an interpretation is out of the question, it is discountenanced not only by the grammatical inadmissibility, but also by the repetition of the formula in our own text, where the numbers in each case are quite different. Nevertheless, I think that Bühler was perfectly right as to the general meaning. In fact, if we take, and we cannot well help doing so, *śate* as a locative, we are easily led by the two locatives to the translation 'at one *pratīka* per cent'. In India the rate of interest is generally stated monthly (compare *Manu*, viii. v. 141, etc.) So it would imply a yearly income of 12 per cent. which, conformably to the ideas of the country, is far from excessive. We shall actually find in N. 17 a capital of 100 *kārshāpanas* bringing in annually the cost of a *chivarika* of 12 *kārshāpanas*. At this rate of interest the two-thousand *kārshāpanas* bear exactly the two-hundred-and-forty *kārshāpanas* required yearly to provide the twenty monks with robes at 12 pieces each. It is true that the 75 *pratīkas* produced on the same terms by the other investment of 1000 *kārshāpanas* are not quite sufficient to secure to the twenty monks as *kusānamūla* one *kārshāpana* monthly during four months, which would amount to eighty pieces. But this fact does not entail any real contradiction. If the *kusānamūla* at Kanheri amounted to one *pratīka* monthly, it does not follow that it must have been of exactly the same value at Nāsik, nor is it sure even that the *varsha*, which we know to have differed in length according to time and place should have here lasted four months, rather than three. The only remaining difficulty is purely grammatical. I dare not decide if we ought to correct *paḍika-* (and *pāyūnapaḍika-*) *śate*, or to admit some irregular formation such as the familiar or technical language is apt to produce. Anyhow the meaning remains clear 'interest at the rate of one (and three quarters of one) *pratīka* monthly'. The *ye* which follows the number 2000 of course refers to *chivarikasahasrūnī* be, it stands for the neuter *yāni*, exactly as in 1 2 the *ye* following *chātudāsasa*. The sequel shows that we have to supply *prayutāni* or *payutāni*. As to *āhāra* = district, compare Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscr* p. 173, note.

I have explained before (N 10) why I understand *mūla* not as 'value, capital,' but as meaning 'stem.' The phraseology used here and the way in which the words are separated seem to supply another decisive argument in favour of that interpretation. In *phalakavāra* I prefer taking *vāra*, not, like Bühler, as = 'number, multitude,' but as denoting the enclosure, the premises where the official documents are kept on boards (*phalaka*). There are no instances from literature, by which the real meaning can be tested. Anyhow archives seem to be understood. This inscription suggests a double formality first the notification (*śrāvita*) of the gift, and secondly its registration (*nibadha*). As *nigamasabhā* seems to mean 'the public hall, the town's hall,' it has been generally admitted that the first locative, *nigamasabhāya*, refers to the place where the proclamation had to be made, the second, *phalakavāre*, to the embodiment into the archives. But the sequel shows that *phalakavāre charitrato* forms a sentence complete in itself. On the other hand, I have repeatedly insisted upon the necessity of taking into consideration the law which in Sanskrit puts the determinative term before the determined one. For this reason I have translated the sentence as above. The last words, *phalakavāre, etc*, are only a compendious attestation of the fact that the whole endowment was recorded in the archives conformably to rule.

The same formula is repeated at the end of the final clause which follows, and which is fraught with such difficulties that Bühler did not attempt even a conjectural translation. Bbagwanlal has been bolder, I believe that, except in some grammatical details, he has on the whole been successful. We have before us a double date, 41 and 45, for the endowment.

Two different stages of the same proceeding must accordingly be recorded here the first characterised by *datta*, the second by *niyuhta*, viz first the donation, and afterwards its dedication to a special category of donees. Was Bhagwanlal justified in stating that the first word amounts to the same as *samkalpita* and means only the resolution to give? Or must we believe that at the second date, the donor was led by some undetermined reason to modify in favour of new donees the original object of his investment? I dare not decide this point, as both conjectures have their own difficulties. In any case we are concerned here with a donation—or the project of a donation—which goes back to a previous time (*purvākam*), and which led to a final dedication in the year 45. In this second part of the sentence *panarasa* is most perplexing. If it is the same ordinal *pañchadaśa* as in the preceding line, we are obliged to admit either that the engraver has omitted the name of the month and of the fortnight, or that he has erroneously repeated the foregoing *panarasa*. Though slightly facilitated by the fact that *panarasa* stands at the beginning of a new line, this conjecture is too easy to be confidently relied upon. Another expedient could also be attempted, viz considering *panarasa* = *punarasa*, *punar asya*, and taking the genitive to be used in the function of the instrumental, which does not seem hard in this style. The translation would then be ‘the donation previously made in the year 41 has been again settled by him in the year 45, etc.’ But the proximity of the first *panarasa* makes this hypothesis extremely doubtful.

The only remaining difficulty concerns the words *pamchatrimśaka*, etc. It is only formal. It is indeed perfectly clear that the text wants to state how the 70,000 *kārshāpanas* given are equal in value to 2,000 *suvarnas*, the *suvarna* being worth 35 *kārshāpanas*. But Bhagwanlal understands *kritā* = *kritvā*, which I consider hardly admissible. The vocalisation is here very uncertain. I prefer to take *kritā* as equal to *krita* or *kritam*, and *pamchatrimśakam suvarnam kritam* as a separate proposition, which comes very near to our own idiom ‘thirty-five (*kārshāpanas*) make one *suvarna*’.

No. 13, Plate viii (Ksh 10)

In the veranda in Cave No 10, over the doorway of the right cell

TEXT.

[Compare No 11]

- 1 Sidham rāño Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapāna-
- 2 sa dihitu (1) Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa
- 3 kudumbūniya (2) Dakhamitrāya deyadhammam (3) ovarako.

REMARK

(1) G *dihitu* — (2) G *kuṭum*° — (3) G °*dhamam*

TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cell, a gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa.”

No 14a, Plate vi. (Ksh. 7.)

On the right wall of the court in Cave No 10

TEXT.

- 1 tasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa jānā-
- 2 Śakasa Ushavadātasa netyakesu
- 3 ? Chechumñe (1) Dāhanūkānagara (?) Kekāpure

4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	?	e	(3)	Anugāmimhi	Ujeniya	Sakhāya
5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				to	brāhmaṇā	bhujate
6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				(4)	satasāha-	
7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				vatā	(5)	brāhmaṇānam
8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				gavām	satasa-	
9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				bhagavatā	(6)	devāna
10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				Chetrasudhe	panarasa	(7)
11	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				Kshaharā-		
12	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				gavām	ṡasahasādena	(8)
13	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				Usha-		
14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				(9)	nadiye	Banāsaya
15	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				(10)	da-	
16	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				suvana	titha	(11)
17	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				cha	ñayate	(12)
18	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				tasa		(13)

REMARKS

(1) AS [. *Śorpāra*] *go Vechimñe*. The reading *ve* seems possible, but not, I think, the reading *go* — (2) G and AS. °*gare* — (3) G. and AS. [. *Bharuka*] *chhe anu*°. I cannot make out the *chh* — (4) G. *bhumjate* — (5) G [. *bhagavatām*] *bra*°, AS [*ri*] *brā*°. The characters *vatām* seem to be still discernible on the estampage — (6) G and AS [*hasra* *bhagava*] *tā* — (7) G °*rase* — (8) G. and AS *gavām sata*°. The *ś* is very doubtful, we could as well read *s*. Before *ga* I think I can make out an *n*, probably the ending of °*dena* — (9) G. °[*vadātena*] *brāhma* *na*° — (10) AS °*diya Banāsāya*, G °*nāsāya* — (11) AS °*vanāti*° — (12) G *cha ñayate*. This reading, especially *cha*, is quite possible — (13) G. *chati*. I can see nothing of these characters.

TRANSLATION.

“ [Success !] By permanent charities of Ushavadāta, the Śaka, [son of Dinika], son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the [Kshaharā]ta *Kshatrapa*, one hundred-thousand holy Brāhmanas dine [the whole year round] at *Chechiñña*, at the town of *Dahanūkā*, at *Kekāpura*, at *Anugāmi*, at *Ujeni*, at *Sākhā* [By the same, three]-hundred-thousand cows have been given to holy Brāhmanas, [and sixteen villages] have been given to the holy gods and Brahmanas [In the year], in the bright half of *Chaitra*, on the fifteenth day by *Usha*[*vadāta*] money and a *tīrtha* have been bestowed in the *Banāsā* river ”

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

- 1 [Sidham raño Kshaharā]
- 2 [tu Dinikaputasa]
- 5 [anuvāsam bhagavam]
- 6 [si . . . bhaga]
- 7 [hasāni tīni datāni]
- 8 [solasa gāmā vase .]

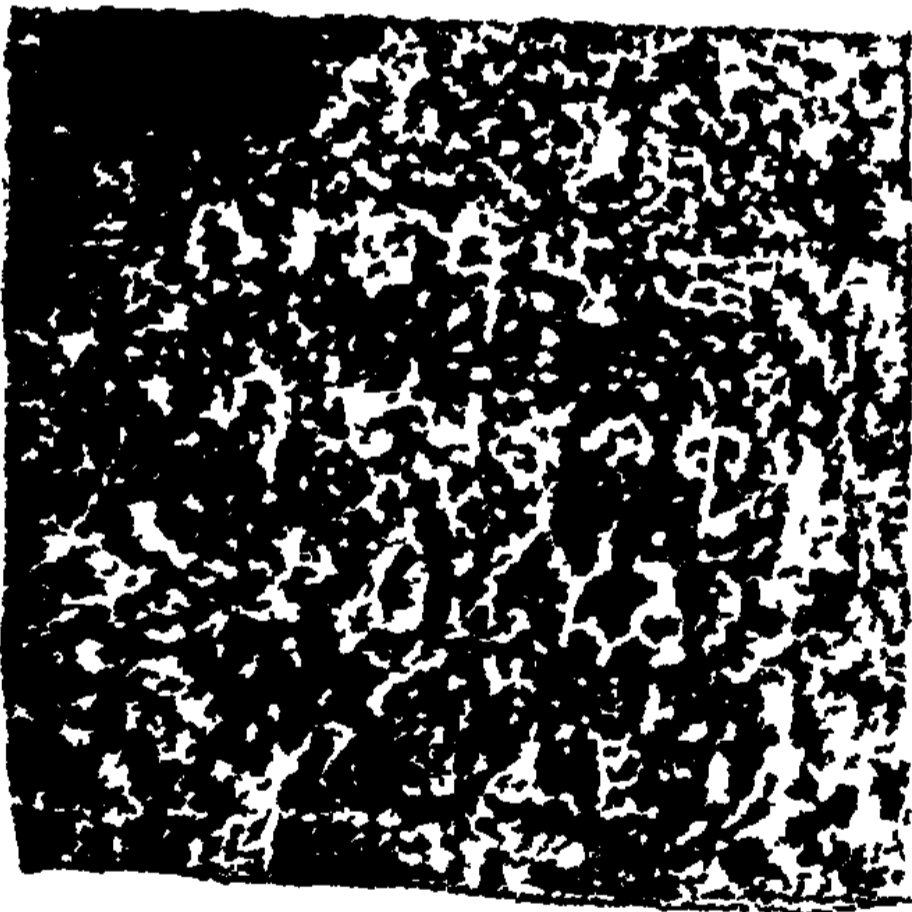
Unfortunately this restoration supplies nothing but known elements and is consequently of little interest. We can restore neither the date nor the local names in ll 3, 4, nor can we say definitely what is missing at the beginning of l 11. I am equally unable to state how and under what circumstances the word *Kshaharāta* was introduced in line 8, because other epigraphs mention that name only among the titles of Nahapāna. The 10th line began of course with the letters *vadātena*, completing *Usha* in the preceding one, and they were probably followed by some epithet. The word *tigosatasahasādena* of N. 10 would fit as to length, but this gift has already been mentioned in the foregoing lines, independently of the gift of one-hundred-thousand cows, the mention of which immediately precedes. It seems indeed certain that the donations enu-

14a



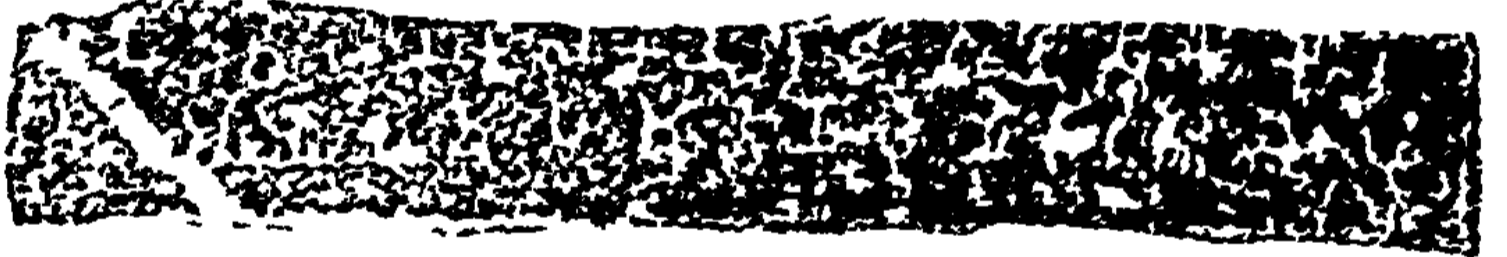
SCALE 12

14b



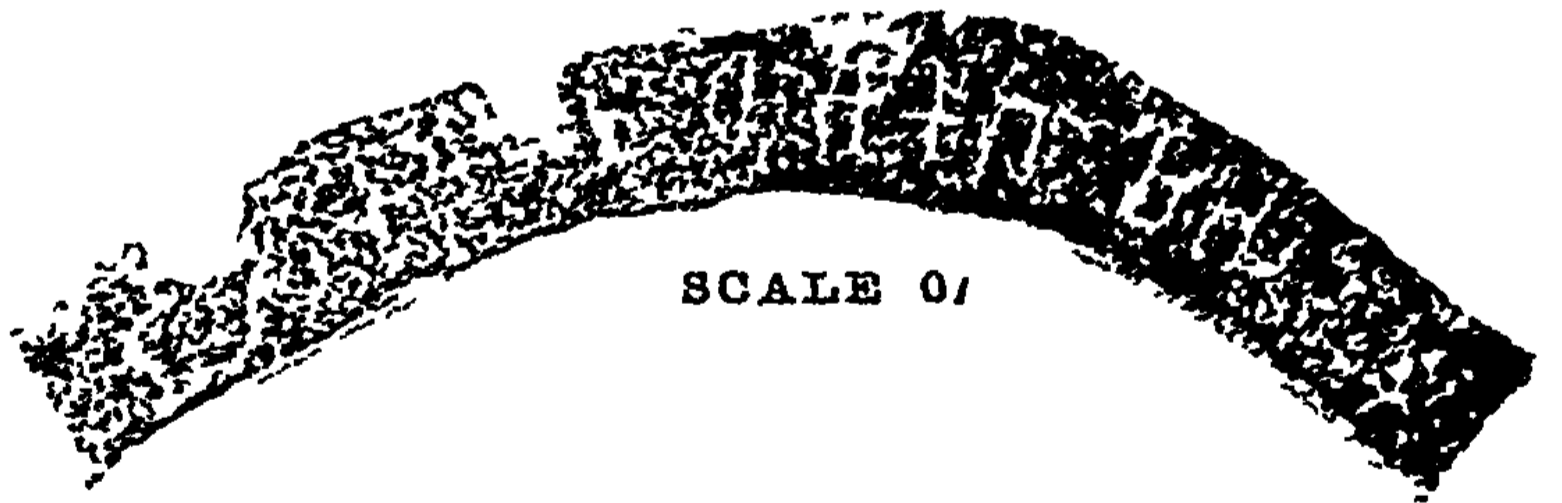
SCALE 12

24

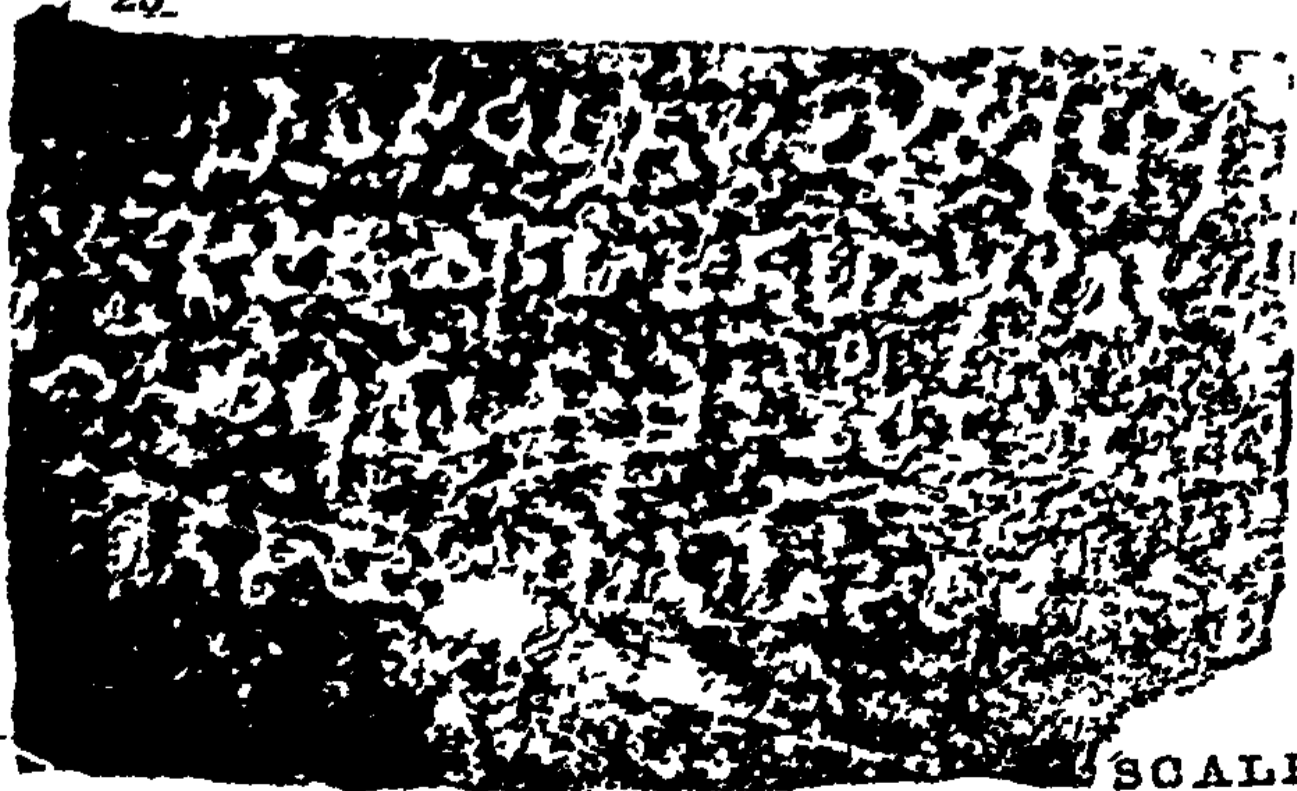


SCALE 12

SCALE 0/

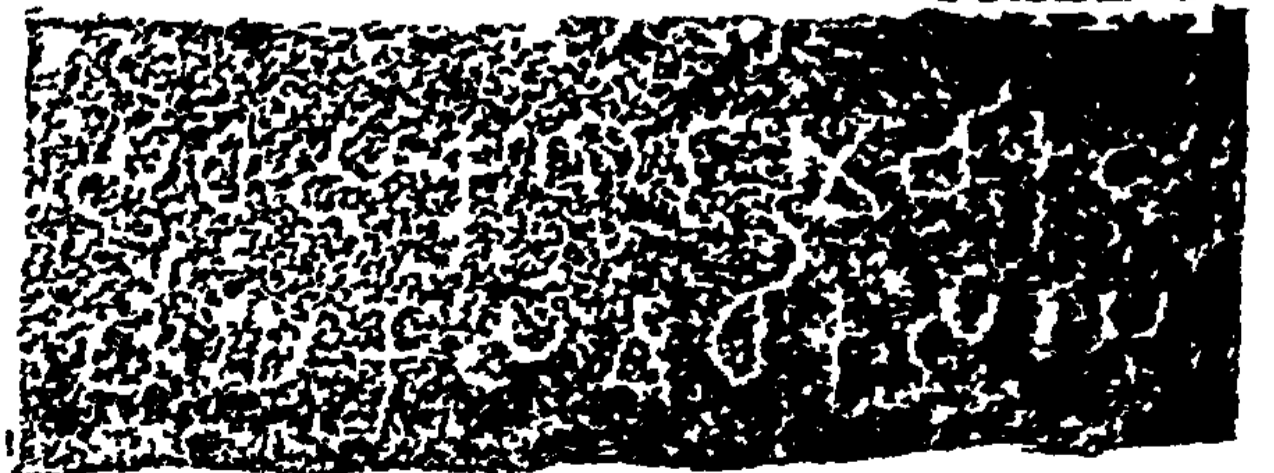


25



SCALE 1

27



SCALE 1

merated in ll. 3 - 5, 6 - 7, 7 - 8 correspond to the first three commemorated in N. 10, while, on the other hand, ll. 10 - 11 allude to the gifts made on the Barnāsā river (l. 1 in N. 10). It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the three words *suvana titha cha* in l. 12 prove that the interpretation I have advocated for the compound in K. 13 is correct.

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

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the last words *cheñayate tasa*, and Bhagwanlal's translation of *ñayate* by 'is known' does not convey any real meaning. The vowel signs are rather uncertain in this part of the inscription. I feel little hesitation in reading *cha*. As to what follows, a double hypothesis offers itself to my mind: either to read *ñay[u]te (tam) tasa* or *ñayāt[ɪ]ta sa*, in either case we have to admit an irregular transcription of *nyā°* or *nyu°* by *ñayā°* or *ñayu°*. It would be exactly the same graphical peculiarity as is found already at Girnar in the eighth of Piyadasi's edicts, which reads (l. 1) *ñayāsu = nyāsu*. In N. 6 we have already met with an irregular palatalisation of *t* to *ch* in the same word, which is there written *nyāchita* instead of *nyāta*. To tell the truth, it is towards the restoration of *ñayātita* rather than *ñayuta* that I should incline. Ushavadāta seems to use the word with some predilection (as in N. 12), and it fits in better with the first at least—*suvandni*—of the two substantives on which it would bear. Anyhow, and in spite of the uncertainty resulting from the sudden interruption of the text, the general meaning seems clear.

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

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

1	. . . . .	gavatā brāhmanā	
2	. . . . .	? ni pañchāsam	. 000 (1)
3	. . . . .	māsāya tīrthe	(2)
4	. . . . .	deya na japa	(3).

REMARKS.

(1) G. [*saha*]rāṇi pañchāsa 50000; AS. *do sahasa* 2000. AS. does not succeed any more than I in making out the traces that G. interprets as *rā*, which is graphically very unlikely. AS. interprets as *do* the character which G. reads *ni*, and this reading seems at least probable. In the following letters the position of G. appears to me much stronger than that of AS. But the *n* joined to *sa* is at least as probable as that which seems to be appended to *pa*. As to the number, the 'thousand' is clearly visible, and also a bracket on the right which has caused the whole to be interpreted as 2000. But the *do sahasa* cannot be upheld, and *pañchāsa* is at least likely; on the other hand, it seems indeed as if the sign for 'thousand' were followed by some exponent, too much erased to be confidently made out, which probably expressed the number of thousands. If Bhagwanlal took it for 50, I must own that the visible traces do not seem to favour this reading. But it is commended by his reading of the foregoing word.—(2) AS. *māsīyam tīrthe*. *Tīrthe* seems certain, especially on the back of the estampage.

— (3) G °yanajapa, AS °he [?] yāna ja . The differences in reading show how doubtful all these letters are, except perhaps the na.

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

No. 15, Plate vii (Ksh 12)

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

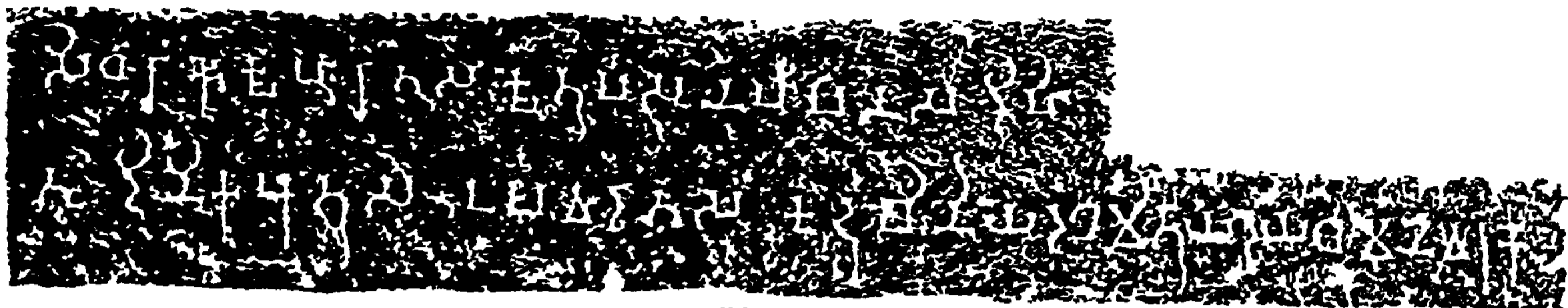
TEXT.

- 1 Sidham rājūh Mādhariputrasya (1) Śivadatt-Ābhiraputrasya
- 2 Abhirasy-Eśvarasenasya samvatsare (2) navama . (3)
- 3 mahapakhe chothe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13 (4) . . .
- 4 ya puvaya (5) Śak-Āgnivarmanah duhitā (6) ganapaka . (7)
- 5 Rebhilasya bharyayā (8) ganapakasya (9) Viśvavarmasya .
- 6 tiā Śakanikayā (10) upāsikāya Vishnudatāyā (11) sarvasatvahi-
- 7 tasukhārtham (12) Triraśmiparvatavihāravāstavyasya chātudīsa (13)
- 8 bhikshusamghasya (14) gilānabheshajārtham (15) akshayanivī prayuktā
- vāsta(16)-
- 9 vyasu śigatānāgatāsu (17) śrenīshu (18) yatah kulurikaśīpeyā haste karshāpāna-
- 10 sabasya 1000 odayamtrikaśronyā (19) sabasāmi dve (20)
- 11 nyāh (21) śatāmi pamcha 500 tilapishakāśien . . . (22)
- 12 cto cha karshāpānā chatālepa (23).

REMARKS.

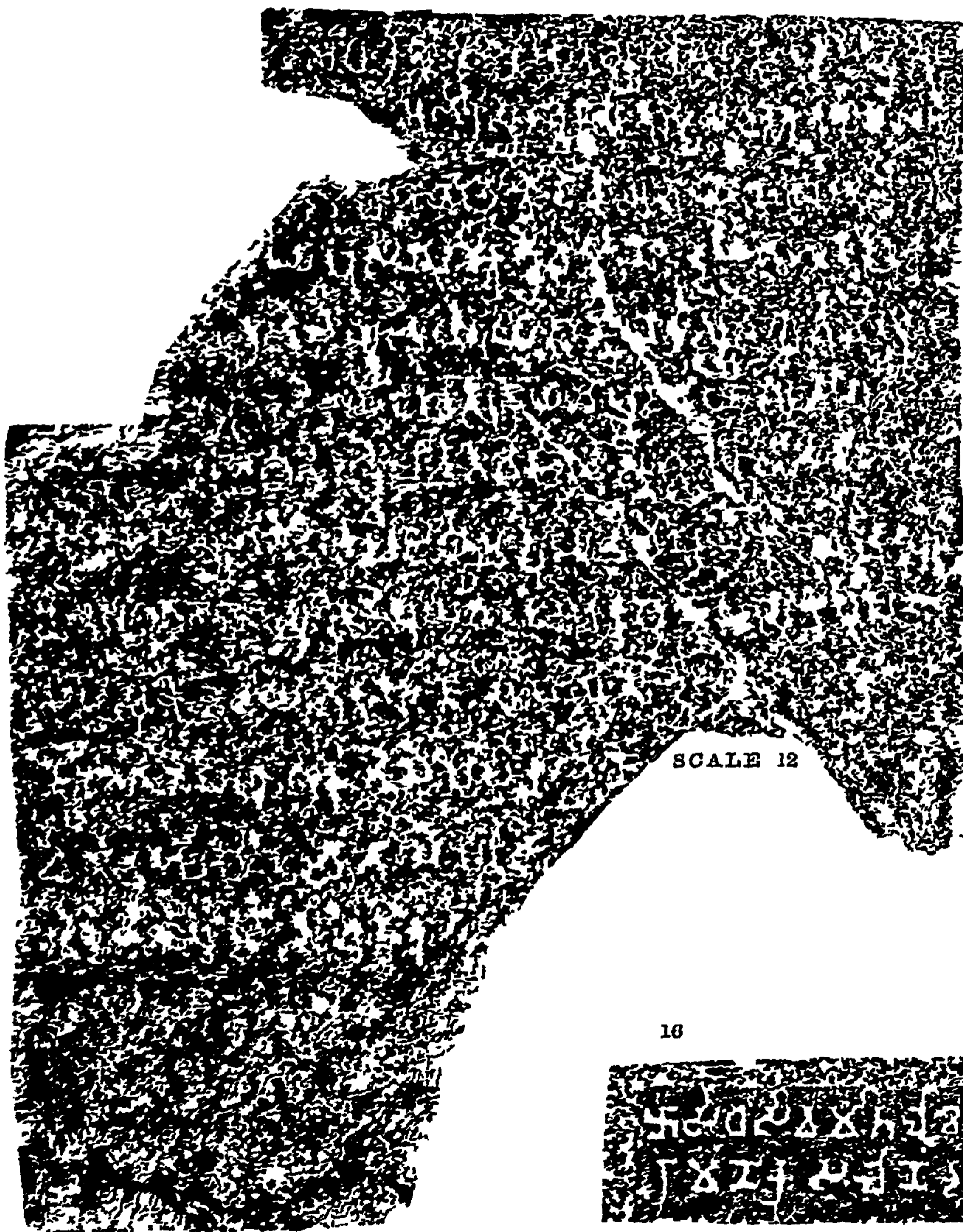
(1) AS. leaves a blank for the two first characters of *Mādharī*, which are certainly not quite clear, but on the estampage sufficient traces of both are still discernible, especially of *ḍha*. I may mention that, as appears from the comparison of the two facsimiles, this epigraph seems to have suffered very much since the time when it was examined by Bhagwanlal. In addition to the cases which I shall expressly mention, many readings would be risky if they could not be ascertained from the context — (2) AS. *sava*°, G. °*tsara* — (3) AS *navama* [9], G *navama*[*gi*]°. In reality the last character is indistinct. AS has [*gi*] at the beginning of l 3.— (4) Of the *śa* and of the number I cannot make out anything.— (5) AS *yā puvāya* — (6) AS *duhitā* — (7) AS *ganāpa*° — (8) G. and AS *bhāryayā*.— (9) AS *ganāpa*° — (10) AS . . . *gāśākānikā*°.— (11) G. °*dattayā*.— (12) G °*sattva*°, AS. °*sukhārtha* — (13) AS. *chātudīsa*[*ya*] The end is much damaged — (14) AS. *bhikhusaghasya* — (15) AS *gilāna*° — (16) AS °*ktā va . na . .* The reading *vāsta* is little more than a conjecture It seems indeed that traces of *va* and *na* are visible.— (17) G *āgatā[nā]gatāsu*, AS. *Sugatāgat āsu*.— (18) AS *śrenīshu* — (19) G. *odayamtrikaśronyāh sa*°, AS *odayamtrikaśronyā*[*m*] *sa*°. I dare not decide absolutely if *da* or *ḍa* must be read Both letters are too similar to be distinguished with certainty in so defaced an inscription At least I can discover no reason for excluding the reading *da* (20) G. *dve* 2 [*śre*]° The figure is entirely illegible.— (21) AS °*nyā*[*m*] — (22) G *śrenyā śatā* , AS. °*śrenyā*[*m*] *śatā* It will be seen from the comparison of Plate vii. that in this line and the next one some characters that are still visible have not been included in the estampage I have before me — (23) AS [*chatā*]lopa. The two first letters, especially the first one, are certainly most doubtful

11



SCALE 1

15



SCALE 12

16

SCALE 1



G and AS add fragments of one more line *sya ma*(AS *mā*)*sa* . . . *sarva* (AS *sarva*[*m*]) *rakshātī* (AS *rakshatī*) *vidya* (AS *Vishn*[*udatā*]) . . . Of all this I can discern nothing on the estampages

TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the ninth year of king Īśvarasena, the Ābhira, son of Śivadatta, the Ābhira, son of Mādhari, on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer on the above, by the lay devotee Vishnudattā, the Śakānī, mother of the *Ganapaka* Viśvavarma, wife of the *Ganapaka* Rebhula, daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the *Samgha* of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Triraśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling [at Govardhana], viz in the hands of the guild of Kularikas, one-thousand—1000—*kārshāpanas*, of the guild of Odayantrikas, two-thousand, of the guild of five-hundred—500—, of the guild of oil-millers and those *kārshāpanas*”

Bühler asserts that “*ganāpaka* means ‘protector or leader of a *gana*,’ which consists of three *gulmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of colonel” According to Bhagwanlal “it appears to be a professional name or a surname . . . , *ganapaka* means the head of a group.” Neither of them gives references for this word which I do not find in the lexicons, and the analysis of which, as proposed by them, seems in no way self-convincing. What is most certain is the statement of Bhagwanlal that its meaning in this passage is not clear. It is no use comparing such ecclesiastical titles as *ganāchārya*, for example in Junnar No 22. The only correct derivation of the word seems to be from *ganāpayatī*, a normal equivalent of *ganayati*, so that *ganāpaka* would be an equivalent of *ganaka*, meaning ‘accountant’ or ‘astrologer,’ compare for instance the *ganakas* who are mentioned as important functionaries in the *Mahāvastu*, III 42, 9, 44, 5. It need hardly be added that this meaning is very hypothetical, because we have here a title, i. e. a consecrated form which does not well admit of variations.

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Sivamutalekhakaputasa
- 2 Rāmamnakasa lenam deyadhammam (1).

REMARK.

(1) G °dhamam.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of Rāmanaka, son of the writer Sivamita.”

No. 17, Plate VIII. (N 4).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 12.

TEXT.

1 Velidātaputasa (1) nekamasa Rāmanakasa
 2 Chhākalepakīyasa lenam deyadhammañ chatudi(2)-
 3 sasa bhikkhusamghasa niyātitaṃ data cha
 4 nena akhayanīvi kâhâpanasata 100
 5 samghasa hathe eto vasavuthasa pavaitasa chivarī-
 6 kam dātavam bârasakam

REMARKS.

(1) G. °data°, AS *Velidata*°.—(2) G. and AS. *châtudi*°

TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of the merchant Rāmanaka, son of Velidāta, from Chhākalepa, bestowed on the universal *Samgha* of monks generally, and by the same have been given as a perpetual endowment one-hundred—100—*kâhâpanas* in the hands of the *Samgha*. Out of this a cloth money of twelve *kâhâpanas* is to be given to the ascetic who keeps the *vassa* (here)”

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

No. 18, Plate V. (N. 3).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 17

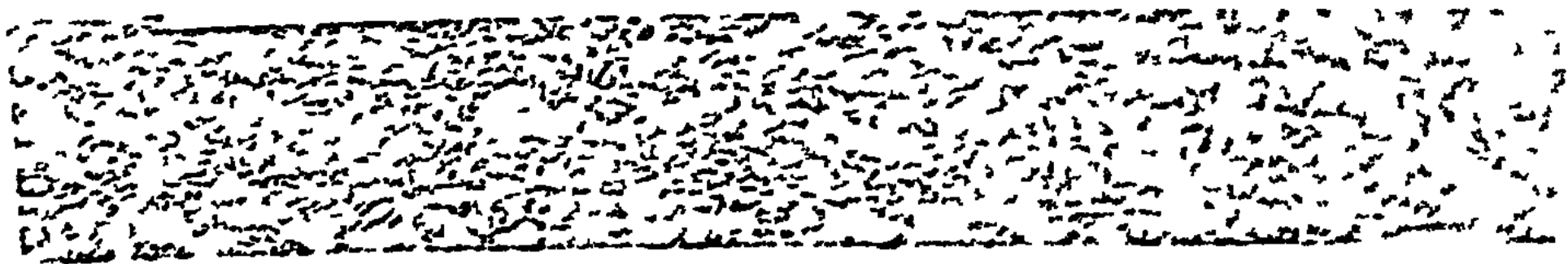
TEXT.

1 Sidham otarâhasa Dâtâmitīyakasa (1) Yoṇakasa Dhammadevaputasa
 2 Īdrâgnīdatasa (2) dhammâtmanâ (3)
 3 mam (4) lenam pavate Tiramnumhi khānitam abhamtaram cha lenasa
 4 chetiyagharo podhiyo (5) cha mâtâpī-
 5 taro udisa ima lena (6) kâritam sava-Budha-pujâya châtudīsasa
 6 bhikkhūsamghasa (7) niyātitaṃ sa-
 7 ha putena Dhammarakhitena

REMARKS.

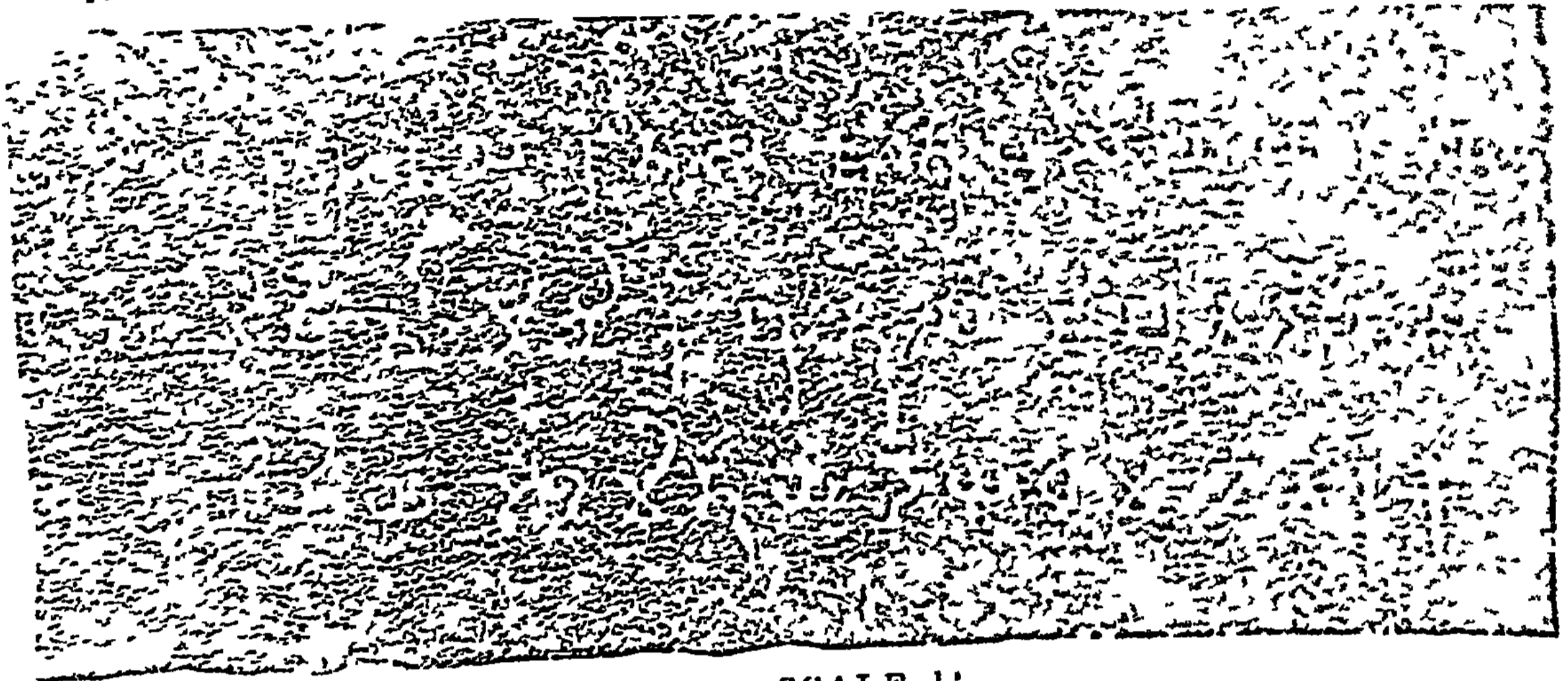
(1) G and AS *Damtâmi*°.—(2) G *Īndrâgni*°; AS. *Īdd*°; but the Sanskrit *r* is perfectly clear—(3) The stroke which, rising perpendicularly, makes the *d* look somewhat like *r*, is thinner and certainly accidental—(4) G. and AS. *ima te*°.—(5) G. *podhiyo*; AS. *podhiyo*.—(6) AS. *lenam*.—(7) G. *bhikhu*°.

6



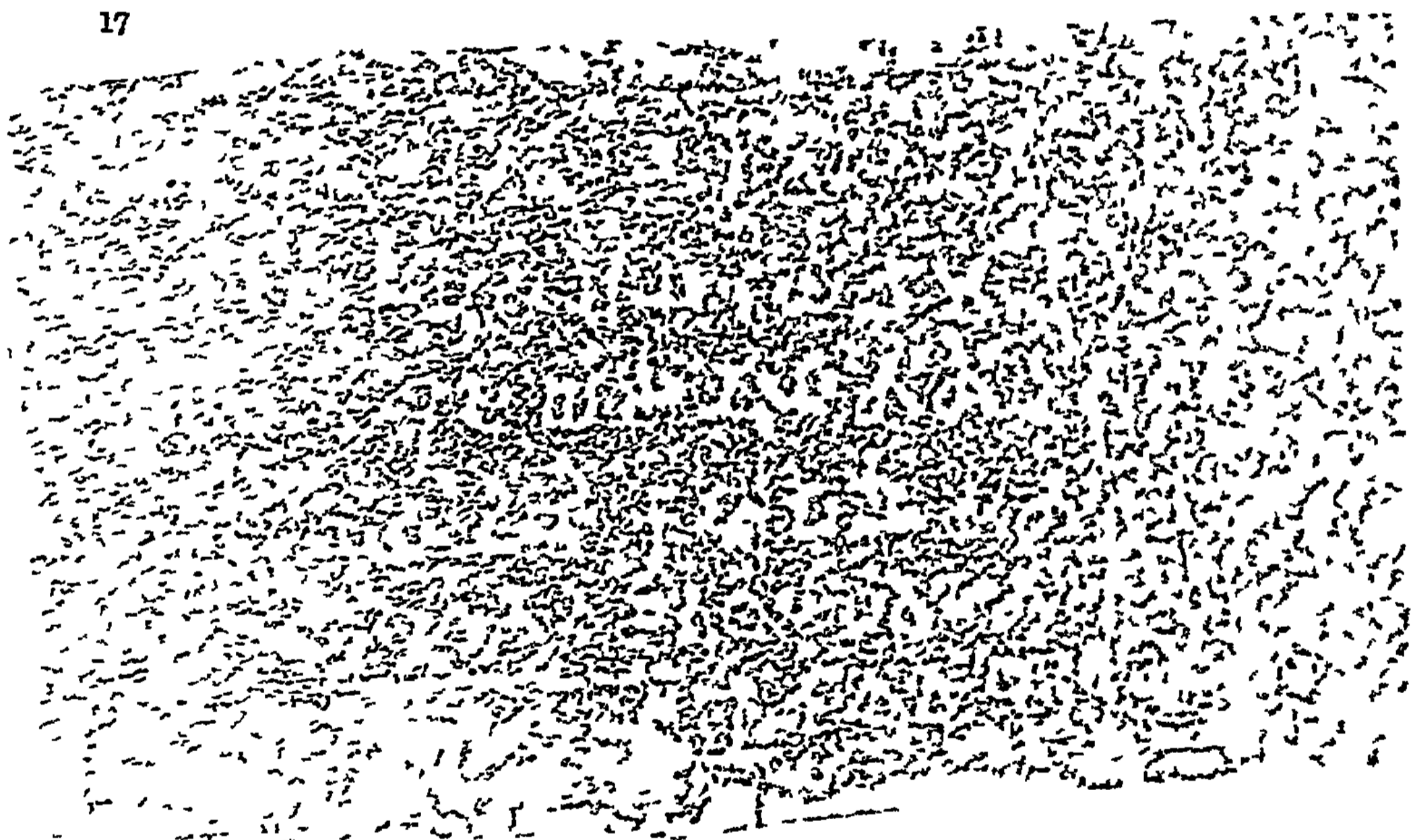
SCALE 1

15



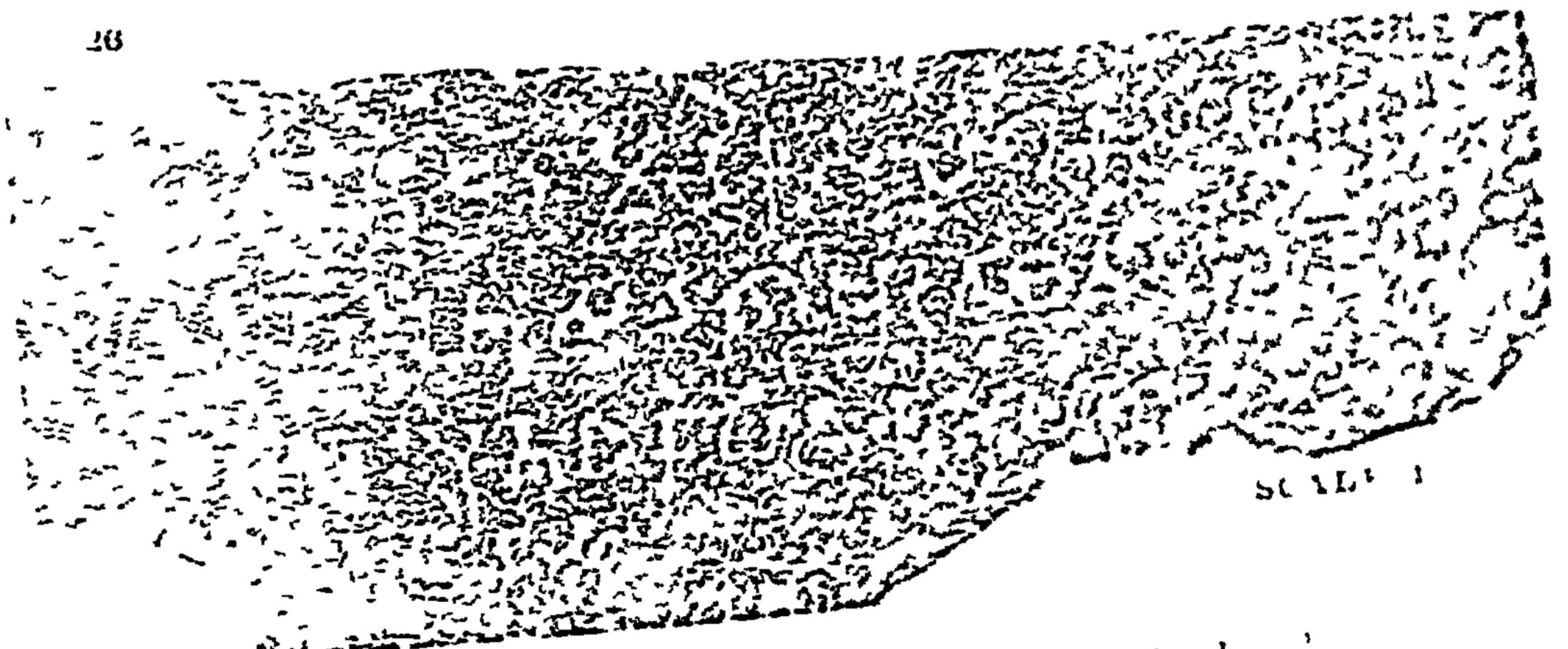
SCALE 1'

17



SCALE 12

18



SCALE 1

Collo. p. 10, 11

TRANSLATION.

Success¹ (The gift) of Indrâgnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattâmitri. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount Tiranhu, and inside the cave a *Chaityagriha* and cisterns. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all Buddhas, bestowed on the universal *Samgha* of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhita.”

It is very fortunate indeed that a *vârttika* on Pânim (IV 7, 104) has preserved the tradition of a word *auttarâha*, for which the etymology from *uttara* seems to indicate the meaning ‘northern’. The derivation of the word would, otherwise, have been the more puzzling because, as far as I know, analogous formations are wanting.

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

Chaityagriha means an oratory at the end of which a *stûpa* is erected as the object or the centre of cult. Compare for instance the Kudâ inscriptions 13 and 20.

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Râyâmacha-Arahalayasa Chahsilanakasa (1) duhutuya Mahâhakusi-
- 2 r . ya Bhatapâlikâya (2) râyâmachasa Agiyatanakasa bhamdakâmka-
- 3 yasa bhâriyâya (3) Kapananakamâtuya chetyaghamam pavate
- 4 Tiranhumai nithapâpita

REMARKS.

(1) G. *cha Lisila*°, but the comparison of the *li* of *pâlikâya* in the following line seems to prove that we have to read *li*, AS ° *lisâlana*°.— (2) G ° *râyabha*°, AS. ° *ri[yâ]yaya Bha*°, adding a note “the first letter may also be read *ri*, the second which looks like *râ* is certainly mutilated”. It seems indeed impossible to doubt that the first traces visible on the left express an *r*. The vowel is entirely uncertain, but what precedes necessitates the reading *ri* or *ri*. Between *r* and *ya* I can discern nothing, at the utmost would the back of the estampage point to the vowel *i* before the *y*, the consonant remaining undetermined. However this may be, the space between the initial *r* and the *ya* seems too large to be conveniently filled up only by Bhagwanlal’s *ri*— (3) G. ° *ya Satâriyâ*°.

TRANSLATION.

“By Bhatapâlikâ, [grand-daughter] of Mahâhakusiri and daughter of the royal officer Arahalaya from Chahsilana, wife of the royal officer Agiyatanaka, of the treasure office, mother of Kapananaka, this *Chaityagriha* has been caused to be perfected on this mount Tiranhu.”

To judge from many analogous cases, it does not seem that Chahsilanaka can be anything but an adjective pointing to the origin or residence of Arahalaya. I have no means of

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

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

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

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

Under the arch over the doorway of Cave No. 18

TEXT

Nāsīkakanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

TRANSLATION.

“The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nāsīk people”

Bhagwanlal understood “gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of Nāsīk,” and wondered, quite naturally, how such a community could have made the gift. Nothing of the kind is meant. It is clear that the gift consists of the ornated arcade which rises above the door, and at the base of which the inscription is engraved. This can be seen even from the care with which the architectural line is adhered to. I cannot make out how Bühler understood the inscription. His rendering “the gift of Dhambhikagāma, of the inhabitants of Nāsīka,” seems somewhat ambiguous. I do not think however that any doubt can really be entertained. We have met with more than one instance of a genitive joined to the name of a donor, to indicate the community, district or clan to which he happened to belong. I suppose the case is the same here, and the Dhambhika village, which had contrived at the common expense (nothing is more frequent than the paying of such religious expenses from the resources of the community) to decorate the entrance to the cave, must have belonged to the general population or to the township of Nāsīk.

No. 21, Plate III. (Ksh 3).

Above the image of a *Yaksha* in Cave No 18

TEXT.

. *bena cha* (1) *ni* *yáva* (2) *Nadásiriyáva* (3)
cha veiká (4) *yakho cha kârítá* (5).

REMARKS.

(1) The traces preceding *be* make one think of a *ṭ*. Is it the rest of *kuṭumbena*? Above the traces of this hypothetical *ṭ*, the rest of *sīdham*, which began the epigraph, are still discernible in the preceding line — (2) AS. °*ni*. *e* *yá*°; G °*yácha* — (3) G *Nadas*° — (4) G. *veyiká* — (5) G. *kârítá*.

TRANSLATION.

“ and by *Nadásiri* the rail pattern and the *Yaksha* have been caused to be made ”

No. 22, Plate VI. (Ksh. 1).

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

TEXT.

1 *Sādavāhanakule* (1) *Kanhe rājini Nāsikakena*
 2 *Samanena mahāmāteṇa lena kârítá* (2)

REMARKS

(1) AS. °*kula*. — (2) G. *kârítain*

TRANSLATION.

“ Under king *Kṛishna* of the *Sātavāhana* family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the *Śramanas* at *Nāsik* ”

I can hardly believe that the apparent readings °*kakena*, °*manena*, °*tena* can all be correct. *Samaṇa* as a proper noun seems little likely, the more so as in our epigraphs the adjective expressing the origin or the town of the donor is generally placed after his name. I consider it easier to admit that, for instance, *samanena* ought really to be read *samanānam*, and that the functionary here meant— conformably to the precedent of *Aśoka*, of which *Bhagwanlal* reminds us in connection with this very text,— was entrusted with the inspection of the monks in the *Nāsik* district. Hence my proposed translation, which is of course hypothetical.

No. 23, Plate V. (N. 9).

Over the doorway of the last cell in Cave No. 20.

TEXT.

1 *Deyadharmmo yam upāsi-*
 2 *kâyā Mammâyā layanañ*

TRANSLATION.

“ This gift, a cave, of the lay devotee *Mammā*. ”

No. 24, Plate I (Ksh. 22).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 20.

TEXT

- 1 Sidham raño Gotamiputasa sâmi-Siriyâna-Sâtakanisa samvachhare (1) sâtame
7 hematâna pakhe tatiye 3
2 divase pathame (2) Kosikasa mahâsenâpatisa Bhavagopasa bharijâya
mahâsenâpatiniya (3) Vâsuya lena
3 Bopakiyatisujamâna apayavasitasamâne (4) bahukâni varisâni ukuto payavasâna (5)
nito (6) châtudî-
4 sasa cha bhikhusaghasa âvâso dato ti.

REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *savachha*^o.— (2) G. *padhame*; AS. *paṭhame*. The central dot of *tha* seems certain on the back — (3) AS ^o*senâpatiniya*.— (4) G. and AS. ^o*mânasa pa*^o, AS ^o*yavesita*^o — (5) G. and AS *payavasâne* — (6) G. *nîte*

TRANSLATION.

“Success! On the first day of the third—3rd—fortnight of winter, in the seventh—7th—year of the king, the lord Śriyâna-Sâtakanî, son of Gotamî, the *Mahâsenâpatnî* Vâsu, wife of the *Mahâsenâpati* Bhavagopa, of the Kausika family, has completed and given, as an abode to the universal *Samgha* of monks, this cave which had been excavated for many years, but, after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki, had remained uncompleted.”

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

No. 25, Plate vi (Ksh. 15)

On the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond Cave No. 23

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Vâsithiputasa sâmi-Siri-Pulu-
2 mâisa samvachhare 2 hemantâ pakhe 4 divase ? (1)
3 etiya puvâya kutumbikena Dhanamena ipa
4 Lâritam saha m . . pituhî saba (2).

REMARKS.

(1) G 6, AS. *dnasa* 8 — (2) After *saha* I think I can discern some traces of the syllables *bhagine*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! On the 6th (or 8th) day of the 4th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord Siri-Pulumâi, son of Vâsithi, on the above, the husbandman Dhanama has caused this to be made, together with his father and mother, with .”

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

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

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

TEXT

- 1 Sidham Śakasa Dâmachikasa (1) lekhakasa Vudhikasa
- 2 Vishnudataputasa (2) Daśapuravâthavasa lena po-
- 3 dhuyo cha do (3) 2 ato ekâ podhi yâ aparadha sa (4) me mâtâ
- 4 . taro udisa

REMARKS

(1) G. *Dama*^s — (2) G. *putrasa* — (3) G. *de* — (4) G. *apara esa*, AS. *apara[dhâ]* sa. The *dh* at least seems rather distinct.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

On one of the two cisterns to the right of Cave No. 24

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Sakaśa Dāmachikasa (1)
2 legbakasa Vudhikasa podhî (2).

REMARKS.

(1) G Dama°. — (2) G podhî, AS. podhî

TRANSLATION.

"Success! A cistern, (the gift) of the Śaka Dāmachika, the writer Vudhika."

No 9 — DHAR PRASASTI OF ARJUNAVARMAN.

PARIJATAMANJARI-NATIKA BY MADANA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was discovered recently at Dhâr (west of Mhow), the ancient capital of the Paramâra kings of Mâlava and the present chief town of a State in Central India. The news of the discovery reached me through Mr K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education, Dhâr, who was good enough to send me a copy of his well written 'Summary of the dramatic inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque), Dhar, C. I., in November 1903' According to Mr. Lele, "the slab of black stone (5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet) upon which this interesting Sanskrit inscription is engraved, was attached to the northern wall of the principal *mshrab* in the mosque, with the writing turned inside" — "The slab was taken out in November 1903, and is kept framed at the mosque" On receipt of Mr Lele's 'Summary,' I requested Mr Marshall to send me mechanical copies of the inscription In compliance with this request, Mr. Marshall kindly instructed Dr Vogel to forward me an inked estampage Subsequently Mr Cousens sent me two excellent inked estampages,¹ one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates²

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

The alphabet is an early variety of Nâgarî and exhibits several peculiarities In the old Brâhmî alphabet the initial *z* consisted of three points. In the subjoined inscription the two upper points are represented by circles, and the lowermost one by a symbol which consists of a vertical line and of a flourish (see *e.g.* *va* in l. 2); but in five instances (*kaḥar*, l. 56, *indranîla*, l. 62, *mandabhânim*, l. 64, *qi*, l. 66, and *mandabhâniḥ*, l. 80) there are two distinct flourishes instead of one, and in a single case (*itthîu*, l. 22) one of the two circles is omitted The initial *z* occurs once (in *vanassainam*, l. 40). The initial *u* has two different shapes The loop attached to it is turned either downwards or upwards, both forms may be seen together, *e.g.* in l. 22, where *shaütthîḥ* shows the second and *itthîu* the first form. The initial *z* occurs four times (in *riḥ*, l. 19, *namîna*, l. 31, *nîharîna*, l. 35, and *kâlâḥḍa*, l. 51), and the initial *z* three

¹ The stone seems to have suffered additional damage since the first estampage had been prepared The first letter of some lines is still partially visible in the latter, while it is missing in the two fresh estampages.

² As the three photographs overlap one another, line 28 appears both at the bottom of Plate I. and at the top of Plate II, and likewise l. 54 both on Plates II. and III Through the carelessness of the Halle printer (not of Gebr. Plettner, who prepared only the collotypes), the figures on the left of the second and third Plates have been placed near the top of the corresponding lines, while they ought to stand opposite the centre of every second line.

times (in *rishabha*, l. 22, and *riju*, ll. 34 and 81). The initial *e* resembles the letter *pa*, compare e.g. *mas*, l. 4, with *prapā* in the same line. The initial *o* ends with the same flourish as *e* and the first form of *u* (see e.g. *loo*, l. 6), it bears a little hook at the right top, which is omitted, perhaps accidentally, in two cases (*chūo*, l. 44, and *osahī*, l. 63). The initial *au* occurs once (in *autsukyam*, l. 57).

Among the consonants, *jha* closely resembles the initial *ri*. It occurs seven times singly and four times in combination with *j* (e.g. in *majjhanna-samjhā*, l. 30). The consonant *pha* either has its usual shape, or its vertical portion is crossed by a thin curved line (e.g. in *kamphirava*, l. 7). The primary form of *na* consists of a horizontal line to which three vertical lines are attached, the middle one being slightly shorter, but the secondary form of *na* resembles that of *la*. The doubling of *na* is marked by a horizontal cross-line in four cases (*nishanna*, l. 26, *sunnām*, l. 52, *kannāharana*, ll. 52 and 75); the primary and the secondary forms are combined in one instance (*āyannehi*, l. 21), and, if my reading is correct, the secondary form is improperly used twice in another (*thenna*, l. 75). The last mode is generally adopted if the doubling takes place after *r* (e.g. in *'vatirnnasya*, l. 1), but the cross-line is then used in five cases (e.g. *nirvarṇayāmi*, l. 62), and the primary combined with the secondary form once (in *ākarnānta*, l. 1). The usual form of *tha* is not very different from *nva* (see e.g. *kathamchid*, l. 1)¹. The same form is employed four times after *t* (e.g. in *hatthe*, l. 17), but in the majority of cases the secondary form of *tha* is identical with that of *chha*, compare e.g. *tttha* and *sthānē*, l. 6, with *uchchhalammi*, l. 16. If my readings are correct, there are three instances (*thakka-thakkida*, l. 5, and *thenna*, l. 75) where even for the primary *tha* the same symbol is used as for the primary *chha* (see *chhachcharana*, ll. 5 and 75, and *lāmchhanam*, l. 16). The group *kkha* is written in two ways. In *vuyakkhana*, l. 45, the *kha* is regularly attached to the *k*, but in *parikkhalamta*, l. 42, the *kha* seems to be inserted between the two loops of the *k*². The group *ddha* looks like *dva* in most cases (e.g. *yuddha*, l. 17), but in two places (= *Ddhārā*-, l. 32, and *muddhāo*, l. 47) its *dha* is distinguished from *va* by an additional horizontal line. Similarly, *ndh* looks like *nv* in *candhum*, l. 14, but not in *samvandh-ōchita*, l. 32.

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

The engraver has done his work with considerable care and has committed comparatively few real mistakes, part of which he has corrected himself on second thoughts. As regards orthography, it must be stated that *b* is nowhere distinguished from *v*. The dental is used instead of the palatal sibilant in *Sārādā*, l. 3, *Hiranyakasipu*, l. 7, *kāsmīra*, l. 20, *aṁsa*, l. 21, and *svāsēna*, l. 33 f, the *visarga* instead of the lingual sibilant in *chatuhpatha*, l. 3, *nihkrāmati*, l. 58, and *nihkrāmta*, ll. 15, 28, 31, 39, 58, 81 and 82; and *t* instead of *ḍ* in *atbhuta*, l. 49. The spelling of *ujvala*, l. 13, *datvā*, ll. 13 and 21, and *patra*, ll. 25 and 61, is not correct, but frequent in inscriptions and manuscripts.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Prakrit.⁴ There are 76 verses, the remainder is in prose.

¹ In four cases (e.g. *mamtharam*, l. 54) the top-line of this form of *tha* is indistinct.

² The *kkh* of *pachchakkho*, l. 64, seems to be a modification of the same type.

³ The second variety occurs only in ll. 22 and 42.

⁴ I have added a Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit passages at the end of the text on p. 117 ff.

The inscription contains the two first acts of a hitherto unknown *nāṭikā*, i.e. a drama of four acts,¹ entitled *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* (l. 4). This drama had been composed by the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*) Madana, whose family hailed from Gauda (Bengal), and who was a descendant of Gangādharā² (l. 3 f.). It was acted for the first time at the spring-festival³ in the city of Dhārā (l. 3)—the modern Dhār.

The opening verse (1) contains the following statement —

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

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

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

“This panegyric (*praśasti*) was engraved by the artist (*śilpiḥ*) Rāmadēva, the son of the excellent sculptor (*rūpakāra*) Sīhāka”

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

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

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

Arjunavarman, the hero of the drama, is in one place (v. 10) styled ‘the son of king Subhata.’ This enables us to identify him with the Paramāra king Arjunavarman, who was the son of Subhatavarman, and whose copper-plate grants are dated in A.D. 1211, 1213 and 1215.⁹ The same three grants prove that the new drama was composed in the reign of this

¹ See the definitions in the *Daśarūpakam*, III verse 40, and in the *Sāhityadarpana*, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, p. 345, where the *Ratnāvalī* and *Viddhasālabhañjikā* are quoted as examples. Others are the *Priyadarśikā*, *Karṇasundarī*, *Kamalinikalahansa* and *Vṛishabhānujā*. The prototype of all of them is Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which has however five acts and is therefore styled a *nāṭakam*.

² On the formation of *Gangādharāyaṇī* (without *vṛiddhi* of the first vowel) see Pāṇini, IV 1,160.

³ *Vasantōtsava*, v. 8 and l. 27. As this festival takes place on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI p. 187), it is also called *Chaitrōtsava* (v. 9), *Madhūtsava* (l. 15) and *Chaitrapāṇvan* (l. 3).

⁴ The word *bāṇa*, ‘an arrow,’ may refer also to the Bāna king.

⁵ “A particular attitude in shooting (standing with the feet a span apart)” — Monier-Williams.

⁶ In the case of Kṛishna we have to translate — “who was able to defeat the leaping (demon) Bāna, who afforded protection to all the cows (by lifting up the mountain Gōvardhana), who made Rādā distressed by being smitten with manifest love.” In the case of Arjuna, Rādā is the foster-mother of his opponent Karṇa.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 232 f.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 302.

⁹ Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos. 195, 197 and 198.

Arjunavarman, for they were composed (*rachita*) by the same *rājaguru* Madana,¹ who was the author of the drama (l 4)

Arjunavarman's grants report that he defeated Jayasimha² The same enemy is referred to in the drama (l 7), with the additional information that he was a king of Gūrjara (l 7, vv 10 and 18) and belonged to the Chaulukya family (v 7) Hence he seems to be identical with the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II of Anahilapātaka,³ whose grants are dated between A D 1199 and 1238⁴ Although these grants do not apply to Bhīmadēva II the name Jayasimha, they call him 'the new Siddharāja,' and 'Siddharāja' had been the surname of his ancestor Jayasimha Hence I believe that Bhīmadēva II is meant both in the drama and in the grants of Arjunavarman. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that the Jayasimha whom Arjunavarman defeated was the temporary usurper Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddharāja, who ruled in the place of Bhīmadēva II in A D 1223⁵ At any rate, as noted by Bühler,⁶ Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmanī* places both the conquest of Gujaraṭ by Arjunadēva of Malava and an attempted invasion⁷ by his father Subhata in the lifetime of Bhīmadēva II himself

The drama locates the decisive battle between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha on the borders of the land at the foot of a mountain called Parvaparvata (l 7) The name of Arjunavarman's minister is stated to have been Nārāyana (v 8) To Arjunavarman himself the drama applies the surname Trividhavirachūdāmanī (l. 7 and v 9) Even this detail is corroborated from two different sides The same surname occurs as Trividhavira in the grants,⁸ and as Virachūdāmanī in the colophon of the *Rasikasamjivini*, a commentary on the *Amarusatakam*⁹ This commentary is attributed to king Arjunavarman, who at the beginning of it calls himself 'the son of king Subhatavarman' and 'the light of Bhōja's family'¹⁰

In his commentary on the first verse of the *Amarusatakam* (p 2) Arjunavarman quotes a Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse of 'the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana whose other name was Bālasarasvatī.'¹¹ The same person seems to be meant by the '*upādhyāya*' who is quoted as the author of an *Āryā* (p 15) and of two Anushtubh verses (pp 16 and 44) The *upādhyāya* Madana is of course identical with the *rājaguru* Madana, the author of the *Pāryātamañjarī* and of Arjunavarman's grants¹² The quotations in the *Rasikasamjivini* show that he produced other poetical works besides these,¹³ and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amarusatakam*

Finally the drama mentions a few localities within and near the city of Dhārā According to the prologue, the first performance of the drama took place in a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī¹⁴ The scene of the first act is the top of the royal palace (v 8), and that of the

¹ *Journ. As Soc Bengal*, Vol. V p 379, *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 29 and 33.

² *Ibid* p 26, verse 17.

³ This was already suggested by Dr Hall, *ibid* p 39 f.

⁴ Prof Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos 188 and 216

⁵ *Ibid* No 205

⁶ *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 187

⁷ This invasion is alluded to in the grants of Arjunavarman, *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol. VII. p 26, verse 15.

⁸ *Loc cit* verse 19

⁹ Kavyamala edition, p 69

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 1, verse 5 On p 23 Arjunavarman quotes a verse of 'our ancestor Muñjadēva whose other name was Yākpātirāja.' Compare *Zeitschr D M G.* Vol XLVII p 93

¹¹ Bālasarasvatī-Madana was taught poetry by the Jaina Āśādhara, a contemporary of the Mālava king Arjuna and of his two successors Dēvapala and Jastugidēva (Jayasimha) See Dr Ehandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p 104 f., Bühler in *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol XLVII. p 94, and Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V App p 32, note 3.

¹² See the two first lines of this page.

¹³ Prof Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts* mention three MSS of the *Bālasarasvatīyam*, a *kāvya* by Bālasarasvatī, which Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I p 425) assigns to the *upādhyāya* Madana

¹⁴ Śāradadevī, l. 3, or Bhārati, l 6

second act a pleasure-garden (*lîlôdyânam* or *pramadôdyânam*) on the Dhârâgiri, a hill near the city (ll 6, 12, 31, v 30, ll 36 and 75).

The *dramatis personæ* are The stage-manager (*sâtradhâra*); the actress (*natî*), king Arjunavarman, the jester Vidagdha; queen Sarvakalâ, her maid Kanakalôkhâ, the royal gardener Kusumâkara, his wife Vasantalîlâ, and the heroine Pârijâtamañjarî or Vijayaśrî. The king and Kusumâkara speak Sanskrit, the remaining persons Prâkṛit—Śaurasênî in the prose passages, and Mâhârâshtrî in the verses. The pretty verses of the bards, which are recited behind the stage, are also in Prâkṛit¹.

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

“Enjoying this lovely, auspicious Vijayaśrî, thou, O lord of Dhârâ, shalt become equal to Bhôjadêva” (v. 6).

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

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

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

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

In the introductory scene (*vishkambhaka*, l. 39) of the second act, Kusumâkara and Vasantalîlâ compare notes on the mutual passion of the heroine and the king.

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

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

¹ Vv. 17-19 and 28; but vv 72-74 are in Sanskrit

of the poet. It would have been a poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters. Hence I believe that, as stated in the drama, his chief queen was actually named Sarvakalā¹ and was the daughter of the king of Kuntala (v. 11),— who is perhaps identical with the then reigning Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II,²— and that Pārijātamañjarī³ or Vijayaśrī⁴ happened to be Arjunavarman's favourite at the time when the drama was composed. Her miraculous appearance and her fanciful connection with the vanquished king of Gujarāt may have been suggested to the poet by her real name. They could not fail to please the king and his mistress, and could perhaps be risked all the more easily because the lady was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms.

Another instance in which the wedding of the favourite queen of a reigning sovereign forms the subject of a romantic story is that of Chandaladēvi in the *Vikramānkadēvacharitam*⁵ In this case, contemporary inscriptions and Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* prove that the heroine's name was not invented by the poet Bilhana, but that she was actually one of the wives of Vikramāditya VI.⁶ Vidyanatha's *Pratāparudriyam* deserves to be mentioned in the same connection, as it includes a drama that resembles the *Pārijātamañjarī* in being the panegyric of a reigning king⁷

TEXT.⁸

1 श्रीः⁹ ॥ श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अत्र कथंचिदलिखिते अतिलिख्य लिख्यते
शिलायुगले । भोजस्यैव गुणोर्जितमर्जुनमूर्त्या ऽवतीर्णस्य ॥ १ ॥
तत्तादृक्कुमनोमनोहरतनुर्वासागन्तृगारिणी सुटिस्त्रीकरणीयमध्यमधुरावष्टम्भन-
साकृतिः । आकर्णान्तनटकटाक्षविशिखव्यापारधन्या जयत्यन्या चापल-
तेव चंद्रमुद्गदो

2 देवस्य कान्ता रतिः ॥ २ ॥ अपि च । ¹⁰वलाहाणजयक्ष्मो विजयते
निःशेषगोत्राणकृष्णः कृष्ण इवार्जुनो ऽर्जुन इव श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।
विष्कृर्जद्विपमेयुवेधविधुरां राधां विधत्ते स्र यस्तूर्णं पूर्णमनोरथच्चिरमभू-
द्भाग्येभगोत्सवे ॥ ३ ॥ नाद्यन्ते सूत्रधारः । आर्ये । इतस्तावत् ।
प्रविश्य नटी । आणवेदु¹¹ अलो । सूत्र । प्रिये । आ-

3 दिटो ऽस्मि तत्रभवत्या परिपदा (I) यया ऽद्य त्वया ऽस्मिन्नेव चैत्र-
पर्वणि [चतु]रशीतिचतुःपय¹²भुरसदनप्रधाने धारापुरीयुवतिर्नृंगारमुक्तास्रजो
जगज्जडतांधकारघातनगरचद्रिकायाः ¹³सारदादेव्याः सद्मनि सकलदिगंतरो-
पागतानेकत्रैविद्यसङ्घदयकलाकोविदरसिकमुकविसंकुले गौडान्वयगंगापुलिनरा-

¹ Vr. 11, 37, 55, 62 and l. 76; Samastakalā in v. 30

² See the Table of the Hoysalas in Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 493.

³ Ll. 23, 29, 33, 35, 38, 43, 44, 48, 59, 64, 78, 80; Kusumaśrī in l. 12, and Kusumamañjarī in l. 75.

⁴ Vr. 8, 15, 55 and l. 69, Javakī in v. 70

⁵ Bühler's edition, p. 38 ff. of the Introduction.

⁶ Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 449 and note 4.

⁷ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 f.

⁸ From three inked estampages

Cancel the *visarga*, the syllable *om* is expressed by a symbol resembling the one employed at the beginning of the Bhōjāl plates of Udayavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 254, Plate.

¹⁰ Read वलाहाण⁹.

¹¹ See p. 117 below A.

¹² Read चतुषय⁹.

¹³ Read सारदा⁹.

- 4 [जहं]सस्य [गगाध]रायणे[मंदनस्य रा]जगुरोः कृतिरभिनवा समस्तसामाजिक-
मधुव्रतानंदमकरंदप्रपा पारिजातमंजरीत्यपराख्या विजयश्रीनाम नाटिका
नाटयितव्या । तदाविर्भाव्यतां रंगमगलसंपदां संप्रदायः । नटी [1*]
सहर्षं । जं¹ अज्जो आणवेदि । किं च मए वि सुण्णिदं (1) जधा
मलयानिलमंदमंदंदोलणमहमहत-
- 5 मायंदमउलमयरंद[पिंडि]द[परायपुंजपिं]जरिज्जंतमंजरीकवलपरप्यरोप्यणकेलिपज्जा-
उलकलयंठमिहुणमहुरकलयलहेलावहत्थिदविहत्थमाणंसिणीमाणं पि (1)
परिमलतरंगचंगचंपयचसयमहु[थ]क[थ]क्किदक्खरणचारणरणभणकारमुहलं पि
(1) जतकुंजरकरसीयरासारसेयसरसविअसं-
- 6 [त]विविहविडवकुडंगवडंधयारं पि (1) धारागिरिलीलोज्जाणं परिहरिय
कोदुहल्लपंपुल्ल²लीयणी भारहीभरणहुत्तं सहस त्ति ³परावडिदो ज्जेव लोओ
त्ति । ता कधेहि केरिसं इत्थ कधासंविहाणयं । सूत्र । आकाशे
। किमाचक्षते भवंतः । स्थाने सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वं मृद्वीनामतिसुंदरं ।
याश्चैत्रं कांतमासाद्य विभ्रति स्मितमा-
- 7 धुरीं । [४ ॥*] तज्जोः⁴ साधूत्तं । नटीं प्रति च । आर्ये [1*] श्रुतं
त्वया । सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वमिति । नटी । अध⁵ इं । सूत्र ।
प्रिये [1*] शृणु तर्हि । त्रिविधवीरचूडामणेः सार्वभौमश्रीभोजदेवान्वय-
मूर्धन्यस्य राज्ञः श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य गूर्जरपतिना जयसिंहेन सह पर्व-
पर्वतोपत्यकापरिसरेषु हिरण्यकसिपु⁶कदनकुपितवैकुण्ठकंठीरवकंठ-
- 8 नादचकितदिग्वारणेंद्रमुक्तविश्वंभरानिपतनोद्वेलसप्ताण्णवलहरिसफेटतुल्यतुमुलकोला-
हलः कलही वभूव ॥ नटी । अज्ज⁷ [1*] जहिं चउरंगवलजुअलधूली-
कडप्पेहिं कवलिदग्धि मच्चंडमंडले सयंवरकोदुहल्लहल्लुप्फलमिलंतसुरसुदरी-
मुहयंद⁸चदायवेण नियपरविहाओ संजादो सुणीयदि ॥
- 9 सूत्र । आर्ये [1*] एवमेवेतत् । नटी । तदो⁹ २ [1*] सूत्र ।
ततश्च प्रतिवले पलायमाने जयसिंधुरस्कंधाधिरूढस्य धनुषतो धारापते-
स्तत्कालोपसंहृतनाराचदुर्दिनस्य पुरंदरपुरद्वारकवाटविकटे वचसि लोकीत्त-
रपरिमलामोदवासितदिगतरा विश्वैरहंदारकहंदकुसुमवृष्टिमध्यादेका पारि-
जातमंजरी पपात ॥

¹ See p. 117 below, B.² Read °पफुल्ल°.³ The engraver has left a blank space between the two *aksharas* प and रा.⁴ The *visarga* had been omitted by the engraver and was inserted by him on revision.⁵ See p 117 below, C.⁶ Read °कसिपु°.⁷ See p 117 below, D.⁸ Read °मद° (P).⁹ See p 117 below, E.

- 10 नटी । सक्तौतुक । तदो¹ २ [1*] सूत्र । ततश्च । अथोन्म गत-
हस्तनोपनतयोर्द्वेन वचोजयोः कर्णोत्तंघनजांघिकेन नयनद्वयेन हेम-
किनी । वक्त्रं विश्वविलोचनोत्पलवनीचद्रोद्य विभ्रती साम्बुदाय-
जिगीषुयौवनसुरामाद्यत्तनुः कामिनी ॥ [५ ॥*] तद्वै चान्नायदान्
प्रादुरासीत् । मनोज्ञा निर्विशन्नेतां कल्या-
- 11 णीं विजयत्रियं । सदृशी भोजदेवेन धाराविष्य भविष्यति । [६ ॥*]
नटी । अज्ज² [1*] ता कि दिव्यनायुक्तेषु वा जगत् । सूत्र ।
प्रिये । न खल्वेवं । किं तु । वा चौतुक्यमहीमहेद्रुहिता
देवी जयश्रीः स्वयं भंगे ऋत्युमवाप्य³ वायुचलिलैरतः⁴ पुरस्योर्निर्दिः ।
वसुः शोकतमालवालविपिन चक्रे नदीभायन (1)⁵ सैव खर्दुम-
मंजरी कि- (1)
- 12 सलये संक्रम्य जातांगना ॥ [७ ॥*] नटी । सदान्नायार्थं । तदो⁶ २ ।
सूत्र । ततश्च (1) देवेन जयकुंजरकुंभस्तदादात्तप्य तस्याः लुचस्यले
दृष्टिं संचारितवता महाजनलज्जया सा लुलुभश्रीः[1*] कञ्जुदिनः
कुसुमाकरनामधेयस्योद्यानाधिकारिणः समर्पिता । तेन चानीय धारा-
गिरिगर्भसरकतमंडपे वसंतलीलां खण्डहि-
- 13 णीं योगचेमकारिणीं दत्त्वा⁷ स्थापिता । नेत्रये । इत इतो देवः ।
सूत्र । तत्रावलोकितकेन । प्रिये [1*] पश्य । नारायणेनात्यशुचैः
निवेश्य सौरान्यभार स्वयमाशुरोह । देवी वसती⁸ नृत्तौतुकेन नवीन-
रत्नोज्वल⁹ हर्म्यंनृगं ॥ [८ ॥*] अज्ञो राजपोषक परम्पारनूद्वयस्य ।
ह्याननतरंगितत्रिविवीरचूडामणि-
- 14 प्रगीतरसरजितां रतिमवेक्ष्य मोहायिते । यदीयदिरुदं चरः परपुरंनिवन्धुं
जगौ स एष नृपसुदरो जयति जैत्रचेत्रोत्सवे¹⁰ ॥ [९ ॥*] श्विस्रयं ।
अंतःपुरवनिताच्च द्विरदटाद्याशु गूर्जरैद्रस्य । मृच्छलिता यदनीकैः स
एष सुभट्चितींद्रसुतः ॥ [१० ॥*] नटी । पासे¹⁰ उण अंतैउरिया
विय कावि एसा । सूत्र । समुच्चयेन या
- 15 सृष्टा कलानां परमेष्ठिना । कुंतलेंद्रभृता सैव राज्ञः सर्वकला प्रिया
॥ [११ ॥*] तदनया सहितो मानयतु नभूत्सवं देवः । आवासप्रनंतर-

¹ See p 117 below, F.² See p. 117 below, G.³ Read वाप्य°.⁴ The *risarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.⁵ This mark of punctuation seems to have been cancelled by the engraver himself.⁶ See p 117 below, H.⁷ Read दत्त्वा.⁸ Read 'रवीन्वल°.⁹ Read जैत्रचेत्रोत्सवे.¹⁰ See p. 117 below, I.

- करणीयाय सज्जीभवाव[ः ।*] इति निःक्रांतावासुषं^१ ॥ ततः प्रविशति
विदूषकेण सह वसंतवेषरमणीयो राजा (1) साख्या^२ सह राज्ञी च ।
राज्ञी । सहकारमजरीं दर्शयित्वा (1) सलीलस्मितं । अञ्जु-
- 16 त्त^३ [।*] नोहलियं गेण्ह एदं । कौडलसरवाहुल्लेण मणहरा पढम-
मंजरी एसा । तुह उच्छवन्नि हु मए विणित्ता गायणीइ जहा
॥ [१२ ॥*] राजा । सहर्षादरं (1) हस्तद्वयेन गृहीत्वा । देवि ।
त्वयोपनीयमानोयं सहकारांकुरो मया । आत्तः पुप्पायुधस्येपुराज्ञास्त्रीका-
रलांछनं ॥ [१३ ॥*] अपि कुसुमे नवफालिकाव्यपदेशः पेशलांगि युक्तस्ते
- 17 । फलमेव कुसुममपि मे प्रसन्नया यच्चया दत्तं । [१४ ॥*] विदूषकः ।
साकूतं । अहो^४ अञ्जरियं [।*] भायधेएण वयस्सस्स कुसुममंजरी
फलत्तणेण हत्थे चडिदा । राजा । सीत्कांठमात्मगतं । या मन्मथस्म^५
जयिनोभिनवास्त्रदेवी मूर्त्ता पपात हृदये मम युद्धभूमौ । भंग्या
मनोहरतनुं विजयश्रियं तां प्राणेश्वरीमयमुदाहरते वय-
- 18 स्यः ॥ [१५ ॥*] किं च । या शारदी शशिकलेव कलेवरं मे 'संग्राम-
डामरसमुल्लसितप्रतापं । लावण्यकांतिसुधया स्रपयांचकार सा मे हृदि
खलति मन्मथविह्वलांगी ॥ [१६ ॥*] नेपथ्ये वैतालिकाः । सुपहायसि-
रीसहिदो^६ सूरौ वि तुहच्छवेण कीलंतो । वालायवसिंदूरं दियगणाणं
मुहे खिवइ ॥ [१७ ॥*] जं सीमंताहिंतो हिय तए गुज्जरिदर-
- 19 मणीयं । मन्ने सिंदूरेणं तेण चिय रमइ तुह लोओ ॥ [१८ ॥*]
वाणेहिं अञ्जनारी विसमसरेणावि नियरिज रइओ । अञ्जुणवम्म तए
उण अवल चिय विरइआ रिउणो ॥ [१९ ॥*] * ॥ विदू ॥ कल-
कलमाकर्ण्य (1) नेपथ्य[।*]वलोकितकेन । वयस्स^७ [।*] पेच्छ २ पहरि-
सकीलिदं नायरजणस्स । राजा । सहकारमंजरीं विदूषकस्यार्प- (1)
- 20 यित्वा (1) सकीतुकं पश्यन् । सखे [।*] किसुच्यते । राज्ञीं प्रति च ।
देवि [।*] प[श्य] २ [।*] सिदूरं क्वचिददृष्टासनिनदैरुदंडमुड्डीयते
कसूरीनिकरः क्वचित्क्वचिदपि श्रीखंडरेणूत्करः । 'कास्मीरद्रवशीकरैर्दृति-
मुखोन्मुत्तरतिव्याकुलः पौरैः खैरमनेकधायमधुनारब्धो मधोरुत्सवः ॥
[२० ॥*] अपि च । पौष्यैराभरणैर्मनोज्ञतनवः
- 21 खैरं दधत्योधुना सिंदूरीमरुणीकृतालकलतां लेखां ललाटीतटे । नृत्यंत्यो
मदविह्वलं लयविसंवादिषु पौरागनाः क्रीडामौरजिकस्वकांतवदनान्या-

^१ Read निःक्रांती । आमुख.

^२ See p 117 below, K.

^३ See p. 118 below, A.

^४ Read सख्या

^५ Read मन्मथस्स

^६ See p 118 below, B.

^७ See p 117 below, J

^८ Read सयाम°

^९ Read कास्मीर°.

- लोकयन्ति स्मिताः ॥ [२१ ॥*] राज्ञी [१*] कर्णं दत्त्वा^१ (१)
सोपहासं । अज्जउत्त^२ । एदं पि आयण्णेहि (१) समयसुहावय हिंदो-
लयं । राजा । प्रिये [१*] किमुचते । ^३असन्धासग्रहकृतपद
ता- (१)
- 22 डितं मंद्रभूमौ षड्भू^४ तन्वन्^५ ऋषभरहितं धैवतेनापि हीनं । हिंदो-
लाख्यः सुखयति दधन्मध्यम तारदेशे कपं विभ्रक्लिमपि रुचिर
षड्भूके पंचमे च ॥ [२२ ॥*] विदू । वयस्स^६ [१*] जाणिदं मए
वि । एसी सो हिंदोलओ (१) जहिं हिंदोलयचउत्थीए इत्थीउ
कीलति । राजा । स्मितमभिनीय (१) सोपहास । नूनमभिन्नो
भवान् ग्राम- (१)
- 23 रागेषु । विदू । सदपं । कध^७ गेयं न जाणामि । जदा मे
वंभणी बहुवियड[द]तसुदर सुहं पसारिय मगलाइ गाएदि तदा
हं ^८गोरिगेयगहिस्सो हरिणो व्व पाणे दाउमिच्छामि ॥ इति विदू-
षकं विहाय सर्वे हसति । राजा । स्मिता [१*] सखे ।
एतावता गीते सम्यगभिन्नो भवान् । कनकलेखा^९ अचलपिहितां
सिदूरमुष्टिं राज्ञी-
- 24 हस्तेर्पयति । राज्ञी गृहीत्वा स्मितमभिनीय च (१) राज्ञी मस्त-
कमुडूलयितुं मुष्टिसुत्तिपति । राजा । शिरो नमयन् सस्मितं ।
सिदूरोडूलनायैष मूर्धा नमोक्ततो मया । एष एव प्रणामञ्च
तन्निषेधाय दर्शितः ॥ [२३ ॥*] राज्ञी (१) सलीलस्मित (१) सख्याः
सिदूरमर्पयति । कनकलेखाविदूषकौ परस्परं सिदूरोडूलन नाट-
यतः । विदू ॥
- 25 कस्तूरीचोदमर्पयन् । वयस्स^{१०} [१*] तुमं पि देविं भरेहि । [रा]ज्ञी (१)
विश्रुंखलचरणारविदमपसरति । राजा । देवि त्वन्मुखमुत्तसत्परिमलं
स्मेरा[र]विदम्भमाङ्गुणामुपसेदुषां प्रतिमया स्निग्धेद्रनीलत्विषा । सजाते
मृगनाभिपत्र^{११}मकरीशृंगारलीलायिते चेतोहारि करोति कः पुनरिदं
कस्तूरिकापंकिलं ॥ [२४ ॥*] उपसृत्य (१) लला-
- 26 [ट*]खेदमुत्पुंसयन् । अलं संभ्रमेण [१*] अपनीयतां अमः । इदानीं
हि । ^{१२}संभोगोत्कलिकामिलत्सहचरीशृगावमर्शद्रवत्कस्तूरीभृगमीलितेक्षण-

^१ Read दत्त्वा.^२ See p. 118 below, C.^३ Read अशं^४ Corrected by the engraver from पञ्ज.^५ Read तन्वन्नुषमं^६ See p 118 below, D^७ See p 118 below, E.^८ Read गोवी^९ Read ^०लेखांचलं.^{१०} See p 118 below, F.^{११} Read ^०पत्रं.^{१२} ^०लिका^० looks almost like ^०लिका^०.

- भरतीषाशुमिश्रीज्ञमः । गीतैकांतनिषणक्तिश्रवधूकंदर्पकेलित्तमस्वेदच्छेद-
विचक्षणी विचरति श्रीखंडशैलानिलः । [२५ ॥*] विदू । वयस्^१ ।
जदि तुमं एदाए दासीधूआए क-
- 27 [ण*][य]लेहाए सह मम पाणिगहण करावेसि (i) तदा अहं पि
तुमं व नायरियनारीसहिदी वसंतसवं^२ माणेमि । राजा (i) राज्ञी
च सयते । वानक । सनासासंकोचं विचिकित्सते । राज्ञी [i*]
स्मृतिमभिनीय । अज्जउत्त^३ [i*] पाणिगहणवयणेण संभराविद म्हि ।
मए माहवीलदाए सहयारस्स पाणिगहो कारिदव्वो [i*] तुम्हे वि
तहिं (i)
- 28 [णि*]मंतिदा चिद्ध । ता दाणि उवसंभारसंपादणकज्जेण उज्जाणं गमिस्सं ।
राजा । यदभिरुचितं देव्यै । इति सख्या सह राज्ञी निःक्रांता^४ ।
राजा । सखे । क सा नवफलिका पारिजातमंजरी । न न [i*]
विस्मृत [i*] सहकारमंजरी । विदू । सस्मितं [i*] वयस्स^५ ।
ण खु एदं विंभरण । सभरणं जेव एद । इति सहकारमंजरीं
समर्पयति । रा-
- 29 [जा*] । गृहीत्वा (i) सकरुणमात्मगतं । परिस्नानामिमां दृष्ट्वा नूतनां
चूतमंजरीं । स्मरामि 'विरहक्लांतामतः प्राणेश्वरीं नवां ॥ [२६ ॥*] इति
तादात्म्यमभिनीय शून्यमवलोकते । विदू । वयस्स^६ । मन्ने पारि-
आयमजरीसणाह पि दे सुन्न हिययं । राजा । सखे [i*]
किमुच्यते । रागं सांध्यमिवाह'हृत्यविरलं शून्यत्वमासेदुपि प्रोन्मीलन्नववि-
प्रयो- (i)
- 30 [ग*][त]मसि व्योन्नीव सा मे हृदि । बाला चांद्रमसी कलेव वसति
स्तोतव्यनव्योदया पचेषोर्जयिनः प्रतापमसमं साक्षाद्विधत्तेपि च ॥ [२७ ॥*]
नेपथ्ये । सुहयारिणी^७ भीदु मज्जन्नसंभा देवस्स । तिसियाण काणणेसुं
तुह रिउ[र]मणीण विंणनिहेण । वयणाइं हारमुत्तासु सलिलकज्जेण
व विसंति । [२८ ॥*] विदू^८ । वयस्स^९ [i*] देवेणाहवनिज्जिदाण
- 31 सहसा वंदीकदंतेउरं दितेणं समिदा विओयवियणा जाणं वसंतुग्गमे ।
एदे ते णमिऊण पायजुवल दडप्पणामेण दे पत्तिच्छत्तभरेण भूमिव-
इणी वच्चंति वासालय ॥ [२९ ॥*] ता किं इध द्विदेण । एहि [i*]

^१ See p 118 below, G^२ Read निःक्रांता.^३ Read °मिवोह°.^४ The symbols दू ।^५ Read वसंतसवं.^६ See p 118 below, I^७ See p 118 below, K.

वय seem to be corrected from यस्स.

^८ See p. 118 below, H^९ See p. 118 below, J.^{१०} See p 118 below, L.

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

20

22

24

- धारागिरिलीलोब्जाणं जेव गच्छामो । राजा । सप्रत्याशं सीत्कांठं
च । यदभिरुचित वयस्यार्येति निःक्रांतौ¹ । वसंतील्लवी नाम
32 प्रव्वमोड्डः² ॥ ३० ॥ श्री[*] ॥ प्रविश्य कुसुमाकरः । देव्या समस्तकलया
मलयानिलेन चूतातिसुक्तकलतामियुनोत्सवेन । वारांगनामसृणमगलगीत-
रगैर्द्वारागिरिः कमपि सम्मदमातनोति ॥ [३० ॥*] अद्यैव³ च ।
मत्तानां मलयानिलैर्विटपिनां यूनां स्मितश्रीमतां संवन्धोचितनर्मणामिद-
वलादाकृष्टकेशांशुकान् । भ्रूभगेन विवृ-
- 33 [त्य] पल्लवकरान् रोमांचितान् कोरकैरसंत्याकुलपाणिकंकणभरणत्कारेण
वारांगनाः ॥ [३१ ॥*] केवलं वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी राजदर्शनोत्कलिका-
परंपराभिरुत्ताम्यती मर्मणि व्यथयति । सा हि ॥ सायं कोक-
वियोगदर्शनदलन्मर्मैक्षणा पक्षिणः किं नोड्डीय मिलंत्यमी द्रुतमिति क्लाता
सुहः पृच्छति ॥ सीतारामकयासु कपितकुचा स्वा⁵
- 34 [से]न शून्योद्गम हुकार ददती करोति करुणाविस्मारितार्थां सखीं
॥ [३२ ॥*] किं बहुना । तन्वी तापातिरेकेण धत्ते यस्माद्विहस्तता ।
प्रवालहस्तै [रं]धन्ति तस्येदोरातप लताः ॥ [३३ ॥*] नेपथ्यावलोकित-
केन । कथं प्रिया मे वसतलीला ॥ सप्रण्यादरं । प्रिये [*]
अयमहमित इतो भवती । निर्वस्यं । नूनमियमिदानीं । ऋजुस्यभु-
जेनाधोहस्तेनाकाशले-
- 35 [खि]नी । नतानना मदगतिस्तच्चितामेव गाहते ॥ [३४ ॥*] ततः प्रवि-
शति यथानिर्दिष्टा वसतलीला । कुसुमाकरः । उपसृत्य । प्रिये
[*] कथमास्ते वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । वसत । उत्तुगे⁶ थणमंडलस्य
सिहरे ओड्डप्यवालप्यहापुंज कुजरगामिणी वहदि सा चितानमता-
णणा । अतो नीहरिजण सासलहरीसत्येण पञ्जूसुअं दूरारोहनिहालि-
- 36 [अ*][पि]ययमं रत्तं व चित्तं निय ॥ [३५ ॥*] कुसुमा । सकरणचिता-
वात्सल्य⁷ । प्रिये [*] तत्किमर्थमागतासि तामिकाकिनीं वालां
विहाय । वसंत । रायागमणपउत्ति⁸ उवलंभिदु । कुसुमा । प्रिये [*]
साधूक्तं । कथित हि मे राज्ञो नर्मसुहृदा विदग्धेन यव्वाद्य⁹
माधवीसहकारविवाहारंभदर्शनापदेशेन देवो धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमागत्य
युवांतशुवांतच्च¹⁰

¹ Read वयस्य । इति निःक्रांतौ² Corrected by the engraver from अद्यैव³ See p 119 below, A.⁴ Read यथाद्य.⁵ Read प्रथमोड्डः⁶ Read 'रस्यत्या'⁷ Read 'वात्सल्य'⁸ See p 119 below, B.⁹ युवांत was corrected by the engraver from युवत.¹⁰ Read अद्यैव¹¹ See p 119 below, B.

- 37 [ण*]सहचारिणीं प्राणेश्वरीमवश्यमेकांते संभावयिष्यतीति । वसंत । आश्व-
सिति । कुसुमा । प्रिये । एवं च कथितं । देवः परिजनस्योक्ती-
रज्ञातार्थोपि चिंतया । अभ्युपैति¹ कथांताय शून्यं कंपितमस्तकः
॥ [३६ ॥*] किं तु । नो संभावयति प्रसादविभवेर्भृत्यांश्चकोरात्रिजानु-
ज्ञासं निदधाति नो कुवलये नो वाहिनीभर्त्तरि । राजा सर्वकला-
- 38 [त्रि]तोपि दिवसप्राये वियोगे प्रियां तामेव क्षणदामभीषति नवामापांडि-
मानं गतः ॥ [३७ ॥*] तदमुना संविधानकेन त्वया सविशेषमाश्र्वास्य
परितोषणीया वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । यतः । विरहे नूनमेकस्य
दुःखेन लभते सुखं । सुखेन चेतरो दुःखं प्रेम्णो हि कुटिला गतिः
॥ [३८ ॥*] वसंत । ज² आणवेदि पिश्रयमो । कुसुमा । अह-
मपि³ एतत्का-
- 39 यानुरूपस्वाभिप्रायज्ञापनाय विदग्धद्वितीयस्य राज्ञः सकाशमेव गच्छामीति⁴
निःक्रांती । विष्कभकः ॥ ततः प्रविशति राजा विद्रुषकश्च । राजा ।
समंतादुद्यानमालोक्य । सखे । तस्या एव सुखेन निर्मलनिजज्योत्स्ना-
भिराप्याधिताः शक्रेमी तरवी मनोज्ञममृणच्छायाभिरायामिनः । सौरभ्यं
कुसुमोत्करेण दधतस्तस्यैव स- (1)
- 40 [स्का]रजं भंपालंपट⁵माह्वयंति मधुलिट्संतानसुचैस्तरां । [३९ ॥*] विद्रु ।
वयस्स⁶ [1*] जुत्तमणुभाण ते । जदो वणस्सईण चंदो राया ।
राजा (1) दक्षिणाच्छिखदं सूचयित्वा (1) सप्रत्याशमुत्कंठते । नेपथ्ये (1)
मंगलध्वनिः । [रा]जा । आकर्णितकेन । सखे । मध्यादुद्गत्य तारं
स्पृशदलघुकुचाकपकृष्टेन यासां श्वासेनैवावरुढं व्रजति यतिविदां सप्तकं
रक्ति-
- 41 [मे]व । ताभिर्ग्राम्योपि गीतध्वनिरयमधुना माधवीमंगलार्थं वारस्त्रीभिः
प्रयुक्तो गमयति गमकैर्नागरत्वं मनोज्ञैः ॥ [४० ॥*] तदेहि [1*]
देवीं प्रत्युपसर्पाव[ः 1*] इति परिक्रामतः । विद्रु । वयस्स⁷ ।
जधा एस समकालुकंठिदकेलिदीहिआकलहंसकूइदकरंविदी असमंजभसं-
जीरकलयली जधा य थोउम्हायमाणकप्परपरिमलुमीसिदो किलं-
- 42 [त]कुसुमामोओ पञ्चासन्नो ह्वदि तथा (यणस)⁸ हंपढभियामिलंतीहिं
वियडनियंवीरुभरपरिक्खलतचलणारविंदाहिं दाहिणानिलंदीलिरवसंतमाला-

¹ Read अभ्युपैति² See p 119 below, C³ Read अहमप्येत⁰.⁴ Read गच्छामि । इति निष्क्रांती⁵ Corrected by the engraver from लपाट⁰⁶ See p 119 below, D.⁷ See p 119 below, E.⁸ Read असमनस⁰.⁹ These three aksharas are due to a mistake of the engraver, they occur again in their proper place as part of the compound चोरयणमंड⁰ in the same line

- मणहराहिं योरयणमडलुव्वहणपरिस्स[मस]सिदमदपचायमाणतमोलरसाहिं
 वारविलासिणीहि सेविज्जती अन्हुट्टिदा देवी । राजा । निर्वण्यं ।
 सखे [1*] किमुच्यते । वारांगनामुख- (1)
- 43 [ज्यो]क्त्वालघनीत्कंधरद्युतिः । देवी दुग्धाणवे लक्ष्मीरुससंतीव लक्ष्यते ॥
 [४१ ॥*] ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा राज्ञी । विदू । वयस्स¹ [1*]
 इदो वि पेच्छ [1*] जधा एस कुसुमायरो मम सम्मुहं सन्नं
 करेदि तधा अ[संसय] पारिआयसंजरिं वसतलीलाए सह इध ज्जेव
 सचारइस्सदि । राजा । निर्वण्यं (1) किचिदाश्वस्य च । क्कालो
 विरहदावेन तामेव प्रति-
- 44 [धा]वति । अंत.करणपची मे लावण्यामृतवाहिनीं । [४२ ॥*] ततः
 प्रविशति विटपांतरिता पारिजातसंजरी वसतलीला च । राज्ञी²
 उपसृत्य (1) राजानमवलोक्य स्मितेन सभावयति । विदू [1*]
 सखंभ्रमं । अहो³ अरिइसरिहं । चूओ चपयकुसुमेहिं चंपओ पाडला-
 पदुणेहि । वडलो सिरीसउप्पेहिं वियमिओ हत अच्चरियं ॥ [४३ ॥*]
 राजा । सन्नितं । धिञ्चूर्खं [1*] नेदमरिष्ट किं तु देव्यायमस्साक-
- 45 [मा]चार्यकेण चित्रप्रयोगो नाम वृत्तायुर्वेदभेदः प्रदर्शितः । कनकलीखा ।
 विहस्य [1*] भट्टा⁴ [1*] ए खु एसो वियक्खणत्तणेण वियट्ठी किं
 तु विसेसेण दट्टा⁵ ति । इति सर्वे हसन्ति । नायिका । राजानं
 ससृहमवलोक्य⁶ (1) अपवारितकेन [1*] अज्जे⁷ [1*] अन्नपायवे अन्न-
 कुसुमेहि वियसाविट्ठुं अत्थि मे कोदुहसं । वसंत । वच्छे⁸ [1*]
 एसो ज्जेव राया तुह उवज्जाओ हविस्सदि । नायिका ॥
- 46 [उ]ण निच्चस्य (1) सवितर्कमात्मगतं । कत्तो⁹ अम्हाण तारिस्ता भायधेया ।
 राज्ञी । अज्जउत्त¹⁰ । एदं तं माहवीसहयारमिहुण । [रा]जा । देवि
 [1*] साधु दर्शितं । पूर्वामुखालंकातयोर्माधवीसहकारयोः । कापि
 वैवाहिकी लक्ष्मीरियमाह्लादतेतरां । [४४ ॥*] किं च । धन्योयं
 सहकारसुंदरयुवा चैत्रानिलांदोलनैरुद्युक्तः परिरिप्सते प्रियतमां वामांग-
 वित्रभिणीं । ¹¹एषाप्यर्द्धसुवासिनी नवलता

¹ See p 119 below, F⁴ See p 119 below, H.⁷ See p 119 below, I¹⁰ See p 119 below, L.² Read राज्यप°.⁵ Read दट्टी⁸ See p 119 below, J¹¹ Read एषाप्यर्द्ध°.³ See p 119 below, G⁶ Read °लीक्याप°⁹ See p. 119 below, K.

- 47 [न]स्त्रीभवती मृगं निर्वधेन 'पराशुखी न सहते वैयाल्यवात्तामपि ।
[४५ ॥*] वसंत । नायिकां प्रति । अथो^२ [1*] एवं जेव तुम्हारिसीओ
सुद्धाओ दूरे गादुङ्कटिरोओ पियमयासे परंसुद्धीओ ह्यति । नायिका ।
किंचिद्विहस्य (1) साम्भयमिव । अज्जे^३ [1*] त अन्नं जेव किंपि
जंपन्ती चिट्ठसि । अहं उण एत्तिगं जेव भणामि जं अन्नपायवे
अन्नकुसुमहिं वियमाविदं अत्थि मे कोदुहन्नं । वसंत । म्रगतं । देवी^४
- 48 [जा]व उत्तरामुहट्टिदा माहवोसह्यारमिहुणं अणुरायभिमन्ना भन्तुणो पच्छि-
मामुहट्टिदस्य दंसयंती चिट्ठि (1) ता सुद्धं पारिजायसंजरिं पायडं
कम्मि (1) जवा देवीए कहिंपि आहरणे पडिविंविटं पेच्छदि णं
राया । इति विटपपन्नवानपमार्यं नायिकां प्रकटीकरोति । राजा ।
रात्रीताडंके प्रतिविंविनां नायिकामवलोक्य (1) सहर्पावहित्यमात्मगतं ।
अयं जितं मनोरथैः ।
- 49 [य]दियं वल्लवृन्निवोरांश्चकारदुःसंचरसमरसंकेतनयाभिमारिका मे प्राणेश्वरी
प्रथमप्राणेश्वरीताडंकेदरणे लोचनगोचरं गता । सवितर्कात्सुत^५ च ।
नूनमियमस्मान् पश्चिमेन विटपांतरे वसंतलीलया केनचिदुन्नेखलंपाकेन
वचसा नर्ममर्मणि स्रुटा सन्मितसमूयने । सद्यः 'साव्यसधूसरेण विक-
सद्वैल्लचलच्छीस्रुगा कर्णांतान्सदृष्टिनाधरपुटोद्भिन्नभि-
- 50 [त]योमता । [च]होर्थाभिनयभ्रुकुंमभ्रुकुटीसौभाग्यनुंगारिणा तन्वीयं वद-
नेदुना मम दशोदत्ते सुवाचवणां ॥ [४६ ॥*] सकृत्कणानुगगं च ।
प्रतिविंविमिपाट्या [स्त्र]यं दौत्यमुपागता । अत्यंतदुर्वनैरंगैर्वृतं विरहदुर्दगां ॥
[४७ ॥*] इति क्रोमन्नांगुन्निग्रहेण कर्णां धृत्वा 'साविन्नासमवलोकयति ।
रात्रो (1) सरोमांचमवनतमुत्री अर्गसुग्गानुभवं नाटयति । वसत ।
ताडंके नायि-
- 51 [का]प्रतिविंविं निर्वण्यं राज्ञयेटया चित्तोपलक्षितकेन^६ (1) अपवार्यं साकृतं ।
यच्छे^७ [1*] पेच्छ देवीए ताडंकेस्य रामणिज्जयं (1) ज राया भाव-
हित्यमेश्चदिट्टीए पेच्छंतो चिट्ठिदि । नायिका । रात्रीताडंके म्रप्रतिविंविं
राजानं च निर्वस्य (1) सवितर्कप्रत्यागमात्मगतं । अम्महे^८ [1*] किं
एमो राया मे पडिविंविं पेच्छदि (1) आदु देवीए ताडंके जेव ।
ता^९ दाव अमयकालजडाण अंत-

^१ The two value lines across the p are due to a fault in the inked stampage from which the Plates were prepared, and a similar one in the two other copies of the inscription.

^२ See p. 116 below, A.

^३ See p. 120 below, A.

^४ See p. 120 below, B.

^५ Read 'तर्कादत्ते'.

^६ Read 'साव्य'.

^७ Read 'सवि'.

^८ Read 'अम्महे'.

^९ See p. 121 below, C.

^{१०} See p. 120 below, D.

^{११} Corrected by the engraver from the

- 52 [रा]लि दोलाद्द न्हि । इति चिंतां नाटयति । वसंत । नायिका-
याञ्चित्तमुपलक्ष्य । वच्छे¹ [1*] मा अन्नहा मन्नेहि । देवीए ताडके
कक्षाहरणाहिदेवयं व तुम । संकाणुरायनिहुत्री पेच्छद्द पडिविवियं
राया ॥ [४८ ॥*] जद्द उण न पत्तियसि ता खण्ड तुम पल्लवं-
तरिदं करेमि (।) जधा पडिविवसुखं ताडकं पेच्छतस्स केरिसी दिङ्गी
भत्तुणो भोदि त्ति जाणासि । इति नायिका पुन. पल्लवात-
- 53 [रि]ता करोति । राजा (।) सखेदावहित्यं शून्यदृष्टिरालोकते । वसत ।
वच्छे² [1*] पेच्छ २ । ताडके तुह पडिम अणियती भत्ति भत्तुणो
दिङ्गी । विम्भस्त्रियनिहाणट्टाण³ व्व सुन्नपज्जाउला जाया ॥ [४९ ॥*]
राजा (।) सावेग पृष्ठतोवलोकते । साह्लादमात्मगतं । येनायोधनदर्शनो-
त्सवजुषां वैमानिकीनां सुखान्यजानीव निशाकरेण गगने नीतानि
विच्छायतां । भूयो दृष्ट-
- 54 [मि*][द] तदेव सुतनोः स्मेर किमप्याननं विच्छेदातपलीढलोचनसुधा-
निधंदिचंद्रातपं ॥ [५० ॥*] नायिका (।) ससाध्वसं राजानमपागेनावलोक्य (।)
लज्जयापसर्त्तुमिच्छती परिक्रामति । वसत । तां रुणद्धि । राजा ।
निर्वस्यं ससृहमात्मगत । उच्छ्वासि स्तनयोर्द्वय तदपि यत्सीमाविवा-
दील्लणं लीलोलेखि गत तदप्यनुप[मं] श्रीणिश्रिया मंथरं । दीर्घ
दृग्युगलं तद-
- 55 [प्य*][नु]गतं लास्येन किञ्चिद्भ्रुवोरेतस्यास्तनु मध्यम विजयते सौभाग्यवीजं
वयः ॥ [५१ ॥*] सखीविद्रुषकौ विदितराजनायिकावृत्तांतौ परस्पर
साकूतमवलोकयत. । राजा स्मृतिमभिनीय (।) सातकं (।) पुनस्तथैव
ताडकमवलोकयति । सविमर्शपक्षपातमह[ह]⁴ । अज्ञातदोषा ताडकं
मदृष्ट्यालिंगितं प्रिया । धत्ते निञ्चलमा[द्या]पि⁵ प्रीत्या मदनुवृत्तये
॥ [५२ ॥*] राज्ञी (।) द-
- 56 [द्वि]णाच्चिसंदिक्तकेन⁶ (।) अधृतिमभिनीय सोद्देगसुन्मुखी सखीसुखमीचते ।
तच्चेष्टां परिकलय्य (।) सासूयवितर्कमात्मगत । अथो⁷ [1*] कुदो उण से
हदासाए अज्ज वियट्टसंसुही सवियारा दिङ्गी । सविमर्शमात्मगतं ।
पडिहाइ¹⁰ अज्जउत्तो स[व्भा]वसिणेहसुंदरसहावो । असुह पि व कहद्द
पुणो दाहिणनयणं फुरतं मे ॥ [५३ ॥*] कनक । राज्ञी सवि-¹¹ (।)

¹ See p 120 below, E⁴ Corrected by the engraver from सुखन्य⁰⁶ Read मदृष्ट्या⁰.⁹ See p 120 below, G; read अज्जो.² See p. 120 below, F.⁷ Read मद्यापि¹⁰ See p 120 below, H.³ Against the metre⁵ Read पातम् । महह⁸ Read केनाधृति⁰¹¹ Read सर्वे⁰.

- 57 [ल]क्ष्मितमीचते । राज्ञी । औत्सुक्यमभिनीय (।) साकृतं । [स]द्धि¹
[।*] किं तए हसिदं । कनक । सविलक्ष्यं² जोपमास्ते । राजा ।
विद्रूपकं प्रति³ अपवारितकेन । सखे । नूनमनया दासीपुत्र्या दानसं-
मानपूर्वं चिरनिवारितयाप्यद्य⁴ सर्वं प्रकाशियते । विद्रू । अपवार्यं ।
अध⁵ इ । राजा (।) दृष्टिसंज्ञया कनकलेखां प्रसादयति । राज्ञी (।)
राजचेष्टां परिकलय्य तं भ्रूभगेन त-
- 58 [र्ज]यती कनकलेख[। व]ाहो⁶ धृत्वा सावहेलं परिक्रम्य निःक्रामति⁷ ।
नायिका । सर्वेषां चेष्टाः परिकलय्य सदैव्यमात्मगतं (।) राजानं प्रति ।
चदस्त्र⁸ व तुह मेहतरम्भि खणदंसणेण जा ससिया । सीयामि सा
चओरि व्व पुण वि तइ अतरिज्जंते ॥ [५४ ॥*] प्रकाशं । अज्जे⁹ [।*]
नूणं देवि पसादिदं गमिस्सदि राया । ता एहि [।*] गच्छह् [।*]
इति निःक्रान्ति¹⁰ । राजा । सप्रत्याशं पृष्ठतोवलोक्ष्य
- 59 [ना*]यिकामदृष्ट्वा विद्रूपकं प्रति सवैलक्ष्यं [।*] सखे [।*] दृष्ट त्वया
यन्ममापतितं । अपि सर्वकला देवी यदर्थंभूत्पराङ्मुखी । सापि जाता
दृशोर्दूर¹¹ विजयश्रीः प्रिया मम ॥ [५५ ॥*] तत्किमत्र कर्तव्यं ।
विद्रू । व[य]स्त्र¹² [।*] मारिदस्त्र भुजिदस्त्र य एक जेव णामं । थोथो
वह वा अव[रा]हो अवराहो ज्जेव । ता संभावेहि महाभाइणिं
पारिआयमंजरिं । राजा । सीत्कठ । सखे [।*] एवं करोमि । इ-
- 60 [ति] परिक्रामतः । विद्रू । वयस्त्र¹³ [।*] पेच्छ [।*] एद तं रविरहत्तुरंग-
मकान्तिसच्छायं मरगयमंडवं । राजा । दक्षिणभुजखंडनं सूचयित्वा (।)
सप्रत्याशं । सखे [।*] साधु दर्शितं । एतच्चेतो हरति पुरतः
पार्वतीकातकण्ठच्छायाकांतं मरकतशिलामंडपं श्लक्ष्णमच्छोः । येनीवां-
तैर्युतिकिसलयैर्निङ्गुतानामलीनां¹⁴ मालात्मान खलु विदृणुते मञ्जुना
गुजितेन ॥ [५६ ॥*] इति परिक्रामतः ॥
- 61 [रा]जा । तस्या लोलदृशः स्तनौ सहृदयौ सम्यक् प्रमाणोद्धतावुद्धत्तुं
निजदोषमप्रतिहृतावाक्रातकचांतरौ । सरध्वौ¹⁵ नवपत्रभगिरचनारंभेण

¹ See p 120 below, L.² Read सवैलक्ष्य³ Read प्रत्यप°.⁴ Read °चाप्यद्य⁵ See p 120 below, J⁶ Read वाहो.⁷ Read निक्रामति.⁸ See p 120 below, K, the स्त्र is spoiled in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, but is quite clear and regular in the two other copies⁹ See p. 120 below, L.¹⁰ Read निक्रान्ति.¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from दशेर्दूरै.¹² See p 121 below, A.¹³ See p. 121 below, B.¹⁴ The engraver has erased an *anusvāra* above the ना of °ताना°.¹⁵ Read सरध्वौ नवपत्र°



- वादस्थले [मा]ध्यस्थेपि ययोर्वलित्रयमधस्तस्थौ तनुप्रातिभ ॥ [५७ ॥*]
इति परिक्रम्योपसृत्य नायिकां पश्यन् सहर्षासं धृतिनिश्वास विमुच्य ।
उपधाय वयस्या[ङ्गं क्लानत]ल्यो'त्यलांकुरा । वियोगयोगनिद्रायामियमास्ते
- 62 [प्रि*][या] मम ॥ [५८ ॥*] तद्भवतु [।*] निर्वर्षयामि तावत् । ततः
प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा नायिका सखी च । राजा [।*] स्वगत ।
अहह । सुखन्योत्प्लाकुरैरस्याः पीते तमसि मांसले । इद्रनीलांश-
[व]: शेषाः परभागं दधत्यमो ॥ [५९ ॥*] सकरुणच[म]त्कार ।
मरकतमयमेदिन्यां भा[ति] प्रतिविविता क्लशांगीय । अंतर्जलशयनीयं
तापेन निषेवमाणेव ॥ [६० ॥*] वसंत । सकरुणमाकाशे ॥ छ (।)
- 63 . . [वा] बलश्राद्धं व मयरजय जयसि सन्धमज्भाए । त चिय हंत
कुणतो णिज्जीवं होहिसि कहं व ॥ [६१ ॥*] नायिका । व[सं]त-
लीला वाष्पार्द्रमवलोक्य (।) सगद्ग[दं] । अज्जे^३ । तस्मि^४ सहाव[सु]हए
सव्वकलासगयन्मि दिहे वि । धिप्पेमि ओसहो विय सी दूरं दुल्लहो
राया । [६२ ॥*] राजा (।) कुसुमान्यवचित्य (।) च्छन्नं^५ च्छन्नमुपसृत्य
तेर्नायिकामेकैकेन प्रहरति । नायिका । स- (।)
- 64 . . . विगं (।) राजानमवलोक्य । हही^६ । एस णिहओ पच्चक्खो ज्जेव
कुसुमाउहो अं मन्दभाद्रणिं पहरेदि । ता परित्तायदु २ अज्जा
[।*] इति वसतलीलामालिगितुमिच्छंती मूर्च्छति । राजा [।*]
सहसोप[सृ]त्य । हा प्रिये पारिजातमजरि [।*] देहि मे प्रतिवचनं
[।*] इति सकरुण नायिकाहृदयस्पर्शं नाटयति । वसंत । राजा-
नमवलोक्य (।) नायिका वीजयंती साश्वासं
- 65 [सकरु*][ण] च । वच्छे^७ [।*] समस्सस २ [।*] ण खु एसो कुसु-
माउहो [।*] तुह हिययवल्लहो खु भट्टा^८ एसो । नायिका (।) संज्ञां
लभते । राजा । साश्वास निर्वर्ष्यं । यत्सद्यः- पुटभेदसालसलसत्यत्तमां-
चले चक्षुषी सोत्कंपस्तनया प्रसोदति धृतिश्वासत्रिया यन्मुखं । यच्चायं
पुलकः पुरा परिचितस्पर्शोपलंभात्तनौ तेनेयं सुतनुर्वभूव विधुरे जीवार्गला
मे हृदि ॥ [६३ ॥*] नायिका (।) राजा-
- 66 [नमुप*]लभ्य (।) ससाध्वससुत्यायात्मानं पर्यवस्थापयति । धृतिनिःश्वास-
सुत्सृज्य (।) वसंतलीलां प्रत्यपवा[रि]तकेन । अज्जे^९ [।*] अइ वल्लहे

*Read 'तयो'.

*Read नच्चि.

See p. 121 below, F.

* See p 121 below, C

* Read छन्नं

* Corrected by the engraver from भाद्र.

* See p 121 below, D. ;

* See p 121 below, E.

* See p 121 below, G

- वि परवसे जणे कैरिसो वारं वारमणुबंधनिव्वंधो । ता एहि [1*]
गच्छह । इति राजानं सलज्जाभिमानमपांगेनावलोक्य पराङ्मुखो परि-
क्रमितुमिच्छति । राजा । सौख्य (1) यादौ धृत्वा नायिकां
निर्वर्णयन् स्वगत । उत्थान क-
- 67 [थमप्य*]जायत गतिस्तंभस्तु मामीहते वैलज्जाददनेन्दुनैव वलितं दृष्टिस्तु
सार्द्रा मयि । अगान्येव पराङ्मुखानि पुलको मत्पक्षपाती 'पुनर्मन-
प्राथमकल्पिकी मृगदृशयेष्टैव चिन्वीयते ॥ [६४ ॥*] अपि च ॥
तल्पेदीवरसुद्राभिरंकितानि मृगीदृशः । सुरभिस्त्रेदविद्रुनि मदयत्यंगकानि
मां ॥ [६५ ॥*] ससृष्टातिरेकं । उत्थान जघनेन विन्नितमभूदस्याः क-
- 68 [क*]रो नीवीरक्षणसौविदन्नपदवीं यामः प्रकामं गतः । नीरगो-
सिचयाचल कुचतटे वध्नाति वामेतरस्तन्वग्यास्त्रपयावगुंठितमिद लीलायितं
जृम्भते ॥ [६६ ॥*] प्रकाश । अयि अगिसुखि' मान मुच दृष्टि-
प्रसादैरुपजनय सुभिचं खेरनीलोत्पलाना । अपि भवतु भवत्याः
कीमलालापभग्या भगिति गलितगर्वीं वल्लकीनां निनादः ॥ [६७ ॥*]
इति प्र- (1)
- 69 [णमति] । नायिका (1) हस्ताभ्या राजान किरीटेन प्रेरयंती सञ्चितम-
पसरति । विद्रु । मा^३ कद्वि कोवि इह देवीए परिअणो सचरेदि ।
ता आसासेहि कंठगहेण तुरियं जेव महाभायं विअयसिरिं । राजा
[1*] आलिंग्य (1) सुहर्त्तमिवानंदसुद्रां नाटयित्वा (1) स्वगतं । शीघ्र-
मतर्मुखैर्भूत्वा विलीन नवनीतवत् । करणैः स्पर्शलाभान्ने सुखाद्वैते
मनः स्थित । [६८ ॥*]
- 70 [अ]पि च । उन्मीलत्पुलकाङ्कुरस्तनतटस्त्रे'दांजुजवालितयोखडप्रभविष्णुसौरभगुण-
ग्राही हठालिगने । आनंदायुतरगसंगमचमत्कारत्रिया शीतलो विच्छेद-
ज्वरमावयोर्धृतिभवः^६ श्वासानिलः पीतवान् ॥ [६९ ॥*] ततः प्रविशति
ताडकहस्ता कनकलेखा ॥ कनक । सचितासंभ्रम । मए^५ महारा-
यस्य
- 71 [ल*]द्धा ण उण इत्थि त्ति अज्ज जाव भट्टिणी विप्पलडा । अज्ज उण
देवीए सयं जेव उल्लिहिय सव्वं उवलडं । अह णिमित्तमेत्तं जाद
हि । अब्बो सामिणिओअस्य अवस्यकरणिज्जदा [1*] जेण जेव देविं

^३ Corrected by the engraver from पुनर्मन°

^४ Corrected by the engraver from सुखी

^५ See p 121 below, H.

^६ Corrected by the engraver from स्त्रे.

^७ The engraver has struck out a secondary : before the भ, and another before the य, of भवः.

^८ See p 121 below, I.

वचिदु अब्भत्यिदा तं जीव महारायं देवीए नित्रोएण उल्लुठिस्स ।
पुरोवलोक्य । एद¹ त मरगयमडवं । [इ]
.

72 . राजानमवलोक्य स्वगत । अन्महे² [I*] कत्तो आसासो भट्टिणीए (I) जीए
वल्लहो अन्नगणणवरगसिणेहवाउराणिवडिदहिअयहरिणो एवं हिडदि ।
उपसृत्य (I) वैलच्चा³ नाटयंती प्रकाशं । जयदु⁴ २ भट्टा । सर्वे
शंकते । राजा । नायिकां पृष्ठतः कृत्वा (I) कनकलेखाहस्ते ताड-
कम[व]लो[क्य] (I) स्वगत । अ[वि]

73 . त्या देव्या दोषोद्धटनेन निपुणमुल्लुठिताः स्मः । प्रकाश । भट्टे । अन्म
खल्वकारणकुपितापि देवी प्रसादनीयेति त्वामेव प्रतिपालयतामस्माकमत्र
दिनमतिक्रांतं । त्वत्साहायकसापेक्ष्य⁵ ह्येतत्कार्यं । कनक । सनस-
म्मितं । भट्टा⁶ [I*] जा एसा अन्हाण दुदीया भट्टिणी तए पडिं
दितेण रोसाविदा चिड्ढदि (I)

74 [रा*]जा । स्मित्वा । कनकलेखे [I*] उभयमप्येतत्कार्यं त्वय्येवायतते ।
तत्किं प्रष्टव्यं भवत्या । कनक । ताडकमर्पयति । राजा । गृहीत्वा
स्वगतं । कर्णालकरणं देव्या विवस्थानं जयश्रियः । ⁷संप्रत्पुभयथाप्येष
ताडकः प्रतिभाति मे ॥ [७० ॥*] प्रकाशं । किं पुनः कारणं ताड-
कप्रेषणे । कनक । एद³ कारणं । एद ताडको अज्ज ग[रु]
.

75 . [व] कक्षाहरणं देवीए धारिद । अज्ज खु वसंतलीलाविअड्ढगोड्ढीमहुमत्त-
सवणजुअल[स्स] अहिणव[सो]हग्ग[सु]देरमणहरकुसुममजरीरसन्नि [धिण]-
कच्चरणच[रि]दस्स भत्तुणो धारागिरिपमदुज्जाणे जीव सब्बो दिणो अदि-
कंतो । रयणी उण मए विणा कध गमिस्सदि त्ति विर[ह]
.

76 [पे*]सिदो । वसंतलीलाविदग्धौ (I) सभयमन्योन्यं पश्यतः । राजा ।
स्वगतं । अये वक्रोक्तिपरिपाटीपाटवज्ञापन । यदि वा (I) देवीं
सर्वकलामधिकृत्य स्तोकमेतत् । किं तु [I*] देवी प्रसादनीयेत्येना
मुंचामि कातरां विरहे । स्वहृदयमयोस्मि जातो वज्रं तु सुक्रोमलं
हृदयात् ॥ [७१ ॥*] नेपथ्ये । [अ]

¹ See p. 121 below, J

² See p. 121 below, L

³ Read सप्रव्यभयं.

⁴ See p. 121 b low, K

⁵ Read सापेक्षं

⁶ See p. 121 below, N

⁷ Read वैलच्चा

⁸ See p. 121 below, M

- 77 . णि प्राची कोकिलमचकेन तमसा मालिन्यमालंबते । या प्रातः परिरंभ-
निर्भरक[रं] दोषापलापक्षम लब्ध्वा रागिणमेव¹ वक्ष्यति मुखं स्मेरं
प्रसादश्रिया ॥ [७२ ॥*] अपि च । विस्फूर्जत्करदीपिकाङ्कुरमरुद्धंधावधूतं
जगद्वाणप्राणमपक्षम विदधतः कर्पूरभंगानिलैः । सिंहहारि नि[वा]
.
- 78 . [त]वदिपाठतुमुलं ताम्यंति शृगारिणः ॥ [७३ ॥*] किं च । नासीरचंद्रात्तप-
दीपिकाभिः पूर्वाचलेनातरितोनुमेयः । अपींदुरुत्ताम्यति राजभावाद्भूम-
डलाखडल सेवितुं त्वां ॥ [७४ ॥*] नायिका । वसंतलीलां प्रति
सकरुण । तए² वि देवीए भएण मदभाइणी पारिआयमंजरी परिहरि-
दव्वा । अदो ज्जे[व]
- 79 . [ज*]णे केरिसो वा[रं] धारमणुवधणिव्वंधो³ । वसंतलीला नायिकां [सा]-
स्रमालिगति । राजा । अपवारितकेन नायिकां चिवुके सृष्ट्वा । प्रिये
[।*] अलमन्यथा संभावनया । सुहृत्तमास्थानमधिष्ठाय प्रतिनिवृत्त एवा-
स्मि । वसंतलीलां प्रति । आर्ये । भवत्यास्मद्दृढयं गतया लालनीयेयं
तावद[स्म]
- 80 . [वि]दूपककनकलेखाभ्यां सह परिक्रामति । सकरुणं पृष्ठतोवलोक्य (।)
स्वगतं । आः प्रिये पारिजातमंजरि । उद्भिद्यमानचंद्राशुदद्राकराले
निशाचरोमुखे सुच्यमानासि । नायिका । सास्र । महाभाय⁴ [।*]
इत्तिग दिट्ठो सि मए मदभाइणीए । राजा । सव्यथमात्मगतं ।
किमपि मष्ट
- 81 . हृदयशिलायां विश्वशृंगारशिल्पी । तव ऋजुगुणसूत्रन्यासरेखांकितायां
लिखति विशिखटकैः पुष्पकेतुः प्रशस्ति ॥ [७५ ॥*] इति निःक्रांतः⁵ ।
नायिका । सानुतापसुद्धीविकावलोकितकेन । कथं⁶ लोयणपहं अदिक्कंतो
परव्वसो जणो । स्वगतं । ता⁷ दाणि जं देवीए कारिदव्व तमहं
सयं जेव [करइस्सं मं]द[भाइणी ।]
- 82 [इ]ति सोद्देगसुद्धांतहृदया परिक्रामति । वसत । सौत्सुक्य । नूणमे-
दाए⁸ किंपि अमगलमज्जवसिदं । ता सव्वधा धारइस्सं ॥ इति
निःक्रांताः⁹ सर्वे [।*] ताडकदर्पणो नाम द्वितीयोद्धः ॥ श्रीः¹⁰ ॥ ❀ ॥

¹ Corrected by the engraver from °णमेव

² See p 122 below, A

³ See p 122 below, B

⁴ See p 122 below, D

⁵ The visarga was inserted by the engraver on revision

⁶ The same passage has occurred before in line 86

⁷ Read निष्क्रांत

⁸ See p 122 below, E

⁹ See p 122 below, C

¹⁰ Read निष्क्रांता .

1

2

3

4

5



रूपकारप्रकांडस्य सीहाकस्यांगजन्मना । प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा रामदेवेन
शिल्पिना ॥ [७६ ॥*] ❀ ॥

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF THE PRAKRIT PASSAGES¹

A.—Text, line 2 —आज्ञापयत्वार्यः ।

B.—Text, l 4 —यदार्यं आज्ञापयति । किं च मयापि श्रुतं यथा मलया-
निलमन्दमन्दान्दोलनप्रसरत्तन्व²माकन्दमकुलमकरन्दपिण्डितपरागपुञ्जपिञ्जर्यमाणमञ्जरीकवल-
परस्परार्पण³केलिपर्याकुलकलकण्ठमिथुनमधुरकलकलहेलापहस्तित⁴विहस्तमानवती⁵मानमपि
परिमलतरगचारु⁶चम्पकचपकमध्ववसर⁷विलम्बित⁸षट्करणचारणरणभणत्कारमुखरमपि यन्त्र-
कुञ्जरकरशीकरासारसेकसरमविकसद्विधविटपकुडङ्गवडान्वकारमपि धारागिरिलीलीद्यानं
परिहृत्य कौतूहल⁹प्रफुल्ललोचनी भारती¹⁰भवनाभिमुख¹¹ सहस्रैति परापतित एव लोक
इति । तत्कथय कीदृश¹²मत्र कथासविधानकम् ।

C.—Text, l 7 —अथ किम् ।

D.—Text, l 8 —आर्य । यत्र चतुरङ्गवलयुगलधूलीनिकरैः¹³ कवलिते मार्तण्डमण्डले
स्वयवरकौतूहलाकुलत्व¹⁴मिलत्सुरसुन्दरीमुखमन्दचन्द्रातपेन निजपरविभागः संजातः श्रूयते ।

E.—Text, l 9 —ततस्ततः ।

F.—Text, l 10 —ततस्ततः ।

G.—Text, l 11 —आर्य । तत्किं दिव्यमानुष्याः सा कथा ।

H.—Text, l 12.—ततस्ततः ।

I.—Text, l 14 —पार्श्वे पुनरन्तःपुरिकेव काप्येषा ।

J.—Text, l 15 —आर्यपुत्र । जवफलिकां गृहाणैताम् ।

कोकिलस्वरवाहुल्येन मनोहरा प्रथममञ्जर्येषा ।

तवोत्सवे खलु मया विनियुक्ता गायन्त्या यथा ॥ १२ ॥

K.—Text, l 17 —अहो आश्चर्यम् । भागधेयेन वयस्यस्य कुसुममञ्जरी फलत्वेन
हस्ते चटिता ।

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes —*Dés* = Hemachandra's *Dśāindmamlā*, ed by Prof Pischel.—*Hal's* = Hala's *Saptasatakam*, ed. by Prof Weber.—*Hem* = Hemachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, ed by Prof Pischel.—*Jacobi* = Prof Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahāśaṣṭri*—*Pā* = Dhanaṣala's *Pāṣyālach-
chhī Namamālā*, ed by Prof Bühler.—*Pischel* = Prof Pischel's *Prākṛit Grammar*

² Hēm IV 78

³ Hēm. I 63

⁴ Hal's, p 53, s v *avahatṭha*

⁵ For *mānamṣṭi* = *mānarati* see *ibid* p 99

⁶ *Dés* III 1

⁷ *Dés* V 24

⁸ Hēm IV 259

⁹ Hēm I 117 and II 99

¹⁰ *Gāṇḍavaho*, verse 107

¹¹ *Dés* VIII 70

¹² Pischel, § 121.

¹³ *Dés* II 13

¹⁴ With *hallupphala* compare *hallapphala*, *Dés* VIII 59, *hallaphala*, Hala, p 27 f, and *hallohala*, Jacobi, p 155

A —Text, l 18 —

सुप्रभातश्रीसहितः सूर्योपि तवोत्सवेन क्रीडन् ।
बालातपसिन्दूर दिगङ्गनानां मुखे क्षिपति ॥ १७ ॥
यत्सीमन्ताद्भृतं त्वया गूर्जरेन्द्ररमणीनाम् ।
मन्ये सिन्दूरेण तेनैव रमते तव लोकः ॥ १८ ॥
बाणैरर्धनारी विषमशरेणापि निजरिपू रचितः ।
अर्जुनवर्मस्त्वया पुनरबला एव विरचिता रिपवः ॥ १९ ॥

B —Text, l 19 —वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व प्रहर्षक्रीडितं नागरजनस्य ।

C —Text, l. 21 —आर्यपुत्र । एतमप्याकर्णय समयसुखापकं¹ हिन्दोलकम् ।

D —Text, l 22,—वयस्य । ज्ञातं मयापि । एष स हिन्दोलको यत्र हिन्दोल-
कचतुर्थ्या स्त्रियः क्रीडन्ति ।

E —Text, l. 23 —कथं गेयं न जानामि । यदा मे ब्राह्मणी बहुविकटदन्त-
सुन्दरं सुखं प्रसार्य मङ्गलानि गायति तदाहं गोपीगेयग्रहिलो² हरिण इव
प्राणान्दातुमिच्छामि ।

F —Text, l 25 —वयस्य । त्वमपि देवीं पूरय³ ।

G —Text, l. 26.—वयस्य । यदि त्वमेतया दासीदुहित्रा कनकलेखया सह मम
पाण्यग्रहण कारयसि तदाहमपि त्वमिव नागरिकनारीसहितो वसन्तोत्सवं मान-
यामि ।

H —Text, l 27 —आर्यपुत्र । पाण्यग्रहणवचनेन स्मारितास्मि । मया माधवी-
क्षतया सहकारस्य पाण्यग्रहः कारयितव्यः । युवामपि तत्र निमन्त्रितौ तिष्ठथः ।
तदिदानीमुपसभारसपादनकार्येणोद्यान गमिष्यामि ।

I —Text, l 28 —वयस्य । न खल्वेतद्विस्मरणम्⁴ । स्मरणमेवैतत् ।

J —Text, l 29 —वयस्य । मन्ये पारिजातमञ्जरीसनाथमपि ते शून्य हृदयम् ।

K.—Text, l 30 —सुखकारिणी भवतु मध्याङ्ग⁵सध्या देवस्य ।

दृपितानां काननेद्गु तव रिपुरमणीनां विम्बननिभेन ।
वदनानि हारमुक्तासु सलिलकार्येणैव विशन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

L —Text, l 30 —वयस्य ।

देवेनाहवनिर्जितानां सहसा बन्दीकृतान्तःपुर
ददता⁶ शमिता वियोगवेदना⁷ येषां वसन्तोद्गमे ।

¹ Compare *suhdrei = sukhayati* in *Hala* and in the *Gaudavaho*

² With *gahilla* for *grahila* compare *ganthilla* for *granthila*, *Pischel*, § 595

³ Compare *bharei* in the *Gaudavaho*, verse 231, and *Jacobi*, p. 133, s v *bharisūṇa*

⁴ *Pischel*, § 313, end

⁵ *Hem* II 84

⁶ For *dinta = dadat* see *Jacobi*, p 117, s v. *dei*.

⁷ *Pd* p 96

एते ते नत्वा पादयुगलं दण्डप्रणामेन ते
पात्रीकृत्तभरेण भूमिपतयो व्रजन्ति¹ वासालयम् ॥ २६ ॥

तत्किमिह स्थितेन । एहि । धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमेव गच्छावः ।

A—Text, l 35—

उत्तुङ्गे स्तनमण्डलस्य शिखर श्रीष्टप्रवालप्रभा-
पुञ्ज कुञ्जरगामिनी वहति सा चिन्तानमदानना ।
अन्तर्निर्हृत्य खासलहरीसार्थेन पर्युत्सुकं
दूरारोहनिभालित²प्रियतमं रक्तमिव चित्तं निजम् ॥ ३५ ॥

B—Text, l 36—राजागमनप्रवृत्तिमुपलब्धुम् ।

C.—Text, l. 38.—यदात्रापयति प्रियतमः ।

D.—Text, l 40—वयस्य । युक्तमनुमानं ते । यतो वनस्थतीना चन्द्रो राजा ।

E—Text, l 41—वयस्य । यथैष समकालोत्कण्ठितकेलिदीर्घिकाकलहंसकूजितकर-
म्बितो ऽसमञ्जसमञ्जीरकलकलो यथा च ³स्तोकोष्णायमाणकर्पूरपरिमलोन्मिश्रितः
क्षान्तकुसुमामोदः प्रत्यासन्नो भवति तथाहप्रथमिकामिलन्तीभिर्विकटनितम्बोरुभरपरि-
खलचरणारविन्दाभिर्दक्षिणानिलान्दोलनशील⁴वसन्तमालामनोहराभिः स्थूल⁵स्तनमण्डलो-
हहनपरिश्रमश्चितमन्दप्रत्यायमानताम्बूल⁶रसाभिर्वारविलासिनीभिः सेव्यमानाभ्युत्थिता
देवी ।

F—Text, l 43—वयस्य । इतोपि प्रेक्षस्व । यथैष कुसुमाकरो मम संमुखं
संज्ञा⁷ करोति तथासंशयं पारिजातमंजरीं वसन्तलीलया सहैवैव सचारयिष्यति ।

G—Text, l 44—अहो अरिष्टमरिष्टम् ।

चूतश्चम्पककुसुमैश्चम्पकः पाटलाप्रसूनैः ।
वकुलः शिरीषपुष्पैर्विकसितो हन्ताश्चर्यम् ॥ ४३ ॥

H—Text, l 45—भर्तः । न खल्वेष विचक्षणत्वेन विदग्धः⁸ किं तु विशि-
षेण दग्ध इति ।

I—Text, l. 45—आर्यं । अन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

J—Text, l. 45—वत्से । एष एव राजा तवीपाध्यायो भविष्यति ।

K.—Text, l 46—कुतो⁹ ऽस्माक तादृश भागधेयम् ।

L—Text, l 46—आर्यपुत्र । एतत्तन्माधवीसहकारमिथुनम् ।

M—Text, l. 47.—अव्वो¹⁰ । एवमेव युष्मादृश्यो सुधा दूरे गाढीत्कण्ठाशीलाः

प्रियसकाशे पराङ्मुख्यो भवन्ति ।

¹ Hem. IV 225.

⁴ Pischel, § 596.

⁶ With *tammōla* compare *tambōla*, Hem L 124

⁸ Hem II 40

² Pd p 79

⁵ Hem L 124 and 255

⁹ Pischel, § 197

³ Hem II 45

⁷ Jacobi, p 149

¹⁰ Hem II 204.

A—Text, l. 47—आर्ये । त्वमन्यदेव किमपि जल्पन्ती¹ तिष्ठसि । अहं पुनरे-
तावदेव² भणामि यदन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

B—Text, l. 47—देवी यावदुत्तरासुखस्थिता माधवीसहकारमिधुनमनुरागविह्वला³
भर्तुः पश्चिमासुखस्थितस्य दर्शयन्ती तिष्ठति 'तावन्मुहूर्तं पारिजातमञ्जरीं प्रकटां'⁴
करोमि यथा देव्याः कुत्राप्याभरणे प्रतिबिम्बितां प्रेक्षत रनां राजा ।

C—Text, l. 51—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व देव्यास्ताडङ्गस्य रामणीयकं यद्राजा सावहि-
त्यमेकदृष्ट्या प्रेक्षमाणस्तिष्ठति ।

D—Text, l. 51—अम्भहे⁵ । किमेष राजा मे प्रतिबिम्बं प्रेक्षते ऽथ वा' देव्यास्ता-
डङ्गमेव । तत्तावदमृतकालकूटयोरन्तराले दोलायितास्मि ।

E—Text, l. 52—वत्से । मान्यथा मन्यस्व ।

देव्यास्ताडङ्गे कर्णाभरणाधिदेवतामिव त्वाम् ।

शङ्कानुरागनिभृतः⁶ प्रेक्षते प्रतिबिम्बितां राजा ॥ ४८ ॥

यदि पुनर्न प्रत्येषि⁷ तत्क्षणार्धं त्वां पल्लवान्तरितां करोमि यथा प्रतिबि-
म्बशून्यं ताडङ्गं प्रेक्षमाणस्य कीदृशी दृष्टिर्भर्तुर्भवतीति जानासि ।

F—Text, l. 53—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व ।

ताडङ्गे तव प्रतिमामपश्यन्ती¹⁰ भटिति¹¹ भर्तुर्दृष्टिः ।

विस्रुतनिधानस्थानेव शून्यपर्याकुला जाता ॥ ४९ ॥

G.—Text, l. 56—श्रवो । कुतः पुनरस्या हताशया अद्य विसंवाद¹²संमुखी
सविकारा दृष्टिः ।

H.—Text, l. 56—

प्रतिभात्यार्यपुत्रः सद्भावस्त्रेहसुन्दरस्वभावः ।

असुखमपीव कथयति¹³ पुनर्दक्षिणनयनं स्फुरन्मे ॥ ५३ ॥

I—Text, l. 57—सखि । किं त्वया हसितम् ।

J—Text, l. 57—अथ किम् ।

K.—Text, l. 58—

चन्द्रस्येव तव मेघान्तरे क्षणदर्शनेन या सस्मिता ।

सीदामि सा चकोरीव पुनरपि त्वय्यन्तर्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

L—Text, l. 58.—आर्ये । नूनं देवीं प्रसादयितुं गमिष्यति राजा । तदेहि ।
गच्छावः ।

¹ Pischel, § 298

² Hém I 271

³ Pischel, § 56.

⁴ Hém IV 181.

⁵ Hém IV. 2.

⁶ Hém II 157.

⁷ Hém I 44

⁸ Hém I 131.

⁹ Hém I. 42

¹⁰ Pischel, § 209

¹¹ Hém IV 284.

¹² Pischel, § 281.

¹³ Pd verso 246.

A.—Text, l. 59 —वयस्य । मारितस्य भुक्तस्य चैकमेव नाम । स्तोको बहुर्वापराधी
ऽपराध एव । तत्संभावय महाभागिनीं पारिजातमञ्जरीम् ।

B.—Text, l. 60 —वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व । एतत्तद्रविरथतुरगमकान्तिसच्छाय मरकत-
मण्डपम् ।

C.—Text, l. 63 —

. . . . वलयानीव मकरध्वज जयसि श्लक्ष्ण¹मध्यया ।
तामेव हन्त कुर्वन्निर्जीवां भविष्यसि कथमिव ॥ ६१ ॥

D.—Text, l. 63 —आर्ये ।

यस्मिन्स्वभावसुखदे सर्वकलासगते दृष्टेपि ।

दीप्य² ओषधिरिव स दूरं दुर्लभो राजा ॥ ६२ ॥

E.—Text, l. 64 —हा धिक्³ । एष निर्दयः प्रत्यक्ष एव कुसुमायुधो मां
मन्दभागिनीं प्रहरति । तत्परित्रायतां परित्रायतामार्या ।

F.—Text, l. 65 —वत्से । समाश्रसिहि समाश्रसिहि । न खल्वेष कुसुमायुधः ।
तव हृदयवत्तमः खलु भर्तृषः ।

G.—Text, l. 66 —आर्ये । अयि वल्लभेपि परवशी⁴ जने कीदृशो वार
वारमनुवन्धनिर्वन्धः । तदेहि । गच्छावः ।

H.—Text, l. 69 —मा कथमपि⁵ कोपीह देव्याः परिजनः संचरत् ।
तदाद्यासय कण्डग्रहेण त्वरित⁶मेव महाभागा विजयश्रियम् ।

I.—Text, l. 70 —मया महाराजस्य लब्धा
न पुनः स्त्रीत्वय यावद्भट्टिनी विप्रलब्धा । अद्य पुनर्देव्या स्वयमेवोत्तिष्ठ्य सर्वसुप-
लब्धम् । अहं निमित्तमात्र⁷ जातास्मि । अब्जो स्वामिनियोगस्यावश्यंकरणीयता ।
येनैव देवीं वक्षयितुमभ्यर्थिता तमेव महाराजं देव्या नियोगेनोत्तुष्टिष्यामि ।

J.—Text, l. 71 —एतत्तन्मरकतमण्डपम् ।

K.—Text, l. 72 —अम्भहे । कुत आद्यासी भट्टिन्या यस्या वल्लभो ऽन्याङ्गनानव-
रङ्गस्त्रेहवागुरानिपतितहृदयहरिण एवं हिण्डते ।

L.—Text, l. 72 —जयतु जयतु भर्ता ।

M.—Text, l. 73 —भर्तः । यैषास्माकं द्वितीया⁸ भट्टिनी त्वया पृष्ठ⁹ ददता
रोषिता तिष्ठति

N.—Text, l. 74 —एतत्कारणम् । एष ताडङ्गो ऽद्य
कर्णाभरणं देव्या धारितम् । अद्य खलु वसन्तलीलाविदग्धगोष्ठीमधुमत्तश्रवणयुग-

¹ For *saṅha* (which is here written with the dental *n*) see Pischel, § 315

² Hém I 223.

³ Hém II 192.

⁴ Pischel, § 196.

⁵ Hém I 29

⁶ Hém IV 172

⁷ Hém. I 81.

⁸ Hém. I 94.

⁹ Hém. I. 95 and 129.

लस्याभिनवसौभाग्यसौन्दर्यमनोहरकुसुममञ्जरीरसे स्तैभ्यप्रद्वरणचरितस्य भर्तृधारागिरि-
प्रमदोद्यान एव सर्वं दिनमतिक्रान्तम् । रजगो पुनर्मया विना कथं गमिष्य-
तीति विरह प्रेषितः ।

A—Text, l 78—त्वयापि देव्या भयेन मन्दभागिनी पारिजातमञ्जरी परिहर्तव्या ।
अत एव जने कीदृशो वारं वारमनुबन्धनिर्वन्धः ।

B—Text, l 80—महाभाग । एतावदृष्टोसि मया मन्दभागिन्या ।

C—Text, l 81—कथं लोचनपथमतिक्रान्तः परवशो जनः ।

D—Text, l 81—तदिदानीं यद्देव्या कारयितव्यं तदहं स्वयमेव करिष्यामि
मन्दभागिनी ।

E.—Text, l 82—नूनमेतया किमप्यमङ्गलमध्यवसितम् । तत्सर्वं धारयिष्यामि ।

No. 10.—KARKALA INSCRIPTION OF BHAIRAVA II ,
SAKA-SAMVAT 1508

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A

The village of Kārkaḷa, which is mentioned as Kārakaḷa in this inscription (text line 14) and other connected ones, is 18 miles east-south-east of Udipi, the head quarters of the tāluka in which it is situated, and 10 miles north of Mūdabidure. It is the largest Jaina settlement in the South Canara district of the Madras presidency and contains, besides the colossal image of Gummāṭa,⁴ a number of Jaina temples which are ruined and out of repair with the single exception of the Chaturmukhabasti.⁵ This temple is situated opposite to the Jaina maṭha⁶ at Kārkaḷa, on a hillock⁷ half as high as the hill on which the colossus stands. Hiriyangadi, i.e. 'the big bāzūr,' which is now a few furlongs distant from Kārkaḷa, but appears, from its very name, to have once formed the commercial quarter of the town,⁸ contains, besides some bastis, a beautifully

¹ Pischel, § 176

² Compare Pischel, § 357

³ Hōm II 156

⁴ A photograph of this colossus is given above, Vol VII Plate facing p 112

⁵ For a detailed description of this temple by Mr Walhonso see *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 39 f, Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 89 f and the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 6

⁶ The Jaina maṭha at Karkala is presided over by a pontiff, just as the maṭhas at Mūdabidure, Sravana-Bejgoḷa and Humcha. He bears the title Lalitakirti and is reported to be the trustee of the Jaina temples at Kārkaḷa and in its neighbourhood. In the inscriptions at Hiriyangadi near Kārkaḷa, the teachers to whose pontificate Kārkaḷa and the surrounding country belonged are generally called Lalitakirti bhāṭṭarakadēva, with the word *Maladhari* prefixed to it in two of them, viz Nos 68 and 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901. No 67 of the same collection makes Lalitakirti the *vichārakartā* or 'supervisor' of the charity recorded therein, and No 70 says that these teachers belonged to the Kundakunda division, were lords of the lineage of Panasōka and members of the Kāḷōgragana. In v 4 of the subjoined inscription, which does not mention their division (*anvaya*), it is stated that the Lalitakirtis belonged to the Dēsiḡana. Perhaps Kāḷōgragana was a local branch of the Dēsiḡana. Panasōka has been identified with Hanasōga in the Mysore State, see above, Vol VII p 110, note 1

⁷ The inscription gives this hill the name of Chikkabōṭṭa (i.e. 'the small hill') in order to distinguish it from the higher hill on which the colossus is set up.

⁸ See *Ind Ant* Vol V p 40

preserved Jaina pillar¹ (*mānastambha*)² A lithograph of a similar pillar at Venūr is given in *Ind Ant* Vol V Plate facing p 39 Prof Hultzsch, who has published³ three of the inscriptions at Kārkala, asked me to edit the subjoined record The black graute slab on which it is engraved is set up on the proper right of the western entrance into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Chaturmukhabasti. At the top of the slab are, in relief, the following sculptures In the centre, within a *mandapa* surmounted by a triple umbrella, is a Jaina figure squatting on a raised seat, the *mandapa* is flanked on both sides by a lampstand, and beyond the lampstand is the disk of the sun on one side and the crescent of the moon on the other, below the moon is the figure of a cow suckling its calf The inscribed surface of the slab, including the erased lines at the end measures roughly 4 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ " by 3' 2"

The record is written in Kanarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs, between two margins which are marked out on both sides of the slab by two double lines with a space of $\frac{5}{8}$ " between them These double lines are entered on either margin up to l 42 where the main portion of the inscription ends It contains eight Sanskrit verses (ll 1 to 8, l 15 f and l 49 f) and four short sentences (ll 1, 3 and 8) in the same language The remainder of the inscription is in Kanarese prose At the end is a diagram, consisting of a square bounded by a double line Within this is another square, similarly bounded by a double line and sub-divided into 25 minor squares with single letters written in each The diagram is inserted between ll 42 and 19 just in the centre of the slab, thereby dividing ll 43 to 48 into two equal halves About a dozen syllables in l 42, the second halves of ll 43 to 46, the diagram itself and the remainder of the inscription are faintly engraved. A few lines at the end of the inscription are completely erased Although comparatively modern, the Kanarese characters in which the inscription is written differ in many points from those of the present day Aspirates are not generally distinguished by a vertical stroke added at the bottom of the letter, except in *pha* of *phala* (l 33), *da* is distinguished from *dha*, as in old Kanarese by a small opening at the right side of the letter; in *bha* the aspiration is marked by the *talekattu* and a small projecting stroke at the bottom of the left side, which seems to be the origin of the vertical stroke of the modern *bha*, *kha*, *gha*, and *tha* are distinguished, by their very form, from the corresponding unaspirates *Chha*, *dha* and *tha* do not occur in their primary form as independent letters, but only in their subscript secondary forms *Cha* is differentiated from *ba* sometimes by the *talekattu* alone (e g *cha* of *acharu*⁴ in l 40), and in other cases by the *talekattu* and a slight indenture at the middle of the left side (e g *cha* of °*chandra*, l 13), in modern Kanarese this indenture is projected out into a horizontal stroke In cases, however, where the r-curl is added to *cha*, this horizontal stroke is necessarily introduced The same remarks hold good as regards the indenture in the middle of *ka* The loop on the left side of *da* is not fully developed *Ta* and *ṭa* still preserve their older forms *Sha* is, as in old Kanarese, written like *pa*, with a small slanting stroke cutting its left side in the middle *Ra*, which is now altogether replaced by the common *ra*, occurs in ll. 12 (twice), 17, 25, 27, 28,

¹ *South Canara Manual*, Vol I. p 19

² See above, Vol V p 171, note 5 The *mānastambhas*, which are generally graceful, high and imposing, have to be distinguished from other Jaina pillars neither so tall as the former nor bearing any *mandapas* on their tops These latter are called Brahmadeva pillars and appear to be usually set up in front of colossal statues The Tyāgada-Brahmadēva Pillar (figured on Plate facing p 33 of the Introduction to Mr Rice's *Śravana-Belgola Inscriptions*) is set up opposite to the colossal statue on the Doddabetta hill at Śravana-Belgola, the Kūge-Brahmadeva pillar at the entrance into the *bastis* on the Chikkabetta hill of the same village, indicates perhaps the existence of the unfinished colossus on that hill (*ibid* p 29, note 1), and the colossi at Kārkala and Venūr have similar pillars in front of them, bearing an image of Brahmadeva on their tops (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraphs 6 and 7)

³ Above, Vol VII p 109 ff

⁴ A tentative transcript and translation of it was published by Mr Walhouse in *Ind Ant* Vol V pp 40 ff

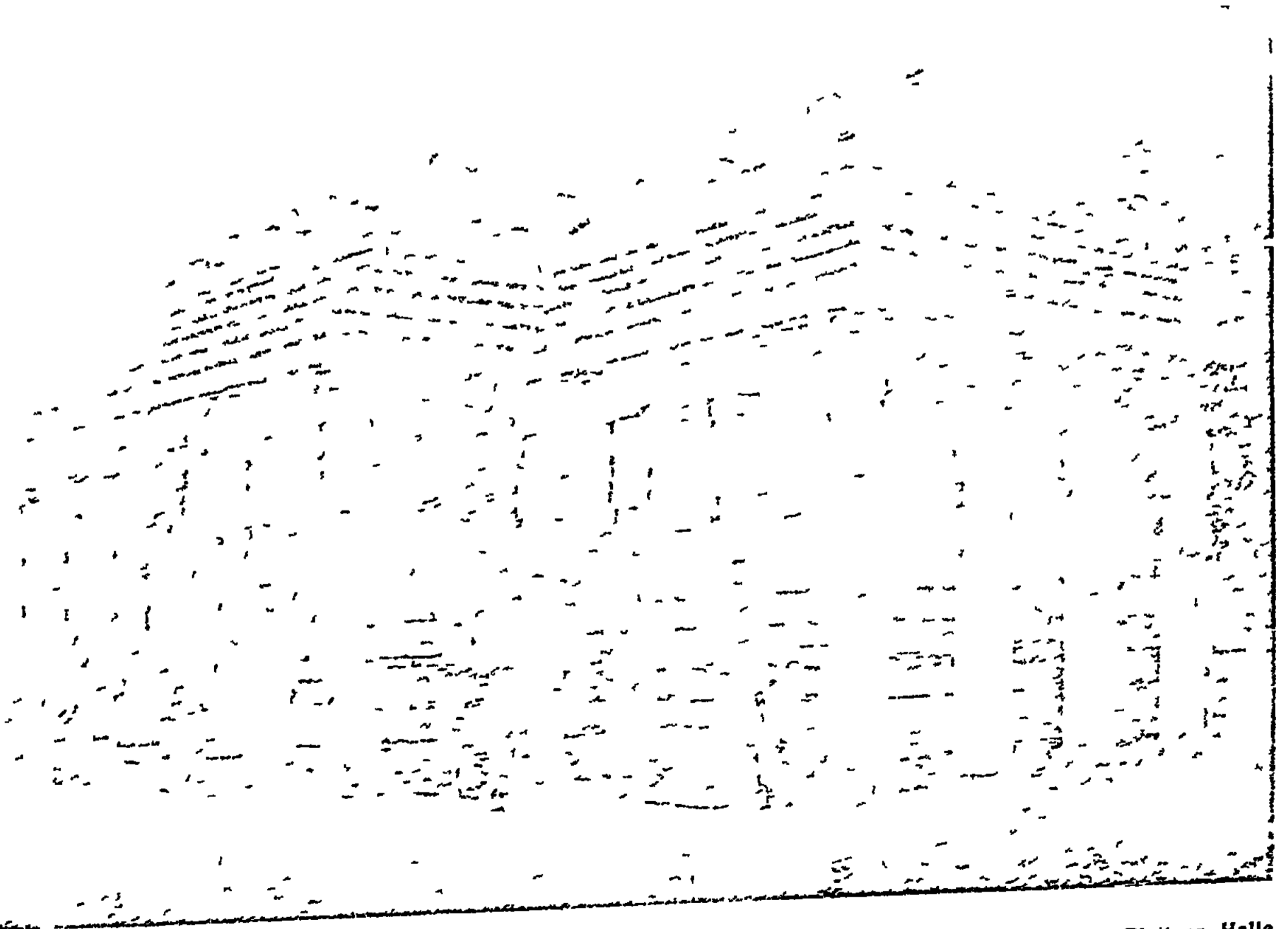
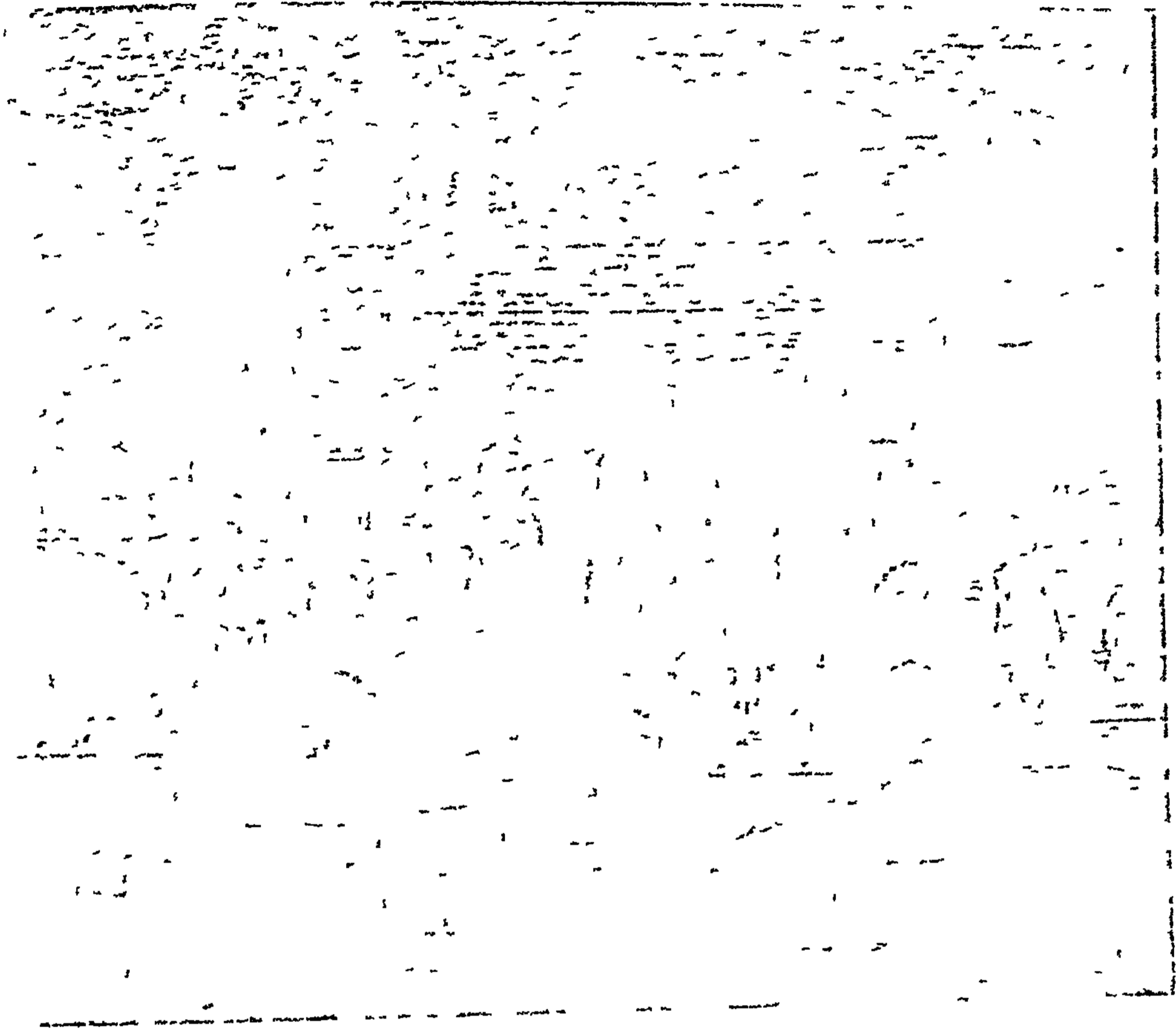
30, 32, 34, 37, and 13, *ḷa* is written in its proper form but looks like a hook with the *talekaḷḷu* attached to it. Among vowels, initial *u* and *ū* which occur in ll 37 and 9, respectively, are written exactly as in modern Telugu. The vowel-signs *i* and *ī* are not always distinguished; and where they are, *ī* is represented by a loop at the end of the *i*-curl, *e* resembles *i* in almost every respect, except that, before being added, it makes a small angle with the letter, which the *ī*-curl does not. The angle perhaps is meant for the *talekaḷḷu* which represents the *a*-sign, and this with the *i*-curl attached to it gives the compound *e*-sign. *o* and *ō* (the latter being occasionally distinguished from the former by a loop at the end of the *o* curl) are expressed, as in Telugu, by attaching to the top-stroke of the letter two small semi-circular curves, the second of which is bent down a little lower than the first. Exception is, however, made in the case of *ma*, *ya* and certain conjunct consonants where, as in modern Kanarese, *o* is denoted by *ō+ū*. Many of these remarks are found, on comparison, to be applicable also to the Harihar stone inscription of Achyutarāya of Śaka-Samvat 1460 (=A.D. 1538-39) which is photo-lithographed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V Plate facing p 362. It may be remarked that to this day the Jainas use an older Kanarese script than other Kanarese people, and that their way of writing *bha*, *ḷa* and *ka* and of affixing *i*, *e* and *o*-curls to consonants is not very different from what we find in this inscription. As regards orthography. The nasals preceding other letters of their class are invariably changed into an *anusvāra*, of double nasals of the same class, the first always becomes an *anusvāra*, provided it does not come after an *r*, the only exception being *nni* of °*pānni*° (l. 7), and the doubling of the consonant after an *r* is common. A hiatus between two vowels, which is not allowed by the rules of *sandhi*, occurs in °*trāū* for °*travū*° (l. 9), °*raneyi*° for °*raneyi*° (l. 18), and °*sthāi*° for °*sthāyi*° (l. 26). *Sāl-* for *śāl-* (l. 19) and *sīta* for *śīta* (l. 41), double dental *n* for the double lingual *n*, the aspirate for the unaspirated letter and *vice versa* are purely graphical errors. Among words deserving particular mention are certain special phrases of Jaina ritual (*hāladhāre*, *ashṭāhnikā*, *siddhachakra*, etc.), some fiscal terms peculiar to the South Canara district (*mūḍe*, *hāne*, *kudute*, *hāḍa*, *beḷḷu*, *bālu*, etc.), and some expressions which are not intelligible to me (e.g. *aḍḍina-mūḷiti*, *bajakaḷa*, *kambuḷa*, etc.). The use of the Kanarese word *āgara* instead of the Sanskrit *āgrā* in v. 7 is a mistake. The construction of the Kanarese passages is often complicated.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vitarāga and the verse *śrīmat-parama-gambhīra*, etc., with which almost all Jaina inscriptions begin. It then invokes (verses 2 and 3) the blessings of the Tirthakaras (Jina, Jinapa, Jinendra or Tirtha), of Dōrbali, and of the goddess Padmāvati of Pombuchcha on the donor Bhairava or Bhairavendra, called also Bhairarasa-Vodeya and Immadi-Bhairarasa-Vodeya in the Kanarese passages (ll. 48 f and 13 f). We may at once call this chief Bhairava II¹ in order to distinguish him from his maternal uncle and namesake Bhairava I referred to in the inscription as Bhairavarāja (l. 6) and Bhairarasa-Vodeya (l. 12). The record goes on to state that, at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakirti of the lineage of Panasōgo and of the Dēśigana (v. 4), Bhairava II. built (l. 19) the temple of 'the three jewels' (ll. 7, 8 and 17), by which evidently the Chaturmukhabasti is meant. Verse 6 and the Kanarese prose passage which follows it give the date of the foundation and consecration of the temple, viz. the Śāli-(or Śālivāhana-)Śaka year 1508, the Vyaya-sahvatsara, the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, a Wednesday, when the *nakshatra* was Mṛgaśīrṣa or Mṛgaśīrā (ll. 8 and 9) and the *lagna* Vṛisha or Vṛishabha (*loc. cit.*) This date has been calculated² by Prof Kielhorn and is found to be correct in all details for Wednesday, 16th March A. D. 1588. The Kanarese passages in ll. 10 to 14 and 17 to 18 contain a string of

¹ The distinction applies only to this paper, because there have been in this family many chiefs bearing the same name prior to the donor of our inscription. The Jaina chiefs belonging to other families on the western coast also frequently called themselves Bhairava. Writers on the history of the northern portion of South Canara invariably refer to the Kārkaḷa chiefs as "Byrasu Wodears"

² *List of Southern Inscriptions* No 993

The Chaturmukha-Basti at Karkala



Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle.

E Hultsch, photo



birudas of Bhairava II. and furnish the name Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya¹ (l 17) for the temple, which is described as being auspicious on every side (*sarvatōbhadra*)² and as having four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*)³ It was built on the Chikkabetta hill in the vicinity of the blessed Gummatēśvara at Pāndyanagari in Kārkala (l 14 f) Pāndyanagari, just like the modern Hiriyangadi, was apparently another suburb of Kārkala and comprised within itself the Chikkabetta hill, on which the Chaturmukhabasti is built, the colossal statue, and the long narrow street that runs between them, containing a few Jaina houses and the *maṭha* It probably received its name from Pāndyarāya or Vira-Pāndya, who set up the famous colossus⁴ In ll. 19 ff. we are told that Bhairava II. set up the images of the three Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata⁵ on each of the four faces of the temple and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthakaras and those of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati⁶

Ll. 22 to 42 record the grant of the village of Teḷāra, which yielded a revenue of 700 *mūḍe* of rice. Besides this, 238 pagodas (*gadyāna* or *varaḥa*, l. 28) from the *siddhāya* (i.e. the established revenue) of the villages Rañjāḷa and Nallūru were also granted The income was to be utilised for the requirements of worship in the four symmetrical central shrines of the temple⁷ and in the subordinate shrines, by fourteen families of Sthānikas⁸ appointed for that purpose Provision was also made for temple servants and musicians The four groups (*tonḍa*) of Jaina mendicants who had quarters in the temple were supplied annually with 8 blankets, to protect themselves from cold, and with 1 blanket to receive the daily doles of rice which they collected from door to door. They were also given the necessary requirements for oil baths, viz. oil, soap-nut and fuel. Ll 43 to 47 record two additional grants, perhaps by the same chief, for the daily offerings (1) to Chandranātha in the *basti* situated within the quadrangle of the *hiriyā aramane* (i.e. the big palace),⁹ and (2) to Pārśvanātha in the *basti* on the Gōvardhanagiri hill¹⁰ The inscription ends with a puzzle (v 8), which was composed by the author of the inscription in order to celebrate the power of the five syllables *Śrivitarāga* (i.e. Jina), which the donor Bhairava II is said to have affixed to the inscription with his own hand in token of his approval of the charities recorded therein The four erased lines at the end of the inscription may have contained the clue for the right interpretation of the puzzle

¹ Perhaps so named in imitation of the Hosabasti at Mūdabidure, which according to the inscriptions of that temple was called Tribhuvanachūdāmani-Chaityālaya and was built in Saka Samvat 1351, i.e. 157 years prior to the construction of the Chaturmukhabasti.

² This attribute given to the temple appears to have suggested the insertion of the puzzle in the *sarvatōbhadra* verse at the end of the inscription.

³ *Chaturmukhabasti*, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*)

⁴ Above, Vol. VII p 109 f

⁵ Same as Suvrata mentioned in v 3

⁶ These two deities are different from the Brāhmanical gods of the same name Brahma and Padmāvati in Jaina mythology are two demigods (*yakṣha* and *yakṣiṇī*) who attend invariably upon the Tirthakaras

⁷ The allotments made for the worship at each gate are very carefully recorded, and from these it appears as if the western gate, which enjoyed the largest share of the gift in money, was the primary one, while the three other symmetrical gates were only of secondary importance. This is also proved by the fact that at this particular gate alone the images of the 24 Tirthakaras were consecrated (ll 20 and 39)

⁸ The Jaina priests are now generally known by the name *Indra* (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5) The name *Sthānika* given to them in the inscription appears to be used in imitation of the name given to a section of Brāhmanas in South Canara, whose sole profession is temple service.— See Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 154.

⁹ This might be the name of one of the palaces of Bhairava II. himself, which was probably situated either at Pāndyanagari or Hiriyangadi, both of which are still covered with ruins of buildings.

¹⁰ This is perhaps one of the many small hills that surround Kārkala. I was informed while there, that one of these bears at its top a Jaina *basti* even now It will be too fanciful to connect the name with Gōvardhanagiri in the Shimoga district, which 'is said to have been fortified by Jinadatta' (the mythical founder of a Jaina line of kings in the south); (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II p 452).

The donor Bhairava II belonged to the lunar race (v. 5 and l. 11), to the Káśyapa-gôtra (l. 11) and to the family of Jinadatta or Jinadattarâya (ll. 6 and 12) and was the son of Gummatâmbâ (ll. 6 and 13) and of Vîra-Narasimha-Vanganarêndra (l. 13).¹ Gummatâmbâ was the sister of Bhairava I (v. 5), the son of Honnainâmbikâ (l. 12). Some of the titles of Bhairava II were (1) *ararâya-gaṇḍara-dâvani*, (2) 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities,' and (3) 'he who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Padmâvatî of Pombuchcha.' The second and third of these, coupled with his professed descent from Jinadatta, connect Bhairava II with the Śântara chiefs of Pombuchcha, who also traced their ancestry to Jinadatta and were worshippers of the goddess Padmâvatî of Pombuchcha.² Mr Rice in the Introduction to Vols. VI and VII of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* mentions a number of records which he assigns to 'the early members of the Śântara family,'³ most of whom, as stated therein, were feudatories of the Râshtrakûtas and were ruling the Santalige country.⁴ Pombuchcha, the capital of the Śântaras, is spelt in early records as Pombuchcha or Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura and is identical with the modern Humcha or Hombucha in the Nagar taluka of the Shimoga district, it is mentioned in connection with the Śântaras even in their earliest records. The alleged descent of the Śântaras from Jinadattarâya, the mythical founder of the line of Jaina kings in the south, is not warranted by any of these earlier inscriptions. A long account of the Śântaras which connects them with Jinadatta, first appears in a record of A D 1077 at Humcha itself.⁵ The Baligâmi record of A D 1149⁶ makes no reference whatever to the mythical Śântaras, the stone inscription from Punnêdahalli⁷ dated in A D 1287, connects Jinadatta with the Châlukya family. In any case the

¹ In No 993 of Professor Kielhorn's *List of Southern Insor*, which deals with the date of this record, Changanurandha has to be corrected into Vanganarêndra, and the title 'supreme lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura' there applied to Bhairava I should, according to the present interpretation of the passage, be transferred to his son Bhairava II.

² See below, note 5.

³ The Śântaras of Pombuchcha and the Kadambas of the western coast appear from these records to have been related to each other in some unexplained way. This fact is cleared up in one of the later Śântara inscriptions at Baligâmi, which states that the Śântara chief Jagaddêva, who was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya Jagadkamalla II, and the Kadamba chief Jayakêśin, who was the son of Vijayadityadeva, were sons of two uterine sisters (Dr Fleet's *Dyn Kan Distr* p 458 and note 2). The Âlupas of the western coast, some of whose early inscriptions are found at Udiyâvara near Udipi, may have had some connection with Pombuchcha, since in two unpublished inscriptions from that village (Nos 97 and 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) Pombuchcha and Udiyâvara (i.e. Udiyâvara) are mentioned together with reference to certain tolls and *nakaranis* (trading classes?) of the two places, another (No 108 of the same collection) states that Svâtavahana, who was the lord of Paṭṭi (*Paṭṭi odayana*), i.e. Paṭṭi râjya, the province of which Humcha was the capital, fell in battle while entering (i.e. capturing) Udiyâvara, and Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol VI Kp. 37 refers to the ruin of Chitrayahana, evidently an Âlupa king, over Pombuchcha.

⁴ The exact position of this territorial division is not fixed. Dr Fleet places it somewhere west of the Mysore State (*Dyn Kan Distr* p 306), and Mr Rice states that it corresponds with the present Tirthahalli taluka of the Shimoga district (*Ep Carn* Vol VII Introduction, p 17). As however Humcha in the Nagar taluka was the capital of the Śântara chiefs who were ruling over the Santalige one thousand country, as the earlier Śântara records found in the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district mention certain villages of this taluka as belonging to the Santalige country, such as Sêtuvinabîdu or Sêtu, the capital of the Śântara chief Jagaddêva in A D 1119, 'would be located by Mr Rice somewhere in Canara' (*Dyn Kan Distr* p. 458, note 1), it may be assumed that Santalige included the western portion of the Shimoga district, i.e. the Shikarpur, Nagar and Tirthahalli talukas, and probably also a portion of the South Canara district.

⁵ *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Np 35. This record makes Jinadatta a member of the family of Ugra-vamśa and the hereditary lord of Uttar Madhurâ. It gives also the story of the goddess Padmâvatî, who, being pleased with Jinadatta's prowess, built for him the city of Pombuchcha or Kanakapura. One of his descendants, Vikrama-Sântara, is stated to have fixed the boundaries of the Santalige thousand province (*J R A. S* for April 1905, pp 295 and 298).

⁶ No 32 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

⁷ *Ep Carn* Vol VII Sk 312.

claim which Bhairava II puts forth to belong to the family of Jinadatta implies nothing more than his connection with the Śāntaras and the Jaina creed which he followed

Vol. VI. of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* contains also a number of inscriptions of a family called by Mr Rice Kalasa-Kārkala. He gives an account of these chiefs in his Introduction to the same volume, pp. 19 to 21. The texts published by him show that they had no connection whatever with the Śāntaras of Humcha, and that of the records prior to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II only a single one may be assigned to the family, viz. Mg. 65 dated in A D 1209, where the chief Vira-Balludēva receives the title *mandalika-gandara dāvanī*, which in the slightly altered form *arirāya-gandara-dāvani* was assumed by almost all the subsequent members of the family. From the time of Dēvarāya II downwards the records are more definite and furnish a connected account of the chiefs, a list of whom is given by Mr Rice on p 20 of the Introduction. The donor of the subjoined grant figures as the last person in that list. We gather also from these records that the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs followed the *aliya-santāno* law of inheritance and were Jainas in religion, though most of their inscriptions found at Kalasa and Koppa record grants to Śiva temples. As a rule they seem to have acknowledged the Vijayanagara kings as their overlords. But in Mg 48, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1424 (= A D 1501-2), which was about the period of the overthrow of the Śāluva usurpers at Vijayanagara and of the acknowledgment of the Tuluva Narasa-Nāyaka as sovereign, the Kalasa chief¹ Vira-Bhairarsa-Odeya seems to have been semi-independent, as no mention is made of any overlord in the inscription. The memorable battle of Talikōta dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara empire, and the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly, in a Koppa inscription (Kp 57), dated in Śaka-Samvat 1510 (= A D 1588-89), Bhayīrarasa-Vodeya, son of Vira-Gummatadēvi, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (*sthira-sūmrājya*). The subjoined Chaturmukhabasti inscription of this chief, which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high-sounding *birudas*, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long; for in Śaka 1531 (= A D 1609-10), Bhayīrarasa-Vodeya, the son of Vira-Bhayīrarasa-Vodeya, was ruling the Kalasa-Kārkala-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Venkata I. (Mg 63). From the above records we further learn that the country over which these chiefs originally ruled was called the Kalasa-rājya, which included one thousand villages (see e.g. Mg 88), and the chief town of which was evidently Kalasa above the ghants. But in Śaka-Samvat 1438 (= A D 1516-17), Kārkala seems to have been added to it, for Yimmadi-Bhairarsa-Odeya, who in Mg 39 is stated to have been ruling over Kalasa-rājya in the *dvitīya-Śrāvana* of Śaka-Samvat 1438, was, according to Mg 41,² ruling over the Kalasa-Kārkala-rājya in the (*nīya*)-Śrāvana of the same year, and in Śaka-Samvat

¹ I have intentionally used the term 'Kalasa chief,' for, as will be seen in the sequel, the Kalasa Kārkala chiefs became rulers of both Kalasa and Karkala only in A.D 1516-17. Prior to this their dominion was limited to the Kalasa country, and the name Kalasa Karkala applied to their family prior to A.D 1516-17 is to be understood as being used only for the sake of uniformity.

² This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu rajya and was encamped at the *bhavana-sāle* in Mangalūru. On this occasion the Kalasa-Karkala chief Yimmadi Bhairarsa Odeya, being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kalasa that the invading forces might leave the Tulu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kalasa-Karkala-rājya. Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛṣṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao,' mentioned on p 110 of Mr Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also an idea of extending their dominions below the ghants, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but, perhaps, on promise of submission were left unmolested.

1446 (= A D. 1524-25) the same chief was ruling 'the kingdom below and above the ghauts' (Mg 62). With the extension of the kingdom the capital also seems to have been removed to Kârkala from Kalasa, for in an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1452 (= A D 1530-31) Vira-Bhairarasa-Vodeya is said to have been ruling from his throne at Kârkala (Kp 47). It will be seen in the next paragraph how the Kalasa chiefs managed to add to their dominions the Kârkala country below the ghauts, but for the present it may be enough to conclude from the Koppa and Mûdgeri inscriptions published in Mr Rice's *Ep Oari* Vol VI that Bhairava II. of the subjoined inscription was a direct descendant of the Kalasa family, and that his hereditary ancestral dominion was the Kalasa country. His name, his title *arirâya-gaṇḍara-dâvani* and the existence of an inscription of his in the Koppa tâluka (Kp 57) all point to the same conclusion.

Turning now to the inscriptions at Kârkala itself, from which further information may be expected about the ancestors of Bhairava II, we find that the colossus there was set up by Vira-Pândya or Pândyarâya, the son of Bhairavêndra of the lunar race in Śaka 1353, and that in Śaka 1358 the same chief, who is here said to have been the son of Bhairava of the family of Jinadatta, set up the Brahma pillar in front of that colossus¹. An unpublished inscription² at Hiriyangadi near Kârkala, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1379 (= A D 1457-58), records a grant to the temple of Nêminâthasvâmin, while the *arirâya-gaṇḍara-dâvani*, the lord of Patti-Pombuchchapura, who had obtained excellent gifts from (the goddess) Padmâvatîdêvi, and who was the uplifter of the ocean which was the family of Jinadattarâya—Abhinava-Pândyadêva-Odeya, was ruling over Patti-râjya. A second inscription³ in the same village, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1514 (= A.D 1593-94), records grants to Ohandianâthasvâmin, while *arirâya-gaṇḍara-dâvani* Pândyappa-Vodeya, the son of Vira-Bhairarasa-Vodeya, was ruling his country undisturbed (*sthira-râjya*). This chief is no doubt a son of Bhairava II and apparently enjoyed the independence which his father also possessed. The earliest of the Kârkala inscriptions,⁴ which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1256 (= A D 1334-35), belongs to the time of Lôkanâtharasa, who, though only a *mahâmanḍalêśvara* 'who had acquired the five great sounds,' bears the royal titles *samastabhuvanâśraya*, *prithivîvallabha* and *mahârâjûdhirâja*. He also calls himself 'the lord of Utlara-Madhurâ,' 'the jewel of the great Ugra-vamsa,' 'the lord of Patti-Pombuchchapura,' 'the worshipper of (the goddess) Padmâvatîdêvi' and 'the pupil of (the Jama teacher) Ohârukirti-Panditadêva'. These titles make Lôkanâtharasa decidedly a Śântara chief⁵. The existence of this record at Hiriyangadi makes it certain that the descendants of Jinadatta 'removed the capital first to Sisila or Sisukali and then to Karkala, both in S. Kanara' (Mr Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II. p 456). It will now be easy to see how the Kalasa chiefs, of whom Bhairava II was one, came to be connected with the Śântaras, traced their ancestry to Jinadatta, became more zealous Jainas than their ancestors at Kalasa, and eventually stepped into the place of the Śântaras in the Kârkala country. From the fact that the hereditary title *arirâya-gaṇḍara-dâvani* of the Kalasa chiefs and the prominent Śântara titles of Lôkanâtharasa are found combined in the inscription of the chief Abhinava-Pândyadêva-Odeya as early as Śaka 1379, I conclude that the Kalasa chiefs must have entered into close relationship of intermarriage with the descendants of the Śântara Lôkanâtharasa, about Śaka-Samvat 1379 (= A D 1457-58), if not a little earlier. Further it may reasonably be assumed that it was by virtue of this relationship with the local Śântaras that the Kalasa chief Yimmadi-Bhanarsa-Odeya, mentioned in the previous paragraph, extended his rule to the territory below the ghauts in A.D 1516-17.

As regards the territory ruled over by Bhairava II. and his ancestors, a rough idea of its extent may be formed from the name given to it—Kalasa-Kârkala-râjya. To ascertain its exact

¹ Above, Vol VII p 109 ff

² No 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901

³ No 68 of the same collection

No 71 of the same collection.

⁵ See above p. 120 note 5.

boundaries, further places below the ghauts and in the neighbourhood of Kârkala will have to be examined. But an inscription in the Koppa tâluka (*Ep Carn Vol. VI Kp 47*), dated in Śaka-Samvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31), states that, while Vira-Bairarasa-Vodeya was ruling on the throne at Kârkala, his younger sister Kâlaladêvi was in charge of (the district) Baguñji-sime. Mg 40, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1474 (= A.D. 1552-53), records that Pândya-Vodeya was on the throne at Keravase while a certain Bhayirarsannâji was in charge of Kalasa. The same fact is mentioned also in Mg 60, dated four years later. The district Baguñji sime apparently derived its name from the modern village of Bagguñji in the Bâle-Honnûr tâluka, about 8 miles north-east of Śringêri, and Keravase is identical with Keravâše, 8 miles east of Kârkala (Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 232). Mûdabidure and Vênûr, two other important centres of Jain religion in the South Canara district which are not very far from Kârkala, do not appear to have been included in the Kalasa-Kârkala-rajya. The former of these two villages was in the possession of a family of local chiefs called Chautar, who were under the direct control of the Vijayanagara viceroys at Mangalore, while the second belonged to another petty Jain principality, known as Puñjali- or Puñjalike-râjya, and was ruled over by the Ajilar.¹ Besides, the villages Mûdabidure and Vênûr were included within the religious sphere of the Jain teacher Chârukirti, while Kârkala and its chiefs were subordinate to Lalitakirti.² It may, therefore, be provisionally assumed that the territory of the Kalasa-Kârkala chiefs extended from Bagguñji above the ghauts to Karkala below the ghauts, including between them the towns of Keravase and Kalasa. This comprises almost the whole of the present Bâle-Honnûr tâluka³ of the Kadûr district in the Mysore State and the south-eastern portion of the Udipi taluka in the South Canara district.

The village of Telâra, which was granted to the Chaturmukhabasti, is situated about 3 miles north-east of Kârkala and is marked on the Madras Survey Map of the South Canara district as Tellâr. The two other villages, Rañjâla and Nallûru, which together contributed a sum of 238 *vara*, are situated quite close to each other at a distance of about 4 miles due east of Kârkala and are marked on the same map as Nallur and Renjâla. Several nameless streams are marked on the map round Tellâr, and these may have to be identified with the four boundary streams mentioned in l. 24. Two other proper names which occur in ll. 43 and 47, *vis.* Ârûru and Kelavase, are identical with 'Arur' and 'Keravase' (Keravâše) on the same map, in the Udipi taluka.

The requirements for the daily and annual worship in the temple, for which provision is made, call for a few remarks. The complicated calculations are very carefully worked out, and we are enabled to infer that, in measuring rice, 1 *mûde* was = 50 *hâne*,⁴ and 1 *hâne* = 7½ *kudute*, and that, in counting money, 1 *ga* was = 10 *m*. Twelve *hâḍa*⁵ of oil cost 8 *ga* 4 *m*, and 1 *hâḍa* cost 7 *m*.

¹ See the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5, and above, Vol. VII p 114 and note 1. It may here be noted that in an unpublished inscription at Kârkala (No. 69 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901), dated in the cyclic year Vilambin, a certain Bhairaras.-Vodeya, son of Vira-Bhairarasa-Vodeya of the Kalasa-Kârkala family, presided over the settlement of a dispute, in which the Chaūjaru, Ajilaru, Dêsingarasarû and Sîsiladarasarû (i.e. the chief of Sîsila) acted as arbitrators (*madhyastha*).

² From the earliest inscription at Karkala referred to above, it appears as if the Jains at that place were, about Śaka 1256, the lay-disciples of Kumudechandra-Bhavaraladêva, a pupil of Bhânukirti-Malsadhâridêva of the Kânûrgana and the Mûlasangha, while the ruling chief Lôkanâtharasa himself was the adherent of Chârukirti-panditadêva. Perhaps the Lalitakirtis of Hanaḍge replaced the Bhânukirtis at Kârkala subsequent to Śaka 1256.

³ The inscriptions of the Kalasa-Kârkala chiefs found in the Koppa and Mudgere talukas are chiefly confined to three villages: Kalasa, Bagguñji and Nârve. The first two villages are now included in the newly formed Bâle-Honnûr tâluka, and the third is on its borders, but included in the Koppa tâluka.

⁴ In the inscriptions at Vênûr we find a *mûde* = 50 *ḡaḡa* (No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) or sometimes 40 *ḡaḡa* (No. 84 of the same collection).

⁵ Compare the Sanskrit grain measure *ḡḡa* which is equal to 4 *prasâḡa* or 16 *ḡḡaḡa*, and also the Tamil *ḡḡam* which is even now used in measuring oil and ghee in the Southern districts.

According to the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol II. p. 508, 1 *māḍe* 'of corn in South Canara varies between 56, 50, 48, 45, 40 and 35 seers in different localities'. The *hane*, which at Kārkaḷa and in the surrounding country was equal to $\frac{1}{80}$ th of a *māḍe*, may therefore be taken to be almost equal to our modern seer (i.e. 80 tolas). *Kuḍute* (coodṭay), according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), is used only for measuring liquids and is equal to 12 rupees' weight. The late Dr. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* explains *kuḍute* as 'the palm of the hand hollowed or held as a cup.' This may have been the unit which the South Canara people used for measuring both liquids and grain in the latter half of the sixteenth century, for, 1 *kuḍute* in liquid measure being equal to 12 rupees' weight, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute* in grain measure being equal to 1 *hāne* (i.e. 80 tolas, as already pointed out), the above supposition will give us 1 *hāne* = $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute* = nearly 86 tolas, which is not a serious difference.

The abbreviated form *ga* used in the money calculations denotes a *varaḷa*, as stated in text line 28, and Mr. Brown in his *Telugu-English Dictionary* says that 'in arithmetic it stands for *gamḍu*, i.e. a pagoda,' and under *gamḍu* he says that 'among tradesmen it is a cant word for *varaḷa*.' In the Kanarese inscriptions at Kārkaḷa it is used as an abbreviation of *gadyāna*¹ and its variants *varahagadyāna* or *gadyānaka*, which are all synonymous with *varaḷa*, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.' In *Ep Carn. Vol VI. Mg 18*, *ga* is used to denote a *honnū*, which according to Dr. Kittel is 'a gold coin, the half of a *varaḷa*.' The next coin of lower denomination is always written in the inscription after *ga*, with a final *m* preceding it, but there is no indication anywhere as to what this *m* stands for. The expression *ga 7 6 5* (*Ep Carn. Vol. VI. Mg 18*) is explained in words as 7 *honnū* and 5 *hana*, the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations *honnū* and *hana*. This symbol (6) is used even now by village accountants and merchants of the Kanarese and Marāṭha countries in their business books to separate the money columns in calculation, even *annas* from *rupees*. Mr. Wallhouse in his transcript of this inscription has throughout taken *m* for this symbol². But I do not know whether the symbol 6, which is now used to separate different denominations of Indian and English money, and which was used in Śaka 1124 to separate *honnū* from *hana*, is also meant by the letter *m* inserted between the *varaḷa* (*ga*) and the tenths of *ga*. I have therefore retained the final *m* and not transcribed it by the symbol 6. The fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ is represented in the inscription by the symbol which, in older inscriptions, is used for '9'. The modern method of expressing the fraction one-half is by two vertical strokes (||), each of which represents $\frac{1}{4}$. One-eighth is represented by a horizontal stroke (—). In current hand, however, the two vertical strokes that represent $\frac{1}{2}$ are often merged into one. Consequently the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ used in the inscription must be a completely reversed variant of the modern form. In ll 37, 10 and 42 the symbol = is used only as a mark of punctuation, and not as explained above to represent two-eighths, which would in this case be expressed by one vertical stroke, and not by two horizontal ones.

The puzzle contained in the *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre at the end of the inscription calls for a short remark. *Śisupālatadha*, XIX v 27 is a verse of the same kind, but it is written in the *Anushtubh* metre. Mallinatha's commentary on the verse explains how the letters which form such verses are to be arranged so that, read from any direction in a given order, they may constitute the same verse. I have not found any other *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre.

¹ The Mūḍabidure inscriptions mention three different types of *gadyāna*, viz. the *Varikāndra gadyāna*, the *Mangalura gadyāna* and the *Kaṭhari ankusa gadyāna* (Nos. 52 and 55 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901).

² It is not impossible that the symbol 6 has been derived from the final *m*, for in old Kanarese inscriptions the formation of this letter is not far different from the symbol in question; compare above, Vol III. l. 15 on the Plate facing p 194.

TEXT 1

- 1 Śrī-Vitarāgāya namah || Śrīmat-parama-gam[bh]īra-syā[²dvād]-²āmōgha-
lāmchhanam | jīyāt=[t]railōkyanāthasya śāsanam
- 2 Jina-śasanam || [1*] Ā-chamdr-ār[k]am sthīram bhūyād-āyuh-śrī-jaya-sampa-
dah(dā) | Bhairavēmdra-mahī-kāmta[h*] śrī-Jinēmdra-prasādatah [||][2*]
- 3 Avighnam=astu³ || Bhadram=astu || Tirt[th]-anghah [s]ukham=akshayam cha
kuru⁴tāch=chhrī-Pārśvanāthō balam kīrttam Nēmi-Jinah Suvira-Jinapa-
4 ś=ch=āyuh śriyam Dōrbbalih | kalyānāny=Ara-Malli-Suvrata-Jinā[h] Pombuchcha-
Padmāvati ch=ā-chamdr-ārkkam=abhīshṭa dā=stu suchīram śrī-Bhairava-kāhma-
5 patēh || [3*] Śrīmad-Dēśi-ganē⁴ khyatē Panasōg-āval-īsvarah | yō=bhul=
Laitakirtty-ākhyas=tan-mun-īndr-ōpadēsatah ||[1*] Śrīmat-Sōma-kul-āmrit-ambadhī-
vidhuh
- 6 śrī-Jainadatt-ānvayah śrīmad-Bhairavarāja-tumga-hhagini-śrī Gum[ma]tāmba-sutah |
śrīmad-bhōgi-Surēmdra-Chakri-mahima-śrī-Bhairavēmdra-prabhuh śrī-
7 ratna-traya-bhadra-dhāma-Jinapan=nurmmāpya samsi[d]dhibhak || [5*] Śrīmach-Chhāli-
Śak-ābdakē cha galitē nāg-ābhra-bān-ēmdubhiś=ch=ābdē sad-Vyaya-nāmnī Chaitra-
sita-shash[th]yā-
8 m Saumya-vārē Vrīshē | lagnē san-⁵Mrigaśirsha-bhē chirataram śrī-
Bhairavēmdrēna tē śrī-ratna-traya-bhadra-[dh]āma-Jinapā bhāmtu pratish[th]ā-
pitāb || [6*] Jināya namah⁶ [||*]
- 9 Svasti śrī [||*] Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha (1)⁷ 1508neya Vyaya-samvatsarada Chaitra-
[s]uddha-shashṭhyū Budhavāra Mrigaśirā-nakshatraū(vū) [V]rīshabha-
lagnadallū Kaliyug-ābhīnava-
- 10 Bharatēsvara-chakravartī Guttī-hamūbbāra-gamda [Pa]tti-Pombuchcha-puravar-
ādi(dhī)svara mare-⁸hokkara-kāva Mār-āmta-vairī mamna(ne)ya-rāya-mastaka-
sū(sū)la shad-darśana-s[th]ā-
- 11 pan-āchāryya Sōma-vamśa-śikhāmanī Kāśyapa-gōtra-pavitrikarana-daksha Pombuchcha-
Padmāvati-labdha-vara prasada samyaktv-ādy-anēka-guna-gan-ālamkrita Jina-gamdh-
ōdaka-pa-
- 12 vīrikrit-ōttamānga aruvattāru-⁹mamdalikara-gamda Hom[na]māmbikā-priyakumāra-
Bhairarasa-Vodeyar-¹⁰ai,ai=umpā śrīmaJ-Jinadattarāya-vamsa-sudhā-
- 13 mbudhī-pūrnna(rnna)chandra śrīmad-Vira-Narasimha-Vam[ga]narēmdra-śrī-
Gummatāmbā-kula-dīpaka-priyasūnu arirāya-gamdara-dāvani śrīmadh(d)-Immadī-
Bhairarasa-
- 14 Vodeyaru tamage abhyu[d]aya-ni[h*]śrēyasa-lakshmi-sukha-samprā[p]ti-nimittav-āgi
Kārakalada Pāmdyanagariyalli śrī-Gummatēsvarana samnidhānadalli Kailāsa-
giri-sa-

¹ From two inked estampages prepared in 1901

² The *d* of *syā* has an indenture at the top, which makes it look like the *o*-sign attached to *lō* of *trailōkyā* in the same line

³ The whole of this line is engraved so close to the projecting top section of the slab as to make the letters on the estampage look faint and broken, but every syllable can be made out from the back of the impression

⁴ The syllable *ṅē*, here and in the sequel is written in a peculiar way The *u* sign is first affixed to *n* and the *e* curl then attached to the former

⁵ The *r* of *mrī* is represented by *u* and *r*

⁶ The five syllables *Jindya namah* are reversed and written from right to left

⁷ Here and in what follows the enclosure of superfluous vertical strokes in round brackets does not, as elsewhere, represent a correction, but indicates that they have to be omitted.

⁸ The *e* of *re* is formed in the same way as in *ṅē*, note 4 above

⁹ The syllables *tāru* are corrected from *tānālku*, the subscript *t*, a portion of *n* and the subscript *k* being still visible A similar *biruda*, held by certain Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district, has *aruvattundlku*¹⁰, perhaps correctly, see below, p 135, note 8

- 15 mubha-Chikkabettadallū || Śrī-kāmtā-kulavésama kim vara-yaśah-kāmtā-pramōdh(d)-
 ḡgaram bhū-kāmtā-rati sadma saj-jaya-vadhū-kṛid-āspadam kim punah | syā-
- 16 thār-ōjva(jjva)la sam-naya-dvayamayī śrī Bhāratī-ramga-bhūḥ sva[h²]-śrī-mukti-Ramā-
 svayamvara-gṛham śrī-Jaina-gēham .vṛishē || [7²] Imt-appa sakala-jan-āna-
 mda-mam-
- 17 dirav-āda sārṅvatōbhadra-chaturmmukha-ratna-tray. -rūpa-Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-
 Chaityālayavanu ¹Rō[dda]da-gōva nikaḷamka-malla bamtara-bhāva para-nāri-
 sabōdara
- 18 nudidu-bhāshege-tappava-rāyara-gamda su[va]rṇna(rṇna)-kalaśa sthāpan-²ḷ[ch]āryyar=
 ādakāraṇa dharmma-sāmrājya-nāyakar-āgi nija-puṇy-ānubamdi(dhī)-puṇyada
 prāraṇi(yi)-
- 19 mda tamagū taj-Jina-bhavana-prēkshakar-āda sakala-śīla-guṇa-sampamnar-aha
 chatuṣ-samghakkū sākshāt-svar-mmōksha-lakshmi-svayamvara-sā(śā)l-ōpamav-āgi
 nirmāpisi ananta-su-
- 20 khada samprāpti-nimittav-āgi (i) ā nālku-dikkinalū Ara-Māli-Munisuvrata-
 Tirthakara-pratimegalanū s[th]āpisi | ā paśchima-digbhāgadalli chaturvīṃśati-
 Tirthakara-pratimega-
- 21 laaū ā bahir-vvaḷayada gumḍamgaḷ-olage Jina-bimbamgalanū yeda-baladalli
 Brahma-Padmāvatī-sahitav-āgi samsthāpisi [i] sa-vidhānadim pratishthāpisi ||
- 22 ā nālku-dikkinalū hadinālku vokkalu sthānikaru nadasuva abhishēka-pūje-
 mumtādavakkū (i) mēle nadava amga-ramga-vaibhav-ādīkamgaligū ā Bhairarasa-
- 23 Vodoyaru nija-samtōhadim[da] rājyavan=āluv-āga ā Tribhuvanatilaka-
 Jinachaityālayadalli ā pratishthā-samayada puṇya-kāladalli tamage
 puṇyārthav-āgi mū-
- 24 da Mukkadapina-hoḷe | teṅka Yemṇeya-hoḷe¹ | paduva Polḷakaliyada-hoḷe |
 badaga Balimeya-hoḷe | i nālku-hoḷegaḷanu mārey-āg-uḷḷa | nidi(dhī) nikshēpa |
 akshini āgā-
- 25 mya | jala pāshāṇa | siddha sādhyamgaḷ=emba (i) ashta-bhōgamgaḷig=olagāda
 Teḷāra-grāmavanū | adaḡ-olage akki mūde 700nū | Eamjāḷa-Nallūra
 siddhāyadallū ga 238-
- 26 nū dhārā-pūrvvakav-āgi ā-chamdr-ārka-sthāi(yi)y-appamte dēvargge mā[d]i-kotṭa
 dharmma-kshētrada(da) vivara | ā kshētrada chatuḥ(s)-simey-olag-uḷḷa
 Haravar=i(i)-mumtādavara-
- 27 li sa[l²]uva gēni-siddhāya baddiya-bhatta huruḷiya-akki jōḷakke-katṭāda-
 akki homna-baddiy akki saha sa[l²]uva akki hāne 50ra lekkada mūde
 700kkaṁ Nallū-
- 28 ru-Ramjāḷadalli vokkalu-tārkaney-āgi bitta siddhāya ga 238 varahakkū sahay-āgi
 nadava dharmma | Paduvana-bāgilalli vokkalu 2kke mūru-hotti-
- 29 na dēvapūjege charu hāne 9 mēlu-charu hāne 3 akshate-akki hā[n]e 1 tōye pāyasa
 tuppā kalasumēlogara tāḷila mumtāda pamcha-bhakshakke akki hāne 2
- 30 kudute 2 amtu akki hāne 15 kudute 2ra lekkadalli varsha (i) lke akki mūde 110 [i²]
 udayada pamchāmṛitad=abhishēkakke ga 7 m 2 pamchakhajjāyakke ga 7½ siddha-
- 31 chakrada arādhanege ga 12 pa(pha)la-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 baigina hāladhārege ga ½
 m 4 gamdha-dhūpakke ga ½ m 3 yemne hāda 12kke ga 8 m 4 ashṭāhnikā 3kke ga 3
- 32 var-h-ābhishēka lke ga 6 amtu ga 47 || ⊙ || Badagaṇa-bāgila vokkalu 2kke mūru-hottina
 dē apūjege dina lke charuvige akki hāne (i) 9 mēlu-[cha]rṇvig[e]
- 33 akki hāne 3 akshatege akki hāne 1 tōye pāyasa tuppā kalasumēlogara tāḷila mumtāda
 pamcha-bhakshakke akki hāne 2 kudute 2 amtu akki

¹ In *rs*, as in *re* of l. 10, the *v*-sign is first affixed to *r*, and the *o*-curl is then attached to the former.

² The *d* of *s'ā* looks like *ḍ* on account of an indenture in *ṣe* middle.

- 34 dina lkke hane 15 kudnte 2ra lekkadalli varsha (i) lkke mude 110 [1*] udayada baigina
hâlabârege ga 1½ m 3 pamchakhajjâyakke ga 7½ pa(pha)la-vastu-
- 35 vige ga 1 m 2 gamdha-dhûpakke m 8 yemne hâda 12kke ga 8 m 4 ashtâhnika 3kke ga 3
varsh-âbhushêkakke ga 6 amtu ga 28 m 7 || î lekkadalli mûda-bâgila vokka-
- 36 lu 2kke akki mude 110 ga 28 m 7 || â temka-bâgila vokkalu 2kke akki(kki) mude 110
ga [2]8 m 7 || amtu bâgila 4kke vokkalu 8kke varsha (i) lkke akki mude 440 ga 133
- 37 m 1 || © || Paḍṇva-bâgila yeda-balada gumda 2kke vokkalu lkke charuvige akki hane 5ra
lekkadalli mude 36 akshatege akki mude 4 ubhayam mude 40 hâla-
- 38 dhâre 4kke ga 3½ m 1 phala-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 gamdha-dhûpakke m 3 yemne hâda
5kke ga 3½ ashtâhnika 3kke m 5½ varsh-âbhushêkakke ga 1 amtu ga 10 m 1½ [1*]
î lekkadalli
- 39 badaga (i) mûda temkana gumdamgaligû | â padṇvana Tirtthakaru Brahma-
Padmâvatigaligû saha vokkalu 5kke akki mude 200 ga 50 m 7½ =¹ ubhayam
vokkalu
- 40 6kke akki mude 240 ga 60 m 9 [1*] Brahma-Padmâvatîya aicharuvige akki mude
4= amtu vokkalu 14kke akki mude 684 ga 194 || © || Dôlu-nâgasara-kombinavara
jana
- 41 6kke ga 36 adîpina mûltîyara jana 2kke akki mude 16 bastiyall=îha tapasvigala
tamda 4kke si(sî)ta-nivâraneya-hachchada 8kkam kaiyy-akkiya tumbuva sûsuva ha-
- 42 chchada lkkam saha hachchada 9kke ga 5 m 2 mamdeya tôla-vare yemneya hâda 2kke
ga 2 adugabbu sigege saha m 8 amtu ga 8 = amtu akki mude 700 ga 238 [1*]
- 43 Hirîya-aramaneya nalku-chaû(vu)kada volagana bastiya Chamdranâthasvâmiya
amritapadige Ârûr=All[ana]bajakaladalli Bilîyara-
- 44 sara guttu Jimnappanîmda akki mude 20 Bâgularasara guttu Mâmdarppâ[di]yînda
akki mude 10 ubhayam mude 30 Nallûra
- 45 Bikkirupâmîdiya-bâlnalli ga 7½ Jattikôtiya-bâlnalli ga 3 Pam[jâ]ladalli kambuva-
bâlnalli ga 7½ amtu ga 18 | Gôvarddhanagiriya-bastiya
- 46 Pârsvanâdha(tha)svâmiya amritapadige Mallîlada-kambuladalli akkiya mude 30
â mêlana daddi-marugalalli mude 4 [Nallû]ra Nam[bî]bettî-Nârananalli
- 47 a[kki] mude 6 am[tu*] mû[de*] 40 [Ke]lavaseya seti-bettîna hittala [pha]ladalli [ga]
8 m 2½ [1*] [I]du pamcha-samsâra-kâl-ôraga-dashta gâdha-mûrchohhi[ta-nâ]nâ-samsâri-
jîva-prabodhanaka-
- 48 ra-pamcha-mahâ-kalyâna-[bî]j-ôpama[v-âda] Jîna-mamtra-pût-âtmaua | Śrîvîtarâga | yemba
pamchâkshariyanu pamchavimsati-mala-vidûra-parama-sa[mya]g-dṛishtigal=âdakârana
â Bhairara-
- 49 sa-Vodeyarê sva-hastadîmda vo[ppa kottu]dadakke Imdravajrâ-[vritta]dîmda [chatur-²
vimsaty]-akshara-likhita-pamch-âkshara rôpa-Sarvvatôbhadrâ-chitra-prabamdhadîm[da]
rachîsîda chî[t]ra śloka || Śrî-vî[ta-vîr=â]gata-vîga-vîtam śrî-râga-vîtam ga-
- 50 ta-râga-râgam | śrî-[ga]m tatam râgatar-ânga-râ[mgam] śrî-Vîtarâgam tata-vî[ra]-³gam
tam || © ||⁴ [8*]

¹ The two horizontal strokes here and in ll 40 and 42 denote punctuations

² The impression has clear but faint traces of the syllables *chatur-* The verse contains 44 syllables, while the diagram inserted in the inscription has only 25 I am not sure if *chaturvimsaty=* has to be corrected into *chatur-chaturvimsaty=* or *pañchavimsaty=*

³ The reading *ra* is pretty certain, but as this curious verse is purely made up of the five syllables contained in the word *śrîvîtarâga* by permutation or combination, I think the author has evidently committed a mistake in inserting the short *ra* (not found in *śrîvîtarâga*) here, *ta* or *ga* might take the place of *ra* if either of them would give a better sense

⁴ I cannot trace on my copy of the inscription the syllables *śrî || śrî ||* given at the end of Mr Walhouse's transcript (*Ind Ant* Vol V p 42), but find that the continuation of this line and the four following lines are completely erased, and that traces of the beginnings and ends of these lines are still visible on the estampage

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed Vitarāga.¹

(Verse 1) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 113.]

(V. 2) May king Bhairavēndra live permanently as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), (*blessed*) with abundance of age, prosperity and victory, by the grace of the blessed Jinēndras!

(L 3) May there be no obstacles! May there be happiness!

(V 3.) May all Tirthas (*i e* Tirthakaras) grant for a very long time endless happiness to the glorious king Bhairava (*viz*) the blessed Pārśvanātha,² strength, the Jina Nēmi, fame, the Jinapa Suvira, long life, Dōrbali, prosperity, (*and*) the Jinas Ara, Malli and Suvrata, fortune! And may (*the goddess*) Padmāvati of Pombuchcha grant (*his*) desires as long as the moon and the sun (*last*)!

(V 4) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 110]

(V. 5.) The moon in the ocean of nectar of the glorious face of the Moon, the glorious chief Bhairavēndra, (*who belonged to*) the prosperous family of Jinadatta, (*who was*) the son of the glorious Gummatāmbā, the renowned sister of the illustrious Bhairavarāja, (*and*) whose greatness (*was equal to that of*) the blessed and happy lord of gods (*i e* India) and Chakrm (Vishnu), having set up the Jinapas in the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,³ fulfilled (*his*) object (*in life*).

(V 6) May those Jinapas of the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,—set up by the glorious Bhairavēndra while the prosperous year of the Śāli-Śaka (*counted*) by the elephants (8), the sky (0), the arrows (5) and the moon (1)—(*i e.* 1508)—had dropped (*i e.* passed away), and in the excellent year named Vyaya, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, in the Vrisha-lagna, (*while*) the *nakshatra* (*was*) the auspicious Mrigaśirsha,—shine for a long time!

(L 8) Obeisance to Jina

(L. 9 f) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śālivāhana-Śaka year 1508 which corresponded to the Vyaya-samvatsara, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, (*the day of*) the *nakshatra* Mrigasirā, the *lagna* (*being*) Vrishabha,—the full-moon in the nectar-ocean of the prosperous family of Jinadattarāja, the dear son who illuminates (*both*) the families of the famous Gummatāmbā and of the glorious Vira-Narasimha-Vanganarēndra,⁴ the tying-rope of cattle (*viz*) herical hostile kings (*arirāja-gaṇḍara-śūvanī*), the glorious Immadi-Bhairarasa-Vodeya, (*who is*) known as the nephew of Bhairarasa-Vodeya the dear son of Honnamāmbika, (*who is*) the fresh Bharatēsvara-chakravartin⁵ of the Kali age, the chastiser of the twelve (*chiefs*) of Guttī,⁶ the lord of Patti-Pombuchcha the best of cities, the protector

¹ Vitarāga is synonymous with Jinendra which occurs in v 2, see also above, Vol VI p 165, note 4.

² [Parsvanatha, Nemi (Aishtanemi) and Suvira (Mahavira) are the 23rd, 22nd and 24th Tirthakaras. Dōrbali (Bāhubali, Bhujabali) is the same as Gummatā, see above, Vol VII p 108. Ara, Malli and Suvrata (Munisuvrata) are the 18th, 19th and 20th Tirthakaras, see *eg* Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, translated by Prof. Jacobi, p 280.—E H]

³ The three jewels (*ratna traya*) of the Jainas are *samyag darśana*, *samyag jñāna* and *samyak-charitra*, see above, Vol III p 184, note 2, and p 207, note 3. The 'abode of the three renowned jewels' is the Chaturmukhabasti itself, which in l 17 of the text is described as being the 'embodiment of the three jewels,' the Jinapas herein consecrated are Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata mentioned in l 20.

⁴ I have taken this to be the name of Bhairava's father, but it may as well be a *biruda* of Bhairava himself.

⁵ This is the mythical emperor who, according to Jaina mythology, was the brother of the saint Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin or Gummatā, see Mr Rice's *Sravaṇa-Deḷgoḷa Inscriptions*, Introduction, p 25.

⁶ It is impossible that either Bhairava II or his ancestors could have had anything to do with the well known Guttī in the Anantapur district. The reference is perhaps to the 'Guttī thirty-four kampas,' 'the Gōve-Guttī kingdom' or 'the Gōve Chandraguttī kingdom' mentioned by Mr Rice on p 89 f of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol VII. Chandraguttī is a hill fortress in the Sorab tāluka of the Shimoga district.

of those who seek refuge (*with him*), the deadly enemy of Māra (Cupid ?), a spear on the heads of respectable kings, the teacher (*āchārya*) who has established the six *darśanas*,¹ the head-jewel of the race of the Moon, the powerful purifier of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (*he*) who has obtained excellent boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvati of Pombuchcha, who is adorned by numberless and various (*good*) qualities, *samyaktra*,² etc, whose head is purified by the sweet-scented water (*which has been used for washing the image*) of Jina,³ (*and who is*) the lord of sixty-six *mandalīkas*,— in order to obtain for himself prosperity, final emancipation, riches and happiness,⁴— at Pāndyanagarī (*a suburb*) of Kārakala, in the presence⁵ of the blessed Gummatésvara, and on the Chikkabetta (*hill*) resembling the Kailāsa mountain—

(V 7) Is this the noble abode of the lady Śrī (Lakshmi) ? (*Is this*) the excellent pleasure-house⁶ of the lady Fame ? (*Is this*) the house of amorous enjoyment of the lady Earth ? (*Or*) again, is this the sporting-place of the virtuous woman Victory ? (*This*) prosperous Jaina abode (*is indeed*) the stage consisting of the two excellent doctrines resplendent with the word *syāt*, (*whereupon*) the glorious (*goddess*) Bhārati (Sarasvati) (*dances*), (*and is*) the house where (*the ladies*) Heavenly bliss, Salvation and Prosperity choose their husbands . . . 7

(L 14 f) (*This Bhairarasa*) Rōddada-gōva,⁸ Nīkalanka-malla,⁹ the soul of warriors, the brother of the wives of others (*and*) the chastiser of kings who do not act up to the words which they utter, — because he was the foremost in setting up golden pinnacles (*on temples*), became (*as it were*) the ruler of the empire of charity, (*and*) actuated by merit (*which was*) the outcome of his good deeds (*in previous births*), caused to be made for (*the use of*) himself and the (*members of the*) four *sanghas* who possessed all noble qualities and were (*habitual*) visitors of that abode of Jina, the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (*temple*), which is thus¹⁰ a mansion giving pleasure to all people (*who look at it*), (*which is*) auspicious on every side (*sariatōbhadra*), has four faces (*chaturmukha*)¹¹ (*and*) is the embodiment of the three jewels.¹²

¹ I cannot understand how a Jaina chief like Bhairava II could claim to have established the six systems of philosophy, all foreign to his own. Perhaps he tolerated the study of these systems in his petty dominions

² *Samyaktra* may refer to the possession of the three qualities (*ratna-traya*) referred to on p 134, note 3, each of which begins with the word *samyak*

³ The same epithet is applied to the *Dandandiyaka* Biladēva in Nos 52 and 53 of Mr Rice's *Śravana-Belgola Inscriptions*

⁴ The predicate of this sentence is the past participle *nirmmāpisi* which occurs in l 19

⁵ The Chaturmukhabasti, though at a considerable distance from the colossus of Gummatésvara, is here represented as being in its presence, for the latter was perhaps considered to be the presiding deity of Karkala and its suburbs. Besides, as the Chikkabetta hill is just opposite to the hill on which the colossus stands, it is literally true that the temple "stands in the gaze of the colossus," *Ind Ant* Vol V p 39

⁶ *Āgara* seems to be used here, as in Kanarese, for the Sanskrit *śgāra*, which would not suit the metre. A derivative from *ā + grī* is *āgara* which means 'hallozing'. This does not suit the sense of the verse

⁷ I do not understand the meaning and the construction of the word *vrishē* at the end of the verse. Some word like *nūnam* or *dhrutam*, which characterises an *utpréksālakṣṇa*, is required. Or can it only be a mistake for *vrisham* = excellent?—[Perhaps the word *Vrishē* is repeated by mistake from verse 6—E H]

⁸ Mr Rice (*Ep Carn* Vol VII Introduction, p 39) translates this epithet by 'guardian of Rodda' or 'Gōva of Rodda' (*ibid* Vol XII Translation, p 91). Elsewhere (*ibid* Vol III Introduction, p 16) he mentions Rodda among the conquests of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana and identifies it with 'Rodda on the northern Pennār in the Anantapur district, west of Penugonda'. If this is the correct explanation of the epithet *Rōddada-gōva*, Bhairava II, whose territory was far away from Penugonda, could only have borrowed the title from some other family. A local line of Chōla chiefs "in the country round Hēmāvati and Nidugal" (in the Anantapur district) is described on p 7 of the Introduction to *Ep Carn* Vol XII. These chiefs flourished about the 12th century A.D. and invariably bore the titles *Rōddada-gōva*, *nīgalankamalla*, *aruvattundaku mandalīkara tale-gōnda gōnda*, *bantara-bāva* and *mayoge kāva*, which are almost the same as those assumed by Bhairava II. Besides, the Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district belonged to the same Kāśyapa *gōtra* as Bhairava

⁹ *I e Nīshkalanka-malla*, 'the spotless wrestler.'

¹⁰ *I e* as described in v 7

¹¹ The temple has four doors, each of which opens on three identical stone images of the Tirthakaras Arn, Malli and Munisuvrata

¹² See above, p 134, note 3.

just as if it verily were a hall wheroin the glorious (goddess of) Heavenly emanicipation was to choose her husband.

(L 19 f) And in order to acquire endless happiness, (he) set up on the four sides of that (temple) the images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata, on the western side of that (temple) (he set up) the images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras, and in the niches (gumḍa?) (at each entrance) of the outer enclosure of that (temple) (he) set up images of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati to the left and right (respectively), (and) consecrated (them all) according to rule.

(L 22 f.) (And) for the bathing, worship, etc (of the images) performed by fourteen families of Sthānikas (living) in the four directions of that (temple), and for the *anga-ranga-vaibhava*,¹ etc which follow after (worship), that Bhaxarasa-Vodoya, while ruling (his) kingdom with true delight, on the auspicious occasion of the consecration in that Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (temple), conferred on (that) god² for his own merit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun (exist), with libations of water, 238 ga³ from the established revenue of Rañjāla and Nallūru, also the village of Telūra subject to the eight enjoyments known as deposits, hidden treasures, permanent profit, future profit, water, stone, established income and feasible income, (and) having for (its) boundaries four streams, viz. Mukkadapina-hole to the east, Yemneya-hole to the south, Pollakapayada-hole to the west (and) Balimeya-hole to the north, and 700 mūḍe of rice in that (village) The (following are the) details of the land (thus) granted⁴

(L 26 f) From the 700 mūḍe of rice calculated at 50 hāne (for each mūḍe), accruing from the tribute on contracts due from the Harava⁵ and such others that live within the four boundaries of that village, paddy (in payment of) interest, rice (in lieu of) gram, rice commuted from millet, and rice (in lieu of) the interest (payable) in money, and from the ga 238 varaha of established income granted (subject to) the personal observation⁶ of the tenants of Nallūru (and) Rañjāla together, the (following) charities are (to be) managed.

(L. 28 f) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the western gate, (the following allotment has been made) ⁷ 9 hāne (for) the rice offering, 3 hāne (for) the superior rice offering, ⁸ 1 hāne (for) consecrated rice, 2 hāne (and) 2 kuḍute of rice for tōye,⁹ pāyasa,¹⁰ ghee, kalasumālōgara,¹¹ tāḷila¹² and others (together with) the five kinds of cake, thus, at the rate of 15 hāne (and) 2 kuḍute of rice (altogether for one day), the rice (required) for

¹ *Is* all kinds of enjoyments, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 70, note 5

² This word is here used in the collective sense for the three gods Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

³ This is an abbreviation of *gadyāna*

⁴ The details hereafter specified are not those of the 'land granted,' but of the 700 mūḍe of rice which was the revenue in grain realized from Telūra, and of ga 238 which was the income in coin from Rañjāla and Nallūru

⁵ On this ethnic name, which is perhaps the same as Parava, see Mr Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 179

⁶ According to Dr Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *tārkaṇe* means 'personal observation' The sense appears to be that the tenants of the two villages were held directly responsible for the regular payment of ga 238 assigned to the temple by the king from the revenue of those villages

⁷ The grain allotments of this paragraph are to be taken as made at *daily* rates This specification, which is omitted here, is inserted in its proper place in the next paragraph

⁸ *Charu* means 'an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes,' see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s v

⁹ 'A dish prepared of boiled split pulse'

¹⁰ 'A dish (or oblation) of milk, rice and sugar, etc'

¹¹ 'A mixture of boiled vegetables to which pepper, salt, etc are added'

¹² This is perhaps the Jaina spelling of *tāḷada* or *tāḷida*, which means 'boiled and seasoned vegetables.'

1 year (is) 110 *mūde* For bathing (*the images*) with *pañchāmṛita*¹ in the mornings, *ga* 7 *m* 2,² for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*),³ *ga* 7½, for the worship of the *Siddhachakra*,⁴ *ga* 12, for fruits (*and other similar*) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2, for the evening *hāladhāre*,⁴ *ga* ½ *m* 4, for sandal (*and*) incense, *ga* ½ *m* 3, for 12 *hāda* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4, for 3 *ashṭāhnikas*,⁴ *ga* 3, for 1 annual bathing, *ga* 6, total (*for one year*) *ga* 47

(L 32 f) To the 2 families (*who have*) to worship three times (*each day*) at the northern gate, (*the following allotment has been made*) for 1 day 9 *hāne* of rice for the rice offering, 3 *hāne* of rice for the superior rice offering, 1 *hāne* of rice for consecrated rice, 2 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kudute* of rice for *tōye*, *pāyasa*, *ghee*, *kalasumēlōgara*, *tāhla* and others (*together with*) the five kinds of cake, thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kudute* per 1 day, the rice (*required*) for 1 year (is) 110 *mūde*. For the morning and the evening *hāladhāre*,⁵ *ga* 1½ *m* 3, for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*), *ga* 7½, for fruits (*and other similar*) things, *ga* 1 *m* 2, for sandal (*and*) incense, *m* 8, for 12 *hāda* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4, for 3 *ashṭāhnikas*, *ga* 3, (*and*) for the annual bathing, *ga* 6, total (*for one year*) *ga* 28 *m* 7

(L 35 f) At this rate, 110 *mūde* of rice (*and*) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the eastern gate, (*and*) 110 *mūde* of rice (*and*) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the southern gate Thus (*altogether*), for the 8 families at the 4 gates for 1 year, 440 *mūde* of rice (*and*) *ga* 133 *m* 1

(L 37 f) For 1 family (*worshipping*) at the 2 niches to the left and right of the western gate (*the allotment is as follows*) at the rate of 5 *hāne* of rice (*per day*) for the rice offering, 36 *mūde* (*for one year*), 4 *mūde* of rice for consecrated rice, the two together (*amount to*) 40 *mūde* For 4 *hāladhāres*, *ga* 3½ *m* 1, for fruits (*and other similar*) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2, for sandal (*and*) incense, *m* 3, for 5 *hāda* of oil, *ga* 3½, for 3 *ashṭāhnikas*, *m* 5½, (*and*) for the annual bathing, *ga* 1, in all, *ga* 10 *m* 1½ (*for one year*).

(L 38 f) At this rate, for the 5 families in all,— (*viz* those who worship) at the niches in the northern, eastern and southern (*gates*), (*those who worship the images of*) the Tirthakaras of that western (*gate*), and (*those who worship the images of*) Brahma and Padmāvati,— (*the allotment comes to*) 200 *mūde* of rice (*and*) *ga* 50 *m* 7½. (*Thus*) for the 6 families altogether (*the total is*) 240 *mūde* of rice (*and*) *ga* 60 *m* 9 4 *mūde* of rice (*have been also allotted*) for the five rice offerings to Brahma and Padmāvati Altogether, for the 14 families,⁶ 684 *mūde*⁷ of rice (*and*) *ga* 194

(L 40 f) For 6 persons who have (*to beat*) the drum (*and to blow*) the pipe (*and*) the horn, *ga* 36 (*have been allotted for one year*), (*and*) for the 2 *mūlitī*-women of the *adīpu*,⁸ 16

¹ The five nectarious substances 'milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar'

² Here and in the subsequent money calculations of this paragraph, the allotments appear to have been made for the whole year, though the daily rate is not specified

³ This word is more commonly spelt with the unspirated *k*, it means 'the five pleasant articles of food (mixed together),' viz *avalakki* (flattened rice), gingelly seeds, *kudle* (Bengal gram fried and split), dried kernel of coconut, and jaggery

⁴ *Siddhachakra*, *hāladhāre* and *ashṭāhnikā* are apparently technical terms of Jaina worship, which are unknown to me *Ashṭāhnikā* may perhaps correspond to *ashtavidh ārchana*, which occurs frequently in Mr Rice's *Śravana-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*, e.g. in Nos 80, 81, 86, 87

⁵ It is strange that two *hāladhāres* both in the mornings and evenings are provided for at the northern, southern and eastern gates, while at the western gate, which was the most important one and received the largest allotment of money, provision was made for only one *hāladhāre*

⁶ This number includes the 8 families at the four main gates and the 6 families mentioned in this paragraph

⁷ The total 684 is arrived at by adding together 440 *mūde* allotted for the 4 gates, 240 *mūde* allotted for the niches, Tirthakaras, and Brahma and Padmāvati, and 4 *mūde* specially allotted for the five rice offerings to the two last-mentioned images

⁸ I do not understand the meaning of *adīpina mūlitīyaru* This may perhaps refer to certain maid-servants of the temple, such as cooks, etc.

mûde of rice. For the 4 groups of ascetics who dwell in the *basti*, 8 blankets to ward off cold and 1 blanket for receiving (and) spreading (i.e. drying?) hand-rice¹—altogether, for 9 blankets, *ga* 5 *m* 2, for 2 *hâḍa* of oil for the head and arms (of the ascetics), *ga* 2; and for fuel (and) soap-nut (for the same), *m* 8, altogether, *ga* 8. In all (the allotments come to) 700 mûde of rice (and) *ga* 238.

(L 43 f) For the rice offering² of Chandranâthasvâmin of the *basti* within the four squares (i.e. the quadrangle) of the big palace.—in the Allapabajakala (field?) at Ârûru, 20 mûde of rice from Jinnappa, the lessee³ (?) of Biliyarasa, (and) 10 mûde of rice from Mândarpâdi, the lessee³ of Bâḡilarasa, both (together), 30 mûde. From the land held (*bâḷu*)⁴ by Bikkirupândiya (i.e. Vikramapândya) of Nallûru, *ga* 7½, from the land held by Jattikôti, *ga* 3, (and) from the land held by Kambuva at Pamjâla, *ga* 7½, altogether, *ga* 18.

(L 45 f) For the rice offering of Pârsvanâthasvâmin of the *basti* (on) the Gôvardhanagiri (hill),—from the Kambula (field?) at Mallila, 30 mûde of rice, from the enclosing hills beyond, 4 mûde, from Nambibeṭṭi-Nârana of Nallûru, 6 mûde of rice, altogether, 40 mûde. From the produce of the backyard of Seti-bettu⁵ at Kelavase, *ga* 8 *m* 2½.

(L 47 f) Inasmuch as that Bhairarasa-Vodeya, possessed as he was of that excellent right perception which keeps aloof from the twenty-five impurities, himself with his own hand affixed in (token of) approval (of the grant) the five syllables (*pañchâkshari*), viz. *Śrîvîtarâga*—of Him whose soul is purified by (the recitation of) the Jina-mantra—which may be compared to a seed (that can produce) the five great virtues and can awaken the soul, (passing through) varied transmigration and heavily stupefied by the bite of the black viper, (viz.) the five-fold *samsâra*, this wonderful (*chitra*) verse (was) composed in the style of the Sarvatôbhadrâ puzzle (*chitraprabandha*), consisting of five letters combined as twenty-four (different) syllables, in the *Indi vâjra* metre.

[Verse 8 contains the puzzle alluded to above and is not quite clear to me.]

No 11.—NAGPUR MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTA I JANAMEJAYA.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

Mr Venkayya sent me one set of ink-impressions of this unpublished inscription, with the following remarks—

“The Curator of the Nâgpur Museum says, the locality from which the plates containing this inscription came is unknown. There are three copper-plates, of which only the second bears writing on both sides. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom.

¹ This probably refers to the rice collected by the Jaina mendicants in begging from door to door. It is customary even now in India to give a ‘handful of rice’ to beggars that call at the door. This seems to be the reason why such rice is called *kasy akki*.

² *Amṛitapadi* in the sense of ‘rice offering’ is not given in Kittel’s *Kannada-English Dictionary*. It corresponds to the *amudupadi* of Tamil inscriptions.

³ *Guttu* appears to be used here in the sense of *guttigeddra*, ‘a lessee’. Or, the meaning might be that Biliyarasa’s lease, (viz.) 20 mûde of rice, was to be collected from (his tenant) Jinnappa.

⁴ Compare Dr Fleet’s remarks on *baḷasidor* on p. 51 above.

⁵ *Seti bettu*, or more correctly *setti-bettu*, means ‘the bettu of the merchant’. According to Mr Sturrock’s *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I p. 85, *bettu* means ‘a walled enclosure with a colossal statue’. The word here cannot be meant for the fiscal term *betṭi*—a land capable of producing one crop of rice annually—(*ibid.* p. 122), for, in this case the backyard (*hittilu*) mentioned in connection with it would not be intelligible.

At the broadest part they measure nearly 9 inches Their height varies from 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a ring, which has been cut by me with the permission of the Curator The ring, which is not quite circular, measures about 3" in diameter Its ends are secured in the base of a circular seal measuring 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter The seal bears, in relief on a counter-sunk surface, an image of Lakshmi, seated apparently on a lotus and flanked by two lampstands, of which the one on the left is not quite distinct The lotus extends on both sides to the height of the shoulders of the goddess and is surmounted on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk This is the usual representation of the goddess Gajalakshmi The base of the seal is slightly damaged, and a nail seems to have been driven in to fix the seal to the ring "

The inscription records a grant of land, made by king Mahābhavagupta (I) surnamed Janamājaya in the eighth year of his reign. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of the same prince which have been published by Dr Fleet Initial *o* and *au* occur in *Ōdra* (l. 16), *oḥhā* (l. 44) and *Autathya* (l. 15), and the rare letter *jh* occurs in *oḥhā* (l. 44) The letter *ḥ* of *patu* (l. 5) differs in shape from that of *kuṭumvi* (l. 10), etc The group *ḥṭa* is throughout written as *ṭa*, except in *āspḥoṭṭayanti* (l. 23), where it is wrongly employed A final form of *t* is used in *samiat* (l. 41), and the *virāma* in *dadyāt* (l. 27), *vrāhmanin* (l. 9), *étān* and *pārthivēndrān* (l. 35), elsewhere the *virāma* is omitted The decimal figures 1, 2 and 8 occur in l. 41

The language is Sanskrit There is one verse in ll. 3-6, and 11 of the customary verses occur in ll. 23-33, the remainder of the record is in prose The *visarga* is omitted in several cases The rules of Sandhi are neglected in *śrīmān* (l. 4), *°chchhinnah* and *°ngirasa* (l. 15), *°dhyāyiné* (l. 16), *dadyāt* (l. 27) and *ashṭamē* (l. 40) The orthography is defective in many respects. The vowel *e* is mixed up with *i*, and *u* with *ū* In *nōpūra* (l. 1) for *nūpura* and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f) for *dū'aka*, *ō* is used instead of *ū* The vowel *r* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *samāhatrī* (for *°hartrī*) and *sannidhātrī* (l. 11), *tridasa* (l. 4) and *Trikalingī* (ll. 8 and 39). In *krichhna* (l. 5) and *samachchharē* (l. 40), *ts* is represented by *chh* The dental *n* takes the place of the lingual *n* in *punya* (ll. 19 and 30), *hiranya* (l. 20), *grihnatī* (l. 29 f) and *Samgrāmēna* (l. 44) Of sibilants, *s* is used for *sh* in *nisiddha* (l. 14), and *ś* for *s* in *salila*, *purassara*, *śama* (l. 18) and *śaseta* (for *śasēt*, l. 26) A *y* is inserted in *śākhyā* (l. 16) for *sakhā*, and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f) for *dūtaka* The consonant *b* is always represented by *v*, which must have been pronounced as *b* just as in Bengali This may be concluded from the spellings *śūmra* (l. 14) for *sāmra*, *tāmra* (l. 19) for *tāmra*, *°dattūm=vū* (l. 32), *samachchharē* (l. 40) and *samiat* (l. 41) Other irregularities are *vudhā* (l. 38) for *buddhvā*, *triyārīshaya* (l. 15) for *triyārshēya*, *Kavilāsa* and *utkīrita* (l. 44) for *Kailāsa* and *utkirna*

The inscription opens with the words "Om Hail! From the prosperous Murasiman, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens, (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters" Another grant of Mahābhavagupta I is dated from the same Murasiman, which is there spelt with a long *ū* in the first syllable,— apparently by mistake, as *Mura* is a well known word, and as *ū* is used erroneously for *u* in many other instances¹ The next word of the same grant, *-samāvūsita*, may be meant for *-samātāsitaḥ* As, however, it would be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to correct *-samāvūsitūt* and to take the following word *kataka* to mean 'a camp,' and not the city of Cuttack² Thus the inscription of the sixth year is dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Murasiman" With the

¹ Above, Vol. III p. 341

² Professor Kielhorn kindly refers me to three very similar instances in inscriptions from Northern India —

1 — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 360, text line 6 f — *śrīmad-Vishnupur-drasita sri vijaya katakā*

2 — *Ibid.* Vol. IV p. 121, text line 23, — *śrī-Vadavīha-grama samavāsita-vijaya-katakā*

3 — *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 369, text line 33, and Vol. V App. p. 58, note 4, — *Prayāga samāvāsita śrīmad-vijaya katakāt*

same alteration, the three inscriptions of the 31st year¹ are dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at the prosperous Ârâma."

Lines 3-6 contain a verse which celebrates the king under his surname Janamêjaya—contracted into 'Janmêjaya' for the sake of the metre—and states that he claimed descent from the race of the Moon (*Sôma-vamśa*) The same verse occurs in the grant of the sixth year, where it is placed at the end of the whole document (ll 43-45).

Then follows the preamble of the grant itself (l. 6 ff) .—

"This *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*, the ornament of the race of the Moon (*Sôma-kula-tilaka*), the lord of Trikalinga, the glorious Mahâbhavaguptarâjadêva,—who meditates at the feet of the *P M P.*, the glorious Mahâśivaguptarâjadêva,²—being in good health, having worshipped the Brâhmanas in the village of Satallamâ attached to the Kasâlôdâ district (*visaya*), commands the ryots residing in that (village), the inhabitants of that district at the time, (and) all servants of the king, (*viz*) collectors, attendants, irregular and regular soldiers, spies, staff-bearers, eunuchs, favourites of the king, *etc*"

The king then states that he granted this village (*viz* Satallamâ, l. 9) by a copper-plate edict (*tâmra-sâsana*, l 19) "to the *Bhaṭṭaputra Sânthakara*, son of Dhṛṭikara (l. 17 f), who belonged to the Gautama *gôtra*, who had the three *pravaras* of Gautama, Ângirasa and Antathya, who studied the *Vâjasaneyi-Mâdhyandina sâkhâ*, who had immigrated from the village of Purushamandapa in the Ôdra country (*dêśa*), (and) who resided in the village of Murujunga." Of the proper names mentioned in this passage I can identify none besides Ôdra, which is the Sanskrit form of Odda, i. e. Orissa³

11 verses from the *Dharmasâstra* are quoted in ll 23 38 Then follows the date of the grant —"In the victorious reign of the *P M. P.*, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the lord of Trikalinga, the glorious Janamêjayadêva,—in the eighth year, in the second half of the month of Kârttika, on the twelfth *tithi*—and in figures Samvat 8, Kârttika sudi 12" The *Dâtaka* was the *Mahâmahattama Bhaṭṭa Sâdhârana*, son of Śôbhana (l. 41 f). This person must be the same as the donee of three other grants of Mahâbhavagupta I, where he is called the *Bhaṭṭa Mahattama Sâdhârana*, son of *Bhaṭṭa Śôbhana*,⁴ and he seems to have been the prime-minister of the king⁵

According to ll 42-44, "this edict was written by the *Kâyastha Âllava*, son of Kailâsa, who was attached to the *Mahâsândhivigrahi Rânaka Mallâdatta*, son of Dhâradatta" The same minister is referred to in the remaining published inscriptions of Mahâbhavagupta I In the three grants of the 31st year he is called Malladatta,⁶ while the grant of the sixth year has *Mallâdhâradattasuta*,⁷ which, as the new grant suggests, is meant for Mallâ[datta], son of Dhâradatta

The inscription ends with the statement that it was engraved by Samgrâma, son of Rayanâ-*ojjhâ*⁸

¹ Above, Vol III p 347, text line 1.

² The other grants of Mahâbhavagupta I. omit the word *mahâ* before Śivagupta's name.

³ Ôdra-dêśa is mentioned also in an inscription of Mahâśivagupta II, above, Vol III. p 353, text line 33

⁴ *Ibid.* p 348, text line 12 f.

⁵ *Ibid* pp 345 and 350.

⁶ *Ibid.* p 350

⁷ *Ibid* p 344, text line 42.

⁸ Compare *ibid* p 212, note 2 According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *ôja* (or *ôja*) means (1) 'a teacher,' and (2) 'an artificer' In Tamil we have the forms *uvachôha* and *ôchôha*, see *South-Ind Insor* Vol II, p. 293, note 2. The word is evidently a *tadbhava* of *upâdhyâya*; compare *Ind Ant* Vol XX p. 393, note 23 A similar honorific term, also applied to artisans in Southern India, is *dohdya*, see above, Vol. VII. p. 168, note 8.

1.

2 सुसुविकर्णविलासिनीभरणवोपुत्रवाह...
 2 कलात्रयकलादिप्रवृत्ताभंगवृत्तिप्रवृत्तिसिन्धीः...
 4 अस्मिन्ना...
 4 वृत्तानि द्विसयनद्विवद्वयवृत्तानि...
 6 षड्विंशत्यन्वयवृत्तानि...
 6 (●) कर्मणि सायं पश्यन् स्वस्ति...
 8 अद्वैत...
 8 अन्तःसा...
 10 श्लोक...
 10 एतन्निश्चयं...
 10 एतन्निश्चयं...

112

12 येन...
 12 अस्मिन्...
 14 अस्मिन्...
 14 यदुः...
 16 व...
 16 (●) निश...
 18 क...
 18 क्र...
 20 एत...
 20 इ...
 22 य...
 22 अ...

24
26
28
30
32
34

24
26
28
30
32
34

मन्त्राणां कर्मफलं मारुतयुक्तं लक्षणं वः परम्यत्तु लिप्सा वि वाः
सुखिनोऽपि लभेत् कर्मस्य सववुया लव षष्ठिवर्षस्य कर्मस्य लिप्सा वि वाः
वायुलिपु वि सः उ वि स्य श्रु व न क र्त्ता वि व न र वि व स्या न उ वि स्य श्रु व
श्वनं सु व लु सु वी सु वी स्य स न अ ग वः यः क र्त्ता न गाय म ना र्त्ता स्या न
सु वी स्य स व र व वि ल वः उ व ल २ २ य वि लि क र्त्ता य व लु य वि लि क र्त्ता
० उ व लु य स उ व लु ल उ नः स व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
नि य उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
व न उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
व य उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
यु क वि लि क र्त्ता स न उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
० उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स

36
38
40
42
44

36
38
40
42
44

मन्त्राणां कर्मफलं मारुतयुक्तं लक्षणं वः परम्यत्तु लिप्सा वि वाः
सुखिनोऽपि लभेत् कर्मस्य सववुया लव षष्ठिवर्षस्य कर्मस्य लिप्सा वि वाः
वायुलिपु वि सः उ वि स्य श्रु व न क र्त्ता वि व न र वि व स्या न उ वि स्य श्रु व
श्वनं सु व लु सु वी सु वी स्य स न अ ग वः यः क र्त्ता न गाय म ना र्त्ता स्या न
सु वी स्य स व र व वि ल वः उ व ल २ २ य वि लि क र्त्ता य व लु य वि लि क र्त्ता
० उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
नि य उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
व न उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
व य उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
यु क वि लि क र्त्ता स न उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स
० उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स उ व लु य स

TEXT.¹

First Plate

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्त्यनेकवरविलासिनीचरणनोपूररवोद्भान्तमत्तपारावत-³
 2 कुलात्⁴ सकलदिगन्तरागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकीर्त्तः श्रीमतो सुरसिन्धु⁵ [I*]
 3 अस्ति क्षीणेश्वराणाममलमणिरुचामन्वयात्⁶ कौस्तुभाभः शौर्यत्वागा-
 4 'सुरा[शि]र्विरचितविधिवद्दान(र)शुभ्रीकृताभ्रः [I*] श्रीमान्जन्मेजयाख्यस्तृदश-⁹
 5 पतिसम[:*] क्लृप्ता¹⁰ भोक्तकामः प्रख्यातद्वेषिवशप्रविदलनपटुर्भूपति¹¹ सो-
 6 मवंशे [II*] सोयं¹² परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहा-¹³
 7 शिवगुप्तराजदेवपादानुध्यात्परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-¹⁴
 8 श्वरसोमकुलतिलकतुकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः¹⁵ कु-
 9 शली¹⁶ कश्चलोडाविषयप्रतिवदसतल्लमाग्रामे¹⁷ ब्राह्मणान् सम्पूज्य¹⁸ त-
 10 त्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बिजनपदान¹⁹ तद्विषयीययथाकालाध्यासिन[:*] सप्ता-
 11 २०हृत्सन्निधात्रिचाटभटपिशुनवेत्रिकावरोधजनराजवल्लभादीन²¹ स-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 वान²² राजपादोपजिविन²³ समान्नापयति [I*] विदितमस्तु भवत[र] यथा-
 13 स्थाभिरयं ग्राम[:*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिः २४सर्ववाधाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिकार-
 14 करादानसहितः २५साम्प्रमधुक[:*] सगर्तोषरः २६प्रतिनिस्त्रिचाटभटप्रवेश-²⁷
 15 चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः²⁸ गौतमगोत्राय गौतमाङ्गिरसश्रीतथ्यत्रियारिप्रयप्र-²⁹
 16 वराय ३०वाजसनेयेमाध्यन्दिनशाखाध्यायिने³¹ ओडदेशे पुरुषमण्डपग्राम-
 17 ३२विनीर्गताय सुरजुंगग्रामवास्तव्याय ३३भटपुत्रश्रीसान्यकरनाम्ने धृति-
 18 करसुताय ३४शलिलधारापुरस्वरमाचन्द्रतारकार्कचितिशमकालाप-³⁵

¹ From a set of ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya.

² Expressed by a plain symbol.

³ Read 'नूपुर'.

⁴ Read 'कुलात्'

⁵ Read 'सौम'

⁶ Read 'यात्'.

⁷ Read 'सुराशि'

⁸ Read 'श्रीमान्'

⁹ Read 'स्त्रिदश'

¹⁰ Read 'क्लृप्ता भोक्तु'.

¹¹ Read 'भूपति'.

¹² The र of भटारक is corrected by the engraver from क, read 'भटारक'.

¹³ The र of 'श्वर' was inserted subsequently

¹⁴ Read 'पादानुध्यातपरमभटारक'.

¹⁵ Read 'त्रिकलिङ्गा'

¹⁶ Read 'प्रतिवद'.

¹⁷ Read 'ब्राह्म'

¹⁸ Read 'सम्पूज्य'

¹⁹ Read 'कुटुम्बिजनपदान्'.

²⁰ Read 'हृत्सन्निधातु'

²¹ The ध of 'वरोध' is written on an erasure, read 'दीन्'

²² Read 'वान्'.

²³ Read 'पजीविन'

²⁴ Read 'वाधा'.

²⁵ Read 'साध'.

²⁶ Read 'निपिड'.

²⁷ Read 'प्रवेशयतु'.

²⁸ Read 'च्छिन्नी'.

²⁹ Read 'रसौतथ्यत्रियार्येय', compare above, Vol. III. p 45, note 4.

³⁰ Read 'वाजसनेयि'

³¹ Read 'शाखाध्यायिन'.

³² Read 'विनीर्ग'

³³ Read 'भटपुत्र'

³⁴ Read 'शलिल', the ssa of 'पुरस्वर' is written as ssa

³⁵ Read 'चितिशमकालाप'

- 19 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च ¹पुन्ययशोभिष्टयै ²ताम्ब्रशासनेनाकरिकृत्य¹
 20 प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य ⁴समुचितभोगभागकरहिरन्यादिकमुपनय-⁵
 21 त्तिभवद्भिः⁶ सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति [1*] भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरियमस्र-
 22 दिया⁷ धर्मगौरवादस्रदनुरोधाच्च ⁸खदतिरिवानुपालनीया [1*] तथा चोक्तं ध-
 23 र्मशा[स्त्रे] [11*] ⁹वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य¹⁰ यस्य यदा
 भूमि-¹¹

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [11*] मा भुदफलंशङ्का¹² वः परदत्तेति
 पार्थिवाः [1*]
 25 स्वदानात्फलमत्यन्तं परदानानुपालने [11*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं
 26 मोदति भूमिदः¹³ [1*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁴
 [11*] अग्नेरप[त्यं] प्र-
 27 थम स्ववर्णं¹⁵ भुवैष्णवी ¹⁶सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] यः कौञ्चनं गां च महीं
 च दद्यात्¹⁷
 28 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोकाः¹⁸ [11*] आस्फोटयन्ति¹⁹ पितरः प्रवला(य)न्ति
 पिताम-
 29 हाः [1*] भूमिदात्ता²⁰ कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति [11*] भूमिं²¹
 यः प्रतिगृह्णा-²²
 30 ति यश्च भूमिं²³ प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ ²⁴पुन्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामि-
 31 नौ [11*] तडागानां सहस्राणि²⁵ वाजपेयशतानि²⁶ च [1*] गवां कीटिप्र-
 दानेन भूमिहर्ता
 32 न शुध्यति [11*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा²⁷ यो ²⁸हरेद्वसुधरां [1*] स
 विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा प-
 33 च्यते पितृभिः सह [11*] आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुव्रह्मा²⁹ सोमो हुताशनः
 [1*] ³⁰शुलपा-
 34 णिस्तु³¹ भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं [11*] सामान्यीयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काल³²

¹ Read पुण्य°² Read ताम्ब्र°³ Read °करीकृत्य⁴ The ग of भाग was inserted subsequently.⁵ Read °हिरण्या°.⁶ Read °स्त्रिभवंद्भिः'⁷ Read °दीया⁸ Read खदत्ति°.⁹ Read बहुभिः°.¹⁰ Read °भि. । यस्य¹¹ Read भूमि°.¹² Read भुदफलशङ्का.¹³ Read भूमिदः.¹⁴ Read वसेत्.¹⁵ Read सुवर्णं भुवैष्णवी°.¹⁶ Read सूर्य°.¹⁷ Read दद्यात्¹⁸ Read लोकाः.¹⁹ Read आस्फोटयन्ति.²⁰ Read भूमिदाता²¹ Read भूमि.²² Read °गृह्णाति²³ Read भूमि.²⁴ Read पुण्य°.²⁵ Read सहस्रेण.²⁶ Read °शतेन²⁷ Read °दत्तां वा²⁸ Read हरेत् वसु°²⁹ Read विष्णुव्रह्मा.³⁰ Read शूल°.³¹ Read °णिय.³² Read काले.

Third Plate

- 35 काले पालनियो¹ भवद्भिः [1*] सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 36 भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः [2*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलो-²
 37 [लं]³ श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य⁴ मनुष्यजीवितंश्च⁵ [1*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं⁶
 38 बुद्धा⁸ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः [2*] परमभटरकमहा-⁷
 39 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुल[ति]लकतृकलिङ्गाधिपति-⁸
 40 श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्बच्छरे⁹ षष्ठमे कार्तिकमा-
 41 सहित्तीयपक्ष¹⁰ तिथौ द्वादश्यां यत्राहुतोपि सम्बत्¹¹ ८ कार्तिक शुदि १२
 [1*] द्यो-¹²
 42 तकश्च¹³ महामहत्तमभटश्रीसाधारणः [2*] शोभनसुतः [1*] लिखितमिदं शासन
 43 महासान्धिविग्रहिराणकश्रीमह्लादत्तधारदत्तसुतप्रतिवक्षेन¹⁴ का[य]स्थश्चा-
 44 क्ष्वेन कै(वि)लाससुतेनः¹⁵ उल्किरित¹⁶ संग्रामेन¹⁷ (॥) रयणाश्रीज्जासुतेनः¹⁸

No 12 — BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF CHARUDEVI

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

This inscription was first edited 25 years ago by Dr Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol IX p 100 ff. On account of its archaic alphabet and of its language, which is not only Sanskrit verse (plate III. lines 12-15), but chiefly Prākṛit prose, it has attracted much attention. Bühler succeeded in deciphering some additional portions of it,¹⁹ and a few corrections were suggested by M Senart and myself²⁰ At my request, Dr Fleet was good enough to send me a set of ink-impressions of the plates, with the help of which it has been possible to make out with some probability those portions of lines 3 to 7 which Bühler considered 'utterly unintelligible' The only item which appears to be irretrievably lost is the figure of the regnal year at the end of the first line

The original copper-plates, which were secured by Sir Walter Elliot, are now in the British Museum. For their finding-place and for a detailed description of them see the prefatory

¹ Read पालनीयो² Read °दलाम्बुविन्दु°³ Read °लं श्रिय°.⁴ The two aksharas चिन्त्य are engraved over an erasure.⁵ Cancel the anusvāra.⁶ Read बुद्धा⁷ Read °भट्टारक°⁸ Read °विकलिङ्गा°.⁸ Read संवत्सरे षष्ठे¹⁰ Read °पक्षे¹¹ Read सवत्¹² Read दृतकश्च¹³ Read °भट्ट°¹⁴ Read °प्रतिवक्षेन¹⁵ The visarga is meant for a sign of punctuation, compare *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol II p 111, note 1, and above, Vol VII p. 193, note 3¹⁶ Read चरकीर्त्त¹⁷ Read °मेण¹⁸ See note 15 above¹⁹ *Ep Ind* Vol. I. p 2, note 2²⁰ Above, Vol. VI. p. 88, note 10; Vol. VII. pp 67 and 69

remarks of Dr Fleet's article, which was accompanied by photo-lithographs of the inscription (on the back of the Plate) and of the seal (on the front of the Plate) The present facsimile of the inscription has been prepared, under Dr Fleet's superintendence, from fresh ink-impressions made for him, in 1903, in the British Museum The seal has been reproduced from a plaster cast taken by Mr Griggs from a sealing-wax impression which was made at the same time in the British Museum The sealing wax impression shows, in the centre of the seal, a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull,¹ the crest of the Pallavas, and over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Hīrahadagallī plates of Śiva-Skandavarman,² but are less ornamental and more irregular. This seems to be due to the fact that the engraver mechanically copied a draft which had been written in a pronounced running hand Instances are the *vā* in line 14 and the *vām* of *gavām* (l 15), the subscribed *v* of *savva*³ (l 11) and the subscribed *ch* of *bahubhīsch[ā]*⁴ (l 12), the vowel *i* of *gāmeyikā* (l 10) and of *pibatī* (l 15)⁵ The group *tta*, while in most cases resembling *nna*,⁶ has two other shapes in *uttare* (l 6) the upper *t* has a fully developed loop, as in Tamil, and in *chhettam* (l 7) and *dattā* (l 12) the lower *t* is fashioned in the same manner The initial *ā* of *āyu* (l 8) differs from that of *Ātukassa* (l 6), *āyuttā* (l 10) and *ānattī* (l 16) In the *nā* of *nivattanā* (l 9) the *n* is placed in a slanting position, and the *ā* fills up the right upper corner Another peculiar letter is the *tha* of *pariharatha* and *pariharāpe[tha]* (l 11) A rude final form of *m* occurs at the end of ll 13, 14, 15 Marks of punctuation are used after *siddha* on the left margin of plate 1 and at the end of the inscription In ll 12-15 every odd *pāda* of the two *ślōkas* is divided from the next by a blank space Plates *a* and *b* are marked like the pages of a book by the numerical symbols '2' and '3' on the left margin, and the numerical symbol '4' occurs in l 9

While in the Andhra inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of Chārudēvi's grant is in accordance with that of the literary Prakṛit⁷ In the word *samvachchhara* (l 1), *v* is doubled after *anusūāra*. As to the language of the inscription, noteworthy words are *Bhāraddūya*⁸ (l 2) for *Bhāradvāja*, *talāka*, *he[ṣh]a*, *pānyā* (l 5) and *chhetta* (l 7)⁹ Instances of the nom plur neutr are the three words *nivattanā chattāri sampadattā* (l 9 f) The abl sing. *[kū]pāt* (l 5 f) is due to a relapse into Sanskrit. Pronominal forms are *amham* (l 8) and *amhehim* (l 9), the genitive and instrumental of *asmad*, and *tam* (l 10), the acc sing neutr of *tad* Verbal forms are the gerunds *kātūna* (l 9) and *nātūna* (l 10) and the imperatives *pariharatha pariharāpe[tha]* (l 11)

The inscription is dated in some year of the reign of the *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman, the figure or figures of the date being illegible It contains an order by the queen of the heir-apparent (*Yuvamahārāja*) Vijaya-Buddhavarman, who was one of the Pallavas and, as such, a *Bhāradvāja* or member of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* I read the queen's name as Chārudēvi, and that of the prince whose mother she claims to have been as *[Bu]ddh[ya]m[kura]* or, in Sanskrit, *Buddhyankura* In favour of my restoration of this damaged word it may be stated that *ankura*, 'a sprout,' is synonymous with *pallava*, and that other Pallavas bore the similar surnames

¹ Compare Dr Fleet's *Dyr Kan Distr* p. 319, note 5

² *Ep Ind* Vol I p 2 ff

³ These two words were already noted by Buhler, *ibid* p 2, note 2

⁴ Compare e.g. *nivattanā* (l 9) with *bhagavanna*⁵ (l 8)

⁵ In this respect the two grants of Śiva Skandavarman (*Ep Ind* Vol. I p 4, and Vol VI p 86) occupy an intermediate position

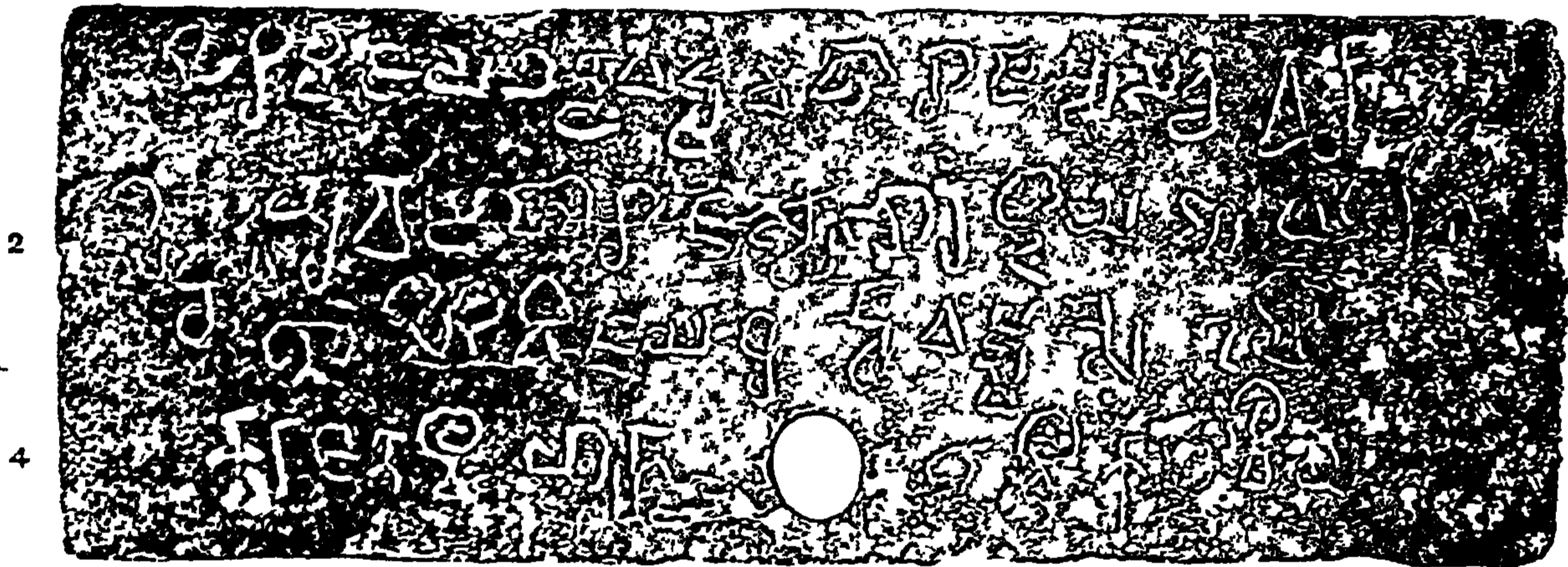
⁶ The same form occurs in the two grants of Śiva Skandavarman

⁷ On the four last words see Prof Pischel's edition of Hēmachandra's Prakṛit grammar, I 202; II. 141, I. 101; II 17

Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman



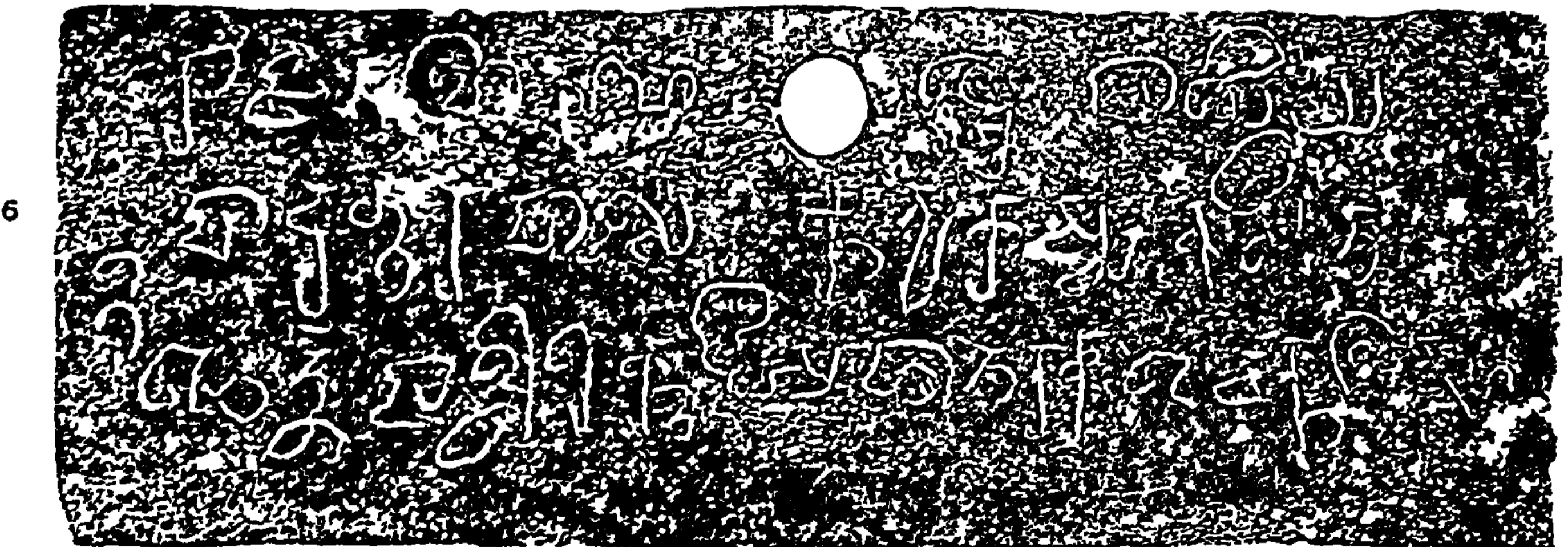
3



2

4

11 a



6

J F FLEET

FULL-SIZE

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS MADE BY MR HENRY OLDLAND

22b

8
 10

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Kharosthi, arranged in approximately four horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and appears to be from an ancient Indian script. The text is inscribed on a dark, textured surface, possibly metal, with a circular hole visible near the center.

22c

12
 14
 16

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Kharosthi, arranged in approximately four horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and appears to be from an ancient Indian script. The text is inscribed on a dark, textured surface, possibly metal, with a circular hole visible near the center.

Nayānkura, Tarunānkura and Lalitānkura¹ Thus the first plate of the inscription supplies the following short Pallava genealogy —

Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman
|
Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, married Chārudēvi
|
Buddhyankura

The syllables which follow the word *Chārudēvi* at the end of the first plate can be read and restored with the help of the corresponding portions of four cognate inscriptions

Nasik, No 3, l 11 (p 65 above), and No 4, l. 2 (p 71 above)—*ānapayati Govadhane amacha[m*]*

Mayidavolu plates, l 3 f (above, Vol VI p 86)—*Dhamñakade vāpatam ānapayati*
Kondamudi plates, l 6 f (*ibid* p 316 f)—*ānapayati Kūdūre vāpatam*

On the strength of these analogous cases I propose to read at the end of line 4—*Ka[dake]* *vīya* . . . , to correct the second word to *vīya* , and to restore *vīyāpatam*, which is another possible Prakrit form of *vāpatam* in the Mayidavolu and Kondamudi plates. It is true that the verb *ānapayati* is missing in our inscription, but the same is the case in the first sentence of the Hirahadagalli plates². As in that document, we seem to have here a sort of official preamble, corresponding to the address of a modern letter—‘Chārudēvi to the official at Ka[daka]’. As regards this Prakrit word, its Sanskrit equivalent is *Kataka*, but the name cannot refer to the town of Cuttack in Orissa, which is far to the north of the Pallava territory. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the second and third syllables of *Ka[dake]* are injured, and that the true reading of the word may after all be a different one.

The remainder of the inscription refers to a gift of land made by Chārudēvi. This land must have been situated in Ka[taka], to the officer in charge of which place the order was addressed. The grant consisted of a field near the ‘King’s Tank’. The recipient was a temple of Narāyana (Vishnu) at Dalūra (l 7), a place which I am unable to trace. The *Ājñapti* (or *Dūtala*) was Rōhinigupta (l 16).

TEXT³

First Plate.

Siddha ||⁴

- 1 Sivi-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa samvachchhar[ā] . . . [I*]
2 yuvamaharajassa Bharaddāyassa Pal[ī]javā-
3 nam sī[r]i-Vijaya-Buddhavammassa devī [Bu]ddhi⁵
4 kura-janavi⁶ Chārudēvi Ka[dake] vīya . . .⁷ [I*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 Rajatalāka-het[th]e paṇiya⁸
6 pād=uttare pase Ātukassa kasita⁹
7 chhcttam Dālūre Kuli-Mahataraka-¹⁰devakula[ssā]

¹ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I pp 3 and 5, Vol II p 341, above, Vol VI p 320

² *Ep Ind* Vol I p 5, text lines 1 6

³ From ink impressions received from Dr Fleet

⁴ On the left margin of the plate

⁵ The subscribed *l* of the second syllable of *Pallavā-* in line 2 has obliged the engraver to place the syllable *ddhi* too low, the top of the *i* being on a level with the top of the broken syllable *du* — Restore *Buddhiyamkura-*

⁶ Read *-janani*

⁷ Read *vīyāpatam*

⁸ Restore *paṇiya kupad=*

⁹ Restore *kasitavram*

¹⁰ Read *-Mahatāraka-*, *Mahāvaraka*, which is another possible reading, would be a very unusual name for a temple.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 8 bhagavan-Nārāyaṇassa amham āyu-bala-vaddhani-
 9 yam kâtūna bhūmi-nivattanā chattāri 4 amhehira¹
 10 sampadattā [i*] tam nātūna gāmeya(ya)kā āyuttā
 11 savva-parihārehi pariharatha pariharāpe[tha] [i*]

Third Plate.

- 12 Bahubhir=vva[s]udhā dattā bahubhis=ch=[ā]nupālītā [i*]
 13 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi² tasya tasya tadā phalam [i*]
 14 Sva-dattam³ para-dattam³ vā yē⁴ haratta vasu[n]dharām [i*]
 15 gavām śata-sahasrasya hantuh pibata dushkṛitam [i*]
 16 Ānatti Rohaṇ[i]gu[tt]ā=tti⁵ ||

TRANSLATION.

Success! (Line 1.) The years . . . (of the reign) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

(L 2) Chārudēvi, the queen of the Yuvamahārāja, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas, (and) mother of [Buddhyan]kura, (addresses the following order) [to the official at] Ka[ṭaka] :—

(L. 5.) “The field to be ploughed by Ātuka on the northern side of the drinking-well below the King's Tank (Rājataḍḍika), (containing) four—4—*nivartanas* of land, has been given by Us, making (it) a means for increasing Our length of life and power,⁶ to the god Nārāyaṇa of the Kūli-Mahāt[ā]raka temple at Dālūra.

(L 10) “Knowing this, ye, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (this field) with all immunities, (and) cause (it) to be exempted!”⁷

[Lines 12-15 contain two of the customary verses.]

(L. 16) “The *Āñapti*⁸ (is) Rôhṇigupta.”⁹

No 13 — NILAMBUR PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. (MADRAS), AND G. VENKOBARAO (OOTACAMUND).

This set of copper-plates was discovered by a Kurumban, while he was washing for gold, on the banks of the Chālyār stream adjacent to Nilambūr.¹⁰ The exact spot where they were

¹ The *anusvāra* is distinctly visible after the *nt* at the end of the preceding line

² Read *bhūmis=tasya*

³ Read *-dattām*

⁴ Read *yō harāta*

⁵ Read *°gutto=tti*.—The *t* of *Rohaṇt*⁹ has an unusual shape, perhaps the *sra* of *-sahasrasya* in the preceding line interfered with its proper execution. The *ttā* of *°guttā* looks almost like *vā*

⁶ The Sanskrit equivalent of the words *amham āyu-bala-vaddhanīyam* occurs in the Uruvupalli grant; *Ind Ant Vol V* p 52, text line 27 f. Instead of *vaddhanīyam*, the corresponding portions of the Hirahadagalli, Mayidavālu and Konḍamudi plates have *vadhānikē*

⁷ The corresponding Sanskrit phrase *savva-parihāraṇi pariharata parihārayata cha* occurs in the Māngalūr grant; *Ind Ant Vol V* p 156, text line 30

⁸ On *āñatti*, see above, Vol VII p 185 and notes 4 and 5.

⁹ In *Rohaṇigutta*, *Rôhant* is a vulgar form of *Rôhṇt*, which occurs above, Vol IV p 295, text line 5; the usual form in Tamil inscriptions is *Urdān*

¹⁰ [This picturesque place belongs to the Ernad (Ēranāda) taluka of the Malabar district and is situated at the foot of the Kārkūr Ghāt, on the road from Ootacamund to Calcut. Near it are the teak plantations started by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, in 1840, see Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol II. p 368 ff.—E. H.]

found is popularly known as "Grāmam Kaḍavu." The plates were made over by the discoverer to the Raja of Nilambūr, Mr Tachcharakkāvil Mānavikraman Tirumalpād, who very kindly presented them to us for publication.

The plates are three in number, the first and last of them are engraved on one side only. The average length and breadth of the plates are $7\frac{1}{8}$ " and $2\frac{1}{8}$ " respectively, and each plate is about $\frac{1}{3}$ " thick. The edges of the plates are neither thickened nor raised into rims. The weight of these three plates is nearly $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz, including the ring, which alone weighs $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The oval ring is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and $1\frac{1}{4}$ " for diameters. When the plates were discovered by the Kurumban, the ring bore a seal with distinct writing on it. He broke it open in the hope of finding gold encased in it, but threw it away in disgust when finding none. Thus the seal has been lost.

Though the letters are cut deeply and very distinctly, they do not show through on the back of the plates. The water of the stream, in which the plates had lain apparently for a long time, has corroded them on the margin and caused the loss of several inscribed portions, which are now broken away. The characters are similar to those of the Kūdgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman (above, Vol. VI p 12), of the plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37), and also to those of the Halsi plates belonging to the reigns of Ravivarman and Harivarman (*Ind Ant* Vol VI [pp 25-32]). On the first side of the second plate, between lines 7 and 8, there is an addition in somewhat more modern characters, which reads *paschīmatas=cha Na[nda]ra[sa]*. Probably this clause was added at a later period, when the existing specification was found insufficient for describing the spot, compare the *pa*, *ma*, *na* of this addition with the corresponding letters in the body of the inscription. As regards individual letters in the record itself, attention may be drawn to the Dravidian *r* and *l*. The former occurs once, in the word *Kṛupāsāni* (l. 6), and the latter twice, in the words *Muḷtagi* (l. 7) and *Maḷkāvu* (l. 8). As noticed by Prof Kielhorn (above, Vol VI p 13), the subscript *t* of the conjuncts *kta*, *tta* occurring in the words *uktañ=cha* (l. 14) and *Kārttika* (l. 6) has the common curvilinear form, whereas in *nta* and *stya* of the words *°kulābhyanantara°* and *stasty=astu* (ll. 11 and 16 respectively) it is represented by a looped sign. The language of the record, excepting one benedictory verse in l. 14 f, is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription belongs to the fifth year of the reign of the *Dharmamahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. While at Vaijayanti (i.e. Banavāsī), the king made a grant, on the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Karttika, of two hamlets (*palli*) named *Muḷtagi* and *Maḷkāvu* to a Brahmana named Gōvindasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who had mastered the Yajurveda. The two hamlets were situated on the east of the village named *Kṛupāsāni* in the Mogalūr district (*viśhaya*).

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, it may be noticed that *Muḷtagi* is represented in the Merkara plates of Kongani-mahādbhirāja¹ as forming the eastern boundary of the village Badaneguppe, granted to the *Śrī-vijaya-Jinālaya* of Talavananagara. Talavananagara is the modern Talakād on the Kāvêri, and Badaneguppe is 5 or 6 miles south of Talakād on the other side of the river. Mogalūr is perhaps identical with either Mugūr or Muḷḷūr, also near Talakād.

TEXT.²

First Plate

- 1 स्व[स्ति श्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिमाहासे]नमातृगणानुध्या[ता]-
- 2 भिषि[क्त]ानाम्मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां प्रतिकृतस्वा

¹ See Mr Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p 293

² From the original copper plates

- 3 ध्यायचर्चापाराणामश्वमेधावभूयस्नानपवित्रीकृता-
4 [न]धानामाश्रितजनांबानां कदंबानां श्रीरविवर्मधर्ममहा-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 5 [रा]ज[ः]¹ आत्मनः प्रवर्धमानविजयसवत्सरे पंचमे
6 कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां मोगलूर्विषये किष्किपासाणिनाम-
7 धेयग्रामस्य पूर्वदिग्दिग्भागे सु_तगिनामधेयप-
8 [स्त्री]म_कमु_कसहितां काश्यपसगोत्राय यजुर्वेद[पा]-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 9 [रगा]य गोविन्दस्वामिने स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये सहि[रण्यं]
10 [स]पानीयपातं सर्वपरिहृतपरिहारं सप्र[दत्त]-
11 [वान्] [I*] तदवधार्य यः कदंबकुलाभ्यन्तरगतोऽन्यो वा [राग]-
12 [द्वेष]लोभादिभिरभिभूतो हरे[त स पञ्चमहापातक]-

Third Plate

- 13 [सं]यु[क्तो] भवति [I*] योभिरक्षेत्र तत्पुण्यफलभाग्भवति [I*]
14 उक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [I*]
15 [य]स्य यस्य यदा भूमिः² तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [II*]
16 [स्व]स्यस्तु गोत्राङ्गणेभ्यः प्रजा[भ्यो मङ्गल] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! The glorious Ravivarman, the virtuous (and) mighty king of the Kadambas,— who were anointed after meditating on the lord Mahāsēna and the group of the Mothers,³ who belonged to the lineage of the Mānavyas, who were the sons of Hārtī, who were well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one,⁴ who were sinless (on account of) being purified by the bath after (the ceremony of) the horse-sacrifice, and who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them),— at the prosperous (and) victorious (city of) Varjayanti, on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month of) Kārtika in the increasingly victorious fifth year of his (reign), gave to Gōvindasvāmin, belonging to the lineage of Kāśyapa (and) well versed in the Yajur-veda, the hamlet named Muṭtagi along with Maḷkāvu, (situated) on the eastern side of the village named Kirupāsāni in the Mogalūr district, with all exemptions, with the pouring of water, (and) with (a present of) gold, towards the increase of his own merit

¹ Cancel the *visarga*

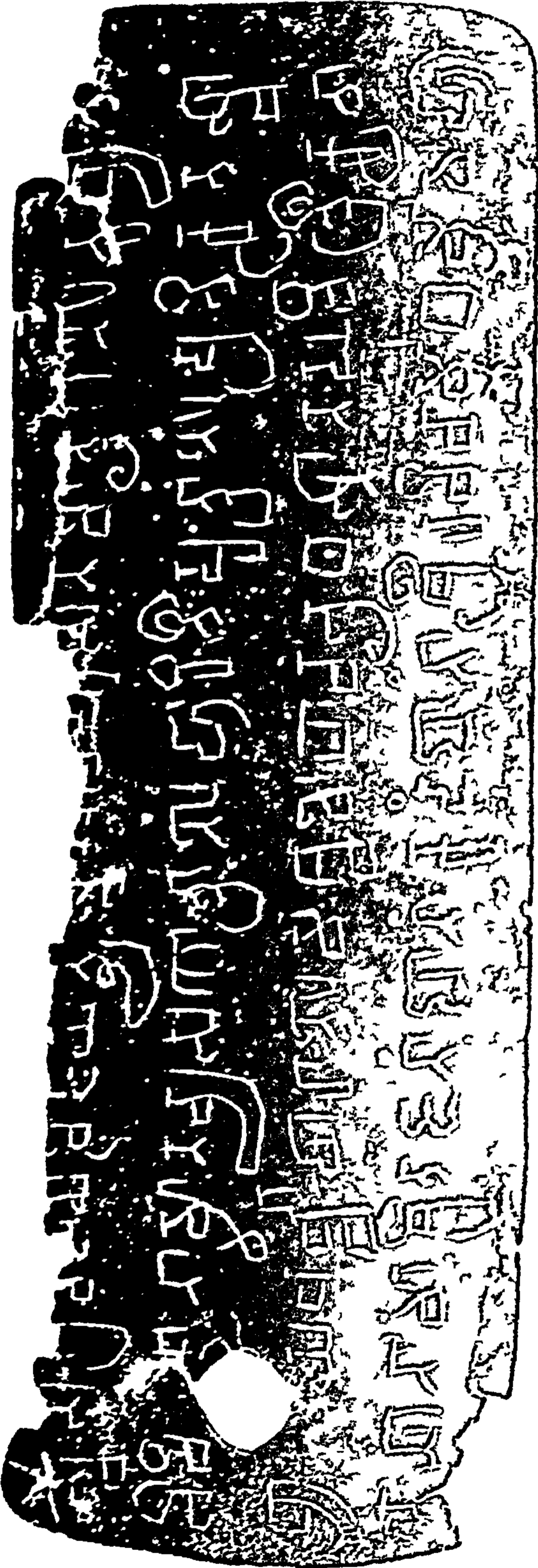
² Read भूमिस्तस्य

³ This epithet, met with in almost all the Kadamba grants, has been adopted by all the kings of this dynasty from Mayūrasarman (i. e. Mayūravarmān), the founder of the dynasty. Compare above, p 32, v. 22 — *Shaddānanah yam=abhishikṭavān=anudhyāya sōndpatim māṭṭibhis=saḥa.*

⁴ This passage has been translated in various ways. Prof Kielhorn (above, Vol VI p 15) translates it by 'studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text' As the passage might as well apply to any student of the sacred writings, it is taken in its general sense thus — *prati pratyakam kṛtā anusṭhītā yā svādhyāyasya, charchā uktyanantaram ukṭā tām pārayanti itī.*

3

4



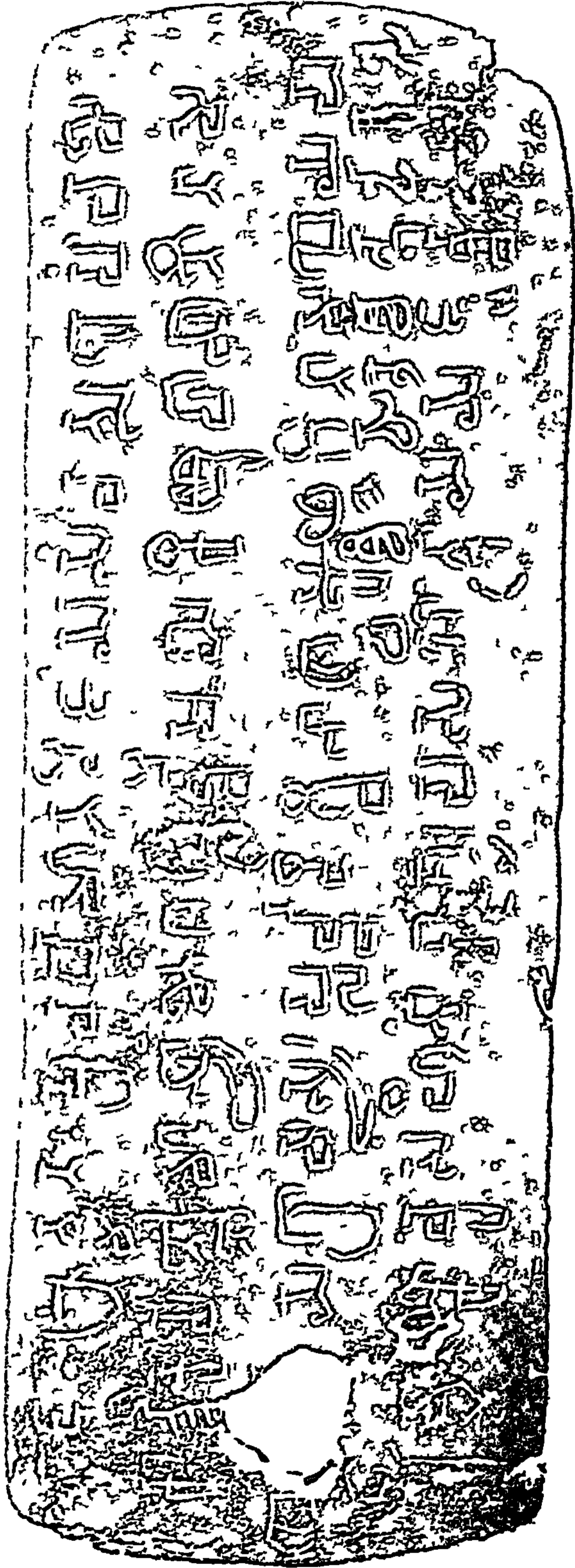
3

4

6

8

072



6

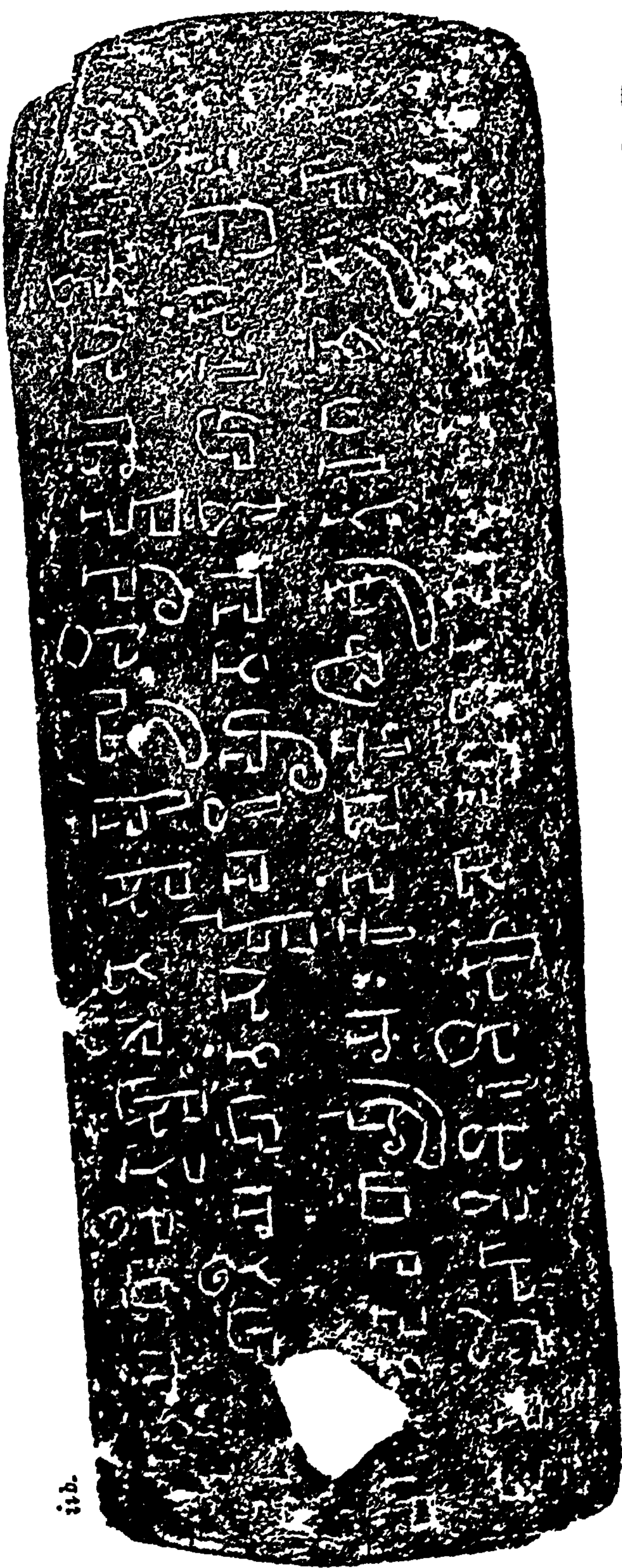
8

E HULTZSCH

FULL-SIZE

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

ii.b.



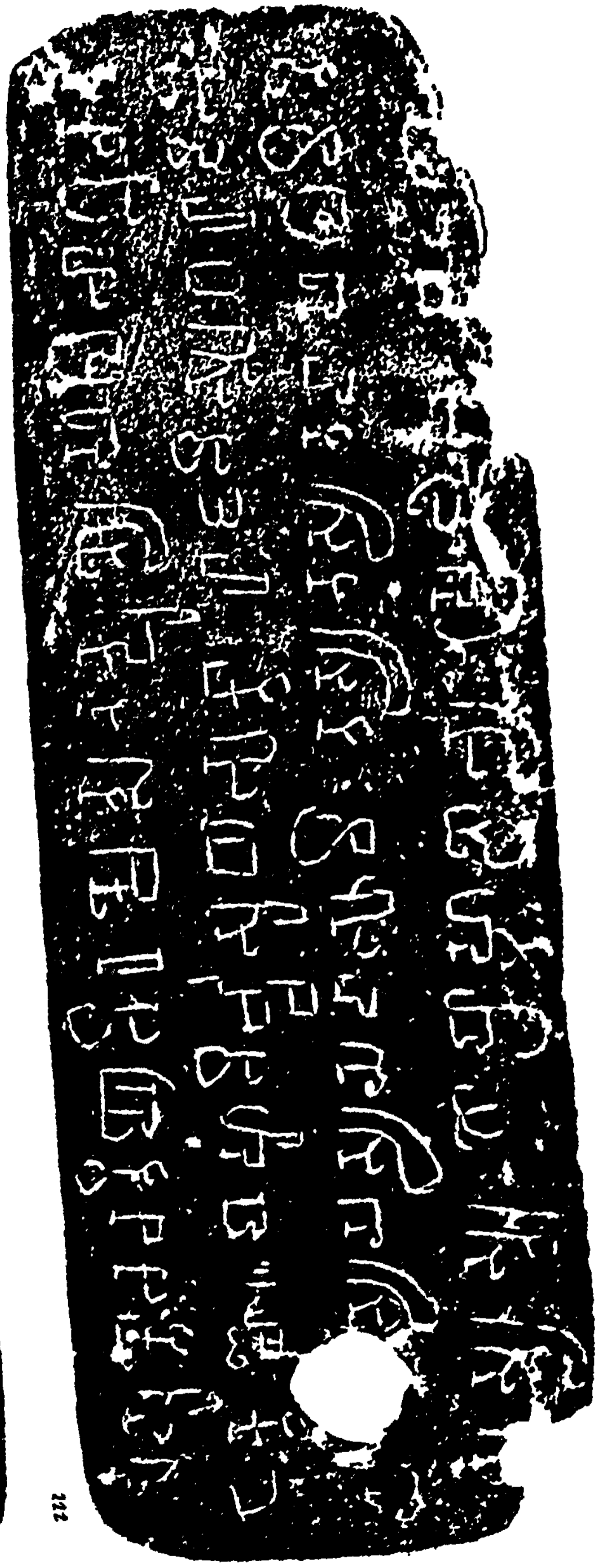
10

12

10

12

iii



14

16

14

16

(L. 11.) He who,— whether he be a member of the Kadamba family or an alien,— knowing this, influenced by passion, hatred, greed, *etc*, takes away (*this grant*), is saddled with (*the guilt of having committed*) the five great sins. He who protects (*it*), shares the reward of its merit

(L. 14) And it has been said — “The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; to whomsoever, at any time, the earth belongs, to him for the time being belongs the reward (*of the grant*)” May blessings rest upon cows and Brāhmanas! (*And let*) prosperity (*rest*) upon the subjects!

No 14 — FIVE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN

At Professor Hultzsch's request I shall give an account here of five more¹ copper-plate inscriptions of the Gāhadavāla king Gōvīndachandradeva of Kanauj, the originals of which are now² in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, and of which ink-impressions were supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Before doing so, I take the opportunity of submitting a few general remarks

While only three stone-inscriptions, of very small importance, have been hitherto discovered of the Gāhadavāla kings of Kanauj, the number of their known copper-plates amounts to no less than fifty-five.³ The details are as follows —

One plate of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Madanapāla, recording a grant that was made by his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandradēva

One plate of Madanapāla and his queen Prithvisrikā(?).

Three plates of Gōvīndachandra, of the reign of his father Madanapāla

Twenty-six plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōvīndachandra

Two plates of Gōvīndachandra and his mother Rālhana (Ralha)-dēvi.

One plate of Gōvīndachandra and his queen Nayanakēlidēvi.

One plate of Govīndachandra and his queen Gōsaladēvi.

One plate of Gōvīndachandra and his son, the *Yuvarāja* Āsphōtachandra (below, C)

Two plates of Gōvīndachandra and his son Rājyapāla (*Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 21, and below, D)

One plate of the reign of Gōvīndachandra, recording a grant made by the Singara prince Vatsarāja

Two plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayachandra and his son, the *Yuvarāja* Jayachandra

Fourteen plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayachandra

¹ See above, Vol IV p 97 ff, Vol V p 112 ff, and Vol VII p 98 ff

² The plates were “found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadami temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface in the course of excavations for the water-works conducted on the spot in April 1893” See Mr Venkayya's *Annual Report* for the year ending with May 1905, p 6

³ There can hardly be any doubt that of a royal family of which we possess 55 copper-plates, there must have existed also a considerable number of stone-inscriptions. The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground. The same may be said regarding the records of *eg* the Mastrakas of Valabhi, of whom we have 40 plates and only a single, most insignificant stone-inscription, and of the E Chalukyas of Vengi, of whom 29 copper-plate inscriptions have been published, and not a single stone-inscription

All these plates were issued during the ninety years from A.D. 1097 to A.D. 1187 Excepting the genealogy of the family and dates for each king from Chandradêva to Jayachandra, there is in them no historical information of any particular value.¹ But the plates are of great interest on account of the very large number of districts and villages mentioned in them Nearly all these localities remain to be identified, and it is with the view of perhaps inducing others, especially residents of the United Provinces, to help in the work of identification, that I give here an alphabetical list of all names of districts that occur in the plates. So far as I can judge, most of these districts would have been called after larger villages or towns, some of which undoubtedly are still in existence

List of districts mentioned in the plates.

Amvu(mbu)âlî-pattalâ, *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p. 138, line 20 (The inscription grants the village of Dêûpâlî on the banks of the D[ai]vahâ Daivahâ apparently is the modern 'Deoha' which according to Thornton's *Gazetteer*, p 333, is another name of the river Gogra.)

Antarâla pattalâ, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng* Vol XXXI p 123.

Asurêsa-pattalâ, *Ind Ant*. Vol. XV. p 11, line 20.

Bhâilavata-pattala(?), *Jour. Roy As Soc* 1896, p 787.

Bhîmamayûtâsa . . -pattalâ; above, Vol V. p. 117, line 13

Dayadâmi-pattalâ, *Ind Ant*. Vol XVIII. p 140, line 18.

Dêva[ha]lî-pattalâ, *ibid* Vol XV. p. 7, line 14

Dhanêsaramaua-pattalâ, *ibid* Vol XVIII. p 11, line 8.

Gôyara-pattalâ (in Ônavala-pathaka), above, Vol V p 114, line 15. (Gôyara perhaps is the 'Gowra' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 102, long. 83° 20', lat 26° 47')

Haladôya-pattalâ, above, Vol. IV. p. 101, line 14, and *Jour As Soc Beng*. Vol XXVII. p. 243.

[Ha?]thaunda-pattalâ, *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII p. 21

Jâru[ttha]-pattalâ, *ibid*. p 141, line 18, and p. 142, line 16.

Jiâvai-pattalâ, above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 14, or, which is the same,—

Jiâvati-pattalâ (in Pañchâla-dêsa), *Ind. Ant*. Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 10; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol II p. 360, line 8

Kachchhôha-pattalâ, above, Vol IV. p. 116, line 12, and p 129, line 19

Kangali-pattalâ, *ibid* p. 127, line 17.

Kâti-pattalâ, *ibid*. p 102, line 13.

[Kêsâurô?]-pattalâ, *ibid* p 105, line 12

Kôsamva(mba)-pattalâ, *Ind Ant*. Vol. XVIII. p 137, line 18.

Kô[thô]takôtiâvarahôtt[ra], above, Vol IV p 108, line 11.

Mahasô pattalâ, *ibid* p. 122, line 18, or, which is the same,—

Mahasôya-pattalâ, above, Vol. V. p. 115, line 12

Mâ[na]ra-pattalâ, *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII. p. 131, line 20

Nandini-pattalâ, below, p. 155, line 13.

Nandivâra-pattalâ, below, p. 154, line 12.

Navagâma-pattalâ; *Jour As Soc Beng*. Vol. LVI P. I p. 109, line 14, and above, Vol IV. p. 113, line 13.

Nêulasatâvisikâ,² above, Vol IV p 110, line 9

¹ The plates generally state that Yasôvîgraha, the reputed founder of the Gâhadavâla family, came when 'the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven' The kings thus referred to are the Pratihâras of Kanauj who, as we now know, derived their descent from the Sun. The Gâhadavâla king who first took possession of Kanauj was Yasôvîgraha's grandson Chandradêva, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1097.

² The *satâvisikâ* of this name is derived from the Prâkṛit *sattâvisam* or Sanskrit *saptaviṁśati*, 'twenty-seven.'—Compare, in other plates, names of districts like *Nakshisapura chaturâṅgikâ*, etc

Pândala-pattalâ (in Gôvisâlaka that belonged to Dudhâh in Saruvâra), above, Vol. VII p. 99, line 15

Paśchimachchhapana-pattalâ¹ (in Antarvêdi), *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVIII. p. 135, line 20.

Purôha-pattalâ, *Jour As. Soc Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I p 120, line 11

[Râna?]-pattalâ, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 362, line 13.

Rûdamanavayâlisi-pattalâ,² above, Vol IV p 112, line 12

Sigurôdha-pattalâ, *Ind Ant.* Vol XVIII p 16, line 12.

Sirasî-pattalâ (in Ônavala-pathaka in Saruvâra), above, Vol V. p 114, note 4, and Vol VII. p 99 (Sirasî probably is the 'Sirsi' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 87, S. E, long. 83° 9', lat 26° 32'.)

Têmishapachôttara-pattalâ, above, Vol. IV p 115, line 14

Ughanatêrahôttara-pattalâ,³ *ibid.* p 106, line 12.

Umva(mba)râla-pattalâ; below, p 159, line 11

Unâvisa-pattalâ, above, Vol. IV. p 124, line 20

Vajamhâchchhâsathi-pattalâ,⁴ *ibid* p 125, line 17

Valaura-pattalâ, below, p 157, line 13.

Vri(bri)hadgrihokamisâra-pattalâ, above, Vol IV p 121, line 19.

Vri(bri)hagrîhê[yê?]-varâtha-pattalâ, *ibid* p 104, line 13.

[Ya?]-vaala-pattalâ; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol LVI P I p 115, line 13.

I may add that, besides the villages granted and the districts in which they were situated, the plates also mention a fair number of places where the donations recorded in the plates were made In no less than 33 instances this was done after bathing in the Ganges at Benares Other places on the Ganges, mentioned in a similar way, are —

Îsapatishthâna (?), *Jour As. Soc. Beng* Vol XXVII. p. 243

Khayarâ, above, Vol. IV p 108, line 16.

Madapratihâra (?), *ibid* p 101, line 18

Mudgagiri (i. e. Monghyr on the southern bank of the Ganges), above, Vol VII. p 99, line 21

Râjyapâlapura, below, p 158, line 18

Ranḍavai, *Ind Ant.* Vol XVIII. p 140, line 22, p. 141, line 22, and p 143, line 20

Vishnupura, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 6.

Two donations were made after bathing in the Yamunâ at—

Âsatikâ (or Asatikâ), *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIV p 103, line 9, and *ibid* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 17 (where the king is stated to have bathed at the Muraitha(?)-ghatta), and one was made after bathing in the Vênî (i. e. at the confluence of the rivers) at—

Prayâga (i. e. Allahabâd), above, Vol. IV p 122, line 22

Other places where donations were made, not connected with any rivers, are:—

Dêvasthâna (?), above, Vol IV p 105, line 15, and Vadaviha, *ibid* p. 121, line 23.

And of rivers, in addition to those already given, in which the king had bathed when making a donation, the plates mention the Satî (with the Svapnêśvara ghatta), above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 23.

Of Benares the following specific localities are referred to in the plates —

The Âdikêśava-ghatta; *Jour Roy As. Soc.* 1896, p 787, and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI P I p 109, line 19, and (the) Âdikêśava (temple); *Ind. Ant* Vol XIX p 252, above, Vol IV p. 119, line 18, and p. 124, line 24.

¹ Chhapana in this name probably is the Prâkrit *chhappanna* or Sanskrit *śatpañcāśat*, 'fifty six.'

² *Vayâlisi* would be the Prâkrit *bhāyālisam* or Sanskrit *dvāchatvāśmīśat*, 'forty two'

³ *Têraha* in this name probably is the Prâkrit *teraḥa* or Sanskrit *trayōdaśan*, 'thirteen.'

⁴ *Chhâsathi* apparently is the Sanskrit *śatśaṣṭi*, 'sixty-six.'— Prof Hultzsch suggests that the *varaḥa* of Kô[ṭh]takôpâvaralôtt[ra]- may be the Prâkrit *bâraha* or Sanskrit *dvādaśan*, 'twelve', and *pacha* of Têmishapachôttara- the Sanskrit *pañchan*, 'five.'

The Kapâlamôchana-ghatta, above, Vol. IV p 110, line 13

The Trilôchana-ghatta, *Ind. Ant* Vol XVIII p. 11, line 12

The Vêdêśvara-ghaṭṭa, above, Vol. IV p 114, L

The Avimukta-kshêtra, *ibid* p 114, L, and p 113, line 18.

The Kôti-tîrtha, below, p 159, line 15

(The temples of) Aghôrêśvara, Indramâdhava, Laudêśvara and Pañchôm-kâra (below, p 153, lines 18 and 19), Krittivâsas (above, Vol IV p 126, line 22), and Lôlâika (above, Vol. V p 118, line 18)

Of Prayâga (the temple of) Gangâditya is mentioned, above, Vol. IV. p 122, line 22.

* * *

Of the new inscriptions the most interesting is C, because it records a grant by Gôvindachandra's son, the Yuvarâja Âsphôtachandra, who was unknown to us before. And the inscription A is peculiar in recording the gift of a house at Benares, not the grant of a village. The three grants recorded in C, D and E were made in favour of one and the same Brâhman, a sun-worshipper and student of the *Jyôtihsâstra* — The taxes specified are the *bhûgabhôgakara* (mentioned in 50 plates of this family), the *pravânikara* (mentioned in 44 plates), the *turushkadanda* (mentioned in 23 plates, but not in any of the plates of Jayachandria), the *kumaragadrânaka* (mentioned in 10 plates), the *hiranya* (mentioned in 9 plates), and the *jalakara* and *gôkara* (mentioned together in 1 plates only)

A —PLATE OF GÔVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1171

This is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' ½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, the legend *śrîmad-Gôvindacha[m]dradêva[h*]*, in Nâgarî letters about ⅓" high, above the legend, the figure of a Garuda, squatting down and facing to the proper right, and below the legend, a conch-shell. The plate contains 21 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅓ and ½". The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the dental sibilant is often employed for the palatal, and the palatal occasionally (as in *rasîka*, l 3) for the dental, and the words *vamsa* and *tâmraka* are written *vansa* and *tâmraka*, ll. 2 and 21. I may also point out that the sign of *avagraha* is used in *snâtvâ smâbhvr=*, l 18

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhâṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhîrâja Paramêśvara Gôvinda-chandradêva*, who records that, on Monday, the full-moon tithi of Mâgha of the year 1171 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted a dwelling-place (*âvâsa*¹) to the *Manattaka Dâymârman*,² son of the *Thakkura Mahûkara* and son's son of the *Thakkura Kâkû*, [a Brâhman] of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, whose three *pravaras* were Bhâradvâja, Ângirasa and Bârhaspatya. The dwelling-place so granted was at Benares itself, and lay to the east of (the) Aghôrêśvara and Pañchôm-kâra, and to the west of (the) Indramâdhava and Laudêśvara (temples) — The grant (*tâmraka*) was written by the *Karanîka Jalhana*³. It contains no imprecatory verses.

¹ The original has *avâsa* and treats this word as a neuter noun. Compare *arâsanîkâ* for *arâsanîkâ*, frequently used in the Sîyadônî inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 168

² Compare the name *Dâyi* (*Dâyîka*), above, Vol IV p 171

³ The same Jalhana wrote the grant of [Vikrama-]samvat 1172, published above, Vol IV p 101, where he is described as *sri-Vâstavyakul ôdbhûta-kâyastha-thakkura*. The term *karanîk-ôdgata* of the present grant describes him literally as 'descended from a *Karanîka*,' Chitrâgupta, with whom he is compared, is 'one of Yama's attendants (recorder of every man's good and evil deeds)'

The date appears to be slightly irregular. In Vikrama-samvat 1171 current the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended on Thursday, the 22nd January A D 1114, and in Vikrama-samvat 1171 expired the same *tithi* commenced 10 h 12 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January A D. 1115. This Monday most probably is the day intended by the grant, but I should have expected it to be connected with the 14th *tithi* of the bright half, not with the full-moon *tithi*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

- 14 ¹-śrīmad-Gōvindachandradevō vijayī ||² śrīmad-Vārānasyām
nirvāsi-
- 15 nō nikhīla-[janapa]dān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mamtri-purohita-
pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāndāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhūsha-
- 16 g-naimitti[k-ā]ntahpurika-duta-karituragapattanākarasthānagokulādhikāri-purushān=ājñā-
payati vo(bō)dhayaty=ādīsan cha yathā |
- 17 viduam=astu bhavatam=ēkasaptatyadhik-aikādeśa-³samvatsarē Māghē māsi
śukle-pakshē purnnamāsyām=amkē=pi samvat 1171 Māgha-su-
- 18 di 15 Sōmē || śrī-Vārānasyām Gamgāyām snātva śmābhīr-gōkarana-kuśalatā-
pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvam śrī-Vārānasyām=ēv=Āghōrēśva-
- 19 ra-Pamchōmkārayōh pūrvvē | tath=Ēmdramādhava-Laudēśvarayōh paśchimē
avāsam=īdam⁴ Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Bhāradvaj-Āngirasa-Vā(bā)-
- 20 rhaspatya-tribpravarāya⁵ tha⁶ | śrī-Kākū-pantrāya | ta(tha)⁶ | śrī-Mahākara-putrāya
mahattaka-śrī-Dāyīma(sa)rmanē pradattam⁷ matvā sa[r]vvar=a-
- 21 pi paripalayitavyam=iti | ॥ ⁸Karanik-ōdgatō vidvāmś=Chitragupt-ōpamo
gunaih | yasasē Jalhana[h*] śrīmān=ah[kha*]t=tāmvrakam⁹ mud[ā] ||

B — PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1187

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 6¼" broad by 1' 1" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole about 1¼" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 24 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between 2/3 and 7/8". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārōjādhirāja Paramēśvaru Gōvindachandradēva*, who records that, on Sunday, the *Āgrahāyanī* or full-moon *tithi* of *Mārgaśira* of the year 1187 (given in figures only), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of *Palasaundi* in the *Nandivāra pattalā* to the *Prināchārya Bhaṭṭa Pandita Khōnaśarman*, son of the *P Bh P Ravidhara*, son's son of the *P. Bh P Gōhada* and son of the son's son of the *P Bh P Mangala*, a *Brāhman* of the *Parāvasa*¹⁰ *gōtra* whose

¹ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauḷi plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV p 100 f. The main differences are that the present plate adds the words *sa cha* before the word *paramabhāṭṭāraka* of line 11, and omits the passage *avapati* . . . *Vāchaspati* in lines 13 and 14 of the Kamauḷi plate.

² This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 15-20 are superfluous.

³ Read *-aikādatasata*.

⁴ Read *paśchīma avāsam=īdam* (or, correctly, *paśchīma avāsō=yam*). The construction of *nūrvē* and *paśchimē* with the genitive case is contrary to the rules of grammar.

⁵ Read *-tripravarāya*.

⁶ Le *thakkura*.

⁷ Read *pradattam=iti* (or, correctly, *pradatta iti*).

⁸ Read *tāmvrakam*.

⁹ Metre *Ślōka* (Anushtubh), the first Pada is faulty.

¹⁰ So the name is given in the plate, but I am not sure that it is correct.

three *pravaras* were Kānkāyana, Kauśika and Dhaumya, and student of the Śāṅkhāyana-¹ Bahvricha² śākhā — The taxes specified (in line 20) are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, *hiranya*, *pravanikara* and *tvrushkadanda* The writer's name is not given.

The title *prānāchārya* which, with *bhāṭṭa* and *pandita*, is prefixed to the names of the donee and his ancestors, I have not met elsewhere, and I cannot give its exact meaning

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1187 expired, corresponds to Sunday, the 16th November A D 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgasīra commenced 3 h. 11 m after mean sunrise.³

The localities I am unable to identify

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12⁴-śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvō vijayī ||⁶ Nāṇdivāra-pattalāyām |⁶
Palasaumdi-giāma-nvāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=a[pi] [cha*] rāja-rājñī-yuva-
- 13 [iā]ja-mantri-purohita-pratīhāra-sēuāpati-bhāmdāgūrik-ākshapatalika-bhishaka(g)-na 1 m 1 -
ttik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthāna[g]ōkulādhikāri-puru-
- 14 [shā]n samājñīpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīsa(śa)ti va(cha) yathā viditam=astu
bhavatām yath=ōparīkṣita-grāmah sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavan ākarah sa-matsy-
ākarah sa-garīt-ōsharah sa-ma-
- 15 [dhū]ka chūta-vana-vātikā-vitapa-trīna-pū(yū)ti-gōchara-paryantās=va(cha)turāghāta-visu-
(su)ddhah s[v*]a-sīmā-paryantah s-ōiddh[v*]-ādīhah samvat 1187
Mārggasī(śi)ra-mā[sé]⁶ Āgrahani-pūrnīmā-
- 16 [sy]ām Ravi-dinē śrīmad-Vārānasyām Gaṅgāpi(yām) snātvā vidhivan=
mamta-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gānāns=tarpayitvā timira-patala-pātana-
pa[t]u-mahasam=Ushnarōchisham=upasthā-
- 17 y=Aushadhīpati-sa(śa)kala-sō(śō)kharam samabhyarchhya tribhuvana-trātur=
Vāsudēvasya pūjām=vidhāya⁷ prachura-pāyasena havishā havirbhujam hutvā
mātāpitṛi-ōi=ātmanaś=cha punya-yasō(śō)-
- 18 [bhi]vridhdhayē Pāvāsa-⁸gōtrāya |⁹ Kāmkāyana-¹⁰Kauśi(śi)ka-Dhaumya-trīpravarāya |
Śikhyāyanavashthacha-sākhinō¹¹ prānāchārya-bhāṭṭa-pandita-śrī-Mārgala-
prapautiāya | prānāchā-
- 19 ya-bhāṭṭa-pandita-śrī-Gōhāda-pautrāya | prānāchārya-bhāṭṭa-pandita-śrī-Ravidhara-
putrāya | prānāchārya-bhāṭṭa-pandita-śrī-Khōnasa(śa)rmmaṇō vrā(brū)hmanāy=
āsmabhih¹² gōkarāna-kuśala-
- 20 ti-pūta-karatalōdaka-pūrvvam=ā-ohandr-ārkkam yāvat¹³ sāsānikṛityā pradattah¹⁴ |
iti matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-hiranya-pravanikara-tvrushkadanda-
prabhṛiti-samast-ā-

¹ The plate has *Śikhyayana*, apparently for *Samkhyayana* which occurs (for *Śāṅkhāyana*-) also in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII. p 17, line 19

² *I e* of the Rigveda

³ Compare the date of Rajwān plate of Gōvīndachandra (in *Ind Ant*. Vol XIX. p. 372, No 193), which apparently corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgasīra ended 1 h 25 m after mean sunrise

⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvīndachandra, published above, Vol IV p 100 f In verse 6, *vijayatē* has been erroneously engraved between *vijayatē* and *vija-*, in verse 8 we have *-vaddh-* instead of *vandh-*, and in the prose passage that follows the verses, *sa cha* was engraved before the first *paramabhāṭṭaraka-*, but seems to have been struck out again

⁵ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁶ Read *-māsa Āgrahāni-purnamāsyām*

⁷ Read *pujam vidhaya*.

⁸ The reading is certain, but I am not sure that it is correct.

⁹ The signs of punctuation in lines 18 20 are superfluous

¹⁰ This name is quite clear in the impression

¹¹ Read *Śāṅkhāyana bahvricha-sākhinō*.

¹² Read *ōbhīr=*.

¹³ Read *yāvach=chāsa°*.

¹⁴ Read *ōdatta iti*.

21 dāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || ☞ || Bhavanti ch=ātra slo(ślo)kaḥ ||

C — PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA AND THE YUVARĀJA MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA
 ĀSPHŌTACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1190

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3¼' broad by 1' 1½' high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅓" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2⅓" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

*mahārājaputra-śrīma-
 d-Āsph[ō]tacha[m]drad[ē]rah ||*

in Nāgarī letters between ⅓" and ⅔" high, above the legend, a conch-shell, and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right. The plate contains 28 lines of well preserved writing. The size of the letters is about ⅓" The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *bhāḥramur*, and occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Paramabhatṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramśīara Gōvindachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Āsphōtschandradēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives and anointed as *Yuvarāja* (or heir-apparent), records that, on Friday, the third tithi, the Akshaya-tritiyā and Yugadī, of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the year 1190 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of Kanāuta in the Nandini pattalā to the *Pandita Dāmōdaraśarma*—son of the *Pandita Madanapāla*, son's son of Lokapāla and son of the son's son of Gunapāla—a Brāhman of the Kāsyapa gōtra, whose three *pravara*s were Kāsyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva, who was a student of the *Vajasanēya sūkhā* (of the *Yajur-vēda*) and a sun-worshipper (*saura*), and who knew the five *siddhantas* of the *Jyōtiḥśāstra*—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhūgabhōgākāra*, *pravānikāra*, *turushādanda* and *humaragadūnaka*. The grant was written by the *Thaklura Gāgeka* ²

The date, for the *Kārttikidī Vikrama-samvat* 1190 expired, corresponds to Friday, the 30th March A. D. 1134, which was the proper day of the Akshaya-tritīya and the (Tretā-) yugādī, because the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended on it 13 h 2 m after mean sunrise ³

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

- 12 -śrīmad-Gōvinda-
 13 chamdradēvō vijayī || Tad-ētat-sammatyā samastarājapraḥkriyōpēta-yauvarājyā-
 bhūshikta-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōṭachamdradēvō vijayī ||⁵ Nandini-pattalā-
 14 yām Kanāuta-grāma-nivāsinō nikhīla-janapadān=upagatān=apī cha raja-rajūi-
 ma[n*]tri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāndagārik-ākshapatalika-

¹ Here follow the six verses commencing *Bhūmim yah pratigrīhanti, Śaṅkham bhādr āsanam, Sarvan-ētan-
 bhāvīnah, Bahubhīr=varudhā, Suvarnam=ēkam, and Tadaganam sahasrēna*

² Gāgeka most probably is identical with the Gāgūka who wrote the grants F, G, and H, treated on above,
 Vol. IV p 107 ff.

³ The proper time for the Akshaya tritīyā and the Tretayugādī is the forenoon, see *Ind Art* Vol XXVI
 p 179

⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauh plate of Gōvindschandra, published
 above, Vol IV p. 100 f

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

- 18 mad-Rājyapālapurē Gamgāyām suātvā vidhivau=mantia-dīva-muni-manuja-bhūta-
pitṛi-gaṇāms=taippayitvā timira-patila-pāṭana-pata-maha-sa[m=U]shṇaiśchishu[m=
- 19 y=Anubhadhipati-rakala-śiśha(pha)ram samabhyarchehya tribhuvana-tiātai=Vyānudōvusa
pūjam vidhāya prachina-pāyaśna kavilā havubhujam hutvā mātāpi[ti]jor=
ātmanas=cha
- 20 punya(ṇya)-yaśo-bhivṛiddhaya¹ Kūsyapa-augotriya | Kūsyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhiuva-
tripravaiṇya | Vājusañcya-śākhinō | paṇḍita-sri Gunapāla-p[ri]apautiṇya |
pa[m*]ḍita-śri-Lokapāla-[pauṇiṇya | paṇḍita-sri]-
- 21 Madanapala-putriṇya | paṇḍita-sri-Dāmodarasa[m*]mānō² viā(hra)hmanāy=āsmabhu=
ggokarṇa-kuśalata-pūta-karūal-ōlva(daka-pūṇya(ṇva))m = u - c h a m d r - ā r k k a m
yāvach=chhā-sunikṛitya pradā[tt]ō³ [matva]
- 22 yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-pravanika[ra*]-jalakara-gōkara-turushkadanda-prabhṛiti-
sa[m]ast-ādyaṇ=ājūavidhōyibhāya dāsyath=ōti⁴ || Bhavanti ch-stra dharmā-
āna[śam(śā)]sinah
- 23 ślōkāḥ ||⁶
- 30 || ॐ || Likhitaṁ ch=śam⁵ tāmva-puttakam karānika-thakkura-
śri-Vivikōu=ōti || ||

E.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1207.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 5½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ¾" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 26 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅓". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *bubhrumur* =, occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental (as in *sahasra*, twice), and the word *hansō* is written *hansō*, in line 25.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramśvara Gōvindhadradeva*, who records that, on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Pausa of the year 1207 (given in words and figures), on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, after bathing at the Kōṭi-tirtha at Bonpros, he granted the village of Lōhrupādā,⁷ together with Tivāyi-kshētra,⁸ in the Umbarūla pattalā, to the *Paṇḍita* Damodaraśarman, known to us already as the donor of the grants Q. and D.—The taxes specified (in lines 17) are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, *pravanikara* and *turushkadanda*. The grant (*tāmra*) was written by Vidya-dhara, the son of (the *Karānika*) Dhandhūka.⁹

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1207 expired, corresponds to Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1150, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 3 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.

¹ This and the other signs of punctuation in lines 20 and 21 are superfluous.

² The *akshara* *ra* is engraved over *rt* which had been originally engraved.

³ Read *pradatta iti matvā*.

⁴ Read *dasyath=ōti*.

⁵ Here follow the eleven verses commencing *Bhāsm yaḥ pratigrīhṇāti, Saṅgham bhadr dānam, Bahubhir=rasudhā, Sarvaṇ=śtan=bhāvinah, Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāni, Gam=śkām, Tuddyaṇām sahasrēṇa, Sva dattām para dattām nā, Vāri-hindshv=aranyēshu, Yān=tha dattām* and *Vat-ābhra vibhramam*.

⁶ Read *tāmra*.

⁷ Or, perhaps, Lōhrupādā, see the note on the text.

⁸ This was perhaps a *patāka* of Lōhrupādā.

⁹ Dhandhūka wrote the grant of Vikrama-samvat 1201, treated of above, Vol. V p. 116, and is most probably identical with the *Thakkura* Dhandhūka who wrote the grant of Vikrama-samvat 1197, noticed above, Vol. VI p. 111.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 11¹śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijayī ||² Umvarāla-pattalāyām |³
Tivāyī-kshētrēna saha⁴Lōh[ru]pādā-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhūla-janapadan-upagatān=
apī cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarā-
- 12 ja-mantri-puṣhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāndāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhishag-naimuttik-ānta h -
purika-dūta-karituragapattanākara[sth]ānagokuladhikāri-puruyā(shā)n = a j ū a p a y a t i
vō(bō)-
- 13 dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā |⁵ viditam=astu bhavatām |⁶ yath=oparīkṣita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-
sthalah sa-loha-lavan-ākarah sa-matsy-ākarah sa-gartt-ōsharah sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-
vātikā-vitapa-tri-
- 14 na-[yū]ti-gōchāra-paryantah s-orddhv-ādhas=chaturāghāta-vīsuddhah sva-sīmā-paryantah
samvatsarānām saptādika-dvādaśasāteshu Paushē masī śukla-pakshe
panchamyām ti[th]au Sōma-dinē sukē=pi samvsta(t) 1207
- 15 Pausha-śudī 5 Sōmē(ma) uttarāyana-samkrāntāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām
Kōti-ti[rthē] snjātvā mātāpitror=atmanās=cha pu[nyā]-yasō-bhuvriddhayē=smābhur=
ggā(ggō)kaipua-kusalatā-pūta-karatī-ōdala-pu-⁵
- 16 rrvam Kasya(sya)pa-gotrāya |⁶ Kāśya(śya)p-Āvatsāra-Naidhri(dhru)va-triḥpravarāya⁷ |
Vājasaneya-sā[kh]inē paudita-śrī-Lōkapala-pautrāya | paudita-sī-Madanapāla-
pautrāya | paudita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmma-
- 17 nē vra(brā)[hma]nāy=[ā*]-chandri-āikkam yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradatto⁸ matvā
yathādīyamāna-bhagabhōgākara-praxanikara-turushkadanda-prabhriti-sarv - ā d ā y ā n =
ā[jū]āvīdhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || chha || Bhavanti ch=atra
- 18 ślokāh ||⁹
- 24 || chha ||¹⁰Bhū-bharttur=asya kaianē
- 25 saras=iva hanson¹¹ Dhandhūka ity=antamīra-divākarō=bhūt | tasy=ātmanjēna guṇn=ēdam=
alēkhi tām[ram] Vidyādharēna dharanītala-bhūshanēna || Yāvad=guṇa Dhanapatēi=
vvasati Smarārir=yāvan=niśāpati-
- 26 r=amshya lalāta-pattē | krodē kuranga-sisur=asya cha yāvad=ētat=tāvat=sthuibhavatu
sāsanam=asta-vighnam || ❧ ||

No 15 —PIKIRA GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

Two sets of ink-impressions of this copper-plate grant were sent to me by Mī Venkayya who had received the original on loan from the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras, to whom it had been despatched by the Collector of Nellore It was 'originally sent by

¹ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauh plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol IV p 100 f.

² These two signs of punctuation are superfluous, read vijayī=Umbarāla-

³ This name may possibly have to be read Lōlikapāda-

⁴ These two signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁴ Read -ōdaka pū-

⁵ The signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous

⁷ Read -trīpraturāya

⁸ Read pradatta iti matva

⁹ Here follow the twelve verses commencing Bhūmim yah pratīgrīhātī, Śan'kham bhadrāsanam, Sīrcān=elān=bhāvīnah, Bahubhīr=rasudhā, Gām=ēkam, Taddgānam sahasrēna, Sva dattam para dattam vā, Shashtīm varsha-sahasrāni, Vārī hinēshīr=aranyēshu, Na visham, Yēn=īha dattam and Vāt ābhra vibhramam

¹⁰ Metre here and below Vasantatilakā

¹¹ Read hamsō

the village Munsiff of Nelatur, Ongole táluka, now part of the Guntur district, to the Deputy Tahsildar of Addanki and formed part of the unclaimed property of a dead Bairági."

Mr Venkayya furnished me with the following description — "There are five copper-plates on a ring, weighing together 70 tolas. The outer sides of the first and the last plates, which bear no letters, as well as the edges of the plates, are smooth. The plates measure almost 7" in length and $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. Plates ii to iv are a little thicker than i and v. Part of the writing on plate i shows through on the blank side of it. The ring was cut by me and rivetted subsequently. The diameter of the ring is $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and its thickness $\frac{1}{8}$ " on the average. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal is very much worn, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, an animal with mouth open and facing the proper left. It is represented sitting on a horizontal line which is in relief, and it resembles very closely the animal represented on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind Ant.* Vol V p 50). The tail of the animal is not seen, neither are its forelegs."

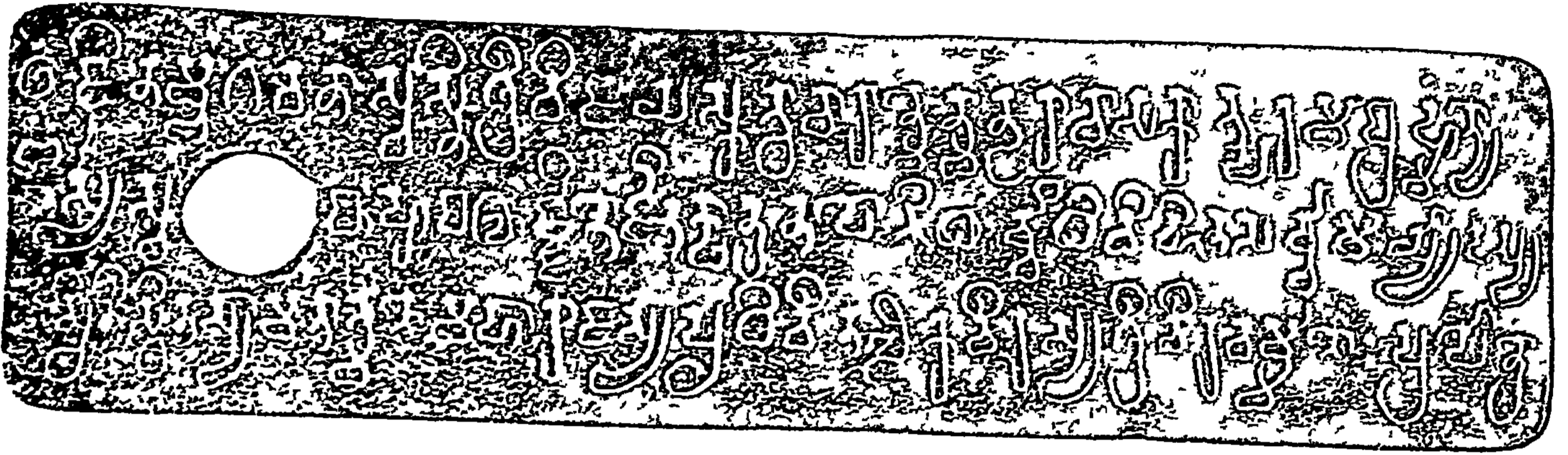
The engraving of the inscription is on the whole carefully done and well preserved. The language is Sanskrit prose, and three Sanskrit verses of the *Rishi* (Vyasa) are quoted at the end of the inscription. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli and Māngalūr grants¹. But there is one point in which the three grants differ. In the Uruvupalli grant *ta* has a loop on the left, as in Tamil, and *na* has none. In the Māngalūr grant both the form with the loop and the one without it are used in the case of *ta*, while *na* has no loop except in *kratánám* (l 16). In the new inscription the forms with and without loop are used for both *ta* and *na*, though in the majority of cases *ta* has a loop and *na* has none. A final form of *m* occurs five times (ll 13, 18, 23, and twice in l 24). Plates i, ii b and iv b are marked on the left margin with the numerical symbols 1, 2 and 4, while plates iii b and v are not numbered.

The inscription opens with the same invocation of Bhagavat (Vishnu) as the Uruvupalli and Māngalūr grants. It records the grant of the village of Píkira in the district named Munda-rāshtra (l 14) in the fifth year of the reign (l 18) of the Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman (l 14), who was the son of the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa (l 9 f), the grandson of the Mahārāja Skandavarman (II) (l 7), and the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Viravarman (l 3). To the name of each of these four princes are prefixed a number of laudatory epithets which resemble those used in the Uruvupalli grant, where, however, they are differently arranged and applied to the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman, his father Mahārāja Skandavarman (II), his grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman, and his great grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (I). In the Māngalūr grant the epithets differ, but the kings are, as in the Píkira grant, the Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman, his father Yuvarāja Vishnugōpa, his grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (II), and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman.

The date of the Píkira grant is the fifth year, and that of the Māngalūr grant the eighth year, of Simhavarman's reign. The Uruvupalli grant was made by the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman, but is dated in the eleventh year of the Mahārāja Simhavarman, whose relation to the donor is not stated. Dr. Fleet concluded from this that the Simhavarman of the Uruvupalli plates was an otherwise unknown elder brother of Vishnugōpa. I would propose another solution of the difficulty. The term Yuvarāja or Yuvamahārāja, which is prefixed to Vishnugōpa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Simhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II to his son Simhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Vishnugōpa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown, he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Simha-

¹ Edited with photo lithographs by Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant.* Vol V. p 50 ff. and p 154 ff

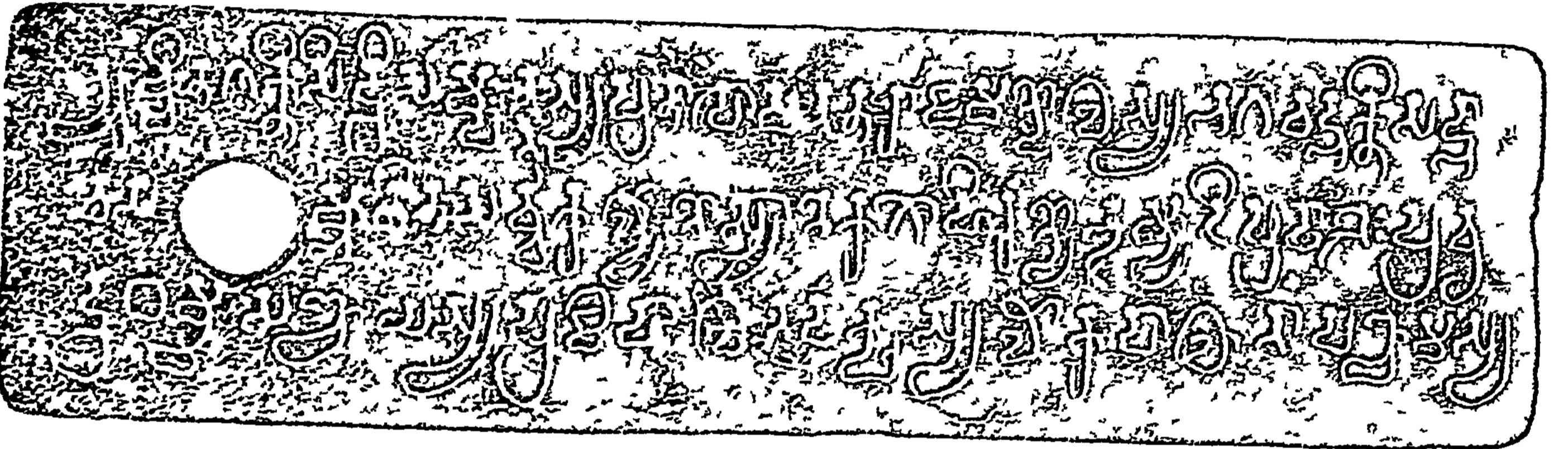
1



2

2

11



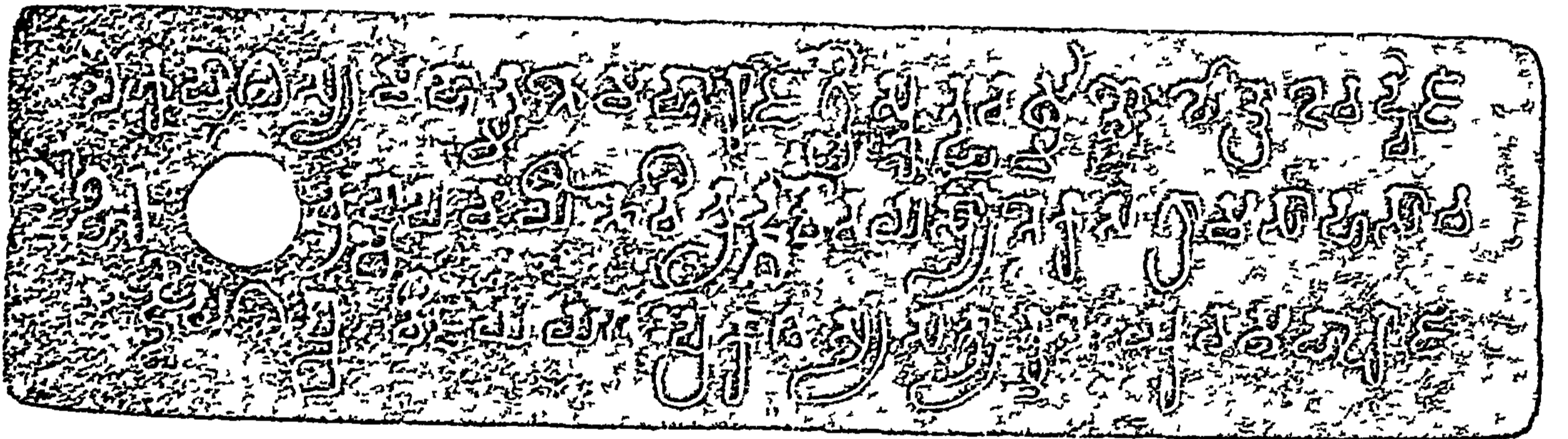
4

4

6

6

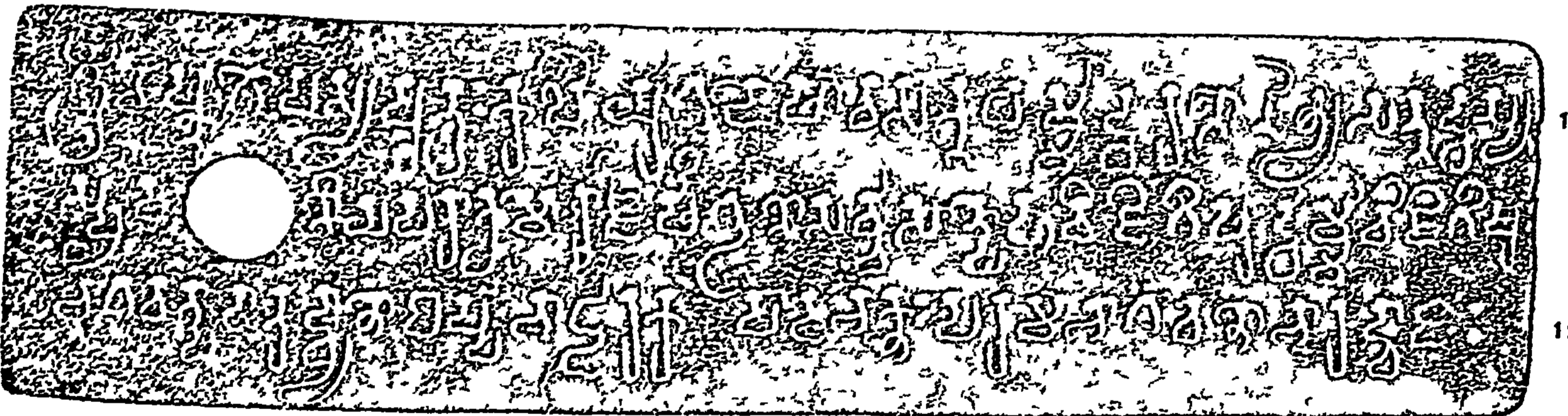
11b



8

8

111 c



10

10

12

12

E HULTZSCH

FULL-SIZE

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

PRO 1 INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY I. S. V. VENKAYYA

14

14
 14
 14

14

16

16
 16
 18

16

18

20

20
 20

20

22

22
 24

22

24

varman, to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher would say—the Uruvupalli grant.

The Píkira grant was issued from the camp at Mēnmātura (1 1), the Māngalūr grant from Daśanapura,¹ and the Uruvupalli grant from the residence (*sthāna*) Palakkada. I am unable to identify Mēnmātura. As regards the two other names, I have shown that Dr Burnell's identification of Palakkada with the modern Pulicat is untenable². Dr Burnell was further inclined to consider Palakkada the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit name Daśanapura³. As stated by Dr Fleet,⁴ this derivation is equally unsoand. For the Telugu word for 'a tooth' is not *pala*, but *pallu* (genitive *panṭi*), and *kada* does not mean 'a town,' but 'a place, a side'. Nor is it safe to connect Daśanapura with its synonym Dantapura which, according to the *Jātaka*⁵ and the *Dāthāvaṃsa*,⁶ was the capital of Kalinga and may be meant for Kalinganagara, the modern Mukhalugam in the Gañjam district,⁷—far to the north of the Pallava territory. Thus the three ancient local names Mēnmātura, Daśanapura and Palakkada are still awaiting identification. In his *Annual Report* for 1904-05, p 47, Mr Venkayya has shown that they may have to be looked for in the present Nellore district.

TEXT⁸

First Plate

- 1 Om⁹ [1*] Jitam=bhagavatā [1*] Svasti [1*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārān=
Mēnmātur-āvāsakāt=parama-brahmanya-
- 2 sya sva-bahu-bal-ārjṇit-ōrjṇita-kshātra-tapō-nidh[ē*]r=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-
maryyādasya
- 3 sthiti-sthitasy=ām[1]tātmanō mahārājasya prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-
Viravarmmanah prapautrō=

Second Plate, First Side

- 4 bhynchchita-¹⁰śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-¹¹rāja-mandalasya
bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhā-
- 5 va-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyānasy=ānēka-gō-hiranya-bhūmy - ā d i - p r a d ā n a i h
pravri-
- 6 ddha-dharma-saṅchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām pañchamasya

Second Plate, Second Side

- 7 lōkapālasya mahātmanō mahārāja-śr[i]-Skandavarmmanah pautrō dēva-dviya-
- 8 guru-vriddh-āpachayinō¹² vivṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka samgrāma-sāhas-āva-
- 9 mardd-ōpalabdha-¹³vijaya-yaśah-prakāśasya satyātmanō yuvamahārāja-

¹ In the Darśi fragment, Daśanapura is called a residence (*adhishthāna*), *Ep Ind* Vol. I p. 398

² *Loc cit* note 4

³ *South-Ind. Pal* sec ed. p 36, note

⁴ *Dyn Kan Distr* p 318, note 12

⁵ Vol. VII. p 66, s v Dantapura

⁶ Edited by Prof Rhys Davids (*Journal of the Pāl. Text Society*, 1884), II 57, 98, 100, III 2

⁷ Above, Vol IV p 187 ff

⁸ From ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya

⁹ Expressed by the same symbol as in the Māngalūr grant

¹⁰ The photo-lithograph of the Uruvupalli grant (1 4) reads *prapautrasya-dchchita*, which may be meant for =*ōchchita*-

¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from -*ōpanata*-

¹² Read -*ōpachāyino*, as in 1 6 of the Uruvupalli grant

¹³ A superfluous hook is attached to the right of the *ma* and of the *rdāō*.

Third Plate, First Side.

- 10 śr[ī]-V[ī]ṣṇugōpasya putraḥ kaliyuga-dōḥ-avasanna dharīam tddharāṇa-
n[ī]tya-sannaddhasya
11 sprīhaṇīya-parākramō rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigīshur-ddharmma-
vijigīshuh¹
12 bhagavat-pād-ānuddhyātō bappa-bhāttaraka²pāda-bhaktah parama bhāgavatō
Bhāiadvājah

Third Plate; Second Side

- 13 sva-vikram ākīānt ānya nripa śri-nīlayānām yathāvad āhrit-ānēk-āśvamēdhānām
14 Pallavānān-dharmmamahārāja-śri-Sindhavarmanō Muṇḍa-rāshṭre Pīkīrō
grāmō grā-
15 mōyakān=atr=ādīkṛtōn=sarvādhyaksha-vallava-³śātanasaūchōriṇāś=ch=ā]āā-
payaty=Ayam grāmah

Fourth Plate; First Side

- 16 Kāśyapāya Taittīyaya Vīlāsāśarmmanō sarva-parihārōpātō dōva-
17 bhōga hala varjyam=asmad-āyur-bala-vijay-abhivṛiddhaya⁴ samēdhamāna-
18 vijaya-r[ā*]jya-pañchama-sa[m*]vatsar-Āśvayuja-śukla-paksha-tṛi t l y ā -
yām⁴

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 19 brahmadēyī k[rī]ty-[ā]smābhūis=samprattas=Ṭatas=sarva-parihārair=a [y a] m
grāmah parihartta-
20 vya[h*] par[ī]hurayitavyaś=cha [l*] Yai=ch=ōdam=⁵asmach-chhānam-
atīkrāmōt=sa pāpas=śa-
21 īran=daṇḍam=arhaty=⁶Api ch=[ā*]tr=ārshūḥ ślōkā bhavanti || Bhūmi-
dana-saman=dānam=[ī]ha lō'ō na

Fifth Plate

- 22 vidyatō [l*] yah prayachchati bhūmim hi sarva-kāmān-dadāti
sah [l*] Bahubhūi=vasudh[ā] dattā
23 bahu[bh]īś=ch=[ā]nupātītā [l*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī=tasya tasya
[tadā] phalam [l*]
24 Sva-dattām para-dattā[m*] vā y[ō] harō[ta] vasundharām [l*]
g[avā][m*] [śata]-sahasrasya hantuh pibati kilbisham [l*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om* Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat⁷ (Vishṇu) Hail! From the prosperous camp of victory pitched at Mēnmātura,

(L. 3) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Viravarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 7.) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.),

(L. 9) the son of the glorious Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa,

¹ Read °gīshur=

² Read -bhātāraka-

³ Read *vallabha*, as in l 18 of the Māngajūr grant

⁴ Here follows a symbol which I cannot make out Perhaps it is a flourish which serves to fill up the vacant space at the end of the line

⁵ Read =ēdam=.

⁶ Corrected by the engraver from =arhatī.

⁷ On the expression *gītām bhagavatā* see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 25, note 1.

(L 12) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father,¹ the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Simhavarman, the rightful *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the Pallavas,² who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,— addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village (*named*) Pīkīra in Munda-rāshṭra and to the general overseers (*sarvādhyakṣa*), the favourites (*vallabha*) and the official messengers (*sāsanasaṁhārīn*)³ who are appointed to this (*district*).⁴

(L 15) “This village has been given by Us, having made (*it*) a *Brahmadēya*, to Vilasaśarman of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*) (and) of the Taittiriya (*sākhā*),—accompanied by all immunities, with the exception of the cultivated land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga-hala*),⁵ for the increase of Our length of life, power and victory, on the third (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja in the fifth year of (Our) reign of growing victory.

(L. 19.) “Therefore this village must be exempted and caused to be exempted with all immunities And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict, is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this there are also (*the following*) verses of the *Rishi* (*viz* Vyāsa) ”

[Ll 21—24 contain three of the customary verses]

No 16 —UNDIKAVATIKA GRANT OF ABHIMANYU.

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH.D ; HALLE (SAALE)

These copper-plates formed part of the collection of Dr Bhan Dajī, but there is no information as to where they came from. The inscription on them was already published by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journ Bombay Branch, R As Soc*, Vol XVI p. 88 ff, and was critically examined by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX p 509 ff. At his desire I here re-edit the text, to accompany the Plate now published, from excellent ink-impressions supplied by him. Dr Fleet contributes the following remarks —

“The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1886, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, through Major F H Jackson, Baroda. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

“The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring about 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ” by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ”. They are quite smooth, without any rims either fashioned or raised. They are fairly thick, and consequently the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good, except in a few letters, where the strokes were not firm and deep enough to finish them off properly. The interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. At several places on plates 11 b and 11 the surface has split and broken away, so that the writing is damaged there, the remainder of the record is in good order.

¹ On *bappa-bhattadraka-pāda-bhaktā* see above, Vol. IV p 143 and note 7

² Compare above, Vol. VI p 88 and note 3

³ The synonymous term *ājñāsamahārīn* occurs in *Gupta Inscr* p 237, text line 21, p 246, text line 24, and above, Vol III p 261, text line 13

⁴ I supply this word from the Uruvupalli grant which reads (l. 28 f)—*tasmin-vishayē sarvāyuktakāḥ sarvaśāntāyōkākāḥ* (') *rājavallabhāḥ sañcharantakāś-cha*. In both cases the district of Munda-rashtra is meant

⁵ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 157, note 1, and above, Vol. VII p 68.

“The ring is oval, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 1" to $1\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal is not of the customary kind. It was formed by flattening out part of the ring to a thickness of only about $\frac{1}{8}$ ", thus producing a six-sided surface, about $\frac{5}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", curved like the opposite part of the ring. The emblem on it,—which I take to be a *simha*, couchant to the left (proper right), with jaws open and tongue protruding between them,—was done in outline, rather roughly, in that surface. The weight of the three plates is $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $\frac{7}{8}$ oz. total, $11\frac{3}{8}$ oz.”

Dr Fleet assigns the inscription, on palæographical grounds, to approximately the seventh century A D¹. The *upadhmanīya* occurs thrice (ll 5, 7 and 13). A horizontal dash is used as a mark of punctuation in four cases². The language is Sanskrit. The genealogical portion contains $2\frac{1}{2}$ verses, and two other verses are quoted at the end. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The Sandhi rules are neglected before *u* in ll 15 and 16. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *drishṭā* (l. 6) and *trivarggā* (l. 8). Other irregularities are *vamsā* for *vamśā* (l. 5), *punya* for *punya* (l. 7), and *Jayasingha* for *Jayasimha* (l. 18).

The inscription is of historical importance because it contains the earliest mention of Rāshtrakūta kings. These princes seem to have belonged to a branch distinct from that of the Mālkhēd family, whose crest was the Garuda, while the seal of this grant bears a lion. The genealogical portion opens with the statement that “there was a king named Mānānka, who was the ornament of the Rāshtrakūtas, whose glory is adorned with a multitude of many virtues.” His son was Dēvarāja (l. 3 f). He had three sons (v. 2),—among them Bhavishya, whose son was Abhimanyu (l. 11). While the latter resided at Mānapuram (l. 12 f), he granted a small village (*grāmaka*) named Uṇḍikavāṭikā (l. 15).

If we look for the name of the donee, we are confronted by two genitives *Dakshina-Śivasya* (l. 14 f.) and *Jatābhāra-pravrajāsyā* (l. 15 f). Dr Fleet connected the first with the following word *Uṇḍikavāṭikā* and translated the second by “(the god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as Dakshina-Śiva) and has gone abroad to (and settled at) Jatābhāra,” which he identified with a temple called ‘Jutta Shunkur,’ i. e. Jatā-Śamkara³. To this may be objected that the time-hallowed technical meaning of *pravrajita* is ‘one who has left home to become a religious mendicant,’ and that this word would hardly be used with reference to an idol instead of the ordinary *pratiṣṭhāpita*. The two genitives can be explained by taking the first as the name of the donee and the second, as was done by Dr Bhagwanlal Indrap⁴, as the name of a Pāsupata ascetic in charge of the temple, to whom the grant was made over on behalf of the temple by pouring water into his hand. Hence I would translate l. 12 ff as follows —

“He who was adorning Mānapuram by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of (his) mother and father, the small village named Uṇḍikavāṭikā to (the temple of) Dakshina-Śiva belonging to [Pētha]-Pangaraka,⁵ by pouring water (into the hands) of the ascetic Jatābhāra. Towards this (grant) nobody should practise deceit.”

According to l. 18 the grant was made “in the presence of Jayasimha, the commander⁶ (of the fort) of Harivatsakōtta.” The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, the ‘Dakshina-Śiva (temple) belonging to [Pētha]-Pangaraka’ had been identified in the *Bombay Gazetteer* with the Mahādēva temple

¹ *Dyn Kan Distr* p 388

² After *patākā*, l. 6, *pravṛddhāh*, l. 7, *bhūmināthāh*, l. 9, and at the end of l. 19

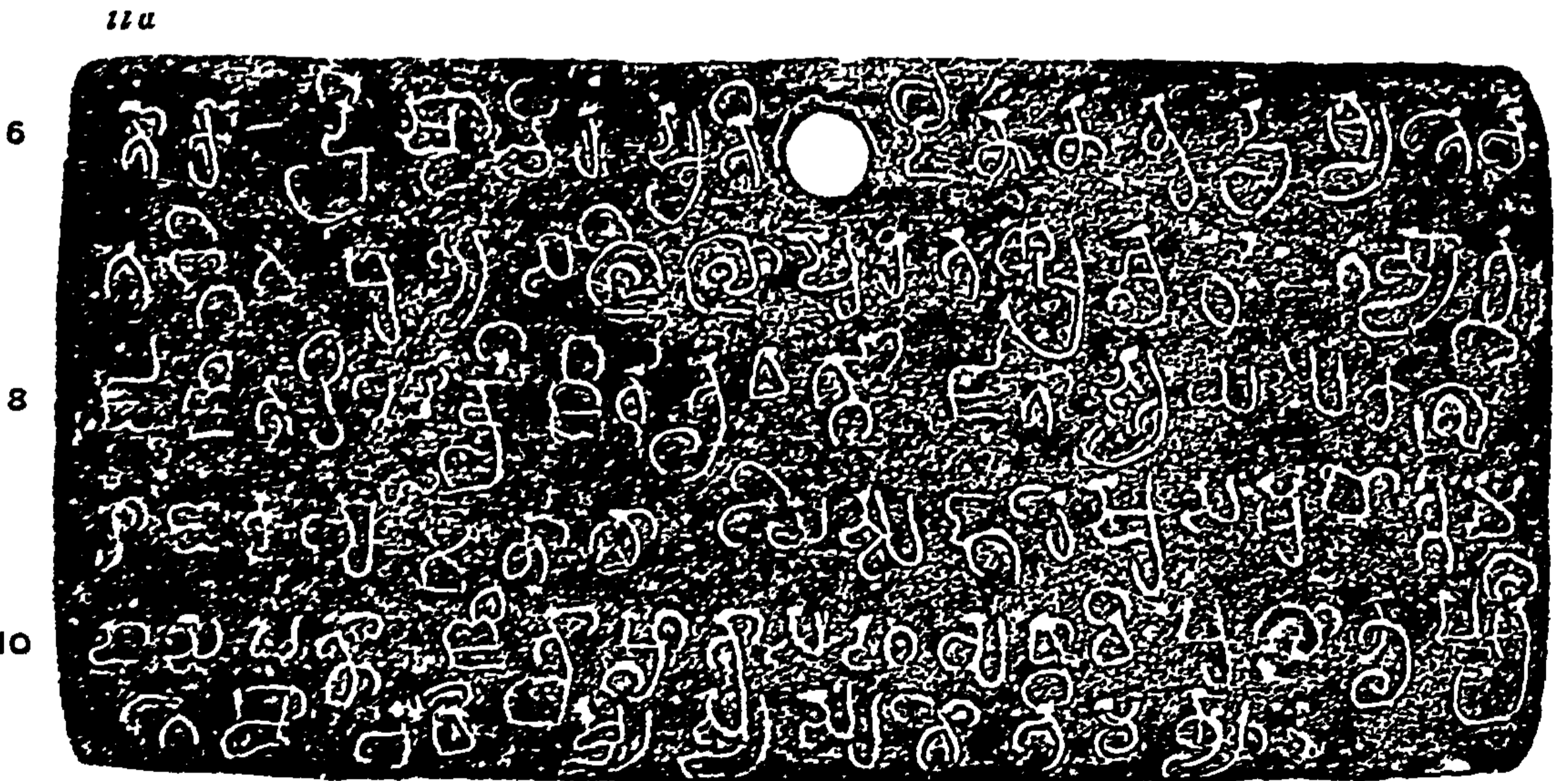
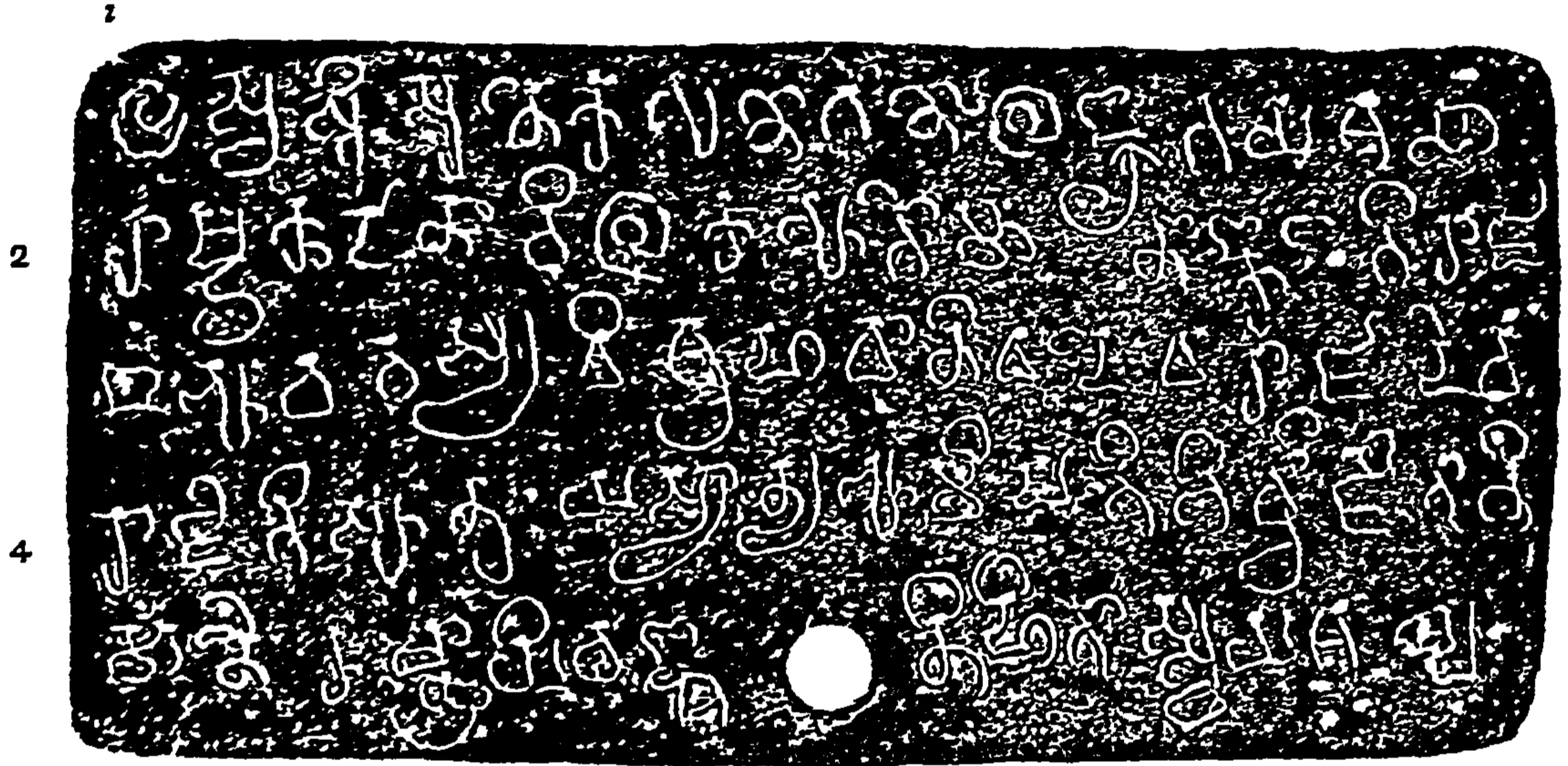
³ *Ind Ant* Vol XXX pp 510, 511, 513

⁴ *Journ Bombay Branch R As Soc*, Vol XVI pp 88 and 92

⁵ If the reading *pētha* is correct, the word may be the Hindi *pēth*, *pēnth*, Kannada *pēte*, and Tamil *pēttar*, ‘a market-town’. Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant* Vol XXX p 513) would prefer to take it as a territorial term, but in this case it ought to stand after the word *Pangaraka*.

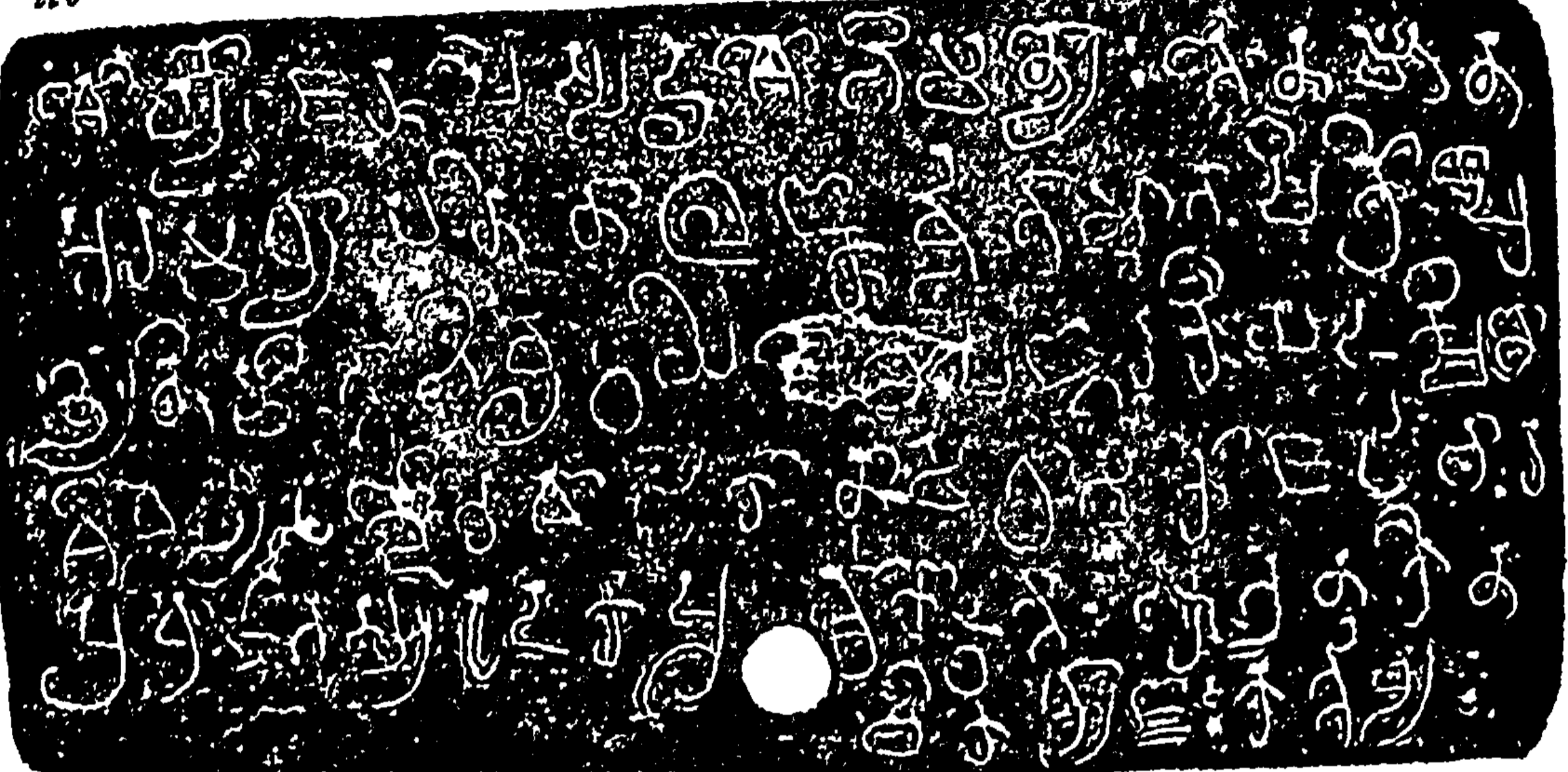
⁶ As stated by Dr. Fleet (*ibid* p 510), *kōṭṭa nīgraha* has to be taken here in the sense of *kōṭṭaḥ āla*

Untikavatika grant of Abhimanyu



12b

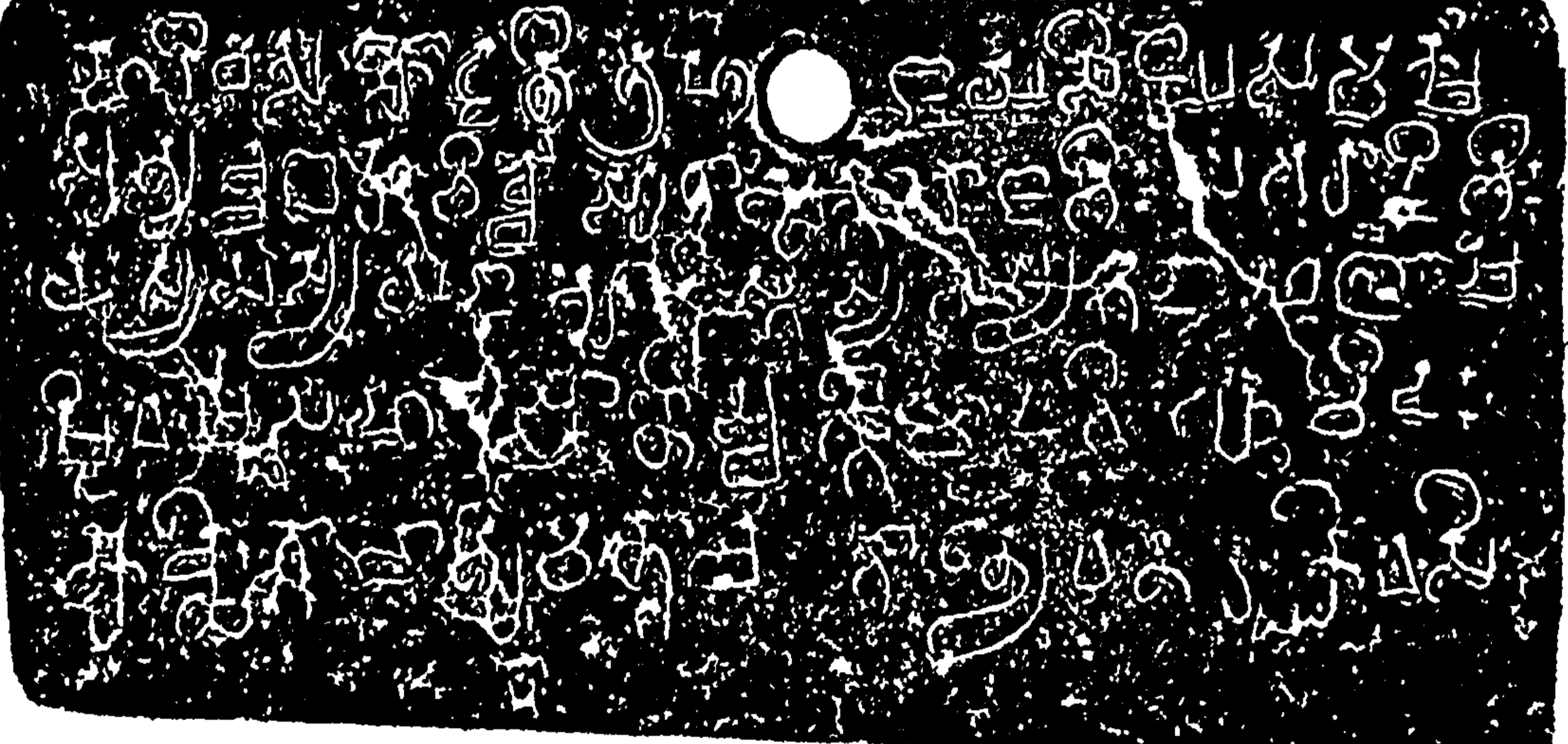
12
14
16



This image shows a rectangular tablet with a dark background and white cuneiform script. The script is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible near the bottom center of the tablet. The numbers 12, 14, and 16 are printed on the left side of the tablet, indicating line numbers.

111

18
20
22



This image shows a rectangular tablet with a dark background and white cuneiform script. The script is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible near the top center of the tablet. The numbers 18, 20, and 22 are printed on the left side of the tablet, indicating line numbers.

near Pagâra, which is about four miles north of Pachmarhî¹ In endorsing this identification, Dr Fleet suggested that Undikavâtikâ, the village granted, may be one of two villages named 'Oontiya' in the same neighbourhood.² He was inclined to identify Mânapuram with Mânpur near 'Bandhogarh' in Rêwa, provided that the Mânapuram of the inscription was to be understood as the capital of Abhimanyu, not as a temporary camp of his That the former alternative is correct, may perhaps be concluded from the name Mânapuram itself, which seems to be derived from Mânânka, the name of Abhimanyu's great-grandfather, and to mean 'the town or capital of Mâna or Mânânka'

TEXT.³*First Plate.*

- 1 Om⁴ svasti [||*] Anêka-guna-gan-âlankrita-yasasâm
 2 Râshtrakûtânâ[m] [t]ilaka-bhûtô Mânânka iti râjâ
 3 babhûva [l*] tasya vîgrahavân=iva Dêvaiâjâ(jô) Dêva-
 4 râj=êti sûnuh [l*] Yasy=⁵ânya-bhûmipatibhir=vvijit-â[bh]i-
 5 manair=uchchhrâyi-vanâsa-nihutâs=sva=⁶yasah-pa-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 takâ | dri(dri)shtâ chiram pratidinam nanu driśyatê cha
 7 Gang=êva punya(nya)-sahlâ puratah=pravri[d]dhâh⁷ |(||) [l*]
 Tasy=âtma-
 8 jâ jita-rîpôr=vvijita-tri(tri)varggâ jâtâs=trayas=sakala-
 9 râjaka-bhûminâthâh | yais=sangarêshu samupâtta-ma-
 10 da[n=*]sapatnâ[n̄=*]jivâ hritâ saha bhuvâ vipulâ
 nrîpa-śrî[h || 2*]
 11 Têshâm Bhavishyasya sutô=Bhimanyuh

Second Plate, Second Side

- 12 śauryy-ô[r*]ja-rûpais=sadriśo=Bhimanyôh⁸ [l*] Têna Mâna-
 13 puram=adhyasanên=âlankurvvatâ mâtâpitrôh=pu-
 14 nya-nimitt-âbhivriddhaye⁹ [Pêtha]-¹⁰Paṅgarakîya-Dakshina-
 15 Śiva[s]ya [U]ndikavâtikâ¹¹ nâma grâmakô Jatâbhâra-
 16 pravra[ji]tasya udaka-pûrvvakô dattah [l*] â(a)tra na
 k[ê]na-
 17 chiki¹² vyajah karttavyah [l*]

Third Plate

- 18 Harivatsakôttâ-nîgraha-Jayasîngha-¹³samaksham [l*]
 19 anyach=cha [l*] Ba[h]ubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhîh
 [Sa]gar-â[d]ibhîh |

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XXX. p 511 and note 16² From Dr Fleet's ink-impressions³ Metre of verses 1 and 2 Vasantatilakâ.⁴ Cancel the *visarga*⁵ As pointed out by Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant* Vol. XXX p 509, note 1), the correct expression would be

puny abhivriddhî-nimittam

⁶ This word is much damaged⁷ Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant* Vol XXX p 509, note 2) reads *Undikavâtikâ*; but the subscript *d* of the second syllable of *Uṇdi* differs in shape from the *t* of *driśhâ* (l 6), *koṣṭa* (l 18) and *śashtî* (l 20 f)⁸ Read *chit* or, more correctly, *chid*=⁹ *Ibid* p 514¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol¹¹ Read *-cama-nihitâ sta-*¹² The second half of this *Indravajrâ* verse is missing¹³ Read *Jayasîmha*

- 20 yasya yasya yadâ bhû[m]is=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [I*]
 Sha-
 21 shṭi-varsha-sahasrâni svarggê môdati bhûmi-dah [I*]
 22 âchchhêtâ ch=ânumentâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasê[t] [I*]

No. 17.— EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT SARNATH.

By J PH VOGEL, Lit D., LAHORE.

In the course of excavations carried on by Mr. F. O. Oertel in the winter of 1904-05 at Sarnâth near Benares, a considerable number of epigraphs, besides a wealth of other archæological materials, have come to light. Mr. Oertel intends giving a full account of his explorations in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey* for that year. But as it will be some time before this is published, it seems desirable to render the most important of his epigraphical discoveries at once available to European scholars. It is hoped that this early publication of the inscriptions will not only be welcome, but that it may attract a discussion of the new finds among experts and thus lead to a solution of the various problems which will be indicated in the course of the following pages.

I — INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ASOKA PILLAR.

a, b, c, d.—Inscription of Aśoka.

Earliest in date is an inscription in Brâhmî of the Maurya period, cut on the shaft of a monolith of highly polished and fine-grained limestone. Its appearance agrees well with that of the pillar "bright as jade" which, according to Hiuen Tsiang,¹ marked the spot where Śâkyamuni began to "turn the wheel of the Law." Unfortunately only the lower portion of the shaft was found *in situ*. Evidently the pillar had been wilfully thrown down and mutilated, probably in that same "great final catastrophe," of which Major Kittoe² received so vivid an impression in the course of his Sarnâth excavations. Besides large portions of the upper part of the shaft, a Persepolitan capital of excellent workmanship was unearthed. It bears four sitting lions, carrying a wheel,—another indication of the pillar being identical with that described by Hiuen Tsiang.

That its height cannot have reached the 70 feet of Hiuen Tsiang's pillar does not seem a serious objection, as the figure is only approximate, and it must be remembered that there is always a tendency to overestimate the height of monuments. What is more inexplicable is that Hiuen Tsiang neither connects its origin with Aśoka nor mentions the fact of its being inscribed. As to the latter point, I agree with Mr. Oertel's explanation that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit most of the inscribed part of the shaft must have been under ground. This was certainly the case at the moment of its destruction. For, in order to lay bare the inscription, Mr. Oertel had to cut through several concrete floors, superimposed one above the other, as the ground gradually rose above the original level. It is due, indeed, to this circumstance that most of the inscription has been preserved.

Mr. Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments, from which it may be inferred that the destroyed portion consisted only of the first three lines of the epigraph. It will be seen that of the uppermost line of the main portion still *in situ* (1a on the Plate), several of the letters are injured and the concluding part is broken off. This missing part of twelve *aksharas* is supplied by one of those three fragments (1d), which also contains the end of the preceding

¹ *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), Vol II p. 46.

² *A. S. R.* Vol I p. 126.

line, consisting of two fragmentary and nine entire *aksharas*. Of the former we find the missing upper portions on another small fragment (1.c), which contains one entire *akshara* besides, and thus adds three to the nine *aksharas* mentioned. It will, moreover, be noticed that between the two lines of fragment 1.d there runs a dark line, which indicates where the uppermost floor met the shaft and left its mark upon it. There can be no doubt as to the original position of these two fragments, which fit exactly to the lower part of the shaft preserved *in situ*.

This is not the case with the third fragment (1.b), which has the first two syllables of three lines. But below its third line we find the same traces of the floor as are found on fragment 1.d. This shows that in this third line we have the two initial syllables of the same line, the end of which is preserved on fragments 1.c and 1.d. Above the first line of 1.c enough open space remains to make it unlikely that there was another line above it. We see, moreover, that the two syllables preserved read *devā*, which, if continued *-nam-piye Piyaḍasa lājā*,¹ would form the well-known opening formula of several of the Aśoka edicts. We may, therefore, assume that fragment 1.b contains the beginning of the first three lines of the original epigraph. It follows from this that the uppermost line *in situ* is the fourth line of the whole inscription which, consequently, consisted of eleven lines. Their average length is 60 cm, but the last line measures only 21.5 cm. The size of the letters varies from 1.3 to 2.8 cm. They are cut very clearly, and are legible throughout, except in portions of the third and fourth lines.

It is a question of primary importance whether we are justified in attributing the inscription to Aśoka. That the *Dharmarāja* would erect a memorial pillar on the spot where the Master preached his first sermon—as, indeed, we know he did on the place of his birth and on that of his *parinirvāna*—seems *à priori* most plausible. The fine monolith with its splendid capital and well-engraved inscription in the Maurya character would seem to point to no lesser founder than the great Buddhist emperor. But the epigraph itself affords a more positive proof. I need not quote as evidence my explanation of the first two *aksharas* of 1.b, which, though plausible, is hypothetical itself. The same remark applies to a conjectural restoration of *pāta* in the third line of the same fragment to *Paṭalipute*—the only word of the Aśoka inscriptions beginning with those syllables.²

The following two points seem to me to be decisive. In the sixth line we read *Hevaṃ-devānam-piye-āhā*—“Thus speaks His sacred Majesty.” And in the eighth line mention is made of the *Mahāmātas*, evidently no others than the *Dhammamahāmātas* or ‘superintendents of the sacred Law’ whom, according to the fifth rock edict,³ Aśoka had appointed thirteen years after his anointment. In the seventh pillar edict⁴ it is, moreover, stated that these officials would be occupied with the affairs of the Sangha also, and it is clear that to these the Sarnāth inscription refers. We read in the fifth line *hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikkhu-saṅghasi-cha bhikkhuni-saṅghasi-cha vimnapayitaviye*—“Let thus this order be brought to notice in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns.” And the monks themselves are evidently addressed in the following passage (l. 6 f.) “Not only has such an edict been laid down for you. But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members.”

It would follow from the above that the Sarnāth pillar was erected after the institution of the *Mahāmātas*, i.e. not before the fourteenth year of Aśoka's *abhishēka* (about B.C. 255). It seems not unlikely that its erection took place on the occasion of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in 249 B.C.⁵ It may at first seem surprising that the epigraph—at least

¹ It is, of course, also possible that the Instrumental case was used, as in the Bammudēi (or Paḍariyā) and Nigliṅga pillar inscriptions *Devānam-piyena Piyaḍasina lājina*, see above, Vol. V p. 1 ff.

² Rock edict V 7. The word is only found in the Gurnār inscription, while the other versions substitute *ḥāḍāṃ*, *ḥāḍā*, ‘here,’ see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 433.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 453 and 467.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 269 ff.

⁵ V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford 1904), p. 139.

its preserved portion— does not contain any reference to the event which, in all probability, it was meant to commemorate. But at the time of its erection such a reference must have appeared superfluous. It is noteworthy that, though the Rummindî inscription twice refers to the Buddha's birth, the reference is, in reality, incidental. The pillar was erected, not to commemorate this fact, but to record Aśoka's visit and his liberality on that occasion

The language of the Sârnâth inscription presents the same characteristics, peculiar to the Mâgadhi dialect, as are found in the rock edicts of Kâlsî, Dhaurî and Jangada, the pillar edicts of Radia, Mathia and Râmpûrva, the Rûpnâth, Bairât and Sahasrâm edicts, and in the Barâbar cave inscriptions. These characteristics are the Nominative Singular Masculine ending in *e*, the substitution of *l* for *r* and of *n* for *ṇ*, the exclusive use of the dental sibilant, and of forms like *hevam* for *évam* and *hedise* for *îdrîsa*

It will be seen that our epigraph contains several words not met with in any of the other Aśoka inscriptions — a point which, though adding to its interest, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. On the other hand, the fact that in the beginning we find a passage corresponding to the fragmentary Kôsambi-Sâñchi edict, and at the end one which recurs in the Rûpnâth edict, is important for the interpretation not only of the Sârnâth inscription, but also of the parallel passages quoted

In publishing my version of the inscription I wish to acknowledge thankfully the great benefit derived from a number of explanatory notes which I owe to the kindness of Prof Kern, who has authorised me to give them publicity here. Dr T Bloch has also favoured me with some valuable remarks to be noticed in the sequel. In my transcript I have followed Dr Buhler's system of joining by a hyphen such words as are written continuously in the original.

TEXT.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Devâ[nam-piye | Piyadasî | lâjâ*] | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 2 | e [la ¹] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 3 | Pâṭa[lupute*] | . | . | . | . | ye-kena-pi | samghe-bhetave-e-chum-kho | | |
| 4 | [bhikhû-vâ-bhikhuni-vâ] | saṅgham-bh[1]khatî | se-odâtâni-dus[â]ni | saṃnamdhâ- | | | | | |
| | payiyâ-ânâvâsasi | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | âvâsayiye [1*] | Hevam-iyam-sâsane | bhikhu-samghasi-cha | bhikhuni-samghasi-cha | | | | | |
| | vimnapayitaviye [1*] | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Hevam-devânam-piye-âhâ [1*] | Hedisâ-cha-ikâ lipî | tuphâkamtikam-huvâ-ti | samsala- | | | | | |
| | nasi-nikhitâ [1*] | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Ikam-cha-lipim-hedisam=eva | upâsakânamtikam-nikhîpâtha [1*] | Te-pi-cha-upâsakâ | | | | | | |
| | anuposatham-yâvu | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | etam=eva-sâsanam | visvamsayitave [1*] | Anuposatham-cha-dhuvâye | ikike- ² mahâmâte- | | | | | |
| | posathâye | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | yâti etam=eva sâsanam | visvamsayitave | âjânitave-cha [1*] | Âvatake-cha- | | | | | |
| | tuphâkam-âhâle | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | savata-vivâsayâtha-tuphe | etena-viyamjanena [1*] | Hem-eva-savesu-kota-visavesu | | | | | | |
| | etena | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | viyamjanena | vivâsâpayâthâ [11*] | | | | | | | |

¹ The meaning of this letter is doubtful. It resembles most the sign for *l*, but the stroke to the proper right is slanting downward, and not horizontal as in *samsalanasi* (l. 6)

² It will be noticed that initial *i* is expressed here in another way than in *iyam* (l. 5), *ikâ* (l. 6) and *ikam* (l. 7). In the latter two dots are beneath and the third above, in *ikike* (for *îkika*) we have just the reverse. It is possible that in the second case *l* has to be read. We find post-consonantic *l* in *lipî* (l. 6)



TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) — [His sacred Majesty king Piyadasa] (l. 3) at Pāṭaliputta

Whatever (l. 4) monk or nun begs his food(?), let him be provided with clean (or white) cloths and reside in another residence (or monastery). (L 5) Thus should this order be made known in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns (L 6.) Thus speaks His sacred Majesty Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you so that you should remember "So be it!" (L 7) But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members Let the lay-members also go on each sabbath (l 8) in order to familiarize themselves with this order Also on each sabbath regularly will each superintendent go to the sabbath (service) (l 9) in order to familiarize himself with this order and to understand it And as far as your district (reaches), (l 10) walk ye everywhere according to this proclamation. In like manner cause (others) in all towns and provinces (l 11) to walk according to this proclamation

REMARKS

Line 3, *bhetare* — Dr Bloch remarks "I felt inclined at first to explain this word as *bhēttavyah* or *bhēttum* from *bhinatti*, and I supposed that the order (*śisanam*) in the beginning contained injunctions against quarrelsome monks or nuns, who tried to cause schisms in the Sangha (Pāli *saṅgham bhimditum*) I tried to get out of *bh[i]khat*, some similar word of the same meaning, and to translate the sentence "A monk or nun who cause schisms in the Sangha, let them put on white cloths (instead of the ordinary yellow robe) and take their living in some other place" (*ānūrāsasi=anyāvāsā*) This would enable us to translate the end of the edict, from *Āvatake-cha-tuphāl am-ūhāle* (l 9) thus "As far as your district (? *āhāle*) goes, everywhere turn ye out (*vināsayātha*) [a monk or nun creating disturbances] with this mark (*etena viyamjanena*, i.e. white cloths)" But I confess that I cannot see how *bhikhat*, or whatever the reading may be, can be made to convey a similar meaning"—*Chum-kho*, as Dr Bloch notes, "stands for *chu-klho* (Skr *tu khalu*), the group *mkh* having taken the place of *kkh* (Prkt *kkho*), as we have *mna* for *nna* in *vimnapayitaviye* (l 5)"

L 4, *bhikhat* — The vowel-stroke of the first syllable is broken, but from the little that remains I feel inclined to read rather *i* than *o* On the Allāhābād pillar the *akshara* is missing, but was restored by Bühler as *bho* on the strength of the Sāñchi inscription But in the latter also, judging from the facsimile, the vowel-stroke is far from certain and can as well be read *bh*. Another difficulty is presented by the word *saṅgham*, which Bühler took to be a Nominative used as an apposition with *bhikhū-vā-bhikhunī-vā*, "the community, both monk and nun" In the light of the Sarnāth inscription this interpretation can hardly be maintained It should be noticed that the word *saṅgham* is connected with the following *bhikhat*, and not with the preceding *bhikhū-vā bhikhunī-vā* — *Dusāni* is the Plural of *dusam*, Pāli *dussam*, Skr *dūshya*

Samnāndhāpayiyā (for which Kōsambī and Sāñchi have *samnāndhāpayitu*) belongs, according to Prof Kern, to the causative of *samnandhati*=Skr *samnahyati* Compare Pāli *pīlandhati*=Skr *pīnahyati*, originally *pīnadhya*, from the root *nadh* (past participle *naddha*, and Latin *nodus* from *noddhus**), causative *pīlandhāpeti* "The difference in meaning," Prof Kern remarks, "between *pīlandhāpeti* and *samnāndhāpeti* cannot be great We may, therefore, render it by 'to provide with' (cloths in the Accusative case)"

L 5, *vimnapayitaviye* (Skr *viñāpayitavyam*), from *vimnapeti*, Pāli *viñāpeti* (Skr *viñāpayati*), the causative of Sanskrit-Pāli *viñāti* It should be noticed that Aśoka, in making his wishes known to the Sangha, uses the respectful term *vimnapeti*, and not *ānapeti* (compare *ānapitāni* in pillar edict VII) For the transition of *viñā* to *vimna*- compare *chhandamnanī* in pillar edict IV for Skr. *chhandōjñāni*

L 6, *tuphākāntikam*, and *upāsakānamtikam* (l. 7) contain the Genitive Plural of *tuphe* (Nom Plur.) and *upāsaka* combined with the postposition *antikam* (see Childers, s v.), 'penes eos' and 'penes laicos' Prof Kern adds that we might assume an etymological spelling *tuphākānamtikam* in which the *anusvāra* became elided "For such an elision of *anusvāra* between two vowels is found in the Vedic metrical system, in the metrical portions of the Pāli texts, and in the Sanskritized Buddhist *gāthās*, just as e.g. in Latin *templum Apollinis* becomes *templāpollinis*. Roth has rightly remarked (s v. *samana*) that *samanēva* (*Rigv.* VI. 75, 4 and elsewhere) represents *samanam va*. In the same way we have *dēvamānēva chitrām* (*Rigv.* X. 107, 10) for *dēvamānam va chitrām*, and not for *dēvamānā va chitrām* as explained in the *Padapātha*." Another interesting instance is pointed out by Prof Kern in *Rigv.* VIII 59, 2. "The traditional reading *indram tam śumbha puruhanmann āvuse* is metricaly impossible, as the last four syllables must be ◡ — ◡ —. Now what has happened? The words of the poet were °*manāvase*, which stands for °*manam avase*. The diaskeuasts took *puruhanman*° for a Vocative, and as they did not understand the ā in °*āvase*, they shortened it. In applying the Sandhi rule of Sanskrit grammar, they changed °*man* into °*mann* and omitted the accent of *puruhānmanam* which they took for a Vocative, but which in reality is an epithet of *indram*, meaning 'who has slain many' In this manner they gave birth to the *Rishi Puruhanman*!"

Huvā Prof Kern derives from the Skr. Conj. Aor. *bhuvat*, the *a* being lengthened on account of the following *ti* — *Samsalanasi* is the Locative of *samsalanam*, which both Prof Kern and Dr. Bloch explain as the equivalent of Skr. *samsmarana*, 'remembrance.' The expression *samsalanasi nikhitā* (Skr. *samsmaranē nikshiptā*) would, therefore, mean — 'put to memory.' — In l. 7 *yāvu* is the 3rd Pers. Plur Opt of *yāti*.

L. 8, *visvaṁsayitave* — From the manner in which the words are connected it is evident that *visvaṁsayitave* (again in l. 9) is to be regarded as one word, and not as the adjective *visvam* (Skr. *viśvam*) + a verb *savitave*. Prof Kern and Dr. Bloch agree in interpreting *visvaṁsayitave* as corresponding with Skr. *viśvasayitum*, to be taken in a reflexive sense, 'to make oneself familiar with' As instances of a similar use of a causative verb Prof. Kern quotes *darśayitum*, which sometimes has the meaning 'to show oneself' For °*ams*° instead of °*ās*° he compares the Jaina Prākṛit *nyamsei* and *nyamsāveri* = Skr. *niśvasayati*, whereas we have the reverse in *viśā* = Skr. *viśā*°, *tiśā* = Skr. *triśat*, *chattālīsa* = Skr. *chatvāriśat*.

Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye occurs also in pillar edict V. *dhuvāye-cha-anuposatham*, 'constantly on each fast-day,' where Buhler (*Ep. Ind.* Vol II p. 264) explains *dhuvāye* = Skr. *dhruvāya*. Compare also Kālsī rock edict I *no-dhuvē*, 'not regularly' (in the Shāhbāzgarhi version *no dhruvam*).

L. 9, *āhāle* — Prof Kern is of opinion that *āhāle* cannot correspond here with Skr. *āhāra*. "Childers," he says, "has *āhāro* = 'food, nourishment, cause' (more correctly 'ground, basis') But there are in reality two different words which have coincided in form, namely, *āhāro*, 'food' (=Skr. *āhāra*), and *āhāro*, 'ground' (=Skr. *ādihāra*). It seems to mean 'territory' in the compound *sāhāra* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 30, 4), 'with all the territory.' In any case *āhāle* here equals *ādihāra*, and its meaning must be 'territory, field of business.'" In his rendering of the Rūpnāth edict M. Senart has adopted the meaning 'food' for *āhāle*, but the concluding sentence of the Sārnāth inscription leaves little doubt about the correctness of Prof. Kern's interpretation. It will be seen from the above that Dr. Bloch has arrived independently at the same conclusion. I may add that in later inscriptions also the word has the meaning of 'a territorial division' Compare Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (London 1883), p 113, footnote 4.

L 10, *savata*.—Compare rock edict II. (Kālsī) *savatā vjitasī*, 'everywhere in the empire.' — *Vyamjana* (Skr. *vyañjana*) must here (and in l. 11) have a different meaning from that

assigned to it by Bühler in the expression *hetuvatā-chā vyamjanate-cha* (rock edict III.), 'both according to the letter and according to the spirit' The sense attached to it by M. Senart in the Rūpnāth edict is evidently the one to be applied here also The Sarnāth inscription, moreover, places it beyond doubt that M. Senart's reading of the corresponding passage in that edict is correct¹ The original meaning of *vyāñjana* is 'manifestation,' from which that of 'a royal proclamation' can be easily derived In connection with the Rūpnāth legend this interpretation seems to me preferable to that suggested above by Dr. Bloch

Vivāsayātha is the 2nd Plur Imper of *vivāseti* Compare *vivasetavaya* in the Rūpnāth edict, which M. Senart² translates — '*il vous faut partir en mission*' But as in the Sarnāth inscription apparently no reference is made to missionary duties, I feel inclined to assign to it a more general meaning, either 'to go about for inspecting purposes' as suggested by Prof. Kern, or 'to conduct oneself,' a meaning which could be derived from that of 'to spend one's time' attached to Skr *vasati* That, in any case, *vivāsayātha*, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, appears from the following *vivāsāpayāthā* (l. 11), the 2nd Pers Plur Imper of a verb *vivāsāpeti* which can be nothing but a causative of *vivāseti* This prevents me from accepting the interpretation suggested by Dr. Bloch

L 11, *koṭa-visavesu* — Prof. Kern agrees with me in explaining *visavesu* as the equivalent of Skr. *vishayēshu* and quotes the following parallel cases *ussāva* = *avaśyāya*, *pavachchhati*, *v. l. pavechchhati* = *prayachchhati*, *tāvatiṃsa* = *trayastrīṃsa*, *hulāvaka* = *kulāyaka*, *kāsāva* = *kāshāya*. In the Aśoka inscriptions we have *āvuti* (pillar edict IV) = Skr. *āyukti*, and the terminations of the 3rd Pers Sing. and Plur Opt °*va* (Skr °*yāt*) and °*vu* (Skr. °*yur*), e.g. *pāpova* (pillar edict IV) = Skr. *prāpnuyāt*

It is more difficult to explain *koṭa*. Prof. Kern proposes to render the compound either by 'territory belonging to the resort of a capital' or by 'rural district,' as in Tamil *kōṭṭam* has the meaning of 'an agricultural town or village' I have translated it as a *dvandva* compound That *kōṭa*, 'a fort,' can be used to designate a fortified city, is evident from place-names like Nagar-kōt (i.e. Kāngrā city) and Pathān-kōt (for Pratishtāna-kōta)

e, f.— Additional inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edict, the Sarnāth pillar contains two records of a later date, each consisting of only one line The older of the two (i.e.) is incised partly beneath the Aśoka inscription, continuing, as it were, its last short line Though the engraving of the letters, which measure from 1 to 7 cm, is inferior to that of the principal record, there can be little doubt about the reading, with the exception of the first word which is partly destroyed. The length of the line, as far as preserved, is exactly 1 m I read it as follows.³

. . . rpāṅgeyhe rajña Aśvaghoshasya chatariṣe savachhare hematapakhe prathamē divase dasame

" [In the fortunate reign] of Rājan Aśvaghōsha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day "

It will be seen that the sign for *anusvāra* is omitted throughout (read *chatarīṣe*, *savachhare*, *hemātapakhe*), and that the long *ā* of *rājña* and *chatāri[m]ṣe* is not indicated, unless the very slight extension to the proper left of the top of *r* and *l* is meant to serve that purpose. It is probable that at the beginning there was some expression equivalent to the *vardhamāna-kalyāna-vijaya-rājyē* of later inscriptions⁴

¹ See Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (Paris, 1886), Vol II pp 169 ff and 193 f

Ibid p 182 ff

² [The beginning of this inscription is shown on the Plate containing the Aśoka edict, and the continuation of 1 on the second Plate of Sarnāth inscriptions. The first letter of *Aśvaghoshasya* appears on both Plates —E H]

⁴ For *geyha* see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 572.

The title *râjan* added to the name *Aśvaghôsha* forbids us from identifying him with the eighth Buddhist patriarch and author of the *Buddhacharita*. It is true that in later India worldly titles are not uncommonly applied to spiritual worthies. Thus the term *sangharâjâ* is the modern title of the principal ecclesiastical functionary in Burma¹ But it is doubtful whether that custom can be referred to the period to which our inscription belongs. Nor does it seem ever to have been the custom to date documents after the pontifical reign of the head of the church. It is more likely that the date refers to the era of Kanishka, and that the name of the local ruler of the time was added to the Genitive according to the established custom²

The characters well agree with this supposition. The angular *ga* and *śa* approach the forms of the Maurya Brâhmî. But on the whole the script resembles most closely that of the Kushana period. Compare *g* the *akshara sya* with that of the Kanishka inscription beneath. Some of the letters, like *re*, *pa* and *sa*, show a somewhat later type. Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of Huvishka. The language, a mixture of Prâkrit and Sanskrit, points to the same conclusion.

Another inscription (1 f) of a still later date is engraved to the proper left of the *Aśôka* inscription and above that of *Aśvaghôsha*'s reign. It consists of one line, 52 cm long. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 5 cm. It is evidently not the work of a professional stone-cutter. Some of the characters are moreover injured, which makes their reading somewhat doubtful. My reading is as follows —

Â[*châ*]ryyanam Sa[*mmi*]tyânâṃ paṅgraha Vâtsiputrikânâṃ.

“Homage of the masters of the Sammitiya (?) sect (and) of the Vâtsiputrika school”

On account of its characters, which resemble those of the early Gupta records, this epigraph may be attributed to the fourth century A. D. The language, it will be noticed, is more Sanskritic than that of the previous inscription. But the long *â* is not everywhere indicated (read. *âchâryyânâṃ Sammitiyânâṃ*). In *paṅgraha* the last syllable ought to be *ho*.

Unfortunately the second syllable of the second word is uncertain. If the proposed reading be correct, it would afford an interesting proof of the correctness of a Tibetan tradition, according to which the Vâtsiputriyas were a subdivision of the Sammitiya sect. As stated by Hiuen Tsiang, the large convent which once stood at Sârâṅth accommodated fifteen hundred monks of this sect. Vatsiputra was one of the fathers of the Buddhist church, who, according to a Tibetan source, collected the words of the Lord two hundred years after his *parinirvâna*³

II —FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF ASVAGHOSHA'S REIGN

It is curious that the name of Râjan *Aśvaghôsha* occurs again on the fragment of a stone slab (height 16.5 cm), which Mr. Oertel discovered, almost at the surface, some 70 feet to the north-east by east of the *vihâra* which formed the centre of his explorations. It contains the first portions of two lines of a well engraved inscription, which I read

1 Râjño *Aśvaghosha*[*sya*]

2 *Upala* he[*ma*][*mtapakhe** ?]

“[In the reign] of Râjan *Aśvaghôsha*, [*Upala* (?), [in the . . . fortnight of winter ?]

.
The characters are the same as those of *Aśvaghôsha*'s inscription on the *Aśôka* pillar

¹ See Childers, *Dictionary of the Pâli Language*, s v *sangho*.

² See Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol XV (1890), p. 127 f

³ See Prof. Kern's *Geschiedenis*, Vol. II. pp 354 and 443 ff.

III — INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF KANISHKA

These inscriptions are incised on a colossal standing Bôdhisattva statue, and on an octagonal stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the image. That the two objects belong together is evident from their epigraphs, both of which record the donation of a Bôdhisattva and of an umbrella with a shaft (*chhatra-yashṭi*) on the same date and by the same donors. The inscriptions are dated in the third year of Mahârāja Kanishka (spelled *Mahârāja Kanishka*), the third month of winter, the twenty-second day, and thus are the earliest records in which the name of the great Kushana ruler occurs¹. They supply, however, no absolute proof that at that time Kanishka's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kâśī. On the contrary, it will be seen in the sequel that the latter came more probably from Mathurâ and erected the image on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism.

What adds considerably to the interest of these inscriptions is the fact that the chief donor, Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, must be identical with the donor of the Śrāvastī image in the Calcutta Museum, to which Dr Bloch devoted an excellent article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*². If the identity of the names alone (that of the monk Pushyavuddhi is partly missing in the Śrāvastī inscription) were not considered sufficient proof, the striking similarity of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script cannot leave any doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion. It is not a little curious that we meet the name of Friar Bala for the third time on an inscribed Bôdhisattva image from Mathurâ,³ preserved in the Lucknow Museum, as the spiritual preceptor of the nun Buddhamitrâ whose name is also found among the donors of the Sârṇāth image. The Mathurâ image is dated in the reign of Mahârāja Huvishka in the year 33, which makes it exactly thirty years posterior to the Sârṇāth one.

Two names found in the Sârṇāth inscriptions, to which a considerable amount of interest attaches, are Kharapallâna and Vanaspara (or Vanashpara). On the umbrella shaft they are mentioned among the persons who took part in the donation, Vanaspara being mentioned first and bearing the title of *Kshatrapa*. But on the image it is distinctly stated that Kharapallâna, here called *Mahâkshatrapa*, erected the Bôdhisattva together with the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara. As, however, Friar Bala's name is connected with the image in a manner which would indicate him as the donor,⁴ it is not altogether patent what part the two satraps took in the donation.

The question has been raised how mendicants, who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions,⁵ could make donations which would necessarily involve a considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sârṇāth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but that the work was carried out under the supervision of Friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own. Such guidance on the part of one well versed in the holy scriptures would be needed, to make sure that the works were completely orthodox. We need not go far afield to find parallels, or quote the case of Fra Angelico, who adorned San Marco at Florence with his famous frescoes. On the very

¹ The earliest inscription of Kanishka's reign hitherto found is that of his fifth year, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 381, No. 1.

² Vol. LXVII Part I. (1898), p. 274. Compare Anderson's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 194.

³ *Growse, Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 217, No. 2 and Plate, and *Lüders, ibid.* Vol. XXXIII p. 39, No. 9. The exact find spot is stated to be the Chaubârâ mound.

⁴ The word *dānam*, though not used in the Sârṇāth inscriptions, is found on the Śrāvastī image.

⁵ Kern, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 40. That the former practice was not strictly adhered to, has been pointed out by M. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Vol. I (Paris, 1905), p. 169, but the rule forbidding monks to touch money is still observed, at least in Burma.

borders of India the quaint paintings which cover the walls of the *dgon-pas* are executed up to the present day—so I was told in Lahul—by those of the lamas who possess the most accurate knowledge of their stupendous pantheon

This much, at any rate, is certain, that the Sârînâth and the Śrāvastî image were made by the same master, if not by the same workmen. The style is that of the Mathurâ school; the material is the red sandstone of the Agra quarries. All this points to the conclusion, already referred to above, that the donors of these images had their home at Mathurâ where, as early as the reign of the satraps Rajula (or Rañjubula) and Śodâsa, a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhâra. Seemingly this Mathurâ school created a Bôdhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. And all evidence now available points to the fact that these were the very first images of the kind set up at those places¹. For where else but at these sacred spots, hallowed by the presence of the Buddha himself, should we expect to find such images? And yet not a fragment of anything earlier than these has been found there. On the other hand, would Friar Bala and his companions have carried those gigantic statues from Mathurâ to Śrāvastî and far-off Benares, if there had been local artists capable of converting a block of stone into a sacred image? Would he have thought it necessary to mention expressly that the image represented a Bôdhisattva, if such images had been familiar to the pious? Let us bear in mind the numberless images of Mediæval India, all evidently made locally,—those of Sârînâth in Chunâr sandstone, those of Gayâ in basalt,—among which we hardly ever find one marked with the name of the deity which it represents². Among the numerous inscribed Buddhist images of the early Gupta period Dr. Bloch can quote only three examples in which the subject is mentioned.

Then, if Friar Bala was a monk of Mathurâ, who were his patrons, the great satrap Kharapallâna and the satrap Vanaspara? That they were Buddhists is evident, and it may be inferred from their titles that the former was the latter's father, and from their names that they were of foreign extraction. As to the latter point, it is impossible at present to arrive at a definite conclusion. For though these two names have a distinct Iranian sound,³ I need only refer to the instance of the Mughal rulers of later days, to demonstrate the unsoundness of inferring anything therefrom as to their ethnographic origin. Perhaps from their connection with Friar Bala we may hazard the conjecture that their seat of government was at Mathurâ, where a line of foreign rulers is known to have existed only about a century before. It is true that on the Kshatrapa coins found in and round that city the names of Kharapallâna and Vanaspara do not occur. But this fact can easily be accounted for on the assumption that Kharapallâna, though possibly a descendant of the independent satraps of the 1st century B C, now owed allegiance to Mahârâja Kanishka, in whose reign the inscriptions are dated, and consequently used the Kushana coinage. May we go a step further and assume that his son Vanaspara, who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallâna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father?

The Sârînâth inscriptions partly confirm and partly modify Dr. Bloch's conclusions regarding the Śrāvastî epigraph. They show that he is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation of

¹ That statues already existed in India at an earlier period is proved by the Parkham image (*A. S. E.* Vol. XX p. 40 and Plate vi) with its inscription in Maurya Brâhmi. But apparently it has no connection with Buddhism.

² A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900), pp. 4 ff. and 7 ff. Regarding the Mathurâ sculptures the author remarks "Elles sont tout de suite reconnaissables à la belle couleur rouge tachetée de jaune du grès des Vindhya."

³ The ending *-dâ* is also found in Hagâna (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87) and in Nahapâna (*A. S. R. Western India*, Vol. IV p. 99). For the first member of the name Kharapallâna we may compare Kharamosta and Kharosta (Bühler, *J. R. A. S.* for 1894, p. 532, and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9).

chhātram dāndaś=cha as meaning 'an umbrella and a stick.' It is curious that these objects were not recovered with the Śrāvastī image, which Cunningham found standing in a small temple, and not in the open. The name of Friar Bala's spiritual preceptor, which in the Śrāvastī inscription was only partly legible and had been restored by Dr. Bloch as *Pushyamitra*, appears from the epigraph on the umbrella post to be *Pushyavuddhi*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Pushya-vriddhi*. Finally, the Sarnāth inscriptions establish beyond doubt that the Śrāvastī image belongs to the early Kushana period.

Conversely the Śrāvastī inscription helps to elucidate some doubtful points in the Sarnāth legends. Thus we may safely assume that the *chhātra-yushti* of the Sarnāth inscriptions, which corresponds with the *chhātram dāndaś=cha* of the Śrāvastī epigraph, is to be taken as a *dvandva* and not as a *tatpurusha* compound, and to be rendered by 'an umbrella with a staff' and not by 'an umbrella staff'. Again we should be doubtful how to explain the connection between the Genitive *bhikshusya Balasya trepīṭakasya* and the following Nominative, if the Śrāvastī record did not give us the clue that the word *dānam* is to be supplied.

Dr. Bloch's remarks regarding the characteristic features of language and script of the Śrāvastī inscription apply equally to those of the Sarnāth ones. But in view of the date of the latter falling in Kanishka's reign, it is impossible to maintain for the peculiar script which both exhibit the designation of "Northern Kshatrapa" in contradistinction with the so-called Kushana script of a later period. Its more correct name would be "early Kushana," and it shows indeed a transition between the script of Śodāsa's epigraphs and those of the later Kushanas. The former¹ is marked by more archaic forms and stands nearer to the Maurya type. In it we find post-consonantic *a*, *e* and *o* commonly expressed by horizontal, and not by slanting strokes as are found in the Kushana inscriptions. The *ya* is still semi-circular at the bottom, and its middle vertical stroke sometimes exceeds the side ones in length. On the other hand, the similarity between the script of the Mathurā satraps and that of the early years of Kanishka is so striking, that the two can be hardly separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the first century B C, palaeographical evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kanishka's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A D.

It is only natural that the later Kushana inscriptions, *e g* that on the Mathurā Bōdhisattva image of the year 33, above referred to, and still more that on the Kāman Buddha image dated in the year 74,² should exhibit a further development in respect alike of script and of language. Here we find the *ya* in *kya* and *sya* regularly expressed by a loop, and not by its full sign³. Thus it approaches visibly the form peculiar to the early Gupta period. The language of the later inscriptions, though not yet pure Sanskrit, is decidedly more Sanskritic than that of the early Kushana records. Compare, for instance, *mātāpītūnām* (Kāman) with *sahā mātāpītīhī* (Sarnāth-Mathurā), and *parigrahe* (Kāman) with *parigahe* (Śrāvastī). On the other hand, we find *pratishhāpita* already in the Sarnāth inscription, whereas at an earlier period *pratishhāpita* is used.

The inscription is cut on three sides of the octagonal umbrella post, and consists of ten lines of 33 cm. in length, except the last line, which measures only 9 cm. The size of the *aksharas* varies from 1 to 6 cm. The letters are regular and clearly cut, but the disintegration of the surface of the stone has caused their shape to become indistinct in places, more especially towards the junction of the faces of the shaft. On the whole, however, the inscription is very well preserved, and wherever the reading appears at all doubtful, a comparison with contemporaneous epigraphs has enabled me to arrive at results which may be considered final.

¹ See Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 199, No II.

² Bühler, *ibid* p 212, Plate, No xli. The image must belong to the reign of Vāsudēva. Compare V. A. Smith, *J R A. S* for 1903, p. 12.

³ The looped *ya* is found already in the inscription of Kanishka's 5'h year, referred to above.

TEXT OF iii. a.

- 1 Mahârajasya Kanishkasya sam 3 he 3 di 22
 2 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi-
 3 hârsya bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya
 4 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha pratishthâpito
 5 Bârânasîye Bhagavato chamkame sahâ mât[â]-
 6 pîthî sahâ upaddhyâyâcherehi saddhyevihâri-
 7 hi antevâsikehi cha sahâ Buddhamitraye trepitika-
 8 ye sahâ kshatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallâ-
 9 nena cha sahâ cha[tu]hi parishâhi sarvasatvanam
 10 hitasukhârtham

REMARKS.

Line 1 — It is doubtful whether the depression at the top of the *ra* represents an *â*-stroke or not. The form *mahârajasya*, however, is quite distinct in the Bôdhisattva inscription. The spelling *Kanishkasya* with lingual *n* has already been noticed above

L 2 f — There can be no doubt as to the reading *saddhyevihâri*, with *e* in the second syllable, here and also in line 6. At first I felt inclined to read *sarddhyavihâri*, which would yield an etymologically more intelligible form, but pre-consonantic *r* is expressed by a perpendicular and not by a slanting stroke. See e.g. *purvaye* (l 2) and *sarvasatvanam* (l 9). In the Śrāvastî image inscription also I should prefer to read *saddhyevihârisya*

L 3 — The third *akshara* of *trepitakasya* resembles *ḥa*, which is evidently due to the stone being worn. Compare *trepitakaye* (l 7 f.).

L 4 — The vowel-stroke of the last syllable of *pratishthâpito* is indistinct. In one of the Bôdhisattva inscriptions we have clearly *-to*

L 5 — The first letter of *Bârânasîye* is open at the top and would, therefore, represent *pa*. But there can be little doubt that this is due either to the disintegration of the surface or to a clerical error. The vowel-stroke also cannot be said to be absolutely certain. For the ending compare *Sâvastîye* in the Śrāvastî inscription — It is doubtful whether the inscription has *chamkame* or *chamkame*. I have chosen the Prâkrit form which is found in the Śrāvastî inscription

L 6. — For the reading *upaddhyâyâcherehi* I am indebted to Prof. Kern, who remarks that the form *âchera* for Skr *âchârya* occurs also in the *Jâtaka* (ed by Fausböll), Vol IV p 248, l 9, in a verse, *ie* in a dialect different from Pâli.

L. 8 — Is perhaps *Vanaspharena* to be read? The Bôdhisattva inscription has clearly *Vanashparena*

L 9. — The letter (or letters?) following the second *cha* is indistinct. At first I felt inclined to read *sahâ cha sarvâhi parishâhi*, but finally chose the expression *sahâ chatuhi parishâhi*, which occurs also in the Mathurâ inscription of Dhanabhûti. Compare Cunningham, *A S E* Vol III. p 36, No 21, Plate xvi., and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol XV. p 119

TRANSLATION.

In the 3rd year of Mahârâja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above,¹ was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka² and

¹ The Mathurâ inscriptions afford many variants of this expression such as *etasya pûrvadyam*, *asyâh purvadya* and the like. See Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 37 ff and Vol II p 195

² On the term *tripitaka* (Skr *trispitaka*), Fem *trepitikâ*, compare Bloch, *l c* p 280





fellow¹ of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord² used to walk,— together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils,³ and with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripitaka, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes,⁴ for the welfare and happiness of all creatures⁵

The image referred to in the inscription is 10' high and 3' wide across the shoulders. It was found in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The right arm is lost, presumably it was raised in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment, which reaches beneath the knees. The head, which measures 3' in circumference, is unfortunately much mutilated. The top is broken, so that it is impossible to decide whether it had the protuberance of the skull (*ushnīsha*). Nor is there any trace of the mark between the brows (*ūrṇā*), another characteristic of the Buddha. We can, however, be certain that the hair was neither arranged in the wavy locks peculiar to the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, nor in the schematic curls of mediæval images. It is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain, close-fitting cap, which was probably meant to render the shaven head of the Buddhist monk. It is interesting to note that this treatment of the hair is very common in the Mathurā images which can be assigned to the Kushana period. Another point of similarity is the treatment of the halo. In the case of the Sarnāth image only the lower part of it remains on the back of the torso. Along its border runs a repeat of semicircles. In Gandhāra the haloes are plain, except in a few instances where we find a border showing a conventional development of the radiate nimbus⁶. Of this the Mathurā halo seems to be a later development, which thus forms a transition from the plain Gandhāra one to the highly ornamental halo of the Gupta period, of which Mr Oertel's excavations have revealed some very fine specimens⁷.

Between the feet of the Sarnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the side of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers and fruits in bas-relief. Whether these are merely decorative or have some symbolical meaning, I cannot decide⁸. In later Buddhist art the lion, if meant as *vāhana* and not merely as an indication of the *simhāsana*, is peculiar to the Bôdhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Simhanāda-Lôkēśvara⁹. But it is questionable, whether at the period to which the Sarnāth image belongs it can have borne that signification. More probably it indicates that the statue represents Śākyasimha, 'the lion among the Śākyas'.

¹ On the meaning of *saddhivihāri* see Kern, *Manual*, p 84, Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol II. p. 379, Bloch, *l. c* p 279, I-tsing (Takakusu), p 116; and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s v. *saddhivihāri*

² On the use and meaning of *Bhagavat* see Kern, *Manual*, p 63

³ The word *anterāsini* occurs also in the 2nd Śiddhāpura edict (Bühler, above, Vol III p 138) *Hemera anterāsini āchariye apacha[ya]tariye* ("moreover the pupil should honour his teacher"), and in a Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No I (Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol. II p 198). The feminine form *anterāsini* occurs in the Mathurā Bôdhisattva inscription (p 182 below), where the *bhikshuni* Buddhāmitrā is called the *anterāsini* of Friar Bala. In another Mathura inscription, 2nd series, No XXI. (Bühler, *l. c* p 205), we find the form *anterāsikini*.

⁴ The four *parishads* are *bhikshus*, *bhikshunis*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. Sometimes five or eight *parishads* are spoken of. Compare I-tsing (Takakusu) and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s v. *parisā*

⁵ The same expression is also found in the Anyor Buddha inscription, Cunningham, *A. S. R* Vol XX p. 49 and Plate V No 5

⁶ Compare Grünwedel Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, fig 143

⁷ That these are to be assigned to the Gupta period, may be inferred from the inscribed Buddha image in the Mathurā Municipal Museum. Compare Growse, *Mathura, a District Memoir*, p 115

⁸ Mr Griessen, Superintendent of the Taj Garden at Agra, to whom I sent a photograph of the sculpture, is of opinion that the bas relief possibly represents the flower, bud leaves and seed-pods of "Rhododendron arboreum" (*Flora Br Ind* Vol III p 465), a plant that is used in Nepal as an offering at Buddhist temples.

⁹ Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique* (Paris, 1900), p 116, and Vol. II (Paris, 1905), p 31

I may add that in Mathurâ we often find a cluster of lotus flowers between the feet of the image Dr. Bloch noticed between the feet of the Śrāvastî image "a peculiar object of uncertain meaning."

It has already been noted that the image is curved on the back. Unlike mediæval images it is in the round and not in relief. This circumstance makes it probable that it never stood in a temple, but was placed in the open, sheltered only by its umbrella,¹ a probability that is strengthened by the discovery of all the fragments of the image and of the umbrella in the open space between the Aśoka pillar and the *vihāra* excavated by Mr Oertel.

The Sârnrâth image, though an important addition to our materials, only complicates one of the problems of Buddhist iconography. Had it not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call it a Buddha image. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bôdhisattva² are absent, and the figure wears only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions alike on the umbrella post and, as will be seen presently, on the image itself, are quite explicit in designating it a Bôdhisattva.

What then are the distinguishing features of the Bôdhisattva? Can it be, as Dr Bloch holds, the bare right shoulder? Such a theory seems hardly tenable. For there are numerous bare-shouldered images which represent Śâkyamuni at the moment of the *Bôdhi*, and we find among Gandhâra sculptures³ the uncovered right shoulder regularly combined with that position of the hands which expresses 'the turning of the wheel of the Law' (*dharmachakra-mudrâ*), and which can only indicate an omniscient Buddha.

To decide on this point, it would be necessary first of all to compare the two images of Anyor and Kâman, which belong to the same period and are designated by their inscriptions as Buddha images⁴. That of Kâman (Bharatpur State, Râjputâna), as noted above, must be 71 years posterior to the Sârnrâth statue, assuming that the date is expressed in Kanishka's era, which in the light of its palæographical evidence seems most plausible. The Anyor Buddha image must be nearly contemporaneous with the Bôdhisattvas of Sârnrâth and Śrāvastî. This is evident from the similarity both in the script and language and in the wording of their inscriptions. Unfortunately no photographs of either of these two statues are at present available. Of the Kâman image I only find the statement that it represents Buddha seated.

Anyhow, these four are among the earliest Buddhist images hitherto found in India proper, or more correctly I should say that no image has been found, which on epigraphical evidence can be assigned to an earlier period. The fact that it was thought necessary to indicate the subject in the inscription makes it indeed highly probable, that at the beginning of Kanishka's reign statues of Śâkyamuni—either as Buddha or Bôdhisattva—were a novelty, at least in Gangetic India. We noticed, however, in describing the Sârnrâth Bôdhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhâra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhâra school must be anterior to Kanishka's reign. Thus we should be led to the conclusion that the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhâra flourished, not under the Kushana kings, but under the earlier Yavana and Śaka rulers. This conclusion,

¹ This practice was also known in Gandhara. Compare Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. I p 191. "*Il faut dire cependant, pour être tout-à fait exact, que quelques-unes d'entre elles se contentaient, comme abri, d'un parasol*"

² Grunwedel Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p 182. "The Bôdhisattva representation of later art is that of a royally attired young man Thus we may claim these youthful figures in rich attire, so frequent among Gandhara sculptures, as Bôdhisattvas."

³ Compare *A S R* for 1902-03, p 171.

⁴ To the same period belongs the Sâñchi image of the year 70 in the reign of Vasushka, but from its inscription it is not evident what it represents.

in my opinion, would well agree with the evidence of the coins which, starting from purely Hellenistic types, manifest a constant deterioration ending in the barbarous issues of the Kushanas. And in like manner the sculptures which owed their origin to the same Hellenistic influence must have had a parallel history of gradual Indianisation.

The Sârînâth image has two inscriptions — one, as in Gupta sculptures, carved on the front of the plain pedestal, the other on the back of the image between the feet. The former (iii b, c) is divided into two halves by a vertical, semi-circular groove. It consists of two lines, each half being nearly 24 cm. in length. The size of the letters varies between 1 and 5 cm. In the second half of the first line the sixth *akshara* is slightly damaged, and at the end one or two *aksharas* are lost. I read it

- 1 Bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya Bodhisatvo prat[1]shthâpito . . .
- 2 mahâkshatrapena Kharapallânena sahâ kshatrapena Vanashparena

“(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva, has been erected by the great satrap Kharapallâna together with the satrap Vanashpara.”

The inscription on the back of the image (iii d) consists of three lines. The proper left side of the inscribed surface, which measures 40 by 17 cm., is defaced, and at the bottom a piece is broken, causing the loss of the concluding word. On an impression taken immediately after the discovery of the image, the upper parts of the *aksharas* of this word were plainly visible. But it seems that in removing it a piece of the stone has chipped off. The missing portion of the inscription can thus be restored with certainty. The size of the letters is 1 to 4.5 cm. The following is my reading —

- 1 Mahârajasya Kan[shkasya] sam 3 he 3 d1 2[2]
- 2 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Balasya trepita[kasya]
- 3 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha [pratishthâpito]

“In the 3rd year of Mahârâja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above has (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, been erected.”

No 18 — TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON BUDDHIST IMAGES

By T. BLOCH, Ph.D.

The first of these two inscriptions comes from Śrāvastî and has already been edited by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVIII, 1898, Part I pp. 274 to 290. I re-edit it here partly in order to publish a facsimile of it, and partly to correct the statement made by me (*loc cit* p. 278) in regard to its date. The second inscription comes from Mathurâ and has recently been edited by Prof. Lüders (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII p. 39, No. 9) from the imperfect facsimile published by Growse (*ibid.* Vol. VI p. 217, No. 2 and Plate). If I edit it here again, it is because, having read the inscription from the original during a visit to Lucknow in October, 1904, and with the help of two paper impressions kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, I have been able to supply the three proper names mentioned in the inscription, which in Prof. Lüders' transcript remained doubtful¹. The first of these is the most important one. It is clearly *Balasya trepitakasya*, not [*Maha*]sya as Prof. Lüders proposed to read. This person cannot be separated from the *trepitaka Bala* of the Śrāvastî inscription, and of the recently discovered Sârînâth inscriptions of the third year of Kanishka, of which Dr. Vogel has just

¹ Two of them have also been read by Dr. Vogel in his article on discoveries at Sârînâth, p. 173 above

published an edition. It thus appears that the date assigned to the Śrāvastī inscription in my previous paper was wrong, and that the missing name of the king should be restored either as Kanishka or as Huvishka, most probably the former one.

**A.—SET-MAHET IMAGE INSCRIPTION
OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA OR HUVISHKA.**

This inscription is on the pedestal of a colossal standing figure of a Buddha or Bôdhisattva, which was found by General Cunningham inside a small masonry building at Set-Mahet. It has since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The pedestal measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in height. Its right corner is broken, and about two-thirds of the first line of the inscription have become illegible.

The size of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The writing is archaic and resembles more the type used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions than the Kushana type. The letter *ya* as part of a compound (*samyuktākshara*) is expressed by its full form, and only once, in *Pushya*^o (l 1), by a cursive form. The upper cross-bar of *sha* fills only the right half of the letter and does not reach to the left vertical line. Further details of palæography will be found in my previous paper (p. 277) and need not be repeated here. The language is a mixed form of Sanskrit and Prākṛit of the same type as that employed in other Kushana inscriptions. Here again no details are required, as my previous paper contains a full statement of facts (p. 279).

The inscription records that the statue, on the pedestal of which it has been engraved, and which it describes as a Bôdhisattva, together with an umbrella and a stick (l 2 *bodhisattva oḥhātram dāndas=cha*) was put up at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord used to walk (l 2. *Bhagavato chamkame*), inside the Kosambakuṭī (l 3), as the gift of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripiṭaka and was a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārisya*, l 2) of the monk Pushya[vuddhi],¹ and that it was the property of some teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhists.

As I have shown in my previous article (p. 286), the Kosambakuṭī was a building inside the Jetavana park near Śrāvastī. The term *Bhagavato chamkame* may either have been used as another name of the Jetavana, or more probably it may have denoted a separate place within the park, where Buddha used to take exercise, and which was kept up as such by tradition, like the 'Buddha's walk' north of the great temple of Budh-Gaya.² It is, however, likely that the place where Cunningham found the statue does not mark its original site, and that the ancient city of Śrāvastī lay further to the north, near the borders of Nepal.³

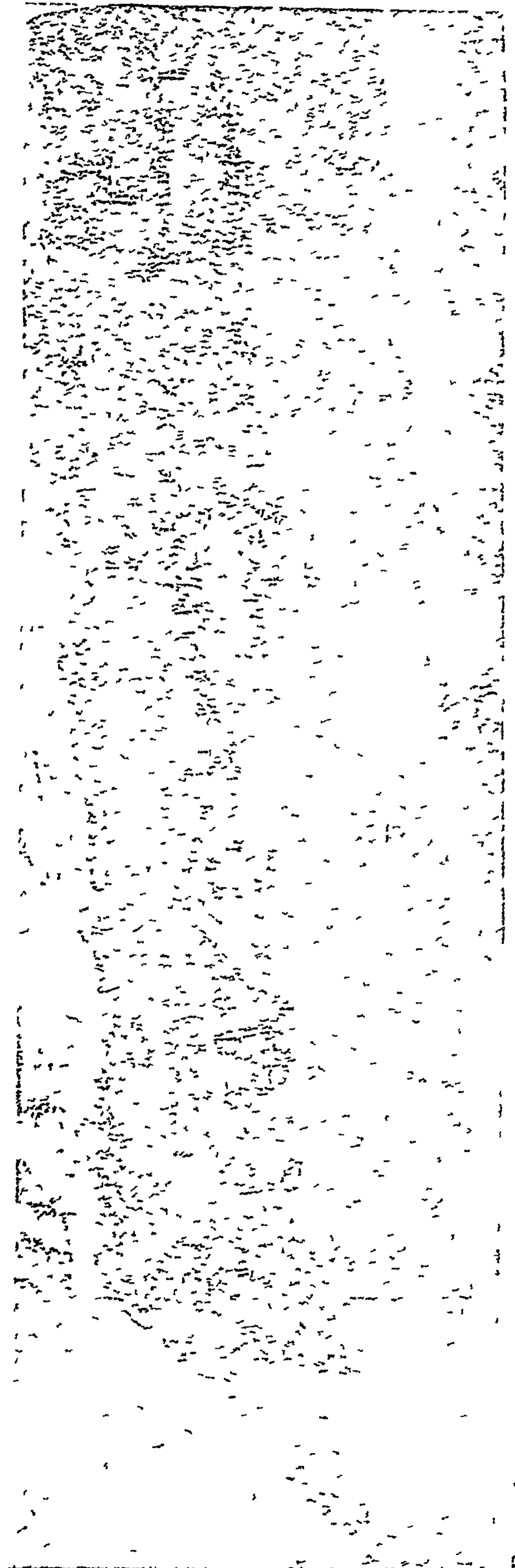
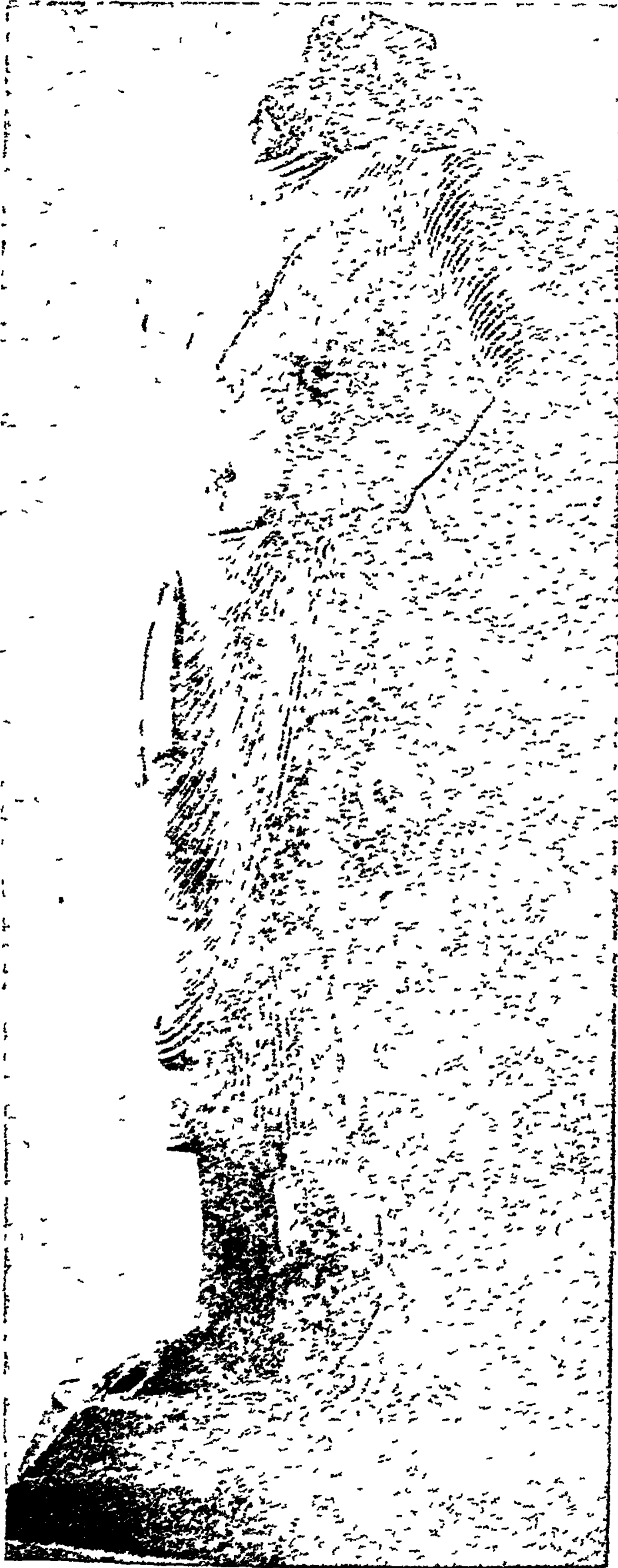
The date of the inscription is illegible, with the exception of the numerical figures 10 and 9, meaning the 19th day. As the missing space is too long for a mere enumeration of the numbers of the year and season, the date must have been determined by the name of the ruling king. From the second inscription and the Sārṇāth inscriptions published by Dr. Vogel, which mention also a *trepitaka Bala*, who must have been identical with the person of the same name and title referred to in this inscription, we may confidently restore the beginning of the first line as [*Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya?) sam . . . di*] 10 9, and it is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the Kushana kings, either of Kanishka or Huvishka, not of the Kshatrapas Rañjubala or Śodāsa, as I suggested in my previous article for palæographical reasons. As will be shown later on, the reign of Kanishka is more likely to be the true date of the inscription than the time of his successor Huvishka.

¹ That is *Pushyavṛiddhi*. Sārṇāth No IIIa shows that the name should be restored thus, not as *Pushyamitra* as I proposed originally. See Dr. Vogel's article, p. 175 above.

² See Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8 ff.

³ See Vincent A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 520, and 1900, p. 1.

Inscribed Buddhist image from Set-Mahet



The statue to which the inscription belongs is shown on the accompanying Plate. It is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately the head is broken, and it is impossible to say whether it wore some sort of a diadem, as the so-called 'Bôdhisattva' figures in the contemporaneous art of Gandhâra. There are, however, no necklace or other ornaments of the body, and the feet are naked. The left hand rests on the hip, and the broken right hand probably was uplifted in the act of granting protection (*abhaya-mudrâ*). The right shoulder is bare, and between the feet stands some indistinct round object, which I am unable to explain. The girdle around the waist is the only mark of difference between this statue and the ordinary type of a Buddha image. The term Bôdhisattva is likewise applied to the Mathurâ image to which the second inscription belongs, and which was a seated figure. Unfortunately it is broken, and not much can be said in regard to its general appearance.

From Dr Vogel's account it appears that the recently excavated Sârânâth image is very similar to that from Śrāvastî. He also suggests that all these three images were made at Mathurâ. The Śrāvastî image is 11 feet 8 inches high. Its material is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fathpur-Sikri.

TEXT.

- 1 [Mahârâjasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) sam . . .
 . . di] 10 8 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushya[vu]-
 2 [ddhis]ya¹ saddhy[e]vihârsya² bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya dânam
 B[o]dhisatvo chhâtram dândaś=cha Śāvastīye Bhagavato chamkame
 3 Kosambakutiye acharyyânâm Sarvastivâdinam³ pangāhe

TRANSLATION.

[In the . . . th year of the Mahârâja, the Dêvaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka?), in the . . . th month of . . . , on the] 10th [day], on the date specified above, a Bôdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, a companion (*saddhy[e]vihârin*) of the monk Pushya[vridhî], (*have been set up*) at Śrāvastî, at the place where the Lord (*i.e.* Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakuti, as the property of the teachers of the school of Sarvastivâdins

B — MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33 OF HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image from the Chaubârâ mound near Mathurâ. It is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It measures 3 feet by 2½ inches. The size of the letters varies between ½ and 1¼ inches. The end of the second line is damaged and cannot be restored completely.

The writing is of a later type than the Set-Mahet image inscription. The *ya* in the compound letter *sya* is expressed by the cursive form in *devaputrasya*, *Huvishkasya* and *trepitakasya* (l 1), and by the full form of the letter in *bhikshusya* *Balasya* (l 1), while an intermediate form, with a loop attached to the left-hand side of the central line, is found in *mahârâjasya* (l 1). The old form of *sha* with a small upper cross-bar occurs only once, in *bhikshusya* (l 1), if the impression can be trusted. The later *sa* with a loop in the left-hand lower corner is found in *mahârâjasya*, *devaputrasya*, *saṃ* (l 1), as has been pointed out already by Prof Luders (*loc cit* p. 40). The language is the ordinary mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prâkrit employed in the

¹ See above, p 180, note 1

² So with Sârânâth No III a, lines 2 and 6. The surface of the stone above *ddhy* is damaged.

³ The *ca* is added in small letters at the top of the line

Kushana period and calls for no particular remarks. But it may be noted that in *bhikshuniye* (1 2) we have the Prākṛit form instead of the usual *bhikshuni*, and that the gen. sing. of feminine nouns ending in *ī* retains the long *ī* in *bhikshuniye* (1 1), *bhāgineyīye*, *bhikshuniye*, *Dhanavatiye* (1 2), the corresponding vowel of *antevāsini* (1 1) is doubtful. The later Prākṛit form *pratihāvito* (1 2) seems certain.

The inscription records that a Bôdhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā,¹ who knew the Tripitaka, a female disciple (*antevāsini*) of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripitaka. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Set-Mahet and Sārnāth inscriptions, and the three inscriptions thus cannot be far removed from each other in date. The Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of Huvishka, the year 33, the 8th day of the 1st month of summer. However, the Set-Mahet inscription, like that from Sārnāth, probably belongs to the reign of Kanishka and is somewhat earlier than the Mathurā inscription, which records a gift by the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, whose name occurs already in the third year of Kanishka in connection with the name of Bala, the donor of the Sārnāth statue.

The Mathurā statue, like those from Sārnāth and Set-Mahet, is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately nothing but its lower part, showing the crossed legs of a seated figure, is preserved (see the accompanying Plate). The place where the statue was set up seems to have been [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka, the first part of which may have been derived from Madhurā or Mathurā, the name of the town where the statue actually has been found.

TEXT²

- 1 Mahārajasya devaputrasya Huv[i]shkasya sam 30 3 grī 1 dī 8
bhikshusya Balasya tripitakasya antev[ā]s[in]i[ye]³ bhikshuniye tre[pitikā]ye
Buddhamitrāye
2 bhāgineyīye bhikshuniye Dhanavatiye Bodhisatvo pratihāvito [Mā]dh[u]ravanake
sahā mātāpitṛi

TRANSLATION.

In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Huvishka, on the 8th day of the 1st summer (month), a Bôdhisattva was set up at [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, who knows the Tripitaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, together with her mother and father

No 19 — DHULIA PLATES OF KARKARAJA, SAKA-SAMVAT 701.

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A.

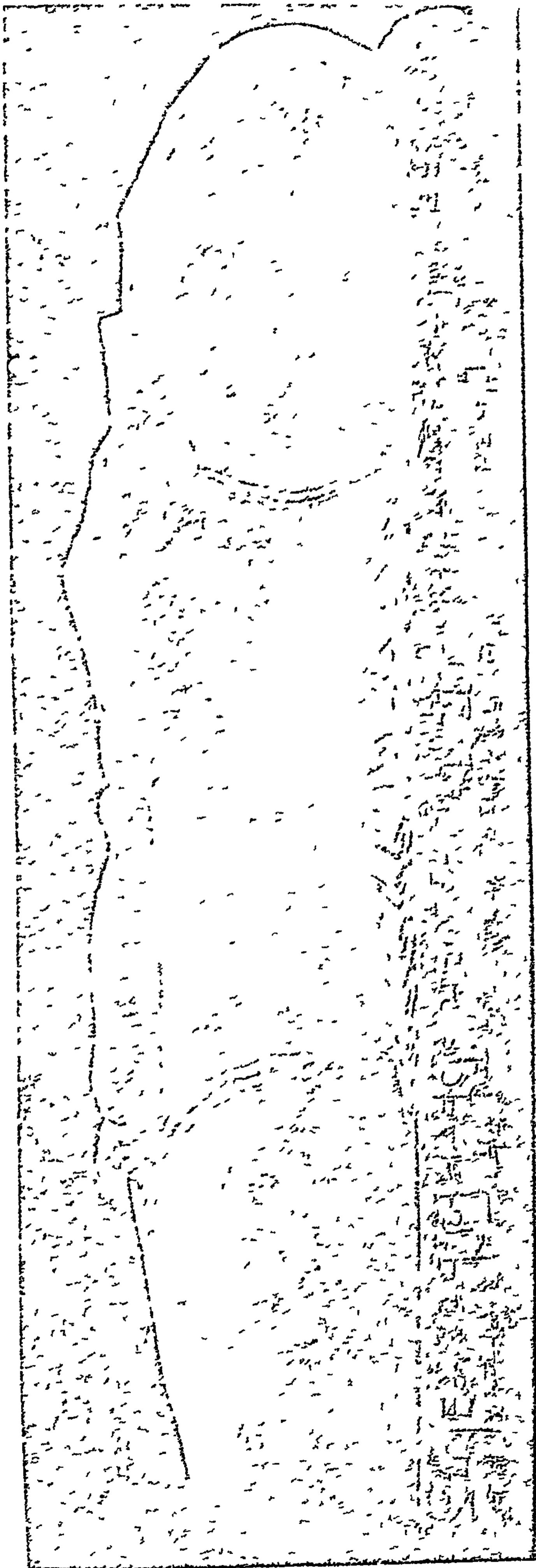
The plates which bear the subjoined grant were found deposited in the record room of the Collector's *kachéri* at Dhulia, Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency. They were sent for inspection to Mr H Cousens, who has kindly asked me to publish a paper on the inscription. A summary of it has already appeared in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904*, p 60

¹ She occurs again in Samvath No III a, l 7.

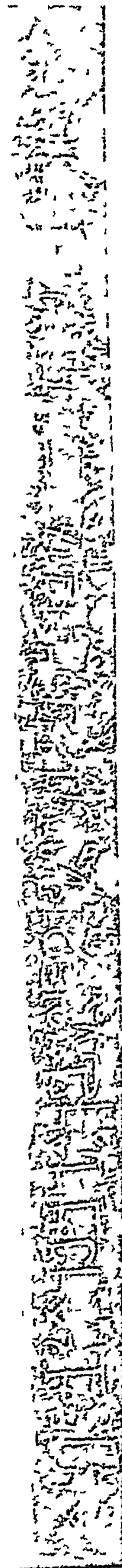
² From the original stone and from paper-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel.

³ The quantity of the last *i* is uncertain.

Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathura



From a photograph supplied by Mr G D Ganguli



E Hultsch

Scale one fourth

Collotype by Gebr Plettner Hillk-Smit

From a rubbing supplied by Dr J Ph Vogel

These are three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear writing on one side only, and the second on both sides. They measure each 1' 2" long by 7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the inscription. On the left side of each plate there is a ring-hole, but the ring and the seal which must have accompanied the plates are both lost. A portion of the right side of the second, and of the lower corners of the first and third, plates have been broken off. The letters bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " — The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting ll 24-26, the inscription is in verse up to line 28, and the rest is in prose, excluding ll 33-4 and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end (ll 42-8). All the verses of the genealogical part of this grant excepting five (vv. 6, 7, 9, 17 and 18) occur in other Rāshtrakūta records — The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *kh*, one in *khadgam* (l 4) and the other in *°śikharāni* (l 9), to the two forms of *g*, one in *°mandalāgrō* (l 2) or *°ganaiḥ* (l 13), and the other in *°r=Ḡgōvindarāja°* (l 3) or *kar-āgrā°* (l 5), to *n* in *°Subhatunga°* (l 20), to *j* in *°tmajō ja°* (l 6) and *dujānām* (l 8), to *t* in *kānt-ēndu°* (l 1), to *n* in *vaitāna°* and *°nichayaiḥ* (l. 8), to *bh* in *°bhōgi° a°* (l 29), to *m* in *°m=abhimukhīm* (l 3), to the two forms of initial *a* or *ā*, one in *āsī°* (l 2) or *asiamādhā°* (l 44), and the other in *amkēn=āpi* (l 31), to the secondary *i* in *°mālinyāḥ* (l 14) and *°nirddalita°* (l 25), to the subscript *ū* in *°dhūma°* (l 8); to the two forms of the subscript *ri*, one in *kritam* (l 1), and the other in *°krit-ānukritih* (l 7), and to the *visarga* expressed by three dots in *°vishay-āntarggataḥ* (l 38), and by one dot and one short stroke in *grāmaḥ* (l 40) — As regards orthography, the sign for *v* throughout serves for both *v* and *b*. The consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is in some cases observable, thus *m* is doubled in *°nirmmatha°* (l 22), but not in *°sūnur=mahīpatih* (l 18). *Gha* is used instead of *h* in *rājasigha* (l 3), final *n* before a consonant is no less than five times wrongly changed to an *anusvāra*, e.g. in *yam-nābhi-kantalam* (l 1) and *yasmim prasāsata* (l 8), *t* is doubled before *r*, e.g. in *gōttra°* (l 7), and *anusvāra* is changed once to the dental nasal before *s* in *°likhit-ānsa-pīṭhah* (l 11). The rules of Sandhi have been frequently disregarded, and in many a place *aksharas* have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshtrakūta chieftain Karkarāja or, as he is described in lines 28-29, "Suvarnavarsha Pratāpasila¹ śrī-Karkarāja who has obtained the five great sounds" Karkarāja is spoken of as a son of śrī-Dhruvarāja, younger brother of Gōvinda (II) or, as he is described in lines 25-6, "Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara śrī-Prabhūtararsha" The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign (*pravaraddhamāna-rājya*) of Gōvinda (II) and is dated in the year 701 (in words and figures, l 31 f), expired, of the Śaka era, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Pushya. The charter was issued by Karkarāja while staying at Sindinagara, on the occasion of a *samkrānti*,² to a Brāhmana whose name is lost, son of Bhaṭṭa Chandrāditya, of the Kausika *gōtra*, and student of the Kātha school. The grantee appears to have been a man of deep erudition, for he is represented to have mastered the *Vēda*, *Vēdānga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāna*, *Vyākharana*, *Mīmāmsā*, *Tarka*, *Nirukta* and *Yajñavidyā*. The village granted to him was Rakkhulla-grāma situated in the province (*vishaya*) of Nāsikka. The boundaries specified are to the E Chēbhatikā, to the S the Gōdāvari, to the W. Vaṭamukha, and to the N Vatapura. All the localities mentioned in this grant are to be found in the Nāsik district. That Nāsikka is Nāsik goes without saying. Sindinagara, where the royal grantor resided at the time of making the grant, is known to us from the records of the earlier Yādavas, and has been identified with Sinnar, the principal town of the *tāluka* of the same name. Rakkhulla-grāma, the village granted, is Lākhalgām to the north of the

¹ [The same surname occurs in l 48.—E. H.]

² [Prof. Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date of this inscription, for Śaka-samvat 701 expired, regularly corresponds to the 22nd December A.D. 779. On this day the Makara- or Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 4 h. 30 m., and the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa commenced 8 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise."—E. H.]

Gôdâvari, Chôbhatikâ Chêhdi, and Vatamukha probably Ôdhém. Chêhdi is in the Niphâd, and the rest in the Nâsik, *taluka* of the Nâsik district

As the inscription expressly refers itself to the reign of the Râshtrakûta sovereign Gôvinda II., no doubt can now be reasonably entertained as to his having sat on the throne. I have elsewhere¹ adduced reasons why we should consider Gôvinda II. to have actually reigned. Dr. Fleet based his different opinion on the words *gyôshth-ôllanghana* of a verse occurring in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants.² But these words, as Professor Kielhorn has remarked, by no means necessitate the conclusion that Dhruva immediately succeeded Kṛishna I. to the exclusion of his eldest brother Gôvinda II. from the succession.³ The new grant places it beyond all doubt that Gôvinda II. did succeed Kṛishna I. and did reign. Consequently Dr. Fleet's view has no grounds to stand upon, unless it can be conclusively shown that this grant is a forgery.

Although many Râshtrakûta records have so far been published, they have supplied us with but few dates prior to the time of Gôvinda III. We have Śaka 675 for Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, furnished by his Sâmângaḍ plates⁴. The Alîs copper-plate charter,⁵ issued by Gôvinda II. when *Yuvarâja* or prince-regent, gives the date Śaka 692 for his father Kṛishna I. And our plates give a third date, *vis.* Śaka 701, for Gôvinda II. himself. A fourth date is supplied by the *Jaina Harivamśa*,⁶ which was completed in Śaka 705 when *Śrîvallabha*, son of Kṛishna, was ruling over the South. There can be no doubt that this Kṛishna is Kṛishna I. of the Râshtrakûta family. But it is by no means easy to decide whether by *Śrîvallabha* is meant Gôvinda II. or his brother Dhruva,⁷ as both had this epithet and were sons of Kṛishna I.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁹ [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसा धाम ¹⁰यंनाभिकमलं क्तं । हरस्य¹¹ यस्य
कांतेन्दुकलया कमलंक्तं ॥ [१*]
- 2 ¹²आसी[द्विषत्ति]मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिं ¹³नयनभिसुखो रणशर्वरीयु ॥(1)
भूपः शुचिर्वि[धु]रिवा-
- 3 मदि[ग]न्त[कीर्त्ति]र्गीविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिध¹⁴ ॥ [२*] दृष्टा चमू-
मभिसुखीं सुभटाट्टहा[सामुन्नामि]-
- 4 ¹⁵मितं स[पदि येन] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं
कुलं च हृदयं [च नि]-

¹ *Journ Bo Br R As Soc* Vol. XX pp 133 4.

² *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 393; above, Vol. VI. pp 171 and 172.

³ Above, Vol VI pp 240 1

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 108 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol VI p 208 ff

⁶ *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 142

⁷ *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 197, above, Vol. VI p 197

⁸ From the original copper-plates — [A few emendations in the text and in the notes are due to Mr. H Krishna Sastri, B.A., who read the first proof sheets. Verse 17 remains unintelligible.—E H.]

⁹ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁰ Read यन्नाभि°.

¹¹ Read हरय.

¹² Read आसीद्विप°.

¹³ Read नयन्नभि°.

¹⁴ Read सिध..

¹⁵ This मि is superfluous.

- 5 ज च स[त्वं]¹ ।। ३*] खड्ग कराग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो ²मनस्तत्स-
ममेव यस्य [।*] महाह्वे [नाम नि]-
- 6 ग्राम्य³ सद्यः त्रयं रिपूणा विगलत्यक[।*]खडे ॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजो
जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकर्त्तिरार्त्तर्त्तिहा-⁴
- 7 रिर[विवि]क्रमधामधारी । ⁵भूपंस्तृविष्टपकतानुक्ततिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति
गोक्षम-
- 8 णिव्वभूव⁶ ॥ [५*] यस्मिं⁷ प्रशासति महानरपे द्विजानां वैतानधूमनि-
चयैः परिकर्तुराणि⁸ । संध्या[सु सौ]-
- 9 धशिखराणि विलोक्य केका[।*] कूजति वैश्वशिखिनो जलदागमीत्काः
[॥ ६*] यस्य द्विजजनाक्रान्तशांति-⁹
- 10 वाचनवारिणा [।*] प्रत्यहं गुल्फदघ्नेन य[श*]श्चरति मंदिरे ।। ७*] तस्य
प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदति[द]-
- 11 न्तप्रहाररुचिरोलिखितान्सपीठ¹⁰ [।*] क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितश्चतुरभूत्तनूजः
सद्राद्रुकूटकनका-
- 12 द्वि¹¹ इवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ८*] सेवासमायातवृहन्नरेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्याघयुगस्य¹² तस्य ।
अस्ता-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 13 नववत्रार्थिगणैः प्रवीणैः [स]सेव्यते श्री[।*] स्वजनैरजस्र¹³ ॥ [९*] तस्योपा-
जितत
- 14 तुरदधिवलयमालिन्याः [।*] भीक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदंतिदुर्गराजो
भूत् [॥ १०*] अ
- 15 गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रणिहितार्थमपेतयत्नं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि द
- 16 त्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ।। ११*] काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचीलपांड्य-
श्रीहृ[र्ष]
- 17 विभेदविधानदत्तं [।*] कर्णाटकं ¹⁴वल्लभचित्यमजेयमन्यैभृत्यै¹⁵ कियन्निरपि यः
सह .
- 18 जिगाय ।। १२*] तस्मि¹⁶ दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे सति¹⁷ [।*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनु-
मंहीपतिः कृष्ण-

¹ Read सत्वं

⁴ Read °कौर्त्तिरार्त्तर्त्ति°

⁷ Read यस्मिन्

¹⁰ Read °रोलिखितास°

¹³ Read °जस्र

¹⁶ Read तस्मिन्दिवं.

² Read मनस्तत्सम°.

⁵ Read भूपस्त्रिविष्टप°.

⁸ Read °कर्तुराणि

¹¹ Read °द्विरिवे°.

¹⁴ Read वल्लभचित्य°

¹⁷ A few letters have been inadvertently omitted after सति.

³ Read °ग्राम्य सद्यस्त्रयं

⁶ Read °णिव्वभूव

⁹ Read °क्रान्त°

¹² Read °वृह° and °वन्द्याग्नि°

¹⁵ Read °मन्यैर्भृत्यै .

- 19 राजीभूत् ।। १३*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषीत्सादितारिदिङ्गाक्रं । कृष्ण-
स्यैवा^१ च[रि]तं
- 20 श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ।। १४*] शुभतुङ्गतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं ।।*]
ग्रीष्मेपि [न]-
- 21 भीमण्डलं^२ प्रावृट्टालायते स्पष्टं ।। १५*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टमजस्रं^३
।।*] तत्त्वणम-
- 22 कालवर्षी वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्मथन्नः^४ ।। १६*] येन निजराज्यमूर्त्तितमशेष-
भूपालपालित-
- 23 मनन्तं ।।*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटविश्रुतचरितं^५ कृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१७*] तस्य
सुतः[ः*] सकलमहीमण्डलप-
- 24 रिपालनक्षमः[ः*] शूरः[ः*] ।।*] जितवीरवैरिवर्गो नाम्ना गोविन्दराजोभूत्
॥ [१८*] यस्य प्रवलप्र-^६

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 'वलप्रद्योतिताशामुखनिर्दलितवीरवैरिवर्गस्य पृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर-
26 मेश्वरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलकस्य प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये ।।*] तस्यानुजः
27 श्रीध्रुवराजनाम्ना^७ महानुभावो विहितप्रतापः[ः*] ।।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-
चक्रः[ः*] चूडाम-
- 28 णि^८ वालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव^{१०} ।। १९*] तस्य सुतः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दसुवर्ण-
वर्षप्रतापशी-^{११}
- 29 लश्रीकर्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविष[य*]पतिराष्ट्रग्राममह-
30 त्तराधिकारिकां^{१२} समान्नापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं मातापित्तोः पुण्यशोभि-
31 वृध्यर्थमार्मनय^{१३} शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तस्वेकोत्तरेषु अकेनापि
32 संवत्सरशत ७०१ पुष्यमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां संक्रान्तौ सिन्धीनगरावस्थितेन
श्री-
- 33 कर्कराजेन ।।*] तेनेदमध्रुवमसाश्वतमप्रतिष्ठं^{१४} स्वप्नेन्द्रजालजलवीचिचलस्वभा-
34 वं ।।*] मत्वा जगत्तरवि^{१५} पल्लवतीयतुच्छ संसारसागरसुखात्तरणं^{१६} विचिन्त्य
॥ २०*] श्रीञ्च . .

^१ Read कृष्णस्यैवाकृष्ण.

^४ Read 'यन.

^७ Read 'वल.

^{१०} Read वाला^९ and 'वर्धभूव.

^{१३} Read 'वृध्यर्थमारमनय.

^{१६} Read 'सुखोत्त.

^२ Read नमी निखिलं.

^५ Read श्रीकृष्ण.

^८ Read 'नामा.

^{११} Read 'शब्द.

^{१४} Read 'मशाश्वत.

^३ Read 'चष्टं समीहितमवसं

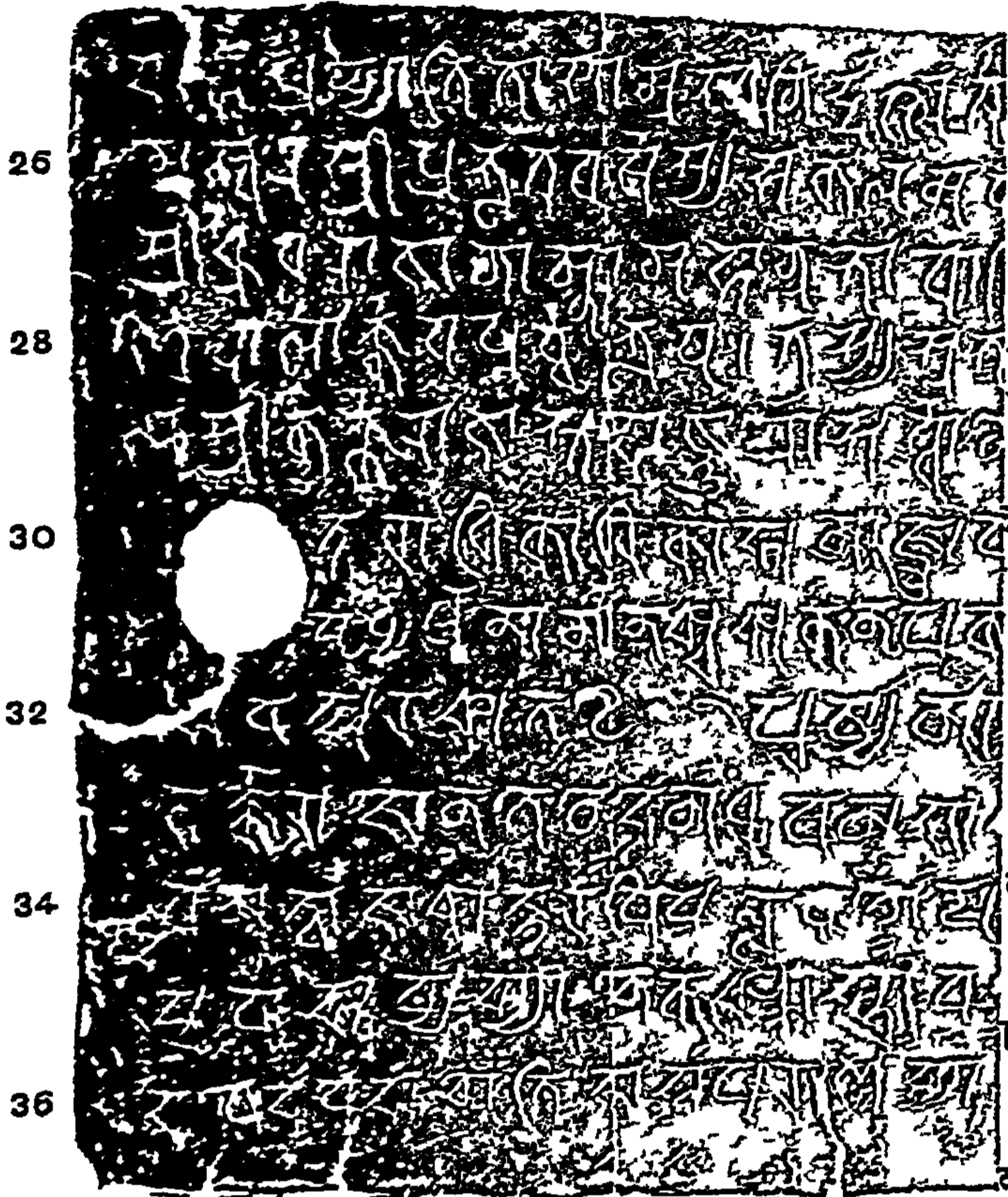
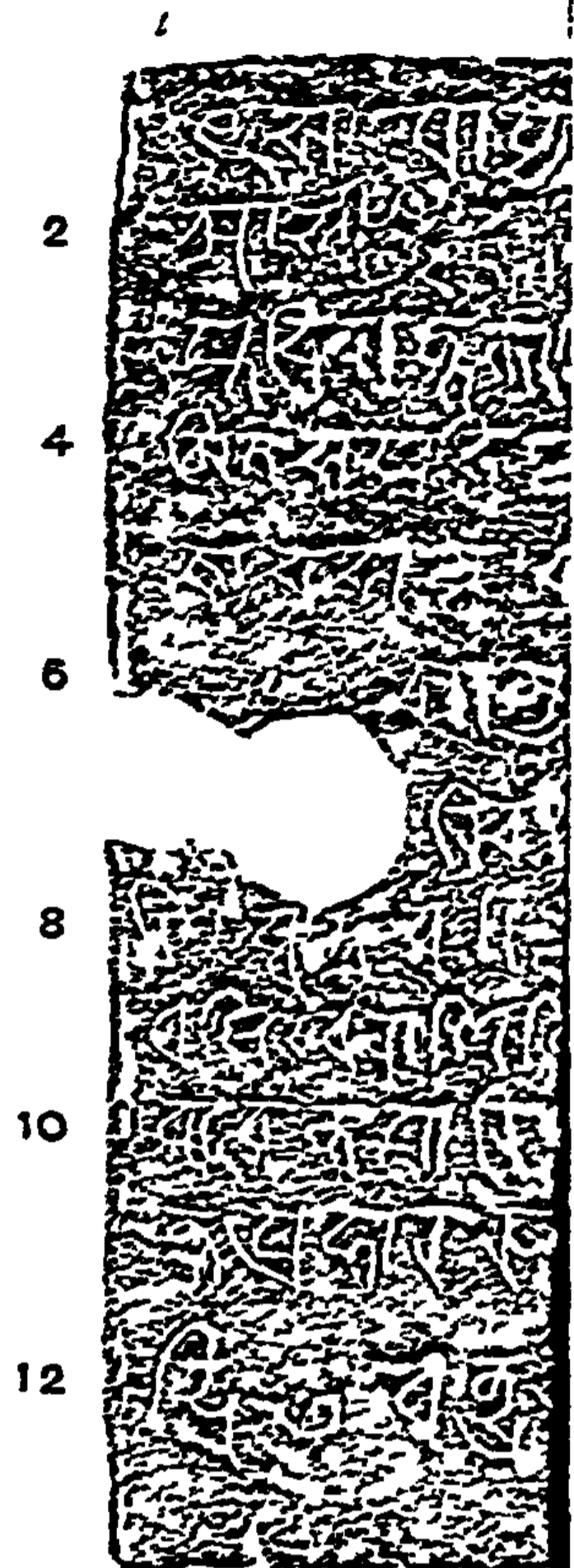
^६ Read प्रवल.

^९ For चूडामणि read क्रमेश.

^{१२} Read 'कारिकाम्.

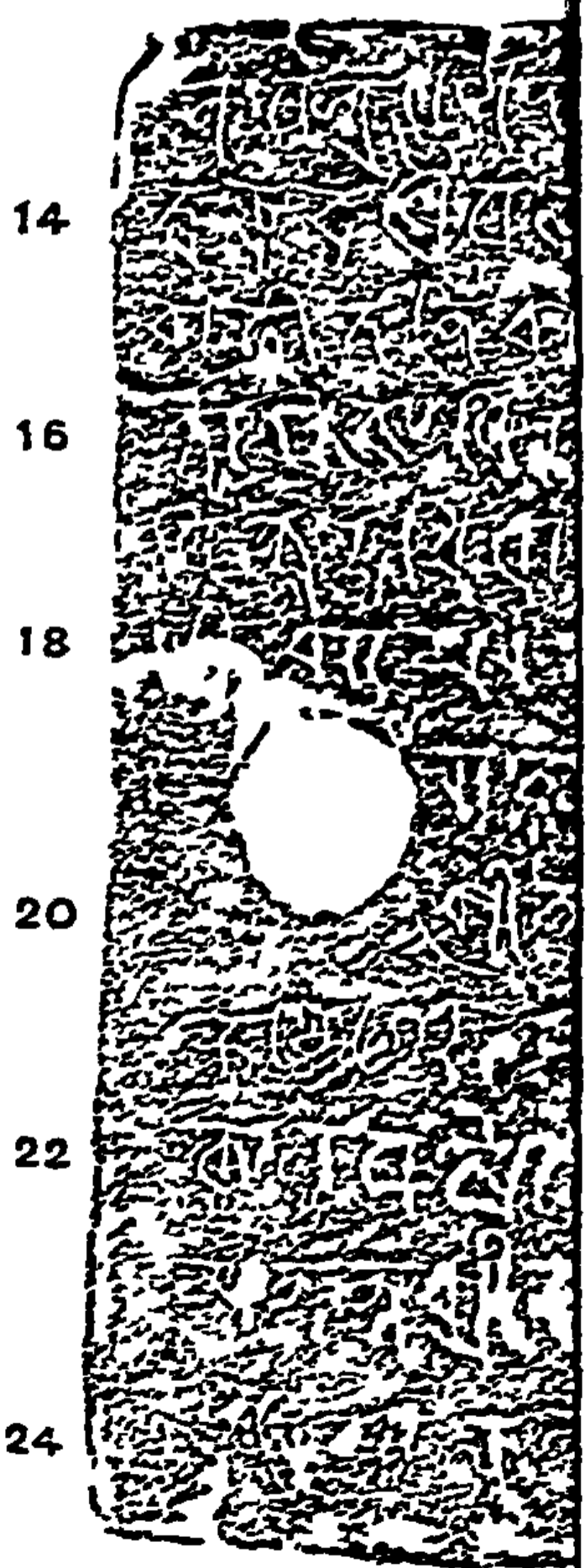
^{१५} Read जगत्तरवि.

22 b

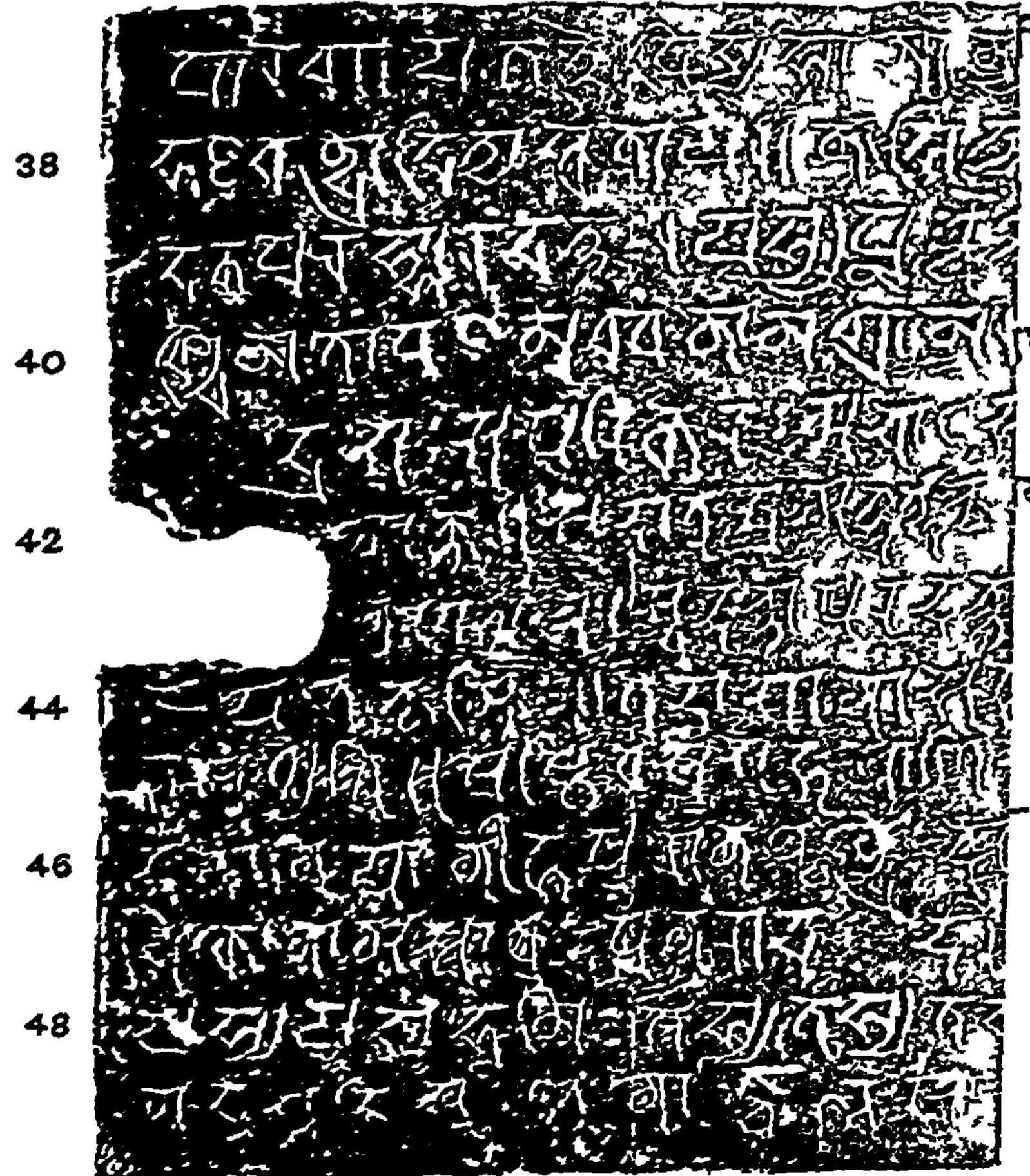


. .
. .
प्र[ति]-
व[री] .
] ॥ एव
तथा च
वा पालनं
। पठि⁷
वां कोटि-

22 a



22 c



मिदः [1*]
निर्माळि-
षा भुत्ता¹¹
या ¹³श्रीप-
2 2

19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27

26
 28
 30
 32
 34
 36

28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48

38
 40
 42
 44
 46
 48

- 35 मृवास्तव्यस्यानेकशास्त्रावगाधसंशुद्धिप्रभावाभिभूताखिलवि¹ . . .
 36 द वेदवेदांगेतिहासपुराणव्याकरणमीमांसातर्कनिरुक्तय[त्र]विद्या . . .

Third Plate.

- 37 पारगाय तत्रैविद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोत्रकठसत्रज्ञचारिणे² भट्टज . . .
 38 भट्टचन्द्रादित्यसुताय ॥ नासिक्कविषयान्तर्गतः रक्खुल्लनाम्ना³ ग्राम[*] प्र[ति]-
 पादि . . .
 39 दकपुरस्सरं दत्तः । यस्य पूर्वतो चेभटिकानामग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणतो गोदाव[री] .
 40 श्विमतो वटमुख नाम ग्राम[:*] । उत्तरतो वटपुर नाम ग्राम[:] ॥ एव
 चतुराघाटवि[शु] . . .
 41 द्रं[ग]: सपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रवेश⁴ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन दत्तः । तथा च
 व . . .
 42 नोक्तं ॥ स्व⁵ दातुं सुमहत्सक्यं⁶ दु खमन्यस्य पालनं [1*] दानं वा पालनं
 वेत्ति दानाच्छे .
 43 नुपा[लन] । [1 २१*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरा । षष्ठि⁷
 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(?) .
 44 जायते क्लमिः ॥ [२२*] [तडागा]नां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटि-
 प्रदानेन भू[मि] . . .
 45 न शुध्यति ॥ [२३*] षष्ठि⁸ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*]
 आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नर . . . [॥ २४*]
 46 [दत्तानि] यानीह पुरा नरेन्द्रैः⁹ दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्य-
 वात(:)प्रति[मा] . . .
 47 [नि] को नाम साधु. पुनराददीत ॥ [२५*] बहुभिः¹⁰ वसुधा भुक्ता¹¹
 राजभि[:*] सगरादि[भि]: [1*] . . .
 48 यस्य यदा भूमिः¹² तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [२६*] लिखित च मया ¹³श्रीप-
 तापशीलाज्ञ[या] . . .
 49 न दुग्गडिसुतेनोज्ज्वलशासनमालिलख¹⁴ ॥

¹ Read 'गाढ' and 'वृद्धि'

² Read 'प्रवेशी'

³ Read 'षट्'.

⁴ Read 'बहुभिर्व'

⁵ Read 'श्रीप्रताप'

⁶ Read 'त्रय'

⁷ Read 'स्व'

⁸ Read 'षट्'

⁹ Read 'मुक्ता'

¹⁰ Read 'नोज्ज्वलशासनम् and omit the letters following'

¹¹ Read 'नाना'

¹² Read 'हृच्छक्य .

¹³ Read 'द्वैदा'

¹⁴ Read 'भूमिसस्य'

No 20.—TWO GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA II.

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE).

These two sets of copper-plates belong to the Rutlam Darbar and were lent to Messrs. Marshall and Cousens in December 1902 by the Dewan of the Rutlam State in Central India. Mr Marshall has communicated to me a letter of the Dewan of Rutlam, from which it appears that the plates had been found in 1891 at Nôgâwâ,¹ a village 10 miles north of Rutlam, while a well near a Brâhman's house was being repaired. Each set consists of two copper-plates. To both sets is affixed a single seal, whose ring was found broken or cut, and of which it cannot be said to which set it belonged originally. The seal is elliptical, measures about 2½" by 2" in diameter, and bears, on a countersunk surface, in relief, a bull couchant which faces the proper right, and below the bull, the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭakṭah*

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1902-03*, p. 232 ff., I have already published the second of the two grants (B), with facsimile. In now editing the first (A.), I reprint the text of the second as well, because the grant portions of both are closely connected and throw light on each other

A.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 320.

This inscription is edited from two sets of ink-impressions prepared by Mr Cousens in 1905, and from rubbings supplied by Mr Marshall in the same year. It is engraved on two copper-plates which bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9 inches in height and about 11½" in breadth

The alphabet resembles that of other Maitraka inscriptions of the same period. The *ṛhiāmūliya* occurs once (l 37), and the *upadhmanīya* also once (l 38). The numerical symbols for 300, 20 and 5 are used in the date portion (l 52). The secondary form of *ā* is very often omitted. The *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *n* before *ś* and *h*² (ll 3, 5, 22, 45, 48), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 14, 28, 32), while the *anusvāra* is employed in three others (*samsakṭa*, ll 1, 5, and *samskāra*, l 34).

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose, but three of the customary verses are quoted in ll 49-51. The rules of Sandhi are often disregarded—even in compound words³

The inscription records a grant of land to two Brâhmanas by the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna (II), who issued this edict from (his capital) Valabhī (l 1). His genealogy is described in the same words as in his grant of Samvat 310⁴ and has been translated by me elsewhere⁵. The grant portion runs as follows.—

(L. 36) 'The fervent worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious Dhruvasēna (II.) whose second name was Bâlāditya, being in good health, issues (the following) command to all according as they are concerned'—

(L. 37.) "Be it known to you that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, I have given in Mâlavaka, in the said district (*bhukti*), at the eastern boundary of

¹ Dr Fleet kindly informs me that this village is entered as 'Naugama' on the Indian Atlas sheet No 36, N. E (1895)

² In *samhātā*, l 12, the *ha* is corrected from *nha*

³ See *nivāsi-uchyamāna*, l. 38 f and l. 40, and *brâhmana-Agnissudmīnē*, l. 39 f

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 13 ff.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p 69 ff.

the village Navagrāmaka, one hundred *bhaktīs* (of land) to the Brāhmana Agnisvāmin, who has come from [U]dumbaragahvara, resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),¹ to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana Kumārasvāmin, and to the Brāhmana Sangaravi, who has come from Jambūsara, resides at Ayānakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),² to the *gōtra* of the Kausikas and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana Mahēsvara.

(L 42.) "The boundaries of this (land are) —to the east, the boundary of the village Varāhōtaka; to the south, a river, to the west, La[k]shmana's *paṭṭikā*, (and) to the north, the boundary of the village Pulindānaka.

(L 43) " (I have given), as a meritorious gift, with libations of water, these one hundred *bhaktīs*, thus defined by (their) four boundaries, with the *udranga*, *uparikara* (and) *bhūta-cātapratyūya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with the *daśūparādha*, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding gifts previously made to temples and to Brahmanas and the twentieth (share due) to Brāhmanas,³ according to the maxim of *bhūmicchhīdra*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains, (and) to be enjoyed by the sons, grandsons and (further) descendants (of the two donees) "

Ll 46-51 contain the usual admonitions and imprecations

(L 51) " The messenger (*dūtaka*) for this (grant is) the *Rājaputra śrī-Kharagraha*. This (edict) has been written by the chief secretary (*divirapati*) Skandabhaṭa, the son of the chief secretary Vatrabhata[1], who is charged with peace and war. The year 300 (and) 20, (the month) Bhādrapada, the dark (fortnight), the 5th (*tithi*) (This is) My own signature "

The two donees resided at Agastikāgrahāra and Ayānakāgrahāra⁴ and had emigrated from Udumbaragahvara (l 38) and Jambūsara (l 40). Udumbaragahvara occurs also in B (l 41) and in a grant of Dharasēna IV.⁵ Jambūsara is the modern Jambūsar between Kana and Broach.⁶

The expression 'in Mālavaka, in the said district' (*Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktau*, l 41 f, and *Mālavak. uchyamāna-vishayē* in B, l 41) is a little puzzling. When publishing B alone, I suggested that the word *uchyamāna* may refer to Daśapura, which occurs three lines earlier in the description of the donees. This idea has to be given up because A does not mention Daśapura at all. In the description of the donees the word *uchyamāna* is used twice with reference to the immediately preceding village names Agastikāgrahāra (l 38) and Ayānakāgrahāra (l 40). Consequently the word *uchyamāna* before *bhuktau* and *vishayē* can only refer to the preceding locative *Mālavakē*, and *Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktau* or *-vishayē* comes to the same as *Mālavakā-bhuktau* or *-vishayē*. At any rate the two grants prove that Dhruvasēna II was in possession of Mālavā, or at least of a portion of it.

To this province belonged the land granted in Navagrāmaka, which was bounded in the east by Varāhōtaka, in the south by a river, and in the north by Pulindānaka. In his letter to Mr Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam identified Navagrāmaka with the modern Nōgāwā where the two grants were discovered, Varāhōtaka with Bhārōdā in the east, and Pulindānaka with Paldūnā in the north. On a map of the Rutlam State which he annexed to his letter, a small river is also marked on the south-east of Nōgāwā, as required by the description in the grant.

¹ *I.e.* of Agastikāgrahāra

² Compare Bühler's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XV. p 337

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol XV p 336

⁴ *I.e.* of Ayānakāgrahāra

⁵ See page 195 below

⁶ Compare *ibid.* Vol VII p 241

The *Dātaka* of this grant, prince (*rājaputra*) Kharagraha¹ (l 51) is perhaps the same person who later on ascended the throne as Kharagraha II. The writer of the inscription, the *Divinapati* Skandabhata, occurs again in other grants of Dhruvasēna II,² and Dhruvasēna IV.,³ his father Vatrabhaṭṭa in grants of Śīlāditya I and Dhruvasēna II,⁴ and his son Anahila in grants of Dhruvasēna III, Kharagraha II and Śīlāditya II.⁵

The year of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 320 (i. e. A.D. 639-40), is the same as that of the Bhaunagar plates published by Mr. Jackson.⁶

TEXT.⁷

First Plate

- 1 श्री⁸ स्वस्ति - [॥*] वलभितः प्रसभप्रणतामित्र[†*]णां मैत्रकाण[†]मतुलबल-
सम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहा[र]-
- 2 शतलब्धप्रतापाप्रतापोपनतदानम[†]नार्ज्ज्वीपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमीलभृतश्रेणीबला-
वाप्तराज्य-
- 3 श्रियः परममाहेश्वर(ः)श्रीभटाकर्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणति-
प्रविधौताशेषकल्मष[ः]
- 4 शैशवाप्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकपः¹⁰
तत्प्रभावप्रणता-
- 5 रातिचूडार(†)त्प्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्घृतिः¹¹ सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यच्चरि-
पालनप्रजाहृदयर-¹²
- 6 जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो ¹³रूपरान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्यबुद्धिसम्पद्भिः¹⁴ स्मरशशाङ्गाद्विराजोदधि-
त्रिदशगुरुधनेशानति-¹⁵
- 7 शयान[ः] शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतय[†*] दृणवदपास्त[†*]शेषस्वक[†*]र्यफल-
प्र[†*]त्यनाधिकार्य(†)प्रदानानन्दित-
- 8 विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वर-
श्रीगुहसेन-
- 9 स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्त[†*]न[वि]सृतजाङ्ग[वी]जलौघप्रच[†*]लिताशेष-
कल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्य-

¹ The same prince is mentioned in B below, l 53 f, and in *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol. XX p 9, text line 21.

² B below, l. 51, and *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol. XX p. 9, text line 22.

³ *Ind Ant.* Vol. VII p 75, and Vol XV p 340

⁴ *Ibid* Vol VI p 16, Vol IX p 239, and Vol XIV. p 328

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol VII p 79, and Vol, XI p 309, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p 85, and Vol IV. p 75.

⁶ *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol XX p 9

⁷ From ink impressions and rubbings

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read °वशा°

¹⁰ Read °सत्त्व°

¹¹ Read °सङ्घृति

¹² Read °सम्यक्परि°

¹³ Read रूपकान्ति°

¹⁴ Read °गाम्भीर्य

¹⁵ Read °गुरु°

- 10 मानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसम[र*]भिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशि[चा]विशेष-
विस्मापिताखिलधनु-¹
- 11 ईरः प्रथ(र)मनरपतिसमतिसृष्ट[र*]नामनुप[र*]लयिता ²धम्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता
प्रजोपघातकारि-
- 12 ए[र]सुपप्लव[र*]नां दशयिता³ श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिपासस्य⁴ सहतारातिपक्ष-
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपस-
- 13 प्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वर. श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्य[र*]तः
सकलज[गदा]नन्दन[र*]त्यद्भुत(र)-
- 14 गुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मण्डल[:]⁵ समरशतविजय[शो]भासन[र*]थमण्डलाग्र-
द्युतिभासुरतरान्स्पीठोदूढ-⁶
- 15 'गुरुमनोरथमहाभ[र*]रः सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व-
तस्सुभ[र*]पितलवेनापि सुखोपपा-
- 16 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाभीर्थहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरम-
कल्य[र*]णस्वभावः खिली-
- 17 भूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतीदयकी[त्तिव]र्मानुपरोधोक्त्वल[त]रिक्त[र*]-
त्यसुखसम्पद्रुपसेवानिरू-⁷
- 18 ढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वर. श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्प[र*]द[र*]-
नुध्य[र*]तः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरुण[र]-
- 19 त्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मि⁸ स्कन्ध[र*]स[क्त][र*] परमभद्र इव
धुर्यस्तदाज्ञ[र*]सम्प[र*]दनैक[र]सतयैवोद्वह-
- 20 ¹⁰न्खेदसुखररि[भ्य][र*]मन[र*]य[र*]सितसत्वसम्पत्तिः¹¹ प्रभावसम्पद्दशील[त]नृपति-
शतशिरोरंजच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
- 21 परावज्ञाभिम[र*]नरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेका¹² परित्यज्य प्रख्यात-
पौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादित-
- 22 प्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवन[र*]मोदविमलगुणसङ्घतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलि-
विल[सि]तगतिर्नीचजना-¹³
- 23 धिरोहिभिरशेषैर्होपैरन[र*]मृष्टाल्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौ[र]पास्वकौशलातिशयगणतिय-
विपक्षचितिपतिलक्ष्मी-¹⁴

¹ Read 'सैस्त्रहज'⁴ Read 'धियासस', the *ha* of सहता³ is corrected from *n/ha*⁶ Read 'रास'⁷ Read 'लक्ष्मी'¹² Read 'मेका'² Read धम्म³ Read 'दशयिता'⁵ Read 'दिग्मण्डल'⁸ Read 'कौर्त्तिङ्मा' and 'तरीलना'¹⁰ Read 'सत्त्व'¹¹ Read 'चितिपति'³ Read दशयिता⁵ Read 'दिग्मण्डल'⁸ Read 'कौर्त्तिङ्मा' and 'तरीलना'¹⁰ Read 'सत्त्व'¹¹ Read 'चितिपति'

- 24 ¹स्वयग्रहप्रक[र*]शितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम[:*] परमम[र*]हेश्वरः श्रीखर-
ग्रहस्तस्य तनय-
25 ²तत्पादा[नुध्य][र*]तः सकलवि[द्य][र*]धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरि-
तोषातिशयः सत्वताम्पद[र*]³ त्य[र*]गौदा[र्ये]-
26 ए च विग[त][र*]नु[स]न्धान[र*][श]म[रहि]तार[र*]तिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्य-
गुपलक्षित[र*]नेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरित-

Second Plate

- 27 गह्वर[वि]भागीपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरक्तत्रिमप्रसन्नयवि[न]यशोभाविभूषणः⁴ समरशतजय-
पताकाह-
28 रणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः⁵ [स्व]धनु[:*]प्रभावपरि-
भुतास्त्रकौ[श]लाभिमा-⁶
29 [न]सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिन[न्दि]तशासना⁷ परमम[र]हेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तत्या-
नुजस्तत्पाद[र*]नुध्य[र*]तः सचरितातिशयित-
30 स[क]लपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां⁸ मूर्तिमा[नि]व
पुरु[ष]कारः ⁹परिवृद्धगुणानुराग-
31 [नि]र्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
क[र*][न्ति]मा[न्ति]तिहेतुरकलङ्कः
32 [कु]मुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिग[न्त]रालप्रध्वंसितध्वा[न्त]राशिस्ततोदित-
स्त्रविता¹⁰ प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्र[त्य]यम-
33 ¹¹[त्यवन्त]मतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धम[र*]गमपरिपूर्ण¹² विदधानः ¹³धन्धिविग्रह-
समासनिश्चयनिपुणः [स्थ]ाननु-¹⁴
34 ¹⁵रूपमादेयं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्स[र*]धूना¹⁶ राज्यसालातुरीय[त]न्त्र-
योरुभयोरप¹⁷ नि[ष्णा]तः
35 प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि ¹⁸किरुणाष्टदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी
स्विरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दो-
36 षवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्त्यितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वि-

¹ Read °स्वयंग्रह°.² Read °प्रशय°.³ Read °शासन°.⁴ Read परिदृष्ट°.⁵ Read °पुष्प°.⁶ Read °रूप°.⁷ Read करुणा°.⁸ Read °सत्पा°.⁹ Read °विध्वंसित°.¹⁰ Read °सस्यानु°.¹¹ Read °प्रध्वंसित°.¹² Read सन्धि°.¹³ Read °धूना°.¹⁴ Read सत्वसम्पदा.¹⁵ Read °परिमृता°.¹⁶ Read विषयाणां.¹⁷ Read °त्यव°.¹⁸ Read स्थानेनु°.¹⁹ Read °शालातुरीय° and °रपि°.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Sanskrit or a related language. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines, with a large circular hole or mark near the top center. The script is highly stylized and densely packed. The text is partially obscured by a large white area at the bottom of the page.

28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46
48
50
52

- 37 तीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनङ्गुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्म-
म[1*]ज्ञापयेत्यस्तु¹ व-
- 38 संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोऽपुण्याप्य[1]यनाय.² दुम्बरगह्वर[वि]निर्ग-
तागस्तिकाग्र(1)हार(1)[नि]वासिउ[च]-
- 39 मानचातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरस[गो]त्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकु[मा]रस्व[1]मि-
पुत्रब्राह्मण-
- 40 अग्निस्वामिने तथा जम्बूसरविनिर्गतायानकाग्र(1)हारनिवासि[उ]चमान[चा]तु-
र्विद्यसामान्यकौशिकस-
- 41 गोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणमहेश्वरपुत्रब्राह्मणसगरवये³ मालवके उचमा-
नभु-
- 42 तौ नवग्रामकग्रामपूर्व[दी]न्नि⁴ भ[क्तो]शत यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः वराहो-
टक्रग्रामकङ्कटः द[क्षि]णतो
- 43 नदी अपरतः ⁵लक्षणपट्टिका उत्तरतः पुलिन्दानकग्रामकङ्कटः [ए]वमेतच्चतु-
राघाटनविशुडं भक्तोशत
- 44 सोद्रङ्ग⁶ सोपरिकर सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय⁷ सदश[1*]पराध
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक⁸ सर्वराज-
- 45 कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षणीयं⁹ पूर्वप्रक्षदे[व]ब्रह्मदेयत्र[1*]ह्यणविङ्गतिरहितं¹⁰ भूमिच्छिद्र-
न्य[1]येन[1*]चन्द्र[1*]कर्ण[वक्षि]-
- 46 तिसरित्पर्वतसमक[1*]लीनं पुत्रपोत्रान्वयभीग्य¹¹ उ[द]कातिसर्गेण धर्मदायो
निसृष्टः यतोनयो(च)रुचितया
- 47 ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या गुञ्जतोः¹² कपतोः कफयतोः¹³ प्रदिशतीर्वा न कैश्चिद्वा[1*]सिधे
वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृप-
- 48 तिभिरव्यस्रद्वजैरख्येर्वा¹⁴ अनित्य[1*]न्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं म[1*]नुष्य¹⁵ स[1*]-
म[1*]न्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिर[य]-
- 49 मस्रद्व[1*]योनुमन्तव्यः परिप[1*]लयितव्यश्चेत्युतञ्च¹⁶ ॥ बहुभिर्वसुध[1*] भु-
क्त[1*] राजभिस्सगर[1*]दिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यद[1*] भूमस्त[स्य]¹⁷

¹ Read °पयत्यस्तु² Read °यनायोदुम्बर° and compare B, text line 41³ The name of the donee is spaced out It may have been filled in subsequently, or substituted for an erased longer name⁴ Read °पूर्वसीवि⁵ Read लक्षण°.⁶ Read सोद्रङ्ग⁷ Read °देय⁸ Read °विष्टिक⁹ Read °प्रक्षणीय पूर्व°¹⁰ Read °विशति°¹¹ Read °पौत्रान्वयभीग्य¹² Read सुञ्जतो¹³ Read कर्पयती..¹⁴ Read °रप्यस्रद्वजैरख्येर्वा¹⁵ Read मानुष्य.¹⁶ Read °त्युक्तञ्च¹⁷ Read भूमिस्तस्य

- 50 तस्य तद[१*] फल^१ [॥*] [य]ानीह 'द[१*]रिद्रभय[१*]नरे[न्द्रे]वनानि^३
धर्म[१*]यतनीकत[१*]नि [१*] निर्भुक्तम[१*]ल्यप्रतिम[१*]नि त[१*]नि को
नाम शाधुः^४ पु[न]-
- 51 रा[य]दीत^५ ॥ षष्टिव[र्ष]सहस्र[१*][णि] स्वर्गे तिष्ठति^६ भूमिदः [१*] अच्चे-
त[१*]^७ च[१*]नुम[त्त][१*]^८ च त[१*]न्य[व]^९ नरके व[से]दिति ॥ दूतकोत्र
राजपुत्रश्रीखरग्रह[ः*]
- 52 लिखितमिदं ^{१०}सन्धिविग्रह[१*]धिग्यतद्विविरपतिवन्नभट्टपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन^{११} ॥
स ३०० २० भ[१*]द्रपद व ५ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

B.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 321.

The text of this inscription, which is here printed for the second time,¹² is based on two sets of ink-impressions and one set of estampages, prepared by Mr Cousens. The estampages are very excellent and show many letters which, owing to the corroded condition of the original, appear only imperfectly in the ink-impressions.

The copper-plates are two in number and bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9" in height and 11½" in breadth.

The *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice (ll. 34 and 40), and the *upadhmaniya* once (l. 53). The date portion contains the numerical symbols for 300, 20, 1 and 3 (l. 54). As in A., the *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *n* before *ś* and *h* (ll. 3, 5, 12, 23, 48, 50), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 15, 29, 34), while in three others (ll. 2, 5, 36 f.) the *anusvāra* is employed.

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose, but, as in A., three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 51-53. The language of ll. 41-43 is incorrect. The name of the first donee, *Dattasvāmi* (l. 42), although it has no case-ending, is joined by the particle *tathā* to the following *Kumārasvāmi* (l. 43), to which the dual case-ending *bhyām* is affixed.

The text of the grant B is practically identical with that of A., excepting the place of issue, the names and the description of the two donees, the description of the granted land, and the date. The grant was issued "from the victorious camp pitched at Va[n]ditapalli" (l. 1), which I am unable to identify. The two donees were "the Brāhmana Dattasvāmi, who has come from Udumbaragahvara, resides at Ay[ā]nakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Trivédins* of Daśapura, to the *gōtra* of the Pârâśaras and to the school of the Mādhyandina-Vâjasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana Budhasvāmi, and the Brāhmana Kumārasvāmi, who resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Ohaturvédins* of the said (place),¹³ to the *gōtra* of the Pârâśaras and to the school of the Vâjasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana

^१ Read फल

^४ Read साधु

^७ Read आच्छेत्ता.

^{१०} Read °धित्त°.

^{१२} See page 188 above

^२ Read दारिद्र्य°.

^५ Read °राददीत.

^८ Read °मन्ता

^{११} Read °वचभट्ट° and see B., text line 54

^{१३} I.e. of Agastikagrahara.

^३ Read °वनानि

^६ Read तिष्ठति भूमिदः.

^९ Read तान्येव.

Budhasvâmin" (ll 41-43) The grant consisted of "a field measuring one hundred *bhaktis* at the southern boundary of the village Chandraputraka in Mâlavaka, in the said district (*vishaya*)¹ The boundaries of this (field are) —to the east, the boundary of the village Dhammanahaddikâ, to the south, the boundary of the village Dêvakulapâtaka; to the west, the boundary of the field of the *Mahattara* Virâtara-mandalin, at the north-western corner, the small tank (called) *Nirganđi*, (and) to the north, (the field of) Virâtara-mandalin" (ll 44-46) The date of the grant was "the year 300 (and) 20 (and) 1; (the month) Chaitra, the dark (fortnight), the 3rd (*tithi*)" (l. 54).

Each of the two donees is called a son of Budhasvâmin, a student of the Vâjasanêya *śikhâ*, and a member of the Pârâsara *gôtra*. This suggests that they were sons of the same father, and that the epithet 'who has come from Udumbaragahvara,'² which is applied to the first donee (l 41), holds good for the second as well. The first donee is stated to have resided at Ayânakâgrahâra and to have belonged to the *Trivêdins* of Daśapura. From this I conclude that Ayânakâgrahâra was a quarter or suburb of Daśapura. The second donee, who was probably the brother of the first, resided at, and belonged to the *Ohaturvêdins* of, Agastikâgrahâra, which may have been another hamlet of Daśapura. This town is the modern Dasôr or Mandasôr, the chief town of a district of the Scindia's dominions,³ about 52 miles north of Rutlam.

As in the inscription A, the land granted belonged to the province of Mâlavaka. It consisted of a field in the south of Chandraputraka and was bounded in the east by Dhammanahaddikâ and in the south by Dêvakulapâtaka. In his letter to Mr Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam thought of identifying these places, successively, with Chandodia, Dhamnod and Dival Khedi⁴ — three villages in the south-west of Nôgâwâ where the two grants were discovered. But the phonetical correspondence of each of the three pairs of names is only superficial, besides, Dhamnod is not in the east, but in the south-west, and Dival Khedi not in the south, but in the north-west, of Chandodia. Hence the Dewan's identification must be rejected. Dr Fleet has very kindly searched the maps with the following result —

"Eleven miles south-south-east from Mandasôr, there is a large village which is shewn as 'Dhamnar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No 35, S E (1891), and as 'Dhamnâr' in the Bhopal and Malwa Topographical Survey sheet No 38 (1882). I suspect that this is the Dhammanahaddikâ of the record. But neither of the maps shews anything answering to any of the other names, unless Dêvakulapâtaka may be found in the 'Dilauda' of the maps, four miles west-south-west from 'Dhamnâr,' and in quite the right position to be on the south of Chandraputraka,— 'Dhamnâr' being taken to be the village on its east.⁵ And, of course, a possible identification of only one place is not sufficient to conclusively locate the record."

The date of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 321 (i. e. A. D. 640-41), falls between that of the first Nôgâwâ grant— Samvat 320— and the earliest date of Dharasêna IV — Samvat 326⁶ — and thus extends the known period of the reign of Dhruvasêna II by one year.

¹ See the remarks on page 189 above

² See above, p 189 and note 5

³ See Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 79 f, and above, Vol V p 38 f

⁴ Dr Fleet informs me that these villages are given on the Indian Atlas sheet No 36, N E (189b), as Chandoria, Dhamnod, Dibal and Kheri

⁵ "There is also another 'Dilauda,' which gives its name to a station on the Holkar and Neemuch State Railway, three and a half miles north north east from this one, and two and a half miles north west-by-west from 'Dhamnâr'"

⁶ See Prof Kielhora's Northern List, No 481.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥³] विजयस्कन्धावाराह[न्दि]तपस्त्रीवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां
मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोग-
- 2 ³संसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत-
श्रेणी-
- 3 बलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणा-
रविन्दप्रणति-⁴
- 4 प्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयवाहुरेव समदपरगजघट[।]-
स्फोटनप्र[का]शि[त]-
- 5 ⁵सत्वनिकषः तत्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्कृतिः⁶ सक[ल]-
स्मृतिप्रणी-
- 6 तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्त्रैर्यगाम्भीर्यबुद्धि-
सम्पद्भिः⁷ स्मरश-
- 7 शाङ्गाद्विराजोदधिन्विदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवद-
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्य-
- 8 फलप्राप्त्यर्थाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवन-
मण्डला[भो]गप्रमोदः
- 9 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविस्तृतजाह्नवीजलोघ-
प्रक्षालि[ता]शेष-⁷
- 10 कल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामि-
कैर्गुणैः⁸ [स]हज-
- 11 शक्तिशिचाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्वरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता
धर्मदा[याना]-
- 12 मपाकर्त्ता प्रजीपघातकारिणामुपप्लवाना⁹ दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वतीरेकाधिवासस्य
⁹सङ्कतारातिपक्षल[क्ष्मी]-
- 13 परिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसप्रप्तवि[म]लपात्त्र्यवश्रीः¹⁰ परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधर-
सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-

¹ From two ink impressions and an estampage.² An indistinct symbol is engraved above the line between पा and त्र of ⁹प्रतापात्प्र³ Read ⁹वंश⁹.⁴ Read जलौध⁹.⁵ Read ⁹सप्राप्त⁹.⁶ Read ⁹सत्त⁹.⁷ Read ⁹प्रधानां⁹.⁸ Expressed by a symbol⁹ Read ⁹सहति.¹⁰ Read ⁹संहता⁹.

- 14 ध्यातः ¹सकलजगदानन्दनात्यभुतगुणसमुदयस्यगितसमग्रदिङ्गखड्गः सम[र]शत-
विजयशोभास-
- 15 नायमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्पपीठोद्[ढ]गु[रु]मनोरथमहाभा[र]:² सर्व्व[विद्या]-
परावर[वि]भागाधिग-
- 16 मविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभापितलवेनापि सुखोपपा[द]नीयपरि[तो]षः समग्र-
लोकागाधगाम्भी-
- 17 र्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्व[भा]वः खिलीभूतकतयुगनृपति-
पथ[वि]शोध-
- 18 नाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्वर्णानुपरोधीज्वल[त]रीकृतात्यसुखसम्यदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मा[दि]-
त्यद्विती[य]नामा पर-
- 19 ममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः [स्व]यमुपेन्द्रगुरुरेव गुरु-
णात्यादरवत[र] समभिल-
- 20 षणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी³ स्कन्धासक्ता परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैक-
रसत[यै]वीहृन्मेदसुखरतिभ्या-⁴
- 21 मनायासितसत्वसपत्ति.⁵ प्रभावसम्यद्दशोक्तनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
परावज्ञाभि-
- 22 मानरसाना[यङ्गित]मनोवृत्तिः⁶ प्रणतिमेका⁷ परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्य-
रातिभिरनासादितप्र[ति]क्रि[यो]-
- 23 पायः ⁸कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसङ्कृतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगति-
नी[च]जनाधि-
- 24 रो[हि]भिरशेषैर्होपैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथ-
विदत्त[चि]तिपाति-⁹
- 25 लक्ष्मीस्त्रयंग्रहप्रकाशितप्रविरपुरुषप्रथमसेभ्याधिगमः¹⁰ परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रह-
स्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादा-
- 26 नुध्यातः स[क]लविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः ¹¹सत्व-
सम्यदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च
- 27 विगतानुसन्धान[र*]शमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षिताणकशा[स्त्र]-¹²
- 28 ¹³[क]लाथोकचरितगद्गरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृति[र]कृत्रिमप्रश्न[यविनय]-

¹ Read °स्यहृत°² Read °रंस°³ Read °मेका°⁴ Read °सत्त्वसपत्ति°⁵ Read °सङ्कृति°⁶ Read °लक्ष्मी°⁷ Read °नालिङ्गित°⁸ Read °विपक्षचितिपति°⁹ Read °प्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमनख्याधिगम°¹⁰ Read °सत्त्व°¹¹ Read °तानेक°¹² Read °कलावोक°

Second Plate

- 29 शोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदप्रवाहुदण्डविध्वंसित-¹
- 30 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पीदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभृतास्त्रकीशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिम-
- 31 ण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन[:²] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्य[³]-
त[:⁴] सञ्चरितातिशयितस-
- 32 कलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विपयाणा मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुष-
कारः परिवृद्धगु-
- 33 णानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्भ्रानुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
कान्तिमा-
- 34 त्रिहृतिहेतुरकलङ्कमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थ[गि]तदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशि-
सततो-
- 35 दितस्सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः पर प्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमतिबहुतियप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागम-
परिपूरणं
- 36 विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिययनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूप[मादे]यं ददहुण्डि-
विधानजनितस-
- 37 स्कारस्त्राधूना ³राज्यसालातुरियतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्ठातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि
कण्ठशृङ्खल-
- 38 यः श्रुतवानध्यगर्वितः कान्तोपि प्रथमी स्थिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दोष-
वतामुदर्यनयसजुप-⁴
- 39 जनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्त्यतप्रथितवा[ला]दित्यद्वितीयनामा⁵ परम-
माहेश्वरः श्री-
- 40 भ्रुवसेनङ्कुशलीः सर्वानिव ययामन्वध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदित यथा
नया नातापित्रो.
- 41 पुण्याप्यावनाथ 'उदुञ्जरगद्धरविनिर्गताय[⁶]नकाग्र(र)हारनिवासिदशपुरत्रेविद्य
कामान्यपागशरस-
- 42 गौत्रमाव्यन्दिनवाजसनेयसत्रह्यचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्वामि तथागस्ति-
काग्रहारनिवास्ति-
- 43 [उ]च्यमानचातुर्विध्यसामान्यपाराशरसगौत्रवाजसनेयसत्रह्यचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामपुत्रब्रा-
ह्मणकुमारस्वामिभ्या'

¹ Read °विध्वंसित°² Read °प्रध्वंसित°³ Read °सालातुरीय°⁴ Read °मुदय°⁵ Read °समर्त्यित°.⁶ °तायानका° is the reading of A, text line 40⁷ Read °बुधस्वामिपुत्र°. The syllable भ्या is entered on the margin of the plate, read °भ्या.

- 44 मालवके उचमानविप[वे] चन्द्रपुत्रकग्रामे दक्षिणसीन्नि भक्तीशतप्रमाणचेत्र
यस्याघ[1*]टनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणह-
- 45 डिडकाग्रामकड्डट दक्षिणतो देवकुलपाट[क]ग्रामकड्डटः अपरतः वीरतरमण्डलि-
महत्तरचेत्रमर्थ्यादा उत्तरपश्चि-
- 46 मकीणे निर्गण्डीतडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरमण्डली एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुद्ध
भक्तीशतप्रमाणचेत्रं शो-¹
- 47 द्रङ्गं सोपरिकरं² समभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय सपञ्चपराध³ मोत्यवसान
विष्टिक सर्वराजकीयानामह-
- 48 स्तप्रचेपणीय⁴ पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविद्धतिरहित⁵ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्का-
र्णवचितिसरित्पर्व-
- 49 तसमकालान⁶ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदनातिसर्गेण धर्मदायो निसृष्ट[:*] यतो-
नयोरुचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जत⁷
- 50 क्लपत⁸ कर्पयतः⁹ प्रदिशतोर्वा न कैश्चिद्ग्रासिधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपति-
भिरथसहजैरन्यैर्वा¹⁰ अनित्यान्यै[ख]र्याण्य-
- 51 स्थिरं मानुष सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयससहायोनुनन्तव्यः परि-
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्बसुधा भु-
- 52 क्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिल्लस्य तस्य तदा
फल [॥*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्वानि यन्मायतर्गद्वतानि [1*]
⁹निभुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
- 53 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ पटिवर्षसहस्र[1*]णि स्वर्ग-
तिष्ठति भूमिद[: 1*] आच्छेता¹⁰ चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-
दिति । दूतकोत्र राज-
- 54 पुत्रयीखरग्रह[:*] लिखितमिद सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवन्नभट्टिपुत्रदिविर-
पतिस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं ३०० २० १ चैत्र व ३ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

¹ Read सी०.⁴ Read ०शीघ⁷ Read ०तो⁸ Read आचं ता.² Read ०कर³ Read ०विशति०.⁵ Read ०डम.³ Read सदशापराध⁶ Read ०कालीन⁹ Read निर्भुक्त

No. 21 — JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA
ON MOUNT ABU

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH D , ROSTOCK

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount Âbû were prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultzsch to Professor Kielhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of Nêminâtha and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by Têjahpâla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of 'the temple of Vastupâla and Têjahpâla,' but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to Têjahpâla alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was Lûnasimhavasahikâ or Lûnavasahikâ¹

No. I is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI p. 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1883 by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate in his edition of Sômêśvaradêva's *Kîrtikâumudî*, Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the *Collection of Prâkrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* published by the Bhâvnagar Archaeological Department, p. 174 ff.

The writing covers a space of about 3' 1½" broad by 2' 7½" high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ½". The characters are Jaina Nâgarî. As *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory syllable *ôm*, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll. 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by Sômêśvaradêva, the well-known *purôhita* of the Chaulukya kings and author of the *Kîrtikâumudî*, but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms *balânaka* in l. 37 and *khattaka* in l. 40. The former apparently is identical with Marâthî *balânî*, which according to the *Dictionary* of Molesworth and Cundy means 'a raised seat along the walls of the *gâbhârâ* or *sabhâmandapa* of a temple.' The word *khattaka* I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of 'pedestal' or 'throne'. Proper names frequently appear in their Prâkrit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form *Têjapâla*, instead of *Têjahpâla*, is used in verse 56.

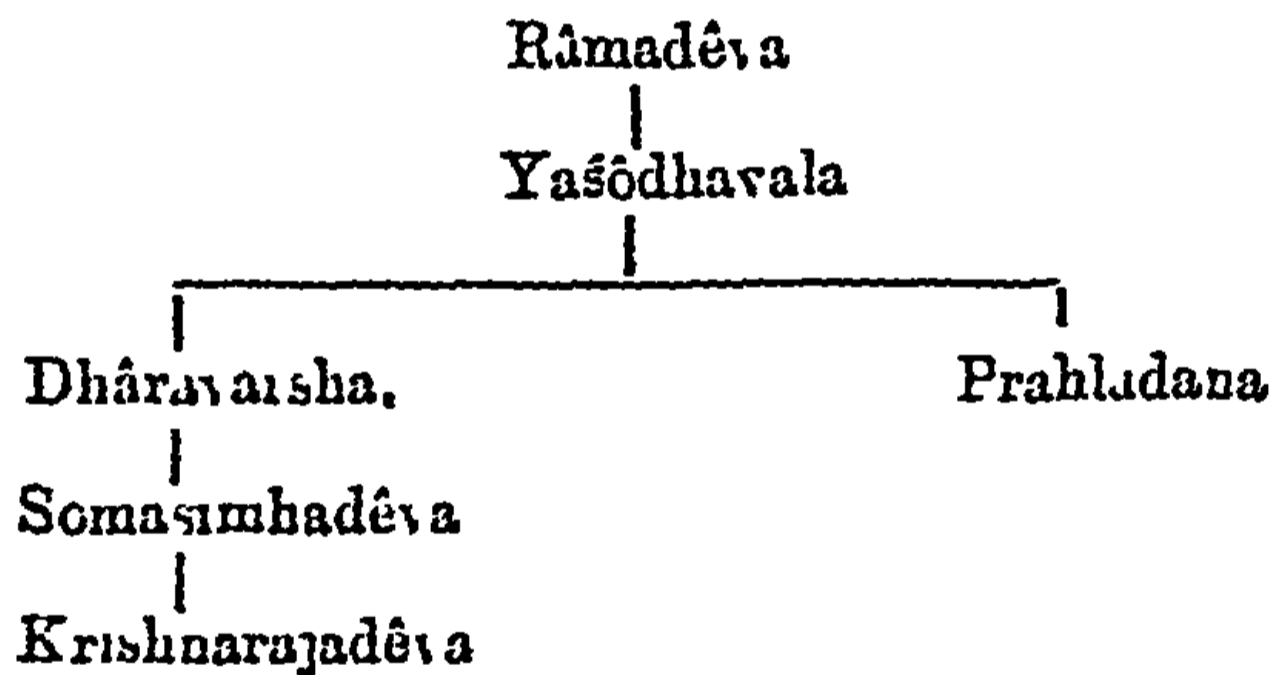
After an invocation of Sarasvatî (v. 1) and Ganêśa (v. 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of Têjahpâla. Their native town was Anahilapura, the residence of the Chulukya kings (v. 3). The ancestor of the family was Chandapa (v. 4). His son was Chandaprasâda (v. 5), who again had a son named Sôma (v. 6). Sôma's son was Âśvaiâja, whose wife was Kumâradêvî (v. 7). They had eleven children (vv. 8-24)—four sons. Lûpiga,

¹ [On *vasahî*, 'a Jaina temple,' which is to be derived from **vasathî*, another form of the Sanskrit *vasatî*, see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen*, § 207. The Kannada equivalent *basadî* or *basî* is a *taddhava* of *vasatî* itself — E. H.]

who died when he was still a youth (v 8), Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējahpāla, and seven daughters Jālhū, Māu, Sāu, Dhanadēvi, Sôbagā, Vayajukā and Padamaladēvi. The family professed the Jaina faith (vv 7, 10) and belonged to the lineage of the Prāgvātas (v 4). The four brothers are all called ministers (*mantrin, sachiva*), and of Vastupāla it is expressly stated that he was in the service of the Chulukyas (v 14). Special praise is bestowed on Vastupāla and Tējahpāla, who seem to have been connected by the ties of sincere brotherly affection (vv 19-24), but these verses contain no historical allusions.

The text then turns from the ministers to their lords, the Chaulukyas as they are called here (vv 25, 28). Only the members of the so called Vāghêlî line are mentioned here, viz Arnôrāja (v. 25), his successor Lavanasprasāda (v 26), and the son of the latter, Viradhavala (v 27). Two verses (vv 28, 29) are added in praise of the services rendered to Viradhavala by the brothers Vastupāla and Tējahpāla, and of the implicit confidence by which the king rewarded their attachment to his person.

Abruptly a description of the Arbuda mountain, the modern Mount Ābū, is introduced (vv 30, 31), after which follows, equally abruptly, a genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati (vv. 32-42). That these verses are inserted here because Tējahpāla built a temple on Mount Ābū and this mountain was situated in the province governed by the Paramāras, can be gathered only from the contents of the last section of the inscription. The account of the Paramāras begins with the legend of their origin. Their ancestor, from whom they took their name, is said to have sprung from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vāsishtha and to have received the appellation of Paramāra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (*para-māraṇa*) (v 32). In that family there arose first Dhūmarāja (v 33), who was followed by Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhata and others up to Rāmadēva (v 34). With Rāmadēva begins a coherent pedigree which may be tabulated as follows:



Besides the genealogy the inscription furnishes several items of historical value. Yaśôdhavala is said to have quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (v 35). From the wording of the verse we may conclude that Yaśôdhavala was a feudatory of Kumārapāla when he waged war against Ballāla, just as Dhāravaisha appears as a feudatory of Kumārapāla's grand-nephew Bhīmadēva II in a Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1265¹. It is no wonder, therefore, that elsewhere we find the destruction of Ballāla attributed to Kumārapāla himself. In Sômesvaradēva's *Kirtikaumudî* (II 48) Kumārapāla is said to have seized in battle, out of passion, the heads of the kings Ballāla and Mallikārjuna like the breasts of the goddess of victory. And in the Sômnāthpattan inscription of Bhāva Brihaspati, dated in Valabhî Samvat 850 (A D 1169),² he is called 'a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants—Ballāla, king of Dhārā, and the illustrious ruler of Jāngala'. The latest epigraphical date for Kumārapāla's predecessor Jayasimhadēva is Vikrama-Samvat 1196³. The earliest inscription of the reign of

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 221

² *Vienna Or Journ* Vol III p 8

³ *Ind Ant* Vol X p 159 ff

Kumârapâla himself is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1202¹ According to Mêrutunga's *Prabandha-chintâmani* Jayasimhadêva reigned until Vikrama-Samvat 1199,² and in the same author's *Vichâraśrêni* the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kârttika of Vikrama-Samvat 1199, and that of his successor's coronation as the fourth day of the bright half of Margasira of the same year³ Ballâla, therefore, must have found his death between A D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Sômnâthpattan inscription. No king of that name, however, is found among the Paramâra rulers of Malava of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is altogether improbable that Ballâla belonged to this dynasty. The question who he was and how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mâlava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn⁴ that after the death of Yaśôvarman, which must have occurred between A D. 1135 and 1144,⁵ the Mâlava kingdom was for some time in a troubled state apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhârâvarsha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v 37), was an enemy of the lord of Kaunkana or Konkan (v. 36), but no particulars are added. I have quoted already above the Mount Âbû inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1205 (A D 1209), where Dhârâvarsha, 'the lord of Chandrâvatî, the Sambhu to the Asuias—the provincial chiefs (*mônḍalika*),' is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhîmadêva II.

His younger brother Prahâdâna is called he 'whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gûrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sâmantasimha' (v 38). The Gûrjara king who was saved by Prahâdâna from Sâmantasimha, of course, was Bhîmadêva II, but it is difficult to say who that Sâmantasimha was. No further details being given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that prince with certainty. The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the Sâmantasimha of the inscription is the Guhila chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions on Mount Âbû⁶ and at Sâdadî⁷. In the former inscription⁸ he takes the fifth place after Vijayasimha, who must have flourished about A D 1125,⁹ and the fifth place before Têjhasimha, whose Chitôgadh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1324 = A D 1257¹⁰. He thus appears to have reigned about A D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary Prahâdâna was *yuvarâja* in A D 1209¹¹. Also from a geographical point of view there is no objection to my identification, as Mêdarâta, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district ruled by the Paramâras of Chandrâvatî. It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahâdâna defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief. That the relations between the Chaulukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of Visaladêva, the son of Viadhavala, where the king is given the epithet *Mêdapâtâhulêsa-kalusha râjya-ralli-kand-ôchchhêdana-kuddala-kalpa*, 'he who resembled a hoe for rooting out the bulb of (*that*) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mêdapataka country'¹².

¹ *Bhârtnagar Inscr.*, p 158 ff

² See the end of *sarga* III

³ *Ind Ant* Vol V p 162

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 348

⁵ The latest inscription of Yaśôvarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama Samvat 1192, and the earliest in script on of his son Lakshmi-varman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama Samvat 1200. See *Ind Ant* Vol XIX, p 349 and p 352 f

⁶ *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 347 ff

⁷ *Bhârtnagar Inscr.*, p 114 ff

⁸ The Sâdadî inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names

⁹ Vijayasimha's daughter was the kalachuri queen Alhanadêvi, whose Bhûra Ghat inscription is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri Chêdi era = A D 1155, see *Ep Ind* Vol. II p 7 ff

¹⁰ *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol LV Part I p 46 f

¹¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XI, p 222.

¹² *Ind. Ant* Vol VI p 210

Besides his military achievements Prahlādāna's learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv 39, 40) This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a *vyāyōga*, called *Pārthaparākrama*, written by him when he was *yutarāja*,¹ and several single verses of his are found in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*.²

As regards Sōmasimhadēva, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brāhmins (v 41)

After the genealogy of the Paramāras the text returns again to the family of Tējahpāla. Vv 43-46 are devoted to Tējahpāla's brother Vastupāla, his wife Lalitādēvi and, particularly then son Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha. Vv 47-49 are in praise of Tējahpāla himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of Anupamadēvi, the wife of Tējahpāla (vv 50-54) The account begins with Gāgā who belonged to the Prāgvāta family and was an inhabitant of Chandrāvati (v 50) His son was Dharamga (v 51), who was married to Tribhuvanadēvi (v 52) Their daughter was Anupamadēvi (vv 53, 54) The son of Tējahpāla and Anupamadēvi was Lāvanyasimha or Lūnasimha (vv 55-57) V 58 contains a short note on the family of Tējahpāla's elder brother Malladēva. Malladēva and his wife Līlukā had a son Pūrnasimha, who was married to Alīlanādēvi and had a son of the name of Pēthada

Vv 59 and 60 record that Tējahpāla built on the mountain Arbuda this temple of Nēminātha for the religious merit of his wife Anupamā and his son Lāvanyasimha, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty *mandapa* in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinas on the sides of it and a *balānaka* or stone seat in front of it (v 61) There were besides ten statues representing Chandapa, Chandaprasāda, Sōma, Aśvaiāja, Lūnga, Malladēva, Vastupāla, Tējahpāla, Jaitrasimha and Lāvanyasimha, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62, 63) Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on *khattakas* of white marble (v 64) The description concludes with some verses in honour of Vastupāla and Tējahpāla, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv 65-68)

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of Vastupāla and Tējahpāla's family (vv 69-72) They belonged to the Nāgēndra *gachchha*, and their names, in chronological order, were Mahēndrasūri, Śāutisūri, Ānandasūri and Amarasūri,³ Haribhadrasūri, Vijayasēnasūri, Udayaprabhasūri The last, as shown by v 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some Girnār inscriptions.⁴

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that Sōmēśvaradēva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this eulogy of the temple The name of the engraver of the inscription, Chandēśvara, the son of Dhāndhala, the son of Kālhana, and the date of the consecration of the temple by Vijayasēnasūri, the Jain priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll 46, 47) The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phālguna, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, *a priori* to restore the name of the month to Śrāvana, as done *eg* by Professor Kathavate, but as the date is repeated in the inscription No II, the reading Phālguna is beyond

¹ Report on Sanskrit MSS 1872-73, p 4 Kielhorn, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1860-81, p 84.

² Nos 748, 765, 1058 and 1071, compare Aufrecht's collection, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol XXVII. p 49.

³ In the inscription No II Amarasūri is called Amarachandrasūri.

⁴ Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 31, note 1. Udayaprabhasūri was also the author of an astrological treatise called *Ārambhasiddhi*, see Weber, *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prakrit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, No 1741.

all doubt The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,¹ to Sunday, 3rd March A.D 1230.

Of the inscription No. II. only a short account was published by H H Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI p 309 f It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B to his edition of the *Kirtikaumudī* It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10' high The size of the letters is $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Near the beginning and at the end of ll 1 and 2 and at the end of ll 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial δ in δm (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in *Ōsavāla* (ll. 15, 17, 24) and *Ōrāsā* (l. 27) by the addition of a cross bar The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *va* everywhere, except in *Śrīmātūmahabu* in l. 27 and *Arbudas*= in the last but one line The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for *ra* and *sa* and medial \acute{e} and \acute{o} , the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in *bhējātē*, *bhavanē*, *-pāmthē*, *-sūrēr*, *tayōh* and *vilōkyamānē*, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in *varshē* (l. 1), *-dēvēna* (l. 26) and *Gōsala* (l. 13) There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is fully borne out by their contents

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom Proper names generally appear in their Prākṛit form, and even instead of Skt *putra* we find here the abbreviation *u^o*, which stands for Prākṛit *utta* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized *utra²* (ll. 10-25) Also the form *kumara* instead of *kumāra* in l. 26 is due to Prākṛit influence The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by *tathā* (ll. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27) As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned *apabhāra*, m, 'a burden' (l. 29), *āshṭāhikā*, f, 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (ll. 12, 14, 16, etc.), *kalyānika*, n, 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26),³ *tathājñātīya*, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (ll. 10 ff), *mahājana*, m, 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10),⁴ *rāṭhrya*, m, which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 28); *varshagranthi*, m, 'an anniversary' (l. 12),⁵ *satka*, 'belonging to' (ll. 3, 7, 10), *sārā*, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9).⁶ In line 6 *pratishṭhita* is used in the sense of *pratishṭhāpita*.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of Nēminātha, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1237, while in prosperous Anahilapātaka the mahārājādhrāja Bh[īmadēva], the royal swan on the lotus of the Chaulukya family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . while the mahāmandalēśvara rājakula, the illustrious Sōmasimhadēva, born in the family of the illustrious

¹ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 30

² This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A D 1207, plate 1 ll. 14, 15, pl. II ll. 4, 5, 6 See *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 338

³ See below, p 206

⁴ Compare *Ep Ind* Vol I p 279, note 46 The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A D 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate II l. 10 In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation *mahājant²* is found

⁵ Compare Marāṭhi *varshagātmha*, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'

⁶ See below, p 205, note 2

Dhūmarajadēva who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy Vaśiṣṭha, is reigning victoriously,' Tējahpāla caused to be made in the village of Dēulavādā on the top of the holy mountain Arbuda the temple of the holy Nēminātha, called Lūnasimhavasahikā, adorned by all shrines (*dēvakulikā*) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (*hastisālā*), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadēvi and his son Lūnasimha. The inscription gives the same pedigree of Tejahpala as No I, and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the *mahāmandalesvara rānaka*, the illustrious Viradhavaladēva, the son of the *mahāmandalēsvara rānaka*, the illustrious Lavanaprasādādēva, born in the family of the illustrious Chaulukyas, in the province (*mandala*) of . . . rātrā, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Bhimadēva.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between Bhimadēva II and the members of the Vāghelā dynasty, which in Somēsvaradēva's account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that Bhimadēva II was considered lord paramount, while Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala contented themselves with the rank of a *mahāmandalēsvara* and the title of *rānaka*. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by Viradhavala is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . rātrā, which I am unable to restore¹.

As regards the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, the inscription shows that in A. D. 1230 the reigning prince was Somasimha, and not Krishnarāja as might easily be supposed from the text of No I. I would also point out that the legend told in No I of Paramāra is here ascribed to Dhūmarāja.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to Sunday, 3rd March A. D. 1230. The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the Jinas and the hall for the statues of the members of Tejahpala's family spoken of in vv 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by Vijayasenasūri (l. 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. Hambhadrasūri is here called 'the lord of the frontlet-decoration (*paṭṭālamkarana-prabhu*) by the illustrious Ānandasūri and the illustrious Amarachandrasūri,' which apparently means that he had received his *paṭṭābhishēka* from the hands of those two sūris.

The purport of the next section (ll 6-9) is indicated already by the heading 'And the names of the *śrāvaka* trustees appointed for this temple (are) as follows'. Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,² etc, in this temple is to be done and carried on forever by the brothers Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējahpala and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of Lūnasimha's mother Anupamadēvi and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of Anupamadēvi's family, which resided at Chandrāvati and belonged to the Prāgvāta *jñāti*, is inserted.

The following section (ll 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, holy to the god,³ and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc, were to be performed by the laymen (*śrāvaka*) of

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 190, Dr Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the Vāghelā branch.

² The word *sārd* occurs again in the Chaulukya grant of A. D. 1207 in the phrase . . . *asya dharmasthanasya stāra=aṣṭabhir=goṣṭhikāi rāṭhā-Uchchadēva sahitair=a chamdr arkaṣ sārā karantya*, *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 338, plate II ll 3-6. It has possibly a more special meaning than supervision.

³ This seems to be the meaning of *dēvakiya*.

the country of Chandrāvati,¹ each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the *jñāti*. About half of them belonged to the Prāgvātas, the rest was divided between the Ūsavālas or Ōsavālas, the Śīmālas and the not very numerous Dhakatas. The places inhabited by them were the villages of Umbaraniki, Sarauli and Kāsahrada,² Brahmāna, the village of Dhauli, the great *tīrtha* Mundasthala, the villages of Philini, Handāudrā and Davāni, Gadāhada, Sāhīlavādā.

In a subsequent clause (ll 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five *kalyāṇika*s of Nēmināthadēva, *i. e.* the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (*śrīvāla*) residing at Deulavādā on the holy mountain Arbuda.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (ll 26-30). 'Thus is this agreement. The lord of the prosperous Chandrāvati, the illustrious *raja* *hula* Sōmasimbhadēva, again his son, the illustrious *rāja* [*hula*] Kānhadadēva, and the other princes, all royal persons, again the *sthānupatis* *bhaṭṭārahas*, etc., of the prosperous Chandrāvati, *kavilāsa*³ again the Gūguli Brahmins,⁴ all the trustees (*who belong to the caste of the*) merchants, again all persons, (*viz*) *sthānupatis*, ascetics, Gūguli Brahmins, *rāṭhīyas* and others, residing at (*the temples of*) the holy Achalēsvara (*and*) the holy Vāsīsthā on the mountain Arbuda and in the neighbouring villages, (*viz*) the village of Deulavādā, the prosperous village of Śrīmātāmahabu, the village of Ābuya, the village of Ōrāsā, the village of Ūtarachha, the village of Sihara, the village of Sāla, the village of Hethauñji, the village of Ākhi, Kōtadi belonging to the holy Dhandhalesvaradēva, and others—twelve villages (*in all*), again all the *rājaputras* belonging to the race of the illustrious Pratihāras, residing in the villages of Bhālibhādā, etc., having sat down one by one in the hall of (*the temple of*) the holy Nēmināthadēva, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (*and*) for his own delight, from the *mahan* [*ta*], the illustrious Tējahpāla, the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy Lūnasīhivasahika. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (*endure*). For—

'What need is there of alms bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (*or*) red garments (*and*) tufts of twisted hair, (*since*) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince Kānhadadēva mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the Paramāra Kṛishnarajadēva spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the *mahārājahula*, the illustrious Sōmasimbhadēva, in this holy Lūnasīhivasahikā, presented by an edict the village of Davāni in Vahīrahadi to the holy Nēmināthadēva, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with Sōmasimbhadēva entreating the future kings of the Paramāra race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

¹ I take the term 'the body of the *śaivakas*, namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to Chandrāvati' as the collective designation of the persons enumerated in detail later on.

² [According to Forbes, *Raj Mahal*, p 64, Kāsahrada is the present Kasundi-Paladi near Ahmadabad, see Buhler, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 229. It is mentioned in two Rāshtrakūṭa grants, *ibid* p 57 (Kāsadrada), and *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 202 (Kāshirada)—E H.]

³ Perhaps *kavilasa* is a proper name, at any rate, I do not know its meaning—[Can it be meant for *Kailasa*—? H.]

⁴ The Gūgulis, or Gughis as they are called now, are a class of Brahmins who at present are found chiefly in Dākhā. They are Vaishnavas by religion and mostly *pujaris* or priests in the temples of Krishna, compare *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol VIII p 146, and Vol IX Part I p 9 f, where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of Dēulavādā on the mountain Arbuda is the Dilwara of the *Indian Atlas*, situated lat 24° 36' N, long 72° 43' E. The village of Umbaraniki is the Umarni of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of Dilwara. The village of Dhauli is Dhauli, 8½ miles west-south-west of Dilwara. The great *tīrtha* of Mundasthala is perhaps identical with the Murthala of the map, 8½ miles south-east of Dilwara. The village of Gadāhada may be identified with the Gadara of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of Dilwara, supposing Gadara to stand for Gadāra (Gaḍāda). Sāhūlavādā is Selwara, 8½ miles west-north-west of Dilwara. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Arbuda, Ābuya is the Abu of the map, 1½ miles south-west of Dilwara. Ūtarachha is Utra, 5½ miles north east of Dilwara. Sihara is Ser, 8 miles north-east of Dilwara. Hēthauñji is Hetamji, 2 miles south of Dilwara. Kōtadi may be the Kotra of the map, 7 miles east of Dilwara. Sāla possibly is identical with Salgaon, 1 mile east south-east of Dilwara. Ōrāsā bears a certain resemblance to Oria, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of Dilwara, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount Ābū by Nayachandrasūri, a descendant of the holy *rishi* Krishna, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.¹

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III -XXXII, all of which are edited now for the first time,² are written in Nāgarī characters of the Jaina type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their Prakrit form. Once, in *Chandapa* in No. IV l. 1, *da* shows the peculiar shape given in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie* in Plate V col. XVI l. 22, from an inscription of Bhimadēva I.

No. III, which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that Tējapāla caused to be made the great shrine (*mahātīrtha*) of the holy Nēmuatha in this Lūnavasahika for the religious merit of his son Lūnasaha 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of Phaguna (Phālguna) in the year 1287 of king Vikrama.' According to Professor Kielhorn, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for Loth V 1287 expired and V 1287 current. It would correspond, for V 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV -XXXII prove that Tējapāla in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of Jinas and *tīrthakurus*, by Tējapāla for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is *maham*³, the abbreviated form of *mahanta*. It is borne by Tējapāla and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIV and XXVI -XXXI Tējapāla's ancestors Chandapa and Chandaprasāda, his father Aśvarāja or Āsaraja, and his mother Kumāradēvi are given the title of *ṭha*^c, which stands for *thakkura*, whereas Soma, the son of Chandaprasāda and father of Aśvarāja, is constantly styled *maham*³. This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as Chandapa and Aśvaraja are called also *maham*³ in

¹ I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount Ābū.

² Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI p. 310, No. XX.

³ The pedigree in No. II. l. 3 f. shows the same distinction.

Nos. III-VIII, X-XVIII, XXI-XXIII and XXXII¹ In No. XXXII we find *ṭhakurājñī* as the title of Saṃtōshā, the mother of Têjahpāla's second wife Suhadādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called *ṭha*^o. As shown by Nos XXVI., XXVII and XXX, Vastupāla, the elder brother of Têjahpāla, bore the title of *saṃghapati*² From the ninth *sarga* of the *Kīrtikaumudī* it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śātrumjaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa The title itself is alluded to in *sarga* IX verse 12, where it is said 'He dined when all (*others*) had dined, he went to sleep when all the (*other*) pilgrims had fallen into slumber, he was the first to awake In this manner he performed the vow of being a *saṃghaprabhu*.'³ Seven times female relatives of Têjahpāla are given the title of *bāī* (Nos. IV, XI, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX.-XXXI)

No. XXXII mentions the Mōdha *jñātī* in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhadādēvi, the second wife of Têjahpāla, belonged

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārśva (No XII), Muni Suvrata (No XXI), Vārisēna⁴ (No XXIV), Chandrānana (No. XXV), the eternal Jina Rishabha (No XXX), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No XXXI), and the *tīrthakaras*⁵ Simamdharaśvāmin⁶ (No. XXVI), the Jina Yugamdharaśvāmin (No XXVII), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII), and Subāhu (No XXIX).

Nos. IV-XVIII are dated in the Vikrama year 1288, Nos XIX-XXIII in the Vikrama year 1290, Nos XXIV and XXV on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, Nos. XXVI-XXXI.⁷ on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V 1293 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A. D. 1237, No XXXII is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V 1297 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A. D. 1241.

No I.⁸

TEXT.

1 श्री^o ॥ वंदे सरस्वतीं देवीं याति या क्वि[व]मानस । नी[यसा]ना
[निजेने]व [यानमा]नस[व]सिन[र ।] १ यः [क्ष]तिमा[नष्य]रु[णः]
प्रकोपे शान्तेपि दीप्तः स्मरनिग्रहाय । निमीलिताक्षो[पि सम]ग्रदर्शी
स वः शिवायास्तु शि-

¹ Similarly in the pedigree of Têjahpāla's wife Anupamadēvi in No II l 7 f four persons are called *maham*^o, while the rest is styled *ṭha*^o

² The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No II l 4

³ The title of *saṃghapati* occurs also in the *Sātrumjayamāhātmya*. According to XIV 84 ff it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hastisēnā, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places

⁴ The correct Sanskrit form would be *Varishēna*

⁵ The four *tīrthakaras* are distinguished by the epithet *viharamāna*, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me

⁶ The Jina Simamdharaśvāmin is known from Hēmachandra's *Sthavirāvalīcharita*, IX 95 ff and the *Sātrumjayamāhātmya*, I 163

⁷ Of No XXVIII. the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year

⁸ On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor No 1740 of Mr. Cousens's list

⁹ Expressed by a symbol

- 2 [वात]नूजः ॥ २ अणहिलपुरमस्ति स्वस्तिपात्र प्रजा[नाम]जरजिर[घुतुत्तै]:
पा[ल्य]मानं सु[लुक्यै:] । [चिरम]तिरमणीना य[त्र वक्त्रे]दु[मदी]कृत
इव [सि]तपत्रप्रक्षयेष्यधकारः ॥ ३ तत्र प्राग्वाटान्वयमुकुट कुटजप्रसून-
- 3 विशदयशाः । दानविनिर्जितकल्पद्रुमषंडशंडपः समभूत् ॥ ४ चंडप्र[सा]द-
स[न्न]: स्वकुल[प्रासा]दहेमदडो ऽस्य । प्रसर[त्की]र्त्तिपताक. पुण्यवि-
पाकेन सूनुरभूत् ॥ ५ आत्मगुणैः किरणैरिव सोमो रोमोद्गम
सतां कु- ॥¹
- 4 व्वन् । उदगादगाधमध्याद्गुधोदधिवाधवात्तस्मात् ॥ ६ एतस्मादजनि
जिनाधि[ना]यभक्तिं विभ्राणः स्वमनसि शश्वदश्वरा[ज]: । तस्यासीद्द्वि-
ततमा कुमारदेवी देवीव त्रिपुररिपोः कुमारमाता ॥ ७ तयोः
प्रथमपु- ॥
- 5 त्रौ ऽभून्मन्त्री लूणिगसन्नया । दैवादवाप वाली ऽपि सालोक्य [व]ि-
सवेन [स] ॥ ८ पूर्वमेव सचिवः स कौविदैर्गण्यते स्म गुणवत्सु
लूणिगः । यस्य निस्तुपमतेर्मनीषया धिक्कृतेव धिषणस्य धीरपि ॥ ९
श्रीमल्लदेवः त्रि-
- 6 तमसिदेवस्तस्यानुजो मन्त्रिमतल्लिकाऽभूत् । वभूव यस्यान्यधनांगनासु लुञ्चा
न बुद्धि शमलव्यवुडेः ॥ १० धर्मविधाने भुवनच्छिद्रपिधाने विभिन्न-
सधाने । सृष्टिकृता न हि सृष्टः प्रतिमल्लो मल्लदेव- ॥
- 7 स्य ॥ ११ नीलनीरदकदम्बकसुक्तश्वेतकेतुकिरणीद्वरणेन । मल्लदेवयशसा
गलहस्तो हस्तिमल्लदशनांशुषु दत्तः ॥ १२ तस्यानुजो विजयते
विजितेन्द्रियस्य सारस्वतामृतकृताद्भुतहर्षवर्षे । श्रीवस्तु-
- 8 [पा]ल इति भालतलस्थितानि दौस्थ्याक्षराणि सुकृती कृतिना विलुपन् ॥
१३ विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चुलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचि-
दर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ १४ तेजपालः पालितस्वा
- 9 मितेजःपुंजः सोय राजते मन्त्रिराजः । दुर्वृत्ताना शकनीयः कनीयानस्य भ्राता
विश्वविभ्रांतकीर्त्तिः ॥ १५ तेजपालस्य विष्णोश्च कः स्वरूप निरूपयेत् ।
स्थित जगन्नयीसूत्रं यदीयोदरकंदरे ॥ १६ जाल्हुमाजसाज-
- 10 धनदेवीसोहगावयजुकाख्याः । पदमलदेवी चैषां क्रमादिमाः सप्त सीदर्य ॥ १७
एते ऽश्वराजपुत्रा दशरथपुत्रास्त एव चत्वारः । प्राप्ताः किल पुनरवना-
वेकोदरवासलीभिः ॥ १८ अनुजन्मना समेतस्तेजपा - ।

¹ These strokes as well as those at the end of ll 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31 33, 36, 37, 41 42 are merely intended for filling up the line

- 11 लैन वस्तुपालो ऽय । मद्यति कस्य न हृदय मधुमासो माधवेनेव ॥ १९
पंथानमेको न कदापि गच्छेदिति स्मृतिप्रोक्तमिव स्मरन्ती । सहोदरौ
दुर्धरमोहचौरे संभूय धर्माध्वनि तौ प्रवृत्तौ ॥ २० इदं सदा सो-
- 12 दरयोद्धेतु युगं युगव्यायनदीर्युगश्चि । युगे चतुर्थेऽप्यनघेन येन कृतं कृतस्या-
गमन युगस्य ॥ २१ सुक्तामयं शरीरं सोदरयोः सुचिरमेतयोरस्तु ।
सुक्तामयं किल महीवलयमिदं भाति यत्कीर्त्या ॥ २२ ए- ।
- 13 कोत्पत्तिनिमित्तौ यद्यपि पाणी तयोस्तथाप्येकः । वामो ऽभूदनयोर्न तु
सोदरयोः कोपि दक्षिणयोः ॥ २३ धर्मस्थानांकितासुर्वी सर्वतः कुर्वता-
ऽमुना । दत्तः पादो बलाद्बधुयुगलेन कलेर्गले ॥ २४ इतश्चौलुक्यवीरा- ।
- 14 णां वंशे शाखाविशेषकः । अर्षीराज इति ख्यातो जातस्तेजोमयः पुमान् ॥ २५
तस्मादनंतरमनंतरितप्रतापः प्राप क्षिति क्षतरिपुर्लवणप्रसादः । स्वर्गापगा-
जलवलक्षितशंखशुभ्रा बभ्राम यस्य लवणाब्धिमतीत्य कीर्तिः
- 15 ॥ २६ सुतस्तस्मादासीद्दशरथककुस्थप्रतिक्रतेः^१ प्रतिष्ठापालानां कवलितबलो वीर-
धवलः । यशःपुरे यस्य प्रसरति रतिक्लांतमनसामसाध्वीनां भग्नाऽभिसरण-
कलायां कुशलता ॥ २७ चौलुक्यः सुकृती स वीरधवलः क- ।
- 16 सैजपाना जपं यः कर्षेपि चकार न प्रलपतामुद्दिश्य यौ मन्त्रिणी ।
आभ्यामभ्युदयातिरेकक्षिरं राज्यं स्वभर्तुः कृतं वाहानां निवहा घटाः
करटिनां बद्धाश्च सौधांगणे ॥ २८ तेन मन्त्रिद्वयेनायं जाने जानूप-
वर्तिना । वि-
- 17 भुर्भुजद्वयेनेव सुखमाश्लिष्यति श्रियं ॥ २९ इतश्च ॥ गौरीवरश्चशुरभूधरसंभवो
ऽयमस्त्यर्बुदः ककुदमद्रिकदंबकस्य । मंदाकिनीं घनजटे दधदुत्तमां[गे] यः
श्यालकः शशिभृतो ऽभिनयं करोति ॥ ३० क्वचिदिह विहरतीर्वी- ।
- 18 क्षमाणस्य रामाः प्रसरति रतिरंतर्मोक्षमाकांचतो ऽपि । क्वचन सुनि-
भिरर्थी पश्यतस्तीर्थवीथीं भवति भवविरक्ता धीरधीरात्मनो ऽपि ॥ ३१
श्रेयःश्रेष्ठवशिष्ठहोमहुतभुक्कुंडान्मृतडात्मजप्रद्योताधिकदेहदीधितिभ-
- 19 रः कोप्याविरासीन्नरः । तं मत्वा परमारणैकरसिकं स व्याजहार श्रुतेरा-
धारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नामाऽथ तस्यान्वयः ॥ ३२ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं
बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेन्द्रवंशे । भूमीभृतो यः कृतवानभिज्ञान् पक्षद्वयोच्छे-
- 20 दनवेदनासु ॥ ३३ धधुकध्रुवभटादयस्ततस्ते रिपुद्विपघटाजितो ऽभवन् ।
यत्कुले ऽजनि पुमान्मनोरमो रामदेव इति कामदेवजित् ॥ ३४ रोदः-
कंदरवर्तिकीर्तिलहरीलिप्तामृतांशुद्युतेरप्रद्युम्नवशो यशोधवल इ- ।

^१ककुस्थ° would be more correctly written °ककुस्थ°.

- 21 त्यासीत्तनूजस्ततः । यच्चौलुक्यकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतं मत्वा सत्वरमेव
मालवपति ¹वक्त्रालमालव्ववान् ॥ ३५ शत्रुश्रेणीगलविदलनोन्निद्रनिस्तुंशधरो²
धारावर्षः समजनि सुतस्तस्य विश्वप्रशस्यः । क्रोधाक्रातप्र- ।
- 22 धनवसुधानिश्चले यत्र जाताश्चीतत्रेचोत्पलजलकणाः कौकणाधीशपत्न्यः ॥ ३६
सोयं पुनर्दाशरथिः पृथिव्यामव्याहृतौजाः स्फुटमुज्जगाम । मारीचवैरादिव
यो ऽधुनापि [मृ]गव्यमव्यग्रमति³ करोति ॥ ३७ सामं-
- 23 तसिंहसमित्तिचित्तिविचतौजःश्रीगूर्जरचित्तिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनृजो
दनुजोत्तमारिचारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार³ ॥ ३८ देवी सरोजासनसंभवा
किं कामप्रदा किं सुरसौरभेयी । प्रह्लादनाकारधरा
- 24 धरायामायातवत्येष न निश्चयो मे ॥ ३९ धारावर्षसुतो ऽय जयति
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः । पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाहानमुभयतो
जगृहे ॥ ४० मुक्ता विप्रकरानरातिनिकरान्निर्जित्य तत्किंचन प्रापत्संप्रति
सोम-
- 25 सिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाश यशः । येनोर्वीतलमुज्ज्वलं⁴ रचयताप्युत्ताम्यतामी-
र्ष्या सर्वेषामिह विदिषा न हि मुखान्मालिन्यमुन्मूलित ॥ ४१ वसुदे-
वस्यैव सुतः श्रीकृष्णः कृष्णराजदेवो ऽस्य । मात्राधिकप्रतापी यशोद-
- 26 यासञ्चितो जयति ॥ ४२ इतश्च ॥ अन्वयेन विनयेन विद्यया विक्रमेण
सुक्तनक्रमेण च । कापि कोपि न पुमानुपैति मे वस्तुपालसदृशो
दृशो पथि ॥ ४३ दयिता ललितादेवी तनयमवीतनयमाप सचिवेद्रात् ।
नाम्ना जयत- ।
- 27 सिंहं जयतमिन्द्रात्पुलोमपुत्रीव ॥ ४४ यः शैशवे विनयवैरिणि वीधवंध्ये धत्ते
नयं च विनयं च गुणोदयं च । सोयं मनोभवपराभवजागरूकरूपो न
कं मनसि चुंवति जैत्रसिंहः ॥ ४५ श्रीवस्तुपालपुत्रः कल्यायुरयं जयं-
- 28 तसिंहो ऽस्तु । कामादधिक रूप निरूप्यते यस्य दानं च ॥ ४६ स
श्रीतेजःपालः सचिवश्चिरकालमस्तु तेजस्वी । येन जना निश्चिंताश्चिंता-
मणिनेव नदति ॥ ४७ यच्चाणक्यामरगुरुमरुद्ग्राधिश्शुक्रादिकाना प्रागुत्पादं
व्यधित भुवने
- 29 मन्त्रिणा बुद्धिधान्ना । चक्रे ऽभ्यासः स खलु विधिना नूनमेन विधातु
तेजःपालः कथमितरथाधिक्यमापैष तेषु ॥ ४८ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिकेतन
तनुभृता श्रीवस्तुपालानुजस्तेजःपाल इति स्थितिं बलिहतासुर्वीतले पाल-
यन् । आत्मीयं व-

¹ Possibly the reading is वक्त्रालम्² Read 'निस्त्रिंश'³ Read पुनरुज्ज्वलं⁴ Read 'लमुज्ज्वल'
2 E 2

- 30 इ मन्वते न हि गुणग्रामं च कामंदकिद्याणक्योपि चमत्करोति न
हृदि प्रेक्षास्यदं प्रेक्ष्य यं ॥ ४८ इतथ ॥ महं श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीअनुप-
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्षनं ॥ प्राग्घाटान्वयमंडनैकसुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रायतीवास्तव्यः स्त-
- 31 वनीयकीर्त्तिलहरिप्रचालितक्ष्मातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यदृत्तानु-
रागादभूत्को नाप्तप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्भूतरोमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-
सृतसज्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुहृदये ।
- 32 गुणिना हारेणैव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-
विख्यातशीलसंपन्ना । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं द्वेषा मनस्वेकं ॥ ५२
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वाचायणीव शीलिन । तदुहिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-
पालेन
- 33 पत्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमंत्रि-
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकीचित्तदाक्षिण्यदानप्रमुखगुणगणेदुद्योतिताशेषगीत्रा ॥ ५४
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरय रयं जयन्ति- ।
- 34 रि[द्र]यदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्धापि मीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणानमुप्य श्रीलूणसिंहकतिनः कति
न स्तुवन्ति । श्रीबंधनोद्भुरतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता त्रिजगति क्रि-
- 35 यते स्म कीर्त्तः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च खलसर्पैः ।
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ मङ्गदेवसचिवस्य
नंदनः पूर्यसिंह इति लीलुकासुतः । तस्य नंदति सुतोयमङ्गणा-
- 36 देविभूः सुकृतवेश्म पेयडः ॥ ५८ अभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य
मंत्रिणः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थं
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्यं श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमर्बुदे ।
- 37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति चितींदुसचिवः शंखोज्वलाभिः^१ शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-
दिंदुकुंदरुचिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मडपमग्रतो जिन[वरा]वासद्विपंचाशतं
तत्पार्श्वेषु बलानकं^२ च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमच्चंड-
- 38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवच्चंडप्रसादस्ततः सोमस्तथाभवो ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः
पवित्राशयाः । श्रीमल्लूणिगमङ्गदेवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाह्वयास्तेजःपालसमन्विता
जिनमतारामोन्नमनीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमंत्रोत्थरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीजै-
- 39 त्रसिंहाह्वयस्तेजःपालसुतश्च विश्रुतमतिर्ज्ञावण्यसिंहाभिधः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्तयः
करिवधस्कांधाधिरूढाच्चिरं राजते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिग्नायकानामिव ॥
६३ मूर्त्तीनामिह पृष्ठतः करिवधूष्टप्रतिष्ठाशुषां तन्मूर्त्तीर्विम- ।

^१ Read शंखीज्वलाभिः.^२ Possibly the reading is बलानक.

- 40 लाश्र्मखत्तकगताः कातासमेता दश । चौलुक्यचित्तिपालवीरधवलस्याद्वैतबंधु
सुधीस्तेज.पाल इति व्यधापयदयं श्रीवस्तुपालानुजः ॥ ६४ तेज.पालः सक-
लप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफल.
- 41 सरोवरस्यैव सहकारः ॥ ६५ तेन भ्रातृयुगेन या प्रतिपुरग्रामाध्वशैलस्थल
वापीकूपनिपानकाननसरःप्रासादसत्रादिका¹ । धर्मस्थानपरपरा नवतरा
चक्रे ऽय जीर्णोद्भृता तत्संख्यापि न बुध्यते यदि पर तद्देदि- ।
- 42 नी मेदिनी ॥ ६६ शंभोः आसगतागतानि गणयेद्यः सन्मतिर्यो ऽथ वा
नेत्रोन्मीलनमीलनानि कलयेन्मार्कंडेनान्नो मुनेः । संख्यातुं सचिवद्वयीवि-
रचितामेतामपेतापरव्यापारः सुकृतानुकीर्तनतति सोप्युज्जिहीते यदि ।
- 43 ॥ ६७ सर्वत्र वर्त्ततां कीर्त्तिरश्चराजस्य शश्वती । सुकर्त्तुमुपकर्त्तुं च
जानीते यस्य सतति ॥ ६८ आसीच्चडपमंडितान्वयगुरुर्नागेद्रगच्छत्रियशूडा-
रत्नमयत्रसिद्धमहिमा सूरिर्महेंद्राभिधः । तस्माद्विस्मयनीयचारुचरितः श्रीशाति-
- 44 [सूरिस्त]तोप्यानंदामरसूरियुग्ममुदयचन्द्रार्कदीप्रद्युति ॥ ६९ श्रीजैनशासनवनीनव-
नीरवाह श्रीमास्ततो ऽप्यघहरो हरिभद्रसूरि । विद्यामदोन्मदगदेध्वनव-
द्यवैद्यः स्यातस्ततो विजयसेनमुनीश्वरो ऽय ॥ ७० गुरो[स्त]
- 45 स्या[श]षा पात्र सूरिरस्युदयप्रभः । मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भाति
यत्प्रतिभावुधेः ॥ ७१ एतद्धर्मस्थानं धर्मस्थानस्य चास्य यः कर्त्ता । तावद्द्वयमिद-
मुदियादुदयत्वयमर्बुदो यावत् ॥ ७२ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवशुलुक्यनरदेवसेवितांह्रि-
- 46 युगः । रचयाचकार रुचिरा धर्मस्थानप्रशस्तिमिमां ॥ ७३ श्रीनिमेरस्विका-
याश्च प्रसादादुर्बुदाचले । वस्तुपालान्वयस्यास्तु प्रशस्तिः स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥ ७४
सूत्र^० कैल्हणसुतधाधलपुत्रेण चंडेश्वरेण प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णां ।[^३]
- 47 श्रीविक्रम[सवत् १२८७ व]र्षे [फाल्गु]णवदि ३ रवौ श्री[नागेद्रग]च्छे [श्री-
विजय]सेनसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) *Om* I worship the goddess Sarasvatī who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (*thither*), as it were, by her own swan (*which serves her as*) a vehicle²

(V 2) May the son of Śivā³ grant you welfare,— he who, though patient, is red in anger; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love, (*and*) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything

(V 3) There is (*the city of*) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Chulukya⁴ equal to Aja, Raju and Raghu,⁴ where even at the close of the bright half of the

¹ Read °सत्रादिका

² In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is *mānasa*, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season

³ I.e. Ganēś

⁴ Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great grandfather, of Rāma. Raju was the grandson of Purūravas

month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women

(V 4) In that (town) there was Chandapa, the crown of the family of the Prugvâṭas, whose fame was as white as *kuṣaja* flowers, (and) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees

(V 5) In consequence of the maturing of his good action, there was (born) to him a son named Chandaprasâda, a golden staff on the palace of his family provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V 6) From him, who was not shallow-hearted,¹ (and) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang Soma, who by his own virtues caused thrills (of joy) to the good, as (the moon causing thrills) by her beams (sprang from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre)

(V 7) From him was born Aśvarâja, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinas His beloved wife was Kumâradêvi, as Devi, the mother of Kumâra, (was the wife) of the destroyer of Tîrîpura²

(V 8) Their first son was the minister called Luṅga By fate he obtained, though being (still) a youth, a residence in the same world as Vasava³

(V 9) That pure-minded minister Luṅga, whose intelligence deepened, as it were, even the wisdom of Dhushapa,⁴ was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment

(V 10) His younger brother was the illustrious Malladêva, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with Mallidêva,⁵ who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (as if) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others

(V 11.) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (as if) as to repairing what has been broken,⁶ the Creator did not create a rival of Malladêva

(V 12) The fame of Malladêva, surpassing the beams of the moon freed from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of Hastimalla⁷

(V. 13.) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious Vastupâla, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the melody of his poetry, (as if) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned⁸

(V. 14) Vastupâla, the foremost among the ministers of the Chulukyas and among poets never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems

(V 15) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother Tōjahpâla, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master, who is to be dreaded by the wicked, (and) whose fame spreads in all directions

(V 16) Who can fathom the natures of Tōjahpâla and Vishnu, as the rules (of conduct) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (of the first) and the string of the three worlds⁹ in the cavity of the belly (of the second)?

(V. 17) These (brothers) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, Jalhu, Mân Sâû, Dhanadêvi, Sohagâ, Vayasukâ, and Padamaladêvi

¹ The word *madhya* appears to be used here as a synonym of *antara* which, according to Amara III 1, 158 1a, also the meaning of *antaratman*

² I.e. Śiva

³ I.e. in common parlance, he died

⁴ I.e. Bṛihaspati.

⁵ Mallidêva is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present Avastarjuni

⁶ I believe that the terms *bhūṭana cchhîdra pîḍhana* and *tribhūṭana sardhana* refer to Malladêva's works of charity, but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another'

⁷ I.e. Indra's elephant

⁸ The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together

(V. 18) Surely, these sons of Asvarâja are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb

(V 19) Does not this Vastupâla accompanied by his younger brother Têjabpâla delight everybody's heart like the first month of spring followed by the second ?

(V 20) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (and) who made the Krita age appear even in the fourth age¹

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time¹

(V 23.) Although the two hands (of a man) are due to springing from one (body), yet one of them is left (or bad), but of these two brothers neither (was so, although they had sprung from one father), as both were honest (or right)

(V. 24) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (age)

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arnôrâja

(V. 26) After him Lavanasprasâda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (and) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,¹ roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (king), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Viradhavala, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V 28) The wise Chaulukya Viradhavala did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (and) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (and) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace

(V 29) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees²

Again—

(V 30) There is this (mountain) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gauri,³ who, carrying the Mandâkinî on his top played round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer⁴ (whose) brother-in law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gangâ on his head covered with thick braids)

(V 31) In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves, in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics

(V 32) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśishtha distinguished by virtuousness⁵ there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the sun

¹ I.e. the Gangâ

² Compare *Râm* I. 1, 10

³ I.e. the Himâlaya, the father in law of Śiva

⁴ I.e. Śiva.

⁵ I take *śrēyah śrēṣṭha-* to stand for *śrēyasi śrēṣṭha-* and *śrēyas* to be a synonym of *dharma*, as taught by Amara I. 4, 24, Halayudha I 125, and Hémachandra, *Anūkarthas* II 580, and *Abhidhānach* 1372

of Mritāṇḍa¹ Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him Paramāra. From that time his family received that name

(V 33) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious Dhūmarāja, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off).

(V 34) Then there were Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhāṣa and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants. In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, Rāmadēva by name.

(V. 35.) From this (king), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called Yaśōdhavala, who was not subject to the god of love, (and) who quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla.

(V 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, Dhāravarsha, the edge of whose sword was indefatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Kaunkaṣa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V. 37.) Evidently it is the son of Daśaratha that has been born again on earth as this (prince) of unchecked strength, (and) out of hatred, as it were, against Mārīcha² even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V. 38) His younger brother Prahlādana, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu.³

(V. 39) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprang from the lotus-seated (Brahman)⁴ or the celestial cow granting (every) wish that has come to the earth in the form of Prahlādana.

(V. 40) Long live this son of Dhāravarsha, the illustrious Sōmasimhadēva, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them!

(V. 41) Having remitted the taxes of Brāhmaṇas and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king Sōmasimha soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (or the spottiness) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy

(V 42.) Long live his son Kṛishnarājadēva, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (and) who (therefore) resembles the glorious Krishna, the son of Vasudēva, who is united with Yaśōdā, (and) whose splendour is augmented by his mother!

Again—

(V. 43.) No man equalling Vastupāla in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V 44) From the excellent minister Lalitādēvi, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name Jayantasimha, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of Pulōman (obtained) Jayanta from Indra.

(V. 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this Jaitrasimha, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (and) who (even) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues?

¹ I.e. the sun.

² The demon Mārīcha in the shape of an antelope lured Rāma away from Sitā.

³ Probably this expression refers to Vishnu

⁴ I.e. Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning

(V 46) May he live for a *Kalpa* age, this Jayantasimha, the son of the illustrious Vastupāla, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (of the suppliants) ¹

(V 47) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious Têjahpāla, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares ¹

(V 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as Chānakya, the preceptor of the gods,¹ Marudvyādhi,² Śakra,³ and others. Otherwise, how should this Têjahpāla have obtained his superiority over them ?

(V 49) There is the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, called Têjahpāla, an abode of prosperity to (all) living beings, who maintains the order established by Bali on the surface of the earth, seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, Kāmandaki does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and Chānakya also ceases to wonder at (his own) intellect

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious Anupamadêvi, the wife of the illustrious Maham Têjahpāla—

(V 50) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious Gâgâ, the only diadem adorning the Prāgvāta family, an inhabitant of Chandrāvati full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (or) nodded his head (or) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct ?

(V 51) His son was Dharaniga by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (and) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner).

(V 52) His beloved wife was Tribhuvanadêvi, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (but) one

(V 53) Their daughter Anupamadêvi, who on account of her virtues resembled Dêvi, the daughter of Daksha, in person, was united with the illustrious Têjahpāla as husband

(V 54) This Anupamadêvi, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister Têjahpāla.

(V 55.) Their son, this Lāvanyasimha, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-bannered (god of love)

(V 56) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious Lânasimha, the son of the illustrious Têjahpāla, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds ?

(V 57) This vessel (filled with) a money-hoard of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,⁴ is continually increasing although good people subsist on it

(V 58.) The son of the minister Malladêva, begotten on Lîlukâ, was called Pûrnasimha. Flourishing is his son, begotten on Ahlanâdêvi, this Pêthada, an abode of virtues

(V 59) Anupamâ was the wife of the minister Têjahpāla. Their son was this long-lived (youth) called Lāvanyasimha

¹ *I.e.* Bṛhaspati

² [*I.e.* Pavanavyādhi or Uddhava, the counsellor of Krishna — E H]

³ Śakra was the teacher of the Asura^s

⁴ The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the *Kṛtikāurudh*

(V 60) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Têjahpâla built this temple of the holy Nêminâtha on the (*mountain*) Arbuda.

(V. 61.) The minister Têjahpâla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nêmi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (*and*) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (*mandapa*) in front (*of it*), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (*balânaka*) in the front.

(V 62) The son of the illustrious Chandapa was Chandaprasâda; from him (*was born*) Sôma; his son was Aśvarâja by name, his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (*the men*) called the illustrious Lûnga, the minister Malladêva and the illustrious Vastupâla, together with Têjahpâla

(V. 63) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupâla is he named the illustrious Jaitrasimha, and Têjahpâla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lāvanyasimha by name. The statues of these ten (*men*), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called Têjahpâla, the matchless friend of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupâla, caused to be made here ten images of those (*persons mentioned above*) together with their wives on *khattakas* of spotless stone.

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupâla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Têjahpâla appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all creatures

(V 66) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells, fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top, one does not even know the number, it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mârkanḍa,¹ might also set himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions² drawn up by the two ministers, provided he abandon other occupations

(V 68) May the fame of Aśvarâja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to help, perpetually spread in all directions !

(V 69) There was a sage (*sûri*) called Mahêndra, the preceptor of the family adorned by Chandapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nâgêndra *gachchha*, who had acquired his greatness without effort After him (*came*) the illustrious Śântisûri, of admirable good conduct. After him (*there was*) a pair, Ânanda(*sûri*) and Amarasûri, whose splendour was as bright as that of the rising moon and (*the rising*) sun.

(V. 70) After them there was the illustrious Haribhadrasûri, the purifier from sin, who was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous excellent sage Vijayasêna, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated with the liquor of learning.

(V 71) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (*sûri*) Udayaprabha His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two rise as long as this (*mountain*) Arbuda rises !

¹ [I.e. Mârkanḍeya, who according to the *Mahâbhârata* (III 183, 43) was many thousand years old, though he looked only twenty-five —E. H.]

² The term *sukṛti ânukîrtana* seems to have about the same meaning as *dharmasthâna-prasasti* occurring in v. 73.

(V 73) The illustrious Sômêśvaradêva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building

(V 74) By the grace of the holy Nêmi and Ambikâ on the mountain Abuda may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of Vastupâla¹

(Line 46) This eulogy has been engraved by the mason Chandêśvara, the son of Dhândhala, the son of Kêlhana

(L 47) On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phâlguna, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama the consecration was performed by the illustrious Vijayasênasûri of the illustrious Nâgêndra gachchha

No II¹

- 1 ओ² ॥ ओं नमः... [सव]त् १२८७ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुनवदि ३
रवौ अद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके चौलुक्यकुलकमलराजहससमस्तराजा-
वलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभ...³
- 2 विजयिराज्ये त... श्रीवशिष्ट⁴ कुंडयजनानलोद्भूतश्रीमडूमराज-
देवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्यैव महाराजा-
धिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसा[द]...⁵
- 3 रात्रामंडले श्रीचौलुक्यकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीलवणप्रसाददेवसुतमहामंड-
लेश्वरराजकुलश्रीवीरधवलदेवसत्कसमस्तमुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्री-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁶ श्रीचंड[प]...⁷
- 4 चंडप्रसादात्मजमह⁸ श्रीसोमतनुजठ⁹ श्रीआसराजभार्याठ¹⁰ श्रीकुमारदेव्यो पुत्र-
मह¹¹ श्रीमन्नदेवसघपतिमह¹² श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजसहोदरभ्रातृमह¹³ श्रीतेज-
पालेन स्वकीयभार्यामह¹⁴ श्रीअनुपमदेव्यास्तत्कुत्ति[स]...¹⁵
- 5 विन्नपुत्रमह¹⁶ श्रीलूणसिंहस्य च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये श्रीमदर्वुदाचलोपरि¹⁷ देउलवाडा-
ग्रामे समस्तदेवकुलिकालंकृत विशालहस्तिशालोपशोभित श्रीलूणसिंह-
वसहिकाभिधानश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिद कारित ॥ छ [॥]
- 6 प्रतिष्ठितं¹⁸ श्रीनागेद्रगच्छे श्रीमहेंद्रसूरिसंताने श्रीशातिसूरिशिष्यश्रीआणदसूरिश्री-
अमरचंद्रसूरिपट्टालंकरणप्रभुश्रीहरिभद्रसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ छ ॥
अत्र च धर्मस्थाने कृतश्रावकगोष्ठिकाना नामा-
- 7 नि यथा ॥ मह¹⁹ श्रीमन्नदेवमह²⁰ श्रीवस्तुपालमह²¹ श्रीतेज पालप्रभृतिभ्रातृत्रय-
सतानपरपरया तथा मह²² श्रीलूणसिंहसत्कमातृकुलपत्ने²³ श्रीचद्रावतीवास्तव्य-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ²⁴ श्रीसावदेवसुतठ²⁵ श्रीशालिगतनुजठ²⁶

¹ On a white slab built into a niche in the corridor No 1741 of Mr Cousens's list

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Restore 'समूतप-

⁴ The प of 'पत्ने seems to have been corrected out of य

⁵ Restore 'श्रीभीमदेव-

⁶ Read 'वशिष्ट',

⁷ Read श्रीमदर्वुदा⁸

⁹ Restore श्रीचंडपसुतठ¹⁰ श्री-

¹¹ Read प्रतिष्ठित

- 8 श्रीसागरतनयठ° श्रीगागापुनठ° श्रीधरणिगभ्रातृमहं° श्रीराणिगमहं° श्रीलीला
तथा ठ° श्रीधरणिगभार्याठ° श्रीतिहुणदेविकुचिसंभूतमहं° श्रीअनुपमदेवि-
सहोदरभ्रातृठ° श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ° श्रीऊदल¹
- 9 तथा महं° श्रीलीलासुतमहं° श्रीलूणसीह तथा भ्रातृठ° जगसीहठ° रत्न-
सिंहानां समस्तकुटुम्बेन² एतदीयसतानपरंपरया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकल-
मपि स्नपनपूजासारादिक सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च ॥ तथा।³
- 10 श्रीचद्रावत्याः सत्कसमस्तमहाजनसकलजिनचैत्यगोष्ठिकाप्रभृतिश्रावकसमुदायः⁴ ॥
तथा 'उंवरणीकीसरउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञा° श्री° रासलउ° आसधर तथाज्ञा°
माणिमद्रउ° श्री° आल्हण तथाज्ञा° श्री° देल्हणउ° खीम्बसी-⁵
- 11 ह धर्कटज्ञातीयश्रे° नेहाउ° साल्हा तथाज्ञा° धउलिगउ° आसचंद्र तथाज्ञा°
श्रे° वहुदेवउ° सोम प्राग्वाटज्ञा° श्री° सावडउ° श्रीपाल तथाज्ञा° श्री°
जींदाउ° पाल्हण धर्कटज्ञा° श्री° पासुउ° सादा प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयपूनाउ° सा-
- 12 ल्हा तथा श्रीमालज्ञा° पूनाउ° साल्हाप्रभृतिगोष्ठिकाः⁷ । अमीभिः श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवप्रतिष्ठावर्षग्रधियात्राष्टाहिकायां⁸ देवकीयचैत्रवदि ३ तृतीयादिने स्नपन-
पूजाद्युत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा कासङ्गदग्रामीयऊएसवालज्ञा-
- 13 तीयश्रे° सोहिउ° पाल्हण तथाज्ञा° श्री° सलखणउ° वालण प्राग्वाटज्ञा°
श्रे° सांतुयउ° देल्हुय तथाज्ञा° श्री° गोसलउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° श्री°
कोलाउ° आम्बा⁹ तथाज्ञा° श्री° पासचंद्रउ° पूनचंद्र तथाज्ञा° श्री°
जसवीरउ° ज-
- 14 गा तथाज्ञा° ¹⁰ब्रह्मदेवउ° राल्हा श्रीमालज्ञा° कडुयराउ° कुलधरप्रभृति-
गोष्ठिकाः¹¹ । अमीभिस्तथा ४ चतुर्थीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य द्वितीया-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा ¹²ब्रह्माणवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहाजनि°
- 15 आंमिगउ° पूनड ऊएसवालज्ञा° महा° धांधाउ° सागर तथाज्ञा° महा°
साटाउ° वरदेव प्राग्वाटज्ञा° महा° पाल्हणउ° उदयपाल श्रीइसवालज्ञा°
महा° आवोधनउ° जगसीह श्रीमालज्ञा° महा° वीसलउ° पासदेव प्रा-¹³
- 16 ग्वाटज्ञा° महा° वीरदेवउ° अरसीह तथाज्ञा° श्री° धणचंद्रउ° रामचंद्रप्रभृति-
गोष्ठिकाः¹⁴ । अमीभिस्तथा ५ पंचमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य ततीया-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा धउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रे° सा-

¹ Read श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ° The line is filled up by a sign resembling a hook.

² Read °कुटुम्बेन

³ This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line

⁴ Read °गोष्ठिक°

⁵ Read उंवरणीकी°.

⁶ Read खीम्बसी°.

⁷ Read °गोष्ठिका.

⁸ Read °प्रतिष्ठा°

⁹ Read आम्बा.

¹⁰ Read ब्रह्मदेव°

¹¹ Read °गोष्ठिकाः.

¹² Read ब्रह्माण°.

¹³ The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

¹⁴ Read °गोष्ठिकाः.

- 17 जणउ° पासवीर तथाज्ञा° अे° वोहडिउ° पूना तथाज्ञा° अे° जसडुयउ°
जेगण तथाज्ञातीयअे° साजनउ° भीला तथाज्ञा° पासिलउ° पूनुय तथाज्ञा°
अे° राजुयउ° सावदेव तथाज्ञा° दूगसरणउ° साहणीय ओइसवाल-¹
- 18 ज्ञा° अे° सलखणउ° महं जोगा तथाज्ञा° अे[°*] देवकुंयारउ° आसदेव-
प्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः² । अमीभिस्तथा ६ षष्ठीदिने³ अीनेमिनाथदेवस्य चतुर्था-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा मुंडस्थलमहातीर्थवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय-
- 19 अे° सधीरणउ° गुणचंद्रपाल्हा तथा अे° सोहियउ° आस्वेषर तथा अे° जेजाउ°
खांखण तथा फीलिण्णियामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञा° वापलगाजणप्रमुखगोष्टिकाः⁴
अमीभिस्तथा ७ सप्तमीदिने अीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचमाष्टाहिकाम-
- 20 होत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा हंडाउद्राग्रामडवाणीग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीयअे° 'आम्बु-
यउ° जसरा तथाज्ञा° अे[°*] लखमणउ° आचू तथाज्ञा° अे° आसलउ°
जगदेव तथाज्ञा° अे° सूमिगउ° धणदेव तथाज्ञा° अे° जिणदेवउ° जाला
- 21 प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अे° आसलउ° सादा श्रीमालज्ञा° अे° देदाउ° वीसल तथाज्ञा°
अे° आसधरउ° आसल तथाज्ञा° अे° थिरदेवउ° वीरुय तथाज्ञा° अे°
गुणचंद्रउ° देवधर तथाज्ञा° अे° हरियाउ° हेमा प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अे° लखमण-
- 22 उ° कडुयाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः⁵ । अमीभिस्तथा ८ अष्टमीदिने अीनेमिनाथ-
देवस्य 'षष्ठाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा [ग]डाहडवास्तव्यप्राग्वाट-
ज्ञातीयअे° देसलउ° 'ब्रह्मसरणु तथाज्ञा° जसकरउ° अे° धणिया
तथाज्ञा[°*] अे°
- 23 देल्हणउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° अे° वालाउ° पद्मसोह तथाज्ञा° अे° 'आंयुयउ°
वोहडि तथाज्ञा° अे° वोसरिउ° पूनदेव तथाज्ञा[°*] अे° वीरुयउ° साजण¹⁰
तथाज्ञा° अे° पाहुयउ° जिणदेवप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः¹¹ । अमीभिस्तथा ९
नवमीदिने
- 24 अीनेमिनाथदेवस्य सप्तमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा साहिलवाडावास्तव्य-
ओइसवालज्ञातीयअे° देल्हाउ° आल्हण अे° नागदेवउ° ¹²आम्बदेव अे°
काल्हणउ° आसल अे° वोहियउ° लाखण अे° जसदेवउ° वाहड अे°
- 25 सीलणउ° देल्हण अे° बहुदा अे° महधराउ° धणपाल अे° पूनिगउ°
वाघा अे° गोसलउ° वहडाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः¹³ । अमीभिस्तथा १० दशमीदिने

¹ The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of 1 8

² Read षष्ठीदिने .

³ Read आम्बुय° .

⁴ Read ब्रह्म° .

⁵ Read °गोष्टिका° .

⁶ Read °गोष्टिका°

⁷ Read °गोष्टिका°

⁸ Read आम्बुय°

⁹ Read आम्ब° .

² Read °गोष्टिका

⁷ Read षष्ठाष्टा° .

¹⁰ Read साजण (?) .

¹³ Read °गोष्टिका° .

- श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य अष्टमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा ¹श्रीश्रुदो-
परि देउलवा-
- 26 डावास्तव्यसमस्तश्रावकैः ² श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचापि कल्याणिकानि यथा-
दिनं प्रतिवर्षं कर्तव्यानि ॥ एवमियं व्यवस्था श्रीचंद्रावतीपतिराजकुलश्री-
सोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्रराज³ श्रीकान्हडदेवप्रमुखकुमरैः समस्तराजलोकैस्त-
- 27 या श्रीचंद्रावतीयस्थानपतिभट्टारकप्रभृतिकविलास तथा ⁴गूगुलीब्राह्मणसमस्त-
महाजनगोष्ठिकैश्च⁴ तथा ⁵श्रुदोचलोपरि श्रीअचलेश्वरश्रीवशिष्ठ तथा संनि-
हित ⁶ ग्रामदेउलवाडाग्रामश्रीश्रीमातामह्वुग्रामश्रावुयग्रामश्रीरासाग्रामज⁷
- 28 तरङ्गग्रामसिहरग्रामसालग्रामहेठउंजीग्रामश्रीखीग्रामश्रीधांधलेश्वरदेवीयकोटडीप्रभृति-
द्वादशग्रामेषु ⁸सतिष्ठमानस्थानपतितपोधनगूगुलीब्राह्मणराठियप्रभृतिसमस्तलोकै-
स्तथा भालिभाडाप्रभृतिग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानश्रीप्रतीहा-
- 29 रवंशीयसर्वराजपुत्रैश्च आत्मीयात्मीयस्वेच्छया श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य मंडपे समुप-
विश्योपविश्य महं⁹ श्रीतेजःपालपार्थात् स्त्रीयस्त्रीयप्रमोदपूर्वकं श्रीलूणसीह-
वसहिकाभिधानस्यास्य धर्मस्थानस्य सर्वोपि रक्षापभारः स्त्रीकृत । तदेतदा-
- 30 क्षीयवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्भिरेतैः⁹ सर्वैरपि तथा एतदीयसंतानपरपरया च धर्म-
स्थानमिदमाचद्रार्कं यावत् परिरक्षणीयं ॥ यतः ॥ किमिह कपालकनडलुवक्कल-
सितरक्तपटजटापटलैः । व्रतमिदमुज्ज्वलमुन्नतमनसां प्रतिपन्ननिर्व्वहणं ॥ छ ॥
- 31 तथा महाराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन अस्यां श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकाया श्रीनेमि-
नाथदेवाय पूजांगभोगार्थं वाहिरहृद्या उवाणीग्रामः शासनेन प्रदत्तः ॥ स च
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवाभ्यर्थनया प्रमारान्वयिभिराचद्रार्कं यावत् प्रतिपाल्यः ॥¹⁰
- 32 ॥ सिद्धिचेत्रमिति प्रसिद्धमहिमा श्रीपुडरीको गिरिः श्रीमान् रैवतकोपि
विश्वविदितः चेत्रं विमुक्तेरिति । नून चेत्रमिदं द्वयोरपि तयोः श्रीश्रुदोस्त-
वभू भेजाते कथमन्यथा सममिम श्रीआदिनेमी स्वय ॥ १ ससारसर्व-
स्वमिहैव मुक्तिस-
- 33 ॥ व्वस्वमप्यत्र जिनेश दृष्ट । विलोक्यमाने भवने तवास्मिन् पूर्व पर च त्वयि
दृष्टिपाथे ॥ २ श्रीकृष्णधीयश्रीनयचद्रसुरेरिमे ॥ स¹⁰ सरवणपुत्रस¹⁰ सिंह-
राजसाधू साजणससहसासाइदेपुत्री सुनथव प्रणमति ॥ शुभ ॥¹¹

¹ Read °श्रुदो°² Read °ब्राह्मण°³ This sign of punctuation is out of place, read संनिहितयाम°⁴ Read संतिष्ठमान° and °ब्राह्मण°⁵ At the end of the line there is a symbol⁶ At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in l. 31⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous⁸ Read °गोष्ठिकैश्च°⁹ Read °श्रुदो°¹⁰ Read °श्रावुय°¹¹ कुर्वन्भिरेतै

No. III¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८७ वर्षे फागुणसुदि ३ सोमे अद्येह श्रीअर्बु-
दाचले³ श्रीमदणहिलपु-
- 2 रवास्त⁴ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीआ-
सरासुतमहं शालदे-
- 3 वमहं श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजभ्राटमहं श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीअनु-
पमदेविकुलि-
- 4 सभूतसुतमहं श्रीलूणसीहपुण्यार्थ अस्यां श्रीलूणवसहिकायां श्रीनिमिनाथ-
महातीर्थ कारित ॥ ८ ॥ छ ॥

No IV⁵

- 1 श्री⁶ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं
श्रीसोममहं श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुताबाईश्रीसदमलश्रेयो-
- 2 ऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No V.⁷

- 1 श्री⁸ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं
श्रीसोममहं श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं श्रीपुनसीहीयभा-
- 2 र्यामहं श्रीआण्हणदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारि-
ता ॥ छ ॥

No VI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे¹¹ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-
महं श्रीसोमान्वये¹² महं श्रीआसरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं¹³
श्रीपातूश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलि-
- 2 का कारिता ।[¹⁴]

No. VII¹³

- 1 श्री¹⁴ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्¹⁵ १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-

¹ On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine No 1742 of Mr Cousens's list

² Expressed by a symbol ³ Read °अर्बुदा°

⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor No 1666 of Mr Cousens's list

⁵ Expressed by a symbol ⁶ The ड of °चंडप° has an abnormal form.

⁷ On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor No 1667 of Mr Cousens's list

⁸ Expressed by a symbol

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor No 1668 of Mr Cousens's list

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Read वर्षे

¹² Read °सोमान्वये

¹³ On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor No 1669 of Mr Cousens's list

¹⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁵ Read °विक्रम°.

No. XVIII.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्चिचडप्रसादमहं³ श्रीसोममहं⁴
श्रीआसरान्वये महं⁵ श्रीमालदेवसुताश्रीसहजलश्रेयोऽर्थ महं⁶ श्रीतेजपालेन दे-
2 वकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XIX.³

- 1 श्री⁴ ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे महं⁵ श्रीसोमान्वये महं⁶ श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं⁷
श्रीलूणसीहभार्यामहं⁸ श्रीलघमादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं⁹ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका
कारिता ॥

No. XX.⁶

- 1 ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं⁷ श्रीसोमान्वये महं⁸ श्रीतेजपालसुत-
महं⁹ लूणसीहभार्यारथणादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं¹⁰ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका
कारिता ॥ छ ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥

No. XXI.¹¹

- 1 श्री⁷ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं⁸
श्रीचंडपश्चिचडप्रसादमहं⁹ श्रीसोमान्वये महं¹⁰ श्रीआसरासुतमहं¹¹ श्रीमालदेव-
भ्रातृमहं¹² श्री-
2 वस्तपालयोरनुजमहं¹³ श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं¹⁴ श्रीअनुपमदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ
देवश्रीमुनिसुव्रतस्य देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No XXII.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं¹¹ श्रीचंडपश्चिचडप्रसादश्री-
[सो]मश्रीआमगान्वयसमुद्भूतमहं¹² श्रीतेजपालेन स्वसुतश्रीलूणसीहसुतागउरट्टेवि-
श्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ।[!]¹³ छ ॥

No XXIII.¹³

- 1 श्री¹⁴ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं¹⁵ श्रीचंडपश्चिचड-
प्रसादश्रीसोममहं¹⁶ श्रीआसरान्वय[समुद्भूत]महं¹⁷ श्री[तेजपालेन] स्वसुतावउल-
देविश्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 16 in the corridor No 1738 of Mr Cousens's list

² Expressed by a symbol

³ On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor No 1684 of Mr Cousens's list

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor No 1685 of Mr Cousens's list

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor No 1686 of Mr Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol ⁸ Read 'वस्तुपाल'.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor No 1690 of Mr Cousens's list

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol

¹¹ The text of 'समुद्भूत' is not quite finished

¹² On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor No. 1692 of Mr. Cousens's list

¹³ Expressed by a symbol

No. XXIV.¹

- 1 ॥ ओ² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्³ १२६३ चैत्रवदि⁴ ७ अद्येह⁵ श्रीश्रुदा-
चलमहातीर्थे श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁶ श्रीचंडपठ⁷ श्रीचडप्रसादमह⁸ श्री-
सोमान्वये ठ⁹ श्रीआसराजसु[त]-
- 2 ॥ मह¹⁰ श्रीमालदेवमह¹¹ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह¹² श्रीतेज.पालेन¹³ स्वभगिन्या
पद्मलायाः श्रेयोर्थ श्रीवारिसेणदेवालकृता देवकुलिकेय कारि[ता] ॥

No XXV⁶

- 1 ओ⁷ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह श्रीश्रुदाचल-
महातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्या मह⁸
श्रीतेज पालेन
- 2 मातुलसुतभाभाराजपालभणितेन स्वमातुलस्य मह⁹ श्रीपूनपालस्य तथा भार्या-
मह¹⁰ श्रीपूनदेव्याश्च श्रेयोर्थ अस्या देवकुलिकाया श्रीचद्राननदेवप्रतिमा
कारिता ॥

No XXVI⁹

- 1 ओ¹⁰ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपात् स १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह
श्रीश्रुदाचल[तीर्थे]¹²
- 2 स्वयकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्या श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञाती-
3 यठ¹¹ श्रीचडपठ¹² श्रीचडप्रसादमह¹³ श्रीसोमान्वये ठ¹⁴ श्रीआसराजठ¹⁵ श्रीकुमारदे-
4 व्योः सुतमह¹⁶ श्रीमालदेवसघपतिश्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह¹⁷ श्रीतेज.पालेन स्वभ-
5 गिन्या वार्दज्ञाल्हणदेव्या¹⁸ श्रेयोर्थ विहरमाणतोर्थकरश्रीसोमवरस्वामिप्रतिमा-
6 लकृता देवकुलिकेय कारिता ॥ प्रतिष्ठिता¹⁹ श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीविजयनेन-
सु[रभि. ॥]

No XXVII¹⁶

- 1 [॥ ओ]¹⁷ ॥ स्वस्ति संवत् १२६३ चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह¹⁸ श्रीश्रुदाचल-
तीर्थे स्वयकारितश्रीलू[णसीह]-

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor No 1715 of Mr Cousens's list

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read °संवत्

⁴ Read °श्रुदा°

⁵ The त्रे of °तेज पालेन is only half finished

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor No 1716 of Mr Cousens's list

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ Read °श्रुदा°

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor No 1707 of Mr Cousens's list

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol

¹¹ In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct

¹² Read °श्रुदा°.

¹³ Read वाद°.

¹⁴ Read °सोमधरस्वामि°

¹⁵ Read प्रतिष्ठिता

¹⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor No 1708 of Mr Cousens's list

¹⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁸ In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct

¹⁹ Read °श्रुदा°

- 2 ॥ वसहिकाख्यश्रीपरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंड-
प्रसादमहं° श्री[सो]-
- 3 ॥ सोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेव-
संघपतिमहं° ॥
- 4 ॥ श्रीवसुपालधीस्नुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिनीवाइमाउश्रेयोर्थ¹ विहर-
माण- ॥
- 5 ॥ तीर्थकरश्रीयुगंधरस्वामिजिनप्रतिमालंकितां देवकुलिका इयं² कारिता ॥³
॥ छ [॥]

No. XXVIII.⁴

- 1⁵ [अद्येष्ट श्रीअर्बुदाचले° स्वयंकारित-
श्रीलू]-
- 2 [ण]धीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीपरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ[°]
- 3 श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतम[हं°]
- 4 श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवसुपालधीरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या ।° सा[ऊ]-
- 5 [देव्याः श्रेयोर्थ] विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीवाहुजिनालंकिता° देवकुलिका कारि[ता ॥]

No. XXIX.¹⁰

- 1 ॥ श्री¹¹ ॥ ¹²स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येष्ट श्रीअर्बुदाचलमहातीर्थ¹³ स्वयं[का]-
- 2 ॥ रितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्री-
चंडप-
- 3 ॥ ठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः
सुतमहं° श्रीतेजःपाले-
- 4 न स्वभगिन्यां ¹⁴वाइधणदेविश्रेयसे विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसुवाहुविंवालंकिता¹⁵
देवकुलिका कारिता [॥*]

¹ Read °वाइ°.² Read °कुलिकेयं.³ After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 28 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Cousens's list.⁵ The first *aksharas* of this line are illegible.⁶ Read °अर्बुदा°⁷ Read श्रीवसुपाल°.⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous⁹ Read °श्रीवाहु°.¹⁰ On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Cousens's list.¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.¹² In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.¹³ Read °अर्बुदा°.¹⁴ Read वाइ°.¹⁵ Read °सुवाहुविवा°.

No XXXI.

- 1 ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवृषविक्रमसवत् १]२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येह श्रीअर्बुदाचलमहातीर्थे^१ स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथ-
देव- ॥
- 2 ॥ चैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञा[तीयठ^२ श्रीचिडपठ^३ श्रीचंडप्रसादमह^४ श्रीसो-
मान्वये ठ^५ श्रीआसराजठ^६ श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह^७ श्रीमालदेवसंघप- ॥
- 3 ॥ तिमह^८ श्रीवस्तुपालयोस्तुजमह^९ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या वार्द्धसोहगाया
श्रेयोर्य शश्वतजिनश्रीवृषभदेवालक्षता देवकुलिका कारिता [॥*]

No XXXI^१

- 1 ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवृषविक्रमसवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येह श्रीअर्बुदाचलमहातीर्थे^१ स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवचैत्ये जगत्या^२
- 2 ॥ श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ^३ श्रीचंडपठ^४ श्रीचंडप्रसादमह^५ श्रीसोमान्वये ठ^६ श्रीआ-
सराजठ^७ श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह^८ श्रीमालदेवमह^९ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह^{१०}
- 3 ॥ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या^{१०} वार्द्धवयजुकायाः श्रेयोर्य श्रीवर्द्धमानाभिध-
शश्वतजिनप्रतिसालंक्षता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ शुभम् भवतु । मंगल
महाश्री. ॥^{११} ॥

No. XXXII.^{१२}

- 1 श्री^{१३} सवत् १२६७ वैशाखवदि १४ गुरौ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयचंडपचडप्रसादमहं^{१४}
श्रीसोमान्वये सहं^{१५} श्रीआसराजसतमहं^{१६} श्रीतेजःपालेन श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्त-
व्यमोढज्ञातीयठ^{१७} जाल्हणसुतठ^{१८} आमासुतायाः ठकुराज्ञीसंतोषाकुचिसंभूताया
सं^{१९} श्रीतेजःपालद्वितीयभार्यामहं^{२०} श्रीसुहडादेव्याः [श्रेयोर्य] [॥*]

No 23 = NAUSARI PLATES OF SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA,
THE YEAR 121

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SALLE)

The copper-plates which bear this inscription come from Nausari,¹⁴ the head-quarters town of the Nausari division of the Baroda State. The inscription was first published, with a lithograph, by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal*

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 30 in the corridor. No 1711 of Mr Cousens's list

² Expressed by a symbol, ³ Read °अर्बुदा°

⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 31 in the corridor No 1712 of Mr Cousens's list

- Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read °सवत्

⁷ Read °अर्बुदा°

⁸ Read °चैत्यजगत्या

⁹ Read श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय°

¹⁰ Read वार्द्ध°

¹¹ This sign of punctuation is followed by a symbol

¹² On the ornamental niche close to the entrance doorway of the main shrine No 1744A of Mr Cousens's list

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ Indian Atlas sheet No 23, S E. (1899) lat 20° 57', long 72° 59'

Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, p 1 ff It is now re-edited from an excellent ink-impression supplied by Dr Fleet, who contributes the following remarks on the original —

“The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1884, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, from Dr Bhagwanlal Indraj. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion

“The copper-plates are two in number, each about 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ” long by 5” broad at the ends and 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ ” in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. The ring is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ” thick, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Śrī āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs, and of the ring and seal, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. total, 2 lbs 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.”

The alphabet resembles that of other records of the early Chalukyas. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs once (l 12). Final forms are found of *m* (ll 1, 2, 20), *t* (l 13) and *n* (l 17). The only mark of punctuation is a small vertical line after *Svāmantasvāmi* (l 14). The date at the end of the inscription is expressed in words and numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit, mostly prose, two well known Anushtubh verses occur in l. 1 f and l 19 f. Although the inscription is very well preserved, and though the engraving is neat and distinct, the text is full of serious blunders. As may be seen from the footnotes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and syllables are either omitted or corrupted. In line 15 a whole word seems to be missing, which cannot be supplied with certainty¹.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the boar incarnation of Vishnu (l 1 f). It then states that in the family of the Chalukyas² (l 5) was Pulakēsi-Vallabha (l 6), ‘who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the collection of all hostile kings, who resembled Rama and Yudhishtira, (and) who possessed true chivalry.’ His son was Dh[a]śraya-Jaya-simhavarman (l 9 f), ‘whose power had been increased by (his) elder brother, the glorious Vikramāditya-Saty[a]śraya-Prithivivallabha-Maharajadhirāja Paramesvara-Bhaffarala, the fervent Mahēsvāra, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father and of the holy Nāgavardhana, (and) who by unchecked prowess had overcome the Pallava family.’ His son was the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) Śryāśraya-Silāditya³ (l 13), ‘who illuminated all quarters of the sky by the banner of (his) fame that was as pure as the great garland of the rays of the spotless full-moon in autumn, who was as liberal as Rajaraja (i.e. Kuvēra), [who resembled] the god of love in being endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, (and) who was as skilled in all arts (and) as brave as (Naravahanadatta) the emperor of the Vidyadharas.’ While residing at Navasārikā, he granted to the Brāhmana Bhogikkasvāmin (l 15) a village named Āsatti-grama (l 16). The donee was an Adhvāryu (i.e. a student of the Yajurveda), the pupil (‘) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Matīśvāra (‘), and the son of [S]amantasvāmin. The latter was the son of Agamisvāmin, who belonged to the Kasjapa gōtra and resided at Navasārikā. The village granted was included in the district (*vishaya*) of Kanhavalāhāra, a subdivision of the Bāhūka district (*vishaya*). According to the two last lines of the inscription, ‘this (edict) was written by the minister (*s[ā]ndhivigrah[ī]hu*), the glorious Dhana[m]jaya,

¹ See p 232 below, note 14

² For this early variant of the name ‘Chalukya’ see Dr Fleet’s *Dyn Kan Distr* p 336, note 3

³ On the seal, Silāditya’s surname Śryāśraya is spelt *Śrī āśraya*, without Sandhi

on the thirteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha, in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one—400 20 [1]”

Of the royal personages named in this grant, two belong to the Western Chalukyas of Badāmi. These are Pulakesi-Vallabha, i.e. Pulakesin II, and his son Vikramaditya-Satyāśraya-Prithivivallabha, i.e. Vikramāditya I. The latter is said to have worshipped the holy Nāgavardhana, which may be the name of a temple or of a spiritual guide,¹ and to have overcome the Pallava family.² He is distinguished by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja, etc.*, from the remaining two princes of the Chalukya family that are referred to in the grant, viz. Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman and his son the Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, who were not of sovereign, but of mere feudatory rank. The former of them was a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakesin II. The grant states that “his power had been increased by his elder brother.” This seems to imply that he was entrusted by Vikramāditya I with the administration of a province, which must have included Navasārikā, where his son resided at the time of the grant, and Āsatti-grāma, the village granted by him. Another copper-plate grant of the same Śryāśraya Śilāditya, which comes from Surat³ mentions the villages Kārmaneya, Ōsumbhala and Allūrika. Bühler has identified Navasarka, Asatti grama and the three last with the modern Nausari (where these plates were obtained) Asigam,⁴ Kamrēj, Umbhel and Alura⁵—all south of the Tapti in Lāta or Southern Gujarāt.

Altogether the grants of this Gujarāt branch of the Chalukya family are four in number.

A—The Nausari plates of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya dated in the year 421

B—The Surat plates of the same, dated in the year 443

C—The unpublished Balsar plates of (his brother) Jayāśraya-Mangalarāja, dated in the Śaka year 653.⁶

D—The Nausari plates of Aranyasraya-Pulakesuraja younger brother of Jayāśraya-Mangalarasuraja dated in the year 490.⁷

According to A and B, Jayasimhavarman and his son, the Yuvarāja Śilāditya, were contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 655 to 680) in the year 421, and of Vinayāditya (A.D. 655 to 696) in the year 443 of an unspecified era. This can be no other than the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A.D. 249-50.⁸ With this starting point the dates of the two grants of Śilāditya (A and B.) correspond to A.D. 671 and 692.⁹ The Balsar plates of Mangalarāja (C), who seems to have governed Gujarāt in succession of his father Jayasimhavarman after the death of the Yuvarāja Śilāditya (probably an elder brother of Mangalarāja), are dated in the Śaka year 653=A.D. 731-32.¹⁰ Like the dates of A and B that of D has to be referred to the Kalachuri era. Accordingly, Pulakesuraja, the younger brother of Mangalarasuraja (the Mangalaraja of the Balsar plates), was ruling in A.D. 739.¹¹

It remains to be added that the Bahlika-vishaya and its subdivision Kanhavalahāra, to which Āsatti-grama belonged, have not yet been identified.

¹ See *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 123, and *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol XVI p 5. The name Nagavardhana appears twice in a grant of doubtful authenticity, *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 123 ff and *Dyn Kan Distr* p 357 f.

² Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 115, and *Dyn Kan Distr* p 362 f.

³ *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p 211 ff.

⁴ Dr Fleet informs me that this is a large village seven miles east south east-½ south from Nausari, and remarks that “in the Bombay *Postal Directory* the name is spelt ‘Ashtgam,’ which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsatti-grama.”

⁵ *Ind Ant* Vol XVII p 193.

⁶ *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol XVI p 5.

⁷ See note 3 above.

⁸ See *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 77, *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p 219 f, Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec ed, p 55.

⁹ *Dyn Kan Distr* p 364, No 3, and p 370, No 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 374, No 11.

¹¹ *Ibid* p 376, No 6.

TEXT¹

First Plate.

- 1 Om² svasti [||*] Jayaty=³avishkṛtam Vishnoi=⁴vvāiāham kshôbhit-ârnna[va]m [||*]
 dakshin-ônnata-da[m*]shti-âgri-a-vi-
 2 śâ(śrâ)nta bhuvana[m*] vapuh [||*] Śīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūya[māna*]-
 Mānavya-sagôtiānām(nām)
 3 Hāiti-putiānām sapta-lôka-mâtṛibhis=sapta-Mâtṛibhi[=a⁵bhi*]varddhutāsa(nām)
 Kārttikēya-pa-
 4 urakshana-pi ūpta-kalyāna-paiumpaiānām bhagavann-⁶Naiāya[na*]-piasāda-samāsādita-
 varāha-la-⁴
 5 ūchhanikshanē rakshanē vasēkṛit-âścsha-mahibhritām Chalukyānām=⁵ānvajē⁵ nija-
 bhujā-bala-pai ijt-ā-
 6 khila-ūpu-mahipāla-samētivirāmayudhishtôpamāna[h*]⁶ satya-vikrama[h*] śi-
 Pulakēsi-Vallabhah [I*] Tasya
 7 putrah paramamāhōsvara-mâtāpitri-si-⁷Nūgavarddhana-pād-ānuddhyāta-si-⁷Vikramāditya-
 Saty[ā*]-
 8 śraya-Prithivivallabha-mahāiājādhuāja-paramamāhōsvara-bhattāra[k]īna(na)⁷ anivānta-
 paurush-ā-
 9 krat-⁸Pallav-āniayāna jyāyasā bhīātīā sama[bhi*]varddhita-vibhūti=Ddhārāśraya-⁹
 śri-Jayasimha-
 10 varmm[ā ||*] Tasya putrah śarad-amala-sakala-śasadhara-marichī-mālā-vitāna-
 visuddha kirtti-patākā-

Second Plate

- 11 vibhūsitā-lamanta-¹⁰dig-antaiāhah(lah) pradātā Rô(rū)jaiāja [i*]va iū[pa*]-¹¹lāvanya-sau-
 12 bhūgya-sampannāh=Kāmad-va¹² sakala-kalā-pravi(vi)nah paurushavan=Vidyūdhara-chakra-
 13 va¹³it=i(i)va Śryāśraya-śi-Śilāditya-yuvaiāja(jô) Navasārikām=adhivant(san)[I*]
 Navasāri-
 14 kā-v[a*]stavya-Kāsyapa-sagôti-Āgāmusvāminah putrah Svā(sā)mantasvāmī | tasya
 putrā-
 15 ya [I*] Mātṛisvarna[h¹⁴ I*] tasy=¹⁴ānuja-bhīātṛā(trô) Kikkasvāminah¹⁴ Bhōgikkasvāminē
¹⁵Adhvarjyu-[sa*]brahmachāri-
 16 nē Bāhirikā-¹⁶vishay-āntarggata-Kanhavalāhāra-¹⁷vishayē Āsatti-grāmam s-ôdrangam
 sa-pa-

¹ From Dr Elett's ink impressions² Expressed by a symbol³ Cancel the anusvara⁴ Read -laūhhan êkshana kshana-rasikrit-⁵ Read =anrajē⁶ Read probably =samiti Rāma-Yudhishtir ôpamānah⁷ Read =paramāsvara bhāttārahē=ānivānta-⁸ Read kranta-⁹ Read =Ddhārāśraya- and see Dr Elett's Dyn Kan Distr p 361, note 4.¹⁰ Read =samasta-¹¹ Compare text line 15 of the Surat plates, Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p 226¹² The particle ra may have to be supplied here¹³ Read either Mātṛisharirah or, more probably, Mātṛistarah, for the latter see l 20 of the Surat plates¹⁴ Perhaps tishyaya has to be supplied here¹⁵ Here and in -vishayē (l 16) and vikaram (l 17) the rules of Sandhi have not been observed¹⁶ The first letter of Bāhirikā- closely resembles that of bala (l 5), brahma^o (l 15) and bahu^o (l 19) Dr Bhagwanlal Indrajit read Thaharika-¹⁷ Dr Bhagwanlal Indrajit read this word as -Kandavalāhāra, but the h is quite distinct The third aśhara may be either vz or dha



1
 2
 4
 6
 8
 10

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20

- 17 rikaram udak-ôtsargga-pûrvvam mâtapitrôr=âtmanas=cha punya-yasô-bhuvriddhaye
dattavân [1*]
18 Vât-ahâ(ha)ta-dîpa-śikhâ-chañchala[m*] lakshî(kshmi)m=anusmṛitya sarvvar=âgamî-
nripatibhidhammaddayô=1
19 numantavyah [11*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjâ(ja)bhî_h*] Sagar-âdibhi[h 1*]
yasya yasya yadâ bhû-
20 mi[s=*]tasya tasya tadâ phalam [11*] Mâkha(gha)-śuddha-trayôdaśyâm lkhitam=
idam sandhivigrahaka-²śrî-Dhana[m*]jayêna
21 samvatsara-śeta-chatushtayê³ êkavîṣṭaty-adhikê 400 20 [1]⁴ [11*] Ôm⁵ [11*]

No 23.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF KUMARAVISHNU II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

These copper-plates " were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalûr in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago " The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr N Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakîl, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A. Butterworth, I C S, to Mr. Venkayya The subjoined transcript is based on two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr Venkayya, who also furnished me with the following description of the original —

" The copper-plates are five in number The first and last bear writing on the inner side only The plates have no rims In the upper and lower borders they are not as broad as in the middle Their breadth accordingly varies from 8' to 8½" The height is throughout 2½" At a distance of 1" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, ½' in diameter, and through these holes passes a circular ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), 3¼" in diameter and about ¼" thick Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures between 1½" and 1⅞" in diameter and bears in its middle an indistinct symbol in relief Around the margin there seems to be a legend which is too much worn to be made out The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 95 tolas The originals have been returned to Mr Suryanarayana Rao "

The inscription on the plates is well preserved, only a few syllables at the end of ll 2, 3, 4, 12 and 20 are obliterated The sign of *anusvâra* is so small that its existence on the plate remains doubtful in most cases where the context requires it A final form of *m* occurs thrice (ll 28, 29 and 32) The letter *t* is distinguished from *n* by a loop, but in a single case (*grâméyakûnatra*^o, l 15) the form with the loop is used for *n* The end of a verse is marked by a double vertical line in three cases (ll 28, 29 and 30), and the end of the inscription by five circles between double lines Plates i, ii b, iii b and iv b bear on the left margin the numerical symbols 1, 2, 3 and 4, while plate v is not numbered at all The language is Sanskrit prose, and four Sanskrit verses ' sung by Brahman ' are quoted in ll 26-32

The inscription is an edict issued from Kañchipura (l 1) in the second year of the reign (l 23) of the Pallava *Mahârâja* Kumâravishnu (II.) (l 14), who was the son of the *M*

¹ Read -nripatibhir=ayam=asmad-dayô=, compare l 29 of the Surat plates

² Read sandhivigrahika-

³ Read -chatushtaya êkavîṣṭaty-

⁴ The figure '1' is hardly visible at all, but is secured by the preceding words and by the empty space between '20' and ôm

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

Buddhavarman (l. 8), the grandson of the *M* Kumāravishṇu (I.) (l. 6), and the great-grandson of the *M* Skandavarman (l. 3). It records that the king granted to a Brāhmaṇa a field in the village of Chendalūra (ll. 14 and 16 f.) in Kavachakāra-bhōga (l. 16), a subdivision of the district of Karmā[n]ka-rāshtra (l. 14) or Kammā[n]ka-rāshtra (l. 16).

Of the localities mentioned in this record Kāñchipura (l. 1) is Conjeeveram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, and Chendalūra is Chendalūr in the Nellore district, the village where the plates were unearthed. Karmānka- or Kammānka-rāshtra, i.e. 'the district named (after) Karma or Kamma,' is mentioned as Karma-rāshtra in two Eastern Chalukya grants,¹ and as Kamma-rāshtra in a third one.²

The wording of this inscription is very similar to that of three other Pallava grants, which belong to the reign of Simhavarman, viz. the Pīkura, Māngalūr and Uruvupallī grants.³ Nay, ll. 1-14 are almost identical with ll. 4-16 of the Uruvupallī grant.⁴ The names of the kings, however, differ in those three grants on the one hand and in the Chendalūr plates on the other, and no lineal connection can be established between both sets of kings. The name Skandavarman occurs in both, but Kumāravishṇu I, Buddhavarman and Kumāravishṇu II., who were the three direct descendants of Skandavarman according to the Chendalūr plates, are unknown to the three other grants. Nor do their names occur in the Pallava pedigree of the Kāsākudī plates, which begins with Simhavishṇu.⁵ Under these circumstances our only guide can be the palaeography of those different records. The alphabet of the Chendalūr plates is more archaic than those of the Kūram and Kāsākudī plates, but resembles those of the Pīkura, Māngalūr and Uruvupallī grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pīkura, Māngalūr and Uruvupallī grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalūr plates ruled in the interval between Simhavarman and Simhavishṇu. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will enable us to bridge some of the gaps in the direct succession of the Pallavas, one of which is now partially filled by the information contained in the Chendalūr plates.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti⁷ [||*] Jitam=bhagavatā [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Kāñchi[p]jurād-abhyuchchita-
śakti-
2 siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-mandalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-[vīra]-
3 sya mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmmanah prapautiō deva-dviya-guru-vṛiddh-ā(ō)pa[chā]-
4 yinō vivṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhu(bhū)my-adi-pradānah pravṛiddha-
[dharmma-sa].

Second Plate; First Side

- 5 ūchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām=⁸pañchamasya
6 lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Kumāravishṇuōh pautiō bhagavad-bhakti-sa-
7 mbhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=ādi-rāja-pratispa[r*]ddhi-guna samudayasy=āmi-
8 tātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Buddhavarmmanah putrah prajā-samrañjana-paripālan-ōdyō-

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 187, text l. 12, and Vol IX, p 105, text l. 16

² See p 238 below

³ See p 160 above

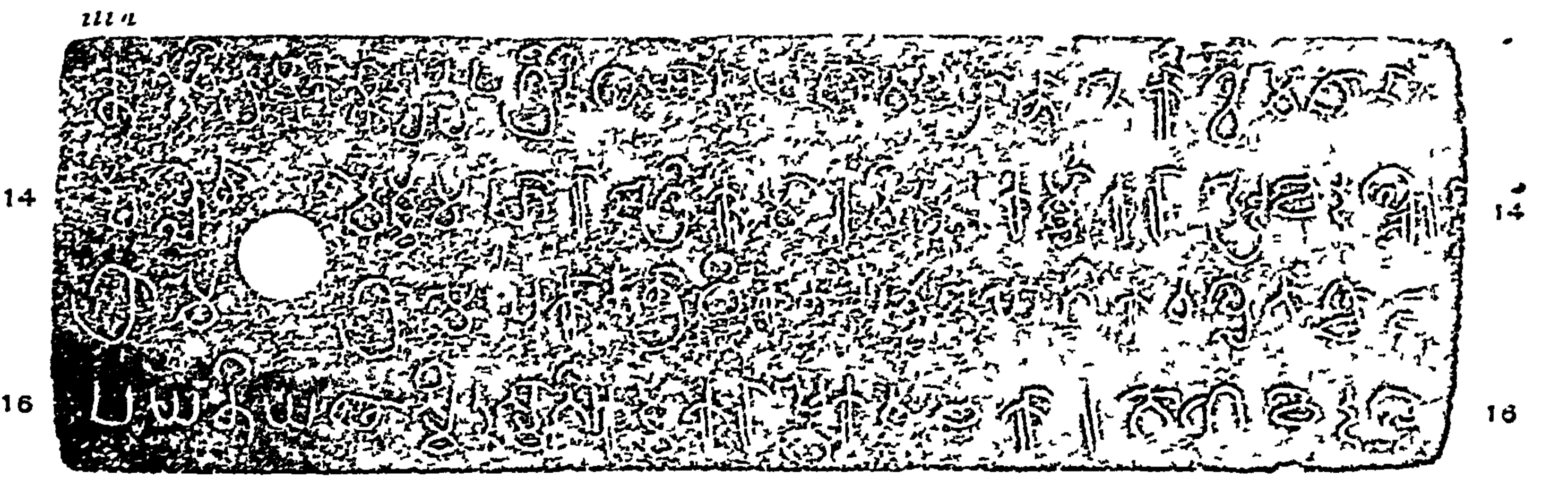
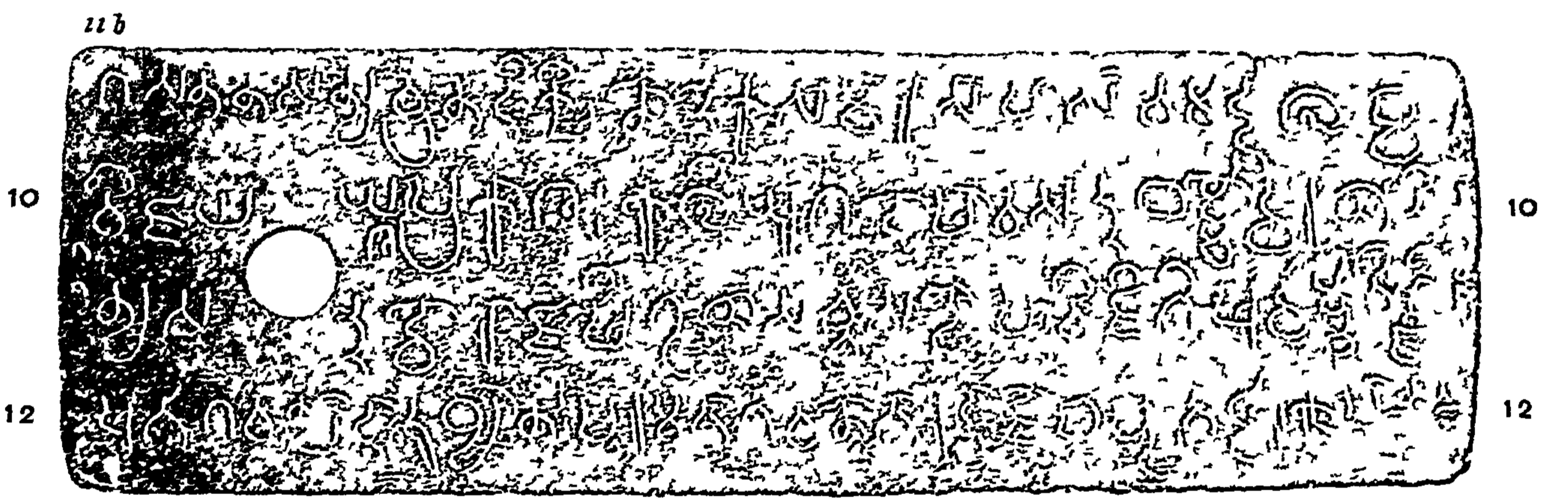
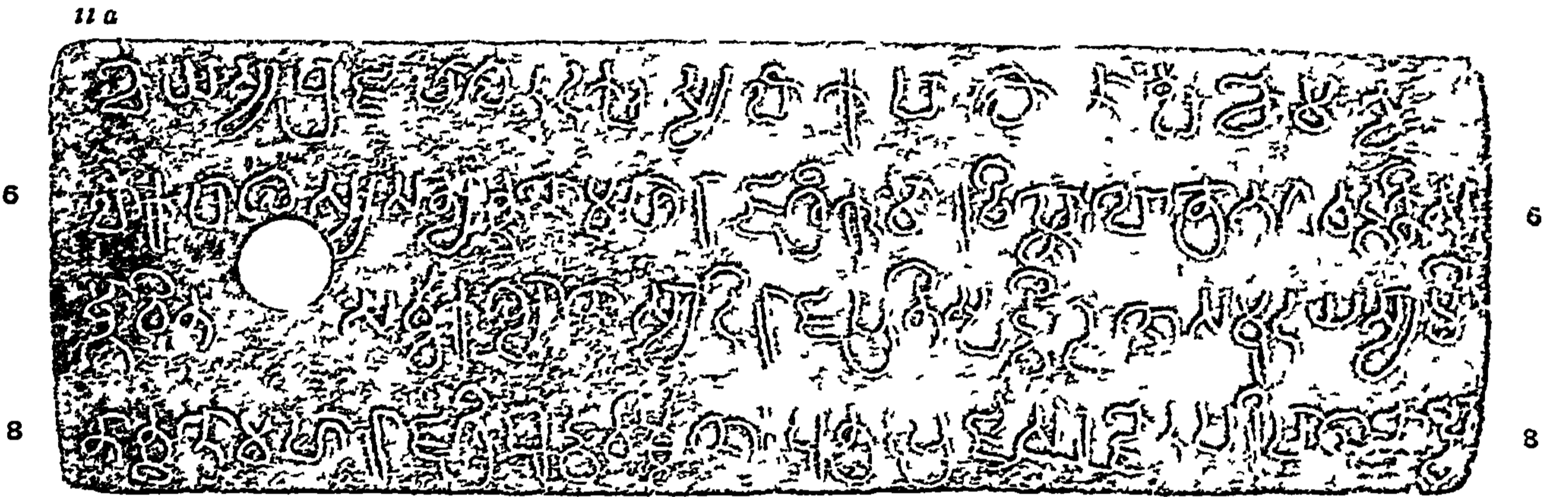
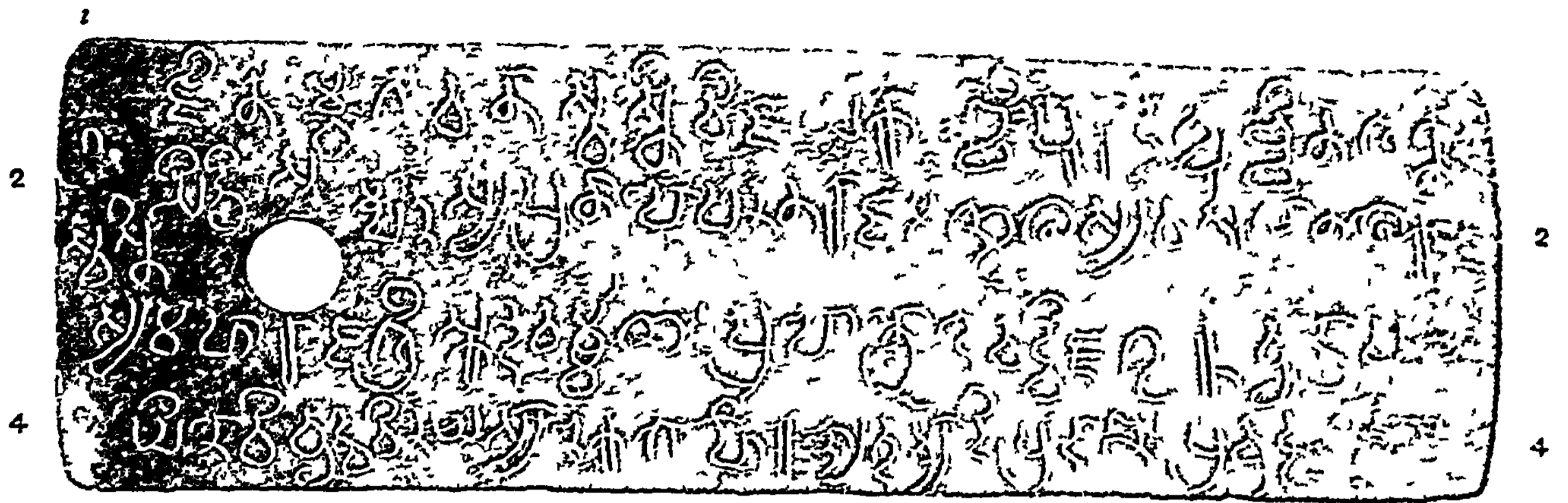
⁴ Only the compound beginning with *Adirāja* is peculiar to the Chendalūr plates (l. 7)

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p 344, and *Dyn Kan Distr* p 323.

⁶ From two sets of ink-impressions

⁷ On the left margin of plate 1

⁸ Corrected from *lōkapālānam*



18
 20

18
 20

18
 20

22
 24

22
 24

22
 24

26
 28

26
 28

26
 28

30
 32

30
 32

30
 32

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 9 ga-salata-satya-vrata-dīkshītō=nēka-samara-sāhas-āvamarḍḍa-labdha-
 10 vijaya-yaśa[h].¹prakāśah Kalyuga-dōsh-avasanna-dharmu-ōddharana-ni-
 11 tyā-sannaddho rājarshī-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijṅgi(gī)shur-ddharma-vijṅgi-²
 12 shur=bhagavat-pād-ānu[d]dhyātah parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvājō bappa bhattāraka-
 pa[da.bha].

Third Plate, First Side

- 13 ktah sva-vikram-ākṛānt-ānya-nri-pa-srī-nīlayānā[m] yathāvad-āhrit-ānēk-āśvamēdhana-
 14 m=Pallavānān=dharmmamahārāja[h] śrī-Kumāravishnuh Karmma[m*]ka-rāshtrē
 Chendalūra-
 15 gramē grāmēyakān=atr=ādhiḥkṛta-sarvva-naiyōgika-vallabhāms=ch=ājñ[a]-
 16 payati yath=āsmunn=asmābhī[h] Kammā[m*]ka-rashtre Kavachakāra-bhōgē
 Chendalū-

Third Plate; Second Side

- 17 ra-grāmē rāja-vastu bhūtva sthitañ=chatu[r*]ddisam=ashtasata-pattikā-sa-
 18 mmitam [l*] samudayatō dvātri[m*]sad-yukta-chatuśśati(ta)-pattikā-sammīta[m]
 kshētra[m*]
 19 brahmanāya Kaundinya-gōtrāya=Chchhandōga-sūtrāy=Ābhi-
 20 rūpā . . .³vāstavyāya Bhavaskandatiataya brahmadē[ya]-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 21 ma[r*]yyādayā dēvabhōga-varjja[m] hala-nyāyēna sarvva-parihār-ōpētam=a-
 22 smad-āyui-⁴bbala-vijay-aśvāryy-abhi-riddhayā pravarddhamāna-vijaya-
 23 rājyē dvitiyē sa[m]vatsarē Kā[r*]ttikē māsē śukla-pakshasya pañchamyā[m*]
 24 sarvva=eta[t=*]kshetra[m] samprattan=Tad=avagamyā sarvva-parihāra=etad=
 brahmadēya-kshētra-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 25 m=pariharantu parihārayantu cha [l*] Yaś=ch=ēdam=asmach-chhāsanam=atīkrāmīt=sa pā-
 26 pas=śārīran=dandam=arhati [l*] Api ch=ātra Brahma-gītāh ślokāh [ll*] Bhūmi-
 danā-
 27 t=paran=danan=na bhūtan=na bhaviṣhyati [l*] tasy=aiva haranāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=
 na bha-
 28 viṣhyati || Sva-dattām=para-⁵dattām=vā⁶ yō harēta vasundhaiām [l*] gavānu
 śatasahasra-

Fifth Plate

- 29 sya hantu[h] pibati kilbusham || Pū[r*]vva[h] pūrvvataraiś=ch=aiva dattām?
 bhūmim harēt=tu yah [l*]
 30 sa mīya-vyasanē magnō narakē cha vasēt=puna[h*] || Bahubhur=vvasudhā da-
 31 ttā bahubhīś=ch=ānupāhtā [l*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
 32 tadā phalam [ll*] Ēvam=ājñā(jñā)ptam=iti [ll*] Gō-brāhmanan=nandatu [l*] Svasty=
 astu prajabhya[h*] || ॐ [ll]

¹ The syllable *sa* was entered subsequently below the line

² The syllable *y* stands below the line

³ Here four *aksharas* are engraved on an erasure, they look like *yu||a|uru*.

⁴ Originally *smadēdā*^o had been engraved. Subsequently the first *da* was struck out

⁵ The *akshara mpa* seems to have been corrected from *mtā*

⁶ Read -*dattām cā*

⁷ The *anusvara* has failed to come out on the photo-lithograph

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vishnu) Hail! From the victorious Kāñchīpura,

(L 2) the great grandson of the glorious *Mahārāja* Skandavarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L 6) the grandson of the glorious *Mahārāja* Kumāravishnu (I.), whose mind was truthful,

(L 7) the son of the glorious *Mahārāja* Buddhavarman, whose mind was immeasurable,

(L 12) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, the glorious Kumāravishnu (II.),— the righteous *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the Pallavas, who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (*and*) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,— addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village of Chendalūra in Karmā[n]ka-rāshtra and to all officers (*naryōgika*) and (*royal*) favourites who are appointed to this (*district*) —

(L 16) “In the village of Chendalūra in Kavachakāra-bhōga, (*a subdivision*) of this (*district of*) Kammā[n]ka-rāshtra, the king's domain¹ in the four directions amounts to eight hundred *pattikās*² (*Of this*) a field amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty-two *pattikās* has been given by Us as a *Brahmadēya*, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (*dētabhōya*), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the Brāhmana Bhavaskandatiāta of the Kaundinya *gōtra* and the Chhandōga *sūtra*, who resides in Abhirūpā— this whole field (*has been given*), for the increase of Our length of life, power, victory and supremacy, in the second year of (Our) reign of growing victory, in the month Kārttika, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight.

(L 24) “Knowing this, they must exempt this *Brahmadēya* field with all immunities and cause (*it*) to be exempted And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict is liable to corporal punishment And with reference to this (*there are*) also (*the following*) verses sung by Brahman ”

[Ll 26-32 contain four of the customary verses]

(L 32) “Thus it has been ordered (*by Us*)” Let cows and Brāhmanas rejoice³ Let there be welfare to (*all*) men¹

No 24—CHENDALUR PLATES OF SARVALOKASRAYA , A D 673

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

Like the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu II (No 23 above), these copper-plates were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalūr in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago” The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr N Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakīl, Nellore, who sent them through Mr A

¹ Literally ‘that which stands having become the king's property’

² *Pattika* seems to be the same as the Tamil *pattī*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *nivartana*, see *South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 359, note 12 Compare *Lakshmana-pattika*, i.e. ‘the *pattika* (belonging to) Lakshmana

³ a Maitraka grant, above, p. 193, text l 43

³ Compare above, p. 49, note 2, and p 148, text l 16

Butterworth, I C S, to Mr Venkayya They are now edited from two sets of inked estampages received from Mr Venkayya, who supplies the following description of the original —

“The copper-plates are five in number and have no rims The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner side only In the upper and lower borders the plates are not so broad as in the middle; their breadth accordingly varies from $9\frac{1}{8}$ ” to $9\frac{1}{2}$ ” The height too gradually decreases from either margin to the middle of the plate—it being roughly $2\frac{1}{8}$ ” in the margins and $2\frac{3}{8}$ ” in the middle At a distance of $\frac{5}{8}$ ” from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, also $\frac{5}{8}$ ” in diameter, and through these holes passes an oval ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ ” by 3”, and $\frac{1}{2}$ ” thick Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures about $1\frac{5}{8}$ ” It bears, in relief on a plane surface, the legend *Śrī-Vijayasiddh[ī]* in the middle, below the legend is a seven-petalled lotus in relief, and above the legend is the crescent of the moon between two symbols which may be taken to be daggers pointing upwards The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is $8\frac{1}{2}$ tolas The originals have been returned to Mr Suryanarayana Rao”

The inscription is carefully engraved and on the whole well preserved The alphabet resembles that of the two published copper-plate grants of Sarvalokāśraya's father Vishnuvardhana II¹ A final form of *t* occurs in ll 2, 33 (twice), 37, and one of *m* in l. 41 The lingual *l* is used in *Chalukyanām* (l 5), *lalita* (l 22), *Kollī*² (l 25) and *Kālabāra* (l 29 f), and the Telugu *r* in ll 25 and 29 The first plate bears on the left margin the numerical symbol '1', but the remaining plates are not numbered

The language is Sanskrit prose, two Sanskrit *ślokas* 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll 37-39. The rules of Sandhi are disregarded in the two compounds *bhagavat-srī-* (l 2) and *asmad-śusanam* (l 33), and frequently between two words (ll 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35)

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahīrīja* Sarvalōkāśraya (l 24), son of the *M* Vishnuvardhana (II) (l 16), grandson of the *M* Indrabhattāarakavarman (l 10 f), and great-grandson of the *M* Vishnuvardhana (I), 'who adorned the family of the Chalukyas' (l 5 f) Some of the laudatory epithets bestowed on Indrabhattāarakavarman and Vishnuvardhana II were evidently copied from inscriptions or office records of the Pallavas,² who had been supplanted by the Eastern Chalukyas Indrabhattāarakavarman seems to have borne the surname *Simhavikrama* (l 8), and Vishnuvardhana II that of *Makaradhvaja*.³ Sarvalōkāśraya's valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words which fill five lines (16-21), but which contain nothing of any historical interest His surname *Vijayasiddhi*, which occurs also on the seal of this grant, is alluded to in the next compound 'he who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (*vijaya-siddhi*) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles' (l 21 f)

In later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty⁴ this king *Vijayasiddhi* or Sarvalōkāśraya is named *Mangiyuvarāja* To his reign has to be referred the date at the end of the subjoined inscription (l 39 f) “(This) set of copper-plates (*paṭṭikā*) was given (to the donees) on the occasion of an eclipse on the full-moon tithi of *Vaiśākha* in the second

¹ See the Plates in *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 191, and Vol VIII p 320

² For the epithets *अभ्युच्चित*^o and *प्रतापोपन्न*^o in l 6 f, *अनेकगो*^o in l 9 f, *खवाह*^o and *विधिविहित*^o in l 11 f see e.g. the *Pikira* grant of Simhavarman, above, p 161, text ll 4, 5 f and 2

³ *I.e.* 'the god of love' The inscription justifies this surname by asserting that the king 'had seized the countries, ear rings (? *makara*) and banners (*dhtaja*) of many mighty (*tunga*) enemies (l 13 f),' compare above, Vol VI p 345 and note 2

⁴ The first part of this compound is found also in Pallava grants, see e.g. above, p 235 text l 9

⁵ See above, Vol. VII Appendix, p 93, note 6

year of the reign of increasing victory." According to Dr Fleet, Mangiyuvarāja reigned from A.D. 673 to 698¹. Hence his second year would correspond to A.D. 673, while Mr Sewell's *Eclipses of the Moon in India* do not record any lunar eclipse in Vaisākha between A.D. 665 and 683. They do mention a total eclipse of the moon, not in Vaisākha, but in Jyēshtha, on Friday, 6th May 673. Prof Kielhorn, to whom I submitted this difficulty, has solved it by showing (see his *Pennsylvanian* on p 210 f below) that by Brahmagupta's rule the month would not be called Jyēshtha, but Vaisākha. Accordingly, the European date of the subjoined inscription of Mangiyuvarāja's reign is the 6th May 673—a result which corroborates the correctness of Dr. Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.

According to l 24 ff 'the very pious one, he who possesses the dignity of *Mahārāja*, the glorious Sarvalōkāśraya-*Mahārāja*' informs "the villagers in the village of Chendarura in (the district named) Kamma-rāshtra and all officers (*nayōgika*) and favourites gone to this (district)" that he has granted this village to six Brāhmanas, who were Chhandōgas (i.e. students of the Samaveda), and each of whom received two shares of it. Five of them belonged to the Kaundinya *gōtra* (l 27) and one to the Kālabava *gōtra* (l. 29 f.) Curiously enough their proper names are not given, but only their native villages, followed in the case of the first donee by the Sanskrit word *vastāya*, 'residing in' (l 28), and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word *bōya*, which seems to be employed in the same sense.² The six villages in question were Katūra, Vangra, Kollipuro (?), Pidena, Kuriyida and Kodinki. The phraseology of the grant portion again resembles that of the Pallava copper-plates.

L 31—"And the *Ajñapti* for this (grant is) the sun among men (*Narabhāshara*) who resembles the sun crowning the peak of the eastern mountain (*Udayagiri*),³ the principal mountain of the circle of the earth (which is) the family of Ayyapa, he who has been victorious in the crush of many battles, the fervent Mahēśvara, the glorious A[na]ghavarman." The edict was written by Pumbeya Sarvottama Ātharvata (l 41).

The village granted, Chendarura, must be the same as the present Chendalūr, at which the copper-plates were discovered. The district Kamma-rāshtra, to which it belonged, is mentioned as Karma-rāshtra in two other grants of Vishnuvardhana II and Mangiyuvarāja.⁴ In the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu II, the same village and district are named Chendalūra and Karmā[n]ka- or Kamma[n]ka-rāshtra.⁵

TEXT.⁶

First Plate

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति⁹ [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तू[य]मानमानव्यसगोत्र[१*]णा हारी[ती]-
- 2 पुत्राणा लोकमात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां⁹ भग[वत्श्री]-
- 3 नारायणप्रसादसमुपलब्धवरवराहलाञ्छ[ना]ना
- 4 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां अनेकाश्चमेधयाजि-
- 5 ना चक्रुव्याना कुलमलकरिणोः श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराज-¹⁰

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p 93

² The same seems to be the case in a grant of Vishnuvardhana II, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p 187 f

³ The epithet may imply that the *Ajñapti* was the governor of the fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p 187, text l 13, and Vol. XX p 105, text l 16.

⁵ See p 231 above.

⁶ From M Venkayya's ink impression.

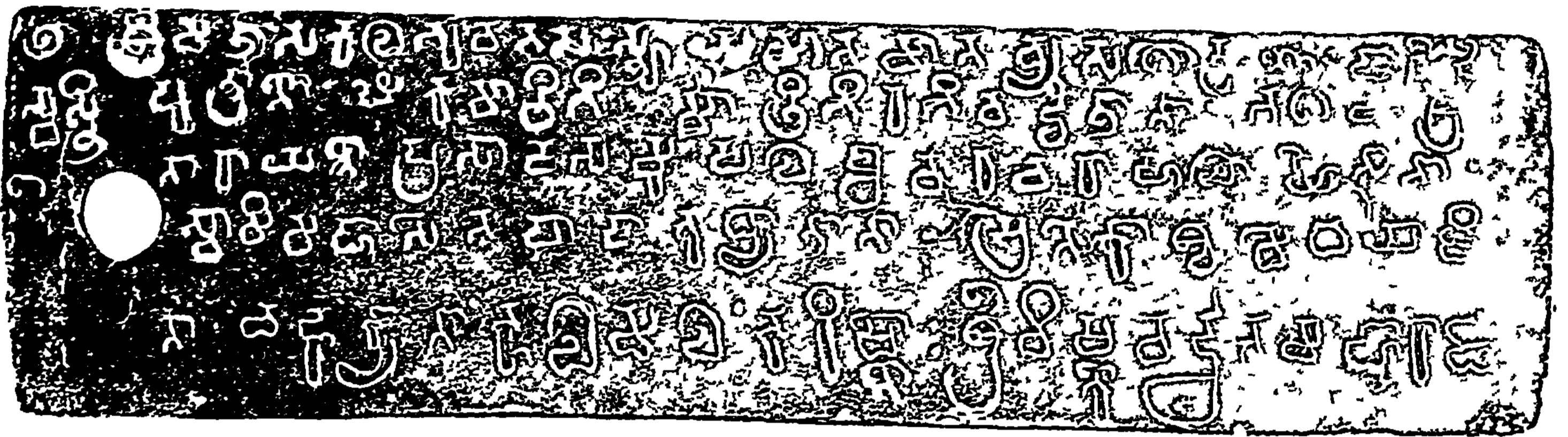
⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ The two words श्री स्वस्ति are engraved on the left margin opposite lines 1 and 2.

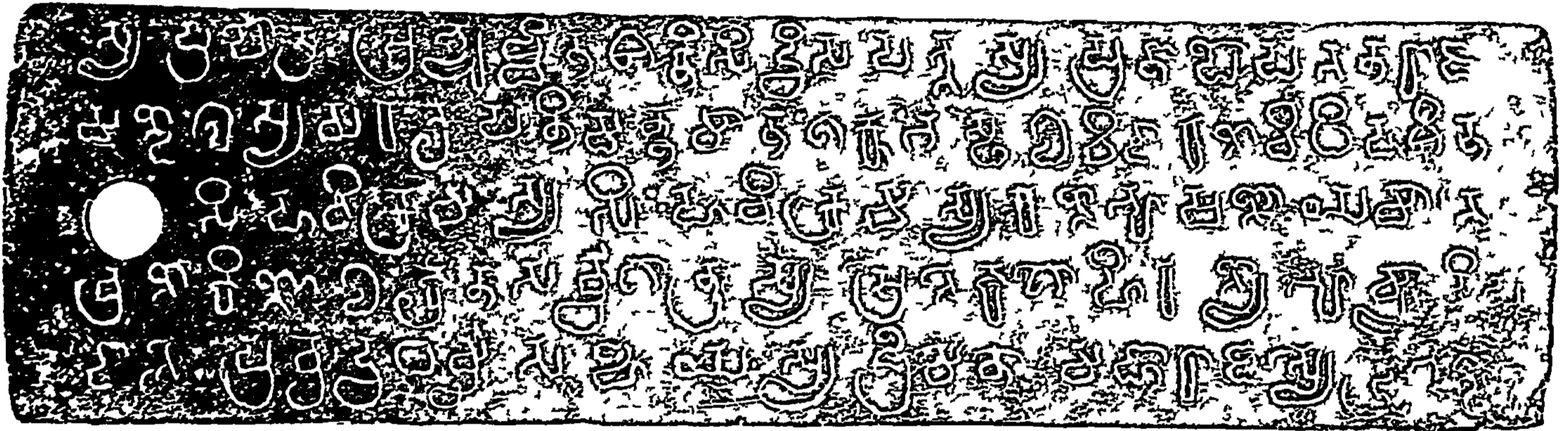
⁹ Read भावनात्मिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां भगवत्श्री⁹

¹⁰ The *म* of महाराज seems to be corrected from मा.

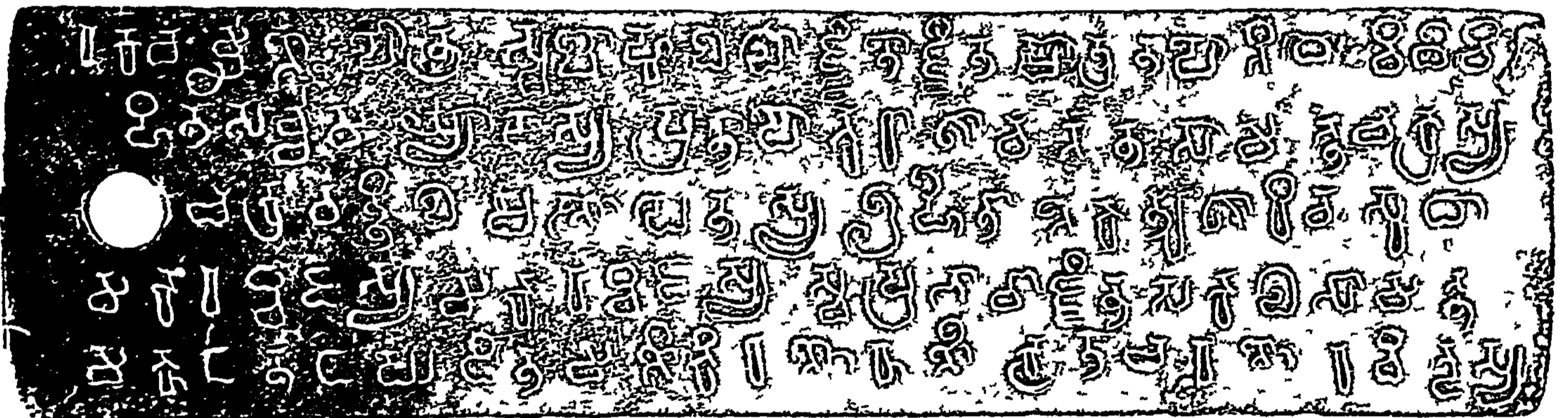
2



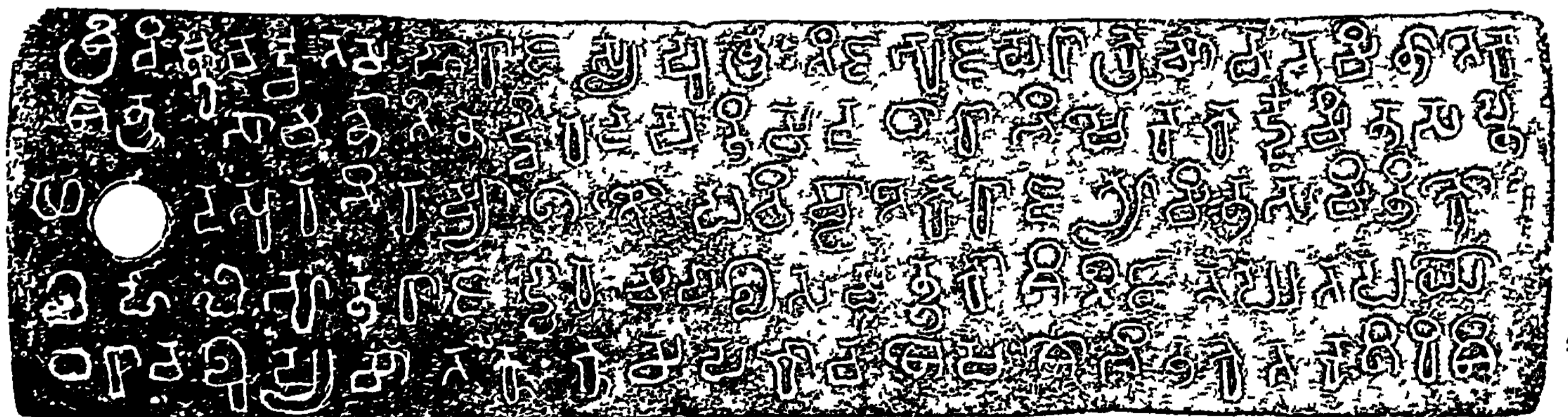
22 a



27 b



21 a



E HULTZSCH

SCALE FOUR-FIFTHS

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR V VENKAYYA

22
 24

22
 24

26
 28
 30

26
 28
 30

32
 34

32
 34

36
 38
 40

36
 38
 40

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 स्य प्रपौत्रः अभ्युचितशक्तिसिद्धिसंपन्नस्य प्रतापोपनतराज-
 7 मण्डलस्य [प]रनृपतिमत्तमातंगकुभस्थलविदारणविधिदर्शित-
 8 सिंहविक्रमस्य सिंहविक्रमस्य रणभूषणायमान-
 9 व्रणकिणालंकृतसर्वगात्रस्य अनेकगोहिरण्यभूष्या[दिप्र]-
 10 दानैः प्रहृष्टधर्मसञ्चयस्य श्रीमतो महाराजस्ये[न्द्र]भट्टा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 रकवर्मणः पौत्रः स्ववाहुवलार्जितोर्जितचात्रतपोनिधे विधिवि-
 12 हितसर्वमर्थ्यादस्य ¹प्रतापानुरागावनतसामन्तचक्रस्य
 13 चक्रवर्तिलक्षणोपेतस्य गृहीतानेकतुगारिवसुधा-
 14 मकरध्वजस्य मकरध्वजस्य स्वप्रभावाज्जितसकलसामन्त-
 15 मञ्जुटतटघटितमणिकिरणारुणीकृतचरणारविन्दस्य²

Third Plate, First Side

- 16 श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजस्य पुत्रः निजभुजपराक्रमाव[न]मितानेक-
 17 शत्रुसामन्तानीतद्विरदपतिमदधाराभिषेककर्द्दमितसप्त-
 18 ³छदमुरभिरम्यागणोपविष्टानेकराजन्यामितसमितिको-
 19 ल[।*]हलीभूतराजद्वार[।*] मदालसमत्तकाशिनीजनघनपथो-
 20 धरावलुप्यमानकुंकुमपंकावशेषशोभितकनकगिरिशि-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 लाविशालवक्षस्थलः अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्दलब्धविज-
 22 यसिद्धिं जलधिरिव रम्यतरलक्ष्मीलकितनिवासः मूर्त्त इव व-
 23 सन्तः समुद्र इव गुणाना दृष्टान्त इव भूमिपतीना
 24 परमव्रह्मण्यः महाराजानुभावश्रीसर्वलोकाश्रयमहाराज
 25 कम्मराट्टे चेन्दुश्रग्रामे ग्रामेयकानत्र गतसर्वनैयोगिक-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 26 वल्लभाद्याज्ञापयति [॥*] एष ग्रामोस्त्राभिः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः छन्दोगेभ्य ⁴
 27 कौण्डिन्यगोत्रेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः सतताविच्छिन्न[प]ञ्चमहायज्ञ-
 28 क्रियेभ्यः कटूरवास्तव्याय द्वे अंशे [।*] वंग्रवोयाय द्वे [।*] कोक्किपु-

¹ The पा of प्रतापा² seems to be corrected from पो

² Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 105, text l 12 f

³ Read छद⁰ and compare *Ś. supālavadhā*, VI 50

⁴ The *visarga* has not come out on the accompanying Plate, though it is quite distinct on the ink-impressions

- १. ... [१*] ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- २. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ३. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ४. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ५. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ६. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ७. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ८. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ९. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १०. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- ११. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १२. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १३. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १४. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १५. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १६. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १७. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १८. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- १९. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...
- २०. ... [१*] ... [१*] ...

POSTSCRIPT

... .. C. I. E.

... .. according to March A.D. 1001, and the of Vaisakha of the second expected to fall in or near Friday, the 6th a total eclipse of the and therefore visible in India. The day of Vaisakha.

... .. May 11, 1873 the full moon by the rule the By the rules of mean in S. 1005

... ..

expired (according to both the *Ārya-* and the *Sūrya-siddhānta*) would have been *Jyêshtha*, and the 6th May A D 673 the full-moon day of the first or intercalated *Jyêshtha*. But this very intercalated month, by an earlier—*Brahmagupta's*—rule, would have received its name, not from the following month *Jyêshtha*, but from the *preceding* month *Vaiśākha*, i.e. it would have been called *Vaiśākha*, not *Jyêshtha*, and, by the earlier rule referred to, the 6th May A D 673 would thus have been correctly described as the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* (or, more fully, of the second *Vaiśākha*)

This date at once reminds us of the date of the *Kaura plates of Dharasēna IV* (*Northern List*, No. 484), which quotes a 'second *Mārgaśira*,' and falls in A.D 648 or *Śaka-samvat* 570 expired. In the case of that date, by the rules of mean intercalation and according to the *Ārya-* and *Sūrya-siddhāntas*, a month was intercalated in *Ś* 570 expired before the month *Pausha*. By the ordinary rule that month would have been called *Pausha*, so that there would have been two months called *Pausha*, but the date, in quoting 'the second *Mārgaśira*,' shows that there really were two months called *Mārgaśira*, and that therefore the intercalated month, by the earlier rule, had received its name from the *preceding* *Mārgaśira*.

I would besides compare the *Chola* date No 33, of the 25th November A D. 1033 (above, Vol V p 21), where the given name of the month—*Mārgaśira*, instead of *Pausha*—likewise can be accounted for only by the assumption that a month, by the rules of mean intercalation intercalated before *Pausha*, had taken its name from the *preceding*, not from the following month. In that *Chôla* date the month *Mārgaśira* which is quoted was the *second* *Mārgaśira*, just as in the date under discussion the month *Vaiśākha* in my opinion was the *second* *Vaiśākha*.

For a date (of the 5th February A D 817, with a lunar eclipse), which proves the observance of the rules of mean intercalation, but is otherwise of no importance here, see my *Southern List*, No. 68

No 25 — TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

BY PROFESSOR R. FISCHER, PH D, BERLIN

The two *Prākṛit* poems here edited were discovered at Dhâr, in November 1903, together with the corresponding slab of black stone which contains the *prasasti* of *Arjunavarman* published above, p 96 ff, by Professor E Hultzsch. Prof Hultzsch was good enough to send me two inked estampages which had been forwarded to him by Dr Vogel and Mr Cousens, and one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.

Like the *prasasti*, the poems are on the whole well preserved, in the second poem, however, the beginning of lines 26-38 is broken away, as may be seen from Plate III. The inscription consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. Only one serious mistake occurs in A verse 65, where instead of *chammakkanam anamaggo* apparently must be read *chakkammanam anamagge*.

The alphabet is the same as in the *prasasti* and has been already discussed by Prof Hultzsch. I would draw special attention to the initial *ṛ*, *u*, *o*, to *tha*, *e g* in *thakkam*, A verse 40 (Plate I l. 16), *tha*, A. 58 (Plate I l. 23), *thâhîrî*, B 2 (Plate II l. 1), *anathakkam*, B. 40 (Plate III l. 14), *thâhaviâ*, B. 87 (Plate III l. 32), to *kkha*, *e g* in *rakkhau*, A. 2 (Plate I l. 1), to *jjha*, *e g* in *majjhe*, A. 6 (Plate I l. 3), to *śa*, *e g* in *Śivâya* (Plate I l. 1), °*paramêśvara*°, °*śrî*°, °*satam*, °*mahâśrîh* (Plate II l. 42), and to *nga*, *e g* in *kayan garuâna* (Plate I l. 18) and *mangalam* (Plate II l. 42). *Chchha* and *ttha*, though resembling each other, are more clearly distinguished than in the manuscripts of the *Jainas*, where these two letters are constantly confounded, compare, *e g* °*utthâro* and °*chchhâya*, A 2 (Plate I l. 1), °*sarichchham* and °*ettha*, A. 15 (Plate I l. 6). There occurs in A. 87 (Plate II l. 34) one letter about the reading of which I am not certain. It

looks exactly like *thā* as given by Bühler on Plate v. l. 26, No. 19 of his *Indian Palaeography*, but since *thā* in all other instances (B. 2, 78, 87) has quite a different form, the reading remains uncertain. Unfortunately there is a gap just in this place.

There is much inconsistency in writing the Anusvāra and the secondary forms of *e* and *o*. Thus in B 16 (Plate u. l. 6) we read *paḍihantam*, but in B. 20 (Plate u. l. 8) *paḍihantam*. In A 52, 54 (Plate i. l. 21), *e* in *pariyattante kāle he ke* and *o* in *jo vi hu so vi hu* are partly written in the ancient, partly in the modern fashion. Instead of the Anunāsika in combination with *v* the inscription uses throughout the group *mv*, which is also found in manuscripts (see my *Prākṛit Grammar*, § 179). Thus we have *jāehim vi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), *hōntehim vi*, A 84 (Plate u. l. 32), *kaehim vi*, A 86 (Plate u. l. 33), *annohim vi*, A. 92 (Plate u. l. 35), *jāehim vi*, A 100 (Plate u. l. 38), etc. In B 98, 103 (Plate iii. ll. 37, 38 f) *valayam va* is wrong for *valayam va*. Similar mistakes, as *jam māi* instead of *jam māi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), have been noticed in the foot-notes on the text.

The orthography is that of the Jainas. Hence in the beginning of words, and generally when doubled, dental *n* is written instead of cerebral *n*, with the single exception of *nu*, as remarked in the note on A. 5. Very often also *nha* is written instead of *nha*. The *ya-sūti* shows the same inconsistency as in the manuscripts.

The language of the poems is Māhārāshtrī. There occur, however, some forms which are Apabhraṃśa, such as *luggavi*, A 92, *mīlavi*, B 108, *sha*, B. 45, *āenam*, B 48, *loa*, B 61, instead of *loo*. Blunders like *tan na* instead of *tam na* and *kayan garuāna* instead of *kayam garuāna* in A. 43, which occur very frequently, I am inclined to attribute to the author himself, considering the numerous cases where *hu* is written instead of *hhu*, as in A 54, B 8, 28, 36, etc. Even faults like *thiam* instead of *thiam* in B 36, *him tthu* instead of *kim tha* in A 95, *gauraviam* in B. 62, *gauraviam* in B 92, *gauraviā* in B 105, where *au* is written instead of *o* (compare Hēma-chandra, l. 1), may go back to the author himself. On the whole, however, the latter must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Dēśi-words which have not yet been met elsewhere. At the same time there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration, as in A 23 and 28, 32 and 33, 98 and 101, or with very slight modifications, as in A 10 and 55, 14 and 101, 93 and 94. The half-verse *na ya jāo nea jammihū* occurs no less than five times (A 10, 16, 48, 55, 85).

The poems consist of two odes, each of 109 stanzas in the Āryā metre, to the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu. They have no poetical value. In the first the author varies *ad nauseam* essentially two thoughts, viz. that nobody has carried the earth so well as the tortoise, and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of this tortoise. In the second it is said that even the tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhōja who now carries the earth. Though a very poor performance, the poems, owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode, pleased king Bhōja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself¹—"Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhōja alone. By him this *Kārmāsataka* has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies" (A 107), and—"By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhōja has this *Śataka* been composed" (B 109). The very fact that in the second ode king Bhoja is several times directly addressed (B 5, 6, 7, 11, etc.) would alone suffice to prove that he himself is not the real author. Tradition has it that Bhōja was a great friend and admirer of scholars and poets, and it is well known that in legendary works like Mēnutaṅga's *Prabandhaśantāmanī* and Ballāla's *Bhōjaprabandha* many famous poets of quite different

¹ The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhōja has been drawn up by Prof. Aufrecht, *Catalogue Catalogorum*, Vol. I p. 418, and Vol. II p. 95.

centuries are placed at his court As yet no poems had been found which could with certainty be ascribed to the time of Bhôja So far the new find is of some interest

With the exception of a few stanzas, the poems are easily intelligible It would have been a tedious task to translate them I have therefore contented myself with mentioning in the notes all the difficulties and trying to explain them as far as possible The abbreviation Gr. refers to my Grammar of the Prâkrit Languages, where the remaining abbreviations are explained on p 410 ff

TEXT OF A.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

इच्छ[र]ए जस्य भुञ्जन् धरित्र एकाए असमसत्तोए ।

उत्तणोउ सो सुहाइ तुम्हाणं पव्वइनाही ॥१॥

सो कुम्भो वो रक्खउ कणयदिकडारदेहवित्तारो ।

जो जरठभुञ्जणवक्कीकंदच्छायं समुव्वइइ ॥२॥

जस्य भणिण्ण भुञ्जन् कुम्भप्पसुहा वि धारयन्ति [2] इम ।

सो अकलिज्जसरुत्तो ससिचूडो देउ सोक्खाइं ॥३॥

कमठकुडुम्बे विउले वि पसविआ उत्तइ एत्थ सा एका ।

भुञ्जणभरस्य वि पट्ठी जीए जाएण ओडुविआ ॥४॥

कुम्भेण को णु सरिसो विणा वि कज्जेण जेण एक्केण ।

जह निअसुहस्य पट्ठी तह दिशा [3] भुञ्जणभारस्य ॥५॥

एक च्चि[त्र] सा धन्ना मग्गे महिलाण पसविआ कमठो ।

अइदुव्वहो वि वूढो भुञ्जणभरो जीए जाएण ॥६॥

कमठकुले के न हुआ अप्पा वि हु दुव्वहो परं ताण ।

अविरोलं भुञ्जणभरो उव्वूढो तेण एक्केण ॥७॥

कमठकुले जायाणं सखं को सुणइ किं तु [4] सो एक्को ।

आजमं भुञ्जण[भ]रो उव्वूढो जेण एक्केण ॥८॥

जो कह व परिगहिओ भारो कुम्भेण निअइ तस्य गइ ।

जीएण समं पेच्छइ पम्भुक्को पलयपेरन्ती ॥९॥

१ As in many other cases, e.g. नीए, A 6, जणणीए, A 46, धरणीए, A 49, etc., the final ए of इच्छाए and एकाए is metrically short, Gr § 85, 375 असमसत्तोए=असमसत्ता.

२. कणयदि°=कनकादि° जरठ°, 'which exhibits the colour of dry earth and the bulbous root of a creeper,' i.e. 'which is yellowish, or brown.'

३. Instead of °कुडुम्बे read °कुडुम्बे. For पट्ठी compare Gr § 53, 358 ओडुवइ and ओडुवेइ occur frequently in this *Sataka*, compare A. 18, 31 33, 36, 37 In A 44 there is a substantive ओडुवण The verb means 'to place,' 'to set,' 'to locate,' and is common in Pâli. Compare Childers, s.v., *Jal* 1, 143, 20, 3, 184, 6, 330, 17, *Anguttaran* III 135, 4; *Therig* 73, 357, etc. In Prâkrit it must be restored in Hâla, 642, 787

४. Observe the cerebral in the enclitic ण here and elsewhere (B 21, 23, 37, 60, 75, 105)

५. हुआ, Gr § 476 अविरोल belongs to विरोलइ, Hc 4, 121, विरोलिय, P 191, and means 'not tossing about,' 'not shaking about,' 'not agitated,' 'quietly'

६. गइ, as सखा in A. 11, must be taken as Acc. Plur Perhaps we ought to correct them to गइ and सखा

पायाले मज्जतं खधं दाजण भुअणमुडरिअं ।
 तेण कमटेण सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्मिहिइ ॥१०॥
 [5] निअसुहकज्जे जम्मो जाणं संखा वि ताण को सुणइ ।
 परकज्जेकरसिद्धो कुम्मकुडुम्बे पर दिट्ठो ॥११॥
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं मज्जे महिलाण पसविआ तं सि ।
 वीसामओ वि जाओ जीए जायस्स न हु भुअणे ॥१२॥
 जे वि हु धरति धरणिं तेहि पि समं धरिज्जे सा वि ।
 इअ एरिस[6]ववसाओ कुम्मो च्चिअ एत्य उप्पणो ॥१३॥
 जइ जम्मो वि हु जायइ ता जायउ कमठ तुज्ज सारिच्छो ।
 परउवयारिकफलो पेरंतं जाव जो पत्तो ॥१४॥
 निअजाइयसरिच्छं चरिअं निव्वडइ एत्य पुरिसाण ।
 निअपरजाइविरुद्धं दीसइ एकस्स कुम्मस्स ॥१५॥
 [7] निअयपसवस्स गव्वं एक च्चिअ कमठिणी समुव्वइउ ।
 जीए तणयस्स सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्मिहिइ ॥१६॥
 अज्जावहि अन्निहं वीओ भुअणे वि नेअ उप्पणो ।
 एकलजुएण भुअण कुम्मो एक्को च्चिअ वहेइ ॥१७॥
 सो च्चिअ वुअइ भारो वीओ खधं न जस्स ओडे[8]इ ।
 कुम्मो अन्नेण समं पेच्छइ जइ भारमुव्वइइ ॥१८॥
 सो च्चिअ वुअइ भारो अन्नेहिं जाइ जो न परिकलिउं ।
 अन्नेण सम वूढो वूढो वि हु सो अनिव्वूढो ॥१९॥
 जाइ देव्वायत्ता चरिअं पुण होइ पुरिससाहीणं ।
 अज्जवसायं पेच्छइ केरिसओ सो हु कुम्मस्स ॥२०॥
 रे देव्व [9] तं विडवसु पुरिसो कि जाइ तुह विडंवेउं ।
 कुम्मो कओ कह तए तस्स वि चरिआइ कइ पेच्छ ॥२१॥
 कुम्मेण धरा धरिआ लोओ जंपेइ नाइ इअ विलिओ ।
 अंगाइं अंगेसुं निअयाइं उअइ निगहवइ ॥२२॥
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ हु एत्य पुरि[10]साण ।
 कुम्मस्स तं खु रु[अं] ववसाओ सो हु पुण तस्स ॥२३॥

१०. जम्मिहिइ, Gr § 540

११. Read °डुम्बे.

१५. निव्वडइ, Hc 4, 62

१७. अ° अ°=अद्यावधि अनिट Read वीओ, Gr. § 105 एकल is to be added Gr § 595, एकलजुएण= एकलयुगेन, 'one yoked,' i.e. 'quite alone' Compare A. 74, 78, 92, and एकलधरिओ, A 106, compare also एअतओ, B, 25.

१८. Read वुअइ and वीओ For ओडेइ compare note on A. 4.

१९. Read वुअइ

२१. Read °डवसु, °डवेउ, °आइ

२२. विलिओ=वीडित, Gr § 81

२३. चइज्जइ, V. 8, 70, Hc. 4, 86. The first verse of this stanza is repeated in A 28

चकमणविरहियाणं निअरिसणं ववसिअस्स सो चेअ ।
 पेच्छह कमढे दोन्नि वि पेरन्त जाव पत्ताइ ॥२४॥
 उवमाणं कह लब्भउ पेच्छह कुम्मस्स असमचरिअस्स ।
 न य जाओ न य दीसइ न य होही ज[11]स्स सारिच्छी ॥२५॥
 अन्नेण मणेण तए कुम्भो हयदेव्व सो विणिम्मविओ ।
 अवहत्थिजण त पि इ चरिअं तस्सन्हा जायं ॥२६॥
 आयारो सो रइओ अणचंक्रमणं च देव्व त दिव्वं ।
 कुम्मस्स ववसिएणं सयल तुह मत्थए पडिअं ॥२७॥
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ इ [12] एत्थ पुरिसाण ।
 कुम्भेण तं खु कलिअं हिअए वि इ जन्न सम्माइ ॥२८॥
 कुम्भी वहेइ भुअण धुअं हि भुअणस्स उप्परे कुणसि ।
 हयदेव्व साहुचरिअं पुज्जउ किं भसए अन्न ॥२९॥
 आयारो जाई वा ववसाए कारण न पेच्छामो ।
 सुणिकच्छेवे निहालह ववसाय ता[13]ए पेच्छेह ॥३०॥
 सोक्ख च[इ]जण निअं भुअणस्स वि ओड्ढिओ तहा खधी ।
 रे साहु साहु कच्छव अन्नं वडुत्तण लइ ॥३१॥
 दुज्जणजणो इ जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्ढिआ भारे ।
 एअं पि इ तेण कायं वीएण भणसु जइ भणसु ॥३२॥
 दुज्जणजणो इ जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्ढिआ भा[14]रे ।
 पट्ठी वि इ ओड्ढिज्जइ एअ निव्वडइ कुम्मस्स ॥३३॥
 निअसुहकज्जे सव्वो इह ववसइ त खु कमढ तेण विणा ।
 चिन्तंतेहिम्बि कच्छव न आणिओ तुह अहिप्पाओ ॥३४॥
 रित्तं भुअणकडित्तं अच्छइ रेहाहिं वज्जिअं निअह ।
 वडुत्तणस्स रेहा एक्का कमढस्स तत्थ परं ॥३५॥
 [15] विहिणा तारिसओ च्चिअ [नो?] विहिओ धरउ केण अन्नेण ।
 इअ कुम्भेणं पट्ठी ओड्ढिआ भुअणभारस्स ॥३६॥

२४ निअ^०=निदर्शन दोन्नि, i.e. अणचकमण and ववसाओ ? Compare A. 23, 27

२५ Read लब्भउ.

२६ तस्स^०=तस्यान्यथा

२८ जन्न is grammatically incorrect, read ज न The first verse of this stanza has already occurred in A 2.

२९ The first letter of धुअ is not quite clear, from धवलत्त in A 89, where the same shape of the letter occurs, it becomes certain that धु is meant The sense is "For thou, O fate, hast put the polar star above the earth."

Compare A. 70, 72, 97 With उप्परे compare उप्परि, Hc 4, 394, and उप्पि, Gr § 148

३१ For ओड्ढिओ compare note on A 4

३२ One would expect जइ भणसि, compare A 74 Read वीएण

३४ ^०तेहिम्बि is grammatically and metrically incorrect, read ^०हिं वि Gr § 180

३५. Read रेहाहिं or ^०हि

३६ नो is uncertain धरउ is incorrect for धरिज्जउ

होतेहिं अवयवेहिं पडिं ओडुवड जड न ता साहु ।
 तेहिं विणा वि पडिं कुम्भो ओडुवड भुअणस्स ॥३७॥
 केणावि जो न दिडो खुन्नो न कया वि एत्थ सुहु नवो ।
 परउ[16]वयरणे मग्गो पढमो कुम्भेण निम्मविओ ॥३८॥
 रे कुम्भ तं सि जाओ अनेहिं सुहा किमेत्थ जाएहिं ।
 जस्स समप्पिअभारं सुहेहिं भुअणं पि निवसेइ ॥३९॥
 अज्जवसिअं खु तं चिअ ज न हु कइआ वि को वि अणुसरिही ।
 तं कुम्भे चिअ थकं इअरा इअर चिअ वराया ॥४०॥
 [17]निअकज्जे जाण तणू ताणं संखं पि एत्थ को मुणउ ।
 जीअ पि हु परकज्जे जस्स पुणो सो हु कमढवई ॥४१॥
 सखारहिआ जाया भुअणे अने वि तं पि तह कुम्भ ।
 भङ्गीए पुणो भेओ अनी चिअ तुम्ह निव्वडिओ ॥४२॥
 अच्छउ भुअणुव्वहणं हिअएण वि तन्न जाइ चिन्तेउ ।
 त पि हु कम[18]डेण कयङ्गरुआण गई असावन्ना ॥४३॥
 पङ्गीए ओडुवणे लोओ चुहुचुहइ कमढरायस्स ।
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं भग्गो न हु मुणइ केरिसय ॥४४॥
 के के न एत्थ जाया के न हु होन्ता खणे तहिं पि जणा ।
 मोत्तूण कमढरायं भण भुअणं केण उद्धरिअं ॥४५॥
 सासेण जस्स भुअ[19]णं सयलं जससइ कमढरायस्स ।
 को तेण होउ सरिसो जाओ जणणीए सो च्चेअ ॥४६॥
 वहुए वि एत्थ जाया तेहिं पि हु किं पि किं पि एत्थ कयं ।
 भुअणुद्धरणसमत्थो एक्को चिअ कच्छओ जाओ ॥४७॥
 के के न एत्थ जाया चरियायारेहिं अत्थि ताण समा ।
 कच्छवसरिच्छएणं न य जाओ ने[20]अ जम्मिहिइ ॥४८॥

३७ Read होतेहिं

३९. Read अनेहिं and सुहेहिं

४० For थकं compare He 4, 16, *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3, 258 f., 6, 84 ff

४२ The second verso means "In one way or another (?), however, another special lot has fallen to you."

४३. तन्न and कयङ्गरु^० are grammatically incorrect for त न and कय गरु^०.

४४ चुहुचुहइ apparently means 'to shout at,' 'to applaud'

४६. For जणणीए with short ए compare Gr § 385 and note on A 1

४७. Read वहुए, the form is quite unusual and probably wrong Compare सए, A 109, गरए, B 34, and Gr § 380

४८. Read रेहिं. अत्थि is used in the sense of सन्ति, see Gr § 499 For न य जाओ etc. compare A. 10, 16, 55, ६६.

सुत्यं भुत्रणं पि कय सका धरणीए तह समुद्धरिया ।
 कि किन्न किन्न विहिअं कुम्म तए एत्य जाएण ॥४९॥
 खेओ सोक्खअहिओ भारुव्वहणे विहाइ कुम्मस ।
 गरुआण ववसिआणं को मज्झं जाणित तरइ ॥५०॥
 भुत्रणभरुव्वहणेण वि अन्नं सोक्खं विहाइ कमठस ।
 [21] जं रुद्ध त सुहयं अना इ गइ न सोक्खस ॥५१॥
 परियत्तते काले के के इ खणा न एत्य उप्पना ।
 सो इ खणो एको चिअ जसिं कुम्मो समुप्पन्नो ॥५२॥
 धना सि कच्छवि तुमं धनो जाओ वि तुज्ज सो एको ।
 तह विहुरे जेण तहा जयससत्ती समुप्पसिआ ॥५३॥
 उअयारो गणियाणं जो वि इ सो वि [22] इ कुणइ इह लोए ।
 भुत्र[णस] वि उअयरिअ कुम्मेण परं इ एकेण ॥५४॥
 जाओ सो चिअ वुद्ध जम्भो सहलो इ तस एकस ।
 जस सरिच्छो भुत्रणे न य जाओ नेअ जम्मिहिइ ॥५५॥
 जम्मफलो इ जम्भो जो जायइ होउ होउ किल्लेण ।
 परउअयरणस कए जो जम्भो सो इ फलजम्भो [23] ॥५६॥
 पोट्टभरणस कल्ले [जे जा]या ते मुआ इ तम्मि खणे ।
 परउअयरणस कए जाण जम्भो इ ते धना ॥५७॥
 कमठवइ त मि जाओ जाएहिम्मि एत्य किं थ अन्नेहि ।
 तं कि पि जेण विहिअ अन्नाण मणे न जम्माइ ॥५८॥
 कमठवइ कि भणिज्जउ धनो जम्भो इ तुज्ज एकस ।
 परउअयरणस क[24]ए अप्पा जेण तहा खविओ ॥५९॥
 निअउअयरणस कए सयलो वल्लूण आयरं कुणइ ।
 परउअयरण अप्पा कुम्म तय च्चेअ इह विहिओ ॥६०॥
 कइआ वि जो न दिहो न य निसुओ नेअ अणुहवं पत्ती ।
 सो मग्गो पढमं चिअ कुम्मेण एत्य कइविओ ॥६१॥

४९ Instead of किन्न किन्न read कि न कि न.

५० Read °अहिओ विहाइ=विभाति तरइ, Hc 4, 86

५३ जयससत्ती=जयस असत्ती, i.e. जगतोऽयक्ति, compare Gr § 995, 173 With विहुरे=विपुरे supply the locative जन्मि or जए=जगति समुप्पसिआ belongs to पुसइ, Hc 4, 105, and means 'has been wiped off,' i.e. 'has been removed'

५४ इ is a blunder for रु, Gr § 94

५५ सहलो=सफल

५६ किल्लेण is a blunder for कि तेण

५७ इ ते metri causa for ते इ

५८ 'हिम्मि is wrong for 'हिं वि, Gr § 180 थ, Gr § 175 मणे Gr § 409 जम्माइ is wrong for ज माइ

६० तय=तया is wrong for तइ or तए, Gr § 421

६१ कइआ, Gr § 113 निसुओ, Dāśin 4, 27, Pāyāl. 184

जाओ कुम्भ तुमं चित्र अनेहिं मुहा [25] किमेत्य जाएहिं ।
 पायलि मज्जन्त भुअणं पि हु जेण उअरिअं ॥६२॥
 के के न एत्य जाया ताणं मग्गो वि एस न हु फुरिओ ।
 परउअयरणुअओ एओ कुम्भो हु निप्फन्नो ॥६३॥
 परउअयरणे वट्टा पढमं कुम्भेण एत्य कट्टविआ ।
 गरुएहिं कया मग्गा पच्छा सीक्खेण गमंति ॥६४॥
 दन्तिकिरिपन्नएहिं देक्खा[26]वेक्खीए धारिआ धरणी ।।
 चम्मकणमणमग्गो निव्वडिअं एत्य कुम्भस्स ॥६५॥
 अणचंमणा इअरे पढमो ववसाइआण इह कुम्भो ।
 जेण रइए हु मग्गो वट्टा इअराण संपन्ना ॥६६॥
 अणचल्लिराण पढमो विहिणा कुम्भो हु एत्य निम्भविओ ।
 ववसाइआण पढमो सो चित्र पेच्छेह कह जाओ [27] ॥६७॥
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं धन्ना जाई वि तुम्ह निप्फसा ।
 जीए जाएण कयन्त किं पि न जाइ ज भण्डं ॥६८॥
 रे धरह धरं उअरह तिहुअणं पायडेह तह सत्तिं ।
 देक्खावेक्खीए कयं किरिपमुहा को न उअहसइ ॥६९॥
 कुम्भो धरेइ भुअणं तए समं कीस त सि धुअ कहसु ।
 लज्जसि न विप्फुरं[28]तो अह व अयासाण कह लज्जा ॥७०॥
 अणमग्गेण वि चल्लिरा धन्ना पावन्ति के वि गरुअत्तं ।
 अणमग्गचल्लिरेण वि कुम्भेण कहं जसो पत्तो ॥७१॥
 अणुकूलेणं विहिणा धुअ तं जाएसु उअरि भुअणस्स ।
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं सव्वे तुम्हे तले विहिआ ॥७२॥
 कच्छवि तुमं पसूआ अन्नाओ पसविआ[29]ओ वंभाओ ।
 जीअ तणएण तुलिअ तइलोकं वीअनिरवेक्खं ॥७३॥

६२. Read अनेहिं.

६३. उअओ, Gr § 155

६४. Read गरुएहिं. वट्टा = वट्ठा, Gr § 358

६५. देक्खावेक्खीए, which occurs also in A 69, apparently means 'with regard to its being seen,' 'in order that it may be seen,' = दर्शनापेक्षया चम्मकणमणमग्गो is wrong for चम्मकणमणमग्गो = चम्मकणमणमग्गो, 'moving about where there was no path,' as it is clear from the preceding and following stanzas चम्मकण = चम्मकण, compare He. 4, 161 निव्वडिअ, He 4, 62.

६८ कयन्त is a blunder for कय त.

६९ For देक्खा° compare note on A 65

७० अयासाण = अवाससाम्, Gr § 186, 409

७१. पावन्ति, Gr § 504 चल्लिर and चल्लिर, Gr § 488, 596

७२. Read वीअ°.

जइ भारो वि इ वुम्भइ ता वुम्भइ एत्य कुम्भभारसमो ।
 एकलजएण वूढो जेण सया वीअनिरवेक्खो ॥७४॥
 कज्जेण एत्य उअरिं जो जायइ सो इ तत्य धुअ सच्च ।
 उअरिद्धिओ वि हेडे जो ववसाएण पम्भुक्को ॥७५॥
 त कुम्भ एत्य जाओ तए जिअन्तं [30] सि एत्य रे धन्नो ।
 वीअधुरिएण खधो जस्स न केणवि उडुरिओ ॥७६॥
 वम्भाओ पसविआओ वि सयलाओ वि एत्य अन्नमहिलाओ ।
 विहिआओ कच्छवेणं अन्नं भणितं न सम्माइ ॥७७॥
 अन्ने वहति भार विणा न वीएण ते इ कइआ वि ।
 एकलजुएण भारं एको कुम्भो चिअ वहेइ ॥७८॥
 दइएण कुम्भ[31]रुअं जम्भो उव्विसइ अत्तणो वि इह ।
 दइएण ववसिआइ तस्स पुणो अहिअमुव्विसइ ॥७९॥
 जम्भविणासाण कए जो जम्भो सो इ कस्स न इ एत्य ।
 जम्भफलो पुण जम्भो जाओ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥८०॥
 वीएण विणा वूढं जं वूढं तं खु एत्य सच्चिमयं ।
 अन्नमुहं दइएण जं वुम्भइ त खु जाउ दइहे ॥८१॥
 [32] चंक्रमिअन्तं वुच्चइ जे[णं] मग्गे वि दरिसिए इअरा ।
 न चयति पय दाउं मग्गे जह कमठनिम्मविअ ॥८२॥
 धरणिधरणमि हिअयं जाण जायं खु तेहिं समयं पि ।
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो पेच्छह एक्केण कुम्भेण ॥८३॥
 कमठिणि तं सि पसूआ जीए जाएण सयलमहिलाओ ।
 होन्तेहिम्वि पसवेहि वंम्भाओ हडे[33]ए विहिआओ ॥८४॥

७४ Read वुम्भइ, Gr § 541 For एकल^० see note on A. 17 Read वीअ^० Instead of the second वुम्भइ one would expect वुम्भउ, compare A. 32

७५ हेडे, Gr § 107 पम्भुक्को, Gr § 196

७६ Read जिअ त and वीअ^० The second verse means "whose shoulder has not been freed from the burden by a second one able to bear a burden."

७७ Read everywhere उ instead of ओ, which is against the metre, compare Gr § 85, 376

७८ Read वीएण For एकल^० see note on A. 17

७९ The meaning of उव्विसइ is not certain It seems to mean 'gets tedious' I have not found the word else where

८१ Read वीएण and वुम्भइ सच्चिमय occurs again in A 102 and B 9, it means 'real,' 'true,' Sanskrit सत्त्वय दइहे, Gr § 354, जाउ दइहे=यातु दइहे seems to be a proverbial saying

८२ Read चक्रमिअ त चयति, Gr 8, 70, He 4, 86

८३ Read तेहिं

८४. ही^० wrong for होन्तेहिं वि, Gr § 180 Instead of वंम्भाओ read उ

[के के] न एत्य जाया के न हु अच्छन्ति के न होहिन्ति ।
 तह वि तुह कुम्भ तुल्लो न य जाओ नेअ जन्मिहिइ ॥८५॥
 कज्जसएहिं कएहिम्बि किन्तेहिं कएहिं साररहिएहिं ।
 एक्क पि खु तं किज्जइ जह विहिअं एत्य कुम्भेण ॥८६॥
 दिडे मग्गे जो वि हु सो वि हु पायडइ निअयववसा[34]यं ।
 केणावि हु अ थाइ (?) कुम्भो च्चिअ पयटो ॥८७॥
 जाइ अइसयहीणा रुअं पुण वोक्खिअं पि न हु जाइ ।
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं तह वि हु लहुइकया पुहइ ॥८८॥
 धवला[35]ण गइ एसा सुआ वि न सुअन्ति उअह धवलत्तं ।
 कुम्भस्स मयस्स वि कप्पर पि भुअणं समुव्वहइ ॥८९॥
 गरुआण गइ एसा अन्ते वि [सुअ]न्ति नेअ अत्ताणं ।
 कुम्भो मओ वि पडिं न हु कइइ कह व धरणीए ॥९०॥
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो सुहिआ धरणी कया जणीण समं ।
 एहिन्तेहिं पि सम जं रुअइ होउ त कुम्भे ॥९१॥
 उव्वूढो अन्नेहिम्बि भारो धरणीए किं तु मिलिएहिं ।
 एक्कलज्जुअस्स घडणा लग[36]वि कुम्भस्स उप्पणा ॥९२॥
 सेसकिरिक्कुम्भदिगयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअ लोआ ।
 अप्पा परस्स कज्जे आजमं जेहिं तह खविओ ॥९३॥
 किरिसेसकमठदिगयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअं लोआ ।
 चइज्जण निअयसीक्ख अप्पा जेहिं तहा खविओ ॥९४॥
 कुम्भेण किं त्य विहिअं लोओ स[37]लहेइ लोअभणिए[ण] ।
 जेण ससेसा पुहइ वूढा न हु उअह नोसेसा ॥९५॥
 लोआणं कुम्भस्स य जम्भो जम्भप्फलो विहाइ महं [।]
 कज्जेण पुणो दीन्ह वि विवरीअं अन्तर गरुअ ॥९६॥
 विरएउ धुअं देवो भुअणस्स वि उप्परे तहा वि वला ।
 निअचरिएहिं पेच्छह कुम्भो च्चिअ उप्परे जाओ ॥९७॥

८६ The first verse is metrically quite incorrect Read °सएहिं कएहिं वि कि तेहिं कएहिं, Gr § 180.

८८ Read बी°

८९ For कप्पर compare note on B 45

९१. Read एहिइ तेहि

९२ Read अन्नेहिं वि, Gr § 180. For एक्कल° see note on A. 17 लगवि, Gr § 588

९३. Read जेहिं or जेहि, Gr § 180

९५ Read य instead of त्य, compare A 53.

९६. Read दीपह.

९७. Read वला

[38] जइ जम्मो चिअ लब्भइ ता लब्भउ कमठजम्मसारिच्छो ।
अफलेणं अन्नेणं लडेण व होउ न हु कज्ज ॥८८॥
रे कमठ तुज्ज गोत्ते के न हुआ के न अत्थि होहिंति ।
सच्चेण पुण भणामो तुज्ज सरिच्छो तुमं चेअ ॥८९॥
ओ कमठो चिअ जाओ जाएहिम्वि किं जणेहि अन्नेहि ।
जम्मस्स कि पि [39] सरिस जीवन्तेहिं न जेहि कय ॥९०॥
जइ जम्मो चिअ लब्भइ ता लब्भउ कमठजम्मसारिच्छो ।
लडेण व अन्नेणं न हु कज्ज तेण न हु कज्जं ॥९१॥
पसवच्छलेण गम्भा सविआ सयलाण एत्थ महिलाण ।
सच्चिमओ पुण पसवो जाओ कमठस्स जणणीए ॥९२॥
इअराण पसविआ[40]ण वि गम्भा सविआ हु सयलमहिलाण ।
सच्चेण पसविआ पुण एक चिअ कमठ तुह जणणी ॥९३॥
अनाओ पसविआओ वि नेअ पसूआउ ताण गम्भचुइ ।
जाया सच्चपसवा एक चिअ कमठिणी भुअणे ॥९४॥
भुअणे वि जा न जाओ सरिसो ता कि करेउ सो वरओ ।
एकी चिअ वडइ भर [41] कुम्भी वीअं अपावन्तो ॥९५॥
एकलधुरिओ सो चिअ भारेण समं पि एत्थ जो वीअं ।
उव्वहइ उअह भार अन्तो उण भणिअमेत्तेण ॥९६॥
कुम्मस्स वि वीसामो दिन्नो एकेण भोअराएण ।
हरिजण वेरिआस कुम्मसय विरइअं तेण ॥९७॥
गाहासय न एअ गाहाण सएहि केवले[42]हिं कय ।
सयवारं एकेक पठइ जणो जेण तेण सय ॥९८॥
एआइ सयाइ तए गाहाण सएहिं नेअ रइआइ ।
सयवार आवत्ती जेणं एआण तेण सए ॥९९॥ ॥ ॥
॥ इति महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवविरचितं अवनिकूर्मशतम् ॥ ॥
॥ मङ्गल महाश्रीः ॥ ॥

८८ Read लब्भइ and लब्भउ

९०० Read जाएहिं वि कि जणेहिं, and in the second verse जेहिं or जेहि

९०१ Read लब्भइ and लब्भउ

९०२ Read गम्भा

९०३ Read गम्भा

९०४ Read अनाउ 'आउ and गम्भ'

९०५ वरओ=वराक, Gr § 80 Read वीअ

९०६ For एकल see note on A. 17 Read वीअ

९०८ Read सएहिं 'लेहिं, or twice 'हि

९०९ Read एआइ सयाइ and सएहिं, or the same without Anusvara सए must be taken in the sense of सयाइ

Compare वहुए, A. 47 (with note), and गहर, B 34 तए=तया is rather singular here, since Bho,a has not been addressed in this ode

TEXT OF B.

[1] श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥

भुश्रणाद् वदद् कन्हो वुम्भद् तस्मैश्च निश्चद् कंकार्त्तं ।
हेलाए जेण सो इह तुम्हाण सिवो सिवं देउ ॥१॥

कुलगिरिणो लहुवविश्रा जलनिहिणो थाहिश्चा सकज्जेण ।
पच्छा धरिश्चा धरणी सुवहा जेणं हु सा होइ ॥२॥

कुलगिरिधरणीजलनिहिमेरुप्पमुहा नरेन्द इह [2] पढमं [1]
लहु[व]विजणं पच्छा धरिश्च भुश्रणं पि हेलाए ॥३॥

धरणि च्चिश्च ता गरुद्दे ते गरुश्चा जे वहंति तं पि पुणो ।
लहुवविश्रं पढमं चिश्च एश्रं सयलं तश्चो वूढं ॥४॥

धवलो सो च्चिश्च वुच्चद् भरधारणवावडेहिं [3] समयं पि ।
उच्चलद् जो हु भरं सो एक्को भोश्च त चेश्च ॥५॥

लहुवविजणं सयलं भुश्रणं भरधारणहि समयं पि ।
पच्छा वुम्भद् भूवद् को हु गुणो चडद् इश्चविहिण ॥६॥

इह अप्पस्स सयासा वुम्भद् लहुश्च इमेण विहिणण ।
भण चडद् को इह गुणो भूवद् धरणीधरंतस्स ॥७॥

धरणि तुहं गरुश्चत्तं कुम्भप्पमुहेहिं एत्थ जं दिन्नं ।
लीलाए त हु हरिश्चं भोएणं इश्चधरतेण ॥८॥

भारस्स इह गुरुत्तं [4] धवलाहासेहिं चडद् चडवविश्र ।
सच्चिमधवलेण हिश्चो भारो वि हु लहद् लघुवत्तं ॥९॥

कुम्भेण तुह गुरुत्तं कारचरणविश्रिणण वडुविश्रं ।
पच्छा सेसमुहेहिं भोएण तं कयं पयडं ॥१०॥

१ Read °णाद्, कण्हो, वुम्भद्

२ लहुववद् is a denominative from लहु according to Gr § 559, = *लच्चापयति, compare § 552 and लहुवी = लच्चो in § 139. It means 'to make light,' 'to reduce in weight,' 'to relieve' For थाहिश्चा compare थाह in Gr. § 88, it means 'they have been fixed, made stationary' हु is wrong for खु

३ °प्पमुहा is Acc Plur, Gr § 89, 367A

४ धवलो, Déśin 5, 57, = यो यसां जातावुत्तमः Read °डेहि उच्चलद्, 'to remove,' Gr § 488, 553

५ Read °एहि and वुम्भद् For इश्च° compare Gr § 116

६ Read वुम्भद् अप्पस्स सयासा लहुश्च = आत्मनः सकाशात्तुक्, 'something lighter than oneself,' compare B 18 चडद् here and in A 9 means 'to be found,' 'to be,' compare Hc 4, 206, Materialien, s v oadaï, and सचडद्, B 17

७ Read °हेहि, and खु instead of हु. For इश्च° see note on B 6

८ धवला° = धवलाभास चडवविश्र is a double causative from चट् (note on B 7), as दवावेद् from दा (Gr § 552), चडद् चड° means 'it becomes increased,' = वडुविश्र of the next stanza Read लघुवत्

सञ्चेण वि अइगरुआ धरणी पडिहाइ चिन्तमाणाण ।
 इह पुण एसा कलिआ पडिहायइ भोअ कह लहु[5]आ ॥११॥
 चिरपरिचिआण पासा उहालसु लहुववेसु तइ धरणि ।
 तइ वि तइ चिअ रत्ता अन्नसु मुहं न पुलएइ ॥१२॥
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा एसो भारो इ तुम्ह पडिहन्तो ।
 पुज्जइ सव्वं दिहं तुम्हाण वि गरुडमा सुणिआ ॥१३॥
 तुम्हाण एस भारो पडिहंतो कुम्भसेसकिरिपमुहा ।
 [6] पेच्छइ इमसु भारं भूराओ भणइ विहसन्तो ॥१४॥
 भारुव्वहणसमेत्या अळावहि चे जयन्नि विक्खाया ।
 ते वि उअ हासपयविं कुम्भप्पमुहा तए नीआ ॥१५॥
 भारसु दुव्वहत्तं पसुवग्गे निवडिअसु पडिहंतं ।
 भुवणेक्कधवल त चिअ तए कह कह ए अवहरिअं ॥१६॥
 निअगरुडमाए लहु[7]अं भुअण काऊण वुअए पच्छा ।
 तुह नहुअत्तमेअं अन्नसु न कह व सचडइ ॥१७॥
 धरणि तुम अइगरुई तुज्ज सयासाओ कच्छओ गरुओ ।
 भोएण सो वि जित्तो गरुआहिंवि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥१८॥
 असरिच्छं धरणिभर धारय वग्गेण सह वहतएण ।
 अत्थि गरुआण गरुआ जणवाओ इह तए हरिओ [8] ॥१९॥
 अइदुव्वहो इ भारो धरणि त्ति जणसु भोअ पडिहन्तं ।
 कह अक्कमेण सो चिअ तए हिओ त धरतेण ॥२०॥
 कुम्भसु सो इ दप्पो माहप्पो सो इ सेसपमुहाण ।
 धरणि धरंतएण कह ए तए सो इ उप्पुसिओ ॥२१॥
 धरणी तए इ धरिआ गरुअत्तं कच्छवसु अवहरिअ ।
 अकुणतेण व काइव्व तसु त[9]ए पाडिआ वट्टा ॥२२॥
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा सञ्चेण पसु मए इ विनाया ।
 अन्नह हिअय ताण न जाइ सयसिक्कर कह ए ॥२३॥

१२. उहालसु, Gr § 553 १३, १४ पडिहन्ती=प्रतिभान् in the sense of प्रतिभाति
 १५ जयन्नि=जगति, Gr § 395 १६ For ए compare note on A. 5
 १७ Read वुअए नहुअत्तं apparently belongs to षडुली or षडुली, 'tortoise,' Deśin 4, 20 "This thy tortoisanship
 is not at all found with any other"
 १८ Read सयासाउ and compare note on B 7 जित्तो, Gr § 194. Read गरुआहिं वि and compare Gr § 369
 for अत्थि see note on A. 48
 २१ For उप्पुसिओ compare note on A. 53 २२ Read काइं व For वट्टा see note on A. 61.
 २३ जाइ=जायते, Gr § 437 सय^०=अतथीत्कार

धरणिभरे तद् कलि ए सो अद्गरुओ वि पलहुओ कुम्भो ।
 अणुआरभवल्गो को लायद् लेख्ण इअरे ॥२४॥
 लहुवविज्णं भुअणं पच्छा एअतओ वहन्तेण ।
 को [10] गारओ हु अण्ये को तस्सिं कहसु निम्भविओ ॥२५॥
 लहुवविज्ण कुमं समय धरणीए पुण वहन्तेण ।
 अप्पस्स तद् य ताणं वडुत्तं कं तए विहिअं ॥२६॥
 वडुत्तणस्स कज्जे जाओ कुम्भो हु एय धरणीए ।
 तीए लहुअत्तकज्जे भोअ तुमं एय उप्पन्नी ॥२७॥
 ज इद्द पसूहिं दिन्न केच्चिरयालं हु तस्स निव्वा[11]हो ।
 पुहद्द तुहं वडुत्तं भोएण अज्ज पायडिअं ॥२८॥
 लहुअविज्ण धरणि पच्छा धरिआए को गुणो चडद् ।
 फलकज्जे सब्बो वि हु कज्जाद् भोअ विरएद् ॥२९॥
 कुलगिरिणो लहुअविआ लहुअविआ सायरा तहेअ मही ।
 पच्छा भारो कलिओ लहुउव्वहणेण किं होद्द ॥३०॥
 पुहद्द [12] गरुअत्तण तुह केहिंवि धीरुज्जिएहिं वडुविअं ।
 भोएण तन्नि कलि ए अत्ताणं पेच्छ कोडेण ॥३१॥
 गरुअत्तण पसूहि धरणीए ज हु एय वडुविअं ।
 त पयडिज्ण पोरिसमज्ज भोएण लहुवविअं ॥३२॥
 को वि गरुअत्तकज्जे धरणीए एय निम्भिओ विहिणा ।
 अन्तो हु को वि विहिओ तीए वि हु ल[13]हुद्दमाकज्जे ॥३३॥
 एअ चिअ तुह कमां जे गरुए लहुअवेसि ते चेअ ।
 एअस्सि किज्जन्ते साह फल कि तुहं फलद्द ॥३४॥
 धरणिमुहे सयले वि हु लहुआवह कग्गलीए कि भणिमो ।
 तुम्हे धि कुणह एअ पिसुणा उण किं करिस्सति ॥३५॥

२४. वल्गो=आरुटे, Pāyā 247, compare वल्गद्, Hc 4, 206 I am not sure about the meaning of लायद् and hence of the sense of the whole second verse

२५. For लहु° see note on B 2 गारओ, Gr § 61, 357 अण्ये, Gr § 401

२६ समय=समक, i.e. सम, 'together with' ताण, viz the tortoise and the earth

२८ Read पसूहिं केच्चिर°, Gr § 149 Read खु पायडिअं=प्रकटित, Gr § 77

३१. Read केहिं वि °एहिं कोडेण=कौतुकेन, Hc 4, 422, 0

३२. Read खु अज्ज, Gr § 181

३३ लहुद्दमा, Gr § 358

३४ गरुए, as वडुए in A 47, is quite a singular form of the Nomin Plur instead of गरुआ and वडुआ किज्जन्ते is the Loc of the Participle Praes Pass, = क्रियमाणे साह, Gr § 264

३५. °मुहे सयले are Acc Plur, compare Gr § 357 कग्गलीए=काकल्या ?



अज्जावहि गरुअत्त धरणीसरिनाहपव्वएसु ठिअम् ।
 गरुअत्तणस्स [14] नामं एहिं ताण हु अत्यम्बिअं ॥३६॥
 गरुअत्तणं हु गरुअं एको वहिउं न जाव सक्केइ ।
 ता पुव्वेहिं विहत्तं तं पि तए लहुइअ कह णु ॥३७॥
 मह गरुअत्तं सा तह य गरुइमा दो वि तह य हरिआइ ।
 अइरडिरलहरिआहिं सरिनाहो निअह रोवेइ ॥३८॥
 तइ उप्पन्ने भूवइ गरुअत्तं ताण वि अलिअ जाव ।
 पस[15]रंतनिज्जरनिहा कुलगिरिणो ताव रोवन्ति ॥३९॥
 जत्य पुरिसाण हिज्जइ गरुअत्त तत्य महिलिआण कहं ।
 अणयक्कं पुहइं वि हु रोवइ सरिआण भगीए ॥४०॥
 धरणीए तले कुम्भो कोलप्पमुहा वि लज्जिआ लुक्का ।
 जा लहुअत्तं तीए पुहइंए कय हु भोएण ॥४१॥
 जा सरिजण धरिआ कुम्भप्पमुहेहिं क[16]ह वि इह धरणी ।
 सा विहिआ खेत्तणय भोअ तए इह धरन्तेण ॥४२॥
 धरणीए सम धरिआ कुलगिरिपमुहा हु जाव तेण सम ।
 जलनिहिणा तुट्टेण अज्ज वेला तुह गहिआ ॥४३॥
 पुहइंए गरुअत्त अज्जावहि नेअ केण वि निरुइं ।
 धरिजण तए एअ लहुइंलहुअ त्ति नाम कय ॥४४॥
 तहनमिअकप्पर[17]ण धरणी एह धरिआ कह कह व ।
 सा नीसका अज्ज हसेइ गिरिनिज्जरनिहेण ॥४५॥
 लहुआविआ हु धरणी कुलगिरिणो खन्विआ सरीनाहो ।
 अणगहिरो निम्भविओ कस्स निमित्तस्स मह कहसु ॥४६॥
 धरणी अज्ज हिट्ठा तइ धरिआ भोअ मन्नए एअ ।
 पुरिसोत्तिमेण रइअ लहुअत्त गरुइमव्व[18]हिअ ॥४७॥
 कमढो धरेइ धरणिं आएणं गरुइमा वि अइलहुइं ।
 तइ धरिआ पुण सा वि हु पेच्छसु क गरुइमं पत्ता ॥४८॥

३६ Read ठिअ, एहि, खु, अत्यमिअ

३८ निअह, Hc 4, 181

४१ लुक्क, Gr § 566 Read लु

४४. I think we must write लहुइंलहुअ=लहुआ and translate this by 'lighter than light'

४५ कप्पर=the shell of the tortoise, compare A 89 एह, : e āha=एपा, Gr § 263

४६ For खन्विआ from चपय (root चि) compare णव्वइ, Gr § 548

४७. हिट्ठा, D.śin 8, 67 Read °अ°. गरुइम°=गरुइम अन्°, Gr § 178

४८. आएण, Gr § 129.

३७ Read खु and पुव्वेहि विहत्त=विमत्त.

४० For अणयक्क see note on A 40

४२ Read °मुहेहि खेत्त°, Gr § 206

लहुअत्त तुह दिन्नं मा मन्नसु धरणि भोअराएण ।
तेण धरिआ सि एअं गरुआण वि गरुअमं देइ ॥४९॥
कुम्मविणसे खुहिआ अज्जावहि संकिआ ठिआ धरणी ।
तइ धरिआ पु[19]ण एहिं सप्पसरा पुण व सप्पसरा ॥५०॥
लहुआविआ वि पुहई अणं लहुआविअं न मन्नेइ ।
न गणति किं पि दइए रत्तुमत्ताओ महिलाओ ॥५१॥
लहुअविआ वि हु हई भोअ तए सुणइ गरुअमत्ताणं ।
महिलाण पिएण कयं सयलं लडह पडीहाइ ॥५२॥
कुम्मेण धरा धरिआ लहुअं अणं सया [20] वि मन्नन्ती ।
तइ धरिआ पुण एसा दूणं अत्ताणयं लहइ ॥५३॥
जो गारओ हु दिन्नो पसूहिं सो होइ एत्थ केरिसओ ।
लहुअत्तण तइ कय पडिहाइ महीए अइगरुअं ॥५४॥
लहुअत्तं गरुअत्तं भारस्स चडेइ धारएण कयं ।
गरुअविआ कुम्मेणं धरणी लहुआविआ हु तए ॥५५॥
गरुअत्त[21]णं पि दिन्न पसूहि पडिहाइ लहुअमव्वहिअं ।
तइ दिन्न लहुअत्तं पडिहायइ गरुअमव्वहिअ ॥५६॥
मरिज्जण जो धरिज्जइ भारो इह कुम्म सो हु केरिसओ ।
अइपलहुआए तुम्हे इमीए कह कायरा जाया ॥५७॥
गरुएणं लहुअत्तं उअणीअ गरुअम पि इह देइ ।
इअ सायरपमुहा[22]ण हिअए खेओ न तणुओ वि ॥५८॥
दाजण लहुअत्त सइ धरणीगरुअमा हु वडुविआ ।
भूवइ पुहईए तए इअ तीए वडुओ हरिसो ॥५९॥
पेच्छताण सरुअं पुहईसरिनाहकुलगिरिमुहाण ।
गरुअत्त पडिहायइ तइ कलिये कह ए लहुअत्त ॥६०॥
लोअ पसिडीए कए गरुअत्तं पलहुए वि प[23]यडेइ ।
भारे कह त सि पुणो गरुअं लहुअं हु पायडसि ॥६१॥
एआए गरुअत्तं तुम्हेहि कुम्म पयडिअ एत्थ ।
खगगतोलिआए पेच्छह रे गौरवमिमीए ॥६२॥

५० Read एहिं सप्पसरा=सप्पसरा

५२ लडह=रस्य, Dēśin 7, 17

५६ The Anusvāra in दिन्न is not certain Read पसूहि and twice °अहिअ, and compare note on B 17

६१. लोअ must be taken as Nominative according to Gr § 364 The Anusvāra in गरुअ is not quite certain
Read खु instead of हु पायडसि Gr § 77, 191

६२ Read गौरव°

५१. Read °ताउ °लाउ

५४ Read पसूहि

केत्तिअमिस्ते भारे कन्ह तए पोरिसं पमोत्तूण ।
 रूअसयाइं कयाइ लोए लहुवाविओ अप्पा ॥६३॥
 पुहइं चेलयसरिसा कुलगिरि[24]पमुहा तहेअ पडिआणं ।
 तोलिज्जइ गरुअत्तं भुएण एअ तुम कुणसि ॥६४॥
 भारस्स वहणकज्जे पट्ठी सीस इह कयं विहिणा ।
 मणिवलभो व्व धरिज्जइ भारो एसो नवा वट्टा ॥६५॥
 जं ज गरुअं जं जं च दुव्वह जं च ज च अणसकं ।
 तं तं कुणतएण कन्हो लहुआविओ भोअ ॥६६॥
 इमिणा [25] गरुअत्तेण पुहइ तए गरुइमा इमा लडा ।
 पेच्छेसु पलहुअत्त असिणा अप्पस्स तुलिआए ॥६७॥
 मा मज्जउ जलमज्जे मा सरिनाहा मिलतु गीत्तस्स ।
 इअ त दयाए धरणिं लोअस्स इमस्स उव्वहसि ॥६८॥
 धरणी धरगणसमा ककरसरिसा तहेअ कुलगिरिणी ।
 [26] हीभारे कलिए तए भोअ ॥६९॥
 सरिनाहपुहइपमुहा रुढा गरुअत्तेण इह लोए ।
 गरुआण लहुववणे कि हु फलं तुज्ज सिज्जेइ ॥७०॥
 आरोविअवडुत्ते भारे अप्पस्स गारव लोआ ।
 देन्ति तुम पुण साइसु विवरीअं ताण व्वहरसि ॥७१॥
 लहुइ करेसु ध [27] कुणसु अन्न पि ।
 तइ सा तहा वि रत्ता सयल लडह तुहं गणइ ॥७२॥
 काऊण लहुअत्तं भोग अप्प तुहं पयासंती ।
 धरणी करगहकए अप्प तुह भोअ ओप्पेइ ॥७३॥
 धरणीए लहुअत्त त इह निम्भवसु कुणसु ज महिअ ।
 तुह सत्तीए इमीए अन्न गरुअत्तणं च . ॥७४॥
 [28] . . . गोरविअ लहुअ विउल महि धरतेण ।
 कइ णु तए अइचीज्जं अन्नो च्चिअ गारवो दिन्नी ॥७५॥

६२ Read क ग ह and ० स या इं
 ६५. वट्टा = वट्टा, see note on A 64
 ६७ Between सि and पा of असिणा a kind of symbol is inserted
 ७० Read खु instead of हु
 ७३ पयासती = प्रकाशयन्ती, Gr § 553 ओप्पेइ, Gr § 104
 ७४ निम्भवसु, Gr § 553 महिअ = काहित, compare note on Hc 4, 129 च . probably = चडिअ.
 compare B 7, 9
 ७५. अइचीज्जं = अत्यहुतम् or अत्यादर्यम्, Pāyāl 165, Deśin 3, 14

मा मनसु धरणि तुम मट्टिअभारो हु जं मह गरुओ ।
 भोएण त सि धरिआ एसो भारो तुहं गरुओ ॥७६॥
 गरुअत्तं त मनसि धरणि इह ज पसूहि तुह दिन्नं ।
 तुह ग [29] तुमं धरिआ ॥७७॥
 जलनिहिणी थाहविआ लहुअविआ कुलगिरो तहा धरणी ।
 अज्ज वि तं किं काहिसि न याणिमो भोअ मह कहसु ॥७८॥
 पट्टीए वहइ कुम्भो सेसो सीसेण तह रएण किरी ।
 एअ त वहु मनसु इअ भोओ ज करे धरइ ॥७९॥
 अइभारिआ मए कि [30] [क]मठ मा गज्ज ।
 उव्वहसु पेच्छ धरिआ भोएण कह इमा अज्ज ॥८०॥
 मा कमठ वहसु गज्ज मा त इह सेम उत्तुणो होसु ।
 धरणिभगे केत्तुलओ गरुआहिंस्वि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥८१॥
 कलिअ भोएण महि दहूण मा हु सुणह लहुअ ति ।
 कुम्मसुहा गरुअत्त एआए तु [31] [॥८२॥] ।
 लहुवविउ गउरविउ भोअ तुम चेअ एत्थ जाणिसि ।
 लहुवविआ मा वि मही वडुविआ सा वि भतीए ॥८३॥
 धरणि पसूहिं दिन्नं गरुअत्त तुह विहाइ केरिसय ।
 लहुअन्तेणं दिन्न भोएण त पि केरिसय ॥८४॥
 हरिज्जणं पसुहत्या भोएण धरणि ज तुम धरिआ ।
 ह . . [32] सह सच्च तं तुह दाउ ॥८५॥
 दुट्ठत्तं न य विग्यमि जपसि न य किं पि कुणल न विरुद्धं ।
 मउणेण वि गरुअत्त गहणाण कह तुम हरसि ॥८६॥
 लहुवाविआ हु धरणीकुलगिणिणो सायरा वि थाहविआ ।
 एत्तुलएण कएण कि विहिअं होइ मह काहसु ॥८७॥
 ह . . [33] काज्जण कुलगिरिप्पसुहो ।
 भोअ तए पढमं चिअ जह अच्च वहसु तह एहि ॥८८॥
 कमठकाडाहठिआए गरुअत्तं तुज्ज पुहइ केरिसय ।
 सोहिअभोअभुआए केरिसय त पि मह कहसु ॥८९॥

७७ Road पसूहि

७८ For थाहविआ see note on B 2 ७९ रएण=रदेन Read वह

८१ उत्तुणो=दृप्त, Dcsin 1, 99, Beitrage zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, 13, 1 Read गरुआहिं वि and see note on B 18

८३ वडुविआ=*वडापिता from वडो=महान्, Dcsin 7, 29, which has been retranslated into Sanskrit by वड .
८८. Read एहि.

धरणी ता लहुववित्रा कुलगिरिणी सायरा- इम गय[ण] ।
 [34]. तुह हित्रयं- कह व न हु धाद ॥८०॥
 वहुत्त पसुदिन्न अवहरिजण महीए भीएण ।
 अन्न चित्र गत्तत्त दिन ज भाद न हु हित्रए ॥८१॥
 केरिसय पसुदिन्न दिन पुरिसिहिं केरिसं होइ ।
 गत्तत्त धरणि तुम साहसु कह केण गौरवित्र ॥८२॥
 धरणिमुहा लहुव[35][वित्रा] ; . ए[१] वि सयला वि ।
 पच्छा भारी वूढी नरेन्द सन्न नरेन्दो सि ॥८३॥
 गरुत्तत्त गत्तत्त हरिजण रोवित्रं हु त अप्पे ।
 परगत्तत्तत्त गत्तत्त अप्पा भण केरिसो होइ ॥८४॥
 जो अप्पन्ना मयासा भारी गरुत्तो हु बुद्धए सो हु ।
 धरणिवहणेण भूवद्द को तुक्क [36]. [॥८५॥]
 कुन्नाकिरिसेसदिग्गयपमुहे जिण्णिजण भोग सयलपसू ।
 क पोरिस विटत्त पत्तुजिण्णे होइ मत्त कहसु ॥८६॥
 कुलगिरिसायरपुहद्दपमुहे लहुववसि को निवारिइ ।
 परलाहवकरणेण अप्पे भण को गुणो चडइ ॥८७॥
 कह कह वि मर [37] एत्थ जाव सुहा ।
 लहुवाविजण सा कह वलयस्य तए समुवूढा ॥८८॥
 अज्जावहि गत्तत्त लोए जाण सुदूरमारूढ ।
 ताए वि कह लहुत्तत्त केदूरं पेच्छ आरूढ ॥८९॥
 लहुवावसु त धरणि पिट्सु दण्डेण कुणसु अन्न पि ।
 ज लच्चइ त विरयसु तइ र [38] णे ॥९०॥
 कम्मट्ठकाडाह फट्ट किरिणी दाढा गया हु सयसाह ।
 जीए भरेण महीए खण्णगे धरसि कह त पि ॥९१॥
 गरुएण गत्तत्त अवहरित्रं नेत्र कह व फिट्ठेइ ।
 तन्तत्त चित्र लहुत्तत्त इत्तराण पुणो तह च्चेअ ॥९२॥

८२ Read पुरिसिहिं and गौरवित्र

८४ Read खु instead of हु

८६ विटत्त Gr § 223, 236, 565 जिण्ण is derived from the stem of the present जिण्ण-, Gr § 473

८७ For चडइ compare note on B 7

८९ केदूर, Gr § 149

९० फट्ट=फड, D. Sin. G, 86, =सर्पस्य सर्वशरीर फणस्य
grieve at their fate, compare D. Sin. 1, 6

९२ फिट्ठेइ, Hc 1, 177 Read त तत्त

९५ For सयासा compare note on B 7 Read बुद्धए

९८ Read वलय व

१०० For पिट्सु see Weber on Hāla, 171

दाढा, Gr § 76 गया सयसाह=गता खदग्गाघ, 'they

तद् धरित्री धरणिभरो लहुभो वलय[39]म्ब तुह भुए सहइ ।
 कुम्पसुहेहिं सो वि हु चडिओ भारो व्व पडिहाइ ॥१०३॥
 धरणी सहावगरुआ भोएणं धारिअ ति अइगरुआ ।
 एहिं इमीए समुह को पेच्छह पेच्छउत्तरइ ॥१०४॥
 अणिमालहिमाइगुणे तुह आयत्ते मए हु विनायं ।
 लहुआविआ वि धरणी क[40]ह गु तए सा वि गौरविआ ॥१०५॥
 लहुआविआ हु धरणी लहुअविअं मन्नए न अप्पाणं ।
 तद् लहुअ ति एसा गरुअं अत्ताणय सुणइ ॥१०६॥
 दिओ वि हु कण्हेण इमीए इह गारओ हु खोपीए ।
 पडिहाइ नेअ गरुओ लहुअत्तं तद् कयं गरुअं ॥१०७॥
 मिलवि [41] पसुहिं धरिआ संकिअवित्तासकंपिरी यक्का ।
 धरणी कंपुम्मुक्का अज्जपरं भोअ सपन्ना ॥१०८॥
 कुलगिरिणी भूमिहरा सयला वि हु लहुइआ इहं जेण ।
 तेण सयं निम्मविअ एअ सिरिभोअराएण ॥१०९॥ ॥

No 26.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 38 dates of Chôla kings. The most important of them is No 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parântaka I. and, together with my date No 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D 907. Of the other dates, one (No 102) is of the reign of Râjendra-Chôla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Râjarâja II, 3 dates (Nos 103-105) belong to Vikrama-Chôla, 8 (Nos 107-114) to Kulôttunga-Chôla III. (Virarâjendra-Chôladêva, Tribhuvanaviradêva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Râjarâja III, and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Râjendra-Chôla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained, at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Râjendra-Chôla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March¹ and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Râjarâja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July² A.D. 1146, Kulôttunga-Chôla III. between (approximately) the 6th³ and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Râjarâja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.⁴

१०३. Read वलय व. सहइ, Hc 4, 100 Read °हेहिं

१०४. Read एहिं nhim समुहं=संमुख Read पेच्छउत्तरइ and compare note on A. 50

१०५ Read गौर°.

१०७ Read कपडेण.

¹ See No 102

² See No. 108

१०८ मिलवि, Gr § 588 For यक्का see note on A. 40

³ See No 106

⁴ See Nos. 129 and 119

Mr Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the king Parāntaka I, which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II and Rājādhirāja II, because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

A — PARANTAKA I.

101.—In the Sivakokanātha temple at Grāmam.¹

16 Svasti śri [||*] Kal[y*]uga-va[r*]-ham nālayirattu nāg[pa]-
 17 'āa nala Madirakoṇḍa ko=Pparakēsaripagmar-
 18 ka jēdu Joaradu Kal[y*]u . . . [nra] nāl
 19 padinnga-nūg[y*]irattā [u[ka] [i]rattu
 20 mappatta i[u
 22 i[v]v āttai Ma-
 23 [gara-na]yāra-Chelāṅṅi kōlāṅṅi pāra 'Iravadi-n[ā]

“(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 36th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai,—on the fourteen hundred-thousand, seven[ty] . . . [thousand] forty-seventh day Kal-yuga on the day of Roatti, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Ma[kara] in this year”

For the current year 1044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A D 913, which by the Ārya Siddhanta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which [the 6th stars of the bright half of Mīgha ended 18 h 21 m, while] the nakshatra was Roatti for 9 h 12 m, after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-sambranti, according to the Ārya Siddhanta, had taken place 8 h 33 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A D 912, when the starry, calculated by Warren's Table, was 147701st 8 h 33 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 1477015th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A D 913, the 1477037th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol VII p 1, I have stated that between A D 900 and 985 the Chōla date No 55, which is of the 10th year of the reign of Parāntaka I, must correspond to either the 24th July A D 910 or the 25th July, A D 916. The present date No 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A D 913, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No 55. And the two dates together prove that Parāntaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chōla date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No 6 of S 1030, and No. 16 of S 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarajendra, which does not admit of verification.

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

102.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.²

1 Sv[asti] śri [||*] Tira mangg[i] vulara kō-
 [Ppa][ra*]kēsaripa[nma]r-ūṅa śri-Rājēnta(nda)-Chōladēvaṅku [yāṅḍu śavadu]

¹ No 735 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² Read Iravadi.

³ No 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

2 ivv-āṇḍu Mēsha-nā[ya*]ṛru Śev[vā][y*]-kkīlamai
peṇa Śadaiya-ttir[unā]l¹

“In [the 5th year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the auspicious(?) day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year ”

According to the result previously² found for the commencement of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla I, this date will be expected to fall in A.D 1016 or A.D 1017. In A.D 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday, on which the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 26th March A.D 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitia ended 21 h 33 m, while] the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system from 5 h 55 m after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Gaiga from 5 h 55 m to 21 h 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 6 h 34 m to 19 h 3 m, after mean sunrise.— I can give no special reason why the day should be described as ‘the auspicious day of Śatabhishaj’

The date would prove that the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D 1012

C — VIKRAMA-CHOLA

103 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr³

1 Svasti [śī []*] Pū-mālai midāṇḍu
5 kō=Pparakēsaripanmar=āṇa Tribhu[va*]nachakravattigal śrī-Vikrama-
Śōladēvai[k*]ku y[ā]ṇḍu
6 nālāṇḍu Isha[ḥ]bha-n[ā]yaru [p]ū[ivva]-pakshattu tir[ti]yayum [Bu]dan-[ki]lamai-
yū[m*] peri. Tiruvāḍuṇai-nāl

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha ”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyashtha) ended 16 h 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h 29 m, and according to Gaiga for 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise

104 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

1 Pu-mādu pu[na]ia
2 kō=Pparakēsaripan[ma]r=āṇa Tribuvanachchakravattigal [V]ikkūnama-
[Ś]ōladevarkku yā-
3 ṇḍu [u]ālāṇḍu Rishabha-nāyaru [ru] a[para-pakshat]tu [trit]i[yayum Budha]n kilamai-
yūm peṇa Tiruvāḍuṇai-nāl

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōladeva,— on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

There can be no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the reading in line 3 of the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*

¹ According to Mr Venkayya the reading to all appearance is as given above, but he adds that ‘*tin nāl*’ may be intended

² See above, Vol VII p 7

³ No. 564 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904

⁴ No. 565 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904

105 — In the Tyagarajavarman temple at Tiruva . . .

1 Svasti srī [||*] Pū-mala panara

2 . . . kô=Pparakesarivarmanas . . . Tr . . . [ti]ga'
Vi[k]krama-Śoladevaṅku yan . . . Ś . . . ra] . . .
tṛtiyaikum Śevay-kūlāma . . .

“In the 8th year (of the reign) of King Parakrama-Chōladeva, — on the day of Revati . . . Tuesday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha . . .”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1123 which was the 22nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half of Śukrāṣṭadī commenced 0 h 34 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Revati . . . 3 h 56 m after mean sunrise

D — RAJARAJA II

106 — In the Kapardisvara temple at Tiruvallaṅṅūḷi . . .

1 || Svasti srī [||*] Pu maraviya Tira-madu[m]

5 . . . kô=Pparake[ra]r[ra]nma[ra] . . . T[ra]bavāna[ra]kara,attigal
srī-Rajarajadēva[r*] . . . yaru padin[ra]ra[ra] . . .

6 [n e]dirām=āndu Karaka[da]ga-na[ra] . . . [ra]parapaksha]-uvad[ra]siyum Budan-
ki[ra]mayum peria Pu[na]r[ra] . . .

“In the year opposite the sixteenth year (of the reign) of King Parakesarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rajarajadeva, — on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth *tithi* [of the second fortnight] of the month of Karkataka . . .”

According to the result previously¹ found for the commencement of the reign of Rajaraja II, this date would be expected to fall in either A.D. 1162 or A.D. 1163. For A.D. 1163 my calculation has yielded no result that could be at all acceptable. Nor can a perfectly correct result be obtained for A.D. 1162, but in this year the choice would probably lie between Wednesday, the 11th July, and Thursday, the 12th July, as may be seen from the following details —

Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162 was the 15th day of the month of Karkataka. The 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādha) ended on this day 0 h 26 m after mean sunrise, but the *nakṣatra* was Ārdra (by the Brahma-siddhanta for 3 h 32 m according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, after mean sunrise), followed by Punarvasu. On the other hand —

Thursday, the 12th July, A.D. 1162, was the 16th day of the month of Karkataka. On this day the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 59 m, and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 22 h 20 m, after mean sunrise, but the *tithi* which ended on it, 1 h 0 m after mean sunrise, was the 13th, not the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādha)

Obliged to choose between the two, I would decide in favour of Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, and assume that in the original date the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu has been erroneously quoted instead of the immediately preceding *nakṣatra* Ārdra

¹ No. 556 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901

² Bead-palla . . .

³ Compare below, No 121

⁴ No 626 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901

⁵ See above, p. 2

I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1173 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1169, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Râjarâja II be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Râjarâja II. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

107.—In the Vêdâranyêsvara templo at Vêdâranyam¹

- 1 [Sva]stî śrî [||*] T[1]r[1]buvanachchakkaravattigal śrî-Kulottu[nga-Śô]la-
 dêvar]kku yându n[â]-
 2 lāvadu Mîṇa nâyarṅgu [pâ*]vva-pakshattu pañjamiyumu V[1]yâ]la-kki]lamai-
 yum per[ra*]
 3 [U]rô]sani-nâ]

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva,—on the day of Rôhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina.”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mina, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra²) ended 9 h 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rôhini for 20 h 21 m or 21 h 1 m, after mean sunrise

108.—In the Vâlisvara templo at Râmagiri³

- 1 Svastî śrî [||*] Tir[1]buvanach[cha][kka*]ravattigal śrî-[Vi]rarâsê[nda]ra-
 Śô]lâ]dêvar]kku yându â[râ]vadu Kaṅkadaga-nâyarṅgu apara-pakshat[ta⁴
 dû]vâ]dâsiyumu [V1]yâ]la-kki]lamaiyumu perṅga Urô]sa[ni]-nâ[1]

“In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarâjêndra-Chôladêva,—on the day of Rôhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rôhini the whole day. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 18 h 7 m after mean sunrise, was the 11th, not the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Âshâḍha) — The result shows that in the original the 12th *tithi* has been wrongly quoted instead of the 11th

The result would also show that the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôla III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vâlisvara templo at Râmagiri.⁵

- 1 Svastî śrî [||*] Tiribuvanachchakkarava[r]ttigal śr[î]-Virarâsênd[1]ra-Śô]lâ]-
 .
 pakshattu [du]vâ[da]śa(śi)y[u]m V1yâ]la-kki]lamaiyumu perṅga Urô]sa[n]1-nâ]

¹ No 415 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpâdi*

³ No 644 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ Road-pakshattu *dvâ*

⁵ No. 651 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The engraver has corrected *ṅa* into *ṅa*.

“In the sixth [year] (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chôla[dêva],—on the day of Rôhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṣaka.”

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.— In the Chandramaulīśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai.¹

1 k[o]nd-arul[i]na śrī-Kul[ô]ttunga-
 Śôladêvaraku iy[â]ndu 16vadu Magara-nâyya(ya)ṅṅu irubattanâlân=
 diyadiyum Tinga[-[ki]]lamaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakshattu navamiyum peṅṅa
 Anilattu nâl.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take,—on the day of Anurâdhâ, which corresponded to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-samkrânti took place 6 h 45 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mâgha) ended 19 h 8 m, while the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 22 h 40 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111 — In the Vêdâranyêśvara temple at Vêdâranyam.²

1 [Sva]sta śrī [[*] Tribh[u]vanachchakkaravat[ti]ga] Madurai[yum] Îlamum
 Pândiyan muḍi-ttalai[yum]
 2 k[o]nd-arupya śrī-Kulôttunga-Śôladêvaraku [yân]du i[ru]ba[d]âvadu Ishaba-nâyayṅṅu
 3 apara-pakkattu âkâda[âi]yum [N]âyay[ru-kki]lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa U[t]tirâḍa[t*]ta=nâl

“In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Îlam and the crowned head of the Pândya,—on the day of Uttarâshâdhâ, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśâkha) ended 14 h. 40 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatra* on this day was Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise — The result shows that in the original U[t]tirâḍa[t*]ti= is an error for Uttirâḍi.³

112.— In the Kailâsanâthasvâmin temple at Kaila-Perumbûr.⁴

1 [Ha]ra Svast[1] śr[î] [[*] T[1]r[1]buvana[chcha]kkaravatt[1]ga[1] Ma]-
 2 durai[yum] Îla[mu]m Pândiyan m[u]ḍi-ttalaiyu[n]=
 3 [Garu*]vû[ru*]n-gond-araiya śrī-Kulôttunga-Śôladêvakku
 4 . . du yându 23vadu Vriśchika-nâyayṅṅu apara-pakshattu tray[ô]-
 5 daśiyum T[1]n[ga]t-k[1]lamai[y]um [p]eṅṅa Viśâ[ga]tu [nâl]

¹ No 193 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² No 430 of the same collection

³ In the month of Rishabha an 11th *tithi* of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttarâshâdhâ (Uttirâḍam)

⁴ No. 585 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

“In the 28rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Îlam, the crowned head of the Pândya and Karuvûr,— on the day of Viśākṣā, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 8th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kârttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the *nakshatra* was Viśākṣā, by the Brahma-siddhânta from 1 h. 58 m, according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.— In the Kailâsanâthasvâmin temple at Kañja-Perumbûr.¹

- 1 [Ha]ra Svasti śri [||*] Tiribuvana[oh]chakkaravattiga| Madu[r]ai[ya]*]-
- 2 [m*] [Î]lamum Pândiyaṅ mudu-talayum[m*] konḍu aruḷi-
- 3 [ya] śri-Kulô[t]tunga-Śôladêvarkku, yâṇḍu 25-
- 4 vadu Kaṅkadaga-nâyaru[m*] [pû]rvva-paksha[t*]tu pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum Buduṅ-kîa-
- [m]ai pe[r]ra*
- 5 Utt[1]ra[tta nâ]].

“In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Îlam and the crowned head of the Pândya,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 28th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th, not the 5th, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrâvana²).— Accordingly, we should have expected *chaturthiyum* in the original instead of pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum.

114 — In the Vêdâranyêśvara temple at Vêdâranyam.³

- 1 Svasti śr[î] [||*] T[i]r[1]buvanaçchakkaravarttiga| Madurai[y]u[m]
- Ka[ra]vûrum Pândi[ya]ṅ mud[1]-
- 2 ttalayun-gonḍu virar abishêgamum viśayar abishêgamum panniy-a[ru]ḷiṅga Tiri-
- 3 buvanavîradêvarkku yâṇḍu 3[2]vadu Dapu-nâyaruṅga apara-pakahatta na[va]mi-
- yum Ti-
- 4 ngaṭ-ku[1]maiym peṅga Sitturai-nâ}

“In the 3[2]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanavîradêva, who took Madurai, Karuvûr and the crowned head of the Pândya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Chitrâ, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the *nakshatra* was Chitrâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausha).— Accordingly, we should have expected *ashṭamiyum* in the original instead of na[va]miyum

¹ No 584 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² I.e. the Ganêśa *chaturthi*.

³ No. 427 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

F — RAJARAJA III

115 — In the Agastyéśvara temple at Agattiyānpaḷḷi.¹

1 Sva[stī] śrī [||*] Tīrība(bu)va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]rt[ti]ḡal śrī-Rājarājadēva[k]ku
yāndu iran[d]āvadu Kumba-nāyaṅṅu=ppūrva-pakkasha(paksha)-dudigaiyum²
Tīṅgal-kīlamaiyum peṅṅa Śadaiyattu nā!

“In the second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.— In the Āmalakéśvara temple at Tirunellikkāvali.³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīribuvāṅa[ch]chakkaravattḡal śr[ī]-Irāja[r]ājadēva[r]kku yāndu
ettāvadu edirām=āndu Kumma(mba)-nāyaṅṅu pūrva-pakshattu chaturdeśiyum
Nāyaṅṅu-kkila-

2 maiyum⁴ peṅṅa Pūrat[ti] nā!

“In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.⁵

117 — In the Akshayaṅgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.⁶

1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Tīribu[va]ṅachchakkara[va]ttḡal [śrī-Rāja*?]rājadēvarkku
yāndu pa[t]tāvadu Mēsha-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu chatutthiyum Velli-
kkīlamaiyum peṅṅa Mūlattu nā!

“In the tenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, [the glorious Rāja]rājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² *Dudiga*: is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *dudīya*

³ No 523 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ The *ai* of *mai* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

⁵ The Mīna-samkrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225

⁶ No 517 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

118.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjuḷi.¹

1 Tiribuvanaśa[k]karava[t]tugaḷ śri-[Rāja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāndu
 12ā[va]du Śinna-nā[ya]ḅḅu apara-pakkashat[t]u² [śa]duttu[yu]m Tingaḷ-
 [k]ḷamaiyum peḅḅa Utti

“In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rāja]rā[ja]dēva,— [on the day of] Utti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight ² the month of Śimha.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227, which was the 6th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 17 h. 13 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 7 h. 13 m, after mean sunrise — The result shows that the last words of the original date must have been *Uttiraṅḅḅa-ndḷ*.

119 — In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

1 [Sva]sti śri [||*] Tir[b]uvanachcha[k]karavattugaḷ śri-Irājarājadēvarkku yāndu
 pad[1]ṅḅāvadu Kaḅḅadaga-nāyaḅḅu paḅḅāḷān=d[1]-
 2 yadiy=āṅa Viyāḷa-kkḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiy[u]m Aṅ[1]ḷamum=āṅav=
 aṅḅu

“In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which was the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Thursday, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of Karkātaka.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231. In A.D. 1231 the Karkata-samkrānti took place 9 h. 21 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkātaka; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was Thursday, the 10th July. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 15 h 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise

The date shows that the reign of Rājarāja III. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1216.

120.— In the Aruṅāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.⁴

1 Svasti śri [||*] Tir[i]bu[va]nachchakkara[va]ttugaḷ śri-Rājarājadē[vakku yā]ndu
 16vadu Ishapa(ba)-nāyaḅḅu iru[ba]ttettān=diyadiyam Śaṅ[1]-k[k1]ḷamaiyum peḅḅa
 Mīrugāś[ī]rshattu nāḷ.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mṛigaśiras, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of Ṛishabha.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232. In A.D. 1232 the Ṛishabha-samkrānti took place 15 h. 22 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day of the month of Ṛishabha therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśiras, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m, after mean sunrise

¹ No 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² Read *-pakkashattu*.

³ No 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ No 485 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

121.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[1]r[1]buvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Irājairājadēvaṅku yāndu
18vaḍu Kārttigai-mādam piṇḍa paḍiṇḍāṅ(n)=diyadi[y]=āṇa Nāyaṅgu-
kk[1]lamaiyum Rēvatiyum daśamiyum [p]eṅga
2 iṅgu

“In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on this day, which corresponds to the tenth *tithi*, to (the day of) Rēvati and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kārttigai.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vṛśchika-samkrānti took place 18 h 28 m after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vṛśchika or Kārttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 13th November. On this day the 10th *tithi* (of the bright half of Mārgaśira) ended 2 h 16 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati from² 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise

122.— In the Akshayaṅgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.³

- 1 Om svasti śr[ī] [||*] Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śr[ī]-Rājarājadēvaṅku
yāndu pad[1]ṇ-[e]tāva[du Dha]nu-[n]āyaṅgu apara-pakshattu ashtamiyum
Nāya-
2 ṅgu-kk[1]lamaiyum peṅga Atta[t*]tu nāl

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanus (and the day of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti that took place 15 h 5 m after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausha) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 19 m., after mean sunrise.

123.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁴

- 1 . . . [ṇa]chcha[k]karavatt[1]ga[1] śrī-Rājarājadēva[ṅ]ku y[ā]ndu 19[ā]vaḍu
Mi[du]ṇa-nāyaṅgu=pp[ū]rva-pakshattu tiraiyōdeśiyum Nāyaṅgu-kk[1]lamaiyum
peṅga Kēt[t]ai-nāl.

“In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Jyēshthā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna ”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āshādhā) ended 7 h 22 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was Jyēshthā, by the equal space system the whole day,

¹ No 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the *nakṣatra* (Uttara Bhādrapadā) at the commencement of the day, but with the *nakṣatra* (Rēvati) which only commenced 3 h 17 m after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos 102, 105 and 112

³ No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ No 496 of the same collection

by the Brahma-siddhanta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise — By the result previously¹ found for the commencement of Râjarâja's reign this day fell in the 18th, not the 19th, year of the king's reign.

124.— In the Vaidyanâthasvâmin temple at Tittagudi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīribuvaṇachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Râja-
 2 râjadêvaṅku yāṇḍu pattu-onbadâvadu Vrih-
 3 chiga-nâyaṅṅu pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum
 4 Nâyaṅṅu-kīlamaiyum \ [peṅṅa Aśva]ti-nâl.

“ In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kârttika) ended 8 h. 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Aśvini for 7 h. 13 m, after mean sunrise.

125.— In the Vighnêsvara temple at Anbil.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*]
 15 . . Tī[r]i[bu]vaṇach[cha]kkaravattiga[|]
 16 śrī-Râjarâjadêvaṅku yāṇḍu pat-
 17 ⁴to[n]badâvadu Kumbha-nâ[ya]ṅṅu pû-
 18 [r*]va-pakshattu pañjam[ī]yum Vīyâḷa-[k]kī-
 19 lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa Rêvati-nâl.

“ In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Rêvati, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mâgha) ended 6 h 44 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rêvati for 4 h. 36 m, after mean sunrise.

126.— In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttengûr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachohakkara[va*]-
 2 tīga| śrī-Râsarâsadêvaṅ[ku*]
 3 yāṇḍu 21 edirâm=āṇḍu [Ma*]-
 4 gara-nâyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu [chatu*]-
 5 rddāśiyum Śani-kkīlamaiyum [pe*]-
 6 ṅṅa Uttirâdattu nâl.

“ In the year opposite the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Uttarâshâdhâ, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausha) ended 15 h 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 15 h. 6 m, after mean sunrise

¹ See above, p 1

² No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

³ No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁴ Part of the *o* of *to* is entered at the end of the preceding line.

⁵ No. 533 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

127.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tiṭṭagudi.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Irājarājadēvaṅku yāndu 27vadu
Simha-

2 nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamai[y]um [B]ndan-kiḷamaiyum peṅga Magattu
nāl

“In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha ”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

128 — In the Védāran̄yēśvara temple at Védāraṅyam²

1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tīribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Rāja[rā]jadē[va]rkkku [yā]ndu
27[āvadu] Ma[ga]ra-[n]āyaṅgu [apa*]-

2 [ra]-pakshattu pañjadēśayum Tīngal-kiḷamai[yum] peṅga Pūśattu nā[ī]

“In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth *tithi* of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara.”

In the month of Makara a fifteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king's reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D 1243

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign.³ For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h 11 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise — It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.— In the Vālisvara temple at Rāmagirī⁴

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tīr[ī]buvana[chcha]kkara[va]ttigal śrī-Irājarāja-

2 dēvaṅku⁵ yāndu [2]9[va]du Mīduna-ñ[ā*]yaṅgu muppattirand[ā]-

3 n=diyady=āṅa Tīngat-kiḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshat-

4 tu pradamaiyum Pū[śa]mam āṅa aṅgu

“In the [2]9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna.”

¹ No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² No 495 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

³ Mr Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes *āvaṅu*. On the other hand, he states that *apara-pakshattu* probably is the actual reading

⁴ No 656 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁵ The *ś* of *dś* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June¹. On this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Āshādha) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājarāja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] [Tī]rībuvāṇāchōhakkāravattigaḷ śrī-Irājarājadēvar[k*]ku
yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇu-nāyaṅṅu apara-paksha[t]tu trayō[dasi]yum
2 Anḷamum peṅṅa Nāyaṅṅu-kkīlamai-nāḷ.

“In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

The date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra).— The word *trayōdasiyum* of the original therefore would be a mistake for *tuvādaśiyum*.

G.— RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.³

- 1 Sva[stī] śrī [||*] Tirubuvāṇāchōhakkāravattigaḷ śrī-Irāśēndira-Śōḷadēvaṅṅku
yāṇḍu
2 nāḷavadu Magara-nāyaṅṅu=ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Budāṅ-kīlamai-
3 yum peṅṅa Tiruvōnattu nāḷ.

“In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara,”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.⁴

- 1 [Tī]r[i]buvāṇāchōhakkāravatt[ga]ḷ śrī-Rāśēnd[ī]ra-Śōḷadē[va]ṅṅku [y]āṇḍu [o]ṅ-
2 badāvadu Magara-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-[pa]kshattu dvitīyaiyum Śev[vā-kkī]lamai pe-
3 ṅṅa Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

¹ The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana samkrānti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.

² No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ No. 423 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 418 of the same collection.

“In the ninth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h 21 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h 4 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise

133 — In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttengur.*

- 1 Svasti śri ||— Tribhu[va*]nachchakravattigal śri-Rājendra-Śōladē[va*]ḥ[ku]
yāndu llvadiṅ ediram-āndu Kaṅkadaga-nā[yaṅ]ḥ[ru] apara-pakshattu T[1]-
2 ngat-kīla[m]aiyum Urōsanīyum peṅra nā[!]

“In the year opposite the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight² of the month of Karkataka”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which [the 11th *tithi*] of the dark half (of Āshādha) ended 10 h 59 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m., after mean sunrise

134.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.³

- 1 Svasti śri ॐ Tr[ibhuva]nachchakkaravatt[igal] śr[ī-Rāje]ndira-Śō[la]dēvarkku
y[ān]-
2 du 16[āvadu] Rishaba-nā[ya]ḥ[ru] [p]ū[rva]-pakshattu ēkādaś[ī]yu[m] Tingat-
kī[am]aiyum peṅ[ra]
3 Utratta nāl.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rāje]ndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h 0 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m, after mean sunrise — By the result previously⁴ found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

135.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Tir[ibhuva]nachcha[kka]ravattigal śri-⁶[Rā]śēnd[ī]ra-
Sō[la]dē[va]rkku [y]āndu 1[8āvadu] Maga[ra]-[n]āyaṅḥ[ru] [a]pa[ra]-pakshattu
[du]dī[ya]iyum Budan-k[ī]lamai[y]um peṅra T[1]ruvō[na]t[ū] nāl

* No 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² The *tithi* is omitted in the original

³ No 460 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁴ See above, p 7

⁵ No 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The *rd* of *rdś* seems to have been written twice in the original.

“In the 1[8th] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chôladêva,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Maka]ra.”

In the month of Makara a second *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Śravana, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 0 h 51 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m., after mean sunrise — Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

136.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

1 Svasti śrīḥ ௨ Tirubuvanachohakkaravarttīgal śrī-Rājendra-Śôladêvarḥkku yāndu
20[A]vadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyarḥu pūrva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Budhan-
kīlamaiyum [p]erḥa Punarpūṣattu nāi

“In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chôladêva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha²) ended 19 h 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise

No 27.— DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII page 17)

Of the nineteen new Pāndya dates here published, Nos 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jatāvarman Kulaśêkhara, Māḥavarman Sundara-Pāndya I., Māḥavarman Kulaśêkhara I., and Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II, and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A D 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A D 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māḥavarman Kulaśêkhara I, which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-samvat 1229,³ has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kôṇêrimêlkoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāndya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401, and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māḥavarman Vira-Pāndya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A D. 1443

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāndya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered

No 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpadi*.

³ This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāndya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāndya Varuṅṅa, coupled with the Śaka year 792.

A.— JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.— In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchunai¹

- 1 Tir[ība]va[na]chchakkara[va]tt[ī]gal śrī-Kulaśēgaradē[va]ṅku yā]ndu 13 edir
14va-
2 du ²Mē[la-n]āyaṅ[ru a]para-pakkattu pañjamyum Budan-k[ī]la[m]aiyum
peṅga Mu(mā)lattu
3 [n]āi

“In the 14th opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date— ‘the 14th opposite the 13th year’— in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara of whom I have examined two dates, ‘of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,’ and of ‘the year opposite to the thirteenth,’ i. e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190³ If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i. e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara,⁴ the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.— In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchunai.⁵

- 1 o|| Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga] śrī(śrī)-Kula(īa)[sēgara]dēva[ṅ]ku 1-
2 y[ā]ndu paṅm[ū]ṅga(ṅṅā)vadu Tulā-nāyaṅ[ru] . . . -[pakshat]tu ashtami-
3 yum Viyāla-kkīlāma(mai)yum peṅga Pūsattu nāi

“In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the fortnight of the month of Tulā”

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Kulaśēkharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśēkhara is identical with Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara. A date of that king's 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, *not* of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

¹ No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² The *la* of *Mēla* is entered below the *m* of *mē*

³ See above, Vol. VI pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2

⁴ In the Pāndya date No. 14, above Vol. VI p. 307, Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I. is simply called the *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Sundara-Pāndyadēva.

⁵ No. 182 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

56' m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th *tithi* of the [dark] half (of Kārttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*, not the 8th.

B.— MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

46.—In the Sundarésvara temple at Madura.¹

- 120 śrī-kō Mā-²
 121 ḡapaṇmar=āṇa ³Trabhuvāṇa-
 122 chchakkaravattigal Śōnā-
 123 ḡu konu Muḡigo[n]-
 124 ḡasōlapurattu vīrar=ava-
 125 ⁴bhishēgamum vijaiya[r=a-
 126 ⁴va]bhishēgamum pa[n]ni-
 127 [y-a]ruḡiḡa śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḡi-
 128 yadē[vaḡku] yāṇḡu 1-
 129 ḡvadu Dhanu-nāyaḡḡu a-
 130 para-pakshattu trayōḡa-
 131 śiyum Śevvāy-kkḡa-
 132 maiyum perra [Vī]śā-
 133 gattu [n]ā[!].

“In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māḡavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḡyadēva, who took the Ohōja country and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḡigonda-śōlapuram,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

I have previously⁵ found that Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḡya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māḡasīra) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.— MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

47.—In the Tyūgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁶

- 1 Svast[1] śr[1] [!]* [Kō Mā]ḡapaṇ[mar Tirubu]vaṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-
 Kulaśēgaradē[va]ḡkku yāṇḡu 40vadu Miṇa-nāyaḡḡu apa[ra]-pakshattu
 ḡasamiyum Tīṅa]-kkḡa[m]aiyum perra Tiruvōnattu nā]
 2 1-ṇṇālavadu Śakādhī(tī)tam 1229.

“In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māḡavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Miṇa this day (*i.e.* year) corresponds to Śaka 1229 expired ”

¹ No 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² The *ā* of *Mā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

³ Read *Trishū*°

⁴ Read *abhishēga*°.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

⁶ No. 551 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

Above, Vol. VI. p 310, No 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara I corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308 (in Śaka-samvat 1229) This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-samvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 11 h 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m, after mean sunrise

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruppullāṇi.¹

1 k[ô] Māṛapaṇ[ma]r-â[ṇa] Tribhu] . . .
gal [e]mmandalamum kond-arul[1]ya śr[i]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku yāndu
[2]2vadu Kaṅkadaga-nāyaṅgu mudal tīyad[1]yum
2 [ttu] a[shtam]1[yu]m [T1]ngal-ki[lamaiyum Śi]ttiraiyum peṅṅa
nāi

“In the [2]2nd year (of the reign) of king Māṛavarman [alias the emperor of the three worlds], the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,— on the day which corresponded to (the day of) [Ch]itrā, to a Monday, to the eighth *tithi* of the [fortnight], and to the first solar day of the month of Karkataka.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289, which was the first day of the month of Karkataka,² and on which the 8th *tithi* of the [bright] half (of Āshādhā) ended 19 h 46 m, while the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h 21 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m, after mean sunrise

49 —In the Ādivarāha-Perumāi temple at Singavaram³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] kô Māṛapaṇmar Tribhuvana-
chchakkaravatt[iga]! [āri]-Kulaśēgara[d]ēvaṅku yā-
2 ndu 30āvadu Simha-nayaṅgu=ppūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśa(āi)yum peṅṅa
Mu(mū)lattu nāt=

“In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māṛavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha ”

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A D 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvāna) ended 18 h 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m, and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise

50 —In the Āṇaikāṭṭa-Perumāi temple at Kaḷappāi⁴

1 Svasti śrīh — [K]ô [M]āṛapaṇ[mar Tm]buvana-chchakkaravatt[1]gal śr[i]-Kulaśēgara-
dēvaṅku] yāndu 3[4]vadu Kaṅkadaga-nayaṅgu pūrvva-paksha[t]tu tr[1]t[i]-
yayyum Śaṅ[1]-kkilamaiyum peṅṅa Magattu nāi

“In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māṛavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka ’

¹ No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

² The Karkata- or Dakṣiṇayana-samkranti took place 9 h 26 m after mean sunrise

³ No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No 661 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

The date apparently corresponds to Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Maghâ, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 13 h 47 m, according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrâvana).—Accordingly, the word *t[̣]t[̣]yariyyum* of the original seems to be a mistake for *dvitīyariyyum*.

51.— In the Paśupatiśvara temple at Allūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kô [M]āṅgapanmar=āna
- 2 Tīribuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga-
- 3 1 śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku y[ā]-
- 4 ndu 29vaḍu Kaṅkada-
- 5 ga-nāyaru apara-pakshattu tra-
- 6 ²yōdeśiyum Śani-k[ī]lamaiyum pe-
- 7 rra Punapūśattu nāl

“In the 29th year (of the reign) of king Māṅavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

For the 29th year of Māṅavarman Kulaśēkhara I³ this date would be expected to fall in A D 1296 or A D 1297, but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 39th year of the king's reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādha) ended 8 h. 34 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhânta the whole day, according to Garga from 2 h. 38 m, and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m, after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which Māṅavarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

D.— JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.⁴

52.— In the Dévanāyaka-Perumāḷ temple at Tīruvēndipuram⁵

- 1 6 Svasti śrī [||*] Kôṅ=Chchada[pa]nmar Tīribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-
- Śundara-Pāndiyadēvaṅku yāndu 10[āvaḍu] pattā[va]du Kaṅkadaga-nāyaru
- 2 apara-pakshattu pañjamiyum Tīngal-kīlamaiyum peṅga Rēvatī-nāl

“In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II, whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A D 1275 and the 15th May A D. 1276,⁶ this date corresponds to Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285, which was the 27th day of the month of

¹ No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² Part of the 6 of *yo* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

³ For Māṅavarman Kulaśēkhara II the date would be incorrect.

⁴ No 56 may be a date of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I.

⁵ No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁶ See above, Vol. VI. p 314.

Karkataka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 9 h 4 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 18 h 24 m, after mean sunrise

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be incorrect

53.— In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr¹

1 Sva[s]t[1] śr[ī] [||*] Kōṛ=[Ch]chadaipāma[r]=āṇa [Tribuva]nāchchakkaravatt[1]gal
2 sri-Śundara-Pāndiyadēvaṛkku yāndu 1[1]vadu Mricchīya-²nā
3 [ya]ṛṛu apara-pakshattu shashti(shthi)yum [Buda]n-kālamayum perṛa Pū-
4 śattu nāl

“In the 1[1]th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika”

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vriśchika,³ and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h 52 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise But by the previously⁴ found result this day would fall in the 12th, not the 11th, year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be quite incorrect

54 — In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālayārkōvil⁶

1 [srī]-kō=Chchadaipa[n]mar=āṇa stri(tri)[bhuva]na-
chchakka[rava]ttigal [srī]-Śundara-Pāndi-
2 yadēvaṛku iyāndu 12vadu Simha(mha)-nāyarṛu [3]l tēdi⁷ [apa]ra-[pa]ksha[t]tu
tri[ti]ya[ya]m Buda-
3 n-kāla[m]ayum perṛa Irēba(va)dī-nāl

“In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simha”

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A D. 1287, when the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 8 h 32 m, after mean sunrise But this day was the 30th, not the 31st, day of the month of Simha, the Simha-samkrānti having taken place

¹ No 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² Read *Vriśchika*-

³ The Vriśchika samkrānti took place 17 h 43 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A D 1287

⁴ See above, Vol VI p 314

⁵ Mr Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9 And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A D 1294, which was the 14th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h 17 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II For the 19th year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pandya I it would be incorrect

⁶ No 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

⁷ The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.

8 h 15 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshésvara temple at Achcharapakkam.¹

- 1 Svasta śrī [||*] Kôḡ=Chatapanmar Tiri[buvaṇa]chohaka.avatti śrī-Śu[n]dara-
[Pān]diyadēva[r][k*]ku yā[n*]du 13ku edir [2āva]du Kaṇ-
2 ṇi-nāyaṅṅu apara-[pa*]kshattu Tingat-kīla[m]aiyu[m*] saptamiyum peṅṅa
Rô[śa]ni-nā[!]

“In the [2nd] opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pandiyadēva,— on the day of Rôhīṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā.”

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h 38 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhīṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m, after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.²

For Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dârukâvanêśvara temple at Tiruppalatturai³

- 1 Svasta śrī [||*] K[ô= Ohhad]aipanmar=â[ṇa] Tribhuvanachohakkaravattigal
śrī-Śundira-[P]āndiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu
2 9[āvadu] on[ba]dāvadu [M]ēsha-[nā]yaṅṅu pū[rva]-pakshattu tṛti(tī)yaikum
Veḷḷi-kkīlamaiyum peṅṅa Kātta(tti)gai-nā-⁴
3 [1]

“In the 9th— ninth— year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pandiyadēva,— on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I or to Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II. According to the previously obtained result,⁵ the 9th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1259, but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date would be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m, while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, not the 9th, year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I.

If the date were one of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It would be correct for

¹ No 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² The Kanyā-samkrānti took place 3 h. 43 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.

³ No 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁴ The *a* of *nā-* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Friday, the 29th March A D. 1288, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisakha) ended 19 h 8 m. after mean sunrise while the *nakshatra* was Krittikā exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I, or the 10th (or 11th) year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II

E.— KONEBANMAIKONDAN¹ VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57 — In the Vriddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇāvāśal²

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Śakabdam
- 2 1339ṇ mēl śrī-
- 3 Koṇeraṇmaiko[n]-
- 4 dan=Tribhuvanachchakravatti
- 5 sri-Vikrama-Pandyadēvar
- 6 [2avadu e]dir 15 Makara-nāyaru
- 7 purva-pakshattu pañjamiyum
- 8 Budha-v[a*]ramun peria Uttarā(ra)-
- 9 tt[ādi]-nal

“In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (*of the reign*) (of) the glorious Kōneraṇmaikondān, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadeva, (*which was current*) after the Śaka year 1339,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

For Śaka-samvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 12th January A D 1418, which was the 17th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 11 h 12 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

58 — In the Virattaneśvara temple at Kilūr³

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Koṇerimēlkondaṇ Tribhuvāṇachchakkaravatugal s[ī]-
Vikk[ī]rama-Pandiyadē[va]rku
- 2 yāndu 8avadu Kaṅkadiga-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum Velli-
kk[ī]lamaiyum [p]eria
- 3 Attattu nal

“In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of Kōnerimēlkondān, the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadeva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A D 1408, and it actually corresponds to Friday, the 27th July A D 1408, which was the 30th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 18 h 16 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h 34 m, after mean sunrise

¹ Kōneraṇmaikondān or Kōnerimēlkondān

² No 612 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No 287 of the same collection.

59 —In the Śivānkurēśvara temple at Tirthanagam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [—] Kōṇḍī[ī]-
- 2 mēlkond[ā]n Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ
- 3 śrī-Vikkira[ma*]-Pāndiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu nā-
- 4 l[ā]vadu Kumba-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu triti(tī)yaḷiyum
- 5 N[āya]ṅṅu-kkīlamaiy[u]m peṅṅa Uttirattu nāl.

“ In the fourth year (of the reign) of Kōṇḍīrīmēlkondāṅ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikra[ma]-Pāndiyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a *tithi* of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī, and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalgunī instead of Uttara-Bhadrpadā. For the month of Kumbha² of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Gaṅga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third *tithi* instead of the second (*dvitīyayum*).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṇḍīrīmēlkondāṅ Vikrama-Pāndya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

F.—MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

60 —In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśī.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māṅavarmanai=āna Tribhuvanaścha(cha)kravattigaḷ śrī-Vira-Pāndiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu irandāvadiṅ eḍi pad[ī]nonṅāvadu Karkkataka-nāyaṅṅu muppādān=diyadīyum pū[ṅ]ṅayum Sōma-vāramum peṅṅa Tiruvō[na]ttu nāl.

“ In the eleventh opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Māṅavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndiyadēva,— on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon *tithi* and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka ”

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkāṭaka-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka. The 30th day of the same month

¹ No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

² For the month of Makara and the 3rd *tithi* of the *dark* half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalgunī.

³ No. 196 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

therefore was Monday, the 28th July A D 1455, and on this day the full moon *tithi* (of Śravana) ended 21 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 13 h 8 m, and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise

61 — In the Kalisvara temple at Kālayārkōvil¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō [M]āra[pa]nmar-āṅga [T]i]bhuvā[na]śa[kra]vatti[gal] śri-
[V]i[ra*]-Pa[n]diyade[va]rku [y]an[du] lāva[du] Ma[gara]-nā[ya*]ṛru
[a]para-pakshattu=[ppaṅ]am]i[yum N]ā[ya]ṛru-kk[ila]mai[yum] peṛra Attattu
2 nāl

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara ”

If the day given under No 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A D 1456 And the date would actually be correct for Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457, which was the 21st day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h 36 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise

62 — In the Virattānēśvara temple at Tiruvadi

2 [K]o M[āra]panmar T[im]b]uvana-
3 chchakkaravattigal si-V[i]ra-Pā-³
4 ndiyadevarku yan-
5 du padinālavadu Mīna-nāyar-
6 ru apara-pakshattu prathamai-
7 [yn]m Śaṅi-kk[ila]mai[y]um⁴ [per]ra Attattu nāl.

“In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A.D 1456 or 1457, and the date would actually be correct for Saturday, the 12th March A D 1457, which was the 16th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h 21 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

The results set forth under Nos 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, Māravarman Vira-Pāndya, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A D 1443

I may state here that I have a date,⁵ which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, *i.e.* the 19th year, and of Śaka samvat 1361, of a king Māravarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Tirunelveli-Peṇumal, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva This king would have commenced to reign about A D 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māravarman Vira-Pandya of Nos 60-62

¹ No 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

³ The secondary *a* is repeated at the beginning of the next line

⁴ The word Śaṅi-kk[ila]mai[y]um is entered above the line

⁵ No 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895 Compare also Mr Venkayya's Report for 1904 05, p 50

No 28 — BETUL PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA,
THE GUPTA YEAR 199.

By HIRA LAL, B A, EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, NAGPUR

These plates were found by me in the possession of Sahib Lal Singh, Malguzar of Betul in the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, in March 1905. Sahib Lal Singh, though belonging to an old respectable family, is a Kumi—a prominent cultivating caste of Northern India, who of course are not entitled to accept any charitable gifts. The plates clearly do not belong to his family, and Sahib Lal Singh is unable to explain how it came by them. His forefathers belonged to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and came to Betul five generations ago. They left their native place in the Unao district in Oudh about 180 years ago and are believed to have lived in the Hoshangâbâd, Narsinghpur and Nâgpur districts. Apparently they brought the plates with them, having obtained them somewhere in Narsinghpur which adjoins Jabalpur.

These are two copper-plates, with a hole ($\frac{5}{16}$ " in diameter) in each for the ring or seal, which is lost. The first plate measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $5\frac{1}{8}$ " and the second $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", the weight of each being 12 ozs 6 dms and 13 ozs 17 grs respectively. Both the plates are quite smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on one side only, and some of the letters show through on the backs of them, and but for a fault in the second plate, which has caused a hole $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter in the last line, obliterating portions of the numerical symbols of the year (which has been fortunately stated in words in the beginning), the inscription throughout is very legible. I have deciphered the text from the original plates, an impression of which was very kindly made for me by Mr H Cousens. At Prof Hultzsch's instance Mr H. Krishna Sastri prepared fresh impressions, which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The letters are smaller—about $\frac{1}{8}$ "—at the beginning of each plate. They gradually grow bigger, attaining the highest size—about $\frac{1}{2}$ "—at the end.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Final forms of *m* occur in ll 13, 17, 25, and of *t* in ll 21 and 25. Orthographical peculiarities are the use of *n* before *sa* in ll 12 and 14, and of *b* for *v* in *sambutsana* (ll 2, 3 (twice), 29) and *paribrâjaka* (l 5). The letter *t* is doubled in *gôttira* (l 5, but not in l 15), *puttira* (ll 6, 16, 28), *pauttra* (l 16) and *°pittô* = (l 12). The last line contains the numerical symbols for 100, 10, 90 and 9, the two last of which, as stated before, are partially obliterated. The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting four benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in ll 21-27.

The inscription is one of the *Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Samkshôbha* and is dated in the year 199 of the Gupta era (A D 518-19), in the *Mahâmârgasirsha-samvatsara*, on the tenth tithi of the month *Kârttika*, without specifying the fortnight and the week day. Another grant of the same king, which was found near Khôh by General Cunningham in 1879 and is dated in the Gupta year 209 (A D 528-29), was republished by Dr Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 112 ff. The text of both inscriptions is very similar, and both were written by the same *Îśvaradâsa*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of half of the village *Prastaravâtaka* and a quarter of *Dvaravatikâ* in the province of *Triपुरi* by the *Mahârâja Samkshobha* to the Brahman *Bhânusvâmin* of the *Bharadvâja gotra*. The value of the inscription chiefly lies in the mention of geographical names, as, with regard to the history of the donor himself, it adds nothing new to what is given in the Khoh plates. The genealogy of the *Mahârâja Samkshôbha* in both

is the same, and in both he is stated to be ruling the Dabhālá-rājya, which had come to him by inheritance together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. The present inscription goes to show that Tripurī was a province of the Dabhālá kingdom. We know Tripurī well.¹ It was the name of the capital of the Haihayas or Kalachuri kings—the present Tewar, six miles from Jabalpur,—and it apparently also gave its name to the surrounding province. If this be correct, as is very probable, the Kalachuri domination in the country about Jabalpur disappears at least between A D 475 and 528, when the Parivrajaka Mahārājas ruled the country, as proved by their inscriptions actually found. The Kalachuris of Ratanpurī may have been dominant at that time in Mahākōśala, but not in the northern country about Tripurī. Dr Fleet says that “in Dabhāla we have undoubtedly the older form of Dahala, Dahāla, Dahala or Dāhalā, which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris or Tripurīa near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kāhūjāi.”² This gives a clue to the identification of Prastarvātaka and Dvāravatikā, which I take to be the present Patparā and Dvārā near Bilahri, 9 miles from Muwara town and about 60 miles from Tewar—the old Tripurī Prastarvātaka probably was corrupted into Pattharvātaka or Pattharwārā, which finally became Patparā, conveying the same meaning in the local patois as its Sanskrit equivalent, viz. ‘a stony tableland,’ and Patparā is a stony tableland up to this day. On the site of this Patparā, which had the palace of Kamkandalā, there appears to have been formerly a village, as foundations of numerous buildings are still found. Patparā is only a mile off from Bilahri, and the ruins of temples and buildings commence at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the present Bilahri village. That names of villages ending in *vātaka* or *pātaka*, which may have been corrupted into *vārā* or *vārō*, were common on the Bilahri side, may be inferred from the Bilahri inscription,³ which mentions Khulvātaka, Dhangatapātaka, Ambipātaka, etc. One of these, Khailapātaka, General Cunningham identified with the present Khailwāra or Kailwāra, 6 miles from Bilahri, and I think Dhangatapātaka is perhaps represented by the present village Thanaurā, about ½ miles from Bilahri, the name having been corrupted into Dhanwāra, Thanwāra, and finally Thanaurā. Within a radius of 20 miles from Bilahri, one may find such villages as Gulwāra, Muwāra, Kailwāra, Nanhwāra, Kanhwāra, Bhanwāra, etc., the *vārā* of which is apparently a corruption of the old *vātaka*. The village Dwara stands on the same tableland as Patparā, being 5 miles east from the Kamkandalā buildings and between 3 and ½ miles from the Bilahri village. The Malguzar of this village is still a Brahman and has held it for several generations. He does not however belong to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. He is a Gaiga and may have been engrafted when the male line of Bhanusvamin became extinct, the village going to a female heiress and consequently by her marriage to a different *gotra*, or it may have changed hands since. Dwara atika may therefore be confidently identified with this Dwara. The six inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas were found either at Khoh, Majhgawīm or Bhumai, which places are all quite close to Uchchakalpa or the present Uchchakā, the capital of the Nagole State, where another family, that of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, closely connected with the Parivrajaka Mahārājas both chronologically and territorially, ruled. Uchchakā is about 60 miles from Bilahri, and we know from the Bhumai pillar inscription, edited by Dr Fleet,⁴ that that village formed the boundary between the two territories. This would show that the Dabhāla country was almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the present Jabalpur district to the north and extended to about 120 miles from Tripurī town, the villages granted in the present inscription being situated midway between Tripurī town and the boundary of the Dabhāla kingdom in the north. This will clearly show that the present inscription does not really belong to Betul. As Dr Fleet remarks (*loc cit*), “copper-plates, being small and portable, are

¹ See General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX p. 51.

² *Gupta Inscr.* p. 113 f. In the *Prakāśa* *Prakāśa* (XVIII 93 and 95) Dahala and Dahāla occur almost interchangeably, and it is clear that the two terms were differently used.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 251 ff.

⁴ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 111.

always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified."

One knotty problem however remains yet to be solved. What were the eighteen forest kingdoms included in the *Pañcāyaka Mahārājas'* dominions? These must have been contiguous to Dabhāla, and as such the choice seems to lie between the ancient Gauṇ country, latterly known as Gondwānā, on the one hand and the Baghēlkhand and Chutiā Nāgpur country together with Chhattisgarh on the other. All this country formed part of the Gupta empire. "The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himālayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, and the five tribes of Rājputāna and Mālwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance, while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might."¹ With regard to the conquest of South Kosala or Chhattisgarh and the forest tribes Mr. Smith (*op cit* p 248) narrates the details thus: "The invader (Samudragupta), marching due south through Chutiā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kosala in the valley of the Mahanadī, and overthrew its king, Mahēndra. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces." Now these backward parts originally constituted what were known as Atharāgarh, i.e. the eighteen forts or forest kingdoms, to wit Sakti, Śuṅgaurā Raigarh, Bāmā, Raṅgakhōl, Sonpur, Patnā, Baigarh, Phuljhā, Bora Śumbhar, Khūmā Bindiā Nāwāgarh, Śumbalpur, Obandrapur, Baud, Athmalik, Gāngpur and Bonai. Of these the first eight are still feudatory states, the next four *zamīndārī*s and the next two Government *khālsā*, all attached to the Central Provinces.² On the abolition of the south frontier agency in 1837 Baud and Athmalik were transferred to the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Gāngpur and Bonai were attached to Chutiā Nāgpur. Baigarh, being confiscated for rebellion, was given over to the Raja of Raigarh. Again, among the Orissa tributary states there are eighteen *garhmāls*, though they are somewhat too far away from the Dīhal country. Chhattisgarh, i.e. the thirty-six forts, included twice eighteen forts, viz. eighteen *garhs* in one group subordinate to the senior branch of the Haihaya ruling at Ratanpur, and the same number in the second group held by the junior branch living at Raipur. So the grouping of states or estates into eighteen would appear to be customary and traditional towards Chhattisgarh. As regards the western Gauṇ country, which included the present districts of Betul, Chhindwāra, Seoni and Mandlā,³ there is no record or tradition of its ever having been divided into eighteen forest kingdoms. It therefore seems very probable that the eighteen forest kingdoms of the inscription lay somewhere in the direction of Chhattisgarh, which was subdued by Samudragupta as mentioned before. As the *Pañcāyaka Mahārājas* owed allegiance to the Gupta kings, it seems within the range of probability that these kingdoms were handed over to them, unless they formed part of the *Pañcāyakas'* dominions before Samudragupta's conquest. It is with the greatest diffidence that I hazard this conjecture, and I am not at present prepared to localise exactly the eighteen forest kingdoms. I however hope that the information, which I have partly acquired from my personal acquaintance with the country, may perhaps prove of some use to an antiquarian willing to solve the question.

¹ Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 250 f.

² Since I wrote the above, Bāmā, Raṅgakhōl, Sonpur, Patnā, Bora Śumbhar and Sambalpur have been transferred to Bengal.

³ General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX p. 150.

16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28

The text on this page is a dense, highly stylized form of shorthand or cipher, likely representing a specific dialect or a highly abbreviated form of a language. The characters are small, repetitive, and often form circular or loop-like shapes, making them difficult to decipher without a key. The text is arranged in approximately 28 horizontal lines, corresponding to the numbered markers on the left and right sides of the page. The overall appearance is that of a highly compressed and possibly encrypted message.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Ōm² namō [bha]gavatē Nārāyanāya [I*] Svasti [I*] Śrīmatī pravarddhamāna-
vijaya-
2 rājya(jyē) sambatsara-³śatē navanavaty-uttarē Gupta-na(nri)pa-īājya bhuktau
Mahā-
3 mārggaśirsha-sambatsarē⁴ Kārttika-māsa-daśamyām⁵ asyām sambatsara-⁶māsa-
4 divasa-pūrvvāyā[m*] chaturdaśa-vidyāsthāna-vidita-paramārthasya Kapilasy=ēva
5 maharshēh sarvva-tatva(ttva)-jñasya Bhāradvāja-sagottrasya nripatiparibā(vrā)jaka-
6 Suśarmmanah kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-Dēvādhyā-puttra-pranaptiā mahā-
7 rāja-śrī-Prabhāñjana-pranaptrā mahārāja śrī-Dāmōdara-naptrā go sahasra-
8 hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēka-bhūma(mi)-pradasya guru-pitri-matṛi-pūja(jā)-tatparasy=ānēka-
9 samara-śata-vijayinah s-āshtādaś-ātavi-rājy-ābhyantaram [Da]bhālā-īājyam sama-
10 nupalayī[shnō]r-anēka-guna-vikhyāta-yaśasah śrī-mahārāja-Hastinah sutēna
11 varn-āśrama-dharmma-sthāpan-ābhuratēna parama-bhāgavatēn=ātyanta-pitri-bhaktena
12 sva-vanśa-mōda-⁷karēna mahārāja-śrī-Samkshōbhēna(na) mātapatrōi=ātmanāś=cha
puny-a-
13 bhuvriddhy-artham Tripuri-vishayē Prastaravātaka-grāmasya⁸ arddham Dvāravatī-
14 kāyās=cha chaturthō=nsah⁹ ēvam=ētau pūrvv-āghāta-parichchhēda-maryyā-

Second Plate

- 15 dayā Bhāradvāja-sagotriāya Mādhyandina-Vāṇi(ja)sanēya-sabra[hma]-
16 chārinē brāhmana-Bhānusvāmīnē putra-pautti-ānvay-ōpabhogyau¹⁰ ētau
17 s-ōdrangau s-ōparikarau¹¹ a-chāta-bhata-prāvaśyau¹² chōra-diōhaka-varjjam¹³ tāmia-
18 śāsanena¹⁴ āgrāhārau atisrishtau [I*] Tad=asmat kul ōtthair=mmat-pādapind-ōpa
19 jivibhur=vvā kālāntarēshv=apī na vyāghātah karaniyah [I*] ēvam=ājñā(jñā)pt[ē] yo=
20 nyathā kuryāt=tam=aham dēhānta-a-gato=pi mahat=āvadhyanēna nuddahēyam [I*]
Uktañ=cha
21 bhagavatā paramarshinā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō
yatnāt¹⁵
22 raksha Yudhishtira [I*] mahi(hi)m=mahimatām siśhtha dānach=chhūyō=
nupālanam [I*] Bahubhih¹⁶
23 vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīh Sagar-ādibhih [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih¹⁷ tasya
24 tasya tadā phalam [I*] Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni svargga(rggē) mōdati bhūmi
dāh [I*] āchchhētā
25 ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [I*] Bhūmi-pradānan=na paīam
pradānam¹⁸
26 dānād=visishtam paripālanam=tu [I*] saivvê=tisrishtām paripālya bhūmim nripā
27 Nrig-ādya¹⁹ tridivam prapannā iti [I*] Likha/khi)tañ=cha Jivita-naptiā Bhujanga-
28 dāsa-puttrēna vyāpāranaya²⁰ Īśvaradāsēna [I*] Dūtakah Puna-
29 rvvasuh [I*] Sambatsara²¹ 100 [90 9] Mahāmargga-varshē²² Kārttika di
10 [I*]

¹ From the original copper plates⁴ Read -samratsarē⁷ Read sta-vamś amōda-¹⁰ Read °bhōgyāt=¹³ Read =varjjam¹⁶ Read Bahubhir=¹⁹ Read -adyās=²² Read Mahāmārgga[śirsha*]-varshē² Expressed by a symbol⁵ Read -daśamyam=⁸ Read grāmasy=ārdham¹¹ Read °karāt=¹⁴ Read śāsanēn=ōgrāhārat=¹⁷ Read bhūmih=²⁰ Read °nay=Īścara°³ Read samvatsara⁶ Read samvatsara⁹ Read =mśa¹² Read -pracesyau¹⁵ Read yatnād=¹⁸ Read pradānam²¹ Read Samratsara

sun $51^{\circ} 2' 52''$.¹ And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May,² when his true longitude was $54^{\circ} 21'$ (while that of the sun was $64^{\circ} 23' 35''$), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was $54^{\circ} 35'$ (while that of the sun was $65^{\circ} 20' 31''$). Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A. D. 518 Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than $53^{\circ} 20'$ —by all three systems of the *nakshatras* rose heliacally in the *nakshatra* Mr̥gāśiras, and that therefore the year which then commenced was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A. D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place some time before sunrise of the 17th June A. D. 519,³ and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A. D. 519,⁴ when a Mahā-Pausha year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshut's calculations, a Mahā-Māgha year commenced on the 3rd August A. D. 520, and a Mahā-Phālguna year on the 4th September A. D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A. D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to Monday, the 15th October A. D. 518, but may possibly correspond to Saturday, the 15th September A. D. 518.

No 29.—TRIPLICANE INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By V VENKAYYA, M A

Madras was "a mere fishing village up to the year 1639 A. D., when the English⁵ became possessed of it by a grant from the puppet sovereign Śrīranga of Vijayanagara, then at Chandragiri."⁶ Some of the suburbs of Madras are, however, very ancient. Leaving aside St. Thomé connected with the St. Thomas legends,⁶ Mailapur (or Mayilāppūr) and Tiruvāmūr (Tiruvāṅṅmīyūr) are mentioned in the Tamil poem *Dīvāram* composed in the 7th century A. D.⁷ The former is also believed to have been the residence of the immortal Tiruvalluvar,⁸ a couplet of whose is quoted in the ancient Tamil work *Manimēgalai*.⁹ Tiruvallikkēni (the modern Triplicane) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaishnavas known as *Nālāyiraprabandham* by the saints Pēyālvār,¹⁰ Tuumaḥśai-Ālvār¹¹ and Tirumangai-Ālvār, the last of whom informs us that the (Pārthasārathisvāmin) temple was founded by an unnamed king of the Tondaiyar, i. e. by a Pallava king.¹² Egmore (Eḷumbūr in Tamil) is mentioned in records of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I and was apparently the headquarters of a subdivision (*nāḍu*)

¹ The calculations which have yielded the above results have all been made according to the Sūrya siddhānta. By the Ārya-siddhānta, at mean sunrise of the 11th May A. D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 13'$, and that of the sun $51^{\circ} 4' 18''$, and at mean sunrise of the 12th May A. D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 57'$, and that of the sun $52^{\circ} 1' 36''$. This shows that, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, the conjunction would have taken place between one and two hours before mean sunrise of the 12th May A. D. 518.

² At mean sunrise of the preceding day, the 24th May A. D. 518, the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 3'$, and that of the sun $63^{\circ} 26' 38''$.

³ At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was $85^{\circ} 33'$, and that of the sun $85^{\circ} 58' 33''$.

⁴ At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was $88^{\circ} 45'$, and that of the sun $99^{\circ} 18' 3''$.

⁵ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 175.

⁶ The Roman Catholic Church at St. Thomé is believed to be built over the grave of St. Thomas, *ibid* p 176. Rāmarāya of Vijayanagara is said to have led an expedition against the place in A. D. 1558; Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p 103.

⁷ The saint Tiruvānasambandar is reported to have revived at Mayilāppūr a dead girl, whose bones had been preserved by her father in a pot. The temple is called Kapāḥchcharam (i. e. Kapālēśvara) in the hymn composed by the saint. Jains and Buddhists seem to have lived at that time in the vicinity of Mayilāppūr.

⁸ *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 221.

⁹ *Essay on Tamil literature* by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri of Madras, No I p 33 f.

¹⁰ *Iyarpā*, III. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid* IV 35.

¹² *Periyatirumoli*, verse 130.

in the district called Puliyūr-kōttam¹ Nungambākkam occurs in a copper-plate inscription belonging to the time of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I² The Tamil *Dévāram* contains a hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr composed by Thirunānasambandar.³

The Pārthasārathisvāmin temple at Triplicane contains (1) the subjoined Pallava inscription,⁴ (2) a number of fragments of Chōla records built into the floor in various parts of the temple,⁵ (3) a mutilated epigraph of the Pāndya king [Māra]varman Kulasēkhara,⁶ and (4) a few Vijayanagara inscriptions. Some of the Chōla fragments belong to the time of Kulōttunga III. and Rājarāja III⁷ The Pāndya epigraph mentions Tirumayilāppūr (i.e. Malapur) in Puliyūr-kōttam⁸ and (the temple of) Telhyaśinga-Nāyanār in Elumūr-nādu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam⁹ The Vijayanagara records belong to the time of Sadāśiva, Ranga and Venkatapati.¹⁰ Two of the suburbs, viz. Puduppākkam and Vēppēri, and three of the outlying villages, viz. Šembiyam, Nadumbarai and Veysarpādi,¹¹ were granted to the Triplicane temple during the Vijayanagara period, while a pious Vaishnava made some additions to it in or before A D 1564-5 during the reign of Sadāśiva.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone built into the floor close to the entrance into the *garbhagr̥ha* of the temple. As people walk on it very frequently, the stone has become much worn, and the writing has suffered considerable damage. Very few *aksharas* are, however, really doubtful, though some are broken.

The alphabet is Tamil, with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha characters. The following is a list of the latter — *svasti sri, Pallavakulatila*^o (line 1), *Bhāradvāja-gōtrālamkārapatiy-ākṣya* (l. 1 f), *śrī-Dantivarma-Mahārāja* (l. 2 f), *varshavarddhana* (l. 3), *mri* of *tirucamriḍu* (ll. 7 and 14 f), *°sarma* (l. 11 f and twice in l. 12), *svāmibhōga* (l. 14), *°ddharma* (l. 15), *ha* of *lōha*, *tsh* of *ratsh*^o (l. 17), *°ndharmma*^o (l. 18), *ratsh*^o (l. 18 f.), *svasti* (l. 19) — The *pulli* (or *virāma*) is marked in a large number of cases and is denoted by a short vertical line added at the top of the letter. One graphic peculiarity deserves notice. When lingual *r* and rough *r* are doubled, the symbol for the secondary *r* or *u*, which is now placed over the second letter or by its side, is, in this inscription, added, in most cases, so as to include the first as well. In other words, the two letters are treated as a group. In line 9, double *kh* is written similarly as a group. Two forms of *ṇ* occur, one with the central loop

¹ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 133

² This inscription has recently been discovered at Tiruvālangadu near Arkonam and will be published in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III Part III.

³ Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 132

⁴ No 234 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

⁵ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25

⁶ No 238 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903. It is dated in the 4[9]th year of the king's reign and may perhaps belong to the "Kales Dewar" of the Muhammadan historians, see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, paragraph 13

⁷ Nos. 241 and 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903 are two of them. In some of them Tiruvānmiyūr (the modern Tiruvāmūr) is said to have been in Kōttūr-nādu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam *alias* Kulōttunga-Chōla-vaḷanādu

⁸ Called after Puliyūr, which is close to Madras, above, Vol. IV p 8, note 1. According to an inscription of Kulōttunga I, Tiruvorriyūr, 6 miles north of Fort St George, belonged to Pulal-nādu, a subdivision of Pulārkōttam, which was called after Poḷal near Madras on the road to Nellore, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 132

⁹ Mention is also made of Ayanapuram in Tudarmunni nādu, a subdivision of Pulārkōttam *alias* Vikrama-Chōla-vaḷanādu. Ayanapuram is the name of a shrotriem village to the west of Madras (No 72 on the Sydapet taluk map)

¹⁰ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25. The inscription of Ranga is in Telugu, while the rest are all in Tamil.

¹¹ Called Veshārupādi in the inscription. The modern name connects the village with the sage Vyāsa or some person called after him. Vēḷāṟṟu, which occurs in an inscription of Kulōttunga I at Tiruvorriyūr, is perhaps an older form of Veshārupādi, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 134.

fully developed and the other without it. The former is more common, while the latter occurs at least twice¹. The vowel *u* is added to the consonant *t* in two different ways: one, as in modern Tamil, with a vertical stroke going upwards, and the other without it. The latter is perhaps meant to be Grantha, though it is used in Tamil words also. The *akshara lu*, which occurs twice (ll. 8 and 16), differs from the modern form of it in the vertical stroke of the *u*-symbol being omitted as in *lu*.

The inscription consists of 19 lines of Tamil prose and is dated during the reign of King Dantivarman-Mahārāja, who was "the ornament of the Pallava family" and belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra. There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. The only other record of Dantivarman-Mahārāja hitherto known is mutilated,² and the description of the king which we find in the Triplicane inscription is there missing. It is therefore uncertain if the two kings were the same. In any case, as the name Dantivarman does not occur in the hitherto known genealogies of the Pallavas, and as the alphabet of the Triplicane inscription does not look very ancient, it may be concluded that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the mutilated record was later than the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who fought against the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II. (A.D. 733-34 and 736-37).³

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who probably ceased to be a ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D.⁴ The Ganga-Pallavas appear to have taken their place, though the exact period when this happened is not yet known. Leaving out Vijaya-Narasimhavarman⁵ and Vijaya-Īśvaravarman,⁶ whose relationship to the main line is not yet ascertained, four Ganga-Pallava kings⁷ are known, viz. Danti(vikrama)varman, Nandi(vikrama)varman, Nṛpatunga(vikrama)varman and Kampa(vikrama)varman. The last was probably a brother of the third⁸ and might have been his co-regent in a portion of the Pallava dominions; but he is not mentioned in the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatunga.⁹ Adding together the latest known years of the other three (Dantivikramavarman 51 years,¹⁰ Nandivikramavarman 62 years,¹¹ and Nṛpatungavikramavarman 26 years¹²), we get 139 years. The Chōla king Parāntaka I was actually ruling over the dominions of the Ganga-Pallavas, and therefore it may be supposed that the overthrow of the latter by the Chōlas took place during the reign of his predecessor Āṭṭya I. Accordingly, the event may be placed roughly in A.D. 900.¹³ Deducting the total duration of the reigns of the Ganga-Pallava kings, we obtain roughly A.D. 760 as the date of the accession to power of the first king Dantivikramavarman. This event cannot be placed earlier, because the Rashtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. is reported to have levied tribute from Dantiga, the ruler of Kāñchi, about A.D. 80½, and thus Dantiga has been identified with the Ganga-Pallava king Dantivikrama-

¹ Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 50.

² Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *ibid.* Vol. II p. 341, note 3.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

⁴ Above, Vol. V p. 157.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV pp. 178 and 360, and Vol. VII p. 22 f. Dr. Fleet thinks that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman was the earliest of the Ganga-Pallavas, and that his initial date must be placed somewhere about A.D. 760 to 770; above, Vol. V p. 160.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII p. 23 f.

⁷ Skandāśhyavikramavarman of the Rāyakōṭa plates was also a Ganga-Pallava. He is said to have belonged to the family of another Skandāśhyā, who was the son of the Maḍḍāharata hero Śivattāman by a Naga woman; above, Vol. V p. 52. We have however no clue as to the time when Skandāśhyavikramavarman lived. Neither are we told what relationship he bore to the main line.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII p. 136.

⁹ Extracts from this inscription were given by Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV p. 160 f.

¹⁰ No. 202 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

¹¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 90.

¹² Above, Vol. IV p. 151.

¹³ See the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 10.*

varman¹ It thus appears extremely doubtful if there could have been any interval between the date of Nandivarman Pallavamalla² and the accession of Dantivikramavarman

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Ganga-Pallavas annexed the entire dominions of the ancient Pallavas already during the reign of the first king Dantivikrama. It looks as if the expansion of the former was gradual and reached its highest point during the reign of the last king Nripatunga³ We may therefore conclude that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined inscription, who could not be a Ganga-Pallava, belonged to the family of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who seem to have continued in some form or other down to a very late period,⁴ and that he reigned as an independent king in a portion of the ancient Pallava dominions before they were completely occupied by the Ganga-Pallavas

At Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district are two inscriptions, one dated in the 7th year of the reign of Dantivarman,⁵ and the other in the 9th year of Dantippōttaraśar⁶ The former records that a certain Brāhmana purchased land for building a tank, and the latter registers an endowment for the removal of silt in the tank called Vayiramēga-tatāka at Uttaramallūr It is just possible that Dantivarman is only the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar, and that the tank referred to in both of these inscriptions is the same. Even if this surmise should not prove correct, the fact that the earliest Uttaramallūr inscription mentioning the Vayiramēga-tatāka belongs to the time of the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar may be taken—at least provisionally—to show that the tank probably came into existence during his time, and that its name was derived from Vayiramēga,⁷ one of his *birudas*

If the foregoing inferences are confirmed by future researches, they would establish that the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar (or Dantivarman) bore the title Vayiramēga. We have at present no materials to decide if this Dantippōttaraśar is identical with the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription, though the similarity of the names and the undisputed Pallava origin of both are in favour of the identity. The Vaishnava saint Tirumangai-Ālvār refers to a king of the Tondaiyar (i.e. a Pallava king) named Vayiramēgan⁸ Another unnamed Pallava king is mentioned by the same saint as the founder of the Triplicane temple, as I have already pointed out⁹ In the hymn dedicated to Paramēśvara-Vinnagaram (i.e. the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple) at Conjeeveram,¹⁰ reference is made by the same saint to several battles fought by an unnamed Pallava king. These three Pallava kings appear to be distinct¹¹

¹ Above, Vol. IV p 181, and Vol. V p 159. I think the possibility of Dantiga being the same as the Dantivarman of our inscription is not altogether excluded.

² The latest known record of his reign is dated in his 50th year, above, Vol. IV p 137, and Vol. V p 157, note 7.

³ This may be concluded from the fact that Nripatunga's inscriptions are found over a larger extent of country than those of the other two, see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903-04, paragraph 13.

⁴ We hear of a queen named Maṅgambāvai of a certain Nandippottaraiyan, who belonged to the Pallavatilaka family. This queen appears to have been living at the time of the early Chōja king Bājakesariwarman, *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1900-01, paragraph 10, and above, Vol. VI p 321. An inscription of Dantivarman, "born in the Pallavatilaka family which rose from the Bharadvāja *gōtra*," has recently been discovered at Tiruvellarai in the Trichinopoly district (No. 541 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905). Thus, along with the Ganga-Pallavas, the regular Pallavas seem to have continued in the Tamīl country down to the Chola conquest. The exact relationship which the latter bore to the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram is not known. Perhaps the descendants or successors of the Dantivarman Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription (who bore the title *Pallavakulatilaka*) spoke of themselves as belonging to "the family of Pallavatilaka" in order to distinguish themselves from the Ganga-Pallavas.

⁵ No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

⁶ No. 74 of the same collection.

⁷ *Periyatirumōḷi*, verse 180.

⁸ Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. II, p 344, note 3.

⁹ In verse 479 of the *Periyatirumōḷi*, the same saint refers to a *Tondai-maṅṅavan*, i.e. a Pallava king, who might be one of these three.

¹⁰ This is the Tamīl form of the Sanskrit Vajramegha.

¹¹ See page 290 above.

8 yarayaṇ muppadin kāḍi nellum aṅ-kalaṅju¹
 9 ponṇun=guduttu mīttu=ttaṇad=ākki nāṇpa[t]-
 10 t[ai]n-gāḍiyun=niśaḍi aṅṅāḷi nellūl=irunnā-
 11 ḷi² tū-kkuttal-arisi[y]āl=irā-ppōnagaṅ=[Ja]nga[śa]-
 12 rmmaṅṅ=Jattisarmmanum Ilaiya-Śattisarmmaṅṅ=gā-
 13 ttuvārāṅā[r*]gaḷ[!*] mutt[!-Av]ippulattun=Dattan-pula-
 14 ttun=Gā[rai]kiḷā[ṅ-pu]la[t]tum svāmi-bhōgattu=ttiruva-
 15 [m]ṇidu kāttuvōmānōm [!*] i-ddharmatt-ullā[r] yāva-
 16 rēṅun=gō=chchēvadu śeyidu śeluttav=ottu kudut-
 17 tōm [!*] [Īla]-vilakkum vatt[!*] lō[ha]-ppāṇaiyum ratshipa-³
 18 du [!*] Puḷaḷttunai-Viś[ai]yarayaṇ 4ndharmmam idu [!*] idaṅai ra-
 19 tshittār=ḷaḍi irandum eṅ mudu-mēḷḷa [!*] svasti ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the twelfth year of the increasing years of the glorious Dantivarman-
 Mahārāja, who was the ornament of the Pallava family (and) the lord adorning the Bhāradvāja
 gōtra,— the priests of the Tīruvallikkēṇi (temple) having mortgaged the field in Karumārach-
 chēri, the offering for the god accruing from(?) the interest of forty-five kāḍis of paddy fell
 short Puḷaḷttunai-Viśaiyarayaṇ gave thirty kāḍis of paddy and five kalaṅjus of gold, redeemed
 (the field), and made (it) his own With two nāḷis of clean pounded rice (made) from five nāḷis
 of paddy, (the interest on)⁵ forty-five kāḍis (of paddy) per day, Śangasarmman, Śattisarmman and
 the younger Śattisarmman shall present the night offering. If (this) fails, we shall present
 the offering out of the master's share in Avippulam,⁶ Dattan's field and Kāraikiḷāṅ's field.
 Having agreed that any one concerned in this charity might do what the king could and
 carry it out, we gave (it) The Īla-lamp,⁷ the cup (and) the metal pot have to be taken care of.

This (is) Puḷaḷttunai-Viśaiyarayaṇ's charity The two feet of those who protect this
 (charity) shall be on my head Hail !

No. 30.— TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR H LUDERS, PH.D., ROSTOCK.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller Kharōshthī
 inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years Whoever has
 had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity
 and penetration of scholars like Buhler, Senart and others. On the other hand, there is no
 denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those
 inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single Kha-
 rōshthī inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every
 detail Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined
 inscription It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently
 preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its
 first purely mechanical reproduction.

¹ Read *ain galaṅju*

² Read *rakshi*

³ The word *kāḍiyun* in l 10 appears to be used in the sense of *kāḍiyin*

⁴ *Avippulam* means literally "oblation field." The produce from this field was evidently used for oblations.

⁵ For the explanation of this term see above, Vol. VII. p. 134.

⁶ Read *iru-nāḷi*

⁷ Cancel the letter "n"



The inscription is engraved round a steatite vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Pesnswar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stūpas near Shāhpur, but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XX p 24, and Plate III. fig 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXXII p 151, and added a correction *ibid* p 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, *ibid*. p 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol II p 125, and Plate lix. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr Vogel, by Mr Ram Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

TEXT.

Sihilena Siharachhutena cha bhratarehi Takhasilae ayam thuvo pratthavito savabudhana puyae.

TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihila (Simhila) and Siharachhita (Simharakshita) this Stūpa was erected at Takhasilā (Takshasilā) in honour of all the Buddhas.

REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ", take an intermediate position between those of the Aśoka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Aśoka characters are less numerous and less marked, but the *la* with its hook bent down and rounded and the *sa* with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transliteration of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read *Sihilena*, *Siharachhutena* and *savabudhana*, but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between *na* and *na*, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual *na*. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of *n* instead of Sanskrit *n* in the word *Śakamunisa* (1 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one *n*-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, p 453, Mr Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of five *mātrās* with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run —

Sihilēna Siharachchutāna cha
ayam thūvō pratthāvītō

bhrātarēhi Takkhasilāē |
savvabuddhāna pūyāē ||

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings *Gihilena* and *bhatarehi*. The correct readings *Sihilena*, which can only stand for *Sihilēna*, and *bhratarehi* would imply that

the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six *mātrās*, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial *bhr* was removed by the cæsura standing between *cha* and *bhratareha*. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr. Thomas' suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA,
SAKA-SAMVAT 1308.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M A , MADRAS

These plates were discovered at Śoraikkāvūr near Kuttālam, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr. O. N. Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about $6\frac{1}{4}$ " long, 4" broad, and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. The ring is 1" in diameter, and the whole set weighs $16\frac{7}{8}$ ozs with the ring, which alone weighs $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamil numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and bearing slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation, nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskrit verses which give the genealogy of prince Virūpāksha, a passage in Tamil prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the shares of land granted among the donees, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in Sanskrit, once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god Śiḥ-Harihara and is in Kanarese characters, the alphabet of the Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamil characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamil inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between *r* and the secondary form of *ā*, the secondary *ā*, *o*, *o*, *ai* and *au* are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on, e.g. *syā* in line 23, *bhu* in line 115, *hyā* in line 116, *vā* in line 132, *mā* in line 138, *bā* in line 140, *dā* in line 15, *nā* in line 28, *ko* in line 129, *ra* in line 53, *ka* in line 128, *dhau* in line 18, *da* in line 164. In line 70 the *lu* of *padmāluklu* is engraved below the line, in line 57 the letter *ku* is corrected into the symbol of the secondary *ā*, and in line 26 *vāsarā* is written as *pāsarā*. The Grantha letter *ṣ* is used for the Tamil *ṣ* in the words *uṣpaṣa* and *Āṣ* occurring in lines 68, 121 and 138.

The inscription belongs to the time of Virūpāksha (v 5) or Vira-Viruppanna-Udayar (l 43 f), the son of Harihara (II) (v 4) or Vira-Harihara-rāya (l 12) of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, and records the grant of the village of Śoraikkāvūr (v 10, ll 53 f and 60 f) together with $10\frac{1}{2}$ *vāḷas*¹ of land adjoining it, under the name of Vijayasudarsanapuram, to

¹ In the Tamil portion this is given as $10\frac{1}{2}$ *vāḷas* (ll 52 f and 67 f)

fourteen Brâhmanas of various *gôtras*. This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virûpâksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in Śaka 1308, the Kshaya-samvatsara,— i.e. two years later than his Âlampûndi grant.¹ Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8 f and ll 45-49) —

“The date, for Śaka-samvat 1308 expired, which was the year Kshaya, regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387. On this day the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Phâlguna and the *karana* Nâga ended 7 h 35 m, the *nakshatra* was Rêvatî for 19 h 3 m., and the *yôga* Vaidhritî from 6 h 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month Pangunî (Chaitra) ”

Both the Âlampûndi and Śoraikkâvûr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with Sangama, the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virûpâksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again Kâmâkshi, the wife of Sangama, and Mallâdêvi, the wife of Harihara II, are referred to. While in the Âlampûndi grant Mallâdêvi is spoken of simply as belonging to ‘the family of Râmadêva,’ in the present record she is described as his ‘grand-daughter’ (son’s daughter) in the beginning (v 5), but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama *Nârâyaniulâsa* by Virûpâksha,² makes Mallâdêvi the daughter of king Râma. In a supplementary note on the Âlampûndi grant,³ Rai Bahadur V Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallâdêvi may have been the daughter of the Yâdava king Râmachandra. Adverting to this Mr R. Sewell writes as follows⁴—

‘The plate in question asserts that Mallâdêvi belonged to ‘the race of Râmadêva,’ while the drama (*Nârâyaniulâsa*) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Râma, calling Virûpâksha the ‘daughter’s son of king Râma,’ and from this Mr Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Râmachandra of the family of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Râmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Râmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallâdêvi, or Mallâmbikâ, though she may have been ‘of the race of,’ was not the daughter of, king Râma,— if Râma was identical with Râmachandra of Dêvagiri.”

The present plates add a further relationship, *viz.* that Virupâksha was the son of the son’s daughter (*pautri*) of Râmadêva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,⁵ we may conclude that Virûpâksha was the great-grandson of king Râmachandra.

In the present record Virûpâksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father, for the Śaka year 1308 falls in the reign of Harihara II.⁶ From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the

¹ Above, Vol. III p 224 ff

² *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts* by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No I p 90

³ Above, Vol V, Add. and Corr, p v

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIV p 19

⁵ [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Râmachandra of Devagiri (the Râmadêva of verse 5) may have had an (otherwise unknown) son named Râmahûpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallâdêvi, the mother of Virûpâksha.—E H]

⁶ In the Tiruvîlmilalai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II, and in which his son Virûpâksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Munayadaraiyan made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvîlmilalai is only a mile distant from Tiruppamburam mentioned in our record.

month Bhādrapada of the year Tāraṇa (Śaka 1326)¹ The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Śrāvāṇa-Belgola² Another record from the Shimoga district states that in the month Kārttika of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Tāraṇa, Bukka II. was on the throne³ This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Harhara's death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeevaram⁴ It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II Again we learn that the coronation of Dēvarāya I. took place in Śaka 1328, in the month Kārttika of the year Vyaya⁵ Evidently therefore Bukka's reign must have come to a close at this time But it must also be noted that in the month Māṅgaśira of the year Tāraṇa, Śaka 1327, Virūpāksha is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara⁶ This reign overlaps that of Bukka II Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virūpāksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virūpāksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II, ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of Bukka II This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harhara II there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus.—Bukka II., Virūpāksha, Bukka II once again, and Dēvarāya I Virūpāksha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time

Besides calling Virūpāksha the lord of the Tundira, Chōla and Pāndya countries (v 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Ālampāndi grant He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Rāmanātha (at Rāmeśvaram) He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Brāhminical faith (*vēda-mārga*, v 7).⁷ He is stated to have gilded (the *ummas* of the temple at) Śrīrangam and the 'Golden Hall' (at Chidambaram), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chōlas.

As regards the donees, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaiṣṇava names, and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrīvaiṣṇava *Asharya-purushas*⁸

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, Śīraikkāvūr, the village granted, is the same as the modern Soraiikkāvūr where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttālam Railway Station Tiruppāmpuram (v 10, ll 49 f and 65) is now known as Tiruppāmbāpuram and is about 9 miles west of the Nannilam station, also in the Tanjore district I am unable to identify Elumuri in Elumuri-parṇu (ll 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskrit as Saptakhandā-nivṛit⁹ (v 9), while Uyyakkonda-valanādu (ll 59 and 63 f.), a district of Chōla-mandalam (l. 58 f), is Sanskritized as Ujjivana (v 9)

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (ll 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained

¹ *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Tirthahalli taluka, No 120

² *Id* Vol II No 126

³ *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Tirthahalli taluka, No 11

⁴ Above, Vol III p 36, note 3 —[Compare also above, Vol VI p 329 f —E H]

⁵ *Ep Carn* Vol V Hassan taluka, No 133, p 85

⁶ *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Tirthahalli taluka, No 196

⁷ Compare above, Vol III p 118 and note 4

⁸ *Vīr* Vedagōmapurattār (ll 75 and 79), Gōmatattā (l 82 f), Vangippurattār (l 90 f), Uṅguppattār (l 97), Soṭṭaiyār (l 111), and Kārambiḥchetṭu (l 104)

[For *nivṛit*, 'a division,' see verse 9 of the Ālampāndi plate —E H]

TEXT.¹*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 [Śubham=a]stu [||*] Ōmkâr-âmkura-dam[shtr]-
- 2 [âya sa]kal-âmnâya-ghôshinê [||*]
- 3 â[dyây=â]s[tu na]mas=tasmai Varâ-
- 4 hâya [ma]hanjasê || [1 ||*] Âdhâra-śa-
- 5 ktm=ambhōdhi-mêkhalam ratna-ga-
- 6 rbhinim [||] Hara-mûrttim Harêh kântî-
- 7 m Bhûtadhât.im=upâs[ma]hê || [2 ||*] Âs[î]-
- 8 t Sôm-ânva[y]-ô[ttamsah] Kâmâ-
- 9 kshî-Samgam-âtmajah | B[u]k[ka-bhû]pa 1-
- 10 ti khyâtô râjâ Raghur=1[v=âparah] || [3 ||*]
- 11 Asti râjâdhurâj[o=sya putrô]
- 12 Harihar-êśvarah | yash=shōda[śa-ma]-
- 13 hādâna-sukrit-âmrita-sâ[garah] [|| 4 ||*] Sa
- 14 pauryâm Râmadêvasya [Mali]â-
- 15 devyâ[m*]² mahâśayam [(|) Virûp[â]ksha-ma-
- 16 hi[p]âlam labdhivan=atma[sa]mbha-
- 17 vam [|| 5 ||*] Sa Kuntal-êndus=Tund[ira-Chô]-
- 18 [la]-Pândya-kshîtîśvarah | san[nidhan]³
- 19 [Râma]nâthasya tulam=arû[dhavâ]-
- 20 n=dhanah [(| 6 ||*) Sa gô-saha[sra-dô]
- 21 veda-mâ[rgga]-sthâpana-[tatparah] [||*] Śri-
- 22 ramga-Kâñchanasabha-puna[1-ut]bhâ⁴
- 23 [sana]-kshamah [(| 7 ||*) Dânaślâ[gh]yê [Śa]kasya-
- 24 â[bdê] Kshaya-samvatsarê [śu]bhe [||]

First Plate, Second Side

- 25 Pâ(phâ)lgunê mâsy=amâvâsy[âm]
- 26 tithau Saumyasya pâ(vâ)[saré] || [8 ||*]
- 27 Vaidhriti-sprîśi Révatyâm [ka]ra-
- 28 né⁵ Nâga-nâmnî sah | Chôlêsh[u]
- 29 Saptakhand-akhya-nivrity-Ujjiva-
- 30 n-âhvayê [(| 9 ||*) Chirâik[kâ]vûr=iti
- 31 gr[î]man=Tirupp[a]mpura-s[î]mani | [pâ]-
- 32 d-ôn-aikâdaśa-vriti-kshêtra-[s]-
- 33 m[gha]tit-ântikam [(| 10 ||*) Krita-praś[stim] [V1]-
- 34 ja[ya]suda[r]śana[pu]r-âkhyayâ [||] chatu-
- 35 [r]ddasabhyô viprêbhyah prâdâ[d=u]-
- 36 daka-pûrvvakam [(| 11 ||*) Samast-ôpâ[dhi]-
- 37 rahitas=sarvvamânyatayâ sthîrah | [va]-
- 38 rddhatâ[m]=agrahârô=yam=â-cha[ndra]-ravi-
- 39 târakam || [12 ||*) Svasti śrî-vijay-âtbbhu⁶
- 40 daya-śriman-mahâmandaliśvaran r[â]-

¹ From the original plates² The ś of dś is at the end of l 14.³ The third member of the syllable dhau is at the beginning of l 19⁴ Read -udbhâ-⁵ The ś of né is at the end of l 27⁶ Read -dbyu-

- 41 jādhirājan rājaparamēśvaran
 42 śrī-Vira-Harihararāya-kumāra-śīma-
 43 [n-ma]hāmandaliśvaran śrī-Vira-Vi-
 44 ruppanna-Udayar pri[thvi]-iājya-
 45 m panniy=arulāninja Śak-ābda[m]
 46 1308ṇ mēl-chchellāniṇ-
 47 ra Kshaya-samvatssaram¹ Panguni-mā-
 48 sam amā[vā*]syaiyum Budhan-ki[la]-
 49 maiyum perṇa Rēvati-nāl Tīru[p]-
 50 pāmpurat[til vada]-vayalī Pujudī-

Second Plate , First Side

- 51 vana-Ppeimāl jivitan=tirandu
 52 iḷuvaiyal vēli patt-a-
 53 araiyō² arakkāl kūdiya Śīraikkā-
 54 vūr=āna Vijayasudarśanapurattu nā-
 55 nā-gōtrigal āna³ bhattagaḷukku [u]-
 56 daka-pūrvvam=āka⁴ sarvvamānya-agra[hā]-
 57 ram=ā[ga*] [Rā]hu-⁵śāntya-aittham=āka⁶ dharmma-[śā]-
 58 sanam (p)panni=kkudutta Sō[la-ma]-
 59 n[dala]m Uyyakkonda-vala[nādu]
 60 Eḷumuri-pparṇu ki]-kūru agaiam [Śi]-
 61 raikkāvūr nāng=ellai[kk=ut]-
 62 ppatta⁷ nājai puṇjai nattanga[l]
 63 sakala-prāptigaḷum Uyyakko-
 64 nda-valanādu Eḷumuri-pparṇu=kkil]-
 65 kūru Tiruppāmpuram vada-vayalī [Śi]-
 66 raikkāvūr ellaiy=udan kū[dina]
 67 nilam patt araiyō arakkāl
 68 vēliyum utpata⁸ [ṇā]nā-⁹gōtrigal āna
 69 bhattagaḷukku¹⁰ nichchayitta bhāgam 1[4] [||*]
 70 Inda bhāgam padinālukku¹¹ vagai []] Ā-
 71 trē-¹²gōtrattu Āpastamba-[sūtra]-
 72 ttu Udāli Vināyaka bhātan [pu]tia-
 73 n [N]āiāyana-bhātan bhāgam—1—Ā-
 74 trē-¹²gōtrattu Āpastamba-sū-
 75 trattu Vēdagōmpurattu Tīuva-
 76 ranga-Nārāyana-[bhāta]ṇ putraṇ
 77 Gōvinda-¹³bha[ttan bhāgam]—1—Ātrē-¹²

Second Plate , Second Side

- 78 gōtrattu Āpastamba-sūtrat-
 79 tu Vēdagōm[pu]rattu Lakshmana-

¹ Read *samvatssaram*

⁴ Read *=dga*

⁷ Read *=utpatta*

¹⁰ Read *bhattagaḷukku*.

¹² Read *Ātrēya-*.

² The *a:* of *rai* is at the end of l 52

⁵ The *d* of *rd* is corrected from *ku*

⁸ Read *utpada*

¹¹ The syllable *lu* is engraved below the line

¹³ The first member of the syllable *gō* is at the end of l 76

³ Read *āna bhattagaḷukku*

⁶ Read *=dga*

⁹ Read *nānd-*

- 80 bhataṅ putraṅ Śrī-Narasimha-bhatta-
 81 ṅ bhāgam—l—Kaundinya-gōtra-
 82 itu Āpastamba-sūtrattu Gō-
 83 mathattu Karunākara-bhattaṅ [pu]traṅ
 84 Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—
 85 Parāśara-gōtrattu Ā[pa]stamba-
 86 sūtrattu I[rn]malapo[śaṅ] Āk-
 87 ¹kontavilli-sōma[yā]ṅ²[pu]-
 88 traṅ Dēvarāja-bhatta-yakshyamāna-
 89 r bhagam—l—Vatssa-³gō[tra]ttu Ā-
 90 pastamba-sūtrattu Vangippu[ra]-
 91 ttu Bhagavān-bha[t]taṅ putraṅ Śrīra-
 92 mgarāja-bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—Vat-
 93 ssa-³gotrattu Āpa[sta]mba-sū-
 94 trattu Pippirai Varadarāja-bhatta-
 95 [ṅ] putraṅ Yajñamūrti-bhattaṅ bh[ā]-
 96 gam—l—Vatssa-³gōtrattu Ā[pa]-
 97 stamba-sūtrattu Uṇṇupputtūr [Nā]-
 98 rāyana-bhattaṅ putraṅ Damō[dara]-
 99 bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—Bhāradvāja-g[ō]-
 100 trattu Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Ku-
 101 rōvi Dēvarāja-bhattaṅ putraṅ [Śrī]-
 102 ram[ga*]nātha-bhattaṅ bhagam—l—[Bhāradvā]-
 103 ja-[gō]trattu Āpasta[m]ba-sū[t]attu
 104 Kārambichechettu Mahadeva-bhattaṅ
 105 putraṅ Yajñātma-bhattaṅ bhagam—l—

Third Plate, First Side

- 106 Samkriti-gōtrattu Āpastamba-
 107 sūtrattu Irunganti⁴ Dēvarā-
 108 ja-bhattaṅ putraṅ Śrī-Narasimha-bha-
 109 ttaṅ bhagam—l—Śata(tha)ma[ṅ]shana-gōtrat-
 110 tu Bōdhā[ya]na-sūtrattu Irāyūr
 111 Śottai ⁵Nṛttaiāja-bhattaṅ putraṅ Śi[i]-
 112 raṅga[nātha]-bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—Viśvā-
 113 mitra-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana-sūtrat-
 114 tu [Ś]ēñalūr Dēvarāja-bhattaṅ putra[ṅ]
 115 ⁶Mantalapurusha somayājyār bh-
 116 āgam—l—Sava[rn]-gotrattu Diāhy-
 117 āya[ṅ]a-sūtrattu Gaṅgōli [S]ōma-
 118 nātha-bhattaṅ putraṅ Śrīparvata[nātha]-bha-
 119 ttaṅ bhāgam—l—Āga bhāgam—l—[In]-
 120 da bhāgam paṇḍālu pērkkuṁ Pra[bhava]-
 121 varuṣham Āti-⁷māsam pūrvva-paksha[tt]u pra-
 122 thamaṅ mudal-āga śūṅgam [ubhaya]-mārggam⁸

¹ Read *koṇḍa*^o

² Read *Vatssa*-

³ Read *Nṛtta*^o

⁴ Read *Adi*-

⁵ The letter *y* is entered below the line

⁶ Read *gandī*

⁷ Read *Mandala*^o

⁸ Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 81, l 6a.

- 123 idaitturai puṣamb=āga [na]kala-su-
 124 vaiṇ-ādāyam sakala-bha[k]t-a[d]ayam
 125 śekku-kkadamai vo[tɪ]-vari katti-
 126 gui avasaram vaśal¹ ottu ô[lai] u-
 127 [lu]ttu rājasam paṭṭaya-kānik-
 128 kai² t[ō]iṇṇa-kānik[hai] [su]mbo-
 129 ṇ-var[ɪ] aśu]podu ma[kka] pei.ɪ] ko-³
 130 [lu[m] vilaiyāṣeyu araśu-pō[rū]
 131 pādi-kā[va*]l aiśi-kānam araimaṇai-
 132 y-ū[h]yam [maga]mai talaiyānikkam v-
 133 aśal-ppa[ṇam] pul-vaṇi adai[ppu]-tt-
 134 [vu] ulavaṇ ṣōdi kai adai miv-a-
 135 dai⁴ kulav-adai o[u[kka-nir-nilai-nir]-p-
 136 pāttam tu[rɪ]-kkadamai [ka]tt ayam [ti]-
 137 iṅṅay-ā[yam] ṣōlaku . [ṅavāvi]-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 138 rattup[paḍi] Âti-Kattigai⁵[ppu]chhai] m-
 139 ānāvi-ttēvai Pi[laiya][r*] nō-
 140 nbi tuuvakka-ep[ṇai]-ttō-
 141 vai paṭṭi ttey[da]m kurr-ettey-
 142 dam al-amaṇṇi ūr-adai-pp-udaiyar k-
 143 ānikkai maṇṇam eppōi paṭṭa variga-
 144 lum niddi-nikkal-ep-ṇai-paśhāṇā-
 145 m⁶ aśham-āgamu niddi-[-sā]ddhyam p[ū]-
 146 ivv-āyam apū[rvv-aya]m utpatti sarva-b-
 147 ādhā-paṇih[ānam=āga] a cha[n̄di-arka-atṭayi]-
 148 y=āka⁷ sa[ivva]m[ānṇya-agra]hūram=āga [kudu]-
 149 ttōia [i]* [Sukha]mō bhajttu=kko]-
 150 lavam [i]* Sa[ivva]mānyam purva-mariyidi [i]*
 151 Dana-p[ā]lana]yor=mmaddhyō danat⁸
 152 śi[ṇō-nupa]lanam | da[na]t-[ava]-
 153 iggam=avā[pnōti p[ā]lanid-ach[ya]tam [pa]-
 154 dam— [13 i]* S[va-dattā]m p[ri]a]-dattam va yō [ha]-
 155 iēta va[sundharām] [i]* ślośh[et]im var[ṇa]-sa[h]-
 156 siāni [viśtāyā]n=joyatō kṛimih [|| 14 ||*] C[k=ai]-
 157 va [bha]gini lōkō sarvvaśhām=ēvi bhūbhujā-
 158 [m] | na bhōgyā na kara-[ggā]hyi vipra datt-
 159 ā vasundharā— [15 i]* Sami[nyo]=yan-dharmāna-sit[u]⁹
 160 nripūṇān kālō kālō [pā]lan[i]yo
 161 bhavatbhīh¹⁰ | sarvān=ētān bhavinaḥ pā-
 162 itthiv endrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rā-
 163 mabhadīah [|| 16 ||*] Pautrō B[u]kka-[na]rīndrasya
 164 dauhitrō¹¹ R[āma]-bhūpatōḥ | vidyato hi [V]-

¹ *Vāsal* is corrected from *vachchal*

² The *ai* of *kai* is at the end of l 127

³ The third member of the syllable *ko* is at the beginning of l 130

⁴ The *ai* of *dai* is at the end of l 131

⁵ Read *Adi Karttigu*

⁶ Read *-pāśhanam*

⁷ Read *ava*

⁸ Read *danach=ohkrēyō*

⁹ Read *sētura*

¹⁰ Read *bhavadbhīh*

¹¹ The first member of the syllable *da* is at the end of l 163

165 [rū]pākshō rājā Harihar-ātmaiah [|| 17 ||*] Śubham-a-
 166 s[ru]—
 167 Śrī-Harihara [|| *]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, and v 2 the goddess of the Earth

(V 3) There was a king called Bukka, who was the son of Kāmākshī and Saṃgama, and an ornament of the race of the Moon

(V 4) His son is the *Rājādhirāja* Harihara, who performed the sixteen great gifts

(V. 5) He had by Mallādēvi, the son's daughter of Rāmadēva, a son named Virūpāksha

(V 6) He, the moon of the Kuntalas and the lord of the Tundīra, Chōla and Pāndya countries, had, in the presence of (*the god*) Rāmanātha, weighed himself against gold

(Vv 7-12) In the Śaka year (*expressed by the chronogram*) dānaślāghya (i e 1308), in the auspicious Kshaya-samvatsara, in the month Phālguna, on the new-moon *tithi*, on a Wednesday, while (*the nakshatra*) was Rēvatī, (*the yōga*) Vaidhritī (*and*) the *karana* Nāga,— he, the donor of a thousand cows, the establisher of the Brahmanical faith (*vēda-mārga*), who was able to regild (*the imana at*) Śrīrangam and the Golden Hall (at Chidambaram),—gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya* (*and*) an *agrahāra*, to fourteen Brahmanas the village of Vijayasudarśanapuram,¹ (*which was made up of*) Chīraikkāvūr in Saptakhanda-nivrit, (*a subdivision*) of Ujjivana in the Chōla (*country*), and of a field of ten and three quarters *velis*² on the outskirts of Tiruppāmpuram

(Ll 39-58) On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the new-moon (*tithi* in the solar) month Pangunī (*of*) the Kshaya-samvatsara which was current after the Śaka year 1308 (*had passed*),—while the *Mahāmandalésvara* Vira-Viruppanna-Udayar, the son of the *Mahāmandalésvara Rājādhirāja Rājaparamésvara* Vira-Harihara-rāya, was pleased to rule the earth,—(*he*) gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, in order to propitiate (*the bad influence of*) Rāhu, by a religious edict, (*the following land*) to the Bhattas of various *gōtras* (*living*) in Śīraikkāvūr *alias* Vijayasudarśanapuram which included ten and five-eighths *velis* (*of land*) in the northern fields of Tiruppāmpuram,—excluding the possessions of (*the god*) Puludivana-Perumāl —

(Ll 58-69) The wet land, dry land and house sites, with all acquisitions, enclosed within the four boundaries of Śīraikkāvūr, a village (*belonging to*) the eastern group (*of*) Eḷumuri-paṇṇu, (*a subdivision of*) Uyyakkonda-valanādu (*in*) Sōḷa-mandalam, together with ten and five-eighths *velis* of land bordering on Śīraikkāvūr (*and situated*) in the northern fields (*of*) Tiruppāmpuram (*in*) the eastern group of Eḷumuri-paṇṇu, (*a subdivision of*) Uyyakkonda-valanādu, were assigned in 14 shares to Bhattas of various *gōtras*

¹ [Professor Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions Sudarśanacharya who wrote the *Āpastamba-grīhyasūtratīkā* and the *Srutaprakāśikā*. The *Vadagala-Guruparamparabhāra* records that the latter work consists of notes taken by Sudarśanabhata, the grandson of Paraśarabhata, from the discourses of the Vaishnava teacher Ambālāchārya on the *Śrībhāshya*. According to the Vadagala tradition Sudarśanabhata was an elder contemporary of the great Vedāntadēśika, who is believed to have been a friend of the Vedic scholar Vidyāranya, and who is said to have composed a verse in praise of the Vijayanagara officer Gōpana (above, Vol VI p 322). It thus appears that, in case the author of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* was not living at the time of the Śōraikkāvūr grant, his memory must have been quite fresh in the minds of Vaishnavas. And as most of the donees of the grant are Vaishnavas, it is not unlikely that the granted village was called Vijayasudarśanapuram after the *Āchārya*, provided Vijayasudarśana was not a surname either of Virūpāksha or of his father Harihara II —
 V V]

² [For *velis* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *veli*; see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 364, note 3 —E. H

(LI 70 119) The recipients of these fourteen shares were —

No	Name of the donee	Father's name	Gôtra	Sâtra
1	Narayana bhat̥a	Uḍāli Vināyaka-bhat̥a	Âtrēya	Âpastamba
2	Gôṁḍa bhat̥a	Vēdagômpurattu Tiruvaranga-Narayana-bhat̥a	Do	Do
3	Sri-Narasimha bhat̥a	Vedagômpurattu Lakshmana-bhat̥a	Do	Do
4	Sri-Vasudeva-bhatta	Gômathattu Karunākara-bhatta	Kauḍinya	Do
5	Dēvaraja-bhat̥a-yakshyamāna	Iruma[apō[śaṅ] villi sômayājin	Âkkonḍa-Parāsara	Do
6	Srirangarāja bhat̥a	Vangippurattu Bhagavān-bhat̥a	Vatsa	Do
7	Yajūamurti bhat̥a	Pippirai Varadarāja-bhat̥a	Do	Do
8	Damôlara bhat̥a	Uḍuputtūr Narāyana-bhat̥a	Do	Do
9	Sriranganatha bhat̥a	Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhat̥a	Bhāradvāja	Âśvalāyana
10	Yajūatma bhatta	Kārambichcheṭtu Mahādēva-bhatta	Do	Âpastamba
11	Śri Narasimha bhat̥a	Iruṅandi Dēvaraja-bhat̥a	Samkrita	Do
12	Sriranganātha bhatta	Irāyūr Śoṭṭai Nrittarāja-bhat̥a	Śaṭhamarshana	Bôdhāyana
13	Mandalapurusha-sômayājin	Śôṅalūr Dēvarāja-bhat̥a	Viśvāmitra	Do
14	Sripavitānātha bhat̥a	Gangōli Sômanatha bhat̥a	Sāvarni	Drāhyāyana

(LI 119-149) We (*viz* Virûpāksha) gave these shares to (*these*) fourteen persons as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, including all taxes,¹ (*and including*) hidden treasure, deposits, water, stones, permanent profits, future profits, established income, feasible income, old taxes and new taxes (*to have effect*) from the first (*tithi*) of the first fortnight (*of the solar*) month *Âḍi* (*in*) the Prabhava year²

Vv 13-16 contain the usual imprecations and benedictions

(V 17) There exists king Virûpāksha, the son of Harihara, the son's son of king Bukka, (*and*) the daughter's son of king Rāma

No 32 —MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF SRIGIRIBHUPALA,
SAKA-SAMVAT 1346

By M. NARAYANASVAMI AYYAR, B A, B L, HIGH COURT VAKIL, MADRAS

The finding-place of these plates is not known. But from Mr Sewell's description of them³ it appears that they were preserved in the office of the Head Assistant Collector of North Arcot

¹ These taxes (li 122 143) are left untranslated

² Prabhava is the name of the cyclic year immediately following Kshaya, in which the grant was made
see li 24 and 47 of the text

³ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p 12.

Hence it is likely that they were found in the North Arcot district. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum, and I edit the inscription on them from two ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, with the permission of Government.

The copper-plates are three in number. The inscription is engraved on both sides of each of them. The second and third plates are marked at the left top corner of their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 3 respectively. The first two plates measure 9' by 4½', while the dimensions of the third and last plate are 8½' by 1½". The ring, if any, on which the plates were strung, is lost, and they are now kept together by a string passed through the ring-hole, about ½" in diameter, bored on the top of each plate.

The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved is Grantha, but in the following cases Tamil letters have been used — *n*, *g*, *d* and *nā* of the word *Vengadanātha* in line 102, *tiru* of *Tirurenā* in l 108, *Pillai* in l 112, *peru* of *Perumkai* in ll 115 and 121 f, nearly the whole of the phrase *Kuppan=ullissaruk'* in l 123, and *r* of *Nāyinar* in l 130. The colophon *Sr:-Tr yān l'* is written in Kannada characters. A few peculiarities of the alphabet are worth noting. The secondary *a*-symbol is added near the bottom of the consonant in a few cases, compare *jā* and *nā* in the word *prajñam* in l 34, *nā* of *nāthasya* in l 40, *nānā* in l 44, and *śānā* in l 46. The guttural *n* of *Sarṅgīnōh* in l 65 resembles *ndya*. The subscript consonant in conjunct letters is in some cases added by the side of the first instead of at the bottom as in modern Grantha, compare *bd'* in *Sakṣy=āb'ls* in l 56, *bd'* of *pratyab'da* in ll 67 and 81, *ng'* of *Sarṅgīnōh* in l 65, and *ś'a* of *sarastuam* in l 46. Final *m* is in some cases not distinguished from *ma*, but, in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily, the distinction has been introduced into the text, compare e.g. *m* in *Lakṣmīm* (l 3), *sambhūtam* (l 5), *śaibha am* (l 5 f) and *bhūshanam* (l 7) with *m* in *ṣ'pāham* (l 1), *sampā°* (l 19), *ś'atīm* (l 38) and *gramam* (l 51). The group *rana* is written somewhat like *ntha*, compare *sampūnna* in l 59 and *ś'irnam* in l 54. The letter *ḍ* of *Duāḍara* in l 113 resembles the Tamil vowel *i* of the 12th century A D. The conjunct *rgga* is also peculiarly shaped, see *Bhūrggava* in ll 106, 112 and 124. The difference between the vowel *r* and the secondary consonant *r* is marked by making the *r*-symbol end in a loop in the former case, compare *prithvīm* in l 37, *nīrīḍ* in l 49, *Bhriḡu* in l 57, *ṣ'ittair* in l 72, and *ṣ'atritair* in l 72 f with *samprāpte* in l 56 f, *grānam* in line 62 f, and *praty.'am* in l 76, etc. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the hard dental *t* is used for the soft *d* in *Paṭma°* (l 17), *vidvatbhīr* (l 45), *Caṭambara°* (l 77 f), *Uṭbūhu°* (l 120) and *bhāvatbhīh* (l 146). The form *ranna* is used for *raṭna* in l 27, and the lingual *l* for the dental *l* in *bhūpālō* in the same line. Both these forms are probably due to the influence of Kannarese, which may also account for the change of *d* into *l* in *Pa'urūt-tōṣṣa* (l 48). *Bā* is substituted for *īā* in the word *Būdhūla* in l 120. As a rule *n* is doubled when it occurs in conjunction with *d*, see *Gōvinda* in . 89, *Uṭbūhusunnidara* in l 120 f, and *S'aunda* in l 126.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Nearly one-half is in verse, and the other half, enumerating the donkeys and the shares which each of them received, is in prose. In only one place a Tamil phrase, *Kuppan=ullissarukku*, occurs (l 123). The inscription uses abbreviated forms for the *gōtras* and *sūtras* of the donkeys, except in the case of the chief person, *Sampathumara-pandita* (ll 133-135).

The record begins by tracing the first Vijayanagara dynasty from the Moon, in whose lineage Yadu is said to have been born (v 5). In the race of Yadu was born Saṅgama (I), whose son was Bukka (I) (v 6). His son was Harihara (II) (v 7). His son was Devaraya (I), and his son Vijayabhūpai (v 8) or Vijayabhūpāla¹ (v 9), who had two sons

¹ He is also called Vijayabhūbhuj (v 16), Vijayaraj (v 21) and Vijayaraya (v. 24).

Dēvarājendra (v 10) or Dēvarāya (II) (v. 11) and Śrīguṇḍra (v 10), Śrīgiriśvara (v 12) or Śrīgiriḥpāla (v 13) The former, being the elder, succeeded to the throne (v. 11), while the second went over to Maratakapuri and was ruling the country of which it was the capital (v 12) He made the subjoined grant of land to Sampatkumāra-pandita¹ and his relatives and other learned men with him, on a Friday coupled with the Rēvatī *nakshatra*, on the Utthāna-dvādaśī *tithi*, in the cyclic year Krōdhin corresponding to the Śaka year 1346 The Śaka date is expressed by the chronogram tattvālōka (v 19), the same as that of the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II,² which were issued in the month of Āshādha Our record belongs to the month of Kāttika, for the Utthāna-dvādaśī is the twelfth *tithi* in the bright half of the month of Kāttika, when Vishnu is said to rise from his four months' sleep. It is otherwise called *Prabōdhanī* Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks —

“ On the *utthāna-dvādaśī-tithi* see *Ind. Ant* Vol XXVI p. 135 For this *tithi* of Śaka-samvat 1346 expired, which was the year Krōdhin, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 3rd November A. D. 1424, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h 8 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī from 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise ”³

The chief donee, Sampatkumāra-pandita, is described as a very learned medical man, whose father Gōvinda-pandita (v 14) was also well versed in the Āyurvēda and in the Vēdāngas The village Nipatatāka (v 17), the gift of which is recorded by the present inscription, had been given away to the same donee by (the donor's father) Vijayabhūbhuj (v 16) So we may infer that by some means or other it had lapsed in the interval It is said to have been watered by the Nāgakulyā channel (v 18), a branch of the Kāvērīpāka channel (v 17), and was situated in Kalavā-nivrit⁴ (Kalavai-parru in Tamil), a division of Paḷuvūt-kōtta (Paduvūr-kōttam) When the village was granted, its name was altered into Vijayarāyapura (v. 24) or Vijayarātpura (v 21), evidently in honour of its original donor Vijayarāya

As regards the name Śrīgiriḥpāla, a word of explanation is necessary. Śrīguṇḍra is another form of Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district The god of the temple at that place is called Mallikāryuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikāryuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet into its equivalent Śrīgiriḥpāla The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him, makes it possible that Śrīgiriḥpāla was the same person as the Pratāpadēvarāya who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II as the younger brother of the king For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrīguṇḍra If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpadevarāya, he must be another brother of Dēvarāya II, not hitherto known Śrīgiriḥpāla (*alias* Mallikāryuna⁵) is of course distinct from Mallikāryuna *alias* Immadi-Dēvarāya, who was the son of Dēvarāya II,⁶ and whose dates range from Śaka 1370⁶ to Śaka 1387⁷

As regards the places mentioned in this grant, Maratakapuri is already known to us from the expression Maratakanagara-prānta occurring in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II, and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has suggested that it may be identical with Virūchipuram in

¹ See vv 16, 21 and l 135 — [*Sampatkumāra* is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil *Śelvapiḷḷai*, the name of the god at Melukōṭe in the Mysore State It seems therefore possible that the chief donee belonged originally to the Kanarese country, and his father's native place, Rambhānayaṅranagari (v 13), may have to be looked for in the same country One of the minor donees, Hampana-bhaṭṭa (l 93), was evidently called after the Pumpāpati temple at Vijayanagara — V V]

² Above, Vol III p. 85

³ “ For another date of exactly the same *tithi*, but with a wrong week day, see *Southern List*, No 488 ”

⁴ Compare above, p 300, note 9

⁵ Compare Appendix II p 15, No 21

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Seringapatam tāluka, No. 11

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 321 f

the North Arcot district¹ Kalavā-nivṛit is derived from the town of Kalavai in the Arcot tāluka of the North Arcot district² For Paduvūr-kōttam see above, Vol IV pp. 82, 138, 180, 271; Vol. V p 50, Vol VII p 192, and *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 89 The name of the village granted, Nipatatāka, is evidently a Sanskrit translation of a Tamil name which should be Kadappērī³ As a matter of fact there is at present a village called Kadappērī in the Wāljāpēt tāluka of the North Arcot district, which is situated five miles east of the anicut or masonry dam across the Pālār river, and two miles south-west of Kāvērīpāk itself It is situated on the Kāvērīppākkam channel which at present takes off from the Pālār river on the southern side of the anicut, and is irrigated by a branch from it It thus retains its ancient name, notwithstanding the attempt of a king to impose on it a new one

TEXT.⁴*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 भूवराहाय नमः ।
- 2 शुभमस्तु । विनायकाय नमः ।
- 3 लक्ष्मीम् पद्मक्यत्वाद्यमन्त-
- 4 रायतमोपहम् । प्रयमद्वन्द-
- 5 समभूतम् प्रणयाद्वैतवै-
- 6 भवम् । [१*] करुणामयवामाग क-
- 7 व्याणगुणभूषणम् । वन्दे चन्द्र-
- 8 कलाकल्पम् महस्त्रितयलोचनम् । [२*]
- 9 भुव. प्रेमपरिपुगपुष्काकि-
- 10 तत्राह्वे । नमो वराहवपु-
- 11 ये श्रीवैभवपुषे त्विषे । [३*] व-
- 12 न्देनन्तफणाभूषा स्यन्दन-
- 13 श्लोत्धन्वन. । मेदिनी हरिदोस्तम्-
- 14 वैभवेनादानुलासिनीम् । [४*] आ-
- 15 सीत् सोमान्वये रम्ये यदु. पर-
- 16 सधार्मिकः । अशावतीर्णे यद्व-
- 17 शे भगवान् पद्मलोचनः । [५*] त-
- 18 त्कुले सगमो राजा समभूत्
- 19 सन्पदान्विधिः । विक्रमैकरसस्त-

¹ Above, Vol III Additions and Corrections, p vii.² Compare above, Vol IV p 211Nīpa is the name of a tree, *Nauclea Cadamba* — [An inscription of Vira-Kampana-Udayar at Kāvērīpākkam registers the sale of the village of Kadappērī in Kalavai parra, a subdivision of Paduvūr-kōttam, see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p 34, No 386 of 1905 — V V]³ From ink-impressions.⁴ The *ś* of *mmś* is at the end of l 12⁵ Read °नम्°⁶ Read पच°

Second Plate, Second Side

- 75 न्ना¹ तु विजयरायपुरम् । [२४*] अतः
 76 परम् प्रत्येकम् भागनिर्णय² उच्य-
 77 ते । ग्रामदैवतस्य श्रीचितम्ब-³
 78 रनाथस्य शिवस्यैको भागः ।
 79 गोविन्दनाथाख्यस्य विष्णोरे-
 80 को भागः । कामाक्षीधर्ममण्ड-
 81 पे प्रत्यद्वन्द्विजभुक्त्यर्थम् भा-
 82 गम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः उमाप-
 83 तिभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप य-
 84 जुः चन्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य
 85 आप यजुः पुण्डरीकाक्षभट्ट-
 86 स्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः[ः]⁴ दे-
 87 वराजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आ-
 88 प यजुः लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य भागम् ।
 89 काश्य आप यजुः 'गोविन्दभट्टस्य
 90 भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप यजुः भास्कर-
 91 भट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वा आप
 92 त्रिवेदिवामनभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। आ-
 93 त्रेय आश्वल ऋक् हम्पणभट्टस्य
 94 भागम् ।१। आत्रेय आश्वल ऋक् विज-
 95 येश्वरभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। कौशिक⁵
 96 आप यजुः मार्तण्डभट्टस्य भाग-
 97 म् ।१। 'षठम[र्षं] वो शौरिराजभट्टस्य
 98 भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप यजुः लक्ष्म-
 99 णभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप

Third Plate, First Side.

- 100 यजुः भास्करभट्टस्य भागम् ।२। क[ः]⁶श्य
 101 आप यजुः 'एकान्तभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।

¹ Corrected from ना² Read 'निर्णय³ Read श्रीचिदम्ब⁰⁴ The *visarga* seems to be an interlineation⁵ Read गोविन्द⁰.⁶ The secondary *s* of *au* is omitted in the original⁷ Read षठ⁰⁸ Read एकान्त⁰

2a

2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26

E HULTZSCH

2b

28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52

SCALE 6

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V VENKAYYA.

2c

54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

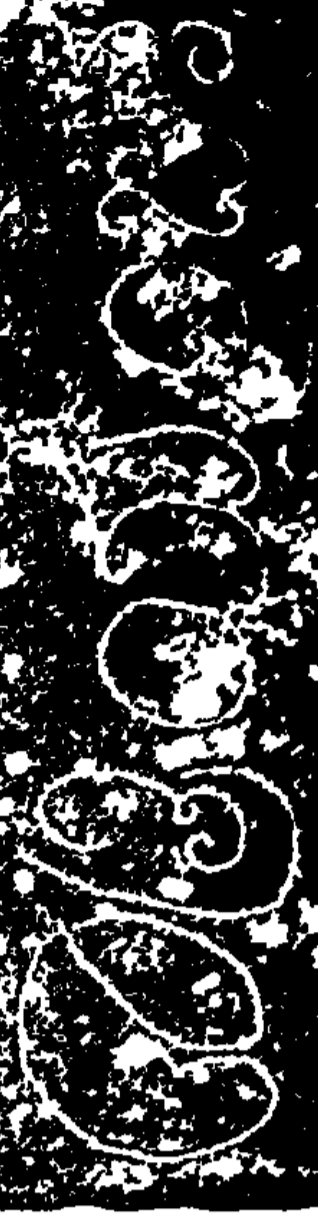
122 b

130
132
134
136
138
40
142
144
146
148

100
102
104
106
108
110
112
114
116
118
120
122
124
126
128

11 b

76
78
80
82
84
86
88
90
92
94
96
98



- 102 भारद्वाज आप यजुः वेङ्गडनाथ-¹
 103 दीक्षितस्य भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप
 104 यजु समरपुगवभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।
 105 वत्स आप यजुः यज्ञनारायणभट्ट-
 106 स्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आप यजुः का-
 107 ऋहस्तिनाथपावनाशयोर्भागम्² ।१।
 108 भार्गव आप यजुः तिरुवेकटभट्टस्य³
 109 भागम् ।१। वासिष्ठ वीधा ऋक् वरद-
 110 राजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। भारद्वाज आ-
 111 प यजु. पापनाशस्य भागम् ।०॥०।
 112 भार्गव आप यजुः आण्डान्⁴ पिक्कै
 113 भागम् ।०॥०। वीधा यजुः दिवाकर-
 114 न् पुत्रन् चन्द्रभट्टस्य भ[रि*]गम् ।०॥०। भार्ग-
 115 व आप यजुः पेरुक्कै⁵ देवरा-
 116 जस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज आप यजुः
 117 श्रीरुद्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०।०। काश्यप आ-
 118 प यजुः श्रीरंगनाथस्य भागम् ।०।०।
 119 वत्स आप यजुः त्रियम्बकस्य⁶ भागम् [रि*]०॥०।
 120 वाधूल⁷ आप यजुः उत्वाडुसुन्द-⁸
 121 रस्य भागम् ।०।०। भार्गव आप यजुः⁹ पेरु-
 122 क्कै वेकटस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज
 123 आप यजुः कुप्पनुक्किट्टारुक्कु¹⁰ भागम् १
 124 भ[रि*]र्गव आप यजुः श्रीमूलपुत्रन् गु-
 125 णीत्तुंगन् भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आ-
 126 प यजुः¹¹ स्कन्दकुमारस्य भागम् ।०॥०। निद्र-¹²

¹ The letters *Vēngadana* are Tamil

² पावनाश is the vulgar Tamil form of the Sanskrit पापविनाश The form पापनाश occurs in line 111

³ The letters *tiru* are Tamil

⁴ Read *Andān*, the word *Piḷḷai* is written in Tamil

⁵ The letters *peru* are Tamil, read *Perunga*

⁶ Read त्रियम्बकस्य

⁷ Read वाधूल

⁸ Read उत्वाडुसुन्दरस्य.

⁹ The *visarga* is engraved above the line The letters *peru* are Tamil, read *Perunga*

¹⁰ The whole of this name is written in Tamil, except the letter *nu* which is Grantha.

¹¹ The *ś* of *śō* is at the end of l 124

¹² Read स्कन्द

¹³ [Read निद्रुव^o and compare Apastamba's *Śrautasūtra* edited by Prof Garbe, XXIV 9, 14.—E. H.]

- 127 पकाश्र्य आप 'श्रीरगडपाख्यायस्य
128 भागम् १०।०। वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् विशेष-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 129 ज्ञपुत्रवरदराजस्य भागम् १०।०। वा-
130 सिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् नायिनार्^२ पुत्रन्
131 अनन्तनारायणस्य भागम् १०।१।
132 वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् अनन्तनाराय-
133 णभट्टस्य भागम् १०।१। काश्यप-
134 गोत्रस्य आपस्त[म्*]बसूत्रस्य यजुः(-)
135 व्दिन. सम्पत्कुमारपण्डितस्य
136 भागम् १२२। काश्यप आप यजुः
137 सम्पत्कुमारतनयस्य श्रीनिवा-
138 सभट्टस्य भागम् १६। स्वदत्ताम् प-
139 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरा[म्*] ।
140 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि ^३[वि]ष्टायाञ्जा-
141 यते क्रिमिः । [२५*] स्वदत्तात्^४ द्विगुणम् पु-
142 ण्यम् परदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्ता-
143 पहारेण स्वदत्तम्^५ निष्फलम् भ-
144 वेत् । [२६*] सामान्योयम्^६ धर्मसेतु-
145 नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-
146 यो भवत्भिः^७ । सर्वानितान् भा-
147 विनः फार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो^८
148 याचते रामभद्रः । [२७*]
149 श्रीत्रियवक^९ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to Bhûvarâha! Let there be prosperity! Salutation to Vinâyaka!

(Verse 1) May that primal one (Vinâyaka) increase (our) prosperity, who dispels the darkness of obstacles, who was born of the primal pair (Śiva and Pârvatî), and who is possessed of an unparalleled wealth of kindness (to his devotees)!

^१ Read श्रीरगोपा^०

^२ The syllable [v:] is a subsequent addition.

^३ Read स्वदत्त.

^४ The d of yô is at the beginning of l. 149.

^५ The r of Nâyatâr is Tamil

^६ Read स्वदत्ताद्.

^७ Read न्योय.

^८ Read भवतिः.

^९ In Kannada characters; read श्रीत्रियवक.

(V 2) I salute him (Śiva), the left half of whose body is the very embodiment of mercy (Pārvati), who is adorned with good qualities, whose ornament is the moon's digit, and whose eyes are the three lights (*viz* sun, moon and fire) ¹

(V. 3) Salutation to that effulgence, whose form is that of a boar, whose arm bristled (*with pleasure*) at the loving embrace of the earth (*when he brought her up from the bottom of the sea*), and which increases (*our*) happiness and plenty ¹¹

(V 4) Salutation to the earth which is an ornament on the (*expanded*) hood of Ananta, (*which served as*) a war-chariot to him (Śiva) who had the Mēru (*mountain*) for his bow (*at the time of burning Tripura*), and which is the pea-hen on the pillar of the arm of Hari (Vishnu) ¹

(V. 5) In the beautiful race of the Moon was Yadu, of exceeding virtue, in whose lineage the lotus-eyed lord (Vishnu) was born as a partial incarnation (*viz* Krishna)

(V 6) In his race arose king Samgama, who was a storehouse of all prosperity His son was king Bukka, who was the very essence of valour

(V. 7) His son was king Hariharēśvara, who was endowed with fortune and with all auspicious things, who was fully accomplished in learning, and who was verily the lord of the world ²

(V 8) From him was born the king Dēvarāya-Mahārāja, whose son was the wise king Vijayabhūpati.

(V. 9) This Vijayabhūpāla, being seated on the jewel-throne, caused (*his*) enemies to occupy the dens of lions on the sides of mountains

(V 10) He had two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrigirindra, who resembled Vāsava (Indra) and were the abodes of generosity, fortitude and valour

(V 11 f) The *Mahārāja* Dēvarāya, being the elder of these two, ascended the exalted throne owing to the fructification of the good deeds of (*his*) subjects, but Śrigiriśvara, having obtained the city called Marataka, ruled this earth just as Sutrāman (Indra) (*rules the city of*) Amaravati.

(Vv 13-20) In the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) tattvālōka (*i. e.* 1346), in the year Krōdhan, on a Friday, under (the *nakshatra*) Rēvati, on the *tithi* (called) Utthānadvādaśī, this Śrigiribhūpāla again granted, out of respect, as *sarvamānya*, by pouring out a full stream of water with gold, to endure till the end of the Kalpa, this *agrahāra*, (*viz*) the village named Nipatatāka, the front-ornament of the Paluvūt-kōtta,³ the best (*village*) in Kalavānivṛit, which is irrigated by the water obtained from a branch of the Kāvēripāka channel, which possesses desirable advantages, which is rich in crops flooded by the waters of the Nāgakulyā, which is of wide extent with vast boundaries, which is adorned with various gardens, and which had been granted before by Vijayabhūbhuj to Sampatkumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and relatives, who was the foremost among all physicians, and who was the renowned son of the great Gōvinda-pāṇḍita, who was born in the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was the lord of the city of Rambhāmayūra, who was possessed of (*good*) qualities, and who had seen the further shore of the ocean of the whole Ayurvēda and the Vēdāngas

¹ There is a play upon the word *śrī*, suggesting that Vishnu in his boar incarnation, while rescuing one of his consorts, *viz* the Earth, was not inattentive to his other wife.

² There is a subtle suggestion in the use of the attribute *śrī-sarvamāṅgal-ōpētā* The king's name (Harihara) being composed of that of Vishnu and Śiva, there is an appropriateness in his being said to be joined to Śrī (Vishnu's wife) and Sarvamangalā (Pārvati, Śiva's consort) So he is also 'verily the lord of the earth,' *viz* Vishnu whose other consort is the Earth.

³ This represents the Tamil *Paduvūr-kōṭṭam*.

(V 21 f) Afterwards Sampatsuta,¹ having divided this village Vijayarātpura into fifty-six shares, gave thereof two shares to (*the temples of*) Śiva and Viṣṇu, and set apart one share for the yearly feeding of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāmakṣī-dharma-maṇḍapa*.

(V 23) This wise man reserved twenty-two shares for himself and gave the remaining ones to his brothers, relatives, and learned men

(V 24) May this *agrahāra* named Vijayarāyapura prosper till the end of the Kalpa, adorned by holy Brāhmaṇas of good lineage, learning and virtuous conduct!

(L 75) Hereafter follows the assignment of the shares to each individual

No	Name of donee.	Gōtra	Sūtra	Śākhā.	Share
1	The temple of Śrī-Chidambaranātha Śiva in the village	...	...	.	1
2	(The temple of) Gōvīndanātha Viṣṇu	..	...	...	1
3	For feeding Brāhmaṇas yearly in the <i>Kāmakṣī dharma-maṇḍapa</i>	...		...	1
4	Umāpati-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
5	Chandra-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
6	Pundarikāksha-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
7	Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
8	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	[2*] ²
9	Gōvīnda bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
10	Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
11	Trivēdi-Vāmana-bhaṭṭa . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
12	Hampaṇa bhaṭṭa . . .	Ātrēya . . .	Āśvalāyana . . .	Rich . . .	1
13	Vijayēśvara-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
14	Mārtānda-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kauśika . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
15	Saurirāja bhaṭṭa . . .	Śaṭhamarshana . . .	Bōdhāyana . . .	" . . .	½
16	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vādhūla . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	½
17	Bhāskara bhaṭṭa . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	2
18	Ēkāmra-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
19	Vēngaḍanātha-dīkṣita . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
20	Samarapungava-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vādhūla . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
21	Yajūanārāyana-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vatsa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
22	Kālahastinātha and Pāvanāśa . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
				Carried over	19½

¹ I e. Sampatkumāra of v 16

² The number of shares is missing; but, adding up the other shares and deducting them from the total 56 (v. 21), we arrive at the figure 2 for this donee.

No	Name of donee	Gotra	Sūtra	Śakha	Share
				Brought forward	19½
23	Tiruvēnkaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa	Bhārgava	Āpastamba	Yajus	1
24	Varadarāja-bhatta	Vāsishtha	Bōdhāyana	Rich	1
25	Pāpanāśa	Bhāradvāja	Āpastamba	Yajus	½
26	Āndāṅ Pillai	Bhargava	"	"	½
27	Chandra-bhatta, son of Divākara		Bōdhāyana	"	½
28	Perungai Dēvarāja	Bhargava	Āpastamba	"	½
29	Śrī Rudra-bhatta	Bhāradvāja	"	"	½
30	Śrīrangānātha	Kāśyapa	"	"	½
31	Tryambaka	Vatsa	"	"	½
32	Udbāhusundara	Vadhūla	"	"	½
33	Perungai Vēnkata	Bhārgava	"	"	½
34	Kuppan and partners ¹	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
35	Gunōttunga, son of Śrīmīla	Bhargava	"	"	½
36	Skandakumāra	Bhāradvāja	"	"	½
37	Śrīrangōpadhyāya	Nidhruva-Kāśyapa	"	"	½
38	Varadarāja, son of Viśēshajña	Vāsishtha	Bōdhāyana	Rich	½
39	Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Nāyinar	"	"	"	½
40	Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	½
41	Sampatkumara-pandita	Kāśyapa	Āpastamba	Yajus	22
42	Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, son of Sampat kumāra.	"	"	"	6
				TOTAL	56

The inscription ends with three of the usual imprecatory verses (25-27) and the name of the god Śrī-Tryambaka (Śiva)

No 33—TWO ANAIMALAI INSCRIPTIONS.

BY G VENKOBĀ RAO, OOTACAMEND

The two subjoined inscriptions were discovered by Mr T A Gopinatha Rao, M A, in the Nrisimha temple at the village of Nāraśingam, 6 miles east of Madura. The central shrine of this temple is cut into the hill known as Ānaimalai. In an inscription dated in the

¹ [For *uḷittār* see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 54 and 71, and the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, s v — "associés, participans, parties intéressées. Il se dit principalement des frères associés ou qui vivent sous le régime de la communauté, lorsque l'un d'eux fait un marché, les autres sont *uḷittār*." The *Sukirti bhatarah* of the Piprawā inscription probably belonged to such an 'undivided family,' and this is the reason why only the name of Sukirti, who must have been the head of the family, was quoted there — E H]

33rd year of the reign of the Chôla king Parântaka I.¹ found in the temple, the hill is called Tiruvânaimalai. It is also referred to in his *Dêvâram* by Tiruânâsambandar, the great Śaiva saint, as a stronghold of the Jainas.² Tradition has it that Tiruânâsambandar drove out the Jainas from the vicinity of Madura after converting the then reigning Pândya king Nedumâran to the Śaiva faith.³ There are still vestiges of Jaina dominancy on the hill. On a rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave there are a number of Tamil inscriptions,⁴ one of which mentions Ajjanandi.⁵ The cave is evidently one of those which the Jainas occupied in old times.

The first inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the central shrine. The letters are cut boldly and deeply, and, being in the interior, the record is in good preservation, at the end of lines 5 and 6 are a few damaged letters which can be easily supplied from the context. The alphabet is Grantha. The final *m* is represented by a smaller *m* with a vertical stroke on its top, see *eg* *idam* in l 3. The letter *na* is of a more archaic type than that of the Ganga-Pallava period,⁶ and *ya* is also slightly different from the common form of that time.

The record consists of three verses, of which the first mentions the son of Mâra of the Vaidya family,⁷ who was the minister (*mantrin*, v. 2) of the Pândya king Parântaka. He was apparently an expert in the art of composing poetry and hence is called Madhurakavi. His actual name, Mârangâri, occurs in the second inscription, where he also bears the title Mûvêdamangalappêraraiyan. He was a native of Karavandapura (v. 1) or, according to the second inscription, of Kalakkudi.⁸ The third verse contains the date—a Sunday in the month of Kârttika of the year 3871 (expired) of the Kaliyuga era=A.D. 770. On this day an image of the god Vishnu was set up in the cave.

The second inscription, which, though well preserved, is not cut so deeply as the first, is a supplement to the latter and is engraved on the right side of the entrance. The characters of this record are an archaic form of Vatteluttu and Grantha. The latter is employed in some Sanskrit words that occur in the inscription, viz *mantri* (l 2), *Vaidyan* (l 2 f), *svargg-ârôhana* (l 6 f), *anujan* (l 8) and *mantra-padam* (l 9). The Vatteluttu of this inscription seems to be the same as that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman published by Mr V Venkayya,⁹ compare *r*, *n*, *t*, *u* and particularly *k* (which has not yet assumed the shape peculiar

¹ No 63 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² *Ānaimamalaiy=ādīyāyav=īdangalīr=paluv=allal-śē-*

r=īnargath=ēiyēṅ=alēn=Rīruvalacāy=ara=ṅirkavē—Tiruânâsambandar's *Tiruvôlavdy Padigam*

³ *Śendami*, Vol III p 406

⁴ Nos 67 to 74 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁵ A Jaina teacher of this name is mentioned in the rock inscriptions at Vallimalai in the North Arcot district; above, Vol IV p 141 f

⁶ See *eg* above, Vol VI p 320, and *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 90

⁷ Probably the word *vaidya* is derived from *vêda*, and the name seems to indicate that the members of the family were proficient in the sacred literature

⁸ In an inscription at Pirâṅmalai (No 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903) Karavandapura is mentioned as another name of Kalakkudi in the district of Kalakkudi, and in a record at Śuchindram (above, Vol V p 43) Karavandapuram is said to have been situated in the district of Kalakkudi. Kalakkudi is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kaṭakkād in the Nāngunêri tâluka, which even to this day has a dilapidated fort (Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 314)

⁹ *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 57. The village granted in this inscription is Vêlangudi renamed Śrivarāṅmangalam after the Pândya king Neduñjaḍaiyan, one of whose birudas was apparently Śrivarā. In the *Tiruvôlymol* (verses 508 to 514) reference is made to Śrivarāṅmangai or Śrivarāṅmangalanagar, which is identified with Nāngunêri known to Vaiṣṇavas under the names Vāṅamāmalai and Tôdâdri. It is not unlikely that the two Śrivarāṅmangalams are identical

to the later alphabet wherein it is hardly distinguishable from *ch*) with the corresponding letters of the plates. The secondary *z* is written more on the top than on the side of the consonant as it is in later forms. The *puḷḷi*¹ appears to be marked in a number of cases. The vowels *a* and *ā* are the same as those employed on the Kīl-Muttugūr stones². Though the Vatteḷuttu of this inscription resembles to a certain extent the characters of the Madras Museum plates, yet as the Grantha alphabet used in the latter seems to be more developed than that of the Sanskrit portion of the subjoined records, it is safer to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Mārañjadaiyaṅ of the latter is earlier than the Jatavarman of the Museum plates.

The king is here called Mārañjadaiyaṅ, *i e* Śadaiyaṅ, the son of Māraṅ (or Jatavarman, the son of Māraṅvarman in Sanskrit)³. His minister Māraṅgāri,⁴ mentioned above, excavated the cave at Āṅaimalai, but died before its consecration.⁵ His younger brother Māraṅ Eyiyaṅ *alias* Pāṇḍimangalaviśaiyaṅ, who succeeded him as minister, subsequently built the *mandapa* in front and performed the consecration ceremony.

From the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya⁶ we learn that he was also surnamed Mārañjadaiyaṅ. But an inscription of his found at Uttamapālayam⁷ in the Madura district couples Śaka 792 with his 8th year. His accession must therefore be placed about A. D. 862. The Mārañjadaiyaṅ of the Āṅaimalai inscription was thus a predecessor of Varaguna and may have been his grandfather.

It is worthy of note that Madhurakavi was the name borne by one of the Vaishnava Āḷvāra, and the Madhurakavi of the subjoined inscriptions was also a Vaishnava Nammāḷvār, who, according to Vaishnava tradition, was a contemporary of Madhurakavi Āḷvār, was called Kārimāraṅ, *i e* Māraṅ, the son of Kāri. Is it possible that he was the son of the minister Māraṅgāri? If this be the case, it is not apparent why he has omitted to mention the shrine built by his father, while the Tirumōgūr temple, which is situated close to it, is the subject of a hymn⁸ by Nammāḷvār.

TEXT OF No. 1.⁹

- 1 ¹⁰करवन्दपुरनिवासी श्रीमान्वैद्यः शिला-
2 गृहं विष्णोः [1*] अक्षत क्षती सधुरकविर्मो-

¹ It occurs in *p* and *z* of the word *mangalappēraraiyaṅ* (l. 3 f), in *n* of *Māraṅgāri* (l. 4 f), in *y* and *z* of *eyyda pūṇṇai* (l. 7), in *n* of *anujan* (l. 8), in *y* of *eydiṅa* (l. 9), in *n* of *Pāṇḍi* (l. 9), and in *z* of *Māraṅ* (l. 11).

² Above, Vol. IV p. 177.

³ In the Madras Museum plates, the king (called Jatavarman, the son of Māraṅvarman, in the Sanskrit portion and Neduñjadaiyaṅ in the Tamil portion) bears the surname Parāntaka along with a number of other titles. This would lead us to identify the Mārañjadaiyaṅ of the subjoined records with the donor of the Madras Museum plates. But the alphabet of the latter seems to be more developed than that of the former. A *stragal* in the Vatteḷuttu alphabet (No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895) set up in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjadaiyaṅ. The writing seems to resemble that of the Museum plates, and the inscription refers to Viḷuṅam.

⁴ Here again the minister is called Vaidyaṅ. The Madras Museum plates tell us that Mūrti Eyiyaṅ *alias* Viramangalappēraraiyaṅ, who was the king's *Mahāśamanta* in the 17th year of his reign, was a Vaidya. The inscription quoted in the paper on the Madras Museum plates refers to a fourth member of the same family, *viz* Śāttanganavadi *alias* Amritamangalavaraiyaṅ, who was a *Mahāśamanta* in the 6th year of Mārañjadaiyaṅ. The last as well as the two brothers mentioned in the Āṅaimalai inscriptions were natives of Karavandapuram.

⁵ The Tamil word *nrttaḷittal* (or more correctly *nrtteḷittal*) is synonymous with the Sanskrit *śampṛḷi śhaṅa*, which according to Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* means 'the act of sprinkling well over, consecration (of a temple, etc.)'¹.

⁶ No. 414 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁷ No. 705 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Pattāmpattu, Mudal Tiruvāymoli beginning *tāḷa tāmarai-tadamaṅ-ṅayal-Tirumōgūr*.

⁹ From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopalan Rao.

¹⁰ The metre of this verse and of the next is Āryā.

- 3 वृत्तरो मा[र]चुत्तुदिदम् ॥— [१*] मन्वो स ए-
 4 व मतिमान्याद्वाप्य परा[न्त]काभिधान-
 5 च्च [१*] अमितद्विमयज्ञेभ्यः [प्रादादि]म-
 6 मप्रहारमपि ॥— [२*] कलिः^१ [सहस्रत्रि]-
 7 तयन्दगोचरे [ग]तेष्टय-
 8 त्वापि सैकसप्ततौ [१*] द्वतप्र-
 9 तिष्ठो भगवानमृत्कमादिद्वै-
 10 य पौणोहनि सासि कार्तिके [॥ ३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Pre-eminently charming (in manners), a resident of Karavandapura, the son of Māra, (and a) learned (and) illustrious (member of the) Vaidya (family),— Madhurakavi made this -stone temple of Vishnu.

(V 2.) The same (viz Madhurakavi), the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya (king) named Parāntaka, also gave away to the first-born (i.e. Brahmanas) this immensely rich agrahāra.

(V. 3.) When three thousand and eight hundred and seventy-one years of Kali had passed—on the day of the sun in the month of Kārttika, this (image of the) god was duly set up here

TEXT OF No. II³

- 1 Kō Mārañjadaiyaṅku u-
 2 ttara-mantri Kaḷakkudī Vai-
 3 dyan Mūvēndamangalap-
 4 pēraraiyaṅ āḡiya Māraṅ-⁴
 5 [gā]ri i-kkaṅḡali ēyda
 6 nr̥ttaḡḡiyādēy svargg-arc-
 7 kaḡḡaṅ]-jēyda piṅḡai aṅa-
 8 ṅakku anṅaṅ uttara-
 9 mantra-paḡlam-ēyḡiṅa Pāṅḡi-
 10 mangalaṅḡaiaraiyaṅ⁵
 11 āḡiya Māraṅḡ-Ei-⁶
 12 ḡaṅ maḡa-maṅḡamaṅḡ-⁷jē-
 13 ḡḡa nīrttaḡḡiṅ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Māraṅḡāri alias Vaidyan Mūvēndamaṅḡalappēraraiyaṅ of Kaḷakkudī, the prime-minister (uttara-mantrin) of king Mārañjadaiyaṅ, made this stone temple and ascended heaven (i.e. died) without consecrating (it). Subsequently, his younger brother Māraṅ Eyiyaṅ alias

¹ The metre of this verse is Vāśīḡaḡa.

² Literally, "when a total of three thousand and eight hundred together with seventy-one had come within the range of the years of Kali"

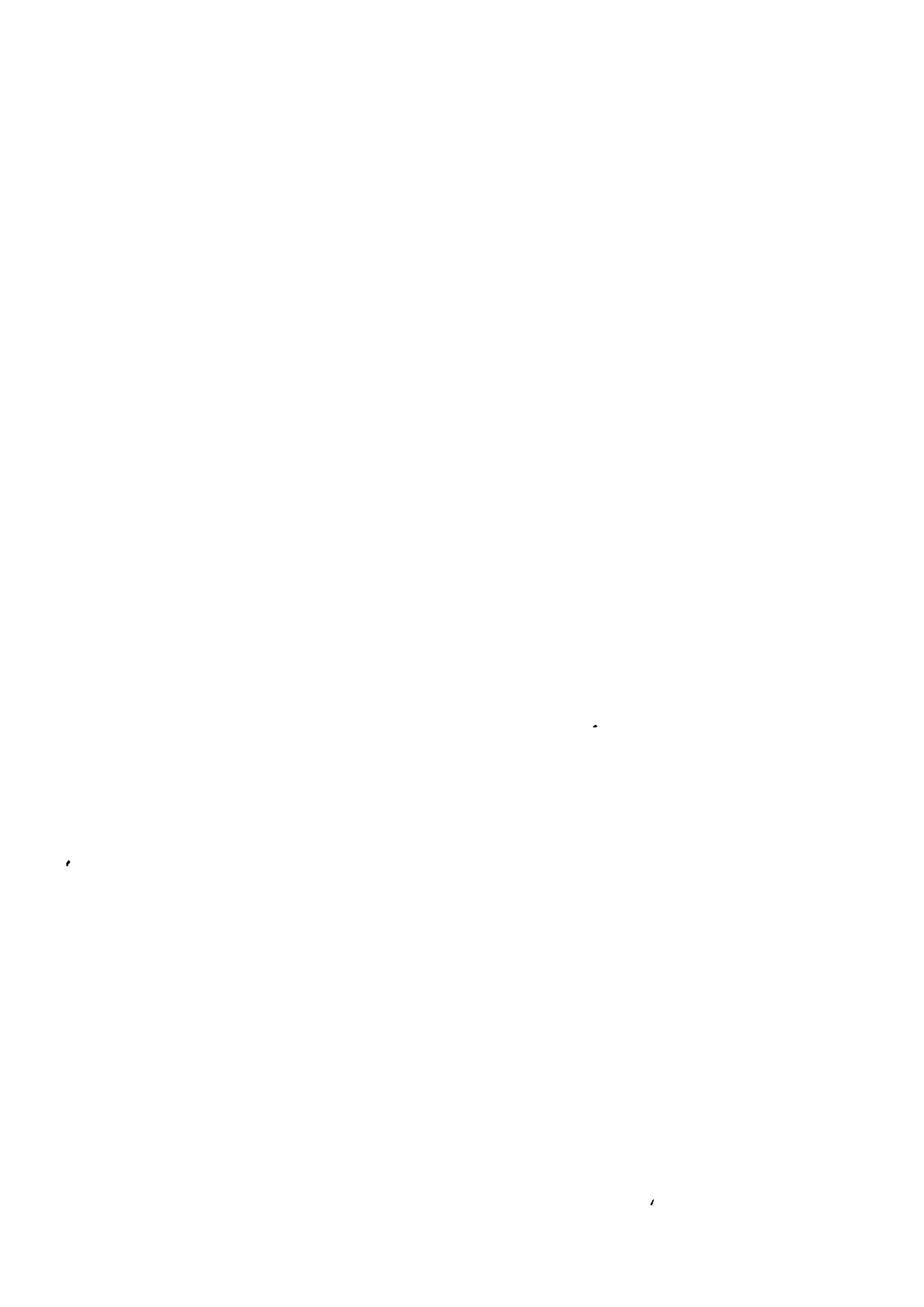
³ From an inked estarpaper supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao

⁴ In the original there seems to be a ka after the guttural n.

⁵ Read ḡaiaraiyaṅ. The r of vai looks like ka

⁶ Read =Eyiyaṅ.

⁷ Read =maṅḡapaṅ.



Pāṇḍimangalaviśāyaraiaṇ, who attained to the dignity of prime-minister, made the *mukha-*
mandapa and consecrated (*the shrine*)

INDEX.¹

BY V. VENKAYYA, M A

A		PAGE
abhaya-mudrā,	177, 181	
Abhidhānabintāmanī, <i>quoted</i> ,	34n, 215n	
Abhimanyu, <i>Rāshtrakūta k</i> ,	164, 165	
Abhinava-Pāndyadēva-Odeya, <i>ch</i> ,	128	
Abhinava-Siddharāja, <i>sur. of Jayantasimha</i> ,	99	
Ābhīra, <i>dy</i> ,	89	
Abu, <i>vi</i> ,	207	
Ābū, <i>mo</i> ,	200, 201, 202, 207	
Ābuya, <i>s a. Abu</i> ,	206, 207	
Achalésvara, <i>te</i> ,	206	
Āchārya-purusha,	300	
Achoharapākkam, <i>vi</i> ,	280	
Achyutarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k</i> ,	124	
ādam, <i>measure</i> ,	129n	
Addanki, <i>vi</i> ,	10, 11	
ādha, <i>measure</i> ,	129n	
adhika-tithi,	56n	
adhishthāna, <i>s a. sthāna</i> ,	161n	
Adhvaryu, <i>a student of the Yajurveda</i> ,	230	
Ādikēśava, <i>te</i> ,	151	
Ādikēśava-gṛhaṭṭa,	151	
adipina-muliti,	124, 137	
Āditya I, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	292	
Ādivarāha-Perumāl, <i>te</i> ,	277	
Āgāmisvāmin, <i>m</i> ,	230	
agara, <i>a house</i> ,	124, 135n	
Agastikāgrahāra, <i>vi.</i> ,	189, 194, 195	
Agastya, <i>rishi</i> ,	9	
Agastyēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	12, 267, 275	
Agattiyānpallī, <i>vi</i> ,	267	
Aghōrēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	152, 153	
Agriyatanaka, <i>m</i> ,	91	
Agnisvāmin, <i>m</i> ,	189	
Agnivarman, <i>m</i> ,	89	
Agra, <i>vi.</i> ,	174	
agrahāra,	9, 10, 11, 288, 305, 306, 315, 316, 320	
āgrahāyanī, <i>the full-moon tithi of Mārgasīra</i> ,	153	
āhāla (ādhāra),	170	
āhara, <i>a district</i> ,	67, 84	
ahargana,	261	
Ahlanādēvi, <i>f</i> ,	203, 217	
Ahmadābād, <i>vi</i> ,	206n	
Ahōbalam, <i>vi</i> ,	12	
Aihole, <i>vi</i> ,	25n, 33n	
Āja, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	213	
Ajakālakīya, <i>field</i> ,	72	
Ajantā, <i>vi</i> ,	27	
Ajlar or Ajilaru, <i>family of Jaina chiefs</i> ,	129	
Ajitasēna, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	17	
Ajjanandi, <i>do.</i> ,	318	
Ajmer, <i>vi</i> ,	81	
ājñapti,	145, 146, 238	
ājñāsamchārin, <i>s a. śāsanasamchārin</i> ,	163n	
ājya,	34	
Ākarāvanti, <i>co.</i> ,	41, 47, 61, 62	
Ākbi, <i>vi</i> ,	206	
akshapatalika,	70, 157n	
ākshasālīka,	70	
Akshayalingēśvara, <i>te</i> ,	267, 269	
akshaya-tritīyā,	5, 155	
Akshēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	280	
Ālampūdi, <i>vi</i> ,	299, 300	
Ālangudi, <i>vi</i> ,	3	
Alās, <i>vi.</i> ,	184	
Alhanadēvi, <i>Kalachuri queen</i> ,	202n	
alīyasantāna, <i>law of inheritance</i> ,	127	
Allabābād, <i>vi.</i> ,	151, 169	
Allanabajakāla, <i>field</i> ,	138	
Āllava, <i>m</i> ,	140	
Allur, <i>vi</i> ,	278	
Allūraka, <i>s a. Alurā</i> ,	231	
alphabets —		
box-headed,	25	
Brāhmī,	96, 166, 172, 174n	

¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes, and 'add.' to the *Additions and Correction* on pp vi and vii. 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, *mo.* = mountain, *vi.* = river, *s a* = same as; *sur* = surname; *te* = temple, *vi.* = village or town; *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Grantha,	8, 291, 298, 307, 318, 319	Añobavādi, vi.,	53
Kanarese or Kannaḍa,	16, 50, 123, 124,	Āndāṇ Piḷḷai, m.,	317
	298, 307, 314	Andhra, dy.,	144
Kharoṣṭhī,	. . . . .	Andhrabhṛitya, dy.,	29, 41n
Nāgarī,	96, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158,	Anēkārthasamgraha, quoted,	215n
	200, 207	'anga-ranga-vaibhava,	188
Telugu,	9, 124	Anguttaranikāya, quoted,	243n
Vaṭṭeluttu,	318, 319	Annamā, s. a. Annemāmbā,	10
Ālupa, dy,	126n	Annama-Vōma, s. a. Vōma,	10
Alurā, vi,	231	Annaya, Redḍi k.,	9
Ālupa, s. a. Ālupa,	. . . . .	Annemāmbā, queen of Kōmaṭi-Prōla,	9
Ālvār, a Vaiṣṇava saint,	. . . . .	Antarāla-pattalā, di.,	150
Ālvār-Tirunagari, vi.,	294, 295	Antarvādi, di,	151
Āmalakōśvara, te,	267	Anugāmi, vi,	86
Amara or Amarakōśa, quoted,	. . . . .	Anupa, s. a. Anūpa,	61
Amarachandrasūtri, s. a. Amarasūtri,	48n, 214n, 215n	Anūpa, co.,	41, 47, 62
Amārasūtri, Jaina teacher,	203n, 205	Anupamadēvi or Anupamā, wife of Tōjāpāla,	
Amarāvati, the city of Indra,	203, 218		203, 205, 208n, 217
Amarāvati, vi,	315	anusvāra,	16, 25, 39, 51, 183, 188, 194, 242
Amarāśvara, te,	10, 11, 12, 68	Anyor, vi,	177n, 178
Amaruśatakam, poem,	10	apabhāra, a burden,	204
Ambāśohārya, Vaiṣṇava teacher,	. . . . .	Āpaga, co,	12
Ambarīsha, mythical k.,	99	Apara-Kakhaḍi, s. a. Western Kakhaḍi,	74
Ambikā, goddess,	305n	Aparanta s. a. Aparānta,	61
Ambipūṭaka, vi.,	61	Aparānta, co.,	41, 47, 62
Ambuālī-pattalā, di.,	219	Āpastamba, rishi,	313n
Amṛnābad, vi.,	285	Āpastambagr̥hyasūtraṅkā,	305n
Amṛitamangalavaraiyaṅ, sur. of Śāttangana-	. . . . .	Āpatsahāyōśvara, te.,	3
vādi,	319n	Ara, Jaina saint,	125, 134, 135n, 136
amṛitapādi, a rice offering,	138n	Arachosia, co,	91
amudupādi, s. a. amṛitapādi,	138n	Arabalaya, m,	91
Anaghavarman, m.,	238	Ārāma, vi.,	140
Anahila, m.,	190	Ārambhasiddhi, astronomical work,	203n
Anahilapūṭaka, vi,	99, 204	Arbuda, s. a. Ābū, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 215,	
Anahilapura, v.,	200, 213		218, 219
Āṅgikāṭṭa-Perumāḷ, te.,	277	Arhat,	68
Āṅgimalai, hill,	317, 319	Aridvāramangalam, vi,	4
Ānandasūri or Ānandasūri, Jaina teacher, 203,		Arnāya-gandara-dhvanī, biruda of the Kaḷasa-	
	205, 218	Kārkaḷa chiefs,	126, 127, 128, 134
Ananta, serpent,	315	Arishṭanēmi, s. a. Nēmi,	134n
Anantanārāyaṇa, m.,	317	Arjuna, mythical k,	61, 98
Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, m.,	317	Arjuna, Arjunadēva or Arjunavarman,	
Anapōta or Anapōta-Reddi, Redḍi k., 10, 11		Paramāra k.,	98, 99, 100, 101, 241
	and add., 12, 13	Aikonam, vi.,	291n
Anapōtanīdu, ch.,	12	Arnava, metre,	33n
Ānarta, co,	41, 47, 49	Arṇōrāja, Vāghēlā k.,	201, 215
ānartī, s. a. Ājūaptī,	146n	Arsacidæ, dy.,	62
Anavōma, Redḍi k.,	10, 12, 13	Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ, te.,	8
Anavōta, s. a. Anapōta,	10	Arunāchalēśvara, te.,	4, 6, 7, 268, 269, 272
Anḅil, vi.,	6, 270	Arur, vi,	129

	PAGE		PAGE
Ārūru, <i>s.a.</i> Arur,	129, 138	Bagguñji, <i>vi</i> ,	129
Āruvattunāḷku-maṇḍalikāra-talegoṇḍa-ganda, <i>biruda</i>, . . . . .	. . . . . 135n	Baghēlkhand, <i>di</i> ,	286
Āryasiddhānta,	241, 261, 290n	Bagīlarasa, <i>m</i> ,	138
Āśādhara, <i>Jaina poet</i> ,	99n	Baguñji-sime, <i>di</i> ,	129
Asaka (Ashaka), <i>s.a.</i> Aśvaka, Āsandi, <i>vi</i> ,	61, 62 55	Bahīrikā vishaya, <i>di.</i> ,	230, 231
Āsarāja, <i>s.a.</i> Aśvarāja,	207	Bahmani, <i>dy</i> ,	12
Āsatikā or Asatikā, <i>vi</i> ,	151	Bahu, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208
Āsatī-grama, <i>s.a.</i> Astgām,	230, 231	Bāhubaho, <i>s.a.</i> Gummata,	134n
Ashtādhyāyī, <i>quoted</i> ,	39n	Banūr, <i>vi</i> ,	292
āshṭāhukā,	204 and add	'bāi, <i>title</i> ,	208
ashtānnika,	124, 137, 204 add	Baicha or Baichapa I, <i>ch</i> ,	16, 17, 22
ashtavidhārchane,	137n	Baichapa II, <i>ch</i> ,	16, 22
Ashtgam, <i>s.a.</i> Astgam,	231n	Bairat, <i>vi</i> ,	168
Asika, <i>e.a.</i> Rishika,	61, 62	bajakala,	124
Asōka, <i>Maurya emperor</i> , 37, 40, 41, 46n, 47, 93, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 178, 297		Bala, <i>Buddhist friar</i> , 173, 174, 175, 176, 177n, 179, 180, 181, 183	
Āsphōtachandra, <i>Kanauj k</i> ,	149, 152, 155	bala, <i>measure</i> ,	129n
Assam, <i>co</i> ,	286	Baladēva, <i>ch</i> ,	135n
Astgām, <i>vi</i> ,	231	Bālāditya, <i>sur.</i> of Dhruvasēna II, 188	
Asurēsa-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150	balānaka, <i>s.a.</i> balāni,	200, 203, 218
Aśvaghōṣha, <i>k</i> ,	171, 172	balani,	200
Aśvaka, <i>co</i> ,	62	Bālasarasvatī, <i>sur.</i> of Madana, 99	
aśvamēdha, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	30	Balasarasvatiyam, <i>poem</i> , 99n	
Aśvarāja, <i>m</i> ,	200, 203, 207, 214, 215, 218	balasidor (beḷasidor), <i>those who have culti-</i> <i>vated</i> ,	51, 138n
aśvasamstha, <i>a horseman</i> ,	26	Bali, <i>demon</i> ,	217
Aśvatthāman, <i>mythical hero</i> ,	292n	Baliḡāmi, <i>vi</i> ,	126
Aśvibhāti, <i>m</i> ,	79, 81	Balimeya-hole, <i>stream</i> ,	136
Athmalik, <i>di.</i> ,	286	Ballāla, <i>author</i> ,	242
Ātuka, <i>m</i> ,	146	Ballāla, <i>k</i> ,	201, 202, 216
Ātukūru, <i>s.a.</i> Gaṇi-Ātukūru, 9, 10		Balsār, <i>vi</i> ,	231
auttarāha, <i>a northerner</i> ,	91	'baḷa, <i>land held</i> ,	124, 138
Avāchi-Dēva or -Dēvaya, <i>m</i> ,	11	Bāmra, <i>di</i> ,	286
avagraha,	97, 152	Bāna, <i>demon</i> ,	98n
Avalivanallūr, <i>vi</i> ,	7	Bāna, <i>dy.</i> ,	28n, 98n
Avanjanāśraya, <i>sur.</i> of Pulakēśirāja, 231		Bana, <i>poet</i> ,	28, 29
Āvasarpinī,	214n	Bāna the great, <i>k</i> ,	28, 35
Avimukta-kshētra,	152	Banavāsi, <i>vi</i> ,	29, 147
Avippulam, <i>field</i> ,	296	Bandhogarh, <i>vi</i> ,	165
Ayanakāgrahāra, <i>vi</i> ,	189, 194, 195	bangaru molaka, <i>golden sprouts</i> ,	12
Ayanapuram, <i>vi</i> ,	291n	Bannaballi, <i>vi</i> ,	30
Āyurvēda,	308, 315	Banṭara-bāva, <i>biruda</i> ,	135n
Ayyana, <i>family</i> ,	238	bappa,	163n
Ayyapadēva, <i>Noḷamba k.</i> ,	56	Barābar, <i>vi</i> ,	168
Ayyaparasaya, <i>m</i> ,	56	Barakanūra-gadyāna, <i>corn</i> ,	130n
		bārasaka,	83
		Bargarh, <i>di</i> ,	286
		Bārnāsā or Barnāsā, <i>vi.</i> ,	78, 86, 87, 88
		basadi, <i>s.a.</i> basti,	200n
		basti, <i>a Jaina temple</i> ,	122, 125n, 138, 200n

B

Bādāmi, <i>vi</i> ,	25n, 46n, 231
Badaneguppe, <i>vi.</i> ,	147

	PAGE		PAGE
Baud, <i>di.</i> ,	286	bhaṭṭa,	140, 153, 154, 183, 305
Bôgûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	56	bhaṭṭaputra,	140
Beḷugûḷa, <i>s a.</i> Śravana-Beḷgoḷa,	17, 24	bhaṭṭâraka,	206, 230
Benâkâṭaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	68, 72	Bhaunagar or Bhâvnagar, <i>vi.</i> ,	190, 200
Benares (Vârânasî), <i>vi.</i> , 149n, 151, 152, 153, 155, 158, 166, 173, 174, 177		Bhava, <i>s a.</i> Śiva,	36
Benpegâsi, <i>m.</i> ,	59	Bhâva-Bṛihaspati, <i>temple priest</i> ,	201
Bennoyûr, <i>s a.</i> Benpûr,	52, 59	Bhavagôpa, <i>m.</i> ,	94
Benpûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	34n, 52	Bhavaskandatrâta, <i>m.</i> ,	236
beṭṭu,	124, 138n	Bhavishya, <i>Râshṭrakûṭa k.</i> ,	164
Betul, <i>di.</i> ,	286	bhavya, <i>the Jaina community</i> ,	22n
Betul, <i>vi.</i> ,	284, 285	Bhayirarasa-Vodeya, <i>Kaḷasa-Kârkaḷa ch.</i> ,	127
Bezvâda, <i>vi.</i> ,	10	Bhayirarasa-Vodeya, <i>s a.</i> Bhairava II.,	127
Bhadaini, <i>te.</i> ,	149n	Bhayirarsapnâjî, <i>ch.</i> ,	129
Bhadâvaniya, <i>s a.</i> Bhadâyaniya,	62, 64	Bhôra-Ghât, <i>vi.</i> ,	202n
Bhadâyaniya or Bhadâyanika,	64, 65, 67	bhikshu,	67, 177n
Bhadrabâhu, <i>Jaina author</i> ,	134n	bhikshuni,	177n
bhâgabdhôgakara,	152, 154, 155, 157, 158	Bhîmadôva I., <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	207
Bhagavat, <i>s a.</i> Buddha,	71, 177n, 180	Bhîmadôva II., <i>do.</i> ,	99, 201, 202, 204, 205
Bhagavat, <i>s a.</i> Vishnu,	160, 162, 163, 236	Bhîmakhandam, <i>Telugu poem</i> ,	9n
Bhâgavata, <i>a devotee of Bhagavat</i> ,	163, 236, 288	Bhîmamayûtâsa . . . -pattalâ, <i>di.</i> ,	150
Bhagîratha, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	29, 30, 35	Bhîmasôna, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	61
Bhailavata-paṭṭala (P), <i>di.</i> ,	150	Bhîshma, <i>Epic hero</i> ,	98
Bhairarasa-Vodeya, <i>Kaḷasa-Kârkaḷa ch.</i> ,	129n	Bhôgikkasvâmin, <i>m.</i> ,	230
Bhairarasa-Vodeya, <i>s a.</i> Bhairava I.,	124, 134	Bhôja, <i>k.</i> ,	242, 243, 251n
Bhairarasa-Vodeya, <i>s a.</i> Bhairava II.,	124, 135, 136, 138	Bhôja or Bhôjadôva, <i>Paramâra k.</i> ,	98, 99, 100
Bhairava I, <i>Kârkaḷa ch.</i> ,	124, 126	Bhôjaprabandha,	242
Bhairava II., <i>Kaḷasa-Kârkaḷa ch.</i> , 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 135n		Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque),	96
Bhairava or Bhairavôndra, <i>ch.</i> ,	128	Bhôpâl, <i>vi.</i> ,	101n
Bhairava or Bhairavôndra, <i>s a.</i> Bhairava II.,	124, 134	Bhujabala-Mahârâya, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> , 127n	
Bhairavarâja, <i>s a.</i> Bhairava I.,	124, 134	Bhujabalî, <i>s a.</i> Gummaṭa,	134n
Bhâjâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	76	Bhujangadâsa, <i>m.</i> ,	288
bhakti, <i>measure of land</i> ,	189, 195	bhukti, <i>a district</i> ,	188
Bhâlibhâdâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	206	Bhumarâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	285
bhâpdâkârîkiya,	92	bhûmichohhidra,	189
Bhânukîrtî, <i>title of Jaina teachers</i> ,	129n	Bhûta, <i>demons</i> ,	62
Bhânukîrtî-Muladhârîdôva, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	129n	bhûtavâtapratyâya,	189
Bhânusvâmin, <i>m.</i> ,	284, 285, 288	bbuvana-sâlo,	127n
Bhânucarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	30, 31	Bhûvarâha, <i>s a.</i> Vishnu,	314
Bharatôsvara-chakravartin, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	134	Bikkirupândiya (Vikramapândya), <i>m.</i> ,	138
Bhârâtî, <i>s a.</i> Sarasvatî,	99n, 135	Bilahrî, <i>vi.</i> ,	285
Bhârôdâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	180	Bilhana, <i>poet</i> ,	101
Bharukachha, <i>vi.</i> ,	79	Bilîyarasa, <i>m.</i> ,	138
Bharwârâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	285	Bîndrâ Nawâgarh, <i>di.</i> ,	286
Bhâskara-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Bîrûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	30
Bhaṭṭapalikâ, <i>f.</i> ,	91, 92	Biyâḷa, <i>m.</i> ,	59
		bôdhi,	178
		Hodhiguta, <i>m.</i> ,	77
		Bôdhissattva, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182	

	PAGE
Bonai, <i>di</i> ,	286
Bopaki (Vopaki), <i>ascetic</i> ,	94
Borâ Sambhar, <i>di</i> ,	286
Bower Manuscript,	27
bôya, <i>s a</i> <i>vâstavya</i> ,	238
Brahmadêva, <i>Jaina god</i> ,	123n
Brahmadêva-mandapa,	15
Brahmadêva pillar,	123n, 123
brahmadêys,	163, 236
Brahmagupta, <i>astronomer</i> ,	238, 241
Brahma-Kundi, <i>s a</i> <i>Gaṇḍlakamma</i> ,	10, 11n
Brahman, <i>god</i> ,	22, 23n, 216, 233, 236, 237
Brahman, <i>s a</i> <i>Brahmadêva</i> ,	125, 136, 137
Brahmâṇa, <i>vi</i> ,	206
Brâhmana, 28, 33n, 34, 49, 61, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 86, 88	
brahmapuri,	26
Brahma-siddhânta, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 57, 58 add, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 289	
Bṛihaspati,	22, 214n, 217n
Bṛihatsamhitâ, <i>quoted</i> ,	62n
British Museum plates,	143
Broach, <i>vi</i> ,	189
Buchâ-Reddi, <i>s a</i> <i>Têrâla-Bûchâ-Reddi</i> ,	11
Buddha, 67, 70, 71, 91, 168, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 297	
Buddhacharita,	172
Buddhamitra, <i>Buddhist nun</i> ,	173, 177, 182
Buddharakshita, <i>m</i> ,	63
Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	231, 236
Buddhism,	80, 91, 167, 173, 174
Buddhist, 64, 68, 70, 75, 79, 80, 167, 170, 172, 177, 178, 180, 290n	
Buddhyankura, <i>Pallava prince</i> ,	144, 145, 146
Budhasvâmin, <i>m</i> ,	194, 195
Budh-Gaya, <i>vi</i> ,	180
Bukka I, <i>Vijayanagara k</i> ,	16, 17, 305, 306, 307, 315
Bukka II, <i>do</i> ,	300
Bukkana, <i>ch</i> ,	16, 22
Bukkarâya, <i>s a</i> <i>Bukka I</i> ,	16, 22
bull orest,	144, 188
Burma, <i>co</i> ,	172, 173n
Busbalrao, <i>s a</i> <i>Bhujabala-Mahârâya</i> ,	127n
Bûtuga I, <i>W Ganga k</i> ,	54
Bûtuga II, <i>do</i> ,	54
Byrasu Wodears, <i>the Kârkala chiefs</i> ,	124n

	PAGE
C	
Calcutta, <i>city</i> ,	189
Chadhuhapâli, <i>vi</i> ,	157
Chaicha or Chaichapa, <i>mistake for Barha</i> ,	17
Chaitraparvan, <i>s a</i> <i>Vasantôtsava</i> ,	98n
Chaitri, <i>the full-moon day of Chaitra</i> ,	10
Chaitrôtsava, <i>s a</i> <i>Vasantôtsava</i> ,	98n
chaityagriha,	31
Chakora, <i>mo</i> ,	61
Chalukya, <i>s a</i> <i>Chalukya</i> ,	231, 231
Chahsilana, <i>vi</i> ,	91
Chahyâr, <i>vi</i> ,	146
Chalukya, Eastern, <i>dy</i> ,	119, 231, 237, 238
Chalukya, Western, <i>dy</i> ,	126n, 230, 231, 292
Chalukya, <i>family</i> ,	237
Châlukya, <i>do</i> ,	126
Chamaravâmi, <i>vi</i> ,	157
Chamayya, <i>m</i> ,	59
Chambal, <i>vi</i> ,	206
Chânakya, <i>minister</i> ,	217
Chandaladôvi, <i>queen of Vikrama Aditya VI</i> ,	101
Chandapa, <i>m</i> ,	203, 207, 311, 313
Chandaprasada, <i>m</i> ,	203, 207, 211, 213
Chandavarman, <i>Kalunga k</i> ,	258n
Chandavêga, <i>rietre</i> ,	33n
Chandâśvara, <i>m</i> ,	203, 219
Chandodia or Chandoria, <i>vi</i> ,	195
Chandra-bhatta, <i>m</i> ,	316, 317
Chandrâdêva, <i>Kanauj k</i> ,	149, 150
Chandrâditya, <i>m</i> ,	183
Chandragiri, <i>vi</i> ,	290
Chandragupta, <i>Maurya k</i> ,	40, 41, 46
Chandragutti, <i>vi</i> ,	134n
Chandramaulîśvara, <i>te</i> ,	265
Chandrânana, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208
Chandranâtha or Chandranâthasvâmin, <i>te</i> ,	125, 128, 133
Chandrapur, <i>di</i> ,	286
Chandraputraka, <i>vi</i> ,	195
Chandrâvati, <i>vi</i> ,	201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 217
Changanarêndra, <i>mistake for Vanganarêndra</i> ,	126n
Charaka,	79
Chârana, <i>demi-gods</i> ,	12n
châritra,	31, 136n
charu,	31, 136n
Chârudevi, <i>queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman</i> ,	144, 145, 148

	PAGE		PAGE
Chârukîrti-Pandîtadôva, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	128, 129n	Conjeveram, <i>vs.</i> ,	3, 17, 28n, 234, 292, 293, 295, 300
Chashâna, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> ,	41, 46	Cuttack, <i>vs.</i> ,	139
châturmâsya, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	34		
Chaturmukhabasti, <i>te.</i> ,	122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131n, 135n	D	
chaturthavarna, <i>the fourth (Śûdra) caste</i> ,	9	Ḍabhâlâ, <i>co.</i> ,	285, 286, 288
chaturvêdin,	189, 194, 195	Ḍâhala, Ḍâhâla, Ḍahâla or Ḍahalâ, <i>s.a.</i> Ḍa- bhâlâ,	285, 286
Chaubârâ mound,	173n, 181	Dâhanukâ, <i>vs.</i> ,	79
Chaulukya, <i>dy.</i> ,	99, 100, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 215, 216, 218	Dâhanûkâ, <i>vs.</i> ,	86
Chauṭar, <i>family of Jaina chiefs</i> ,	129	Daivahâ, <i>s.a.</i> Deoha,	150
Chauṭaru, <i>s.a.</i> Chauṭar,	129n	Dakhamitrâ, <i>f.</i> ,	82, 85
Chêbhatkâ, <i>s.a.</i> Chêhdi,	183, 184	Daksha, <i>demon</i> ,	217
Chechnûna, <i>vs.</i> ,	86	Dakshina-Bhôjarâja, <i>sur. of Ravivarman</i> ,	9
Chêhdi, <i>vs.</i> ,	184	Dakshinâpatha, <i>co.</i> ,	41, 47, 62
Chendalûr, <i>vs.</i> ,	233, 234, 236, 238	Dakshinâ-Śiva, <i>te.</i> ,	164
Chendalûra, <i>s.a.</i> Chendalûr,	234, 236, 238	Dâlûra, <i>vs.</i> ,	145, 146
Chondarûra, <i>do.</i> ,	238	Damachika, <i>clan or district</i> ,	95, 96
Chetika, <i>community of Buddhist monks</i> ,	77	Damana, <i>vs.</i> ,	79
Chhâkalepa or Chhâgalepa, <i>vs.</i> ,	90	Damascus, <i>vs.</i> ,	95
Chhattisgarh (the thirty-six forts), <i>ds.</i> ,	286	Dâmôdara, <i>Parivrajaka k.</i> ,	288
Chhavata, <i>mo.</i> ,	61	Dâmôdara-bhatṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	306
Chhindwârâ, <i>ds.</i> ,	286	Dâmôdaraśarman, <i>m.</i> ,	155, 157, 158
Chidambaram, <i>vs.</i> ,	300, 305	îanaślâghya, <i>chronogram</i> ,	305
Chidambaranâtha, <i>te.</i> ,	316	Dandaka, <i>metre.</i> ,	26, 33n
Chikhalapadia, <i>vs.</i> ,	79, 80, 82	Dandakavili or Konḍaviṭi Dandakavili, <i>Telugu poem.</i> ,	11, 12, 13
Chikkabetṭa, <i>hill at Kârkaḷa</i> ,	122n, 125, 135	dandanâtha,	16
Chikkabetṭa, <i>hill at Śravana-Belgoḷa</i> ,	123n	dandanâyaka,	29, 135n
Chikka-Magaḷûr, <i>s.a.</i> Chikmagaḷûr,	50	Dandin,	48n
Chikkulla, <i>vs.</i> ,	26, 28n	Dantapura, <i>vs.</i> ,	161
Chikmagaḷûr, <i>vs.</i> ,	50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58	Dantidurga, <i>Râshṭrakûṭa k.</i> ,	181, 291n
Chîna, <i>co.</i> ,	12	Dantiga, <i>s.a.</i> Dantivarman-Mahârâja,	293n
Chirakkâvûr, <i>s.a.</i> Śorâikkâvûr,	305	Dantiga, <i>s.a.</i> Dantivikramavarman,	292
Chitôrganh, <i>vs.</i> ,	202	Dantippôttaraśar, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	293, 294
Chitrâgupta, <i>god</i> ,	152n, 153	Dantivarman, <i>Pallavatîlaka k.</i> ,	293n
Chitraprabandha, <i>a metrical puzzle</i> ,	138	Dantivarman, <i>s.a.</i> Dantippôttaraśar,	293
Chitravâhana, <i>Āḷupa k.</i> ,	126n	Dantivarman or Dantivarman-Mahârâja, <i>Pallava</i> <i>k.</i> ,	292, 293, 296
Chitṭa, <i>Redḍi ch.</i> ,	10	Dantivikrama or Dantivikramavarman, <i>Ganga-</i> <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	292, 293
chivârîka,	83, 84, 90	Danu, <i>demoness</i> ,	216
Chôḷa, <i>co.</i> ,	1, 8, 56, 241, 260, 261, 276, 290, 291, 292, 293n, 295, 300, 305, 318	darśana,	22n
Chôḷa, <i>family</i> ,	131n, 135n	darśanas, the six,	135
Chôḷa-maṇḍalam, <i>ds.</i> ,	300	Darśi, <i>vs.</i> ,	161n
Chôṭangi, <i>co.</i> ,	12	Dârukâvanêśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	261, 280
Chôḷa-ârya, <i>biruda of Buddharakshita</i> ,	68, 73	Dasakumâracharita,	41n
Chulukya, <i>s.a.</i> Chaulukya,	200, 201, 203, 213, 214, 219	Dasanapura, <i>vs.</i> ,	161
Chundî, <i>vs.</i> ,	174	dasâparâdha,	189
Chutiâ Nâgpur, <i>co.</i> ,	286		

	PAGE
Daśapura, <i>s a</i> Dasōr,	79, 95, 189, 194, 195
Daśaratha, <i>mythical k</i> ,	215, 216
Daśarūpakam, <i>quoted</i> ,	98n
Dasōr, <i>vi</i> ,	195
dates —	
recorded by a chronogram,	8, 305, 308, 315
recorded in numerical symbols,	38, 188,
189, 194, 195, 230, 231, 284, 288	
recorded in numerical words,	10, 134
Dāṭhavamśa, <i>name of a Buddhist work</i> ,	161
Dattamūtri, <i>vi</i> ,	91
Dattāṅ, <i>m</i> ,	296
Dattasvamin, <i>m</i> ,	194
Davani, <i>vi</i> ,	206
Dayadāmi-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150
Dayi (Dayika), <i>m</i> ,	152n
Dayimśarman, <i>m</i> ,	152
days, lunar —	
bright fortnight —	
first,	58, 271, 272, 306
second,	267, 273, 274, 278
third,	5, 155, 163, 202, 207, 262, 277,
278, 280, 281, 282	
fourth,	202, 266
fifth,	4, 7, 58 add, 158, 236, 264,
266, 270, 281	
sixth,	124, 134
seventh,	3
eighth,	277
tenth,	183, 268, 269
eleventh,	8, 9, 17, 21, 273, 277
twelfth,	6, 17, 21, 308
thirteenth,	231, 269, 270, 271, 289
fourteenth,	3, 5, 267
fifteenth,	271
full-moon,	10n, 54, 57, 58 and add,
147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 237,	
240, 241, 282, 283	
dark fortnight —	
first,	2, 5, 11, 15, 98n, 283
second,	274, 282
third,	195, 203, 204, 205, 219, 262, 263,
279, 282, 289	
fourth,	267, 268
fifth,	4, 56n, 157, 189, 275, 278, 279, 283
sixth,	379
seventh,	2, 7, 208, 280
eighth,	6, 208, 266, 269, 275, 276
ninth,	3, 6, 265, 266, 276

	PAGE
days, lunar —	
dark fortnight —	
tenth,	7, 276, 277, 289
eleventh,	1, 2, 264, 265, 273
twelfth,	140, 263, 264, 265, 272
thirteenth,	6, 266, 272, 276, 278
fourteenth,	208, 270
fifteenth,	271, 299
new-moon,	57, 58, 305
days, solar —	
first,	267, 277
eighth,	4
fourteenth,	268
seventeenth,	269
twenty-fourth,	265
twenty-fifth,	299
twenty-eighth,	268
thirtieth,	279, 282
thirty-first,	279
thirty-second,	271, 272
days of the week —	
Sunday,	4, 7, 153, 154, 203, 204, 205,
219, 265, 267, 269, 270, 272, 282,	
283, 318, 320	
Monday,	5, 6, 54, 57, 58 and add, 152,
153, 154n, 158, 207, 265, 266, 267,	
268, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277,	
278, 280, 282, 283, 289, 290	
Tuesday,	4, 56n, 263, 263, 273, 276, 230
Wednesday,	2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 56n, 124, 134,
157, 262, 263, 264, 265, 271,	
272, 274, 275, 277, 279, 281, 290, 306	
Thursday,	1, 2, 3, 56n, 153, 208, 263, 264,
265, 268, 270, 275, 276	
Friday,	6, 7, 10, 155, 203, 238, 240,
267, 280, 281, 283, 315	
Saturday,	8, 9, 261, 268, 270, 277, 278,
283, 289, 290	
Demetrius, <i>vi</i> ,	91
Deoha, <i>sur of Gogra</i> ,	150
Deśi gaṇa,	122 i, 124
Deśamāmala, <i>quoted</i> ,	26n, 117n, 217n, 252r,
253n, 255n, 256n, 257n, 258i, 259n	
Dēsingarasara, <i>ch</i> ,	129n
deśi words,	212
Dulavadā, <i>s a</i> Dilwara,	205, 203, 277
Dūpali, <i>vi</i> ,	150
devabhoga hala,	113
Devadhya, <i>Parivāyaka l</i> ,	288
Devagana, <i>m</i> ,	39
Dēvagēri, <i>vi</i> ,	25, 30, 56n
	2 v

	PAGE
elephant crest,	50, 52
Elkûru, <i>vi</i> ,	54, 56, 57
Elumbûr, <i>s.a.</i> Egmore,	290
Elumûri-pattu, <i>di</i> ,	300, 305
Elumûr-nâdu, <i>di</i> ,	291
eras —	
Gupta,	284, 288, 289, 290
Gupta-Valabhî,	188, 190, 195, 201
Kalachuri-Chêdi,	202n, 231
Kaliyuga,	8, 9, 261, 289, 318, 320
Kanishka,	172, 178
Śaka or Śāka (Śāli or Śālivāhana), 8,	
9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 41, 52, 53, 54,	
55, 56n, 124, 125n, 127, 128, 129, 130,	
134, 183, 184, 231, 240, 241, 261, 274,	
276, 277, 281, 283, 299, 300, 305, 308, 315, 319	
Vikrama, 52, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158, 201,	
202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 219	
Eṟeyamma, <i>m</i> ,	59
Eṟeyappa, <i>W. Ganga k.</i> ,	53, 54, 56
F	
Fathpur-Sikri, <i>vi</i> ,	181
Firûz Shâh, <i>Bahmanî k.</i> ,	12
Florence, <i>city</i> ,	173
forest kingdoms, the eighteen (<i>athârâgarh</i>),	
.	285, 286, 288
Fort St. George,	291n
Fra Angelico,	173
G	
gâbhâra, <i>s a</i> sabhâ-mandapa,	200
Gadâhâda, <i>s a.</i> Gadara,	206, 207
Gadara, <i>vi</i> ,	207
Gadâra (<i>Gadâda</i>), <i>s a.</i> Gadara,	207
gaddî, <i>a throne</i> ,	200 add
gaddige, <i>do</i> ,	200 add
gadyâṅga or gadyânaka, <i>a pagoda</i> ,	125, 130, 136n
Gâgâ, <i>m.</i> ,	203, 217
Gagahâ, <i>vi</i> ,	157n
Gâgêka, <i>m</i> ,	155
Gâgûka, <i>m</i> ,	155n
Gâhadavâla, <i>family</i> ,	149, 150n
gâhiyasahas, <i>s a</i> ghaisasa,	26n
Gajalakshmi,	139
Gajapati, <i>title</i> ,	63
gâṁdu, <i>a pagoda</i> ,	130
ganâchârya,	89
ganapaka, <i>an accountant</i> ,	89

	PAGE
Gandapara, <i>ri</i> ,	138 add.
Gandhâra, <i>co</i> ,	174, 177, 178, 181
Gandharva, <i>demi-gods</i> ,	36, 62
Gaṇêśa, <i>god</i> ,	23n, 200, 213n
Gaṇêśa-chaturthî,	266n
Ganga, <i>Western, dy.</i> , 26n, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55,	
.	56, 57, 58
Gangâ (<i>Ganges</i>), <i>ri</i> , 23n, 151, 152, 153, 155,	
.	157, 216
Gangâdhara, <i>m</i> ,	98
Gangaditya, <i>te</i> ,	152
Gangaikondachôlapuram, <i>vi</i> ,	294n
Ganga-Pallava, <i>dy.</i> ,	292, 293, 295, 318
Gângêya, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	98
Gângêya, <i>s a.</i> Bhishma,	98
Gangôli Sômanâtha-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	306
Gangpur, <i>di.</i> ,	286
Gani-Âtukûru, <i>vi</i> ,	10
Gaṅjigere, <i>vi.</i> ,	52, 53
Garga, <i>astronomer</i> , 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 57, 58 add,	
262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271,	
272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280,	
.	281, 282, 283, 289
garhmâs, the eighteen,	286
Garuda, <i>god</i> ,	62
Garuda banner,	8
Garuda crest,	152, 164
Gathâ,	26n, 170
Gaṭṭavadi, <i>vi</i> ,	53
Ganda, <i>co</i> ,	28, 98
Gaṇḍavaho, <i>quoted</i> ,	117n, 118n
Gaur, <i>co</i> ,	286
Gaurî, <i>s a</i> Pârvatî,	215
Gautami-putra, <i>sur of</i> Sâtakarṇi,	63, 72
Gayâ, <i>vi</i> ,	174
ghadîyaghadâ (<i>ghaṭîkâghata</i>), <i>s a</i> gôsbhî,	26n
ghaisâsa,	26n
ghaṭîkâ,	26, 34
ghaṭîkâsâhasa, <i>s a</i> ghaisâsa,	26n
Ghôderâya-Bhîmaya-guru, <i>s a</i> Ghôderâya-	
Ganga,	9n
Ghôderâya-Ganga, <i>m.</i> ,	9
Ghôrârâya-Bhîmêśvara, <i>s a</i> Ghôderâya Ganga,	9n
Girinagara, <i>s a</i> Junagadh,	42, 45
Girnâr, <i>mo</i> ,	37, 40n, 42, 62, 87, 167n, 203
.	25n
Goa, <i>vi</i> ,	11, 183, 184
Gôdâvarî, <i>ri</i> ,	150
Gogra, <i>ri</i> ,	153
Gôhada, <i>m.</i> ,	152, 157
gôkara,	2 v 2

	PAGE		PAGE
Janaka, <i>mythical k</i> ,	22	Junâgadh, <i>vi.</i> ,	37, 42
Jânaki, <i>f.</i> ,	16, 22	Junnar, <i>vi.</i> ,	75, 89
Janamâjaya, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	61	Jupiter, <i>planet</i> ,	31n, 289, 290
Janamâjaya or Janmâjaya, <i>sur. of Mahâbhava-</i> <i>gupta I</i> , 139, 140		Jyôtiṣâstra,	152, 155
Jângala, <i>co.</i> ,	201		
Jâru[ttâ]-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> ,	150	K	
Jaṭâbhâra, <i>ascetic</i> ,	164	Kachchha, <i>co.</i> ,	41, 47
Jâtaaka, <i>quoted</i> , 26n, 40n, 45n, 48n, 161, 176, 243n		Kachchhâha-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> ,	150
Jaṭâ-Samkara, <i>te.</i> ,	104	Kadaba, <i>vi.</i> ,	294n
Jaṭâvarman Kulaśôkhara, <i>Pândya k</i> ,	274, 275	Kadaka (Kaṭaka), <i>vi.</i> ,	145, 146
Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pândya I., <i>do.</i> , 275n, 278n, 279, 280, 281		Kadamba, <i>co.</i> ,	35
Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pândya II., <i>do.</i> , 274, 278, 279, 280, 281		Kadamba, <i>family</i> , 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 31, 35, 36n, 126n, 147, 148, 149	
Jaṭilavarman, <i>do.</i> ,	294n, 318, 319	Kâdamba, <i>do.</i> ,	28n
Jattikôṭi, <i>m.</i> ,	138	kadamba, <i>tree</i> ,	28, 34
Jaugada, <i>vi.</i> ,	168	Kâdambarî, <i>quoted</i> ,	29n, 48n
Jâvali, <i>vi.</i> ,	54, 55	Kadappêri, <i>vi.</i> ,	300
Jayachandra, <i>Kanauj k</i> ,	149, 150, 152	kâdi, <i>measure</i> ,	295, 296
Jayadâman, <i>Kshatrâpa k.</i> ,	41, 45n	kâhâpana (kârshâpana), <i>coin</i> , 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90	
Jayadankakâra, <i>biruda</i> ,	54, 56	Kalkasi, <i>demoness</i> ,	30n
Jayadutta[ramga], <i>do.</i> ,	53, 54, 56n	Kailâsa, <i>m.</i> ,	140
Jayakôsin, <i>Kadamba ch.</i> ,	126n	Kailâsa, <i>mo</i> ,	9n, 62, 64, 135, 206n
Jayanta, <i>god</i> ,	216	Kailâsanâtha, <i>te</i> ,	5
Jayantasiṃha, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	99	Kailâsanâthasvâmin, <i>te.</i> ,	265, 266
Jayantasiṃha, <i>s.a. Jaitrasimha</i> ,	203, 216, 217	Kana, <i>vi.</i> ,	189, 241
Jayasimha, <i>ch.</i> ,	161	kariyakkî,	138n
Jayasimha or Jayasimhadêva, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , 99, 201, 202		Kâkatî or Kâkatîya, <i>dy.</i> ,	9, 11
Jayasimha, <i>Kêrala k.</i> ,	8, 9	Kakhadî, <i>vi.</i> ,	74
Jayasimha, <i>s.a. Bhîmadêva II.</i> ,	99, 100	Kakhadî, <i>Western, vi.</i> ,	72
Jayasimha, <i>s.a. Jaitugidêva</i> ,	99n	Kâkû, <i>m.</i> ,	152, 153
Jayasimha II, <i>W Châlukya k.</i> ,	30n	Kâkustha, <i>s.a. Kâkusthavarman</i> ,	29, 35
Jayasimhavarman, <i>Gujarât Châlukya ch.</i> , 230, 231		Kâkustha (Kâkutstha), <i>s.a. Râma</i> ,	36
Jayâśraya, <i>sur. of Maṅgalarâja</i> ,	231	Kâkusthavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36	
Jayaśrî, <i>s.a. Vijayaśrî</i> ,	100, 101n	Kakutstha, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	216
Jâtavana, <i>park</i> ,	180	Kalachuri, <i>dy.</i> ,	98, 202n, 285
Jâvâi-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> ,	150	Kâlahastinâtha, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Jâvâtî-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> ,	150	Kâjayârkdôvil, <i>vi.</i> ,	279, 283
jihvâmûliya,	25, 188, 194, 230	Kajakkâd, <i>vi.</i> ,	318n
Jina, 15, 21, 23, 67, 71, 124, 125, 134, 135, 136, 138, 203, 205, 206n, 207, 208, 214, 218		Kajakkudî, <i>di.</i> ,	318n
Jinadatta or Jinadattarâya, <i>mythical k.</i> , 125n, 126, 127, 128, 134		Kajakkudî, <i>s.a. Kajakkâd</i> ,	318, 320
Jinapa or Jinêndra, <i>s.a. Jina</i> ,	124, 125, 134	Kâjalalôvi, <i>Kajasa-Kârkaṣa princess</i> ,	120
Jinnappa, <i>m.</i> ,	138	kalam, <i>measure</i> ,	295
Jîvita, <i>m.</i> ,	288	kaṣaṅju,	295, 296
jûâna,	22n	Kaṣappâ, <i>vi.</i> ,	5, 277
Jumna (Yamunâ), <i>vi.</i> ,	286	Kajasa, <i>vi.</i> ,	127, 128, 129
		Kajasa-Kârakaṣa-râjya, <i>co.</i> ,	127, 128, 129
		Kajasa-Kârkaṣa, <i>family</i> ,	127, 129

	PAGE		PAGE
Kaḷasa-rājya, <i>di</i> ,	127	Kanheri, <i>vi</i> ,	83, 84
Kalavai, <i>vi</i> ,	309	Kanhwārā, <i>vi</i> ,	285
Kalavai-parṅgu, <i>di</i> ,	308, 309n	Kanishka, <i>Kushana k</i> ,	172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182
Kalavā-nivṛit, <i>sa</i> Kalavai-parṅgu,	308, 309, 315	Kāntasānti, <i>sur of Śāntanātha</i> ,	17
Kales Dewar, <i>sa</i> Māḡavarman Kulasākhara I,	291n	Kānur gana,	129n
Kalhana, <i>author</i> ,	101	Kapalamōchana-ghaṭṭa,	152
Kali age,	31, 131, 215	Kapalśvara, <i>te</i> ,	290n
Kalidasa, <i>poet</i> ,	98n	Kapalichcharam, <i>sa</i> Kapālśvara,	290n
Kalinga, <i>co</i> ,	161, 288n	Kapananaka, <i>m</i> ,	91
Kalhoganagara, <i>sa</i> Mukhalogam,	161	Kapardīvara, <i>te</i> ,	2, 4, 5, 6, 263, 268
Kalūjar, <i>vi</i> ,	285	Kapichita, <i>vi</i> ,	75
Kalivāra, <i>te</i> ,	279, 283	Kapila, <i>ṛishi</i> ,	288
Kalla-Perumbur, <i>vi</i> ,	265, 266	Kapura, <i>di</i> ,	83
Kālogra gana, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> ,	122n	Karabenā, <i>vi</i> ,	68, 79 and add
kalpa,	217, 315, 316	Kāraikulān, <i>m</i> ,	296
kalpadī, <i>tithi</i> ,	261n, 271n	Kārikakāḷa, <i>sa</i> Kārkaḷa,	122, 125, 128, 129, 135
Kalpa sutra, <i>Jaina work</i> ,	131n	Karambichcheṭṭu, <i>family name</i> ,	300n
Ka'si, <i>vi</i> ,	168, 170	Kārambichcheṭṭu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	306
Kalyani, <i>a square pond</i> ,	50	karana —	
Kalyanika, <i>festival</i> ,	201, 206	Naga,	299, 305
Kānvaśā, <i>m</i> ,	126n add	kīranika,	152, 157, 158
Kamakshi, <i>queen of Saṅgama</i> ,	299, 305	Karavandapara, <i>sur of Kaḷakkudi</i> ,	318, 319n, 320
Kamakshi-dharma-maṅdapa,	316	Karavandīvara, <i>te</i> ,	2
Kamakhālahamsa, <i>natika</i> ,	98n	Kari, <i>m</i> ,	319
Kaman, <i>vi</i> ,	175, 178	Karimaraṅ, <i>sur of Namwālvār</i> ,	319
Kamandaki, <i>author</i> ,	217	Karkala, <i>vi</i> ,	122, 123, 124n, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135n
Kamauli, <i>vi</i> ,	153n, 151n, 155n, 157n, 159n	Karkaraja, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa ch</i> ,	183
Kamboja, <i>co</i> ,	63	Karkur Ghāt,	146n
Lambuja,	121, 138	Karlō, <i>vi</i> ,	59, 66, 79
Kambuva, <i>m</i> ,	138	Karmanāya, <i>sa</i> Kamrōj,	231
Kamkandalā palace,	285	Karna, <i>mythical k</i> ,	8, 98n
Kammāka- or Karmika rāshṭra, <i>sa</i> Kamma-		Karṇasundarī, <i>nāṭikā</i> ,	98n
rāshṭra,	231 and add, 236 and add, 238	Kārttikēya (Skanda), <i>god</i> ,	29, 35n
	and add	Karumarachchēri, <i>v</i> ,	296
Kamma- or Karma-rāshṭra, <i>di</i> ,	231, 238	Karuvu, <i>vi</i> ,	5, 266
Kampavikramavarman, <i>Ganga-Pallava k</i> ,	292	Kāsahrada, Kāsahrada or Kāsadrāṅ, <i>sa</i>	
Kamrej, <i>vi</i> ,	231	Kasindra-Pālādī,	206
Kanakalēkha, <i>f</i> ,	100	Kāsākudi, <i>vi</i> ,	26, 234
Kanakapura, <i>sa</i> Pombuchcha,	126n	Kāśalōda, <i>di</i> ,	140
Kanauj, <i>vi</i> ,	119, 150n	Kāśī, <i>sa</i> Benares,	173
Kananta, <i>vi</i> ,	155	Kāśikā-vṛitti,	39n
Kāñchi or Kāñchīpura (Conjeeveram), <i>vi</i> ,		Kāśikhandaṁ, <i>Telugu poem</i> ,	9n
8, 23, 34n, 35, 233, 234, 236, 292, 294n		Kasindra-Pālādī, <i>vi</i> ,	206n
Kaṅgali-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150	kaṭṭaka, <i>a camp</i> ,	139
Kaṅgavarman, <i>Kadamba k</i> ,	28, 30, 35	Kāṭaya-Vēma, <i>Redḍi k</i> ,	12
Kāugra, <i>vi</i> ,	171	kaṭhāri-ankusa-gadyāna, <i>coin</i> ,	130n
Kānhadadēva, <i>sa</i> Kṛishṇarājadēva,	206	Kathāsaritsāgara, <i>quoted</i> ,	63
Kaṅhagiri, <i>mo</i> ,	61	Kāṭi-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150
Kanhabini, <i>Western, vi</i> ,	77		
Kaṅhavalāhāra, <i>di</i> ,	230, 231		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kālā, <i>co.</i>	238	Komarayya, <i>m.</i>	59
Kānkhā, <i>na.</i> , <i>a</i> Konkan,	202, 216	Kōmaṭi, <i>caste.</i>	11
Kānkhā, <i>family.</i>	94	Kōmaṭi, <i>Reddī ch.</i>	13
Kānkhā, <i>v.</i>	25n	Kōmaṭi, <i>Reddī prince.</i>	10
Kānkhā, <i>lāna-vhōgu, dī.</i>	234, 236	Kōmaṭi-Prōla, <i>Reddī k.</i>	9, 10
Kānkhā, <i>v.</i>	147	Kōmaṭi-Vōma, <i>do.</i>	11
Kāvēri, <i>v.</i> Kavērippākham (Kāvēripāk),	308, 309, 315	Kōmaṭi-Vōma, <i>s.a.</i> Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vōma,	12
Kāvēri, <i>v.</i>	206	Kōmaṭi-Vōma, <i>s.a.</i> Vōma,	10
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	17	Kondamudi, <i>v.</i>	66, 69, 145, 146n
Kāyānta, <i>s. a.</i> of Śāntimātha,	28	Kondavīdu, <i>v.</i>	11, 12, 13
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	48n	Konṭraṇmaikondāṇ or Konṭrimōlkondāṇ	
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	140	Vikrama-Pāndya, <i>Pāndya k.</i>	274, 281, 282
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	86	Kongāya, <i>dy.</i>	56
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	129, 138	Kongarī Mahādhirāja, <i>W. Ganga k.</i>	147
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	203, 219	Kongunivarman, <i>do.</i>	52, 58
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	8	Konkan, <i>co.</i>	202
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	129	Koppa, <i>v.</i>	127, 128
Kāyānta, <i>v.</i>	129	Kōsambakutī,	180, 181
[Kōsambā]pattalā, <i>dī.</i>	150	Kōsambā-pattalā, <i>dī.</i>	150
Kōsambā, <i>s. a.</i> Vishnu,	61	Kōsambī, <i>v.</i>	168, 169
Kōsambāyya, <i>m.</i>	59	Kōtādī, <i>s. a.</i> Kotra,	206, 207
Khāilapāndī, <i>v.</i>	157	Kō[ṭhō]takōṭīavarahōtta[ra], <i>dī.</i>	150, 151n
Khāilapāndī, <i>s. v.</i> Khāilwādī,	285	Kōṭi-tītha,	152, 158
Khāilwādī or Khāilwādī, <i>v.</i>	285	Kotra, <i>v.</i>	207
Khāilwādī, <i>dy.</i>	61	kōṭṭam, <i>a district.</i>	171
Khāilwādī II., <i>Valabhī k.</i>	189, 190	kōṭṭanigraha (kōṭṭapāla),	164n
Khāilwādī, <i>v.</i>	174n	Kōṭṭū-nādu, <i>dī.</i>	291n
Khāilwādī, <i>v.</i>	174n	Kṛishna, <i>god.</i>	98, 206n, 216 and add., 217n, 315
Khāilwādī, <i>v.</i>	173, 174, 177, 179	Kṛishna, <i>rish.</i>	207
Khāilwādī, <i>v.</i>	286	Kṛishna (Kanha), <i>Sātavāhana k.</i>	93
khāilwādī, <i>a p. lost.</i>	200 and add., 203, 218	Kṛishnā, <i>v.</i>	10, 11, 12, 28n
Khayāntā, <i>v.</i>	151	Kṛishna I., <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i>	184
Khob, <i>v.</i>	284, 285, 288n, 289	Kṛishnarājādēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i>	201, 205, 206, 216
Khōra, <i>v.</i>	153	Kṛishnarāja, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i>	127n
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	230	Kṛishnavarman I., <i>Kadamba k.</i>	30, 31
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	319	Kṛishnavarman II., <i>do.</i>	30, 31
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	281	Kṛita age,	215
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	36n	Kṛittivāsas, <i>te.</i>	152
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	50, 51, 58	Kshaharāta, <i>dy.</i>	72, 78, 82, 85, 86
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	200, 201, 204, 208, 217n	Kshatrapa, <i>a Satrap.</i>	41, 45n, 78, 82, 85, 86, 173, 174, 175, 180
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	147, 148	Kshatrapa, <i>Western, dy.</i>	41
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	10, 12	Kshatriya, <i>caste.</i>	28, 34, 47, 61
Kāikāyāntā, <i>v.</i>	287, 269	Kubja, <i>m.</i>	28, 29, 36
kodāngē, kodāngē, kodāngē or kodāngē, <i>an allot-</i>	51	Kudā, <i>v.</i>	62, 77, 91
ment.	51	Kūlgere, <i>v.</i>	147
Kodāngē, <i>v.</i>	238	kudute, <i>measure.</i>	124, 129, 130, 136, 137
Kōṭāmbā, <i>v.</i>	8	kuduva, <i>do.</i>	129n
Kollipāra, <i>v.</i>	238	Kūgo-Brahmadēva pillar	123n
Komaravāṅga, <i>v.</i>	56	Kukura, <i>co.</i>	41, 47, 61, 62

	PAGE		PAGE
Kulaipa, <i>ch</i> ,	41, 49		
kulangār, <i>priests</i> ,	295		
kularika, <i>a potter</i> (?),	89		
Kulaśekhara-dēva, <i>sur. of Ravivarman</i> ,	8, 9		
Kuligere, <i>vi</i> ,	53		
Kuṣi-Mahātīraka, <i>te</i> ,	146		
Kulōttunga I, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	290, 291n		
Kulōttunga-Chōla II, <i>do</i> ,	261		
Kulōttunga-Chōla III, <i>do</i> ,	1, 4, 7, 260, 261, 265, 266, 291		
Kulōttunga-Chōla-vaṅaṇādu, <i>s a</i> Puhur- kōttam,	291n		
Kumāra, <i>s a</i> Karttikōya,	211		
Kumaradēvi, <i>f</i> ,	200, 207, 214		
kumaragadiāçaka,	152, 155		
Kumārāgiri, <i>Reççā k</i> ,	11, 12, 13		
Kumara-Hakasiri, <i>ch</i> ,	92		
Kumarapāla, <i>Chaulūkiya k</i> ,	201, 202, 216		
Kumarasamin, <i>vi</i> ,	189, 191		
Kumāra-Vēdagiri, <i>s a</i> Pina-Vēdagiri,	13		
Kumāraviṣṇu I, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	231, 236		
Kumāraviṣṇu II, <i>do</i> ,	233, 234, 236, 238		
Kumbhakōnam, <i>vi</i> ,	291		
Kumbhīnasi, <i>demoness</i> ,	30n		
Kumudachandra-Bhaṭṭarakadēva, <i>Jaina</i> <i>teacher</i> ,	129n		
Kundakunda, <i>do</i> ,	123n		
Kuṇḍi, <i>s a</i> Guṇḍakamma,	10		
Kuṇḍi-Prabha, <i>do</i> ,	10		
Kuntala or Kuntala, <i>co</i> ,	101, 305		
Kūçaka, <i>co</i> ,	8		
Kuppaṅ, <i>m</i> ,	317		
Kuppehalu, <i>vi</i> ,	56		
Kūram, <i>vi</i> ,	231		
Kuriyida, <i>vi</i> ,	238		
Kūrmāçataka, <i>poem</i> ,	212, 213n		
Kurmi, <i>caste</i> ,	281		
Kurnool, <i>di</i> ,	10		
Kurōvi Dēvaraja-bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	306		
kuśa, <i>grass</i> ,	31		
kuṣana,	82, 83, 84		
Kuṣhana or Kuṣhan, <i>dy</i> ,	172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 297		
Kūshmandini-yakshi, <i>goddess</i> ,	15		
Kusumākara, <i>m</i> ,	100		
Kusumamañjari, <i>s a</i> Parijātamañjari,	101n		
Kusumāsri, <i>do</i> ,	101n		
Kuttālam, <i>vi</i> ,	298, 300		
Kuvalala (Kolar), <i>vi</i> ,	52, 58		
Kuvēra, <i>m</i> ,	29		
		L	
		lagna.—	
		Vṛiṣha or Vṛiṣhabha,	121, 131
		Labore, <i>vi</i> ,	297
		Lahul, <i>vi</i> ,	174
		Lākhalgamv, <i>vi</i> ,	183
		Lakshmana, <i>m</i> ,	189, 236n
		Lakshmana-bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	316
		Lakṣmī, <i>goddess</i> ,	139
		Lakṣmivarman, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	202n
		Lalitādēvi, <i>wife of Vastupāla</i> ,	203, 216
		Lalitakirti, <i>title of Jaina teachers</i> ,	122n, 124, 129
		Lalitakirti-Bhaṭṭarakadēva, <i>s a</i> Lalitakirti,	122n
		Lalitānkura, <i>Pallava surname</i> ,	145
		Lalitavistara, <i>quoted</i> ,	45n
		languages —	
		Apabhramśa,	212
		Bengali,	139
		Gujarati,	45n
		Kanarese,	51, 123, 124, 261, 307
		Māgadhī,	168
		Māharashtri,	100, 242
		Pali,	26n, 39n, 40n, 45n, 71
		Prākṛit,	39, 97, 100, 143, 144, 170, 172, 180, 181, 204, 207, 241
		Sanskrit,	8, 9, 16, 25, 37, 39, 40n, 79, 81, 84, 96, 97, 100, 123, 139, 143, 147, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 160, 164, 172, 175, 180, 181, 183, 188, 194, 200, 204, 207, 230, 233, 237, 284, 291, 298, 307, 318 add
		Śaurasēni,	100
		Tamil,	8, 261, 291, 292, 298, 307, 318 and add
		Telugu,	9, 13n, 261, 291n
		Lāṭa, <i>co</i> ,	231
		Laudēvara, <i>te</i> ,	152
		Lavanaprasada, <i>Vāghelā k</i> ,	201, 205, 215
		Lāvanyasimha, <i>vi</i> ,	203, 217, 218
		Lulukā, <i>f</i> ,	203, 217
		Lunga, <i>ch</i> ,	13
		lion crest,	164
		Lōkanātharasa, <i>Śāntara ch</i> ,	128, 129n
		Lōkapāla, <i>m</i> ,	155
		Lōlarka, <i>te</i> ,	152
		Lōhrupādā or Lōhikapādā, <i>vi</i> ,	158, 159
		Loṭā, <i>m</i> ,	74
		Lucknow, <i>vi</i> ,	149, 173, 179, 181
		lunar race,	126, 128
		Lūnasīha, <i>s a</i> Lūnasimha,	207

	PAGE
Lūpasihavasahikā, <i>s.a.</i> Lūnasimbavasahikā, .	206
Lūpasimha, <i>s a</i> Lāvanyasimha, .	203, 205, 217
Lūnasimbavasahikā, <i>sur</i> of the Nōminātha temple,	200, 205
Lūpavasehikā, <i>s a.</i> Lūnasimbavasahikā, .	200, 207
Lūpiga, <i>m.</i> ,	200, 203, 211, 218

M

Mācha, <i>mo.</i> ,	61, 62
Mācha, <i>Reddi ch.</i> ,	13
Mācha, <i>Reddi h.</i> ,	9, 12
Madana, <i>poet</i> ,	98, 99, 100
Madanapāla, <i>Kanauj k.</i> ,	149
Madanapāla, <i>m.</i> ,	155
Mādānidu, <i>ch.</i> ,	12, 13
Madapratihāra, <i>vi.</i> ,	151
Mādharī, <i>Ābhira queen</i> ,	89
Mādhaba-mahārājādhirāja, <i>W Ganga k.</i> ,	52
Madhukammōja, <i>m.</i> ,	59
Madhurakavi, <i>sur. of</i> Mārangārī,	318, 319, 320
Mādhubavanaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	182
Madhūtsava, <i>s a</i> Vasantōtsava,	98n
madhyastha, <i>an arbitrator</i> ,	129n
Madurai, <i>s a.</i> Madura,	261
Madras, <i>city</i> , 290, 291n, 294n, 295, 307 and add., 318, 319	
Madras Museum plates,	9
Madura, <i>vi.</i> ,	276, 317, 318
Madurai, <i>s a</i> Madura,	4, 5, 265, 266
Madurakavi-Ājvānī, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> ,	295, 319
Magalur, <i>s a</i> Hirōmagalūr,	50
mahā āryaka (mahāniraka),	67, 68, 73
Mahābhārata, 28n, 35n, 40, 47n, 49n, 62, 63, 79, 218n, 292n	
Mahābhāshya, <i>quoted</i> ,	39n
Mahābhavagupta I, <i>Trikalīnga k.</i> ,	139, 140
Mahābhavaguptarājadēva, <i>s a</i> Mahābhavagupta I,	140
Mahād, <i>vi.</i> ,	75
Mahādēva, <i>s a</i> Śiva,	36, 164
Mahāhakusirī, <i>ch.</i> ,	91, 92
mahājana, <i>a merchant</i> ,	204
Mahākara, <i>m.</i> ,	152
Mahākōsala, <i>co.</i> ,	285
mahākshatrapa,	40, 41, 45, 46, 49, 173
Mahākūṭa, <i>te.</i> ,	25n
Mahā-Māgha, <i>year</i> ,	290
mahāmahattama,	140
mahāmandalavara,	128, 204, 205, 305
Mahā-Mārgasīrsha, <i>year</i> ,	284, 288, 289, 290

	PAGE
Mahāmātas, <i>Superintendents of the Sacred Law</i> ,	167
Mahānadi, <i>m.</i> ,	286
mahanta, <i>title</i> ,	208, 207, 217
Mahā-Pausha, <i>year</i> ,	290
Mahā-Phālguna, <i>do.</i> ,	290
mahārāja, 9, 62, 70, 144, 145, 146, 155, 157, 160, 162, 163, 173, 174, 176, 179, 181, 182, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 284, 285, 286, 288, 318	
mahārājādhirāja, 9, 29, 128, 140, 149, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 183, 204, 205, 230, 231	
mahārājakula,	206
mahārājaputra,	155, 157
Mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōṭachandradēva, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	155
Mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Rājyapāladēva, <i>do.</i> ,	156
mahāsāmanta,	319n
mahāsāmīya, <i>s a</i> mahāsvāmīka,	72
mahāsāndhivīgrahī,	140
Mahāsēna, <i>s a.</i> Kārttikēya,	148
mahāsēnāpati,	67, 70, 94
mahāsēnāpatnī,	94
Mahāsivagupta II., <i>Trikalīnga k.</i> ,	140n
Mahāsivaguptarājadēva, <i>do.</i> ,	140
Mahasō-pattalā, <i>di.</i> ,	150
Mahasōya-pattalā, <i>di.</i> ,	150
mahāsvāmīka,	68, 70, 73
mahātīrtha, <i>a great shrine</i> ,	207
mahattaka,	152
mahattama,	140
mahattara,	195
Mahāvagga, <i>quoted</i> ,	170
Mahāvastu, <i>do.</i> ,	63, 79, 87, 89
mahāvihārasvāmin,	73
Mahāvīra, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	134n
Mahēndra, <i>mo.</i> ,	61
Mahēndra, <i>South Kōsala k.</i> ,	286
Mahēndrasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	203, 218
Mahēsvara, <i>s a.</i> Śiva,	188
Mālēsvara,	230, 238
Mahēsvara, <i>m.</i> ,	189
Mailapur, <i>vi.</i> ,	290
Maitraka, <i>family</i> ,	149n, 188, 236n
Majhgawām, <i>s a</i> Bhumarā,	285, 289
Makaradhvaja, <i>sur</i> of Vishnavardhana II,	237
Maladhārīn, <i>sur. of</i> Mallishēna,	17
Maladhārīn, <i>title of</i> Jaina teachers,	122n
Mālatimādhava, <i>drama</i> ,	28n
Mālava or Mālavaka, <i>s a.</i> Mālwa, 81, 96, 99, 188, 189, 195, 201, 202, 216	

	PAGE		PAGE
Malavalli, vi.,	29	Mangalūra-gadyāna, coin,	130n
Mālavihāgnumitram, drama,	98n	Māngaluru, s a. Mangalore,	127n
Malaya, mo,	8, 61, 81	Mangapa, ch.,	16, 22
Mālaya, co,	79, 81	Mangiyuvārāja, E Chalukya k,	237, 238, 240
Malkāvu, vi.,	147, 148	Maṇimēgalai, Tamil poem,	290
Mālkhed, vi.,	164	Mañjuśrī, Bōdhisattva,	177
Malla or Mallā-Reddi, Reddi k,	10, 11	Mannai, vi,	291
Malladatta or Mallādatta, m,	140	Mannaikudi, vi,	294
Malladēva, m,	201, 203, 205, 214, 217, 218	manne, hill country,	9
Mallādēvi, queen of Harihara II,	299, 305	Manpur, vi,	165
Mallāmbikā, s a. Malladēvi,	299	Mansehra, vi,	297
Mallaya, Reddi k.,	9	Manu,	36n, 18n, 84
Malli, Jaina saint,	125, 134, 135n, 136	Māra, god,	135
Mallidēva, do.,	214	Māra, m,	318, 320
Mallikārjuna, Śilāhāra k.,	201	Mārambāvai, queen of Nandippōttarayan,	293n
Mallikārjuna, te,	308	Māraṇ, Pāndya k,	319
Mallikārjuna, Vijayanagara k.,	308	Māraṇ, sur of Nammālvār,	319
Mallila, vi,	138	Māraṇ Eyinaṇ, m,	319, 320
Mallinātha, commentator,	130	Māraṅgāri, m.,	318, 319, 320
Mallushēna, Jaina teacher,	17	Māraṅjadayan, Pāndya k,	319, 320
Māltavūra, s a. Mattavara,	52, 59	Māraṅjadayan, sur of Varaguna,	319
Mālwā, co,	79, 189, 286	Mārasimha II, W. Ganga k,	54
Mālyavat, demon,	30n	Marataka or Maratakāpuri, s a. Virūchipuram,	308, 315
Mammā, f,	93	Maratakanagara prānta, dī,	308
Māna, s a Mānānka,	165	Māravarman, s a Māraṇ,	319
Mānānka, Rāshtrakūṭa k,	164, 165	Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, Pāndya k, 274,	276, 277, 278, 291
Mānapuram, s a. Mānpur,	164, 165	Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II, do,	278n
Mā[na]ra-pattalā, dī,	150	Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I, do,	274, 276
Mānasa, lake,	213n	Māravarman Tirunelvēli-Perumāḷ Vira-Pau-	283
mānastambha, pillar,	123	dyadēva, do,	274, 282, 283
Mandākinī, rī,	215	Māravarman Vira-Pāndya, do,	135n
Mandākrāntā, metre,	26	Marevoḡe-kāva, biruda,	216
Māṇḍalapurusha-sōmayājun, m,	306	Mārīcha, demon,	218
māṇḍalika,	135	Markanda or Mārkaṇḍēya, rishī,	316
Māṇḍalika-gaṇḍara-dāvapī, biruda of Vira-	127	Martānda bhāṭṭa, m,	41, 47
Balludēva,	24, 61	Maru, co,	217
Mandara, mo,	23	Marudvryādhi, s a. Uddhava,	122, 125
mandāra, tree,	138	matha,	168
Māṇḍarpādi, m,	79, 195	Mathia, vi,	173, 174, 175, 176, 177,
Māṇḍasor, s a Dasor,	28n, 30	Mathura (Muttra), vi,	178, 179, 181, 182
Māṇḍhatrivarman, Kadamba k.,	286	mātrāsamaka,	27
Māṇḍlā, dī,	10	Mātrisvara, m.,	230
Māṇḍūka-Śāmbhu, s a Māṇḍūkēsvara,	10n	Mattavara, vi,	52
Māṇḍūkēsvara, te,	153	201, 214	
Māngala, m,	231	Māu, f,	62n
Māngalarāja, Gujarāt Chalukya ch.,	231	Maulika, co,	
Māngalarasārāja, s a Māngalarāja,	25n, 46n	Maurya, dy, 40, 46, 47, 166, 167, 172, 174n, 175	145, 146n
Māngalēśa, W. Chalukya k,	129	Mayidavōla, vi,	2 x 2
Māngalore, vi,			
Māngalūr, vi.,	146n, 160, 161, 162n, 234		

	PAGE
Mayilāppūr, <i>s a</i> Mailapur,	290
Mayūrasārman <i>Kadamba k.</i> , 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 148n	
Mayūravārman, <i>s a</i> Mayūrasārman,	28n, 148n
Mēdapuṭa or <i>°pātaka, dī</i> ,	202
Mēdhuna, <i>m.</i> ,	67
Mēlukōte, <i>vi.</i> ,	308n
Mēdamma, <i>m.</i> ,	59
Mēnmātura, <i>vi.</i> ,	161, 162
Merkāta, <i>vi.</i> ,	117
Mēru, <i>mo.</i> ,	8, 61, 315
Mērutunga, <i>author.</i> ,	99, 202, 212
Mhōw, <i>vi.</i> ,	95
mīdha (<i>mīlha</i>),	45n
Mimāmsa,	183
Mina, <i>vi.</i> ,	30n
Mīchchha, <i>a</i> <i>Muhammadan</i> ,	9
Mōdha, <i>family.</i> ,	208
Mogalūr, <i>dī</i> ,	147, 148
Monghyr, <i>vi.</i> ,	151
months, lunar —	
Āshādha,	56n, 83, 308
Āsvayuja or Āsvina,	163, 289
Bhādrapada,	54, 189, 300
Chaitra, 10n, 52, 53, 86, 98n, 124, 134, 182, 195, 205, 208, 289	
Jyēshtha,	238, 240, 241
Kartika, 10, 17, 24, 54, 57, 58 and add., 83, 140, 147, 148, 202, 236, 284, 288, 289, 290, 300, 308, 318, 320	
Magha,	152, 153, 157, 231, 289
Mārgasīra or Mārgaśūsha, 41, 45, 58, 153, 154, 202, 241, 300	
Pushya or Pushya,	158, 183, 241
Phālguna or Phalgunā, 203, 204, 207, 219, 299, 305	
Vaisākha or Vesākha, 54, 82, 155, 208, 237, 238, 240, 241	
months, solar —	
Ādi,	306
Kartikai,	269
Panguni,	299, 305
Tai,	3
Moon, race of the, 8, 134, 135, 140, 305, 307, 315	
Mothers (Mātṛi),	35, 148
Moṭupalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	10, 12n
Mṛigēśavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	25, 28n, 30
Mṛitanda, <i>ṛishi.</i> ,	216
Mūdabidure, <i>vi.</i> ,	122, 125n, 129, 130n
mūde, <i>measure.</i> , 124, 125, 129, 130, 136, 137, 138	

	PAGE
Mudgagiri, <i>s a</i> Monghyr,	151
Mūdge, <i>vi.</i> ,	128
Mudigondasōlapuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	276
Mugūdhāsa, <i>m.</i> ,	77
Muguli, <i>s a</i> Hīrōmagalūr,	50
muguli, <i>tee.</i> ,	50
Mugū, <i>vi.</i> ,	147
Muhammadan,	9n, 11, 201n
Mukhalingam, <i>vi.</i> ,	161
mukha-maṇḍapa,	321
Mukkadapina-hole, <i>stream.</i> ,	136
Mulika, <i>co.</i> ,	61, 62
Mūlasangha, <i>school of Jaina teachers.</i> ,	120n
Mūlika, <i>co.</i> ,	62n
Mujūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	117
Muṭtagi, <i>vi.</i> ,	147 and add., 148
Munayadaraiyan, <i>m.</i> ,	299n
Mundaka, <i>co.</i> ,	62
Munḍa rāshṭra, <i>dī</i> ,	160, 163
Mundasthala, <i>s a</i> Murthala,	206, 207
Munisuvrata, <i>s a</i> Suvrata, 125, 131n, 135n, 136, 208	
Muñjadōva, <i>Parāmāra k.</i> ,	99n
Mura, <i>demon.</i> ,	17, 24
Muraita(?)-ghatṭa,	151
Murasiman, <i>vi.</i> ,	139
Murthala, <i>vi.</i> ,	207
Mūrti Eyanan, <i>m.</i> ,	319n
Murujunga, <i>vi.</i> ,	140
Murvārā, <i>vi.</i> ,	285
Mūsi, <i>vi.</i> ,	12
Mūvōdamangalappōraraiyan, <i>sur of Māgin-</i> <i>gari.</i> ,	318, 320
Mysoie, <i>co.</i> ,	55, 56

N

Nābbāga, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	61
Nādamuniḡa, <i>Vaiṣṇava śikhārya.</i> ,	204, 295
Nādāsiri, <i>f.</i> ,	93
Nadumbarai, <i>vi.</i> ,	291
Naga, <i>dī.</i> ,	292n
Nāga, <i>Reddī ch.</i> ,	10
Nāgakulyā, <i>channel.</i> ,	308, 315
Nagarkōṭ (Kāngrā), <i>vi.</i> ,	171
Nāgavardhana, <i>teacher.</i> ,	230, 231
Nāgōndra-gachchha, <i>school of Jaina teachers.</i> ,	203, 218, 219
Nagode State,	285
Nāgpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	138
Nahapāna, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> ,	78, 82, 85, 86, 174n

	PAGE		PAGE
Nabusha, <i>rythical l</i> ,	61	Naradapañcharatra, <i>quoted</i> ,	63
Naināra, <i>sur of Sudarsanachārya</i> ,	305n and	Narasa-Nāyaka, <i>Tuluva ch</i> ,	127
nākara,	126n and add	Narasimha-bhatta, <i>m</i> ,	306
nāshatras —		Narasīngam, <i>vi</i> ,	317
Anuradhā,	4, 7, 265, 268, 272	Narasingayya, <i>m</i> ,	59
Ārdra,	1, 2, 262, 263, 289	Naravabanadatta, <i>legendary l</i> ,	230
Asvini,	270	Narayana, <i>m</i> ,	99
Chitrā,	266, 277	Narayana, <i>s a Vishnu</i> ,	145, 146, 283
Hasta,	269, 281, 283	Narayanabhatta, <i>m</i> ,	306
Jyeshthā,	269	Narayanavilasa, <i>drama</i> ,	299
Krittikā,	5, 280, 281	Nargol, <i>vi</i> ,	79
Maghā,	2, 5, 271, 277, 278	Narmada, <i>ri</i> ,	286
Mrigasira, Mrigasiras or Mrigasirsha, 121,	131, 268, 289, 290	Narte, <i>vi</i> ,	129n
Mula,	57, 58 and add, 267, 275, 277	Nasik, <i>vi</i> , 11n, 47n, 48n, 59, 73, 84, 92, 93,	145, 183
Punarvasu,	3, 6, 263, 271, 278	Nāsika, <i>s a Nasik</i> ,	92
Purva Phalguni,	2, 267	Nāsikā, <i>do</i> ,	183
Pushya,	6, 271, 272, 275, 279	Nāsika, <i>a drama of four acts</i> ,	98
Revati, 6, 261, 263, 269, 270, 278, 279, 299,	305, 303, 315	Nāgama, <i>s a Nōgawa</i> ,	188n
Rohini,	3, 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 261, 265, 273, 280	Nausāri, <i>vi</i> ,	229, 231
Śatabhishaj,	7, 262, 267, 273	Navagama-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150
Śravana,	3, 272, 271, 276, 277, 282, 283	Navagrāmaka, <i>s a Nōganā</i> ,	189
Uttara-Bhadrapada,	1, 265, 268, 281, 282	Nayanara (Nayanagara), <i>vi</i> ,	67
Uttara-Phalguni,	266, 273, 282	Nayasārika, <i>s a Nausāri</i> ,	230, 231
Uttarashadha,	265, 270	Nayachandrasuri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	207
Vāshā,	266, 276	Nayanakelidevi, <i>queen of Gōvīndachandra</i> ,	149
Nāśaisapura-caaturāsītika, <i>di</i> ,	150n	Nayanapali, <i>vi</i> ,	157
Nāśyīrasprabandham, <i>name of a work</i>	290, 294n	Nayanakura, <i>Pallava surname</i> ,	145
nālgamaṅga,	59	Nayinar, <i>vi</i> ,	317
nālī, <i>measure</i> ,	295, 296	Nedumaran, <i>Pandya l</i> ,	318
Nallanunū, <i>Reddi ch</i> ,	10	Nedunjadaiyan, <i>sur of Jatilavarman</i> ,	294, 318n, 319n
Nallur, <i>vi</i> ,	129	Nelatur, <i>vi</i> ,	160
Nallura, <i>s a Nallur</i> ,	125, 129, 136, 138	Nellore, <i>di</i> ,	10
Nambibetti-Narana, <i>m</i> ,	138	Nellore, <i>vi</i> ,	11
Nammālvār, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> ,	291, 295, 319	Nēmi, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	134, 218, 219
Nanāghat, <i>vi</i> ,	92	Nēmināthi or Nemināthasvāmī, <i>te</i> ,	128, 200, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207
Nanamgola, <i>s a Nārgol</i> ,	79, 80	Nēulasatavīśikā, <i>di</i> ,	150
Nandagiri, <i>mo</i> ,	52, 58	Nidugal, <i>vi</i> ,	135n
Nandaprabhājanavarman, <i>Kalinga l</i> ,	288n	Nigamasabha, <i>the public hall</i> ,	84
Nandasiri, <i>f</i> ,	75	Nighva, <i>vi</i> ,	167n
Nandini-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150, 155	Nija Śravaṇa,	127
Nandippottaraiyan, <i>Pallavatilaka l</i> ,	293n	Nikalanka-malla, <i>biṇḍa</i> ,	135
Nandivara-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	150, 153, 154	Nilabe, <i>f</i> ,	59
Nandivarman or Nandivarman Pallavimalla,		Nilambur, <i>vi</i> ,	116
<i>Pallava l</i> ,	26, 292, 293, 294	nilpāyca, <i>measure of land</i> ,	51, 58
Nandivikramavarman, <i>Ganga-Pallava l</i> ,	292	Nipitāṭaka, <i>s a Kadappēri</i> ,	308, 309, 315
Nangunēri, <i>vi</i> ,	318n	Nirgandi, <i>tank</i> ,	195
Nanhwara, <i>vi</i> ,	285	Nirukta,	183
Nanpalam, <i>vi</i> ,	306		

	PAGE
Nishâda, <i>co.</i> ,	41, 47
Nîtimârga, <i>sur. of Western Ganga kings,</i> 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58	51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58
nivartana, <i>land measure,</i>	72, 74, 146, 236n
nivrit, <i>a division,</i>	300n
niryôgika or nairyôgika, <i>an officer,</i>	236, 238
Nôgâwâ, <i>vi.,</i>	188, 189, 195
Nripakâma-Poysaḷa, <i>Hoysaḷa k.,</i>	56
Nripatunga or Nripatungavikramavarman, <i>Ganga-Pallava k.,</i>	292, 293
Nrisimha, <i>te.,</i>	317
Nûka, <i>s a Nallanûka,</i>	10
Nungambâkkam, <i>vi.,</i>	291

O

odayantrika, <i>guild,</i>	89
Odda, <i>s a Orissa,</i>	140
Ôdhêm, <i>vi.,</i>	181
Ôdia, <i>s a Orissa,</i>	140
oil millers (tilapishaka), <i>guild of,</i>	89
Ôsavâla, <i>s a Ôsavâla,</i>	206
ôja or vâja, <i>an artificer,</i>	140n
Ônavala-pathaka, <i>di.,</i>	150, 151
Ongole, <i>vi.,</i>	10
Oontiya, <i>vi.,</i>	165
Ôrâsâ, <i>s a Orisâ,</i>	206, 207
Oria, <i>vi.,</i>	207
Orissa, <i>co.,</i>	140, 286
Ormuz, <i>vi.,</i>	12
Ôsumbhalâ, <i>s a Umbhâl,</i>	231

P

Pachmarhî, <i>vi.,</i>	165
Padamaladôvi, <i>f.,</i>	201, 214
Padapâtha,	170
Padariyâ, <i>vi.,</i>	167n
padika (pratika), <i>coin,</i>	82, 83, 84
Padmanâbha, <i>Jaina teacher,</i>	17
Padmanâbha, <i>te.,</i>	8
Padmanâyaka, <i>s a Velama,</i>	11
Padmâvatî or Padmâvatîdêvi, <i>goddess,</i> 124, 125, 126, 128, 134, 135, 136, 137	124, 125, 126, 128, 134, 135, 136, 137
Paduvûr-kôṭṭam, <i>di.,</i>	308, 309, 315n
Pagâra, <i>vi.,</i>	165
Pahlava, <i>tribe,</i>	41, 49
Pâyalachohhî Nâmamâlâ, <i>quoted,</i> 117n, 247n, 254n, 257n	117n, 247n, 254n, 257n
Pâka-nâdu, <i>di.,</i>	10, 11

	PAGE
Palakkaḍa, <i>vi.,</i>	161
Palâr, <i>ri.,</i>	309
Palasaupdi, <i>vi.,</i>	153
Palâsini, <i>ri.,</i>	42, 46
Paldûnâ, <i>vi.,</i>	189
Palhava, <i>s a Pahlava,</i>	61
Pallava, <i>dy.,</i> 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 144, 145, 146, 160, 161, 163, 230, 231, 233, 231, 236, 237, 238, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296	26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 144, 145, 146, 160, 161, 163, 230, 231, 233, 231, 236, 237, 238, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296
Pallavakulatilaka, <i>biruda of Dantivarma-</i> <i>Mahârâja,</i>	293n
Pallavatilaka, <i>family,</i>	293n
Pallava-Tinôtra, <i>sur. of Vêma,</i>	9, 10, 11
Palmâdi, <i>vi.,</i>	51, 59
Paluvut-kôṭṭa, <i>s a Paduvûr-kôṭṭam,</i>	308, 315
Pâmbêya Sarvôttama Âtharvâṇam,	238
Pamjâja, <i>vi.,</i>	138
Pampâpati, <i>te.,</i>	308n
Panasôge (Panasôkâ), <i>s a Panasôge,</i>	122n, 124
pañchakhajjâya,	137
Pañchâladdêsa, <i>co.,</i>	150
pañchâmṛita,	197
Pañchômikâra, <i>te.,</i>	152, 153
Pândala-pattalâ, <i>di.,</i>	151
Pandimâṅgalavîsâyaraiyan, <i>sur. of Mâraṇ</i> <i>Eyanṇ,</i>	319, 321
pandita,	153, 154, 155, 157, 158
Panditârya, <i>sur of Śrutamuni,</i>	17, 23
Pandya, <i>co.,</i>	5, 8, 265, 266, 271, 275n, 291, 291, 300, 305, 318, 320
Pândyanagari, <i>vi.,</i>	125, 135
Pandya-Vodeya, <i>Kaḷasa-Kârkaḷa ch.,</i>	128
Pândyarâya, <i>s a Vira-Pândya,</i>	125, 128
Pândya-Vodeya, <i>ch.,</i>	129
Pânini,	25, 26, 39n, 46n, 91, 98n
Panjâb, <i>co.,</i>	12
Panne Ôja, <i>m.,</i>	59
Panṇuṭṭi, <i>vi.,</i>	8
Pâpanâṣa, <i>m.,</i>	317
Pârâdâ, <i>ri.,</i>	79
Parakêsarivarman, <i>sur. of Ohôḷa kings,</i> 1, 2, 3, 261, 262, 263	1, 2, 3, 261, 262, 263
paramabhaṭṭâraka,	140, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158
Paramâra, <i>dy.,</i>	96, 98, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 216
Paramâra, <i>k.,</i>	201, 216
paramêsvara,	9, 140, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 183, 230
Paramêsvara-Viṇṇagaram, <i>s a Vaikunṭha-</i> <i>Perumâ,</i>	293, 294

	PAGE		PAGE
Parāntaka, <i>sur of Jatilavarman</i> ,	319n	Pennar, <i>vi</i> ,	135n
Parāntaka, <i>sur of Mārañjadaiyan</i> ,	318, 320	Penukonda, <i>vi</i> ,	135n
Parāntaka I, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	260, 261, 292, 318	Periyatirumoli, <i>quoted</i> ,	290n, 293n
Parāsarabhatta, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher</i> ,	305n	Persia, <i>co</i> ,	12
Parava, <i>tribe</i> ,	136n	Perumbānappadi, <i>di</i> ,	23n
Pārichāta, <i>s.a Pāryātra</i> ,	61, 62	Perungai Dēvarāja, <i>m</i> ,	317
Pāñjātamañjari, <i>nātikā</i> ,	98, 99, 101	Perungai Venkata, <i>m</i> ,	317
Pāñjātamañjari, <i>queen</i> ,	100, 101	Peshawar, <i>vi</i> ,	297
parimurvāna,	167, 172	Pethada, <i>m</i> ,	203, 217
parishā (parishad),	176, 177n	Petha-Pangaraka, <i>s a Pagara</i> ,	164
Parivrājaka, <i>family</i> ,	284, 285, 286	Péyālvar, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> ,	290
Pāryātra, <i>mo</i> ,	62	Phaguna, <i>s a Phalguna</i> ,	207
Parkham, <i>vi</i> ,	174n	Philini, <i>vi</i> ,	206
Pārśva, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208n	Phirangipuram, <i>vi</i> ,	13
Pārśvanātha, <i>do</i> ,	125, 134	Phuljhar, <i>di</i> ,	286
Pārśvanāthasvāmin, <i>te</i> ,	138	Pidena, <i>vi</i> ,	238
Pārthaparākrama, <i>drama</i> ,	203	Pikura, <i>vi</i> ,	160, 161, 163, 234, 237n
Pārthasarāthisvāmin, <i>te</i> ,	290, 291	Pimdītakavada, <i>vi</i> ,	79
pārvana,	34	Pina-Vēdagiri, <i>ch</i> ,	13
Parvapārvata, <i>mo</i> ,	99	Pippirai Varadarāja-bhatta, <i>m</i> ,	306
Pārvati, <i>goddess</i> ,	314, 315	Piprawā, <i>vi</i> ,	317n
Paśchimachchhapana-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	151	Piranmalai, <i>hill</i> ,	318n
paśu, <i>animal sacrifice</i> ,	34	Priya-Muguli, <i>s a Hiremagalur</i> ,	50, 51, 59
Pāśupata,	164	Pisāchīpadraka, <i>vi</i> ,	65
Pāśupatiśvara, <i>te</i> ,	278	Pisappadaka, <i>s a Pisāchīpadraka</i> ,	62, 65
pātaka,	157, 158n	Pitri-bhaktāb, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	283n
Pāṭalīputta (Patna), <i>vi</i> ,	169	Piyadasi, <i>sur of Aśōka</i> ,	87, 169
Patālīśvara, <i>te</i> ,	4	Pokhara, <i>vi</i> ,	81
Paṭhānkōṭ, <i>vi</i> ,	171	Pokshara, <i>s a Pokhara</i> ,	79
Paṭika, <i>ch</i> ,	297	Polal, <i>vi</i> ,	291n
Patnā, <i>di</i> ,	286	Polaya-Vema, <i>Reddī ch</i> ,	11, 13
Patparā, <i>vi</i> ,	285	Pollakaliyada hole, <i>stream</i> ,	136
Pattana, <i>vi</i> ,	208	Pombuchcha or Ponbuchcha, <i>s a Humcha</i> ,	124, 126, 134, 135
paṭṭi, <i>s a nivartana</i> ,	236n	Pombulcha, <i>do</i> ,	126
Paṭṭi, <i>s.a Patti-rājya</i> ,	126n	Pomburcha, <i>do</i> ,	126n
paṭṭikā,	189, 237	Ponvulcha, <i>do</i> ,	126n add.
paṭṭikā, <i>s.a nivartana</i> ,	236	Pota, <i>Reddī ch</i> ,	10
Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, <i>s a Humcha</i> ,	126, 128, 134	Pōta, <i>s a Anapōta</i> ,	10
Paṭṭi-rājya, <i>co</i> ,	126n, 128	Prabandhachintāmani, <i>name of a work</i> ,	99, 202, 243
Pausha, <i>year</i> ,	31n	Prabhañjana, <i>Parivrājaka k</i> ,	288
Pāvanāśa, <i>m</i> ,	316	Prabhāsa, <i>vi</i> ,	79, 208
Pavanavyādhi, <i>s a Uddhava</i> ,	217n	Prabhutavarsha, <i>sur of Gōvinda II</i> ,	183
Pāvāni, <i>m</i> ,	11	Prabhutavarsha, <i>s a Gōvinda III</i> ,	294n
Peda-Kōmati-Vēma, <i>Reddī k</i> ,	12, 13	prabodhani, <i>s a utthāna dvadaśī</i> ,	308
Peggūr, <i>vi</i> ,	50	Prachīta, <i>metre</i> ,	26, 33n
Pemmādi, <i>m</i> ,	59	Pragvata, <i>family</i> ,	201, 203, 205, 206, 214, 217
Pemmādigāmunda, <i>m</i> ,	59	Prahladana, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	201, 202, 203, 216
Pemmādigānda, <i>m</i> ,	58n	prāpācharya,	153, 154
Pemmādigānda, <i>m</i> ,	58		
Pemmanadi,	58		

	PAGE		PAGE
Rājākṣarī arman, <i>Chola k.</i>	293n	Randava, <i>vi.</i>	151
rājakula,	204, 206	Ranga, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i>	291
Rajamalla, <i>W Ganga k.</i>	55	Ranganātha, <i>te.</i>	8
rajan,	171, 172	Raṅga, <i>sa Kenjāla,</i>	125, 129, 136
rājaparamēśvara,	305	Raṅgubula, <i>sa Rājula,</i>	174, 180
rājaputra,	187, 190, 206	Raṣṭrakūta, <i>dy.</i> 126, 164, 183, 184, 206n,	292, 294n
Rajaraja (Kuvīra), <i>god.</i>	230	Rasikāsamjivini, <i>commentary,</i>	99
Rajaraja II, <i>Chola k.</i>	1, 2, 3, 260, 263, 264	Rās Māla, <i>quoted,</i>	206n
Rajaraja III, <i>do.</i> 1, 6, 260, 267, 268, 269,	270, 271, 272, 291	Ratanpur, <i>vi.</i>	285, 286
Rājatadala, <i>tank,</i>	116	rathya,	204, 206
Rajatagiri ara, <i>te.</i>	270, 273	ratna traya, <i>the three jewels,</i>	134n, 135n
Rajatarangini, <i>quoted,</i>	31n, 101	Ratnavali, <i>nāṭikā,</i>	98n, 100
Rājendra Chōla, <i>k.</i>	56	Ravana, <i>demon,</i>	30n
Rajendra-Chōla I, <i>Chola k.</i> 260, 261, 262, 291,	291n, 295n	Ravidhara, <i>m.</i>	153
Rajendra-Chōla III, <i>do.</i> 1, 7, 267, 272, 273, 274	313	Ravivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i>	30, 31, 147, 148
Raji, <i>mythical k.</i>	79, 286	Ravivarman, <i>Kerala k.</i>	8, 9
Rajpatana, <i>co.</i>	174	Rayacholuganda, <i>sur of Vēma,</i>	9
Rajula, <i>Kshatrapa cl.</i>	119, 117	Riyakōta, <i>vi.</i>	292n
Rājyapala, <i>Kanauj k.</i>	151, 157	Rayana ojjhā, <i>m.</i>	140
Rājyapalipata, <i>vi.</i>	183	Rebhula, <i>m.</i>	89
Rakkhulla-grāma, <i>sa Lakshalgami,</i>	36	Reddi, <i>dy.</i>	9n, 10, 11, 12, 13
Raksha,	62	Renjala, <i>vi.</i>	129
Rakshasi,	119	Rishabha, <i>Jaina saint,</i>	208
Rakhaṇa Rakha-d., <i>mother of Govindachandra,</i>	22n, 36n, 18n, 61, 213n, 216n, 230	Rishabhadatta, <i>Kshaharāta k.</i>	72
Rama, <i>saint,</i>	305, 306	Rishuka, <i>co.</i>	62
Rama or Ramadeva, <i>sa Ramachandra,</i>	299n	Rodda, <i>vi.</i>	135n
Rāmabhupati, <i>Yādava prince,</i>	299	Roddada-gōva, <i>biruda,</i>	135
Ramachandra, <i>Yādava k.</i>	98	Rohanigutta, <i>m.</i>	69
Ramadeva, <i>m.</i>	201, 216	Rōhipigupta, <i>m.</i>	145, 116
Ramādeva, <i>Paramūra k.</i>	261, 268, 271	Rudamaunavayalsi-pattalā, <i>di.</i>	151
Ramagiri, <i>vi.</i>	90	Rudra, <i>sa Śiva,</i>	23
Rāmanakha, <i>m.</i>	300, 305	Rudradāman, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> 40, 41, 45, 47n,	48n, 49, 62
Ramanatha, <i>te.</i>	291	Rukmangada, <i>mythical k.</i>	50
Rāmanuja, <i>Vaishnava ācharya,</i>	290n	Ruminda, <i>the Lumbini garden,</i>	167n, 168
Ramaraja, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i>	79	rupakara, <i>a sculptor,</i>	98
Ramatirtha, <i>vi.</i>	18n, 19n, 215n	Rūpnath, <i>vi.</i>	168, 170, 171
Ramayana, 26n, 30n, 36n, 39, 40, 45n, 46n,	308n, 315	Rutlan, <i>vi.</i>	188, 195
Rambhama, <i>uranagari, vi.</i>	300		
Ramēsvaram, <i>island,</i>	168		
Rampurva, <i>vi.</i>	140, 205		
ranaka,	151		
[Rana? -pattalā, <i>di.</i>	46n		
Ranaraga, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i>	126n add		
Ranabha, <i>vi.</i> Aluva prince,	53		
Ranavikrama, <i>W Ganga k.</i>			

S

sabhā mandapa,	200
Sadali, <i>vi.</i>	202
Sadigera or Sādakara,	62
Śadaiyan, <i>sa Marājādaiyan,</i>	319
Sadasivi, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i>	291
Sādharana, <i>m.</i>	140
Sagara, <i>mythical k.</i>	35, 61, 149
Sahasram, <i>vi.</i>	60, 168

	PAGE		PAGE
Sāhīlavādā, <i>s a.</i> Selwara,	206, 207	Sāñchi, <i>vi.</i> ,	168, 169, 178n
Sāhityadarpana, <i>quoted</i> ,	98n	sāndhivigrahika,	230
Sahya, <i>mo</i> ,	61	Sangaravi, <i>m</i> ,	189
Sailarwadi, <i>vi</i> ,	75	Śangaśarman, <i>m.</i> ,	296
Śaiva,	295n, 318	saugharājā,	172
Śaka, <i>tribe</i> ,	61, 62, 79, 86, 89, 95, 96, 178	Sanjan, <i>vi.</i> ,	79
Śakāni, <i>a female of the Saka tribe</i> ,	89	sañkumada, <i>civet</i> ,	12
Sakaraypīṭha, <i>s a.</i> Sakkarēpaṭṭha,	50	San Marco, <i>church</i> ,	173
Sakhā, <i>vi</i> ,	86	Sāntiḥige one thousand, <i>di.</i> ,	126
Sakkarēpaṭṭha, <i>vi</i> ,	50	Santānasāgara, <i>tank</i> ,	13
Sākshināthasvāmin, <i>te</i> ,	7	Śāntara, <i>family</i> ,	126, 127, 128
Sakti, <i>di</i> ,	286	Sānthakara, <i>m.</i> ,	140
Śākya, <i>tribe</i> ,	177	Śāntinātha, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	17
Śākyamuni, <i>s a.</i> Buddha,	166, 178	Śāntisūri, <i>do</i> ,	203, 218
Śākyasimha, <i>do</i> ,	177	Śāntivaravarman, <i>s a.</i> Śāntivarman,	30
Sāla, <i>s a.</i> Salgaon,	206, 207	Śāntivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	28, 30, 36
Salgaon, <i>vi</i> ,	207	Saptakhandā-nivṛit, <i>s a.</i> Eljumuḥi-paṛṇu,	300, 305
Sāluva, <i>family</i> ,	127	Saptaśatakam, <i>poem</i> ,	117n
Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), <i>m</i> ,	73, 74	sārō, <i>supervision</i> ,	204, 205n
Sāmalipada, <i>vi</i> ,	67, 68	Śārīdādēvi, <i>s a.</i> Sarasvatī,	99n
samaṇa, <i>s a.</i> śramana,	67	Śaranārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ, <i>te.</i> ,	1
Sāmāngal, <i>vi</i> ,	184	Śārangarh, <i>di</i> ,	286
Sāmantasimha, <i>Guhila ch</i> ,	202, 216	Sarasvatī, <i>goddess</i> ,	200, 213, 216n
Sāmantasvāmin, <i>m.</i> ,	230	Sarasvatī, <i>te</i> ,	99
Samarapungava-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Sarauli, <i>vi</i> ,	206
Samastabhuvanāsraya,	128	Śārdūlavikrīḍita, <i>metre</i> ,	26
Sambhūpur, <i>di</i> ,	286	śarman, <i>ending of Brāhmana names</i> ,	28n
Śambhu, <i>s a</i> Śiva,	202, 218	Śārnāth, <i>vi.</i> , 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172,	173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182
Sāṅgama I, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	299, 305, 307, 315	Śārngadhara-paddhati, <i>quoted</i> ,	203
samgha,	62, 75, 76, 82, 89, 90, 91, 94, 135,	Saruvāra, <i>di</i> ,	151
	167, 169	śarvādhyakṣha,	163
samghapati,	208	Sarvakalā or Samastakalā, <i>queen of Arjuna-</i>	
samghaprabhu, <i>s a.</i> samghapati,	208	varman,	100, 101
Samgrāma, <i>m</i> ,	140	Sarvālokāśraya, <i>sur of Mangiyavarāja</i> ,	237, 238
Samgrāmādhira, <i>sur. of Ravivarman</i> ,	8, 9	Sarvamangalī, <i>s a.</i> Pārvatī,	315n
samidh,	34	śarvamānya,	305, 306, 315
Sāmkhya,	288n	Sarvāstivādin, <i>school of Buddhists</i> ,	180, 181
samkrāntis —		Sarvatōbhadrā, <i>verse</i> ,	125n, 130, 138
Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti,	272n, 277n	śāsanasamohārīn, <i>an official messenger</i> ,	163
Uttarāyana-samkrānti,	157, 158, 183n, 269	Sātakaṇi Gotamiputa, <i>Andhra k</i> ,	73
Samkshōbha, <i>Parivṛājaka k</i> ,	284, 288, 289	Sātakarṇi, <i>do</i> ,	28, 29, 36, 41, 47, 63
Sammitiya or Cītiya, <i>sect of Buddhist monks</i> ,	172	Sātakarṇi, <i>sur. of Andhrabhṛitya kings</i> ,	29, 62
Sampatkumāra or Sampatkumārapāndita, <i>m</i> ,	307, 308, 315, 316n, 317	Satallamā, <i>s a.</i> Satlama,	138 add, 140
Sampatsuta, <i>s a</i> Sampatkumāra,	316	Sātārā, <i>vi</i> ,	25n
samsāra,	139	Sātavāhana (Sādavāhana), <i>family</i> ,	93
samtānaka, <i>a celestial tree</i> ,	22	Satavāhana, <i>s a</i> Andhrabhṛitya,	29, 61
Samtōshā, <i>f</i> ,	208	Sati, <i>vi.</i> ,	151
Samudragupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> ,	29, 286		
samyaktva,	135		

	PAGE		PAGE
sakta,	204	Simhavarman, <i>Kadamba k</i> ,	30
Sat'ama, <i>vi</i> ,	133 add	Simhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	160, 163, 234, 237n
Śatrumjaya, <i>vi</i> ,	203	Simhavikrama, <i>sur of</i> Indrabhattarakavarman,	237
Śatrumjayamābātmya, <i>quoted</i> ,	208u	Simhavikramapattana, <i>sur of</i> Nellore,	11
Śā'tanganavadi, <i>m</i> ,	319n	Simhavishnu, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	234
Śatṭisarman, <i>m</i> ,	296	Sindhu-Sauvira, <i>co</i> ,	41, 47
Satyamangalam, <i>vi</i> ,	303	Sindinagara, <i>s.a</i> Sinner,	183
Śatyāśraya, <i>sur. of W. Chālukya kings</i> ,	230, 231	Singa, <i>ch</i> ,	12
Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, <i>governor of Rēvatidvīpa</i> ,	25n	Singara, <i>family</i> ,	149
Satyavakya, <i>sur of W. Gaṅga kings</i> , 53, 54,	55, 56, 57	Śingavaram, <i>vi</i> ,	277
Sāū, <i>f</i> ,	201, 214	Sionar, <i>vi</i> ,	183
Saura, <i>a sun-worshipper</i> ,	155	Śiraikkavur, <i>s a</i> Śoraikkāvūr,	298, 300, 305
Śaurirāja-bhatta, <i>m</i> ,	316	Sirasi, <i>s a</i> Sirsi,	151
avana-traya,	34	Sirasi-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	151
Sivasa, <i>m</i> ,	76	Siri-Pulumarī or Siri-Pulumarī, <i>Andhra k.</i> ,	59, 95
Śelvapillai, <i>te.</i> ,	303n	Siri-Pulumāyī(māyī) Vasithiputa, <i>do</i> ,	61, 67, 72
Selwara, <i>vi</i> ,	207	Siri-Satakani (Sadakani) Gotamiputa, <i>do</i> ,	61, 72
Śembiyam, <i>vi</i> ,	291	Siritana, <i>s a</i> Śristana,	61, 62
Śēñalur Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	306	Siriyaña-Sātakani, <i>s a</i> Yañasiri Satakani,	72
Sēnāpati, <i>s a</i> Kārttikēya,	22, 35	Sirsi, <i>vi</i> ,	151
Seoni, <i>di</i> ,	236	Sila, <i>metre</i> ,	13n
Ser, <i>vi</i> ,	207	Sisila or Śiāila, <i>s a</i> Sisukali,	128, 129n
Śesha, <i>serpent</i> ,	23	Sisukali, <i>vi.</i> ,	128
Setagiri, <i>mo</i> ,	61, 62	Śīupālavadha, <i>quoted</i> ,	26, 36n, 130, 239n
Sati-beṭtu,	133	Sitā,	22n, 216n
Set-Mahet, <i>vi</i> ,	180, 181, 182	Śiva, <i>god</i> ,	10n, 28, 29, 33, 127, 214n, 215n, 291, 295n, 314, 315, 316
Sētu or Sētuvinabīdu, <i>vi</i> ,	126n	Śiva, <i>s a</i> Pārvatī,	213
Shalānana, <i>s.a</i> Kārttikēya,	29, 35	Śivadatta, <i>Ābhira k</i> ,	89
Shahbazgarhi, <i>vi</i> ,	170, 297	Śivagupta, <i>s a</i> Mahāśivaguptarājadēva,	140n
Shabpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	297	Sivaguta, <i>m</i> ,	72
Śiddapura, <i>vi.</i> ,	177n	Sivakhandila, <i>m</i> ,	67
Siddha, <i>demi-gods</i> ,	36, 62	Śivalōkanātha, <i>te</i> ,	261
siddhachakra,	124, 137	Śivamāra I, <i>W Ganga k</i> ,	26n
Siddhantas, the five,	155	Sivamita, <i>m</i> ,	90
Śiddharāja, <i>sur of</i> Jayasimha,	99	Śivānkurēśvara, <i>te</i> ,	282
siddhāya,	125	Śivaratha, <i>Kadamba k</i> ,	30, 31
Sigurōdha-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	151	Śivaskandavarman, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	144
Sihāka, <i>m</i> ,	98	Siyadōnī, <i>vi</i> ,	152n
Sihara, <i>s a</i> Ser,	206, 207	Sī-yu-ki, <i>quoted</i> ,	166n
Śiharachchita (Simharakshita), <i>m</i> ,	297	Skandabhata, <i>m</i> ,	189, 190
Sihila (Simhila), <i>m</i> ,	297	Skandagupta, <i>Gupta k</i> ,	37, 38, 42n
Śilāditya, <i>Gujarāt Chalukya ch.</i> ,	230, 231	Shandakumāra, <i>m.</i> ,	317
Śilāditya I, <i>Valabhī k</i> ,	190	Skandaśishya, <i>mythical k</i> ,	292n
Śilāditya II, <i>do</i> ,	190	Skandaśishyavikramavarman, <i>Ganga-Pal-</i>	232n
Śilpin, <i>an artist</i> ,	98	lava k,	160, 234, 236
Simanidharasvāmin, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208	Skandavarman I, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	160, 162
Simhala (Ceylon), <i>island</i> ,	12	Skandavarman II, <i>do</i> ,	140
Simhanāda-Lōkēśvara, <i>Bōdhisattva</i> ,	177	Śobhana, <i>m</i> ,	174, 180
		Śodāsa, <i>Kshatrapa ch</i> ,	2 r 2

	PAGE		PAGE
Ēdhagā, <i>f</i> ,	201, 214	Śristana, <i>mo</i> ,	62
Ēolī-mandalam, <i>s a</i> Chōḷa-mandalam,	305	Śri-Vaiṣṇava,	300
śōma, <i>juice</i> ,	34	Śrivallabha, <i>sur of Rāshtrakūṭa kings</i> ,	184
Śōma, <i>m</i> ,	200, 203, 207, 214, 218	Śrivarā, <i>sur. of Neduñjadaiyan</i> ,	318n
Śōmasimhadēva, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 216	Śrivarāmanagai (Śrivarāman- <i>al-m</i>), <i>s a</i> . Nāngundri,	294n, 318n
Śōmēśvaradēva, <i>author</i> ,	200, 201, 203, 205, 219	Śrivarāmanagalam, <i>sur of Vēlaṅgudi</i> ,	294n, 318n
Śōmnāthpattan, <i>vi</i> ,	201, 202	Śrivarāmanaganagar, <i>s a</i> . Śrivarāmanagai,	318n
Sonarēkhā, <i>ri</i> ,	42	Śri-Vijaya-Jinālaya, <i>te</i> ,	147
Sonpur, <i>di</i> ,	286	Śri-Vijayasiddhi, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	237
Soṛaikkāvur, <i>vi</i> ,	298, 299, 300, 305n	Śri-Vitarāga,	125, 138
Soṛipāraḡa, <i>vi</i> ,	79	Śriyāñā-Sātakani, <i>s a</i> Śriyāñā-Sātakani,	94
Soṛṭṭaiyār, <i>family name</i> ,	300n	sruch,	34
South Kōsala, <i>s a</i> Chhattisgarh,	286	Śrutamuni, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	17, 24
Soṛasaka (Sauvarsha), <i>m</i> ,	76	Śrutaprakāśikā, <i>name of a work</i> ,	305n
sparavēdi,	11	Śriśāraya, <i>sur of Śilāditya</i> ,	230, 231
śrāddha,	34	sthāna, <i>residence</i> ,	161
śrawana,	22n, 65, 93	Sthānakundūra, <i>s a</i> Tāḷagunda,	28, 36
Śrautasutra,	313n	sthānapati,	206
śrāvaka,	205, 206	sthānika,	125, 136
Śravana-Belgoḷa, <i>vi</i> ,	15, 17, 122n, 123n, 300	Sthānu, <i>s a</i> . Śiva,	33
Śrāvastī (Saket-Mahet), <i>vi</i> ,	173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181	Sthavira,	64
Śri, <i>s a</i> Lakshmi,	135	Sthavirāvalicharita, <i>quoted</i> ,	208n
Śriśāraya, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	230	St. Thomas,	290
Śribhashya,	305n	St Thomè, <i>vi</i> ,	290
Śri Bhāṭakkah, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	188	stūpa,	91, 297
Śrigiri (Śripārvata), <i>s a</i> . Śriśaila,	10, 308	Subāhu, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208
Śrigirindra, Śrigiriśvara or Śrigiribhūpala, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> ,	308, 315	Subhaṭa or Subhaṭavarman, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	98, 99
Śrimad Gōvindachandrādēvaḡ, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	152	Śuchindram, <i>vi</i> ,	318n
Śrimūla, <i>family</i> ,	206	Sudarśana, <i>lake</i> ,	40, 41, 42, 45, 46n, 49n
Śrimātamaḡibu, <i>vi</i> ,	206	Sudarśanabhāṭṭa, <i>s a</i> Sudarśanāchārya,	305n
Śrimulī, <i>m</i> ,	317	Sudarśanāchārya, <i>author</i> ,	305n and add.
Śrimitra, <i>Telugu poet</i> ,	9n, 11, 12, 13n	Sudisṛṇa or Sudasṛṇa, <i>s a</i> Piśāchīpadraka,	65, 67, 68, 69, 70
Śringeri, <i>vi</i> ,	129	Śūdra, <i>caste</i> ,	29n
Śrīvāsa bhāṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	317	Suhidūdēvi, <i>f</i> ,	208
Śripulādēva, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	17	Sujīvin, <i>m</i> ,	74
Śripārvata, <i>s a</i> Śriśaila,	28, 34	Sukirti, <i>m</i> ,	317n
Śripārvatanāthra bhāṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	306	Śukra,	217
Śripurusha-Muttarasa, <i>W Ganga k</i> ,	53, 54, 55	Sumāhi, <i>demon</i> ,	30n
Śriranga, <i>Vijayanagara k</i> ,	290	summer,	59, 61, 67, 74, 83, 89, 182
Śrirangam, <i>island</i> ,	294n, 300, 305	Sun, <i>race of the</i> ,	150n
Śrirangināthra, <i>m</i> ,	317	Sundarēśvara, <i>te</i> ,	276
Śrirāḡmāthra-bhāṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	306	Suparsva, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208
Śrirāḡarāja bhāṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	306	Suradhēnupua, <i>vi</i> ,	55
Śrirāḡōpudhyaya, <i>m</i> ,	317	Sūāmbā, <i>queen of Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vōma</i> ,	13
Śri Rudra bhāṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	317	Surashṭra, <i>co</i> ,	41, 47, 49, 62
Śriśaila (Śrisailam), <i>mo</i> ,	10n, 12, 28n	Surat, <i>vi</i> ,	231, 232n, 233n
		Surāṭha, <i>s a</i> Surāshṭra,	61

	PAGE		PAGE
Tiruvellārai, <i>vi.</i> ,	293n		
Tiruvēndipuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	278		
Tiruvēnkāṭa-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	317		
Tiruvīḷimilalai, <i>vi.</i> ,	209n		
Tiruvīraṭṭānam, <i>s a</i> Virāṭṭāṇēśvara,	8, 9		
Tiruvorriyūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	291		
Tiṭṭagudi, <i>vi.</i> ,	270, 271		
Tivāyi-kshētra, <i>vi.</i> ,	158		
Tōdādī, <i>s a</i> Nāngunōri,	318n		
Toṇḍai-mannavan, <i>a Pallava k.</i> ,	293n		
Tonḍaiyai, <i>s a</i> Pallava,	290, 293		
Traividyā, <i>sur. of</i> Śrīpālādēva,	17		
(Trētā)-yugādi,	155		
Tievandium, <i>vi.</i> ,	319n		
Tribhuvanachūdāmani-Chaityālaya, <i>sur. of</i>			
Hosabasti,	125n		
Tribhuvanadēvi, <i>f.</i> ,	203, 217		
Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya, <i>sur. of</i>			
Chatumukhabasti,	125, 135, 136		
Tribhuvanavīra-Chōḷa, <i>Chōḷa ch.</i> ,	1, 7, 8		
Tribhuvanavīradēva, <i>sur. of</i> Kulōttunga-Chōḷa			
III,	4, 5, 7, 260, 266		
Trichinopoly, <i>vi.</i> ,	319		
Trikalinga, <i>co.</i> ,	140		
Triḷchana ghaṭṭa,	152		
Tripitaka,	173, 176, 177, 179, 180,		
	181, 182		
Tripheane, <i>vi.</i> ,	290, 291, 292, 293, 295		
Tripua, <i>demon.</i> ,	214, 315		
Tripurī, <i>s a</i> Towar,	98, 284, 285, 288		
Tirāśmi, <i>hill.</i> ,	64, 68, 72, 73, 79, 80, 89		
triratna, <i>the three jewels.</i> ,	22n		
trivaiḡa,	35		
trivōdin,	194, 195		
Tirvōdi-Vāmana-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	316		
Trividhavīra, <i>sur. of</i> Arjunavaiman,	99		
Trividhavanachūdāmani, <i>do.</i> ,	99		
Tryambaka, <i>m.</i> ,	317		
Tryambaka, <i>s a</i> Śiva,	317		
Tudarmunni nādu, <i>di.</i> ,	291n		
Tukhāra, <i>co.</i> ,	62		
Tuḷu or Tuḷuājya, <i>s a</i> Tuḷuva,	127n		
Tuḷuva, <i>co.</i> ,	127		
Tuṇḍira, <i>co.</i> ,	300, 305		
Tungabhadra, <i>vi.</i> ,	29		
turushkadarā,	152, 154, 155, 157, 158		
Tuṣim <i>vi.</i> ,	27		
Tuṣaspha, <i>Yavana k.</i> ,	41, 46n, 47		
Tyāgada-Brahmadēva pillar,	123n		
Tyagarājasvamin, <i>te.</i> ,	262, 263, 274, 276		
		U	
Uchahra, <i>vi.</i> ,	285		
Uchchakalpa, <i>s a</i> Uchaluā,	285		
Udayārkyōyil, <i>vi.</i> ,	2		
Udāli Vināyakabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	306		
Udayachandra, <i>ch.</i> ,	294		
Udayagiri, <i>mo.</i> ,	238		
Udayaprabhasūri, <i>Jaina teacher.</i> ,	203, 218		
Udayapura or Udāyāpura, <i>s a</i> Udīyā-			
vara,	126n and add.		
Udayavarman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> ,	101n		
Udayēndiram, <i>vi.</i> ,	294		
Udbāhusundara, <i>m.</i> ,	317		
Uddhava, <i>m.</i> ,	217n		
Udipi, <i>vi.</i> ,	122, 126n		
Udīyāvara, <i>vi.</i> ,	126n and add.		
udranga,	189, 288		
Udumbaragahvara, <i>vi.</i> ,	189, 191, 195		
Ūsavāla, <i>family.</i> ,	206		
Ughaṇatērahōttara pattalā, <i>di.</i> ,	151		
Ugra-vamśa, <i>family.</i> ,	126n, 128		
Ujeni, <i>vi.</i> ,	86		
Ujjain, <i>vi.</i> ,	54, 56n, 57, 202n		
Ujjivana, <i>s a</i> Uyyakkonda-vaḷanādu,	300, 305		
Ukkal, <i>vi.</i> ,	295		
ullitṭār,	317n		
Umādēvi, <i>queen of</i> Jayasimha,	8		
Umāpati-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	316		
Umarni, <i>vi.</i> ,	207		
Umbarāla-pattalā, <i>di.</i> ,	151, 158		
Umbaraniki, <i>s a</i> Umarni,	206, 207		
Umbhāl, <i>vi.</i> ,	231		
Unāvisa-pattalā, <i>di.</i> ,	151		
Undikavāṭikā, <i>s a</i> Oontiya,	161, 165		
upadhmanīya,	25, 164, 188, 194		
upādhyāya,	99, 140n		
upamā,	41		
uparikara,	189, 288		
upāsaka,	177n		
upāsikā,	177n		
upatalpa,	40, 46n		
Uppahāḷi, <i>vi.</i> ,	50, 51, 53, 55, 56		
Ūrjayat, <i>s a</i> Gīrnār,	42, 46		
ūrṇā,	177		
Urōśani, <i>s a</i> Rōhīṇī,	146n		
Urpavāḷi, <i>s a</i> Uppahāḷi,	52, 59		
Urappuṭṭāār, <i>family name.</i> ,	300n		
Urappuṭṭār Nāriyāra-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	306		
Uruvupalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	116n, 160, 161, 163n, 231		

	PAGE		PAGE
Uzabhadata, <i>ch</i> ,	72	Vanaspara or Vanashpara, <i>Kshatrapa ch</i> ,	173,
Ushavadata, <i>ch</i> ,	78, 82, 85, 86, 87		174, 177, 179
ushnisha,	177	Vanditapalli, <i>vi</i> ,	194
Ūtarachha, <i>sa</i> Utraj,	206, 207	Vanga or Vangavolu, <i>sa</i> Ongole,	10
utprēkshālamāra,	135n	Vangipurattār, <i>family name</i> ,	300n
Utraj, <i>vi</i> ,	207	Vangipurattu Bhagavān-bhatta, <i>m</i> ,	306
Uttamabhadra, <i>co.</i> ,	79, 81	Vangra, <i>vi</i> ,	238
Uttamapalayam, <i>vi</i> ,	319	Varadaraja, <i>m</i> ,	317
Uttara-Madhura, <i>vi</i> ,	126n, 128	Varadarāja bhatta, <i>m.</i> ,	317
Uttaramallur, <i>vi</i> ,	293, 294	Varaguna, <i>Pāndya k</i> ,	274n, 294, 319
uttaramantrin, <i>prime minister</i> ,	320	Varagunamangai, <i>vi</i> ,	294
utthana dvadasi,	308, 315	varaha, <i>a pagoda</i> ,	125, 129, 130, 136
uvachcha or ōchcha, <i>sa</i> oja,	140n	varahagadyana, <i>sa</i> gadyāna,	130
Uyyakkonda vaḷanaḷu, <i>di</i> ,	300, 305	Varāhamihura, <i>astronomer</i> ,	41n
V			
Vadagalai,	305n	Vārāhi, <i>f</i> ,	79
Vadagalai-Guruparamparaprabhava,	305n	Varahōṭaka, <i>sa</i> Bhārōdā,	189
Vādapalli, <i>vi</i> ,	12	Vardhamana, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208
Vadavha, <i>vi</i> ,	139n, 151	Varisēna or °shena, <i>do</i> ,	208
Vadibhakanthirava, <i>sur of</i> Ajitasena,	17	varman, <i>ending of Kshatriya names</i> ,	28n
Vadibhasimba, <i>do</i> ,	17	varnas, the four,	61
Vadikōlāhala, <i>sur. of</i> Padmanabha,	17	varshā, <i>the rainy season</i> ,	31
Vāghēlā, <i>family</i> ,	201, 205	varshagranthi, <i>an anniversary</i> ,	204
Vāgvijaya, <i>vi</i> ,	305n add	vasahi, <i>sa</i> vasati,	200n
Vāhuraḷadi, <i>di</i> ,	206	Vasantalila, <i>f</i> ,	100
Vaichaya, <i>sa</i> Baicha I,	17	Vasantarāja, <i>sur of</i> Kumāragiri,	11
Vaidya, <i>family</i> ,	318, 319n, 320	Vasantatilakā, <i>metre</i> ,	26
Vaidyanathasvamin, <i>te</i> ,	270, 271	Vasantotsava, <i>the spring festival</i> ,	12, 98n
Vaijayanti, <i>lexicon</i> ,	30n	vasati, <i>a Jaina temple</i> ,	200n
Vaijayanti, <i>sa</i> Banavasi,	29, 147, 148	Vāsava, <i>sa</i> Indra,	214
Vaikunṭha-Perumal, <i>te</i> ,	293	Vaēishtha, <i>ṛishi</i> ,	201, 205, 215
Vairamēgha, <i>sur of</i> Dantidurga,	294n	Vasishtha, <i>te</i> ,	206
Vaiśakha, <i>year</i> ,	31n	Vasithi, <i>Andhra queen</i> ,	59, 95
Vaishnava, 206n, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295n,	300, 305n, 318n, 319	vassa,	82, 90
Vaiśya, <i>caste</i> ,	29n, 75	vāstavya, <i>a resident</i> ,	238
Vaiśya, <i>tribe</i> ,	41, 46	Vastupala, <i>m</i> ,	200, 201, 203, 205, 208, 214,
Vajrambhachchāsathi pattala, <i>di</i> ,	151		215, 216, 217, 218, 219
Vākāṭaka, <i>family</i> ,	27	Vāsu, <i>f</i> ,	94
Vākpatirāja, <i>sur of</i> Muñjadēva,	89n	Vasudeva, <i>mythical k</i> ,	216
Valabhi, <i>vi</i> ,	47n, 149n, 188	Vāsudēva, <i>Kushana k</i> ,	175n
Valanra-pattalā, <i>di</i> ,	151, 157	Vasudēva bhatta, <i>m</i> ,	306
Vālēvara, <i>te</i> ,	264, 268, 271	Vasushka, <i>Kushana k</i> ,	178n
Vaḷḷimalai, <i>hill</i> ,	318n	vataka or pataka, <i>ending of village names</i> ,	285
Vāṅa-Kaivalāya-Tirumalai, <i>shrine</i> ,	9	Vaṭamukha, <i>sa</i> Ōdhēm,	183, 184
Vāpamāmalai, <i>sa</i> Nānguneri,	318n	Vatapura, <i>vi</i> ,	183
Vānapuram, <i>sur of</i> Tiruvallam,	28n	Vatrabhatti, <i>m</i> ,	189, 190
		Vatsarāja, <i>Singara prince</i> ,	149
		Vātsīputra, <i>Buddhist patriarch</i> ,	172
		Vātsīputrika, <i>sa</i> Vātsīputriya,	172
		Vatsīputriya, <i>school of Buddhist monks</i> ,	172
		Vayajukā, <i>f</i> ,	201, 214

	PAGE		PAGE
Vayiramōgan, <i>biruda of Dantippōttaraśar</i> ,	293, 294	Venki ŷagiri, <i>vi.</i> ,	11
Vayiramōga-taśāka, <i>tank</i> ,	293, 294	Venkaṭapati, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	291
Vēda,	28, 34, 288	Vēnūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	123, 129
Vēdagōmapurattār, <i>family name</i> ,	300n	Vēppōri, <i>vi.</i> ,	291
Vēdagōmapurattu Lakshmana-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	306	Veshārūpādī, <i>s a. Veysarpādī</i> ,	291n
Vēdagōmapurattu Thruvaranga-Nārāyaṇa-		Veysarpādī, <i>vi.</i> ,	291
bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	306	vichārakartṭi, <i>a super visor</i> ,	122n
Vēdamārga,	300, 105	Vichārasrēnī, <i>name of a work</i> ,	202
Vēdāngas, <i>the six</i> ,	34n, 183, 308, 315	Vidabha, <i>co.</i> ,	61
Vēdāntadēśika, <i>Vaiśṇava āchārya</i> ,	305n	Vidagdha, <i>m.</i> ,	100
Vēdāraṇyam, <i>vi.</i> ,	264, 265, 266, 269, 271,	Viddhaśālabhaṅṅikā, <i>nāṭikā</i> ,	98n
	272, 273	Vidyādhanamjaya, <i>sur of Hēmasēna</i> ,	17
Vēdāraṇyōśvaia, <i>te.</i> ,	264, 265, 266, 269, 271,	Vidyādharma, <i>demi-gods</i> ,	62, 230
	273, 273	Vidyādharma, <i>m.</i> ,	158, 159
Vēdas and śākhās —		vidyādihikārin,	12
Rich,	93, 154n, 170, 316, 317	Vidyānātha, <i>author</i> ,	101
Bahvricha,	154	Vidyaranya,	305n
Śānkḥāyana,	154	Vighnōśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	270
Sāman,	33, 238	vihāra,	89, 172, 178
Chhandōga,	236, 238	vihararūpa,	208n
Yajus,	33, 79, 147, 148, 230, 316, 317	vihārasvāmin,	73
Charaka,	79	Vijayabhūpāla, °bhūpati, °bhūbhuj, °rāj or	
Kaṭha,	183	°rūya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	307, 308, 315
Taittīya,	163	Vijaya-Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	141, 145, 148
Vājasanīya,	155, 189, 191, 195	Vijayachandra, <i>Kanauj k.</i> ,	149
Vājasanīyī-Mādhyandina or Mādhyam-		Vijayāditya, <i>W Ganga prince</i> ,	55
dina-Vājasanīya,	140, 194, 288	Vijayādityādēva, <i>Kadamba ch.</i> ,	126n
Vēdōśvara-ghaṭṭa,	152	Vijaya-Īśvaivarman, <i>Ganga-Pallava k.</i> ,	292
Vēgavatī, <i>ri.</i> ,	8	Vijayanagara, <i>vi.</i> ,	12, 16, 17, 127, 129, 290,
Vejayantī or °ntī, <i>vi.</i> ,	72		291, 298, 299, 300, 305n, 307, 308n
Velama, <i>caste</i> ,	11	Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, <i>Ganga-Pallava k.</i> ,	292
Vēlangudi, <i>vi.</i> ,	318n	Vijayarayapura or °rāṭpura, <i>sur of Nīpatatāka</i> ,	
vēli, <i>land measure</i> ,	298, 305		308, 316
Velidāta, <i>m.</i> ,	90	Vijayasēnasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	203, 205, 218, 219
Vēśārū, <i>s a. Veysarpādī</i> ,	291n	Vijayasiddhi, <i>sur of Mangiyavaraja</i> ,	237
Velugōṭi, <i>family</i> ,	11	Vijayasimha, <i>Guhila ch.</i> ,	202
Velugōṭivāri-vamśāvalī, <i>Telugu poem</i> ,	11, 12, 13	Vijaya Śiva-Māndhutṭivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	147
Vēma, <i>m.</i> ,	11	Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigśēavarman, <i>do.</i> ,	147
Vēma, <i>Reddī ch.</i> ,	11	Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	114, 115, 146
Vēma, <i>Reddī k.</i> ,	9, 10, 11, 12	Vijayaśī, <i>s a. Pārījātamañjarī</i> ,	98, 100, 101
Vēma, <i>s a. Pēda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma</i> ,	12, 13	Vijayasudarsanapuram, <i>sur of Śōṇakāvūr</i> ,	
Vēma, <i>s a. Pōlaya-Vēma</i> ,	13		298, 305
Vemapuram, <i>sur. of Ātukūru</i> ,	10	Vijayōśvara-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	316
Vemasāni, <i>Reddī pi ncess.</i> ,	10	Vikrama-Chōla, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	1, 2, 260, 262, 263
Vemaya or Vēma, <i>Reddī k.</i> ,	9, 10	Vikrama-Chōla-vaṅānādu, <i>sur of Puṅṅkōṭṭam</i> ,	291n
Vēugadanātha-dīkshita, <i>m.</i> ,	316	Vikramāditya I, <i>W Chalukya k.</i> ,	230, 231
Vēngi, <i>co.</i> ,	149n	Vikramāditya II, <i>do.</i> ,	292
Vēpi, <i>confluence of the Jumna and the</i>		Vikramāditya V, <i>do.</i> ,	25n
<i>Ganges</i> ,	151	Vikramāditya VI, <i>do.</i> ,	101
Venkaṭa I., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	127	Vikramānkadōvacharitam, <i>poem</i> ,	101, 285n

	PAGE
Yasôdhavala, <i>Pa amâ a k</i> ,	201, 216
Yasôvarman, <i>do.</i> ,	202
Yasôvigrâha, <i>Kanau k.</i> ,	150n
Yaudhâya, <i>dy.</i> ,	41, 47
[Ya P]vaala-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> ,	151
Yavana,	41, 47, 61, 73, 91, 178
Yayâti, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	61
years of the cycle —	
Chitrabhânu,	7
Kîddhin,	308, 315
Kshaya,	299, 305, 306n
Manmatha,	13
Paridhâvin,	52
Pârthiva,	10
Prabhava,	300
Siddhârthin,	56n
Śubhakṛt,	17, 24
Târana,	300
Viḷambin,	129n
Vyaya,	124, 134, 300
years of the reign, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 25,	
31, 51, 53, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67, 72, 74,	
82, 83, 89, 94, 95, 139, 140, 147, 148, 160,	
161, 163, 167, 171, 173, 175n, 176, 179,	
181, 182, 233, 236, 238, 261, 262, 263,	
264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271,	
272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279,	
280, 281, 282, 283, 291n, 293, 296, 318, 319	

	PAGE
Yehnoya-hojo, <i>stream</i> ,	136
Yimmadi-Bhairarsa-Oḍoya, <i>Kaḷasa-Kârka'a</i>	
<i>ch</i> ,	127, 128
yōga —	
Vaidhṛiti,	200, 305
Yudhishtira, <i>mythical k</i> ,	230
Yugandharasvâmin, <i>Jaina saint</i> ,	208
yuvamahârâja,	144, 145, 146, 160, 162
yuvarâja, 31, 149, 152, 155, 160, 184, 202, 203,	
230, 231	

Z

Zodiac, signs of the —	
Dhanus,	266, 269, 272, 276
Kanyâ,	7, 280
Karkâṭaka, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 273,	
277, 278, 279, 281, 282	
Kumbha,	2, 3, 5, 6, 267, 270, 283
Makara,	4, 8, 9, 261, 265, 270,
271, 272, 273, 274, 281, 282n, 283	
Mîsha,	3, 5, 6, 7, 262, 267, 275, 280, 281
Mîna,	3, 261, 267, 276, 277, 283
Mithuna,	4, 269, 271, 272
Ṛshabha,	262, 265, 268, 273
Simha, 1, 2, 7, 263, 268, 271, 277, 279, 280	
Tulâ,	6, 275
Vṛiśchika,	2, 5, 266, 270, 279

