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taken by them as referring to a *rājā* of that name,<sup>1</sup> while, as is clear from the context, it refers in reality to Śiva, the main deity of the shrine.

The only information we get from the inscription regarding *Gaganaśiva āchārya* is that he hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha. In this connection Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has kindly directed my attention to the Mattamayūra school of Śaiva ascetics, suggesting thereby that *Gaganaśiva* might have been one of them, as the names of some of them likewise end in *śiva*. This argument receives further support from the identification of Uttara-Tērambagriha with Tērambi as proposed below. Tērambi, it may be pointed out, is known from the Rāṇōd inscription to be the seat of an earlier Śaiva saint of the Mattamayūra line, whose name is not given but who is styled *Tērambipāla*, i. e., 'the protector of Tērambi'.<sup>2</sup>

The saints of the Mattamayūra sect are known to have founded temples, tanks and monasteries at various places, being highly honoured and favoured with munificent gifts by certain Kalachuri rulers.<sup>3</sup> The Rāṇōd inscription itself belongs to one such sage, called Vyōmaśiva, who is stated to have restored to Raṇipadra<sup>4</sup> its past glory<sup>5</sup> and beautified the *maṭha* there by building in its vicinity a magnificent tank, a temple, a garden and shrines with images of Śiva, Umā, Nāṭyēśvara and Vināyaka.<sup>6</sup> Of all these, prominence is given to the tank, the construction of which forms the main object of the record and which is glorified in no less than twenty verses (vv. 45-64). The line of disciples given in this record is as follows:<sup>7</sup> Kadambaguhādhivāsīn. Śaṅkhamāṭhik-ādhipati, Tērambipāla, Āmardakātīrtha-nātha, Purandara, Kachaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛidayēśa and Vyōmaśiva. Of these Purandara is described to have founded two *maṭhas*, one at Mattamayūra and the other at Raṇipadra. The latter place, it is narrated, was subsequently graced by Sadāśiva by doing penance there, while still later, as has already been stated, its grandeur was revived and enhanced by Vyōmaśiva. From the numerous laudatory verses in praise of Vyōmaśiva we gather that he was an ascetic of a very high order and a profound scholar, well-versed in the *Śaiva-siddhāntas* as well as in the Nyāya, Vaiśēshika, Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya *sāstras*, equally proficient in the Lōkāyata, Bauddha and Jaina doctrines, who could easily silence his opponents in a debate, so much so that he is related to be a second omniscient Śaṅkara (i. e., Śiva) incarnate.<sup>8</sup>

Now, considering that *Vyōmaśiva*, so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is the same as *Gaganaśiva*, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that *Vyōmaśiva* is variously mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription by such equivalent appellations as *Gaganēśa* (v. 39), *Vyōmaśambhu* (v. 41), *Vyōmēśa* (v. 50) and *Gaganaśaśimauli* (v. 65). The same will be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, Hṛidayēśa of the Rāṇōd inscription

<sup>1</sup> The Secretary to the Cabinet, Pātṇā State, has kindly placed at my disposal copies of certain manuscripts by the late Mr. Manbodh Sahu, a resident of that State. One of them contains a transcript of the present inscription, with some notes regarding its contents. I find most of the text read by Mr. Sahu to be correct, except that he has, after the Oriya fashion, used *b* for *v* in his transliteration. As regards the contents of the record, while his explanation of it improves little upon that given by Mr. Beglar and Sir Cunningham, he follows them in regarding *Sōmēśvaradēva* as referring to a royal personage.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 355, v. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See R. D. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (A. S. I. Memoirs, No. 23), pp. 110 ff.

<sup>4</sup> R. D. Banerji wrongly gives it as Rāṇipadra.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 357, v. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359, vv. 43, 44.

<sup>7</sup> For a fuller list and a more detailed account the reader is referred to R. D. Banerji's monograph, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Compare especially the verses 36-39 of the Rāṇōd inscription.

is called Hridayasiva in the Bilhari inscription.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayūra sages it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though merely to conform to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyomasiva and Gaganasiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of Tērambi being identical with Uttara-Tērambagriha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyomasiva with Gaganasiva, and that is the name *Raṇipadra*. Has this name anything to do with Rānipur Jhariāl? Referring to the deserted temples at this latter place, Mr. Beglar points out that 'they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten'.<sup>2</sup> But one may as well ask: Can it not be that we have a replica of Raṇipadra itself in Rānipur Jhariāl, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, viz., Vyomasiva or Gaganasiva?

However plausible the above argument may appear, the whole question has to be left undecided in the absence of more convincing evidence. The verbal likeness between *Raṇipadra* and *Rānipur* may be as accidental as may the similarity between *Vyomasiva* and *Gaganasiva* be fortuitous. And when we consider how ill compares the faulty and clumsy construction of the present brief record with the chaste and ornate composition of the copious inscription from Rāṇōd, the former depicting Gaganasiva as a mediocre abbot and the latter representing Vyomasiva as a great celebrity among the learned and the holy, the possibility of the two being identical becomes remoter still. There is, however, no such obstacle in accepting Tērambi being the same as Uttara-Tērambagriha and Gaganasiva being connected with the Mattamayūra sect of Śaiva saints.

As regards the location of the places referred to above, Raṇipadra has been taken to be Rāṇōd itself, an old decayed town in the state of Gwālior, about half way between Jhānsī and Guna.<sup>3</sup> Tērambi, it is suggested, may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Rāṇōd,<sup>4</sup> and which seems also to represent the Uttara-Tēramlagriha of the inscription under discussion, unless, as a partial phonetic resemblance between the names would suggest, it be identified with the modern Tarbhā, an important mart in the Sonapur State, lying on the borders of the Pāṭṇā State, some sixty-five miles north-east of Rānipur Jhariāl, which seems less probable.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>.

## CORRECTED TEXT.

1 [. . . . ॐ न<sup>6</sup>]मः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसो-  
मेश्वरदेवभट्टारकपरमेश्वरवरप्रसादीः ।  
श्री<sup>7</sup>उत्तरतेरस्वगृहविनिर्गतगगनशिवा-

ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवभट्टार-  
कपरमेश्वरवरप्रसादिश्री<sup>7</sup>उत्तरतेरस्वगृह-  
विनिर्गतगगनशिवा-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 259, v. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>6</sup> It cannot be ascertained whether the stone contained any more letters before the conjecturally supplied two syllables *Om na*.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> From ink-impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 351 and 353

<sup>7</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

2 <sup>1</sup>अभिधा[... ..]चार्येण<sup>1</sup> इदं स्थानं  
कीर्तितं सर्वं । तीर्थप्रसन्नमाद्योगं  
लोकानुग्राहकं पुण्यं । सोमस्वामि-  
सिद्धेश्वरं ।

3 लक्ष्मीनामचतुर्थकं ॥ इदं तीर्थं स्नात्वा<sup>4</sup>  
सर्वपापविमोचनः । श्रीसोमेशनाथ-  
यस्तव पादयुगलेः आराधनैकतत्परः[.]

4 प्रणमति गगनशिवं यदि बद्धो मुक्ति-  
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा बन्ध-  
नसमर्थस्तपं किन्न भवति ॥ स्त-<sup>6</sup>  
वापि स्वामिनो ज-

5 गत्पति[र्व]बन्ध्वा मोक्षन्ददासि

6 गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

भिधा[नसिद्ध?]चार्येण<sup>1</sup> इदं स्थानं कीर्तितं  
सर्वतीर्थफलसमायोगं लोकानुग्राहकं  
पुण्यं सोमस्वामिसिद्धेश्वर-

लक्ष्मीचतुर्थकं नाम तीर्थं स्नात्वा<sup>4</sup> सर्व-  
पापविमोचनम् । श्रीसोमेशनाथ-  
तव पादयुगलेः आराधनैकतत्परः

प्रणमति गगनशिवः । यदि बद्धो मुक्ति-  
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा  
बन्धनसमर्थः । तपसि किन्न भवति ॥  
तवापि स्वामिनो ज-

गत्पतिर्वन्धं वा मोक्षन्ददासि

गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

*Om.* Obeisance to Śiva! The *ācharya* (or *śāstrī*?) named Gaganasīva, an immigrant from the glorious Uttara-Tērambagriha, (who has been) favoured with a boon by the Supreme Master, the Lord, the illustrious god Sōmēśvara, has built this (holy) place which combines in itself the merit of all the holy places, is beneficent for the people, and is sacred, containing (the images of the four gods) namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī as the fourth. This holy place delivers (one) of all sins, if (one) bathes (here).<sup>9</sup> O Śrī-Sōmēśa-nātha! Gaganasīva, being ever full of devotion, bows at your pair of feet. O Śaṅkara! you bestow salvation (on your devotee), if (he) is in bondage. You are able even to put (one) into bondage, (if one) is freed. <sup>10</sup>What is not possible through penance? ....the lord of the universe, you give bondage or liberation. But Gagana alone (is?) this lord Śiva.

#### B.—Kēnduvalli Temple Inscription.

At a little distance in front of the Mahādēva temple described above, there is another, called Kēnduvalli temple, which is much smaller in size. The face of the rock on which

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Between *pu* and *nyam* traces are visible of a cancelled letter which seems to have been a *na*.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is probably *Svāmi*-, only the subscript *v* is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> The usage of this absolute gerund for a conditional clause is unusual.

<sup>5</sup> This is equivalent to *śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva*.

<sup>6</sup> This can also be read as *stath=āpi*.

<sup>7</sup> From here onwards the sense is not very clear to me.

<sup>8</sup> These names have been discussed in the introduction.

<sup>9</sup> See above, n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> See above, n. 7.



it stands is carved with figures of *nara-guhas*. The present short inscription is engraved to the left of these carvings. Owing to the exposure, both the drawings and the epigraph are badly weather-worn and can be made out only with difficulty.

The inscription consists of four short lines, each about a foot and a quarter in length, comprising one stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; thus every line containing one quarter of the verse.

The **characters** are similar to those of the record **A.** already dealt with. The inscription can thus be assigned roughly to the 10th century A.D., which would also be the date of the temple the erection of which is recorded in it.

The **language** is Sanskrit, practically without any mistake. In point of **orthography** the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddhō* (l. 1) may be noted. The significance of the words *kīrtir=* and *prakīrtitā* has been discussed above.<sup>1</sup>

The record simply informs us that one **Dēvānanda**, son of Jōgēśvara, has raised this shrine in honour of Kṛishṇa, by which evidently the present Kēnduvalli temple itself is meant. It cannot be ascertained from the inscription whether the name Kēnduvalli is the same as was originally given to the shrine or whether it came to be attached to it later on. It is, however, only from this epigraph that we learn that the shrine was dedicated to Kṛishṇa, as the monument itself in its present condition is totally bereft of its original contents. As is evidenced by this as well as by the previous record, the temples of Rānipur Jhariāl were devoted to various deities. It must, therefore, have been a place of pilgrimage for Hindu devotees of all persuasions.

No information is given regarding Dēvānanda and his father Jōgēśvara so as to determine whether the builder of this Kṛishṇa temple was also an *āchārya* or simply a layman.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 जोगेश्वरसुतः सु(शु)द्धो
- 2 देवानन्देति<sup>3</sup> विश्रुतः ।
- 3 तेन कृष्णीपचारेण
- 4 कौर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

Jōgēśvara (*had*) a son, well-known as Dēvānanda. This temple is constructed by him in honour of Kṛishṇa.

#### C.—Rākshasa-parvata Inscription.

This inscription is cut on the top of a rocky elevation known as **Rākshasa-parvata**, lying opposite the Kēnduvalli temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line-drawing, representing a pair of human footprints enclosed within a rayed circle. The engraving of both the drawing and the writing is shallow.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> From ink-impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Strictly speaking, it ought to have been *Dēvānanda iti*, but *sandhi* has been made through the exigency of the metre. Or, the name *Dēvānanda* is used here *avibhaktika*, *i.e.*, without the case-termination.

The writing consists of three very small lines, each about eight inches long, comprising half a *ślōka*. The **characters** appear to be somewhat later in date than those of the previous two records, but belong to the same type. The **language** is Sanskrit. The **purport** of the record is the consecration of the foot-marks (at the instance of a *siddhāchārya* ?) which are engraved near by, though the text is rather obscure. The nimbus around the foot-impreses denotes the holiness of the person to whom they belong, but there is nothing to show whether the person is a god or a saint.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> प्र[तिष्ठा]यसि-
- 2 दं प[द्यं] सिद्धा-
- 3 चार्येण वाचितं[\*]

TRANSLATION.

*Om.* *Siddhāchārya* has declared this footprint to be consecrated.

No. 33.—ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

While on a visit to Allahābād, Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, B.A., LL.B., the devoted founder and maker of the Allahābād Municipal Museum, showed to me an inscribed fragmentary stone pillar, which had been acquired for the museum some months ago. This interesting monument hailed from the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, in Allahābād District, which was a well-known and flourishing city in ancient India. Rai Bahadur Vyas kindly supplied to me an ink-impresion of the inscription on the pillar, after I had read it from the original, and requested me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly.

The inscription has been inscribed on a stone pillar, which, in its original form, was obviously intended to be a *yūpa*. The pillar has been sadly mutilated; only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left, has been recovered. To judge from the angles of these facets, it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one. It thus resembled the main shafts of the *yūpas* at Īsāpur, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh. For further information about the size, nature and significance of sacrificial pillars, I may refer the reader to my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita year 295' published *ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

As in the case of the Īsāpur *yūpa*, the inscription on this pillar also has been engraved in horizontal lines. In this respect it differs from the rather inconvenient arrangement to be seen on the *yūpas* at Nāndsā, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, where the records have been inscribed in long vertical lines to be read from the top to the bottom or *vice versa*.<sup>3</sup> The extant portion of the inscription extends over 16 lines. From its concluding sentence, 'May Mahēśvara, thus honoured, be pleased over and over again', it is clear that the record ends with the last words of the present last line.

<sup>1</sup> From ink-impresions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> [There are two records on the pillar of Nāndsā containing practically the identical text. One of these is written in vertical and the other in horizontal lines.—Ed.]

It may be recalled that the Īsāpur *yūpa* record also ends similarly, ' May the fires be pleased '. We may therefore confidently conclude that our record did not run into any lower line over a facet which has been destroyed.

The general arrangement of the record and the purport of the lines preserved make it further certain that the present first line was preceded by two earlier ones, which referred to the first two sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. This point will be further explained later.

The portion of the inscription that has been inscribed on the completely preserved facet of the pillar and also over a small fraction of the facet on its left, makes it clear that each facet was intended to have one quartrain of the *Anushtubh* metre. It is thus clear that at least the metrical part of the record was inscribed over the four out of the eight facets of the *yūpa*. The same probably was the arrangement in the case of the last five lines, which are in prose.

The **characters** of the inscription, which has been engraved very carefully and beautifully, belong to about the 2nd century of the Christian era. The form of the letters *na*, *ṇa*, *la*, and *sa* makes it quite clear that the record is much earlier than the Gupta period. It would be instructive to compare its characters with those of the Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Baḍvā *yūpas*, erected respectively in the 24th year of emperor Vāsishka, and 282nd and 295th year of the Kṛita, *i.e.*, Vikrama era. Unlike in any of the above dated records, in our epigraph, the forms of the medial short and long *i* are denoted by one and two curvilinear lines respectively, placed over the top of the letter; the later practice of using for this purpose curves turning to the left and right, which we see in Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Baḍvā records, is not known to our epigraph. The central stroke of *śa* is still slanting downwards; this is an archaic characteristic and is not to be seen in any of the above records. *Na* and *ṇa* have only a slight bend in the base line; the former has not yet developed a hook, and the latter shows no tendency to develop any curve at the top. The central bar of *ka* is still a straight line; it has not become curved as at Nāndsā and Baḍvā. The vertical of *la* has not yet developed a curve at the top as at Baḍvā. *Ya* shows no loop in the left limb as at Nāndsā and Baḍvā. The letter *da* still retains its archaic form and opens to the left as in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Rudradāman. Paleography would therefore show that this *yūpa* inscription is earlier than the *yūpa* records, referred to above; we may, therefore, with fair certainty, place it in the first part of the 2nd century A.D., if not even a little earlier.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, but there are the following mistakes in it. *Chchh* in *uchchhritaḥ* or *samuchchhritaḥ* has been throughout represented by *chh*; see ll. 1, 2, 7. In l. 7 *°vimśē* has been wrongly spelt as *°vīmśē*. In l. 10 *dātveva* is probably a mistake for *dattv=aiiva*. At the end of the l. 13, there is a *sandhi* mistake; instead of *tasmīnn=ēv=āhani* the record reads *tasmīnnēv=āhani*. The last five lines of the record are in prose, but its first 11 lines are in verse, the metre being *Anushtubh*. The same probably was the case with the first two lines of the record that have now been lost.

**Orthography** calls for a few remarks only. An *anusvāra* is indicated by a dot above the letter; it is not changed to the nasal of the class of the letter following; see ll. 6, 8. *Va* has been changed into *ba* in the word *Kaubidārikā*, l. 12.<sup>1</sup> Consonants are not doubled when they are conjoined with a preceding *r*; cf. [*chatu*]rthaḥ, l. 2, *°r=bhōktavyam*, l. 15. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed; *°dbhiḥ charakai°* (l. 15) is the only exception. There are no punctuation marks at the end of sentences or verses. At the end of l. 15, there is a small horizontal stroke which was perhaps intended to be a punctuation mark. The verses are numbered at the end. There is a separate numbering for the verses in sections A and B of the record.

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 249, n. 3 below.—Ed.]



Symbols for all the **numerals** from 1 to 9 appear in the record. They are similar to those found in the Nāsik and Kushāṇa inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

As regards the **date**, it is clear from l. 7 that the record was inscribed in the **23rd regnal year** of a certain king. But as his name is not preserved in the extant part of the inscription, we cannot utilise this information for determining its date. Paleographical evidence therefore affords the only clue; it points to the early part of the 2nd century A.D. as the probable date of the record, as shown already above.

Though the inscription is very fragmentary, its main purpose can be ascertained fairly satisfactorily. It divides itself into three parts, part A consisting of ll. 1-7, part B of ll. 8-11, and part C of ll. 12-16. Part A commemorates the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the performance of seven Sōma sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. The sacrificer was almost certainly **Śivadatta**, who was a very trusted minister of a certain king, whose name has been lost. That he performed the various sacrifices comprised in the group of seven Sōma sacrifices becomes clear from the fact that only seven sacrifices are mentioned, and that—to judge from the wording in ll. 3 and 5—they have been counted from *Agnishṭōma*. Line 5 further shows that the 5th sacrifice in the series was *Vājapēya*. Such actually is the case with the sacrifices in *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. For the sacrifices included in this group are *Agnishṭōma*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptōryāma*, and they are to be performed in the stated order.<sup>1</sup>

In the Vedic age the Sōma sacrifice was very common and its most popular form was *Agnishṭōma*, so called because the last of its twelve chants was called *Agnishṭōma-sāman*. The other six sacrifices included in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*, enumerated in the preceding : : : : : differ from *Agnishṭōma* only in minor details. This group of seven Sōma sacrifices seems to have been very popular when the Vedic religion was in ascendancy, for one Dharmasūtra writer has elevated them to the status of the *samskāras*.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the idea was that these sacrifices should be performed by every householder as regularly as the sacraments like the *upanayana* and *antyeṣṭi*. As a matter of fact we sometimes find even the Gṛihya sacrifices, which were very numerous, being artificially grouped into a *sapta-pāṅkajajña-samsthā* on the analogy of the *sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā*.<sup>3</sup> This would show how great was the importance that was attached to the seven Sōma sacrifices of this group. It is, however, interesting to note that the present is the first case of our having discovered any *yūpa* referring to their performance. The Bijayagadh *yūpa* and the *yūpas* of king Mūlavarman of Borneo do not mention the name of the sacrifice in connection with which they were erected.<sup>4</sup> The Īsāpur *yūpa* commemorates the celebration of a *Dvādaśa-rātra* sacrifice, and the Nāndsā *yūpa* of the *Shashṭi-rātra*, as would appear from the preliminary note published about its inscription by Mr. Haldar.<sup>5</sup> Each of the three Baḍvā *yūpa* inscriptions that have so far been published, refers to the *Trirātra* sacrifice and another from the place, which is published below, commemorates an *Aptōryāma* sacrifice. The present record is therefore the first one published so far that refers to the celebration of all the seven sacrifices included in the famous *Sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā*.

<sup>1</sup> *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, X, 9, 27. In the enumeration of these sacrifices as given in *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, *Ukthya*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirātra* occupy the 2nd, 6th, 3rd and 4th position respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Baudhāyana-Gṛihyasūtra*, I, 1, 1.

<sup>4</sup> [In one of the inscriptions of Mūlavarman, Bahusuvarṇaka has been taken by Kern as a synonym of Banuhiranya, a Sōma sacrifice.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 53. [The sacrifice mentioned in this record is *Ēka-shashṭi-rātra*.—Ed.]

Section A of the record, consisting of ll. 1-7, refers to the erection of seven pillars in connection with the seven Sōma sacrifices referred to above. The first line of the record, which has been numbered 3 at its end, begins with a fragmentary letter which was clearly *t*, and which is followed by *yō yūpa a[ch\*]chhritah*. It is clear that we have to restore the first word as *trityō* and that the line refers to the erection of the third *yūpa* in connection with the third sacrifice of Sōma group, viz., the *Ukthya*. Of the first word in l. 2, which has been numbered 4 at the end, only two letters °*rthas=ta* have been preserved. It is however clear that we have to restore the word as *chaturthas=ta* and the line thus refers to the erection of the fourth resplendent *yūpa*. The next line in the inscription, which is numbered 5, refers to the fifth one from *Agnishṭōma*; as the sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā* were numbered from *Agnishṭōma*, its first member, the line refers to the erection of the fifth *yūpa* in connection with the Vājapēya sacrifice, which is the fifth one in the series. The next line, which contains the verse numbered 6 in the record, refers to the sixth one from the first sacrifice. Obviously when complete, it described the erection of the 6th *yūpa* in connection with the *Atirātra* sacrifice, which is the 6th member in the Sōma group. The next line, containing the verse 7, refers to the seventh *yūpa* from *Agnishṭōma*, and obviously must have referred to the *Atyagnishṭōma* sacrifice, which was the last one in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā* group. It would now become clear from this that the original record contained two more lines in the beginning, which have been now completely lost and which must have referred to the erection of two *yūpas* in connection with *Agnishṭōma* and *Atyagnishṭōma* sacrifices, which were the first and second member respectively in the series of seven Sōma sacrifices.

Though not originally included in the group of Sōma sacrifices by the earlier Saṁhitās, the 5th sacrifice in this series, the Vājapēya, soon assumed very great importance, and became associated with royal coronation. The 6th line of our record [*pratha*]mād=*yajñāt pañchamō Vājapēyikaḥ* refers to something connected with this sacrifice, as its concluding adjective would show. As the record is fragmentary, we cannot be sure about the purport of this line. It is, however, permissible to conjecture that the line referred once more to the *yūpa* of the Vājapēya sacrifice, and that it is identical with the one we have discovered. It would appear that though seven *yūpas* were duly set up by the sacrificer, he decided to select the *yūpa* of Vājapēya sacrifice for the honour of bearing the inscription, commemorating the performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices. Other *yūpas* were probably merely erected but not inscribed. We can now understand how only one of the sacrificial pillars found at Īsāpur bears an inscription. When several *yūpas* were erected in connection with a sacrificial *sattra*, it was customary to inscribe the relevant inscription on only one of them. The *yūpas* at Baḍvā are all inscribed, because they refer to sacrifices performed, no doubt on the same day, but by different sacrificers. Each sacrificer was anxious to commemorate his sacrifice separately.

The 7th line of the record stated the time of the performance of these sacrifices. The date was given not in any era but in the regnal year of a king. Unfortunately for history, the name of this potentate has been lost. The only restoration possible of the first crucial word in the line is [*trayō*]-*vīmśē*; the first fragmentary letter may possibly be taken as *pā*, but it can give no word for a numeral in combination with *vīmśē* following. On the other hand it could very well have been a part of the letter *yō*. In that case the word can be restored as *trayōvīm(vīm)śē*, as pointed out above. The record therefore was undoubtedly dated in the **23rd year** of a king, whose name has now been lost.

Section B of the record, consisting of ll. 8-11, is again in *Anushtubh* metre. It was intended to give us information about the honorarium paid to the Brāhmaṇas, who officiated at these sacrifices. It is almost certain from these lines that the sacrificer was not the king, but a minister of his.



His name Śivadatta appears in l. 8 and he is probably once more referred to in l. 11 as 'a friend of the king', the form *rājamitraḥ* being probably a mistake for *rājamitram*.<sup>1</sup> The first word of l. 8 can certainly be restored as *grāmaḥ*. The line, therefore, mentioned a village given to the minister Śivadatta, obviously by the king. In l. 9 the word *grāma* occurs as an object of a sentence and l. 10 refers to the payment of *dakṣiṇā*. It would therefore appear that a village, which had been originally given by the king to his minister Śivadatta, was subsequently transferred by him as *dakṣiṇā* to the priests, who officiated in his sacrificial session. Each Sōma sacrifice required 16 priests; if different sets of priests had officiated at each of the seven Sōma sacrifices performed by Śivadatta, the total number of persons entitled for the sacrificial fee would have been 112. Though an entire village was thus alienated, each donee probably received only  $\frac{1}{112}$ th part of its revenues. The total *dakṣiṇā*, which Śivadatta had to pay on the occasion, undoubtedly constituted a big amount, and it will incidentally remind us of the oft-repeated observation that the Vedic sacrifices represented the religion of rich aristocracy and were beyond the means of ordinary individuals.

Section C of the record, consisting of ll. 12-16, is in prose<sup>2</sup> and these lines have not been numbered. As the lines are fragmentary, their purport can only be conjectured. Line 12 describes the homage paid to *Kaubidarikā* and the first part of l. 13 refers to some merit available in this and the next life. *Kōvidāra* is the name of a tree, favourite to Śiva like Bilva.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that Śiva was the tutelary deity of the minister Śivadatta and these lines refer to the planting of a Kōvidāra grove, *Kaubidārikām* [*kaubidarikām*], apparently in the garden of a Śiva temple, and the homage paid to it on the occasion. The merit of this religious act was probably described in the greater part of the next line, *i.e.*, l. 13.

Ll. 14-16, along with the last six letters of l. 13, refer to another gift made on the same day. The last line (l. 16) expresses the hope that Mahēśvara, thus honoured, may be pleased over and over again. It would therefore appear that the donee of this second gift was a Śiva temple. L. 15 states that wandering mendicants should be supplied with food. It would appear that this temple of Śiva had a *sattra* attached to it, and that a portion of the donation was reserved for the expenses connected with it. Epigraphs of later days refer to several such *sattras* maintained by temple authorities, where poor men, wandering mendicants and students were offered free food.<sup>4</sup> L. 14 and a portion of l. 15 describe the gift given. The extant portion of the inscription does not specifically describe the object of this gift, but to judge from the expression *sarva-ṅgā-bhōgyam* and *abhīṣṭa-pravēśyam*, it is obvious that the gift made was of a village. Whether the donor was the king or his minister Śivadatta we do not know; probably it was the latter.

Though the record is very fragmentary, we can thus ascertain its purport almost completely. The loss of the name of the king, whom Śivadatta was serving as a minister, is, however, an irreparable historical loss. Had his name been preserved, we would probably have been able to date the record and get some welcome information about the contemporary history.

The contents of the record, as made out above, would show that it is a very interesting epigraph. It not only refers to the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the

<sup>1</sup> [Probably we have to take Rājamitra here as a proper name as the case termination indicates.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [We cannot determine if the whole of this portion is in prose. The opening portion of l. 13 appears to be in *Anuṣṭubh* metre, while the last line decidedly conforms to *Vamśasthavīla* metre.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> कौविदारी च बिल्वे च सदा संनिहितः शिवः ।

I am indebted to Pandit Chinnaswami Shastri, Vice-Principal, Oriental College, Benares Hindu University, for drawing my attention to this line. [*Kōbidārikā* and *Kōśambaka*, apparently as place names, occur in the Indore Plates of Pravarasēna II (above, p. 55).—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> See *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 355; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 129-31, Vol. V, p. 344; *E. C.*, Vol. I, No. 45.

performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices, but also records a donation made on the same day, and probably by the same donor and of the same value, to a temple of Śiva. The record thus shows how in the everyday life of the second century Hindu community, Vedic and Paurānic religions were harmoniously blended together. The concluding portion of the Īsāpur *yūpa* inscription is 'Prīyant[ā]m=Agnyā[ḥ]', and it is quite appropriate in a record describing a Vedic sacrifice. In our epigraph, however, the concluding sentence expresses the hope that Śiva may be pleased. Of course this is probably due to the last recorded donation being in favour of a Śiva temple. It would however also attest to the growing hold of the Paurānic religion even on the minds of those who were taking an active part in the revival of the Vedic religion.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## A

- 1 [दृ<sup>2</sup>तौ<sup>3</sup>]यो यूप उच्चितः<sup>3</sup> [॥\*]२<sup>4</sup> [॥\*]  
 2 [चतु<sup>\*</sup>]र्ष्टु<sup>5</sup> श्रीमान्यूपः समुच्चितः<sup>6</sup> [॥\*] ४ [॥\*]  
 3 [त<sup>\*</sup>]तो<sup>7</sup> विद्वानग्निष्टोमात्तु पंचमम् [॥\*] ५ [॥\*]  
 4 [त]<sup>8</sup>तोनेन प<sup>9</sup>ष्टु प्रथमात्क्र<sup>10</sup>तोः [॥\*] ६ [॥\*]  
 5 [कृत<sup>8</sup>]शान्यूपमग्निष्टोमात्तु सप्तमम् [॥\*] ७ [॥\*]  
 6 [प्रथ<sup>11</sup>]माद्यज्ञात्पंचमो वाजपेयिकः [॥\*] ८ [॥\*]  
 7 [च<sup>12</sup>यो<sup>13</sup>]र्वीरे<sup>12</sup> वर्षे यूपः समुच्चितः<sup>14</sup> [॥\*] ९ [॥\*]

## B

- 8 [आ<sup>15</sup>]मं शिवदत्ताय मंत्रिणे [॥\*] १ [॥\*]  
 9 [स<sup>16</sup>]चिवो ग्रामं राज्ञो महात्मनः [॥\*] २ [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> From the original and ink-impression.

<sup>2</sup> A part of the letter *tī* can be seen in the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> Read *uchchhritah*.

<sup>4</sup> Read 3. The upper horizontal line in the symbol for 3 has been destroyed.

<sup>5</sup> For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Read *samuchchhritah*.

<sup>7</sup> The first letter *ta* of this line appears to have the mark of a medial *i* above it in the ink-impression. It is, however, merely a crevice in the stone, caused when the pillar was mutilated. There is no clear sign of medial *ō* also on the second letter. This letter is, however, the 6th one in an *Anushtubh* quartrain and should therefore be a long one. The reading and restoration *tātō* seems to be very probable. Compare [ta]tō=*nēna* at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>8</sup> For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

<sup>9</sup> Read *shashthas*.

<sup>10</sup> The subscript *kra* of this conjunct has penetrated into the lower line.

<sup>11</sup> The right portion of the circle of *tha* can be seen in the ink-impression.

<sup>12</sup> The first fragmentary letter of this line can also be read as *pā*, but when joined to the word *vīmśē* following, it cannot combine into any suitable word. It must therefore be taken to be the right hand portion of *yō*; *trayō-vīmśē* then is the only restoration possible.

<sup>13</sup> Read *°vīmśē*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *samuchchhritah*.

<sup>15</sup> A comparison of the remnant of this letter with the letter *grā* occurring in the next line shows that it could have been nothing else than *grā* when in undamaged condition.

<sup>16</sup> This restoration is rendered probable by the word *mātrinē* occurring in the preceding line.



2  
 2  
 4  
 4  
 6  
 6  
 8  
 8  
 10  
 10

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥

10  
 10  
 12  
 12  
 14  
 14  
 16  
 16

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
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 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥



- 10 -ति<sup>1</sup> दात्वेव<sup>2</sup> कृतदक्षिणम्<sup>3</sup> [॥\*] ३ [॥\*]  
 11 [यश\*]सा<sup>4</sup> राजमित्रः श्रिया वृतः [॥\*] ४ [॥\*]

C

- 12 कौबिदारिकां शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य  
 13 - फलाः<sup>5</sup> प्रेत्य चेह च [॥\*] तस्मिन्ने<sup>6</sup>वाहनि  
 14 - हार<sup>7</sup> सर्वजातभोग्यमभृत<sup>8</sup>प्रवेश्यं  
 15 [आगच्छ\*]द्भिः<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>चरकैर्भोग्यमिति |<sup>11</sup>  
 16 स<sup>12</sup>कृतः पुनः पुनः प्रीतिमियान्महेश्वर इति [॥\*]

## No. 34.—FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

While editing my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛita year 295', I had observed that a fourth sacrificial pillar should have originally existed in the locality. I had thought that a Satī stone, existing not far from the locality and bearing the letters *yajñō* in the characters of about the 3rd century A.D., was probably a fragment of the fourth pillar.<sup>13</sup> Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, the State Historian, Kotah, however, now reports to me that a fourth *yūpa*, complete in every respect, was discovered in another part of the same village. It bears a general resemblance to the three *yūpas* already discovered, whose photographs were published along with my paper on the inscriptions engraved upon them.<sup>14</sup> The new *yūpa* also

<sup>1</sup> The letter preceding *tim* had a medial *i* mark which can be seen in the impression. It is, however, not possible to restore the word.

<sup>2</sup> Read *dattu=aira*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-dakṣiṇām*.

<sup>4</sup> The first broken letter was obviously *śa*; compare it with the form of this letter in ll. 7, 8, 12, 14, etc. The restoration *yaśasā* is therefore very probable, the metrical irregularity not being a serious one. [The proposed restoration is doubtful. According to the rules of prosody the two syllables preceding *sā* in this case should ordinarily be long. In fact there seems to be a sign of medial *ē* attached to the seventh syllable of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> The letters *phalāḥ* are preceded by a fragmentary letter, which looks like *ti*. *Phalāḥ* obviously must have formed the concluding part of a compound, but it is difficult to restore it with confidence.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tasminn=ēv=āhani*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *hāram*. The word may have been *agrahāram*.

<sup>8</sup> Village grants usually use the word *bhāṭa* in this connection; here its original Sanskrit form has been preferred.

<sup>9</sup> This restoration is conjectural, but it is rendered highly probable by the word *charakair* following.

<sup>10</sup> Read *°dbhis=charakair=*.

<sup>11</sup> This stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke. It cannot stand for the numeral 1 here as it does in l. 8.

<sup>12</sup> A greater part of the letter *sa* is visible in the impression.

<sup>13</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, plate facing page 53.

bears an inscription written, as on the other *yūpas* in this locality, in a long vertical line. Dr. Mathurakal has kindly sent me an ink-impression of the record with a request to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*: I am doing so accordingly.

As in the case of other sacrificial pillars at Baḍvā, the surface of this pillar also is not properly dressed. Some of the letters of the record have not therefore come out well in the impression. The mason was also not very careful in his work. Thus in *ga* of *gava* (l. 2), he has engraved a third slanting stroke; *na* in *Dhanutrāta* (l. 1) has been tacked on to its preceding letter and the engraving of *sga* and *sva* is throughout very shabby. The characters of the record show a close resemblance to those on the other sacrificial pillars from this village, already published. Though the record is not dated, on palæographical grounds it can well be placed with confidence in the third century A.D., to which period the other Maukhari records of the locality belong.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Unlike the other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this inscription is composed in poetry. It consists only of a single verse in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The record, though short, contains several mistakes, which will be indicated in the foot-notes.

The purport of the record is to announce that the pillar upon which it has been engraved, is a *yūpa* erected in *Aptōryāma* sacrifice performed by **Dhanutrāta**, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan, and that a sacrificial fee of one thousand cows was paid on the occasion to the officiating Brāhmaṇas. Unlike other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this record does not bear any date at its beginning. The name of the sacrificer Dhanutrāta, 'one protected by his bow', and of his father Hastin, 'Elephant', would suggest that the family was of the Kshatriya stock. Neither the sacrificer nor his father bears any feudatory or military titles like *Sāmanta* or *Sēnāpati*. It may be that the family of Hastin had not yet risen high in the military or administrative hierarchy like that of Bala, who was a *Mahāsēnāpati* or a commander-in-chief in 239 A.D. Or, it may be that in the short space of a single *Anuṣṭubh* verse, this information could not be imparted by the versifier. The former seems to have been the probable alternative; had Dhanutrāta or his father acquired any feudatory or military rank, the versifier would certainly have been ordered to compose a second verse, announcing this distinction. Another facet of the pillar could have been utilised for this purpose, as has been done in the case of the *yūpa* of Balasimha from this locality.

The Baḍvā *yūpa* records would show that there were several Maukhari families settled in the locality during the 3rd century A.D. They were probably the scions of one and the same stock. Records discovered so far do not establish any blood relationship between the families of Bala and Hastin, apart from the suggestion conveyed by their surname. All the Maukhari families were following the military profession and some of them like that of Bala had risen very high in military hierarchy. Probably several villages, if not Tahsils, in modern Kotah state in the vicinity of Baḍvā and Kotah were assigned to them as military *jāgīrs*.

The sacrifice performed by Dhanutrāta was *Aptōryāma*. It is a variety of the one day Sōma sacrifice, but occupied, like the *Atirātra* sacrifice, a whole day and extended through the next night. It marks a further elaboration of the *Atirātra* sacrifice, inasmuch as it added four extra *stōtras* and *śāstras* to it at the end.<sup>1</sup> It forms the last member of the famous group of seven Sōma sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. For further information on this point see my paper on 'Allahābād Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription', *ante*, pp. 245 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Keith: *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, introduction, p. CXVII.





FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

Left Section.



Middle Section.



Right Section.





TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

Mōkharēr=Hastī<sup>2</sup>-puttrasya Dhanuttrā<sup>3</sup>tasya dhimataḥ [ |\*]  
 Aptō[r]yy[ā]mṇa[h] kratōh<sup>4</sup> yūpaḥ sahasrō gava-dakṣiṇā<sup>5</sup> [ |\*]

## TRANSLATION.

This is the *yūpa* of the Aptōryāma sacrifice performed by the wise Dhanuttrāta, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan ; an honorarium of a thousand cows (*was given on the occasion*).

## No. 35.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN : THE YEAR 81.

BY KRISHNA DEVA, M.A.

This inscription which is engraved on a large slab of sand-stone, was discovered early in December 1937 in the course of an exploration of the ancient site of Kosam and its neighbourhood in the district of Allahābād by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was dug out, 2 ft. below surface, from the western bank of an old dried up *nālā*, once draining into the Jumna, near the village Nauhāi, nearly 1½ miles north-west of the well-known Kosam Pillar. I am grateful to Mr. Majumdar for kindly supplying me with an estampage of the inscription and providing me with facilities for editing it.

The epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The writing, which is neatly incised in two lines, covers a space of 2' 8" × 4" and is engraved breadthwise at one end of the huge rectangular slab, measuring 7' in length, 2' 9" in width and 6" in thickness. The size of the letters varies in length from 1" to 2".

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the later Kushāṇa period. The majority of the letters used are Kushāṇa while a few like *m* and *h* show advanced forms which are rare in the Kushāṇa documents but are of common occurrence in the Gupta records. The inscription, however, bears a close resemblance to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Kanishka<sup>6</sup> with which it also agrees in the use of *m*, *h* and *s* (e.g. *maharajasya*, l. 1) of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. The signs used for representing the medial vowels—*ā* and *ē* by horizontal side strokes (e.g. *āsana-pattā*, l. 2 ; *savatsarē*, l. 1), *i* by a curve to left on top of the consonant (e.g. *divasē*, l. 1), *ī* by a U-shaped sign at the top of the letter (e.g. *dvitīya*, l. 1) and *ri* by a line, slanting from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards left (e.g. *grishma*, l. 1)—as well as the forms of the letters *n* and *ṇ* with curved base-lines (e.g. *āsana-pattā* and *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *g* and *ś* with rounded tops (e.g. *grishma-pakshē*, l. 1 ; *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *gh*, *j*, *p* and *v* with flat angular forms (e.g. *Bhadramaghasya*, *maharajasya*, *pakshē* and *savatsarē*, l. 1) and the initial *ā* with the bar denoting its length attached lower down (e.g. *āsana-pattā*, l. 2)—are typical of the Kushāṇa writing. The forms of *g*, *t*, *bh* and *ś* show the pre-Gupta type inasmuch as in each case their verticals are of the same length. Similarly noteworthy is the letter *śh* with unlooped form and archaic round base. Incidentally we may also notice some peculiarities which are evidently due to the engraver's carelessness ; the middle horizontal bar of the first *sa* in *savatsarē* (l. 1) is missing

<sup>1</sup> From an ink impression.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Hastī*-.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the carelessness of the mason, the three letters in *dhanuttrā* have been all joined together.

<sup>4</sup> Read °*tōr*-*yūpaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sahasra-gava-dakṣiṇāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.

and the base line of *na* in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has on either side been bent so low that it is difficult to distinguish it from *ta*; compare *ēkasītē* (l. 1) for the latter.

The language of the inscription is the usual mixed dialect of the Kushāṇa documents. The form *grishma* for *grīshma* is noteworthy. As regards the expressions *maharajasga* (l. 1) and *stha-pata* (l. 2) we are not sure whether the shortening of the long vowels in these is due to a mistake in spelling or to Prakritism. The plural form in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has a parallel in *ājāga-paṭṭā*, occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of *āsana-paṭṭas*, i.e. seats by a guild of stone-masons in the year 81, second fortnight of the summer and fifth day, during the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha*. Judging from its shape and enormous size, its well-dressed smooth surface and the position occupied by the inscribed portion, we may safely conclude that the slab itself is being adverted to as one of the *āsana-paṭṭas*. It is interesting to note that two more inscriptions from Kosam, referring to the year 87 of Bhādrāmagha,<sup>2</sup> are incised on slabs, similarly labelled as *āsana-paṭṭas*. One of the latter epigraphs explicitly states that the *āsana-paṭṭa* was set up at a tank. The fact that the present inscription has been unearthed from the bank of what looks like an ancient canal confirms that it was customary at the time to set up *āsana-paṭṭas* at the bathing ghāts. The inscription furnishes the earliest known date for the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha*, viz., the year 81. So far only two dates, years 86<sup>3</sup> and 87, were known for the reign of this king. The inscription, therefore, shows that *Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha* had a reign extending over at least seven years.

The record testifies to the existence of a guild of stone-masons in the Kosam region during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is interesting to note in this connection that within two hundred yards of the find spot of the inscription there is a sandstone quarry, popularly known as Pathar Khān, with remains of ancient workings visible on the spot. It is not improbable that this quarry supplied the stone-masons with requisite material for practising their craft.

There is a striking family-likeness in point of script, language, style and the peculiar method of dating, giving in order the year, number of fortnight in the season and the day, between this and a series of dated records, coming from the Kosam region. That these inscriptions together with the present one are dated in a continuous, though unfortunately unspecified, reckoning, ranging from the year 52 to the year 130, seems probable. The inscriptions are as follows:—

1. Ginja inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*—year 52.<sup>4</sup>
2. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha*—year 81.<sup>5</sup>
3. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha*—year 86.<sup>6</sup>
- 4-5. Two Kosam inscriptions of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmagha*—year 87.<sup>7</sup>
6. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Śivāmagha*—year lost.<sup>8</sup>
7. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*—year 107.<sup>9</sup>
8. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīma-varman*—year 130.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 397, No. XXXV.

<sup>2</sup> *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff., above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The year in the Kosam inscription of Bhādrāmagha, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III, is read by Sahni, its editor, as 88, whereas Jayaswal takes it to be 86, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 230. The latter reading seems to be preferable. Compare also Dr. Sten Konow's remarks above, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119, Pl. XXX; and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

<sup>5</sup> The present inscription.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III.

<sup>7</sup> *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, No. II.

<sup>9</sup> See above, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 177 ff.

The question of the attribution of the above to a known era bristles with difficulties. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni who edited Nos. 3 and 6 was inclined to refer them to the Gupta era.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Jayaswal, on the other hand, followed General Cunningham<sup>2</sup> who refers No. 1 to the pre-Gupta period and definitely held that these are to be assigned to the Chēdi era of 248 A. D.<sup>3</sup> This is supported by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh who refers No. 8 to the same reckoning.<sup>4</sup> The editor of Nos. 4-5, however, thinks that these might be attributed to the era of either 78 A. D. or 120 A. D.<sup>5</sup>

Now as the whole controversy mainly hinges on **palæographical evidence**, it is worth while to examine the exact relationship of the script of our inscriptions to that of the Kushāṇa records on the one hand and the Gupta on the other. No. 1 of our list, which bears the earliest date, is palæographically earlier than the remaining Kosam inscriptions and is, in fact, hardly distinguishable from the general body of the imperial Kushāṇa documents except for the use of *m* and *h* of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which links it with the Kosam series. It is to be noted that it shows the archaic unlooped type of the dental sibilant which is invariably replaced by the looped type in all the Kosam records save the last, namely No. 8, where both forms appear side by side. At the other extreme is No. 7 of our list, which though not the latest in date, nevertheless, closely approaches the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta<sup>6</sup> in its comparatively mature and cursive style of writing, in the use of pronounced top-strokes and in the representation of some of the individual letters like *n* with a loop, *j* with the bent vertical, *p* with an acute angle, *v*, *d*, *dh*, *y* and *l*, besides *m*, *h* and *s* which are common with the majority of the Kosam records. While noting the likenesses we should also not ignore the points of disagreement between the two which go to show that No. 7 is not exactly as advanced as and consequently slightly earlier than the Allahābād pillar inscription. To illustrate, while the former uses the older forms of *t*, *g*, *ś*, and *bh*, with equal verticals, in the latter usually the right limb of each of these is longer than the corresponding left; the letter *sh* in the former is of the archaic unlooped variety while the latter contains the more advanced looped type; *n* in the latter is distinguished by its cursive looped or unlooped form while the former always shows the Kushāṇa form of the letter with the curved base-line; the medial *i* in the former as in all the earlier records is represented by a curved stroke at the top of the consonant while in the latter the left limb of the curve is occasionally lengthened below the top line, a feature characteristic of the Gupta script. It will thus be seen that whereas No. 1 appears to be not much posterior to the latest records belonging to the Great Kushāṇas, No. 7 is perhaps not far removed in time from the Allahābād inscription. Within the limit set by these two may be placed the remaining Kosam records including the present one, which bear affinity to the Gupta characters in the case of a handful of signs and to the Kushāṇa in that of a larger number but whose general ductus of hand shows greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, without approximating the Gupta in cursiveness. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the Kosam records, which, as already observed above, present striking family-likeness one to the other, belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta and may roughly be assigned sometime from the third century to the first half of the fourth century A. D.

This is strikingly corroborated by the stratigraphical evidence of the Bhita sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha, which were discovered little above the Kushāṇa level.<sup>7</sup> The remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1911-12, pp. 32 and 51, sealings 26 and 27.

<sup>3</sup> *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 229-30.

<sup>5</sup> *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 106-07.



palaeographical similarity between these and the Kosam records has led Dr. Jayaswal to convincingly identify Rājan Vāsishṭhīputtra Bhīmasēna<sup>1</sup>, and Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the sealings with Mahārāja Bhīmsēna and Mahārāja Śivamagha of Nos. 1 and 6, respectively.<sup>2</sup> The transitional character of the language employed in the Kosam records also points in the same direction. It reveals an unmistakable tendency towards progressive Sanskritisation without altogether eliminating the Prākṛit forms and expressions. Lastly, there is no evidence to show that the peculiar method of dating uniformly adopted in the Kosam records was continued in Northern India in the Gupta period. Even in the Kushāṇa period its use seems to have been limited. From the foregoing considerations it seems unlikely that our inscriptions should refer themselves to either the Śaka or the Gupta era, as one becomes too early and the other too late. We will, therefore, be not far from right if we provisionally assign our inscriptions to the **Chēdi era** of 248 A. D. which strikes a golden mean between the two extremes. Referred to this reckoning the dates on the Kosam series will be equivalent to 300-378 A. D. and that on the present epigraph to 329 A. D. In this connection the possibility of our having to reckon with a local era, current in the Kosam region, as suggested by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh<sup>3</sup> cannot be overlooked. The final solution of the problem, however, is possible only on the discovery of fresh evidence of a more decisive character.

#### TEXT.

1 Maharajasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya savatsarē ēkasitē 80 1 gr̥ishma-pakshē<sup>4</sup>  
dvtīya(yē) 2 divasē pañchamē 5.

2 ētayē puruvayē Katsa-pastharika-śr̥ṇīya āsana-paṭṭā sthapata.<sup>5</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

In the year eighty—one, 81, (*in the reign*) of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Bhadrāmagha in the second, 2, fortnight of the summer, on the fifth, 5, day; on (*the date specified as*) above the slab-seats were set up by the guild of the stone-masons of Katsa.

#### No. 36.—DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

BY P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR.

It has been my privilege to recover within the last two years three inscribed marble pillars at **Dharanikōṭa** in the Guntur District on the information supplied by a local resident. Subsequently I brought them to the notice of the authorities of the Archæological Department, who have got them removed to Amarāvati where other antiquities of the place are preserved. I edit below one of the three epigraphs at the instance of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, while the remaining two are dealt with by some other scholars.

The shaft or pillar on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is square at its base and hexagonal above. The base is decorated with some carvings, representing a casket and a floral design in the centre, a hooded Nāga on the left and a railing with a sun-window on the right.

<sup>1</sup> [It may be mentioned here that a recently discovered inscription at Bandhogarh in the Rewah State belonging to year 51 of the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna styles this ruler as Vasīṭhipūta—a fact which makes the identification certain.—Ed.]

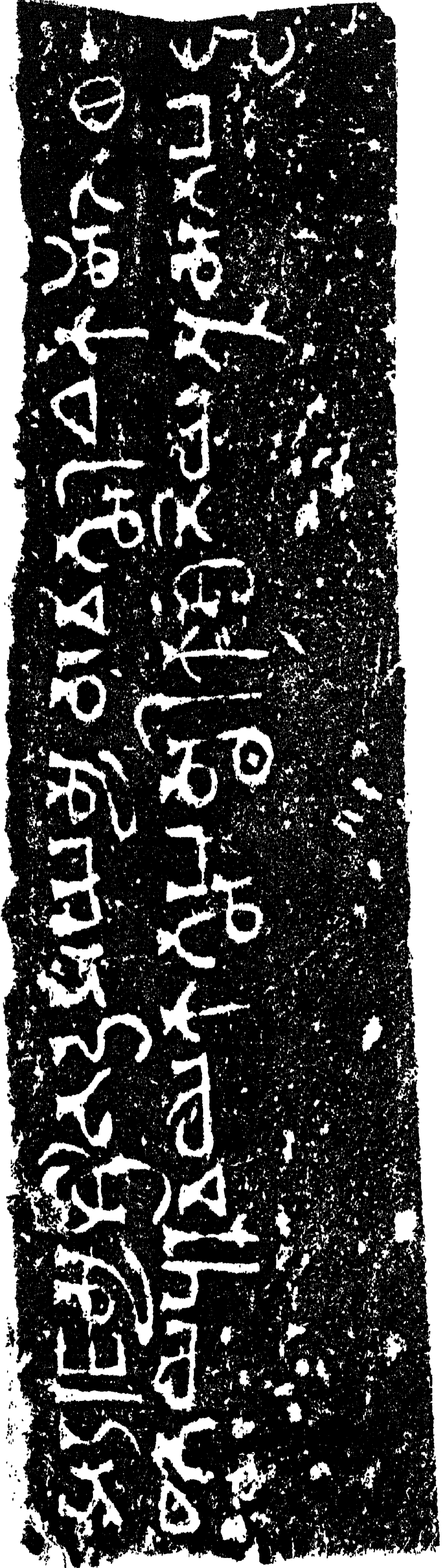
<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 108, 229-30.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 716.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sthāpitāḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *gr̥ishma-pakshē*.

KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 61.  
Left side.



The image shows the left side of a rectangular stone inscription. The surface is dark and heavily weathered, with the ancient script appearing as bright white characters. The script is a form of Brahmi, used in the Kosam region during the reign of Bhadrāmāgha. The text is arranged in approximately three horizontal lines, though the characters are somewhat obscured by the texture and damage of the stone.

Right side.



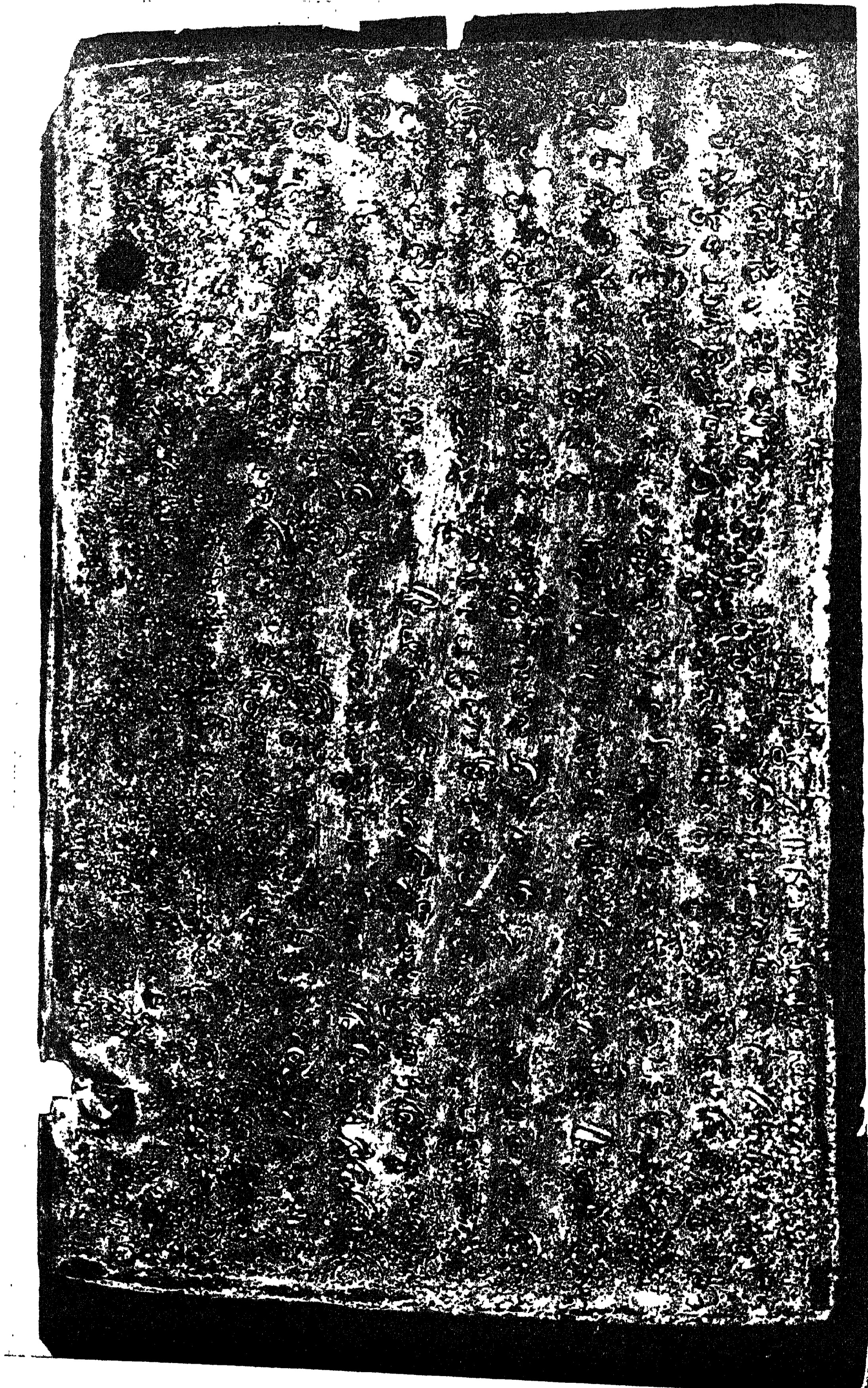
The image shows the right side of the same rectangular stone inscription. Like the left side, it is dark and weathered, with the ancient script in white. The script continues from the left side, also in approximately three horizontal lines. The characters are consistent with the Brahmi script seen on the left side, though the specific words are difficult to decipher due to the condition of the stone.



BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II: [VALABHII -] SAMVAT 254.

Plate II. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 180-181).

(From a photograph).



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The pillar is called in the inscription *Dhamachaka-dhaya* (Skt. *Dharmachakra-dhaya*): from which it is evident that it originally had a sculptural device of the *Dharmachakra* on its top. Several *Dharmachakra* pillars of this type have already been discovered at the ancient site of Amarāvati.<sup>1</sup> From a sculptured slab representing a *stūpa* we get some idea of the position which such posts used to occupy. There two very elaborately carved *Dharmachakra* columns are shown flanking an entrance to the *stūpa*.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, a part of the present pillar is broken off at the top and is missing. As a result thereof a considerable portion of the inscription has been lost to us in the beginning which evidently contained the name of the ruler of the locality as well as the date of the record. Some details of the donor's description are also lost in the missing portion. Besides, a few letters in l. 4 have been obliterated and cannot be restored. The rest of the epigraph, though blurred at places, can be made out fairly.

The **alphabet** is Brāhmī of about the second century A.D., and resembles that found in many an early inscription from Amarāvati. The **language** is Prākṛit of the same type as is used in most of the Amarāvati records.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of the *Dharmachakra-dhaya* at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra at **Dhañakaḍa**,<sup>3</sup> the modern Dharanikōṭa. The Mahāvihāra is stated to have been in possession of the Buddhists of the **Pūrvaśāliya** school, about whom we shall discuss more below.

The name of the donor or the individual who set up the pillar has apparently been omitted in the record. He is, however, stated to be son of Vīraskanda (?) and described as an Agalokaka Atapora minister<sup>4</sup>. As to whose minister he was is not explicit. Nor is the reading of his father's name *Virakhada* free from doubt. The epithet preceding this name must have referred to the donor, as is obvious from its case-termination in the instrumental. Before this occurs the name Khadanāga (Skandanāga). This person is said to be a householder (*kōṭubika*, Skt. *kauṭumbika*), but his relation with the donor cannot be ascertained owing to the gap. The meanings of the terms *Agalokaka* and *Atapora* are not clear. As both of them are attributes of the donor, they probably refer to his original home and to his place of residence respectively unless they have been used in some technical sense.

*Atapora*, as already remarked, perhaps indicates the donor's place of residence. A similar instance is furnished by a short votive inscription from Sānchi, which calls the donor there *Adhaporika*.<sup>5</sup> This term has been explained as 'inhabitant of Adhapura', while the Sanskrit equivalent for *Adhapura* has been suggested to be *Ardhapura*. The place has, however, not been identified.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXII, 2; Pl. XXXVIII, 1; Pl. XL, 3, 4; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. I, the frontispiece. Compare also E. B. Havell's *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 61, Pl. XII, fig. A.

<sup>3</sup> The same place is mentioned under its variant names such as *Dhamñakaḍa*, *Dhamñakata* and *Dhamñakataka* in other inscriptions of about the same period; see Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1205, 1225 and 1271; above, Vol. XV, pp. 262-263, Nos. 4 and 5. See also N. L. Deç's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, s.v. Dhanakaṭaka, where it is stated to be a corruption of *Sudhanyakaṭaka*. Hiuen Tsiang mentions T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakaṭaka) as the name of a country (*Sī-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.). T. Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 216) restores the name to Skt. Dhānyakaṭaka on the evidence of the Tibetan rendering of it. In later inscriptions the name of the place is spelt as *Dhānyaghaṭaka* and *Dhānyāṅkapura*; see above, Vol. XV, pp. 261-262. Prof. Vogel suggests that "the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakaṭaka (above, Vol. XX, p. 9).

<sup>4</sup> See below p. 259, n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 600; above, Vol. II, p. 112, No. 13.

I would rather restore *Adhaporika* to *Ārddhapaurika* and explain it as 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'. This place seems to be identical with the modern Rithpur which is well known to the Indian archaeologist as the provenance of a copper-plate inscription of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā.<sup>1</sup> It is situated in 21° 14' N. and 77° 51' E. in the district of Amraoti, Berār, and is reputed to be an old city of importance.<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that *Atapora* of the present record is likewise to be understood as *Ārddhapaura*, meaning 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'.

A pillar inscription from Amarāvati<sup>3</sup> reads *Chetikiyānam* (Skt. *Chaityāśailānām*) where our inscription has *Purasel[i]yāna* (Skt. *Pūrvaśailānām*). In explaining the import of the former, Burgess has pointed out that 'the Stūpa belonged to the Chaitika school, otherwise called the school of the Pūrvaśailas, a subdivision of the Mahāsaṃghikas'.<sup>4</sup> Mention is made of these ascetics also in a fragmentary Prākṛit inscription from Allūru in the N. Kistna District, the last line of which reads as follows : *ayirāna Puraseliy[ā]na nigāyasa*.<sup>5</sup> In the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon the Pubbaseliya and the Aparaseliya are mentioned<sup>6</sup> among the different sub-sects of the Mahāsaṃghika school. Dr. W. Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, renders the two terms as 'the first Seliya . . . , the other Seliyā,' whereas the words *pubba* and *apara* of the original evidently refer to 'east' and 'west' rather than to 'first' and 'other'. In fact, Hiuen Tsiang, while describing the country of Dhanakaṭaka, informs us that 'to the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Pūrvaśilā' and 'to the west of the city leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avaraśilā'.<sup>7</sup> In this connection we may cite Prof. Vogel's following remark : "Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means "stone".<sup>8</sup> It becomes thus clear that the two sects Pūrvaśailiya and Aparasailiya were so called after the two congregations of monks, one residing in a monastery on the Eastern Hill and the other dwelling in a convent on the Western Hill.<sup>9</sup> Among the localities mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription referred to above, we come across 'the name Purvasela which is clearly a Prākṛit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila' and possibly refers to the very mountain on which the Pūrvaśailiya monastery was situated. As regards the location of the two mounts, Burgess and Fergusson identified the Amarāvati tope with the Pūrvaśilā and the Aparasīlā respectively, but their identification has been questioned.<sup>10</sup> There can, however, be little doubt that the situation of the two hills is to be sought in that very neighbourhood.

As has been pointed out above, the record contained a **date** in the beginning ; but its details are mostly lost in the damaged portion. From the preserved letters we gather that it was dated the first day evidently of the sixth fortnight. While the name of the season cannot be restored at all, an attempt has been made with the help of the surviving portions of the words in that connection to read the year conjecturally as *panatrisa*, i.e., thirty-five. This in all probability referred to the regnal year of the king whose name is again missing. In the *Dharmachakra* pillar ins-

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1706.

<sup>2</sup> See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, under Rithpur.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv. Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101. See also p. 24 where the name of the school is given as *Chaityika* and *Chaityaśaila*.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, p. 97 and *Pl. An. Rep. A.S.I.*, for 1923-24, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12. In the *Dīpavamsa* (V, 54) they are referred to as *Pubbāparaselikā*.

<sup>7</sup> *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, p. 221.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 9.

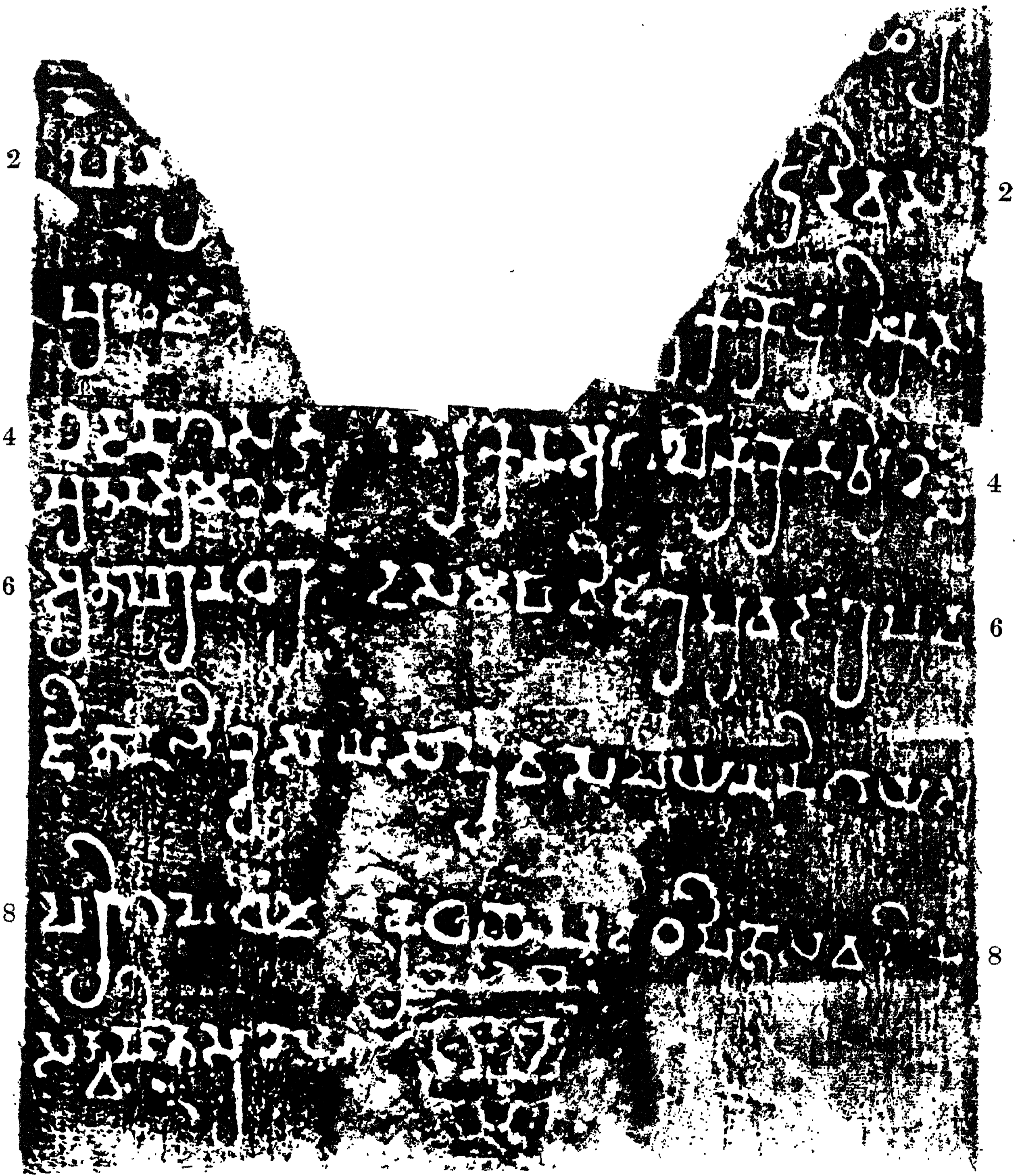
<sup>9</sup> Compare *The Life of the Buddha* by Rockhill, p. 184. See also G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. *Aparaseliyā* and *Pubbaseliyā*, where it is stated that 'according to the *Kathāvatthu* commentary they belonged to the Andhaka school'.

<sup>10</sup> T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 218.





DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.



cription of Amarāvati referred to above, while the date portion is completely lost except the only word *savachhara*, the name of the ruler is fully preserved, and it is the king Vāsīṭhiputa (Vāsish-ṭhīputra) Pulumāvi. Judging from the proximity of the two localities Amarāvati and Dharanikōṭa, the resemblance between the scripts of the two records and the high regnal year, it seems very likely that the present record also referred itself to the reign of the very same Āndhra king: Pulumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The latest known regnal year of this monarch is twenty-four.<sup>1</sup> If the reading *panatrise* proposed in the present record be correct, then we have to conclude that Pulumāvi's reign extended over at least thirty-four years.<sup>2</sup> The inscription contains the numerals 1 and 6 in l. 3 and l. 2 respectively.

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 . . . . . chhara<sup>4</sup>  
 2 **pana**<sup>5</sup> . . . . . **6 divasa**  
 3 **prathame 1** . . . . . <sup>6</sup>ka-koṭubikasa  
 4 **Khadanāgasa a**<sup>7</sup> . . . r[i]kena Agalokakena Virakha . . sa<sup>8</sup>  
 5 putena amachena<sup>9</sup>  
 6 Ataporena<sup>10</sup> **Dhañakaḍasa** Mahāvihāre puva-dāre pava-  
 7 jitāna bhikhu-saghasa **Puvasel[i]yāna** nigāyasa  
 8 parigahe dhamaçhaka-dhayo paḍiṭhapito sava-loka-  
 9 satva-hita-sukhāya<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. XXXVII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. LXVI, where Purāṇic lists of Andhra kings are given. It will be seen there that No. 15 Pulomāvi, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ruled for 36 years and No. 24 Pulomā for 28 years.

<sup>3</sup> From ink impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Restore the word as *savachhara* (*saṁvatsara*). The preceding portion, comprising about eighteen syllables, is lost. It might have contained the name of the king to whose reign the inscription was referred.

<sup>5</sup> After *pana*, the lower part of the third syllable is visible, which is most probably a subscript *r*, judging from the formation of *pra* in the beginning of the next line. We may restore this word as *panatrise* (*pañchatrimśe*). The following letters, which are now missing, obviously contained the name of the season and then probably such words as *pakhe chhathe*, as is suggested by the numeral 6 before the word *divasa* in the end of this line.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable preceding *ka*, only a lower portion of which is now preserved, may have been *ri*. The word however, cannot be restored.

<sup>7</sup> The right-hand portion of this letter is effaced. It has been read as initial *a*, but the curl at its lower end forms almost a circle, and as such it differs from that found in *a* of *Agaloka*<sup>o</sup> l. 4 and *Ataporena* l. 6.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of this name is doubtful. The letter *ra* shows on its top something like a hook opening to the left. If that is meant to be the sign for medial *i*, we have to read the syllable as *ri* and not as *ra*. Moreover, the impression shows some faint traces of a letter between *kha* and *sa*. The last syllable appears a little below the line, making it difficult to ascertain whether the intervening letter is conjoined with *sa* or whether it stands independently. The latter is most probably the case, as the word is required to be in the genitive. Thus *Virakhadasa* may have been the intended reading.

<sup>9</sup> This partial line of writing was inserted later, as is clear from its position. Obviously, the two words contained herein were first left out by the engraver through oversight, who discovered the omission after having incised the whole record and then could do nothing but supply the omitted matter in the manner he has done. The letter *che* in *amachena* was imperfectly formed due to the insertion between the narrow space below the downward curl of *a* in l. 4. Hence it is read as *amachena* and not *amakhena*. If we adopt *amakhena* it would be a proper name.

<sup>10</sup> The reading is probably *Ataberena*, *Atabera* being a personal name.

<sup>11</sup> There is an ornamental design carved here, which marks the conclusion of the record.

## TRANSLATION.

On the first day 1, (of the sixth fortnight) 6 (of the . . . season) in the year (thirty-five) (35 of the king . . . , this) shaft (surmounted) with a *Dharmachakra* has been established at the eastern gate in the Great Monastery of **Dhāṅakaḍa**, (which is) in possession of the school of the **Pūrvaśailiyas**, the monkish order of ascetics, by . . . , <sup>1</sup>the minister, a resident of Atapura, <sup>2</sup>an immigrant from Agaloka son of Vīraskanda (?), . . . of the householder Skandanāga, for the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world.<sup>3</sup>

## No. 37.—TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NĀGPUR.

In October 1938 Mr. D. R. Gomkale, M. A., LL. B., Pleader of Nāgpur, made over to me for decipherment four copper-plates, which he had obtained through the good offices of Mr. S. S. Dapurkar of Kāvli. They were in the possession of Mr. N. H. Jane of Bēlorā, a village in the *Ārvī tahsil* of the Wardhā District, which is situated on the left bank of the Wardhā about 6 miles south by east of Mōrsi. On examination I found that they fell into two sets of two plates each, called hereafter **Set A** and **Set B**. Each set originally consisted of three plates, but the last plate of Set A and the first one of Set B are not forthcoming now. The first plate of Set A is inscribed on one side only and all the other plates on both the sides. The plates of Set A are slightly larger in size and heavier in weight than those of Set B. The former measure 9·9" by 4·9" each and weigh 67½ *tolas*; while the latter measure 9·6" by 4·8" each and weigh 64 *tolas*. About 2" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole ½" in diameter for the ring which originally held together the plates of each set, but neither the rings nor the seals, which must have been connected with them, are now forthcoming. All the plates are in a state of excellent preservation. The letters are deeply cut and some of them show through on the other side, especially in the case of the first plate. When carefully examined, the grants appear to be **palimpsests**, all the plates showing here and there clear traces of earlier letters, which were beaten in before the present charters were incised on them. These earlier letters were box-headed and of the same type as those which were later engraved in their place. So the earlier charters undoubtedly belonged to the same period. As their letters have been almost everywhere carefully beaten in, it is not now possible to say who issued them, what they recorded and why they were cancelled.

As stated above, both the inscriptions are incomplete. The preserved writing of the first one, which has lost its concluding part, contains 18 lines and that of the second, of which the initial portion is missing, 24 lines. The **characters** of both are of the box-headed variety and resemble in a general way those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. They include the numerical symbols for 10, 3<sup>4</sup> and 1 in ll. 29 and 30 of Set B. The only peculiarity worth noticing here, which is not usually met with in other Vākātaka grants, is the use of the looped *t*. In both the sets *t* appears in the looped and unlooped forms; for instances of the former, see *yatō* in l. 14 of Set A and *viditam* in l. 17 of Set B, and for those of the latter, notice *Shōdashy-*

<sup>1</sup> We expect here the proper name of the person, but it has apparently been left out by the writer of the epigraph, probably through oversight.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion about this locality see the introduction.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Dr. B. C. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, for various suggestions in connection with this article.

<sup>4</sup> The symbol for 3 deserves to be specially noted, as it is not of the usual type. See below p. 267, n. 16.



*Atirātra* in l. 1 of Set A and *atit-* in l. 25 of Set B. The subscript *t* is usually looped and to distinguish it from *n* its loop is elongated, see *e.g.* -*Āptōryyām-* in l. 1 of Set A, but instances of the unlooped subscript *t* also occur sporadically, see *e.g.* *kārtta-yuga* in l. 12 and *bhukti* in l. 13 of Set A. The use of the looped form of *t* has led to the confusion of *t* and *n* in some cases; see *e.g.* *Pravara-sētasya* for *Pravarasēnasya* in ll. 12-13 of Set B, where *n* is shaped exactly like an unlooped *t*. In other respects the characters show the same peculiarities as those of the Tirōḍi<sup>1</sup> and Paṭṭan<sup>2</sup> plates of Pravarasēna II.

The language is Sanskrit. The existing portion of Set A is wholly in prose; that of Set B is also in prose except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 27-29. The orthography of both the sets shows the same peculiarities, *viz.*, (1) the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* and *vice versa*, see *pautriṇaḥ* and *Prithivisēnasya* in l. 9 of both the sets. In *viśṛita* l. 16 of Set B, the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ru*. (2) Similarly *li* is used for the vowel *ḷi* in *sa-klipt-ōpaklip[t\*]a* in l. 22 of Set B. (3) The palatal *ś* is used for the dental *s* in *Śūryya-* in l. 14 of Set A. (4) The consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are doubled, see *e.g.* -*abhivarddhamāna-* in l. 8 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in l. 15 of both the sets and *vikkrama* in l. 7 of Set A. Besides these, both the sets show such mistakes as the use of the short for the long vowel, ungrammatical forms of words, etc.

Both the sets of plates were granted by Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. His genealogy is traced here from Pravarasēna I exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called Dēvagupta. The plates of Set A were issued from Nandivardhana. The place of issue in the case of those of Set B is unknown owing to the loss of its first plate. The former record the grant of the village Mahalla-Lāṭa in the Asi-bhukti, which was situated on the road to Śailapura, while the latter register the donation of two villages *viz.*, Dīrghadraha in the Pākkaṇa-~~śākhā~~ and Mahallama-Lāṭa. Of these latter villages, the second is plainly identical with the village Mahalla-Lāṭa of Set A as it is specified exactly like it. The grant recorded in Set B is, therefore, later than that of Set A. The donee of both the grants was the same, namely, Sūryasvāmin of the Kāśyapa-gotra and Taittirīya-śākhā, who was a resident of the place Pravarēśvara-shaḍviṃśati-vāṭaka. Both the grants were again made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dharmasthānē*) for the increase of religious merit, life, strength, victory and fortune of the donor. The date of the first record is missing, but that of the second is given at the end. The latter was written, while Chitravarman was *Sēnāpati*, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the eleventh regnal year. This is the earliest known date of Pravarasēna II.

Like the Riddhapur grant of Prabhāvatiguptā this second grant was evidently made on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding *Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī*. Pravarasēna II was himself a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*Paramamāhēśvara*), but that he chose to make a grant on the afore-mentioned *tithi*, which is sacred to Viṣṇu, shows that he was not a bigoted Śaiva. This is also indicated by his authorship of the Prākṛit poem *Sētubandha*<sup>3</sup> which glorifies Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Poona plates<sup>4</sup> were issued by Prabhāvatiguptā as regent for her minor son, the *yuvarāja* Divākarasēna, in the thirteenth year, evidently from the latter's accession. In her Riddhapur

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

plates<sup>1</sup> the dowager queen describes herself as the mother of Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna<sup>2</sup>. It has been suggested that Divākarasēna, when he came of age, assumed the title of Pravarasēna.<sup>3</sup> In that case the regnal years of Pravarasēna II would have to be reckoned from his accession as boy-prince. The second grant edited here, which is dated in the eleventh regnal year and was made by **Pravarasēna** himself, clearly shows that he **is different from Divākarasēna** who had not begun to rule independently even in the thirteenth year since his accession. Pravarasēna evidently succeeded Divākarasēna, but how long the latter continued to reign after the issue of the Poona plates cannot be determined unless fresh records bearing on the point come to light.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown, but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire, etc., are generally specified.<sup>4</sup> No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This, therefore, raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A, so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākātakas. The mention of Chitravarman as *Sēnāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set; for from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till the 18th year at least of Pravarasēna II's reign.<sup>5</sup> The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious. The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmaṇa donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Pravarasēna was another name of Dāmōdarasēna. See his *History of India 150-350 A.D.*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *J. R. A. S.* (1914), pp. 327 ff. In fairness to Vincent Smith who makes this suggestion, it must be said that he thought it more likely that Divākarasēna died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother.

<sup>4</sup> See e. g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 240.

<sup>6</sup> [As the difference in size between the two sets of plates is very little it does not seem impossible to me that three out of the four plates, viz., plates I and II of Set A and plate III of Set B, were meant to form a complete grant of Pravarasēna II. It may be that the grant of two villages in plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and this plate was meant to be replaced by plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. This view gains some support from the ornamental work found after *atśriṣṭāh* in plate II, Set A, which was apparently engraved with a view to stopping any unauthorised addition in the blank space which could not be utilised by the engraver. But even if this surmise is correct, it is not understood why plate II of Set B was not removed before handing over the charter to the donee unless it is to be assumed that the document for some reason or other did not leave the Secretariat. And as it was not formally issued it was not considered necessary to remove the unwanted plate, or to attach a ring and the royal seal to the document.—Ed.]

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grants, **Nandivardhana** from which the plates of the first set were issued, is probably identical with Nagardhan (also called Nandardhan) near Rāmṭēk as has already been suggested by Hiralal.<sup>1</sup> The place is described as a holy *tīrtha* in the *Sindūragiri-māhātmye*<sup>2</sup> and retained its ancient name down to the time of the Bhonslas<sup>3</sup>; for it is mentioned in the Sanskrit play *Purañjanacharita* of Krishṇadatta, which was staged at Nāgpur in the 18th Century.<sup>4</sup> As already stated, both the grants edited here were made at the king's place of religious worship (*dharmasthāna*), and consequently at the royal capital; for this expression is not found in the Tirōḍi plates which, as shown elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, register a grant made at a holy *tīrtha* outside the capital. It may be noted in this connection that the earlier Poona plates of Prabhāvātipatī also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, the earlier capital of the Vākātakas.<sup>6</sup> Later on Pravarasēna II removed the seat of his government to Pravarapura which he seems to have founded and named after himself. Several subsequent charters of Pravarasēna II granted at the capital were issued from Pravarapura. The earliest of them is the Chammak grant dated in the 18th regnal year. Unfortunately the date of set A is missing. Otherwise it would have enabled us to fix the limits between which the Vākāṭaka capital was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura. **Mahalla-Lāṭa** or **Mahallama-Lāṭa** which seems to mean the larger Lāṭa may be represented by Lāḍki or Ghāṭ Lāḍki in the Mōrsi *tālūkā* of the Amraoti District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā.<sup>7</sup> Mahalla-Lāṭa lay on the road to **Śailapura** which may be identical with Sālbarḍi situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lāḍki.<sup>8</sup> **Asi**, the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāṭa was situated, may be identical with Asṭi which lies only 10 miles south-east of Bēlōrā. **Dīrghadraha** is probably Dighi on the left bank of the Wardhā about 30 miles south of Asṭi. (The name of Pravarēśvara-<sup>9</sup> which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages. Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called Pravarēśvara installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself.<sup>9</sup> This place as well as Pākkaṇa, the headquarters of the *rāshṭra* (division) in which Dīrghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. IX, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Sindūragiri is another name of the hill near Rāmṭēk. It was probably the Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Nandivardhana is also mentioned in the Dēoli plates of Kṛishṇa III. See above, Vol. V, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Sardesai Commemoration Volume (Marāṭhī), p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> This suggestion was first made by me while editing the unfinished Vākāṭaka plate from Drug; see above, Vol. XXII, p. 209. It is corroborated by the present plates. The Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman who belonged to the Nala dynasty were also issued from Nandivardhana, which indicates his temporary occupation of some Vākāṭaka territory. See *loc. cit.* p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> There is another and smaller village called Lāḍegaon on the left bank of Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā.

<sup>8</sup> Sālbarḍi is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the name Vaṅkō-Tummāṇa of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattīsgarh (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vaṅkēśvara which it contained.



TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## SET A.

*First Plate.*

- 1 द्विष्टम्<sup>2</sup> [।\*] सिद्धम् स्वस्ति [।\*] ना(न)न्दिर्वर्द्धनादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्याप्तोवथ्यषोडश्यति-  
रात्रवाजपेयवृहस्पतिसव-
- 2 साद्यस्क(स्त्र)चतुर्ग्य(श्च)मेधयाजिनः<sup>3</sup> विष्णुवृद्ध<sup>4</sup> सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्<sup>5</sup> वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्चि-  
(श्री)प्रवर-
- 3 सेनस्य सूनी[।\*] सूनीः अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिव-  
लिङ्गो-
- 4 इहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम्पराक्रममाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजल-
- 5 मूर्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्चि(श्री)भवनागदौहित्रस्य
- 6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।<sup>5</sup> वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनीरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 7 सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यश्रीमत्व<sup>6</sup>धीम[त्त्व\*]पात्रगतभक्तित्व-
- 8 धर्मविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्मत्यादिगुणै[।\*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-
- 9 खड्गसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौतृ(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठि(ष्ठि)रहते[ः] वाक(का)टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथि-  
वीसे-
- 10 नस्य<sup>7</sup> सु(सू)नोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणे<sup>8</sup>प्रसादोपा[र्जि]<sup>8</sup>तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।<sup>9</sup> महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
- 11 स्य सु(सू)नोर्भहाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्भवातिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो<sup>8</sup>प्र-
- 12 सादृष्टिकार्त्तयुगस्य<sup>10</sup> वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates.<sup>2</sup> Read दृष्टम्.<sup>3</sup> Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.<sup>4</sup> Read सम्राजो.<sup>5</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>6</sup> Read श्रीमत्त्व. This word does not occur in other Vākāṭaka grants.<sup>7</sup> Read श्रीपृथिवीविषयस्य.<sup>8</sup> The subscript *j* is incompletely incised and looks like *z*.<sup>9</sup> The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.<sup>10</sup> Read धृतकार्त्तयुगस्य.







## Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 वचनात् [I] शैलपुरमार्गे<sup>1</sup> असिभुक्तिमहल्लाटग्रामेः(मः)<sup>2</sup> प्रवरेश्वरप्रद्विशकवाट-  
 14 कवस्तव्याय<sup>3</sup> ॥<sup>4</sup> तै[त्ति]रियाय<sup>5</sup> ।<sup>4</sup> काश्यपसगोत्रसूर्यस्वामिने<sup>6</sup> दत्तः [I\*] यतोस्मत्सत्त-  
 (न्त)काः सर्वा[द्ध्य]-  
 15 क्षनिया(यो)गनियुक्ताः आज्ञासचारि<sup>7</sup>कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्वयाज्ञय-  
 (या)-  
 16 ज्ञापयितव्याः [I\*] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुब्बल<sup>8</sup> विजयैश्वर्य-  
 17 व(वि)वृद्धये ।<sup>9</sup> इहामुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ॥<sup>9</sup> वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्या-  
 (त्या)  
 18 उदकपूर्वमतिस्पृष्टः [II\*]<sup>10</sup>

## SET B.

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7<sup>11</sup> सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म(त्स्य)धौमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म-  
 8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(र्म)ल्यादिगुणै[:\*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतर्माभवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसा-  
 9 धनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसेनस्य<sup>12</sup>  
 10 सूनोभ(र्भ)गवतः<sup>13</sup>श्चक्रपाणेऽप्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य महाराज<sup>14</sup>श्रीरुद्र-  
 11 सेनस्य सूनोर्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाः<sup>15</sup>प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य  
 12 शम्भोऽप्रसाव(द)धृतिकार्त्तसुतस्य<sup>16</sup> ।<sup>17</sup> वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

<sup>1</sup> Read शैलपुर as in l. 13 of Set B, below.

<sup>2</sup> In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लमलाटग्रामः.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरप्रद्विशतिवाटकवास्तव्याय is the correct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> The subscribed *t* of *tti* is not completely incised. Read तैत्तिरोयाय.

<sup>6</sup> Read सूर्यस्वामिने.

<sup>7</sup> Read आज्ञासचारि-

<sup>8</sup> Read बुब्बल-

<sup>9</sup> The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

<sup>10</sup> An ornamental figure is incised here.

<sup>11</sup> As the first plate, like the others of this Set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7.

<sup>12</sup> Read श्रीपृथिवीप्रिणस्य.

<sup>13</sup> This *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>14</sup> Read महाराज.

<sup>15</sup> Read सुतायाम्प्रभावति-

<sup>16</sup> Read धृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य-

<sup>17</sup> The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.



*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 13 त(न)स्य वचना[त्\*] । पाकणराष्ट्रे दीर्घद्रहंनम' ग्राम[:\*] । शैलपुरमार्गे असि-  
भुक्ति-
- 14 महल्लमलाटग्रामश्च एवं ग्रामद्वयं ॥<sup>7</sup> प्रवरश्वरषडिषतिवाटकवस्तव्य<sup>2</sup>- ॥<sup>7</sup>
- 15 तैत्तिरिय<sup>3</sup>काश्यपसगोत्र[सु<sup>4</sup>]र्यस्वामिन दत्त[म्\*] । यतोस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्व्वद्व्यक्ष<sup>5</sup>नियोग-
- 16 नियुक्ताः आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भटाश्चात्राश्च विष्(श्रु)तपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञा-<sup>6</sup>
- 17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु वः [।\*] यथै(थे)हास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्व्वलविजय(दै)श्वर्य्य-  
विवृद्धये ।<sup>7</sup> इहा-
- 18 सुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रह(हा)य वैजैके<sup>8</sup> धर्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्त्या<sup>9</sup> उदकपूर्व्वमति[सृष्टः]<sup>10</sup> [।\*]

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 19 उचिताश्चास्य<sup>11</sup> पूर्व्वराजानुमतां चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्थ्यादान्वितराम<sup>12</sup>स्तद्यथा अकरदायि
- 20 अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्राविश्य[म्\*] अपारम्परगोबलवहः<sup>13</sup> अपूष्पक्षिर<sup>14</sup>सन्दोह[म्\*] अचारासनच-
- 21 म्नाङ्गार[म्\*] अलवणक्लिन्नक्लेनिखनकः<sup>15</sup> सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः<sup>16</sup> सनिधिः<sup>17</sup> सोप-

<sup>1</sup> Read दीर्घद्रहं नाम.

<sup>2</sup> Read प्रवरश्वरषडिषतिवाटकवास्तव्य-

<sup>3</sup> Read तैत्तिरीय-

<sup>4</sup> The engraver at first incised सु and then altered it into सु. Read सूर्यस्वामिने.

<sup>5</sup> Read सर्वाध्यक्ष-

<sup>6</sup> Read पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञा-

<sup>7</sup> The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

<sup>8</sup> Read वैजयिके.

<sup>9</sup> Read अपूर्व्वदत्त्या.

<sup>10</sup> This should be °मतिसृष्टम् so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयं in l. 14 above.

<sup>11</sup> Read उचितां चास्य .

<sup>12</sup> Read मर्थ्यादां वितराम-

<sup>13</sup> Read अपारम्परगोबलीवहम्. In this and some expressions below the writer has blindly copied the masculine form from the usual draft, referring to the donation of one village (ग्रामः). Here the neuter form is required so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्.

<sup>14</sup> Read अपूष्पक्षीर-

<sup>15</sup> Read क्लेषिखनकम्.

<sup>16</sup> Read सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतम्.

<sup>17</sup> Read सनिधि-

TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II—(SET B).

ii, a.

8 8  
 10 10  
 12 12

ii, b.

14 14  
 16 16  
 18 18

iii, a.

20 20  
 22 22  
 24 24

iii, b.

26 26  
 28 28  
 30 30





- 22 निधिः<sup>1</sup> सक्तिसोपलिप<sup>2</sup> अचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः<sup>3</sup> उदयौद्रादुगलिकः<sup>4</sup> भुञ्जता(तो)  
 23 न केनचिद्वाघात[ $\times$ क]<sup>5</sup>र्तव्यः सर्वक्याभि<sup>6</sup>स्स(सं)रक्षितव्य $\times$ पर(रि)वर्द्धयितव्यश्च । यश्च-  
 (श्चा)स्मच्छा-  
 24 सनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवदाब्कुर्व्यात्कारयिर वा<sup>7</sup> अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्विदितस्य

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 सदण्डनिग्रह(हं) कुर्याम ॥ अस्मि(स्मिं)श्च धर्मादरकरणे अतौतानेकराजदत्तासंघिन्य-  
 न<sup>8</sup>परिपा-  
 26 लन(नं) कृतपुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थ(त्य) न कीर्त्तयामः [i\*] व्यासगीतौ  
 चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-  
 27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तावा<sup>9</sup> हरेद्वा<sup>10</sup> वै वसुधरा[म् i\*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य ।<sup>11</sup>  
 हन्तुर्ह-  
 28 रति दुष्कृत[म्\*]<sup>12</sup> । [॥१॥\*] षष्टि<sup>13</sup> वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[:\*] । आच्छेत्ता  
 चा-  
 29 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२॥\*] सवत्सरे एकादशमे<sup>14</sup> १० १ कार्तिक-  
 शुक्लपक्ष-  
 30 त्रयोदश्या<sup>15</sup> १० ३<sup>16</sup> सेन(ना)पतौ चित्रवर्मा(र्म)णि ना<sup>17</sup> लिखित[म्\*]<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read सोपनिधि.

<sup>2</sup> Read सकृत्सोपलिपम्.

<sup>3</sup> Read अचन्द्रादित्यकालीयम्.

<sup>4</sup> Read गामिकम्.

<sup>5</sup> The subscript *ka* is not completely incised, so that the whole *akshara* appears like *mū*.

<sup>6</sup> Read सर्वक्रियाभिः.

<sup>7</sup> Read परिवदां कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा.

<sup>8</sup> Read राजदत्तसंघिन्य.

<sup>9</sup> Read °म्परदत्तां वा.

<sup>10</sup> Read °हरेद्वौ.

<sup>11</sup> The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : *Anushtubh*.

<sup>13</sup> Read षष्टिं.

<sup>14</sup> Read सवत्सरे एकादशे.

<sup>15</sup> Read त्रयोदश्यां.

<sup>16</sup> The symbol for 3 is unusual, but there is no doubt about its value, as the *tithi* is mentioned in words.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps मणिना was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the *aksharas* मणि by haplo-  
 graphy.

<sup>18</sup> There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *dandas* and a horizontal stroke.

## No. 38.—MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA, II.

BY B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first noticed by the late Robert Sewell when it was found lying in the record room of the District Court of Kistna at Masulipatam.<sup>1</sup> It is not known where the plates were originally discovered and how and when they reached the District Court of Kistna. Dr. J. F. Fleet, who examined these plates at the instance of Robert Sewell, described them as follows:

“A set of five copper-plates, each about 11½” long by 5¾” broad with a seal which bears the usual Chālukyan Boar, the motto *Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkuśa*, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad and a floral device . . . . . The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read.”<sup>2</sup>

These plates came to be included in the collection of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1908, and marked as C. P. No. 8 of 1908-09.<sup>3</sup> The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri described the plates thus: They consist “of five copper-plates (with raised rims) of which the two exposed sides are blank. They are strung on a massive ring whose ends are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal which bears in high relief on a countersunk surface the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āmku]śa*, the standing boar, the elephant-goad, two fly-whisks, the sun and the moon and the lotus flower. The writing on the plates is much worn out and where it is clear the rust has so firmly settled down in the depths of the letters that even the process of allowing the plate to boil in a thick solution of tamarind and salt has not effectively removed it”. I now edit this inscription from the ink impressions and photographs supplied to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. The inscription on these plates is written in the **Telugu** characters of the tenth century. The letters are beautifully engraved; and the plates used for the purpose of the grant are perhaps the largest ever used for the charters of Ammarāja II. The writing on the plates is for a greater part not well preserved: particularly on plates *ii-b*, *iii-b*, *iv-a* and *iv-b*. Some of the characters employed call for a few remarks. Special signs are used for the final *n* (in *māsān*, ll. 9, 15 and 17), but no special sign is employed for the final *t*, which is, however, denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *virāma* above it. Initial vowels *a* and *ā* (ll. 56 and 57), *i* (ll. 32-34 and 42), *ī* (l. 60) and *ē* (l. 17) also appear in the record and they represent the forms of the transitional period. **Orthographical** mistakes are few and in one or two cases they appear to be due to the scribe. Thus we find in *śiśyō* (l. 52) the palatal sibilant used for lingual, and in *śadriśau* (l. 47) the palatal sibilant used for the dental. Signs for both the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmanīya* are found in the present record, the former in l. 11 and the latter in l. 38.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit**, partly in prose and partly in verse; and there are altogether twenty-one stanzas including the usual verses in lines 65-68 at the end. The inscription also contains some archaic Telugu words, e.g., *dūba* (l. 57), *paḍuva* (ll. 58 and 60), *prānta-parti* (l. 58) and *yisupakatta* (l. 57), the exact meanings of which are not quite clear. These words occur in the description of the boundaries of the village granted.

The inscription consists apparently of two parts; and though it records a charity to the Jaina religion, it opens with an invocation to the god Vishṇu, the wielder of the fierce *śārṅga* bow which

<sup>1</sup> *List of Inscriptions and Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, Vol. II, p. 13; No. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1909, pp. 10 and 108.

protects the three worlds, unlike the Maliyapūṇḍi grant which opens with an invocation to the Jaina religion, being a charity made for the Jaina faith.<sup>1</sup> Lines 2-22 contain the usual *praśasti* and genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, beginning with **Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana**, the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra down to **Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II**, the donor of the grant. The genealogical portion does not give us any more historical particulars about the kings that preceded Amma II, than we know from the other records of the family. As usual Jayasīṃhavallabha I is given a period of 33 years, which Dr. Fleet, however, considered to be incompatible with his adjustment of the reigns of the other kings of the dynasty.<sup>2</sup> I do not think that Dr. Fleet was justified in reducing the period of Jayasīṃhavallabha I from 33 to 30 years; and his reasons for so doing are not convincing. There is only a single record which gives the king a reign of 30 years while the entire range of the family charters, which number about fifty, are unanimous in giving him a period of 33 years. Dr. Fleet's calculations and computations are made, as I have shown elsewhere<sup>3</sup>, upon certain misconceptions. The only record that gives 30 years' reign to the king is the Paḍaṃkalūru grant of Ammarāja II<sup>4</sup> which was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa. The scribe who engraved the charter on the plates must have committed an obvious error in omitting the word *trayas* before *trīṃśatam*, for the edict on the Guṇḍugolamu plates of the same king, which was also the composition of the self-same poet Mādhavabhaṭṭa, gives Jayasīṃhavallabha a reign of 33 years, which is in conformity with the statements of other records.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II is stated to have reigned for 40 years in the present inscription; and this length seems to be the correct period as shown by me in my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings*<sup>3</sup>, as against the period of 44 years which was allotted to him in Dr. Fleet's computation.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, needless to repeat here my reasons for accepting the period of 40 years, which I have stated at length in my *Revised Chronology*; but I consider it necessary to give a summary of the chronology of the kings as fixed by me—from Kubja Vishṇuwardhana to Chālukya Bhīma I, for whose coronation we have a recorded date—alongside with Dr. Fleet's scheme of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology for easy reference.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
1. Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana . . . . .	18 : 624—641	18 : 615—633
2. Jayasīṃhavallabha I . . . . .	33 : 641—673	30 : 633—663
3. Indrabhaṭṭāraka . . . . .	7 days : 673	7 days : 663
4. Vishṇuwardhana II . . . . .	9 : 673—682	9 : 663—672
5. Maṅgi-Yuvarāja . . . . .	25 : 682—706	25 : 672—696
6. Jayasīṃha II . . . . .	13 : 706—718	13 : 696—709
7. Kokkili . . . . .	6 months : 718 —719	6 months : 709

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 10 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> "The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings" in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Part 4, pp. 17 and 27 and chart on p. 30A.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, text, line 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 12-13.



Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
8. Vishṇuvardhana III . . . . .	37 : 719—755	37 : 709—746
9. Vijayāditya I or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka . . . . .	18 : 755—772	18 : 746—764
10. Vishṇuvardhana IV . . . . .	36 : 772—808	36 : 764—799
11. Vijayāditya II (Narēndramṛigarāja) . . . . .	40 : 808—847	44 : 799—843
12. Kali-Vishṇuvardhana . . . . .	1½ : 847—849	1½ : 843—844
13. Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III . . . . .	44 : 849—892	44 : 844—888
14. Chālukya-Bhīma I . . . . .	30 : 892—921	30 : 888—918

Apart from what has been stated already, the above table shows also that Chālukya-Bhīma I's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 888 as stated by Dr. Fleet, for we have a record of the king that gives the date of his coronation as Ś. 814 (expired), (Mēsha) *Chaitra badritīyā*, *Śasi-dina*, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Maitra (Anurādhā), which has been equated to Monday, 17th April, 892 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Thus the whole scheme of Dr. Fleet's arrangement falls to the ground.<sup>2</sup>

**Vijayāditya** (IV) is given the title *Kaliyattigaṇḍa*, "the hero who raised the sins of the Kali Age". Dr. Fleet who examined these plates read the term as *Kaliyarttigaṇḍa*. The epithets *Kaliyattigaṇḍa* and *Kaliyarttiganika*, which occurs in the Īḍēru plates of Amma I,<sup>3</sup> have the same meaning, for *anika* and *anikakāra* are the Telugu-Kannada synonyms of the Sanskrit word *gaṇḍa*, which means 'a hero,' 'a champion' or 'a warrior'. The clue for the correct interpretation of these terms is found in the phrase *anikakāras=sākshāt*, which occurs in a passage describing Guṇaga- or Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III in the Kaluchumbarru grant of Amma II.<sup>4</sup>

Of the several enemies whom Chālukya **Bhīma** (II) is said to have conquered or killed before he became king according to the other records of the family, only four, namely, **Mallapa**, his son, **Rājamārtāṇḍa** and the **Rāshtrakūṭas** are mentioned in the present charter. The inscription states that king **Bhīma**, the son of **Mēlāmbā** and **Kaliyattigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya**, who was endowed with truthfulness, liberality, pride and majesty and all other virtues, conquered in battle **Rājamārtāṇḍa**, defeated the fierce **Mallapa** and his son, and then, having dispelled the darkness (*that overwhelmed the realm*), i.e., the **Rāshtrakūṭas**, reigned in glory for twelve years. Till now **Rājamārtāṇḍa** has not been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that **Rājamārtāṇḍa** might be the same as **Rājamayya**<sup>5</sup>, and the identification may be for the present

<sup>1</sup> C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1918, App. E, p. 126; also see *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. VI, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> [But it is not impossible that, though he was actually crowned in A.D. 892; his regnal year was counted from the date of his accession which might have taken place some years earlier. This custom was widely prevalent in South India.—N.L.R.]

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 36, pp. 36-43, text, line 49.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

accepted as correct. Rājamārtāṇḍa would appear to be one of the foremost opponents of Chālukya-Bhīma II, for he is mentioned in the latter's own Kōlavennu plates<sup>1</sup>. Rājamārtāṇḍa might be a younger brother of Yuddhamalla II or more probably a son of Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Kollabhigaṇḍa or Kaliyattyaṅka-Vijayāditya IV, who reigned for eleven months after destroying Tāḷa. If so Rājamārtāṇḍa would be a *dāyāda* of Chālukya-Bhīma II, being his cousin in the same degree. Mallapa and his powerful son may be identified with Yuddhamalla II and his eldest son *Adhirāja* Bādapa of the Ārumbāka plates.

**Vijayāditya-Ammarāja** II is said to have conquered several of his own kinsmen (*dāyādas*) before he became the lord of the country or soon after he had ascended the throne. Verse 6 describes the important event thus : " Having been crowned (as the lord of) the kingdom of Vēṅgī, having conquered his enemy, the rising and powerful Vijayāditya, who had vanquished on numerous battle fields his own adversaries and whose neck was adorned with the fillet (*kaṅṭhikā-dāma*) (of the dignity of *yuvārāja*),<sup>2</sup> having defeated the group of his treacherous kinsmen, by the prowess of his arm (or his rays) and having pleased the goddess Lakshmī (or the lotus) by dispelling the darkness *viz.* his opponents, the sun of the Kshatriya race shines in all splendour". That Kaṅṭhikā-Bēta or Kaṅṭhikā-Vijayāditya, the son of Ammarāja I, was one of the opponents of king Amma II is not known from any of the records hitherto published. It now appears that Bēta or Kaṅṭhikā-Vijayāditya returned to the country, appeared once more as a claimant to the throne on the death of his father's step-brother, Chālukya-Bhīma II, and opposed the accession of the boy king Amma II. Among the other rival claimants whom Amma II had conquered might be the children of Yuddhamalla II, who was driven away into exile by Chālukya-Bhīma II. The rest of the passage which describes Ammarāja II (ll. 30-35) is merely in panegyric style and does not contain anything historical. The present record is **not dated**; it does not also mention the occasion on which it was issued.

The second part of the inscription (ll. 39-51) opens with a description of a family of feudatory chieftains, who professed the Jaina religion and who flourished during the reigns of Chālukya-Bhīma II and his son Ammarāja II. There was born in the great family known as *Triṇayana-kula*, a nobleman called **Naravāhana** (I), an officer of the Chālukya kings. He belonged to the *gōtra* called *Grēvya*; he enjoyed the privilege and honour of sitting on *siṃhāsana* or a 'lion seat' like a crowned prince. Prince Naravāhana, like the preceptor of the gods, was a master of the science of Polity. He outshone the glory of Naravāhana, the Regent of the Northern quarter (Kubēra). His eldest son was **Mēlaparāja**, who was an embodiment of virtues like liberality, pride and praiseworthy conduct. He, therefore, bore the epithet *Mānavadēva*, 'god amongst men'. He was a worshipper of the lotus feet of the Blessed Lord Jina. His wife was **Mēṇḍāmbā**, who was a *pativrata* (devoted wife) like the epic princess Sītā. She was a fervent follower of the teachings of Lord Jina (*Jainavrata*). To them, Mēlaparāja and Mēṇḍāmbā, were born two sons, **Bhīma** or **Rāja-Bhīma** and **Naravāhana** (II). The former would appear to have been named after Chālukya-Bhīma II<sup>3</sup> and the latter after his own grand-father. Both these princes were intelligent and renowned. They were masters of all *śāstras* and skilled in the use of various weapons. They resembled Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (in personal charm), Bhīma

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43ff., text, line 18; see also above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Compare this passage with *Vijayādityam kṛita-kaṅṭhikā-pattabandh-ābhishēkam* which occurs both in the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma II (above, Vol. V, p. 136) text-lines 15-16 and note 2 on p. 138 and in the Pāganavaram grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213f, text-line 25).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII, pp. 177ff., text, line 41.

and Arjuna (in might and prowess), Baladēva and Vāsudēva (in strength and wisdom), and equalled Nakula and Sahadēva (in valour and bravery) respectively. They were devoted to the *Jaina-dharma*. They obtained through the favour of Chālukya-Bhīma, *i.e.*, Chālukya-Bhīma II, the insignia of feudal chieftainship (*sāmanta*), namely, the *śrīvāra*, *chhatra* (parasol), *chāmara* (fly whisk), peacock's tail, water-jars, horses, and musical instruments like *kāhala* and others.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription then refers (ll. 51-54) to a Jaina pontiff (*āchārya*), the preceptor of the two noblemen Bhīma and Naravāhana II. He was the renowned **Jayasēna**, who bore the surname **Nāthasēna** and was the disciple of the illustrious **Chandrasēna**. Jayasēna was a master of all the *śāstras*. He was well versed in the *Siddhānta*, *i.e.*, *Jaina-siddhānta*, 'the doctrines of the Jainas'. He was a man of excellent and praiseworthy conduct. He attained proficiency in *para-samaya*, that is to say, his soul became absorbed in the non-self for the liberation of mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrāvakas*, *kshapaṇakas*, *kshullakas* and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the celebrated Jaina pontiff, who was their religious preceptor, Bhīma and Naravāhana II, constructed two Jaina temples (*Jina-bhavana*) at *Vijaya-nagara*; and for that purpose king Ammarāja granted the village of **Pedda-Gāḷidiparru** having converted it into a *dēvabhōga* and exempted it from all kinds of burdens and taxation.

Some of the names and terms that occur in the inscription are interesting. The family of the two chiefs is called the 'great *Trinayana-kula*', and their *gōtra*-name appears as *Grēvya*. Both these terms have not been met with before either in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty or in the literature of the Andhra country. The *Trinayana-kula* seems to belong to the fourth or Śūdra caste, like the *Panta-kula* of the *Reddis* of Andhradēśa, whose birth-place is said to be the *Gaṅgā* which sprang from the feet of Lord Vishnu. The *Grēvya-gōtra*, too, is not a Brahminical *gōtra*, and this fact supports the above conjecture.<sup>2</sup> Several orders of the Jaina ascetics and lay worshippers are mentioned in the record. The *Śrāvakas*, for instance are Jaina laymen; the *Kshapaṇakas* are Jaina *yatis* (ascetics) who received proper initiation according to the school of the *Digambaras*. A Jaina *kshullaka* is one who is a *Śrāvaka* of a high order belonging to the tenth degree, the eleventh degree being that of *Ailaka*. These seem to correspond to the *dāsas* of the *Bhāgavata-saṁpradāya*. The next higher order of spiritual stage is that of *muni* or *āchārya*. The term *ajjakā* may be a Prākṛit form of Sanskrit *Āryakā*, "a female ascetic", who, according to Jaina doctrines, wears only a white sari.<sup>3</sup> The expression *para-samaya* which occurs in the passage *para-samaya-paṭaḥ samvṛt-ūtkṛṣṭa-ṣṭiṭaḥ* (l. 53) is apparently used in a highly technical sense here as it rightly belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda Ācharya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the terms *para-samaya* and *sva-samaya* as follows :

जीवश्चारितदर्शनज्ञानस्थितस्तं हि स्वसमयं जानीहि ।  
पुद्गलकर्मापदेशस्थितं च तं जानीहि परसमयं ॥

"Know that *sva-samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *para-samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the *Karmic* matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the Non-self."

<sup>1</sup> Compare this passage (lines 49-50) with the passage in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya : above, Vol. VI, pp. 357, text, line 83 : "श्रीद्वारपिञ्च(ह)करकातपवारणादिस्तस्यां विशेषमहिमा" etc.

<sup>2</sup> [No evidence is available to indicate that Bhīma and Naravāhana were Śūdras. The statement that they belonged to the *Trinayana-kula* may only show that they were Śaivas. The *Noḷamba-Pallavas* are described as born of the *Īśvara-vaṁśa* (*Īśvara-vaṁśaja*), and the later *Pallava* chiefs of the *Telugu* country have the epithet *Parama-vaṁś-ōdbhava*. It is also not certain that *Grēvya* is not a Brahminical *gōtra*. *Grīva* is known to be the name of a *gōtraśhi*.—N. L. R.]

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Pandit Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL.B. of Lucknow, for the meaning of these terms. [The term is more likely *ajjaka* Skt. *āryaka*.—Ed.]



The edict states that king Ammarāja II issued the command after having assembled, in the usual manner, the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and *kuṭumbins* of the district of **Velanāṇḍu** and in the immediate presence of several high officials of his government. They are the entire circle of his vassal kings (*samasia-sāmānta*), the *antaḥpura-mahāmātra*, the *purōhita*, the *amātya*; the *śrēshṭhin*, the *sēnāpati*, the *śrīkarāṇa*, the *Dharmādhyaksha* and the twelve *sthān-ādhipatis*. In spite of his own faith, like a true Hindu sovereign, king Amma II was tolerant of the other faiths of his kingdom, and particularly of Jainism.

The **object** of the grant was the gift of the village of Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu, situated apparently in the Velanāṇḍu-*vishaya*. It is well known in the Āndhra country that Velanāṇḍu was the ancient name of the region that is bounded by the sea on the south-east and south, and the Kṛishṇā river on the north-east and north and which is now covered by the modern tālūks of Rēpalli and Tenāli in the Guṇṭūr District. Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu had changed its name during the past nine or ten centuries and is called to-day Peda-Gādelavarṅgu. It is situated in the Tenāli tālūk, about three miles to the east of the Tsuṇḍūru railway station. The boundaries of the villages are according to the edict (ll. 57-61) as follows:—On the east: a *dūba* (probably a mound) in the centre of the tank called Yisupakaṭṭala-cheruvu, on the boundary of the village Maṇḍayūru. On the south-east: (probably) a cluster *Būruvu-paḍuva* of silk cotton trees (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*) at the meeting place (*muyyalkuḷu*) of the boundaries of the villages, Ālaparṭi and Chūṇṭūru. On the south: an irrigation tank called Kuṇḍavidḍi-guṇṭha situated to the north of the ancient village site (*prānta-parṭi*) of Chūṇṭūru. On the south-west: the temple (*guḍi*) of Pōṭyavva or Pōṭi-avva, the *amma* (village goddess) of Chūṇṭūru. On the west: . . . . . On the north-west: a tank called Gāralaguṇṭha on the boundary of the village of Valivēru. On the north: a marshy swamp (*paḍuva*) (?) belonging to the village of Tapparāla . . . . On the north-east: an irrigation tank called N. . . . . at the meeting place of the boundaries (*muyyalkuḷu*) of the villages, Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu, and Valivēru. All the above-mentioned localities, *viz.*, Maṇḍayūru, Ālaparṭi, Chūṇṭūru, Valivēru, and Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu may be easily identified to-day. Ālaparṭi is known to-day as Ālapāḍu, and Chūṇṭūru is changed into Chūṇḍūru. Tapparāla had apparently gone out of existence and a new village called Parimi had sprung into existence in that neighbourhood. While all the other village names had not materially changed, the names of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu** and **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu** alone had altered. And that may be explained by the fact that the hard consonant *ḷa* had merely given place to soft consonant *da* in the pronunciation during the last nine or ten centuries. Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu is known to-day both as Kōḍe-Gādelavarṅgu and China-Gādelavarṅgu, the words *Kōḍe* and *Chinna* being synonymous. All the villages mentioned above are situated round about Peda-Gādelavarṅgu.

Among the other localities mentioned in the record, **Vijayavāṭikā** is clearly identical with the modern town of Bezwāda on the Kṛishṇā river. The site or sites on which the two *Jina-bhavanas* or Jaina temples once stood cannot be identified; perhaps an extensive exploration of the ancient sites of the locality may help us to discover the spot.

The executor of the charity was the officer known as **Kaṭakarāja**. From the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, we know that the office of *Kaṭakarāja* was held during the reign of Amma II by the General Duggarāja, a descendant of the celebrated Paṇḍaraṅga, the generalissimo of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. The engraver of the record was **Jayantāchārya**.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 <sup>2</sup>व्याकृष्टरत्नक<sup>3</sup>चितायतशां<sup>4</sup>र्गचापो यस्सेन्द्रकार्मुकविनीलपयोदह(वृ)न्दम् । <sup>5</sup>निर्भर्च्छयन्निव  
विभा-
- 2 ति सकृष्णकान्ति<sup>6</sup>विष्णुशिवन्दिशतु वोवधृतत्रिलोकः ॥[१\*] स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकल-  
भुवनसंस्तयमानमा-
- 3 नव्यसगोत्राणां हारोतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानाम्माह्वरणपरिपालितानां  
स्वामि-
- 4 महासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहला<sup>7</sup>च्छनेक्ष-  
ण[क्ष]णवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानामश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कु-
- 6 लमलंकरिष्णोस्त्वयाश्रयवत्सभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्द्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि  
7 वेंगीदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णु-  
वर्द्धनो न-
- 8 व । तत्सुनुर्मागियुवराजः पंचविंशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवर-  
9 जः कोकिलिष्णमासान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाव्य सप्तत्रिंशतम् ।  
तत्पुत्रो वि-

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 जयादित्यभट्टारकीष्टादश । तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्द्धनषट्त्रिंशतम् । <sup>8</sup>नरेन्द्रमृगराजा[ख्यो] मृ-  
11 गराज[पराक्रमः] । विजयादित्य[भूपालः] चत्वारिं[शत्समा] ८ — ॥[२\*] त-  
त्युत्र)कलिविष्णुवर्द्ध-  
12 नो[ध्यर्द्धवर्षम्] । तत्सु]तो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चात्वारिंशतम् । <sup>9</sup>तद्भ्रातुर्यौव्वराज्यो-  
न्नतमहि-  
13 [मभृतो] विक्रमादित्यभूपाज्जातश्चालुक्यभीमस्सकलनृपगु[णोत्कृ]ष्टचारित्रपात्रः । दानी  
14 <sup>10</sup>— — ८ — — ८ ८ ८ रसकरः सार्वभौमप्रतापो ।<sup>11</sup> राज्यं कृत्वा प्र[या]तः  
त्रिदशपतिपदं

<sup>1</sup> From ink-impressions and photographs.<sup>2</sup> Read स्वचिता.<sup>3</sup> Read निर्भर्च्छयन्निव.<sup>4</sup> Read शाङ्गचापो.<sup>5</sup> Read लाञ्छनेक्ष.<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Anushtubh*. The scribe apparently left out the last two syllables of the fourth quarter or *pāda* of the *śloka*.<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.<sup>8</sup> I am unable to make out any sense from the faintly visible letters.<sup>9</sup> Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>4</sup> Read शाङ्गचापो.<sup>6</sup> Read ०विष्णु०.





(From Photographs).

ii, b.

20	20
22	22
24	24
26	26

ii, b.

56	56
58	58
60	60
62	62

Seal.



- 15 <sup>1</sup>[त्रिंशदब्दा — ]ण ॥[३\*] तत्पुत्रः कलियत्तियण्डविजयादित्यप्यरजसात् ।  
तत्सूतुरम्भराजस्य-
- 16 [स]वर्षाणि । तत्सुतं विजयादित्यं कण्ठिकाक्रमायातपट्टाभिषेकं बालमुच्चाय<sup>2</sup> तालराजो  
राज्यमास-
- 17 [मि]कं [1\*] चालुक्यभीमसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तं हत्वा एकादशमासान् । विजयादि-  
त्यो वेंगीनाथ~~५~~कलियत्ति-
- 18 गण्डनामा धीमा<sup>3</sup> । न्तस्य <sup>4</sup>सति मे००ांवा । तज्जन्मोराजलोमहृत्पतिरजयः ॥ <sup>5</sup>सत्य-  
त्यागाभिमानाद्यस्त्रि-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 लगुणयुतो राजमार्त्ताण्डमाजौ ।<sup>2</sup> जित्वोग्रमङ्गपाख्यं ससुतमधिवलं द्रोहि[णो]-  
प्यन्तकाभो । द्विड्भीमो राष्ट्र-
- 20 कूटप्रबलबलतमस्मंहरो द्वादशाब्दं ।<sup>2</sup> राज्यं कृत्वागमत्सः ।<sup>2</sup> प्रणिहित[सुयशो] धर्मसन्तान-  
वर्गः ॥[४\*] वि-
- 21 षणोः पद्मेव शंभोरिव गिरितनया यस्य देवी सपट्टा ।<sup>2</sup> संशुद्धा [हैहया]नान्निजकु-  
[लवि]षये पुण्यला[व]-
- 22 श्यगण्या । लोकांवा तत्सुतोभूद्विजितपरबलो वेंगिनाथोम्भराजो ।<sup>2</sup> राजद्राजाधिराजो  
[जितरिपु]<sup>6</sup>म-
- 23 कुटोद्वृष्टपादारविन्दः ॥[५\*] वेंगो[राज्याभिषिक्तो] निजरिपुविजयादित्यमुद्यत्समर्थ<sup>2</sup> ।<sup>2</sup>  
जित्वा[नेकाजिरंग]-
- 24 प्रजितपरबलं [कण्ठिकादामकण्ठं ।] न्दा(दा)यादद्रोहिवर्गानपि सकरबलः क्षत्रि-  
[या]दित्यदे-
- 25 वो ।<sup>2</sup> ध्वस्तारिध्वान्तराशिर्विलसितकमलस्रप्रतापो विभाति ॥ [६\*] यन्निर्मातु-  
न्निमित्तं कृतमिदमखिलं विष्टपं हि
- 26 त्तिमूर्त्ते<sup>2</sup> ।<sup>2</sup> रात्मानं चात्मनास्मादिह सकलगुणै [राजभौ]मोदहोभू । तेजोराशिः  
प्रजानां पतिरधिकव-
- 27 [ल]स्रप्रतापोष्टमूर्त्ति<sup>2</sup> ।<sup>2</sup> स्योयन्देवोम्भराजो जनगुणजनकोन[न्य\*]राजाग्रचिह्नः ॥[७\*]  
स्वर्याताः पूर्व-

<sup>1</sup> Read tentatively: त्रिंशदब्दाक्रमेण. [Reading is *trīṁśad-abda-pramānam*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Mark of punctuation is not necessary here.

<sup>3</sup> Read: धीमान् । तस्य.

<sup>4</sup> Read: सती.

<sup>5</sup> This verse and the following four are in *Sragdharā* metre.

<sup>6</sup> [Reading is राजद्राजाधिराज~~५~~परन्तप<sup>०</sup>.—N. L. R.]

## Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 नाथा नलनहुषहरिश्चन्द्ररामादयोपि ।<sup>1</sup> प्रत्यक्षास्ते यशोभिर्गुणवपुरचला स्वैरिदानौ-  
 29 मट्टष्टाः । यस्योच्चैः कौत्ति<sup>2</sup>रा[शिर्भ]गण इव जगत्यद्वितीयोदयोस्मिन् । राजद्राजा-  
 धिराजस्र ज-  
 30 यति विजयादित्यदेवोम्भराजः ॥[८\*] गद्यम् ॥ स जगतीपतिरम्भराजो राजमहेन्द्रभो-  
 गोन्द्रसह-  
 31 स्रभोगोपहासिदौर्घदक्षिणैकव<sup>3</sup>हुसान्द्रितविश्वविश्वंभराभारः । नारायण  
 32 इव निरन्तरानन्तभोगास्यदः । विधुरिव सुखविराजितः । पितामह इव कम-  
 33 लासनः । गिविरिश<sup>4</sup>इव धराधरसुताराधितः । रत्नाकर इव समस्त-  
 34 शरणागतभूभृदाश्रयः । सुवर्णाचल इव सुवर्णोत्तुंगोदयः । हिमाचल  
 35 इव सिंहासनोह्लासितचमरीवालव्यजनविराजमानलीलः ॥ स सम-  
 36 स्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-

## Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 भट्टारकः । वेलनाण्डुविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कु<sup>5</sup>टिंविनस्समस्त-  
 38 सामन्ता[न्त]पुरमहामात्रपुरोहितामात्यश्रेष्ठिसेनापति<sup>6</sup>श्रीकरणधर्माध्यक्ष-  
 39 द्वादशस्थान(ना)धिपतीन्समाह्वये<sup>7</sup>त्तमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वः । <sup>8</sup>श्रीमानुदपा-  
 40 दि मा(म)हान्निणयनकुलसाधुर . . . ग्रेव्यास्थो [।\*] गोत्रो(त्रः) सिंहासनतो ।<sup>1</sup>  
 41 विदितो [न]रवाहनश्चालुक्के[शानाम् ॥] [९\*] श्रीकरणगुरुर्गुरुरिव ।<sup>1</sup> विबुधगुरु-  
 42 स्स[क]लरा[जसिद्धान्तज्ञः] । नरवाहन इत्यासीत्यक्तनरवाह[नः] प्रकाशित-  
 43 यशसा ।[। १०\*] यस्याग्रसुतो गुणवान् ।<sup>1</sup> <sup>9</sup>मेलपराजो गुणप्र[भा]वो<sup>10</sup> दानी । मानौ मा-

<sup>1</sup> Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

<sup>2</sup> Read : कौत्ति<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Read गिरिश-

<sup>6</sup> Read श्रीकरण.

<sup>8</sup> The metre of this and the following 5 verses is *Āryāgīti*.

<sup>9</sup> The letter seems to read like म for there is a loop-like stroke at the bottom. If this is borne out by the plate, then the name of the chieftain has to be read as मैलप.

<sup>10</sup> [Reading may be *pradhānō*.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Read बाहु.

<sup>5</sup> Read कुटुंबिन<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Read समाह्वयेत्य<sup>०</sup>.



MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II—(II).

(From impressions).

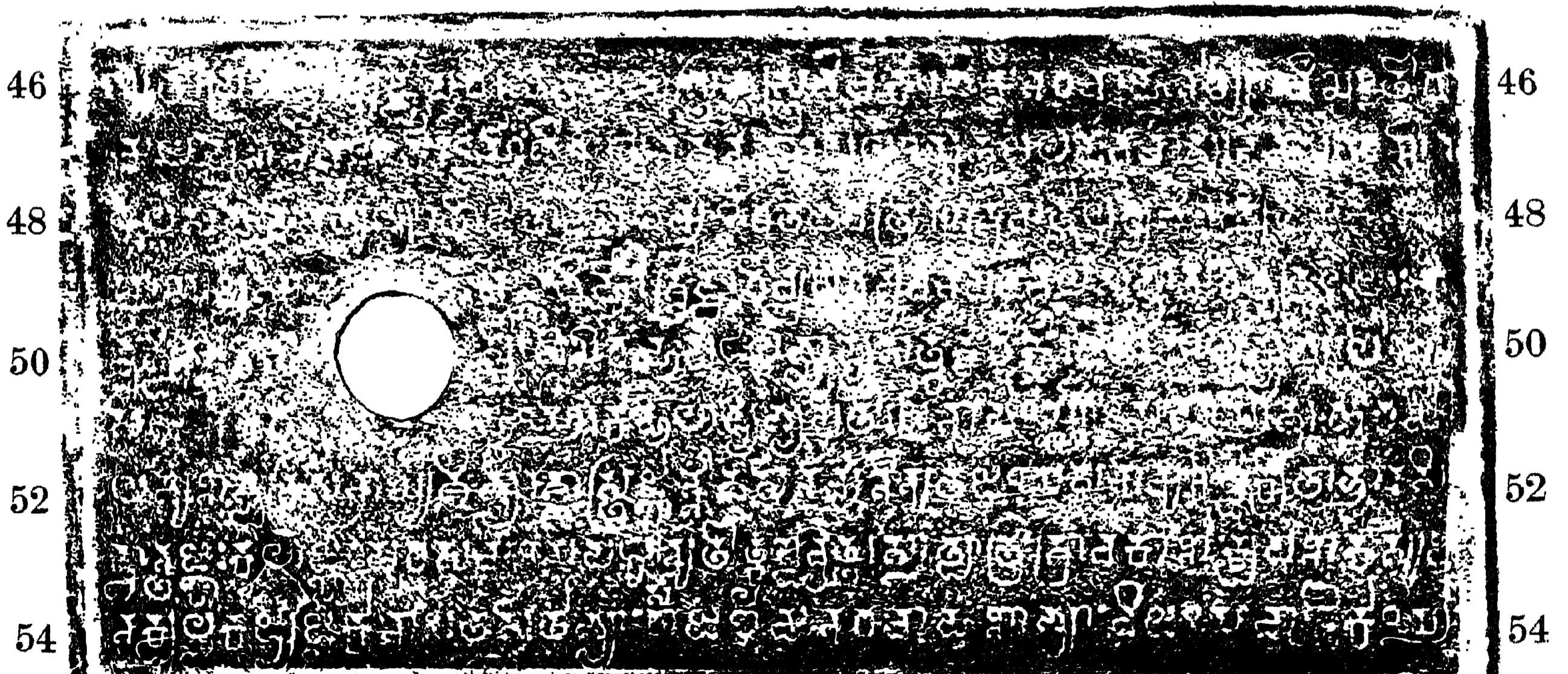
iii a.



iii b.



iii a.





- 44 नवचरितो ।<sup>1</sup> मानवदेवो जिनेन्द्रपदपद्मा[र्चको]<sup>2</sup> ॥ [११\*] तस्य सती मेण्डांवा ।<sup>1</sup>  
सौतेव पति-
- 45 व्रता <sup>3</sup>जिनव्रतचरिता । सत्यवती [वि]नयवती ।<sup>1</sup> सतताहारप्रदायिनी धृतधर्मा ।  
[१२\*] तज्जौ-

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 46 [सु]ती प्रसिद्धौ ।<sup>4</sup> बुद्धिपरौ ।<sup>4</sup> सकलशास्त्रशस्त्रविवेकी । भीमनरवाहनाख्यौ ।<sup>4</sup>  
विख्यातौ रा-
- 47 मलक्षणाविव लोके । [१३\*] यौ भीमार्जुनश(स)दृशौ ।<sup>4</sup> बलयुतबलदेववासुदेव-  
[समा]नौ । [न]-
- 48 कुलसहदेवतुल्यौ ।<sup>4</sup> तौ जातौ जैनधर्मनिरतचरित्रौ ॥ [१४\*] <sup>5</sup>श्रीमत्चा<sup>6</sup>लुक्यभीम-  
[क्षितिपतिक्रप]-
- 49 या लक्षसामन्तचिह्नौ ।<sup>4</sup> श्रीद्वारौ र्व्वरष्ठीवन(?)पदविलसत्चा(च्चा)मरच्छत्र[लीलौ] । —
- 50 — — — रिकस्थौ शिखिरुहपटलच्छाद्यसत्कार्करीकौ ।<sup>4</sup> जातौ चालुक्य[चूलौ]
- 51 — — — करिह्यौ काहलाद्यभ्युपेतौ ॥ [१५\*] <sup>5</sup>जैनाचार्यो यदीयो गुरुरखि-
- 52 लमुनइन्द्रसेनाख्यशिष्यो<sup>7</sup> ।<sup>4</sup> शशास्त्रज्ञोर्ना(ना)यसेनो म्मु(मु)निनुतजयसेनो मुनिर्हीक्षितात्मा ।  
सि-
- 53 ज्ञान्तज्ञः कलाज्ञः परसमयपटुः <sup>8</sup>सन्नुतोत्कृष्टवृत्त ।<sup>4</sup> सप्त्यात्रः श्रावकाणां क्षपणकसु[ज]-
- 54 नक्षुल्लकार्या(र्या)ञ्जकानाम् ॥ [१६\*] तस्मै ताभ्यां राजभीमनरवाहणा(ना)भ्यां विजय-  
वाटिकायां

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 55 जिनभवनयुगन्निर्मितमेतद्धर्मार्थमस्माभिस्सर्व्वकरपरिहारं देवभोगी-
- 56 कृत्य पेद्दगां लिडि<sup>9</sup>परुनाम ग्रामो दत्तः [१\*] अस्यावधयः । पूर्व्वतः मण्डयू-

<sup>1</sup> Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

<sup>2</sup> [ Reading is पदपद्मालि:—N. L. R.]

<sup>3</sup> The word जिनव्रत is written below the line; obviously the scribe inserted it in revision.

<sup>4</sup> Danḍa is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>6</sup> Read श्रीमच्चालुक्य.

<sup>7</sup> Read शिष्यशास्त्रज्ञी.

<sup>8</sup> The letter स is written beneath the line; it appears to have been inserted by the scribe during revision.

<sup>9</sup> I am inclined to read the letter as डि in preference to दि.



- 57 रिपोलगरुसुन यिसु कट्टलचेःपुवुन नडिमि दूब [।] आग्नेयतः आलपःrti<sup>1</sup>युं  
जंटरि-
- 58 युं मुख्यकुट्टु[न] बूरुवु पडुव । दक्षिणतः चूटूरि प्रान्त[पःrti]युत्तरंबुन कुण्डि-  
59 विड्डिगुण्ड । नैर्ऋत्यतः चूटूरियम्पुवुवुगुडि । [पश्चिमतः] रेटि[प]डुमटि-  
दरि । वा-
- 60 यव्यतः वलिवेरिपोलगरुसुन गारलगुण्ड । उत्तरतः तप्पराळ प[ड]व । ई-
- 61 शानतः कोडगाळिडि<sup>1</sup>पःrti युं [वलिवेरियुं सु]य्यकुट्टुन नडुपनिगुण्ड ॥  
<sup>2</sup>तस्य [स्ये]यादलं<sup>3</sup>
- 62 ध्यं शु(सु)चिरमुरुतरं [शास]नं राजकोक्तं । सक्तो(क्ती)र्त्तव्वेगपस्य प्रकटगुणनि-  
धेरम्मराजस्य पूज्यं ।
- 63 तत्रेदं शा[स]नं [पालित]जिननिगमं<sup>4</sup> शौर्यभीतान्यनाथत्रातो[चै]म्मौलिमालामणिव(क)-  
मकरिको<sup>5</sup>मल्लि-

## Fifth Plate.

- 64 कोल्लासितांग्रिः(घ्नेः) ॥[१७\*] अस्योपरि न केन चिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या यः करोति सः  
पंचमहापातकसं-
- 65 युक्तो भवति ॥ तथाचोक्तं व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।  
यस्य य-
- 66 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[१८\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्  
वसुधरां [।\*] षष्टिं व-
- 67 षंसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः ॥[१९\*] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः ६पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो  
68 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीय्यो(यो) भवद्भिः  
॥[२०\*]
- 69 महंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालय-  
70 न्ति मम धर्म[मि]मं समस्तं तेषां मया विरचितोजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥[२१\*]  
आन्नमिः[\*] कटकराजः । जयन्ताचा-
- 71 र्थेण लिखितम् ॥<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 9 on the previous page.<sup>2</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>3</sup> The dot denoting the *anusvāra* on this letter is placed by the scribe at the beginning of the next line.<sup>4</sup> [Reading is शासनं च स्थितजिननिगमं—N. L. R.]<sup>5</sup> Read मकरिका.<sup>6</sup> Read पार्थिवेन्द्रा<sup>c</sup>.<sup>7</sup> There is an ornamental design after this.

## No. 39.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND K. GOPALACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

## I. 'Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions' (above, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., No. 6).

Chanda reads: 'Malamāvuka..yā Retiyā thabho', and translates '(This) pillar (is the gift) of.....Reti, an inhabitant of (wife of?) Malamāvuka'. The letter after *ka* is clearly *ja*. The next letter exhibits the outlines of *ya*, and in No. 12 *jāyāyā* occurs. The inscription may then be read, 'Malamāvuka-[jāyā]yā Retiyā thabho' i.e., 'gift of a pillar by the wife of Malamāvuka.'

II. *Op. cit.* No. 9.

Chanda reads: 'Kaṁma . . yā Apakuyā [tha]bho', and adds, 'Two letters after Kaṁma have been broken off' The Editor suggests 'Perhaps they were  $\text{𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀾} \text{𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀾}$ .' The first letter, though much mutilated, has the backbone and limbs of *ja* partially visible. So again the word is *jā[yā]yā*.

III. *Op. cit.* No. 26.

Chanda reads: '[cha]chuli sa[m\*]ghāya' and translates '.....to the brotherhood .....chachuli'. The *cha* at the beginning indicates that more than one person donated the object on which the inscription is incised. What is read as *chuli* should be read as *chula*; for what is taken as the *i* mark is nothing but the ornamental vertical of *la*. See *li* (No. 41). *Chula* often occurs in Amarāvati inscriptions as part of personal names, and as Saṁgha (also Haṁgha) is also a name of frequent occurrence: '.....cha Chula-saṁghāya' is the correct reading. The translation is '.....and to Chula-saṁgha.'

IV. *Op. cit.* No. 41.

Chanda reads: '.....mahā govalivu bālikāya', and translates 'of the great cowherd's daughter'. What is read as *li* in *govalivu* is only *la* (compare *li* in *bālikāya*) and as *govalava* gives sense, and what is taken as the *u* sign is just a crease on the stone, and as the application of *Mahā* to a *govalava* (Skt. *gōrallabha*), an officer under the king, is more probable than to a cowherd, *govalava* would seem to be the correct reading. Meaning. 'of the daughter of the Mahā-gōrallabha'.

The characters resemble those of the inscription of Śivamaka Śātakarṇi.

V. *Op. cit.* No. 56.

What is read as 'Turughura' should be read as 'Turulūra'; see line 39, Bühler's table III. Turulūra is mentioned in another Amarāvati inscription (Lüders: *List of Brahmi Inserr.*, No. 1209).

VI. *Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text l. 11):

**Imaṁ chetiyaṁ vihāro cha.**

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel reads 'imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro cha', and explains *khaniya* by Pāli *khāṇu* 'pillar' (Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*). The explanation is far from satisfactory. In our epigraphs, a pillar, even a vihāra pillar, is called *khambha* (Inscr. F, B5, C3, etc.). In fact *chetiyaṁ* seems to be the correct reading, only the letter *che* is rather carelessly engraved. The *chetiya* referred to is probably stūpa No. 6. In inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a *chetiya*, *chetiya-ghara* and *vihāra* often occur together.

VII. *Additional Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 64. Inscription L, text l. 10) : **B[o]dhisiri.**

Dr. Vogel has read it as [*E*]dhisiriya. The letter read doubtfully as *e* is probably *ba* and the name B[o]dhisiri—a name met with in these epigraphs. [The first syllable does not look like *Bo* to me.—Ed.]

VIII. *Op. cit.*, L, l. 3 and M3, l. 5 : **Vasasataya.**

Dr. Vogel read the term as 'vasasanaya' in inscr. L, and as 'vasasanāya' in inscr. M3, and treated it as a term of uncertain meaning. In a footnote the Editor has asked, 'can it be *vasasatāya*?' The difference between the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *ta* and *na* is often fairly clear. Though we are not sure of the *ta* in inscr. L, in M3 we have surely *ta* and not *na* (compare *Mahāvinasebiyānam*, l. 6) :—*vasasatāya samva 10*. The same term occurs in the Chinna Ganjam inscr. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi and the Banavāsi inscr. of the time of Hāritiputa Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānaṃda Sātakaṇi—'vasasatāya samvachhara sata[*vī*] . . mam 20+7' in the former, and 'vasasatāya savachharam 10+2', in the latter. In our epigraphs also *vasasatāya* occurs before *samvachhara*.

According to Bühler *vasasatāya* has the same import as the phrases *pravaraḥamaṇa-riḥaya-rāḥya-samratsara*, *riḥaya-samcaisara*, etc., of the Pallava and Chālukya (and Śālaṅkāyana) grants. This seems to be ultimately connected with the Vedic ideal of *Paśyāma śaradaś=śatam*.

IX. *Lüders' List No. 1078.*

The inscription may be read with great probability :—

- 1 Nāḍasa Va[dha]nāyasa.
- 2 Bhogavatasa gābho dānam.

The fifth letter in l. 1 is very unlike any other *sa* in the inscription, and seems to be *ḍha*, of which the upper part has peeled off. The present reading is based on a careful examination of the estampage in the office of the Archaeological Superintendent at Poona, and the rather unsatisfactory photozincograph in the *Cave Temples of W. India* (Vol. IV, Plate XLIV) does not contradict it. The inscription may be translated : 'A cell, the gift of Nāḍa Vaḍhanāya Bhogavata'.

X. *Lüders' List No. 1165 : Junnar (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 97, No. 27 and Pl. L.)*.

The first letter of what is read as *nesakaresu* and restored as *vasakaresu* is neither *na* nor *va*. It is unlike the three *na*-s in the same inscription ; the open base of the letter makes *va* equally impossible. Moreover, it is not proper to ignore the *e* sign over the letter in any emendation of the text. The only possible reading is *tesakaresu* (the Skt. form is probably *tējaskarēshu*, polishers) ; Junnar Nos. 24, 25 and 29 have similar *ta*-s. What is read as *pāō* is *pāu* and what is read as *pā[do] se[ma]* is clearly *pāu māse*.

So we have

- 1 Seniye tesakare[su]
- 2 māse pāunaduke |
- 3 kāsā(sa)kāresu seniya(ye) p[ā]u māse

meaning : " With the guild of *tesakaras*, monthly, one and three quarters. With the guild of *kāsakāras*, monthly, one quarter ". [The derivation of *tesakara* from Skt. *tējaskara* is extremely doubtful.—Ed.]



XI. *Lüders' List No. 1105* : above, *Vol. VII*, pp. 64 f. (Karla No. 19, text, l. 5,—year 17.)

The unit figure was read as 4 by Bühler and as 8 by Rapson. Senart thinks that it may be any unit number (above, *Vol. VII*, p. 65). It is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson as it is open to the left and not to the right, or 4 as read by Bühler as it is quite unlike the symbol for 4 which occurs in the next line. A study of the inscription from the stone and from a fresh impression (reproduced here) shows that 7 is more probable than any other unit figure. The square characters employed in our inscription may account for the angular form of the symbol. It would appear to be a slightly later form, but such late forms are not unknown in the Karla inscriptions ; witness symbol for 1 in the last line of this very inscription.

Rapson's historical argument (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. p. xlix) for the figure being read as 18 is based on the word *viṣayathasatākhe* which is now seen to mean not 'from victorious camp' but 'for the sake of victory and prosperity'. (*Vide* Koṇḍamuḍi plates, above, *Vol. VI*, p. 319, n. 7.)

XII. *The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman*. (Above, *Vol. VI*, pp. 315 ff., text, l. 42)

**Mahātalavarena.**

It was long before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru and Rāmaredḍipalle inscriptions which mention the office of *Mahātalavara* that Hultzsch read the word as '*Mahātugivarena*' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family'. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. (above, *Vol. XX*, p. 7, n. 1), Vogel, and following him other writers, have merely remarked that '*Mahātugivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātalavarena*'. But the peculiar form of *la* in the word '*Bṛihatphalāyana*' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve, leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* by Hultzsch has to be read as *la* and the word is therefore really *mahātalavarena* in l. 42.

XIII. *The Kollair plates of Nandivarman II*. (*Ind. Ant.*, *Vol. V*, pp. 175 ff., text, l. 4) :

**Videtūrapallikā.**

Fleet's reading is *Videnūrapallikā*. But in the plates under reference, e.g., lines 1, 3, etc., as also in the Peddavēgi and Kantēru plates, all Śālaṅkāyana records, the re-ascent in the *ū* sign in *nū* is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nū* in the word under discussion, the re-ascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tū*. Hence the correct reading seems to be : *Videtūrapallikā*.

XIV. Above, *Vol. IX*, pp. 56 ff., *the Ellore plates of Dēvavarman*. *J. A. H. R. S.*, *Vol. V*, pp. 31 f., *the Kantēru grant of Nandivarman* ; *ibid.*, *Vol. I*, pp. 92 ff., *the Peddavēgi plates of Nandivarman* ; and *the Kollair plates* (cited in XIII above). **Mududa(ḍa ?), Mutuda.**

The reading of the word is not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada* (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14). Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found, and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place (*Ind. Ant.*, *Vol. V*, p. 176 n). Reading it as '*Mutyada*' he corrected it to '*Amātyādi*'. While editing the Ellore Prākṛit grant of Dēvavarman, Hultzsch read it as *Muḷuḍa* and remarked :—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to read .....Munuḍa ; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may in reality be an obliterated *lu*" (p. 59, n. 4). But *la* has always a short curve attached to it at the right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates). What is read as *la* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads the word in the Sanskrit grants as *Munuḍa*.

The word, which occurs in 4 of the 5 grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, can have but one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kantēru plates, the re-ascent in the *u* sign in the proper *mu* is to

the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu* here, as in *Videtūrapallikā*, the re-ascent is to the right. The letter can only be *tu*. That the last letter is *ḍa* and not *da*, is shown by copper-plate No. 2 of 1924-25 (Madras), where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right whilst that of *da* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct Sanskrit reading, Hultsch's reading must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa* which would be the Prākṛit form of *Mutuḍa*.

XV. *The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman* (Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff., text, ll. 2-3).

**Anēka-gō-sahasr-ānēka-Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya.**

Hultsch has read the word preceding *gō-sahasra* as *a[ca. 03] ge.* and translated ; 'pregnant'. A careful examination of the plates shows that the proper reading of the phrase is as given above.

Hultsch's translation : "(and) who is the origin of the production (*i.e.*, who has caused the performance) of many *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of (gifts of) thousands of pregnant cows", must be amended into : "(and) who is born of one who was the cause (or one who was born) of several *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of several *gō-sahasras*", meaning that Dāmōdaravarman's father made these two *dānas* repeatedly. The play upon the word *udbhava* has special reference to the nature of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and is untranslatable.

XVI. *A Karla Chaitya Pillar Inscription.*

While all other Chaitya Pillar inscriptions at Karla are incised on octagonal columns having a pot-shaped base, lotus-shaped top, and elephant capital, this inscription is on one of the eight plain octagons in the apse, standing second from the right row. (Marked x on the photograph.)

The letters resemble those on the other pillars. But the cursive *ha* of our inscription, especially the *hi* in *putahi*, is peculiar. Medial *o* is indicated in *bho* by two short strokes one going up and the other going down from the horizontal. The *e* sign in *Je* is attached to the centre of the letter.

The orthography of the inscription calls for very few remarks. In cognate inscriptions *be* is used for *dvē*, *e.g.*, *bitīye* for *dvitīyē* (Karla No. 22, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 and Nāsik No. 2 above, Vol. VIII, p. 60), *bitīyika* for *dvitīyikā* (Junnar Nos. 3 and 18 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 95). In one of the Junnar inscriptions (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, pp. 96-7) we have however *ve*.

The language is Prākṛit.

The personal names, *Jebubhūti*, *Miṭidasa* and *Bhayabhūti* are names not met with in other records, though the last one may recall to our mind the *Bhāya* . . . . . of a Nānāghat relievō inscription. *Dāsa* and *bhūti* enter into the composition of names (Nāsik No. 8, above, Vol. VIII and *ASWI.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 83 ff.).

**TEXT.**

- 1 Dhenukākāṭa Miṭidasa-vejasa
- 2 thabho dāna[m] sahā bhariyāya Jayami-
- 3 tāye(ya) sahā ve put[e]hi Bhayabhūtinā
- 4 Jebubhūtinā<sup>1</sup> cha Vasumit[ā]ya cha.

**TRANSLATION.**

Gift of a pillar by the physician (*vejasa* Skt. *vaidyasya*) Miṭidāsa, of Dhenukākāṭa, with his wife Jayamitā, two sons Bhayabhūti and Jebubhūti<sup>1</sup> and with Vasumitā.<sup>2</sup>

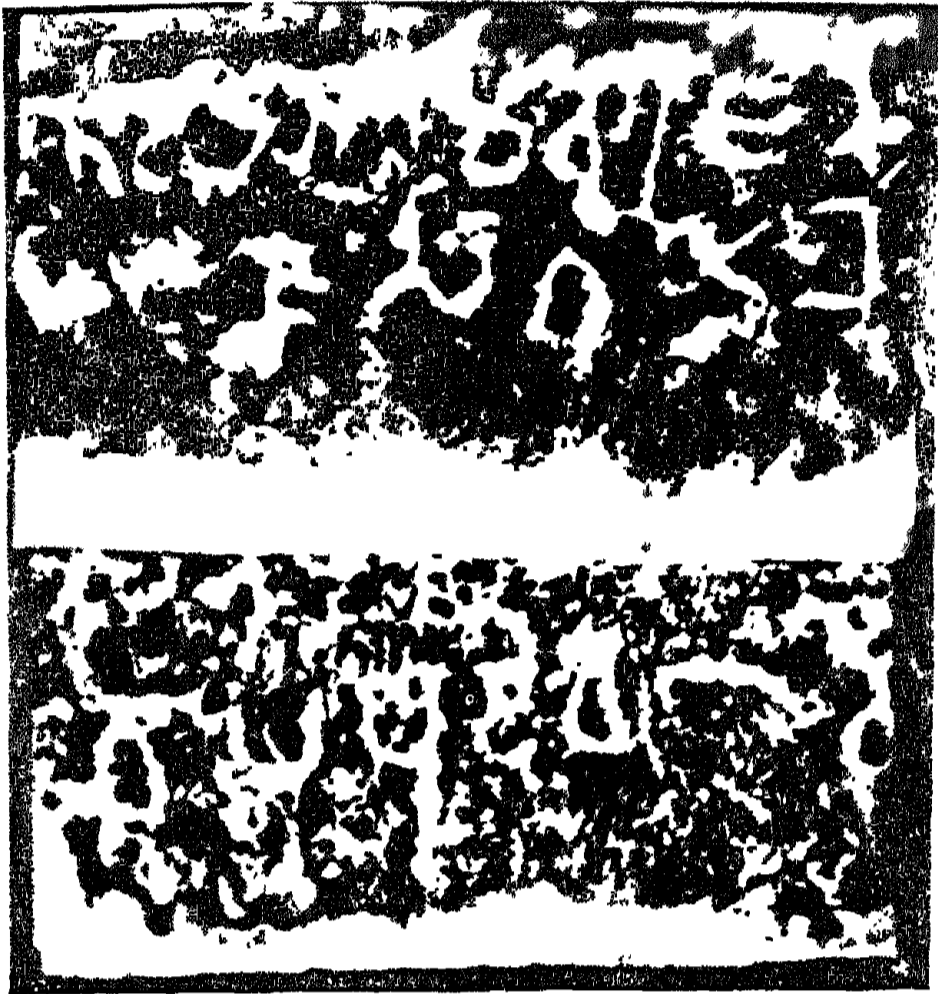
<sup>1</sup> [Reading may be *Jabu-* or *Jambubhūti*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> She was perhaps a daughter.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARLA.

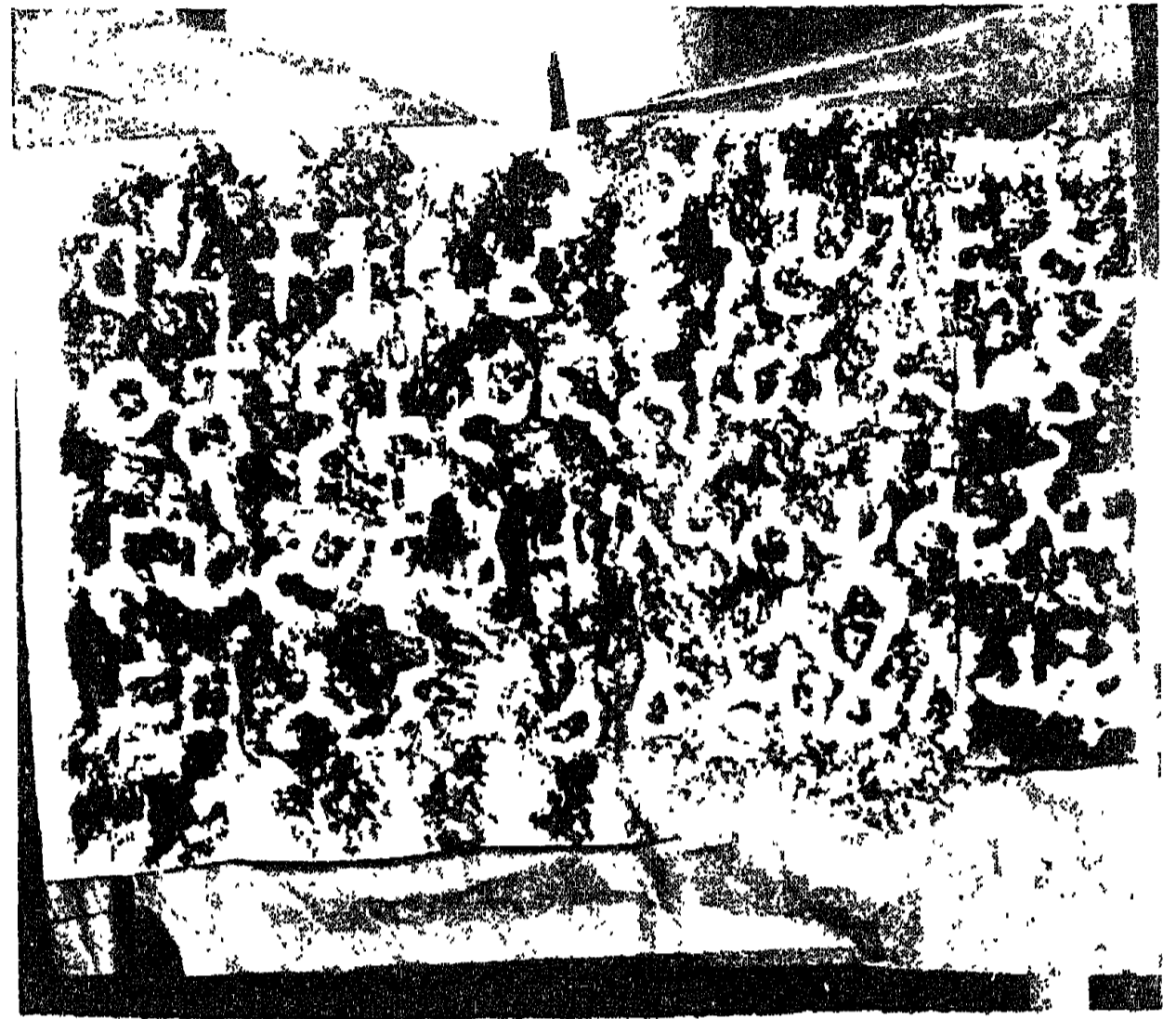
XI.

Karla Inscription of the year 17.



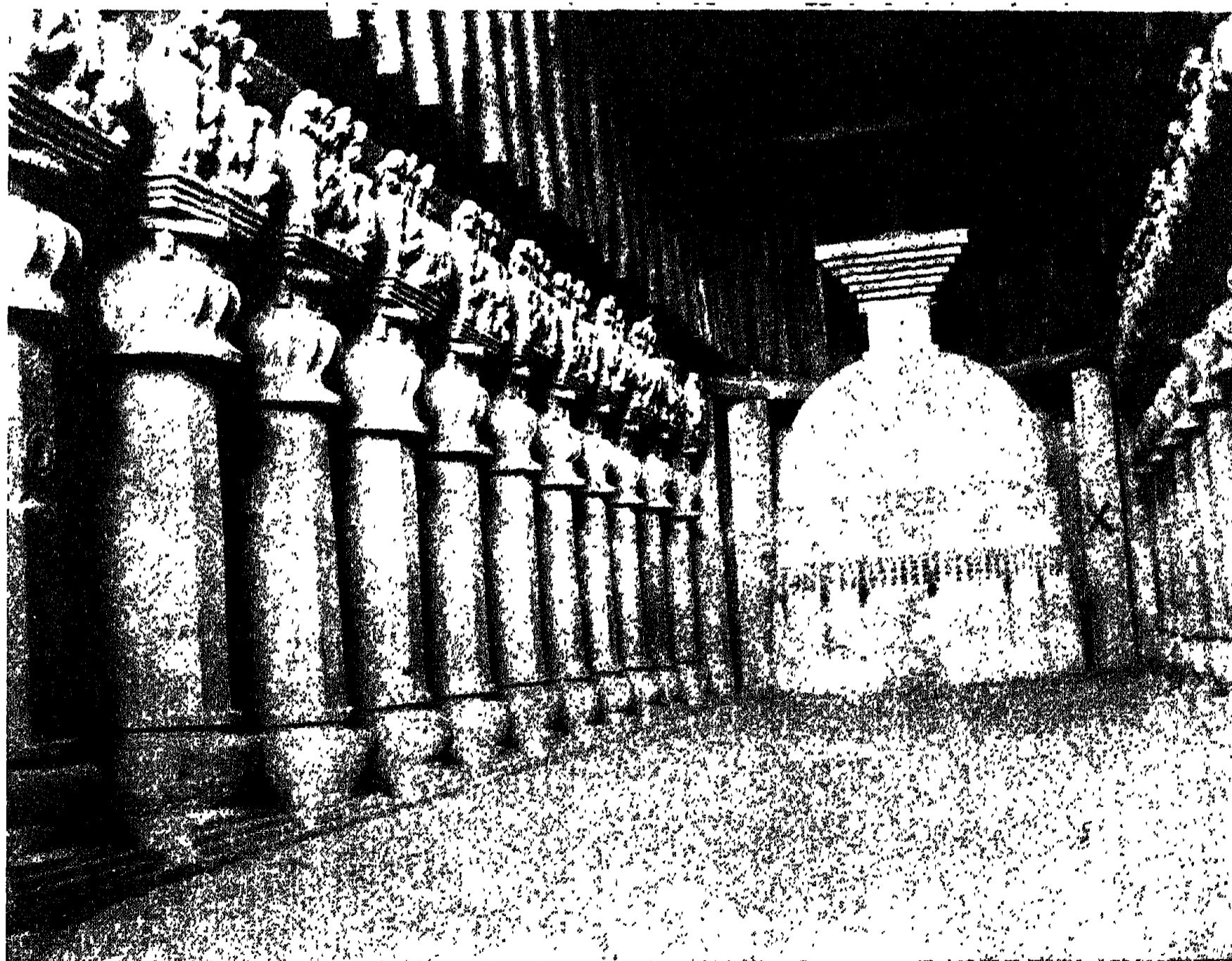
XVI.

Karla Chaitya Pillar inscription.



XVI.

Karla Chaitya showing the inscribed pillar.



(From photographs).





## No. 40.—TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The **two seals** edited here for the first time were discovered at **Nālandā** in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, which is the exclusive find-spot of almost all the royal seals found there. Both of them are fragmentary, the upper corner of the right portion of the first and the whole of the upper half of the second one being missing. The legends on them, however, can be restored almost in their entirety by a reference to the already known seals of the dynasty.

The writing on the seals presents much the same **palæographical** features as the **Aśīrgaḍh** and **Nālandā** seals of **Śarvavarman**<sup>1</sup> and does not call for any special remarks. As regards **orthography**, the only point to be noted is the doubling of consonants in words of which the following may be regarded as typical : *atikkṛānta*, *kīrtti*, *chakkra*, *artti*, *puttra*, and *Śarvavarmā*. The word *anudhyāta*, however, occurs twice on the second seal (ll. 4 and 5 of the existing portion) without any such doubling.

A perusal of the texts given below will show that the seals carry the **Maukhari genealogy two generations below Śarvavarman**, with whom it stops in the **Aśīrgaḍh** and **Nālandā** seals mentioned above. Seal A belongs to **Avantivarman** who is distinctly stated to have been the son of **Śarvavarman**. **Avantivarman** is already known to historians from his coins<sup>2</sup> and **Bāṇa's Harshacharita**, wherein he figures as the father of the ill-fated **Grahavarman** who married **Rājyaśrī**, the sister of **Harsha**.<sup>3</sup> Lack of knowledge about the relation between **Śarvavarman** and **Avantivarman** led to various conjectures. It was probably **Fleet**<sup>4</sup> who for the first time inserted **Susthitavarman** (known from the **Aphsaḍ** inscription<sup>5</sup> to have been defeated by **Mahāsēnagupta**) between **Śarvavarman** and **Avantivarman** and has been followed by some modern writers on the subject.<sup>6</sup> However, with the discovery of the **Nidhāmpur** copper-plate of **Bhāskaravarman** of **Assam**,<sup>7</sup> other scholars have been led to the correct belief that this **Susthitavarman** was a predecessor of **Bhāskaravarman** and not a **Maukhari** prince at all.<sup>8</sup> But the relation between **Śarvavarman** and **Avantivarman** was still uncertain. **Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri** is doubtful about their exact relationship.<sup>9</sup> And similar uncertainty has been expressed by other recent writers.<sup>10</sup>

The present seals disclose for the first time that **Avantivarman was the son of Śarvavarman and his queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā**. We have thus a complete genealogy of the **Maukharis** from **Harivarman** to **Avantivarman**, with some doubt about the position of **Sūryavarman** who is mentioned in the **Harāhā** inscription as a son of **Īśānavarman**.<sup>11</sup> That **Sūryavarman's** name does not appear on the seals of **Śarvavarman** and his successors does not conclusively prove that he never came to the throne, for such lists are genealogical and not always dynastic. But this, together with the fact that no coin belonging to him has as yet been found, though there are coins of other *mahārājādhirājas* of the family, makes the incident of his

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 219; above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.<sup>2</sup> Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27.<sup>3</sup> *Harshacharita* (ed. Parab), p. 141.<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 39; Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 52.<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 73 ff.<sup>8</sup> Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, p. 493; Banerji, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 255 ff.<sup>9</sup> Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 518.<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 104; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 49.<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

accession extremely doubtful.<sup>1</sup> Probably he was a younger brother of Śarvavarman or else predeceased his father at a young age; at any rate, it is entirely unnecessary to postulate a fraternal war after Īśānavarman.

Attempts have been made<sup>2</sup> to identify this Sūryavarman with the king of that name mentioned in a Sirpur inscription,<sup>3</sup> in which a Sūryavarman figures as a Varman king of Magadha and as the father-in-law of **Harshagupta**, the nephew of **Mahāśiva-Tivara** of Southern Kōsala. But the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman are nowhere mentioned as a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their capital being Kanauj. Moreover, a detailed examination of the inscriptions of the Kosalan Pāṇḍavas leads us to place Tivara at a date much later than A. D. 554, to which year the Harāhā inscription belongs. That, however, is a different matter and need not detain us here.

Regarding the history of Avantivarman next to nothing is known. In the present seals he is styled *mahārājādhirāja*, while the Dēō-Baraṇārī inscription<sup>4</sup> calls him *paramēśvara*. Bāṇa describes him as the 'ornament of the Maukhari race.'<sup>5</sup> He seems to have continued the imperial traditions of his family.

The second of the present seals introduces us to the son of Avantivarman, only the first two letters of whose name remain and can be read as **Suva** . . . . . or **Sucha** . . . . .<sup>6</sup> This is a fact which does not readily fit in with the known facts of history. Bāṇa unequivocally states that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman<sup>7</sup>; as such he is expected to have come to the throne after Avantivarman. It is usually assumed by historians that when Grahavarman was killed by Dēvagupta of Mālwā, the throne of Kanauj fell vacant and was offered to Harsha, who accepted it after some hesitation. This is perhaps stating the complicated course of events too simply. It is possible that the second son of Avantivarman came to the throne after the murder of Grahavarman as the rightful owner before Harsha occupied it in the name of his sister. It is also possible that Grahavarman was still a prince when he was killed<sup>8</sup> and that some time elapsed between that event and Harsha's occupation of Kanauj, so that on the death of Avantivarman his younger son came to the throne and continued to rule till he was deposed by Harsha. This son, the author of the present seal, might have been the progenitor of the later Maukhari dynasty, a scion of which, Bhōgavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari race', married his daughter to a Nepāl king in the eighth century.<sup>9</sup> In short, it seems reasonable to hold that there was a legal heir to the Maukhari throne even after the death of Grahavarman; this may explain why Harsha was hesitating to accept the sceptre of Kanauj.<sup>10</sup>

The text given below is transcribed from the original seals, now in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pires, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 512 n. 1; Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> *Harshacharita*, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> The reading has been suggested by the Government Epigraphist for India. [It is curious that the *Mājjuśī-mūla-kulpa* mentions a king Suvra after Graha; see Ganapati Sastri's edition (Triv. Skt. Series), p. 626. See also K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 27 §19 (c). Jayaswal corrects the last *pāda* of the verse as *Graha-Suvrata (a)th=āparaḥ* which according to the ordinary rules of *Anushtubh* would spoil the metre. As the last visible letter on this seal seems to be a part of *n* and as there seems to be a *rēpha* sign below it I am tempted to restore the concluding portion as *śrī-Sucha(nḍravarmnā Maukharib)*.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> *Harshacharita*, p. 141: *tatr=āpi tilaka-bhūtasya=Avantivarmanah sūnur=agrajō Grahavarmā nāma*.

<sup>8</sup> Bāṇa is silent as to whether Grahavarman ever came to the throne, unless the word *dēva*, used in one place (p. 183), is taken to show his royal position.

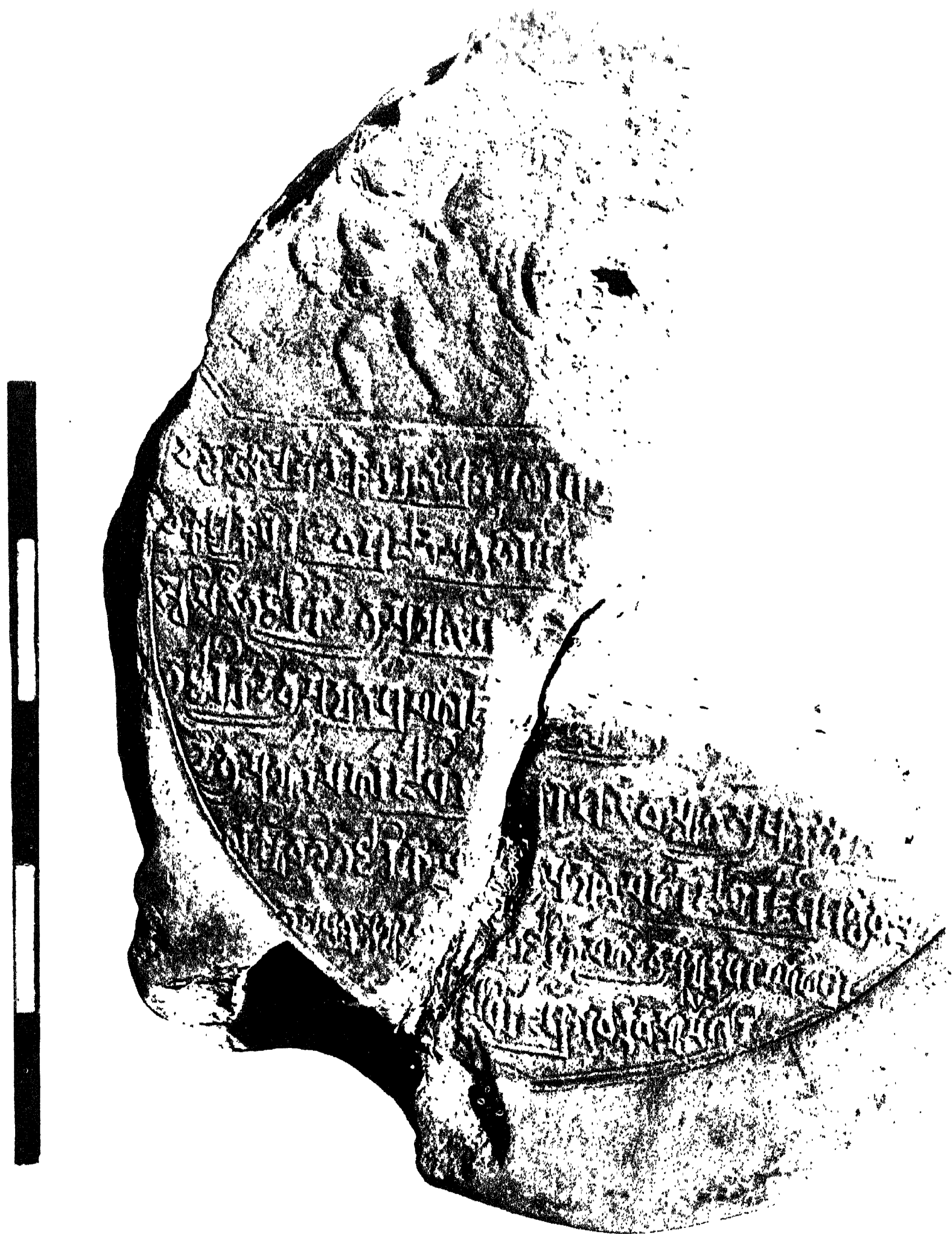
<sup>9</sup> Kātmāṇḍu inscription of Jayadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 211.

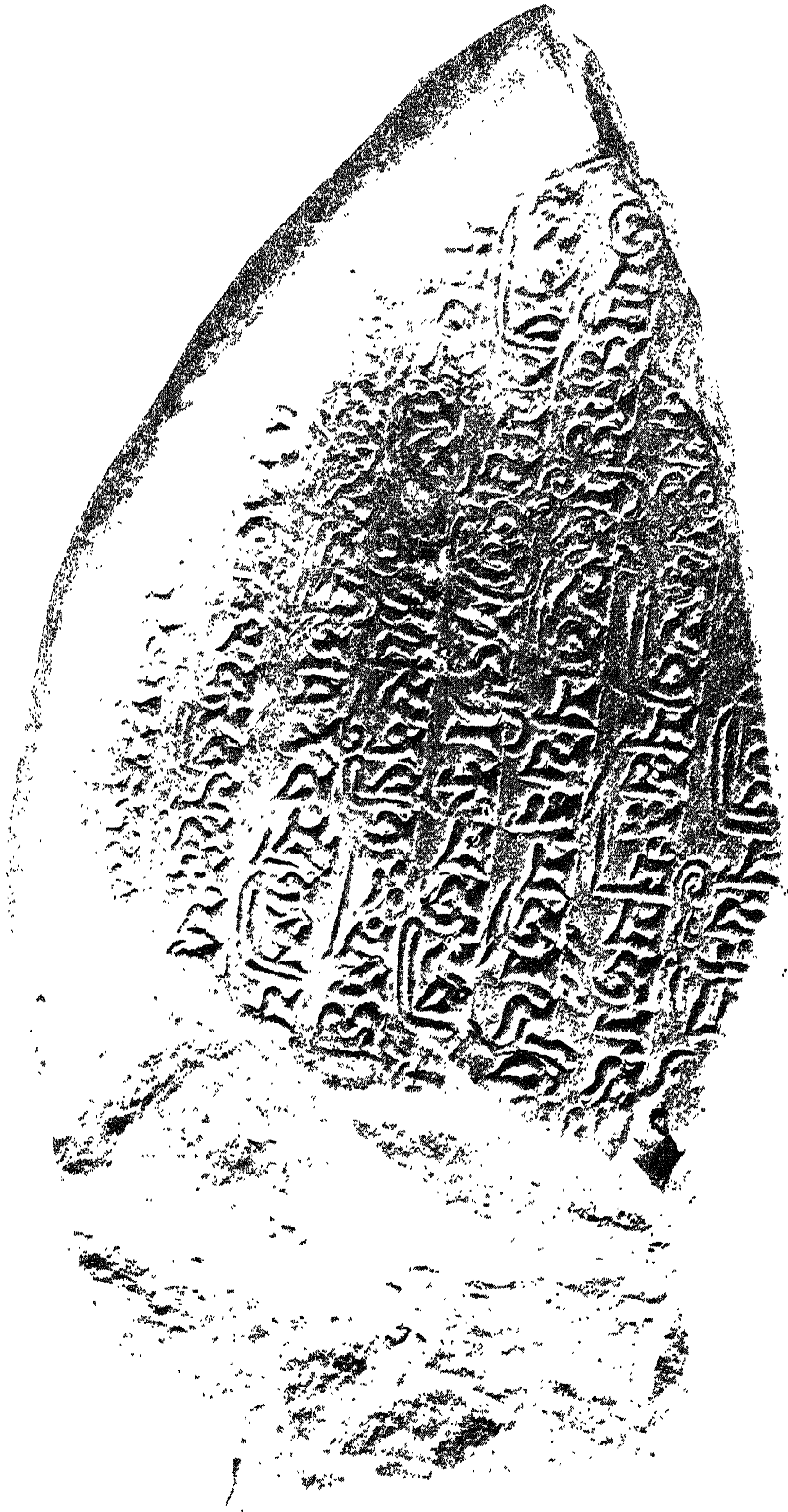


TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

A.



B.



## TEXT.

## A.—Seal of Avantivarmā (Reg. No. 852).

- 1 .....[i]rtt[i]h prat[ā]p-[ā]nur[ā]g-ōpa[ā]t-āya-sā[ā]jō) varṇ-  
 āsrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta\*]-<sup>1</sup>  
 2 chakkrās=Chakkradhara iva prajānām-artti-haraḥ śrī-[.....] tasya  
 ..... **Jaya\***]-<sup>1</sup>  
 3 sv[ā]mini-..... śrī-[mahārāj-Ādityavarmmā tasya puttras=tat-  
 pād-ānudhyātō **Harshaguptā\***]-<sup>1</sup>  
 4 bhāṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāj-[Ēsvaravarmmā tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-  
 dhyāta **Upaguptā-bhāṭṭārikā\***]-<sup>1</sup>  
 5 dēvyām=utpann[ō] mahārājādhirāja-śrī\*]-<sup>1</sup> **Īśānavarmmā** tasya puttras=tat-pād-  
 ānudhyātō\*]-<sup>1</sup>  
 6 **Lakshmīvatī**-bhāṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām-utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Śarvvavarmmā**  
 7 tasya puttras=tat-pād-ā[nudhyāta **Indra\***]-<sup>2</sup> **bhāṭṭārikā**-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-  
 mahēśvar[ō]  
 8 .....-śrī-**Avantivarmmā** **Maukharīḥ**.

## B.—Seal of the son of Avantivarmā (Reg. No. 855).

- 1<sup>3</sup> ....vyām-utpa[n]na....  
 2 ....[ā]rikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāj-Ē....  
 3 **Upaguptā**-bhāṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannō mahārājādhi.....  
 4 t-pād-ānudhyātō **Lakshmīvatī**-bhāṭṭārikā-mahādēvyā....  
 5 **Śarvvavarmmā** tasya [pu]ttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta **Indra-bhāṭṭā**....  
 6 [mahārājādhirāja]-śrī-**Avantivarmmā** tasya pu.....  
 7 [vatī?]-bhāṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ para.....  
 8 rājā[dhi]rāja-śrī-**Suva**.....<sup>4</sup>

## No. 41.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF ACHYUTARAYA : SAKA 1461.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription<sup>5</sup> is found on the east wall of the second *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at **Śrīraṅgam**, the well-known place of pilgrimage in South India, specially sacred to the Vaishnavas. It is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king **Achyutarāya-Mahārāya** in **Śaka 1461**, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikārin, and contains astronomical details which give the English equivalent A. D. 1539, August 26, Tuesday.

The record which is engraved in **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha** characters, contains an introductory portion in **Tamiḷ** which states that on the occasion of the king's performing a *tulābhāra* ceremony, his *rājamahishī* **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargaḷ** composed two Sanskrit *ślōkas*<sup>6</sup> and had them engraved in several holy places, Śrīraṅgam being one of them, so that the descendants of prince **Chikka-Veṅkaṭādri** may rule as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*). Then follow the two verses referred to, and the epigraph closes with an epilogic sentence in **Tamiḷ**.

<sup>1</sup> Restored from the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals of Śarvvavarmān.

<sup>2</sup> Restored from the seal B.

<sup>3</sup> Of the existing portion.

<sup>4</sup> [Or *Sucha*.... See p. 284, note 6 above. —Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Registered as No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

<sup>6</sup> The *ślōkas* refer only to the gift of *Anandanidhi* and not to the *tulābhāra*; and it is possible that both the ceremonies were performed on the same occasion at Hampi.



Several records<sup>1</sup> copied at different places mention that the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of king Achyuta was Varadādēvi-Ammaṅ and that the crown-prince Venkaṭādri *alias* Chikkarāya was her son. That the king had another queen named Tirumalāmbā was known only from the references in the two Telugu works *Vijayavilāsam* and *Raghuvāṭhābhyaḍayam*.<sup>2</sup> which also supply the additional information that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was given in marriage to China Chevvappa-Nāyaka, along with the governorship of the Tanjore principality as dowry. The present inscription is important in its furnishing **epigraphical confirmation** as to the existence of this queen Tirumalaidēvi and in enabling us to identify her with **Ōduva** (or **Vōduva**) **Tirumalāmbā**, the composer of the two Sanskrit verses under reference, as also of another verse<sup>3</sup> commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmins at Hampi in Śaka 1455. It is possible that the three verses<sup>4</sup> recording the king's celebration of the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1455 in company with his queen Varadāmbikā and prince China-Venkaṭādri, were also her composition.

A Sanskrit *champū-kāvya* called the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* was written by a certain Tirumalāmbā, who describes herself in its colophon<sup>5</sup> as 'the favourite of king Achyuta'. As indicated by its title, the theme of this work is the marriage of Achyuta with Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of the two brothers bearing the name of Tirumala, narrated in the usual conventional style. It may have been composed in the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya<sup>6</sup> himself, and the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta by name Venkaṭādri and the latter's anointment as *yuvārāja* at the time of his father's coronation may probably have been added on later by the same authoress.<sup>7</sup> Though of average literary merit, the *kāvya* is interesting because of the quasi-historical nature.

<sup>1</sup> She is referred to as a *paṭṭamahishī* in a record dated in Śaka 1463 (*Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* 1930, p. 245) and in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (No. 330 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30). See also No. 181 of 1922 of Śaka 1455.

<sup>2</sup> S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 255, 285.

<sup>3</sup> No. 9 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904 and No. 708 of 1922.

<sup>4</sup> These unpublished verses (No. 511 of 1919) may, with advantage, be reproduced here.

शके भूतशरावुघीन्दुगणिते वर्षे पुनर्नन्दने  
 मासे श्रावणनामके च विमले पक्षे रवेर्वासरे ।  
 द्वादश्यां हरिसन्निधौ अरचयन्मुक्तातुलापूरुषं  
 दानं श्रीनरसायुतचित्तिपतिः काञ्चीपुराभ्यन्तरे ॥  
 मुक्तातुलापूरुषदानविधौ विकीर्त्ता-  
 न्मुक्तामणीन् समधिकं वरदांबिकायाः ।  
 दानांशुपूरपरितान् स्यतस्ममेत्य  
 रत्नाकरत्वमभजल्लवणाकरोपि ॥  
 काञ्चां श्रीचिन्वेकटाद्रिमणिना दाने तुलाभारके  
 संप्रत्यारचिते द्विजास्मभभवन्नर्थातिभाराकुलाः ।  
 धावीयं कलिकल्मषादधिगतादुत्तौर्भारा जनौ  
 क्षीणीपालकुमारका(ः)स्तदितरे भाराय जाता भुवः ॥

These verses are also found in No. 178 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection from Kālahasti, now under publication in *S. I. J.*, Vol. IX.

<sup>5</sup> विविधविद्याप्रगल्भराजाधिराजायुतरायसार्वभौमप्रेमसर्वस्वविश्वासभुवा . . . . . तिरुमलाम्बया—(*Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champū* edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, pp. 179-80).

<sup>6</sup> *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170.

<sup>7</sup> The coronation of Achyuta took place towards the end of A. D. 1529, when Venkaṭādri was also anointed *yuvārāja* (*Achyutarāyābhyaḍayam*). The *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* states that on seeing the prince adorned with all good qualities, the king made him heir-apparent. So the latter portion may have been supplemented after A. D. 1530.

of its contents<sup>1</sup> and the light it throws on contemporary political and social life. We may infer from it that this poetess Tirumalāmbā was identical with Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇ-avargaḷ (Vōduva<sup>2</sup> Tirumalammanavarū), who, originally a 'Reader' (*Ōduva*) at the royal court, subsequently rose to the position of a co-queen (*rājamahishī*) herself.<sup>3</sup> It may also be noted that she was one of the galaxy<sup>4</sup> of poetesses, royal and otherwise, who attained to literary fame under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings.

The fervent hope expressed in this inscription by Tirumalāmbā that the performance of *dānas* and the engraving of the commemorative verses in holy places would ensure for Veṅkaṭādri's descendants the rule of the kingdom as *sūrcabhaumas*, implies that doubts had probably begun to be entertained even at this time, as to whether the prince would be allowed to peacefully succeed his father, if such a contingency arose. The danger that threatened his regal hopes came from two quarters.<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of Achyuta's reign, his ambitious brothers-in-law Salakam Pedda-Tirumalarāja and China-Tirumalarāja had usurped much power into their hands and, in the event of the king's death, were even prepared to wrest the kingdom from their helpless nephew, by fair means or foul. Then there was also the party of nobles led by Aliya-Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of the late king Kṛishṇarāya. This astute general, by espousing the cause of Sadāśivarāya on the plea of his being the son of an elder brother of Achyuta, schemed to overthrow the power of the Salakam brothers and concentrate it in his own hands. This tussle for power must have already attained definite shape and proportions at the time of the present record in A. D. 1539, for the co-queen to have voiced her devout prayer. It is, however, unfortunate that the cupidity of the younger uncle China-Tirumalarāja proved stronger than the prayer, for he is believed to have strangled<sup>6</sup> his royal nephew in A. D. 1543, when the latter was on the throne only for a few months.<sup>7</sup>

As regards the two verses quoted in this epigraph which are couched in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, it may be mentioned that more than a dozen copies<sup>8</sup> of them exist in the different scripts of the kingdom, Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Grantha and Nāgarī, and in several places, so far apart as Anṇigere in the Bombay Presidency and Śrīraṅgam in the Madras Presidency; but in none of them is there the additional information furnished by the Śrīraṅgam copy. While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of *Anandanidhi* made by the king in Śaka 1461, the Tamil portion refers to the performance of a *tulābhāra* on the same day. This was also probably celebrated in the

<sup>1</sup> The information it gives about Narasa's military achievements is particularly useful.

<sup>2</sup> This is the spelling adopted in the Kannaḍa version of No. 9 of 1904.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170, f.n. and also p. 11 of Introduction, *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champū*.

<sup>4</sup> Gaṅgādēvi, the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* and the wife of Prince Kampaṇa, was a notable example. There was another named Mōhanāṅgi, who wrote the *Mārīchīpariṇayam*.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion on these points, vide Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 76 et seq.

<sup>6</sup> Brigg's *Firishta*, III, p. 83 as quoted in *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty*, p. 79. The *Mahisūranarapativijayam* and copper-plate records simply state that after a short reign Veṅkaṭādri died. (*Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1907, p. 14 and above, vol. IV, p. 14.)

<sup>7</sup> No. 597 of 1929-30 from Handāḍi (South Kanara), dated in Śubhakṛit, mentions that Veṅkaṭādirāya was ruling at Vijayanagara.

<sup>8</sup> Hampi (Nos. 27, 28, 39 and 40 of 1889, and No. 1 of 1904); Anantaśayanaguḍi (Nos. 684 and 685 of 1922); Kamalāpur (Nos. 17 and 20 of 1904); Harihar (Dāvanagere 24); Nīrgunda (Hoḷalkere 123); Gadag (B. K. Nos. 7 and 14 of 1926-27); Anṇigere (B. K. No. 186 of 1928-29).

Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampi), the venue of the *Ānandanidhi-dāna*, mentioned in the following Kannada preamble of the Gadag version.<sup>1</sup>

Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrī-prithvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa Achyutarāya-Mahārāyaru Vijayanagarīya neleviḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyam-geyyuttam-iḷdu Śaka 1461 (etc.) puṇya-kāladoloḷu Bhāskara-kshētra Tuṅgabhadrā-tīra Viṭṭhalēśvarana sannidhiyalli Mādhava-prītyarthav-āgi Ānandanidhiy=emba dānavanu koṭṭu samasta-bhūsuraranu santōsha-baḍisida<sup>2</sup> praśastiyanu Saṁskṛita-bhāshā-kavitadalli Śārdūlavikrīḍitav=emba vṛittaṅgaḷanu Gadagina śrī-Triyambakadēvara sannidhānadalli śilā-śāsanakke barasida dharmma-kīrttiya praśastiya vṛittaṅgaḷa kramav=entendode || (The two Sanskrit verses follow).

From this it is also clear that *Ānandanidhi* is the name of a particular kind of *dāna* and that it was performed in the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra to propitiate god Mādhava and that these laudatory verses were engraved also in the temple of Triyambakadēva at Gadag.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions engraved at Śrīrājanagara and other places must have also been of this nature. According to Hēmādri, who describes this gift in some detail in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*<sup>4</sup>, the *Ānandanidhi-dāna* consists of presenting to learned Brāhmins, after some ceremonial preliminaries, pots made of the *udumbura* wood (*audumbaram ghaṭam*) and filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper. The days prescribed<sup>5</sup> for the performance of this *dāna* are days in the months of Kārttika, Māgha and Mādhava (Vaiśākha), days of Ayana, Vishu, Manvādi and Yugādi, and days of the lunar and solar eclipses; and the merit accruing from this ceremony is said to be longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty.<sup>6</sup> It is no wonder therefore that king Achyuta selected this *Ānanda-*

<sup>1</sup> No. 7 of the Bombay-Karnatak Epigraphical Collection for 1926-27.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *dvijān Dhanadayann=āmōdayan=Mādhavam* of the verse.

<sup>3</sup> A similar preamble found in the Anṅigere copy states that the verses were engraved in the Amṛitēśvara temple at that place under similar circumstances; while the Dāvanagere copy has simply the following sentence:—‘Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrī-Achyutadēva-Mahārāya-kṛita-Mahānandanidhi-praśamsā-padya-dvayam likhyatē’.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 34, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, pp. 583-588; and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> कारयेत्कार्तिकान्ते वा माघ्यां माघवेपि वा ।  
अयने विषुवे वापि मन्वादिषु युगादिषु ॥  
चन्द्रस्योपरानि वा स्वशक्त्यौर्दुर्बरङ्घटम् ।  
पिधानं राजतं तद्वन्मध्यं सौवर्णमुत्कृजेत् ॥  
नानारत्नवरापूर्णं नानानानाभिरावृतम् ।  
हेमराजतताम्रोत्थैः सवितैरपि पूरितम् ॥

<sup>6</sup> तदाखिलमहीराज्यं प्राप्नोति व्रतसंज्ञके ।  
नित्यानन्दनिघेर्दानान्नित्यानन्दोभिजायते ।  
यः कुर्यात् संच्युताशुःस्याद्दीर्घसन्तानमाप्नुयात् ॥



*nidhi-dāna* for celebration to ensure succession to his son, though unfortunately the actual results completely falsified his expectations.

The final sentence in Tamil states that these verses which were forwarded<sup>1</sup> (*varakkāṭṭi-arulāṇa*) by the king (*svāmi*), were arranged to be engraved during the regime (*adhikāratil*) of **Śrī-raṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate (*pāḍasērai-paṇṇa*) of king Achyuta, who was probably wielding some authority in the Tiruchchirāppalli region. He figures in another record<sup>2</sup> from Śrīraṅgam dated in Śaka 1460, wherein he is described as the son of 'Madura(Maruda)-arasar-padaivīṭṭu Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka'. In Śaka 1458, the same officer is stated to have provided for offerings and worship to god Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirupati<sup>3</sup>, for the merit of Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, his queen Varadāji-Ammaṅ and prince Chikka-Veṅkaṭādrī-Uḍaiyar.

**Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṅ**, the temple-accountant, has affixed his signature at the end, in attestation of the fact that the inscription was engraved in the temple with his full cognisance. This name or rather title was borne by all the accountants of the Śrīraṅgam temple in succession, having been bestowed, it is said,<sup>4</sup> from the time of Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, alias Kūra-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar, the author of the *Sudarśanaśatakam*, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅgam temple for a long time.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Śubham<sup>5</sup>=astu [||\*] Svasti śrī [||\*] **Śakābdam 1461** idaṅmēl śellāniṅṅa Vikāri-saṁvatsarattu Bhādrapada-māsattu pūrva-pakshattu dvvādaśiyum Maṅgalavāramum peṅṅa Tiruvōṇa-nakshatrattu ṅāḷ Śrīraṅga-Mahārājādēvīśa Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achchhyutarāya-Mahārāyar tulābhāra-mahādāṅam paṇṇi-arulīṅṅar [||\*] idukku Mahārāyar-uḍaiya rājamaḷiśīṅṅa **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṅ-avargaḷ** ślōka-dvayam śeydarulīṅṅar [||\*]
- 2 Inda dharmmam **Śrīraṅgādi**-puṅṅya(puṅṅya)-kshētraṅgaḷilē chandr-ādityavaraiyum prasiddham=āga naḍandāl **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāddirirāyar**=ruḍaiya santānattil ulḷavargaḷ sārvaḷhaumarāy pṛithuvī-rājyam paṅṅuvārgaḷ eṅṅu Perumāḷ Śrīraṅganāthadēvar saṅṅadiyilē śilā-śāsanam paṅṅinapaḍi || Śākē chandra-ras-āmarēndra-gaṅṅitē varshē Vikāryy-āhvayē pakshē Bhādrapadasya pōshita-vidhau dvvādaśy-abhikhyē tithau [||\*] vārē Bhūmisutasya Vishṅv-aḍḷipatau tārē=**chyuta**
- 3 **kshmāpatir**=ddatv=Ānanta(da)nidhim<sup>6</sup> dvijān [Dhanada]yann=āmōdayau=Mādhavam [||1||\*] Puṅṅy-aughaiḷ paripālitasya paritō<sup>7</sup> bhūt-āḷi-saṁvēshṭitas=sadvarggaīs=śabaḷikṛitasya<sup>8</sup> satat-ākṛāntā bhujāṅga-vrajaiḷ [||\*] prāptasy=āti-nava-prasastim-aḍḷhika-prakhyāta-śauryy-Āchhyuta-kshmāp-Ānanta(da)nidhēr<sup>9</sup>=ṅav<sup>9</sup>ā=pi nidhayaḷ kin=tē labhantē tulām || [2\*||] Śubham<sup>5</sup>=astu [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> This implies that Achyutarāya was not present at Śrīraṅgam at the time of the record. As stated in another inscription (No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39), which reads 'Vijaya-saṁvatsarattu Āshāḍha bahula dvvādaśi-nāḷ Śrīraṅgattukku eḷundaruḷi,' the king was at Śrīraṅgam on July 18, A. D. 1533. This was later than the occasion when, according to the *Achchhyutarāyābhūdayam*, he stayed here for some time, while his brother-in-law Salakam Tirumala had led the expedition down south against the Tiruvaḍi king.

<sup>2</sup> No. 91 of 1938-39.

<sup>3</sup> *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* (1930), p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> *Kōyiloḷuḅu*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the Sanskrit words in the Tamil portions are engraved in Grantha characters.

<sup>6</sup> The other copies read *Ānandanidhim* and *Ānandanidhēr*.

<sup>7</sup> Some of the other copies read *puratō*.

<sup>8</sup> The other copies read *sva-vaśīkṛitasya* and this reading has been followed in the translation.

<sup>9</sup> Read *nav*.

4 Inda suvāmi varakkāṭṭi-aruliṇa ślōkam iraṇḍum Achchuta(Achyuta)dēva-Mak(h)ārāyar-  
udaiya pādasēvai pa[ṇ\*]ṇum Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyakkar magan Śīraṅappa-  
Nāyakkar adikārattil śilā-śādanam paṇṇiṇa-paḍikku kōvil-kkaṇakku Śīraṅga-  
Nārāyaṇapiriyaṇ eḷuttu [||\*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Be it well ! Hail ! Prosperity !

In the Śaka year 1461 (*expired*) corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, in the month of Bhādrapada, on Tuesday, which was a day of the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, with Śravaṇa-nakshatra—Mahārājādhirāja Rājapuram Śrī-Vīrapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achyutarāya-Mahārāya was pleased to perform the *tulābhāra-mahādāna* (*ceremony*). For (*i.e.*, in commemoration of) this,<sup>1</sup> the queen (*rājamahishī*) of the Mahārāya named Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargaḷ was pleased to compose two (*Sanskrit*) ślōkas.

(Ll. 2-3) (*In the hope that*) if this *dharma*<sup>2</sup> is conducted well, as long as the moon and the sun, in holy places such as Śīraṅgam, Chikka-Veṅkaṭādrirāya's descendants will rule the earth as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*), this epigraph was thus engraved in the shrine of god Śīraṅganātha.

In (*the*) Śaka (*year*) counted by *chandra* (1), *rasa* (6) and *amarēndra* (14), in the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, on the day of the *tithi* called *dvādaśī*, in the increasing fortnight of Bhādrapada, which was a Tuesday with the *nakshatra* presided over by Vishṇu (*i.e.*, Śravaṇa) king Achyuta by bestowing (*gifts of*) *Ānandanidhi*<sup>3</sup> made Brāhmans like Dhanada<sup>4</sup> (Kubēra) and pleased (*god*) Mādharma.

Though (*themselves*) *nava* (nine)<sup>5</sup> how can the *nidhis* (*of* Kubēra) attain equality with the *Ānandanidhi* of king Achyuta of renowned valour, which has earned *nava* (new)<sup>5</sup> celebrity (or eulogy)—for, while the former are surrounded by hosts of demons and are seized by crowds of serpents, the latter is protected by meritorious deeds and is coveted (*only*) by the assemblage of the good ?

Be it well !

(L. 4) These two verses which were graciously sent by the *svāmi* (king), were engraved on stone during the regime of Ś[r\*]īraṅappa-Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka and a subordinate of Achyutadēva-Mahārāya,—in attestation whereof, this is the writing (*i.e.*, signature) of the temple-accountant Śīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ.

<sup>1</sup> The word *idukku* is not appropriate, for the verses describe only the *Ānandanidhi*.

<sup>2</sup> There is some ambiguity here, for no *dharma* was actually made at Śīraṅgam on this occasion ; it appears to be a shortened form of the *dharma-kīrttiya prasasti* of the Gadag and Anṅigere versions.

<sup>3</sup> The word *ananta-nidhi* means ' inexhaustible treasure ', but the more technical ' *Ānandanidhi* ' of Hēmādri appears to have been intended.

<sup>4</sup> The idea in the first verse is that the Brāhman-recipients of the rich gifts of *Ānanda-nidhi* were made to resemble Dhanada (Kubēra), the possessor of the nine *nidhis* ; while the second verse says that king Achyuta's gifts, however, outvalled Kubēra's *nidhis*, for specified reasons.

<sup>5</sup> A pun on *nava*=nine and *nava*=new.

## No. 42.—LUCKNOW MUSEUM PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRADEVA : V. S. 1237.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

The record edited below is found on a **single copper-plate** now preserved in the **Provincial Museum, Lucknow**. No information is available as to where it was discovered. According to the information kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, it was purchased at Lucknow from Messrs. Mata Prasad Sita Ram of Benares on the 12th October, 1935.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 7" × 1' 2". Its edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing. In the upper part of the plate there is a hole for the passing of the ring. Both the ring and the seal which was once affixed to the ring, are now missing. The plate contains 36 lines of writing, the letters being about  $\frac{3}{16}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in height. It weighs about 502½ *tolas*. A piece in the left hand corner at the bottom of the plate is broken and lost. This has caused damage to the last four lines in each of which five or six letters are lost at the beginning. One letter in l. 13 and two or three letters in ll. 16-17 are also partly damaged. But there is nothing in the plate which cannot be restored from the other known records of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj to which family the grant belongs.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. There are altogether 26 verses composed in different metres of which one is introductory in praise of Lakshmi and Vishṇu found at the commencement of almost all the Gāhaḍavāla grants, 13 are devoted to the descriptions of the different rulers mentioned in the record and the last twelve are imprecatory and benedictory verses. With the exception of these verses the rest of the record is in prose.

The inscription has been carefully written and in respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) *B* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *babhramur*= in l. 8, e.g. *vāhuvalli-vamdh*° (l. 7), *-āmvu* (l. 8), *Vali* (l. 10), *vahala* (l. 14), etc. (2) Combinations of consonants and nasals have been represented by both *anusvāra* and a nasal of the same class without any discrimination, e.g. *akunṭhōtkanṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), *-Ēndra*° (l. 4), *=ānikitā* (l. 5), *kumbhi*, *maṇḍala* (l. 6), *=ānumantā* (l. 29), etc., as against *saṁrambhah* (l. 1), *Mahīchandra* (l. 3), *maṇḍalō* (l. 3), *sāṁdr-* (l. 7), *Gōvīndachandra* (l. 8), *-īndra* (l. 11), *mantri* (l. 20), etc. (3) A consonant in conjunction with a subscript *r* has never been doubled but one following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g. *dōr-vikramēn*=*ārjjitam* (l. 4), *kīrtti*, *varṇita* (l. 10), *avatīrṇṇa* (l. 12), etc., the few exceptions being *jayārtham*, *-ārthinī* (l. 11), *nirjhara* (l. 14), etc. (4) *S* has been wrongly used for *ś* in *anisam* (l. 4), *śatasas*= (l. 5), *vasād*= (l. 7), *rāsēh* (l. 8), etc., and *ś* for *s* in *-ōllasitaiḥ* (l. 5), *-āśrig-*, *udbhāsitaḥ* (l. 7), *tīśrishu* (l. 8), *yaśāmśi* (l. 11), *sahaśram* (l. 13), etc. (5) Final *m* is found only in *phalam* (l. 30), *anusvāra* being used in other places. (6) For want of sufficient space in a particular line when a part of a word had to be engraved in the next, sometimes one or two vertical strokes have been used at the end of the former to show the continuity, cf., for example the ends of ll. 21 and 33. The record contains a few other mistakes which have been corrected either in the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The donor of the grant is the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara Jayachchandrādēva*, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj and Benares, of whom we have already sixteen records<sup>1</sup> dating from V. S. 1226 to V. S. 1245 (A. D. 1170-89). The present record does not contain any new information with the exception of what is imparted by the grant portion. The genealogy of the donor is given in verses 2-12 and once again in ll. 14-18 where the names of the first two members of the family are omitted. The list begins, as in the other

<sup>1</sup> See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 536-41.



records of this family, with **Yaśōvighraha** (v. 2) whose son was **Mahīchandra** (v. 3). The latter's son was the P. M. P. **Chandradēva**, who is stated to have acquired the kingdom of **Kanyakubja** by the prowess of his arm. He is also said to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* at **Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttarakōśala** and **Indrasthāna** (*i.e.*, Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayōdhyā and probably Indraprastha or Delhi)<sup>1</sup> after he had acquired them,' and bestowed to Brahmins his weight in gold in hundreds. His successor was his son the P. M. P. **Madanapāla** and his son was the P. M. P. **Gōvindachandra** who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (v. 8). Commenting on this verse Kielhorn observed: "Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning."<sup>2</sup> But as this verse is found in the Kamauli Plate of V. S. 1171,<sup>3</sup> the earliest known record of this ruler and which is separated by only five years from the last known record of his father Madanapāla,<sup>4</sup> it is probable that *nava-rājya* in the verse refers to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra newly succeeded. It was also this ruler who for the first time assumed the *birudas aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*, originally used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī, the use of which was continued by all his successors. It is significant that these epithets appear for the first time in the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of V. S. 1177<sup>5</sup> which records the transfer by Gōvindachandra to one **Ṭhakkura Vasishṭha** of the village **Karaṇḍa** in the **Antarāla-puttalā** which was originally granted to the **Rājaguru Rudraśiva** by (the Kalachuri) **Yaśaḥkarna**. As these are not found even in the two grants<sup>6</sup> of Gōvindachandra issued in V. S. 1176 it is obvious that shortly before the issue of the grant of V. S. 1177 the **Gāhaḍavāla** ruler wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from **Yaśaḥkarna** himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by the Kalachuri kings. Gōvindachandra's son was the P. M. P. **Vijayachandra** whose son was the P. M. P. **Jayachandra**. Vijayachandra is stated to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing*) from the clouds in shape of the eyes of the wives of **Hammīra**, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth" (v. 10). There is little doubt that this passage contains a reference to some historical incident not known from other sources. As this event is referred to in the Kamauli Plate of Vijayachandra of V. S. 1224,<sup>7</sup> the earliest record known of this ruler, it must have taken place between this date and V. S. 1211, the last known date of his father Gōvindachandra, *i.e.* between A. D. 1154 and A. D. 1167. It is, however, difficult to identify definitely this Hammīra. The earliest numismatic reference to this title is found on the coins of Muhammad bin Sām otherwise known as Muhammad Ghūri, whose invasion of India did not take place till a later period. Probably Hammīra was a popular designation for the Muslim chiefs in India, and therefore Dr. H. C. Ray<sup>8</sup> may not be wrong in identifying Hammīra of these records with **Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah** (1160-1186), the last prince of the Yamīnī dynasty, who was noted for his weakness as a ruler<sup>9</sup> and who might have suffered a defeat at the hands of this Gāhaḍavāla ruler.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, n. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 102 and n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Viz.*, the Rāhan Plate of V. S. 1166 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 15 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 109 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Dynastic History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 535-36. See also *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Major Raverty notices two coins, one of Khusrav Malik and another of his father Khusrav Shāh, but the legends on them give them the titles of Sultān and Bādshāh respectively. See *Ṭabaquāt-i-Nāsiri*, Transl. (Bibl. Ind.), footnote under p. 114.



- 8 ta-drava-muchām prabhavō gavām yō **Gōvīndachandra** iti chandra iv=āmvu(mbu)-  
rās(ś)ēḥ || [8|\*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāms=tiś(s)ṛishu dikshu gajān=  
atha vajriṇa[h] || (l) kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabhaḥ(bha)-
- 9 pratibhaṭā iva yasva(sya) ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9|\*] Ajani **Vijayachandrō** nāma tasmān=[na]-  
rēndraḥ Surapatir=iva bhūbhṛit-paksha-vichchēda-dakshaḥ | bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-har-  
mmya-**Hammīra**(ra)-nārī-nayana-jala-<sup>1</sup>
- 10 da-dhārā-dhauta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || [10|\*] Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēli-viśṛimkhalāni prakhyāta-  
kīrtti-kavi-varṇita-vaibhavāni | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāmji bhānti prōjja-  
(jṛim)bhayanti Va(Ba)li-
- 11 rāja-bhayam yaśāmsi(si) || [11|\*] Yasmiś=chalaty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayārtham mādyat-  
kar-iṅdra-guru-bhāra-nipīdit=ēva | yāti Prajāpati-padam sa(śa)raṇ-ārthinī bhūs=tvaṅgat-  
turaṅga-nivah-ōttha-rajaś-chhalēna || [12|\*]
- 12 Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jaya[ch\*]chandr**-ābhidhānaḥ patir=bhūpānām=avati-  
rṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ | dvaidhībhāvam=apāsya vighraha-ruchim dhik-  
kritya sā(śā)nt-āsa(śa)yāḥ sēvantē yam=udagra-
- 13 vaṁ(bam)dhana-bhaya-dhvams-ārthinaḥ pārvivāḥ || [13|\*] Gachchēn=mūrchechhām=  
atuchechhām na yadi kavalay[ē]t=kūrmma-prishṭh-ābhighāta-pratyāvṛitta-śram-ārttō-  
namad-akhila-phaṇa-sv(śv)āsa-vā[tyā]<sup>2</sup>-sahaśram(sram) | udyōgē yasya dhāva-
- 14 d-dharanidhara-dhunī-nirjhara-sphāra-dhāra-bhraśyad-dāna-dvip-ālī-va(ba)hala-bhara-galad-  
dhairya-mudraḥ phaṇīndraḥ || [14|\*] Sō=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samsēvita-  
charanaḥ [\*] Sa cha Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-
- 15 dhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-Paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śrī-**Kanyakuvj(bj)**-ādhipati-  
(tya)-śrī-**Chandradēva**-pādā[n]udhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja - Paramēsva-  
ra-Paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Ma-**
- 16 **da[napā]ladēva**-pādānudhyāta - Paramabhaṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara - Para-  
mamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā - vichāra - Vāchas-  
pati-
- 17 śrī-**Gōvīm]dachandradēva** - pādānudhyāta - Paramabhaṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Para-  
mēśvara-Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati - rājatray - ādhipati - vividha - vidyā-  
vichāra-Vā-
- 18 chaspati - śrī - **Vijayachandradēva** - pādānudhyāta - Paramabhaṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja-  
Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati - gajapati - narapati - rājatray - ādhipati - vividha-  
vidyā-vichā-
- 19 ra-Vāchaspati-śrīmaj-**Jayachchandrādēvō** vijayī|| ||**Dēhaduāra**-pattalāyām | **Kadāhī-**  
**saha-Māndarā**-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-
- 20 maritri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika - bhishag - naimittik - āntaḥ-  
purika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattanākarasthāna-gōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpaya-
- 21 ti vō(bō)dhayaty=ādisati cha ||[\*] Veditam=astu bhavatām yath-ōparikhita-grāmaḥ sa-  
jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhā-  
naḥ sa-<sup>3</sup>
- 22 ma[dhuk-ā]mra-vana-vātikā-vitapa-triṇa - yūti - gōchara - paryantaḥ s - ōrddh[v\*] - ādha[ś\*]=  
chatur-āghāta-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ **śa(sa)pta-[trim]sa(śa)d-adhika-dvā-**  
**dasa(śa)-śata-samvatsarē Phālgunē māsi**<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are two *dandas* here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is damaged.

<sup>3</sup> There is a mark here to show that the phrase is continued in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> There is a superfluous *danda* here.







- 3 **śukla-pakshē saptamyān=tithau Ravi-dinē aṅkatō=pi samvat 1237 Phālguna-**  
**sudi 7 Ravau Mīna-gatē savitari | ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām** Gaṅgāyām snātvā  
 vidhivan=mamtra-dēva-mū(mu)ni-
- 4 manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇāms=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham  
 =upasthāy=Ō(Au)shadhipati-śakala-śekharam samabhyarchhya tri-bhuvana-trātur=bhaga-  
 vatō Vāsudēva-
- 5 sya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=  
 cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūr-  
 vvakaṁ Vatsa-<sup>1</sup>
- 6 gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-pañcha-pravarāya pañ-  
 ḍita-śrī-Sarvvānanda-pautrāya pañḍita-śrī-Gōtrānanda-putrāya pañḍita-śrī-Vra(Bra)-  
 hmaśarmmaṅ[ē] vrā(brā)hmaṇāya chaṁdr-ā-
- 7 rk[kam] yāvach=chhāsanīkritya pradattō matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇi-  
 kara-yamali-kāmali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyībhūya dāsyā-
- 8 th=ēti || || Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim praya-  
 chehhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmaṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [15||\*] Saṁ(Śam)-  
 kham bhadr-āsanam chehhatram var-āśvā va-
- 9 ra-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasva(sya) chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [16||\*] Shasṭī[m]  
 varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva  
 narakē vasēt || [17||\*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-
- 10 sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam  
 || [18||\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharām sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=  
 bhūtvā piṭri-
- 11 bhiḥ saha majjati || [19||\*] Vāri-hīn[ē]shv=araṇyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-  
 sarppās=cha jāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāriṇaḥ || [20||\*] Na visham visham=ity=āhur=  
 vra(bra)hma-svam visham=uchyatē | visha-
- 12 m=ē[kā]kinam hanti vra(bra)hma-svam putra-pautrikam(kam) || [21||\*] Tadāgānām sahaśrē-  
 (srē)ṇa Vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati || [22||\*]  
 Asmad-vamśa(śē) parikshīṇē yaḥ ka-<sup>2</sup>
- 13 [ś=chin=nṛipatir=bha\*]<sup>3</sup>vēt | tasy=āham kara-lagnō=smi śāsanam na vyatikramēn(t) || [23||\*]  
 Sarvvān=ētāna(n)=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiva(v-ē)ndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ |  
 sāmānyō=yam dha-<sup>2</sup>
- 14 [rmma-sētur=nripā\*]<sup>3</sup>ṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [24||\*] Vāt-ābhra-vibhramva(ma)-  
 m=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-mātra-madhurā viśhay-ōpabhōgāḥ | prāṇās=triṇ-  
 āgra-jala-vim-
- 15 [du-samā narānām\*]<sup>3</sup> dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [25||\*] Yān=iha dattāni  
 purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō |<sup>4</sup>
- 16 [nāma sādhuḥ puna\*]<sup>3</sup>r=ādadīta || [26||\*] Likhitaṁ ch=ēdam tām[ra]-paṭṭakam mahāksha-  
 paṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhir=iti ||

<sup>1</sup> There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* here.

<sup>2</sup> There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>3</sup> The portion within square brackets is lost.

<sup>4</sup> *Daṇḍa* superfluous.



## No. 43.—VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates containing the grant were brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramakoteswara Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, "Triveni", Madras, and placed by him in my hands for examination in September 1933. He informed me that they had originally been lent to him by Sri (now Hon'ble) Bezwada Gopala Reddi, Minister for Local Self-Government to the Government of Madras. In reply to my enquiry regarding the history of the discovery of the set Sri Reddigaru informed me that it was discovered at Vavvēru, a village one and a half miles to the west of his native village Buchchiredipālem in the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District, Madras Presidency. The plates were originally unearthed by Satyavēlu Rāmi Reddi of the former village some time about the year 1928 while digging *pāṭimatti* (i.e., earth in the old village-site), at about eight feet below the surface level. Some earthen pots are also reported to have been found along with the plates but as they were broken, they were not preserved. The plates were subsequently purchased by me for the Government Museum, Madras, and are now deposited there.

This inscription has been noticed by me in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 as No. 1 of App. A and its contents are briefly reviewed in Part II (p. 30) of the same report.

The set consists of **five plates**, four of which measure 9 inches while the fifth measures only  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length and all of them measure  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in width. They are held together by a circular ring of the same metal measuring about  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole, measuring  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in diameter, near the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular **seal** measuring roughly one inch in diameter. On its plain surface the seal bears the relief of a couchant bull facing the proper left and seated on a stand which is indicated by a thin horizontal line in relief. Above the bull is a relief carving of a wavy line which may represent the sea, and above it is the figure of what appears to be an anchor. The latter seems to be tied on to what looks like a post on the right hand side.

The first and the last plates are inscribed on one side only, while the rest bear writing on both the sides. The ring had been cut and soldered in one place and cut in another place before the plates reached me. There is, however, no report of impressions of the plates having been taken before.<sup>1</sup> The plates with the ring and seal weigh 121 *tolas*.

The outstanding feature of the document is its elegant execution. The composition is also carefully done observing the rules of *sandhi* in almost all cases.

The **script** of the plates closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli grant of the same king. Most of the letters in both the grants are **box-headed**,<sup>2</sup> which is a somewhat rare feature in South Indian epigraphs. For example this characteristic is not noticed in the Māngaḷūr grant of this king wherein the top-strokes (*talakattu*) of letters are rather thick but not box-shaped.

In our grant some letters are arrow- or nail-headed as they are sometimes called (e.g., *ka*, *cha*, *ra*, *va*, and *bha*, in lines 3 ff.). Another point to be noticed is that while the plates of the Uruvupalli, Māngaḷūr and Pikira grants are numbered in numerical figures cut on their proper right...

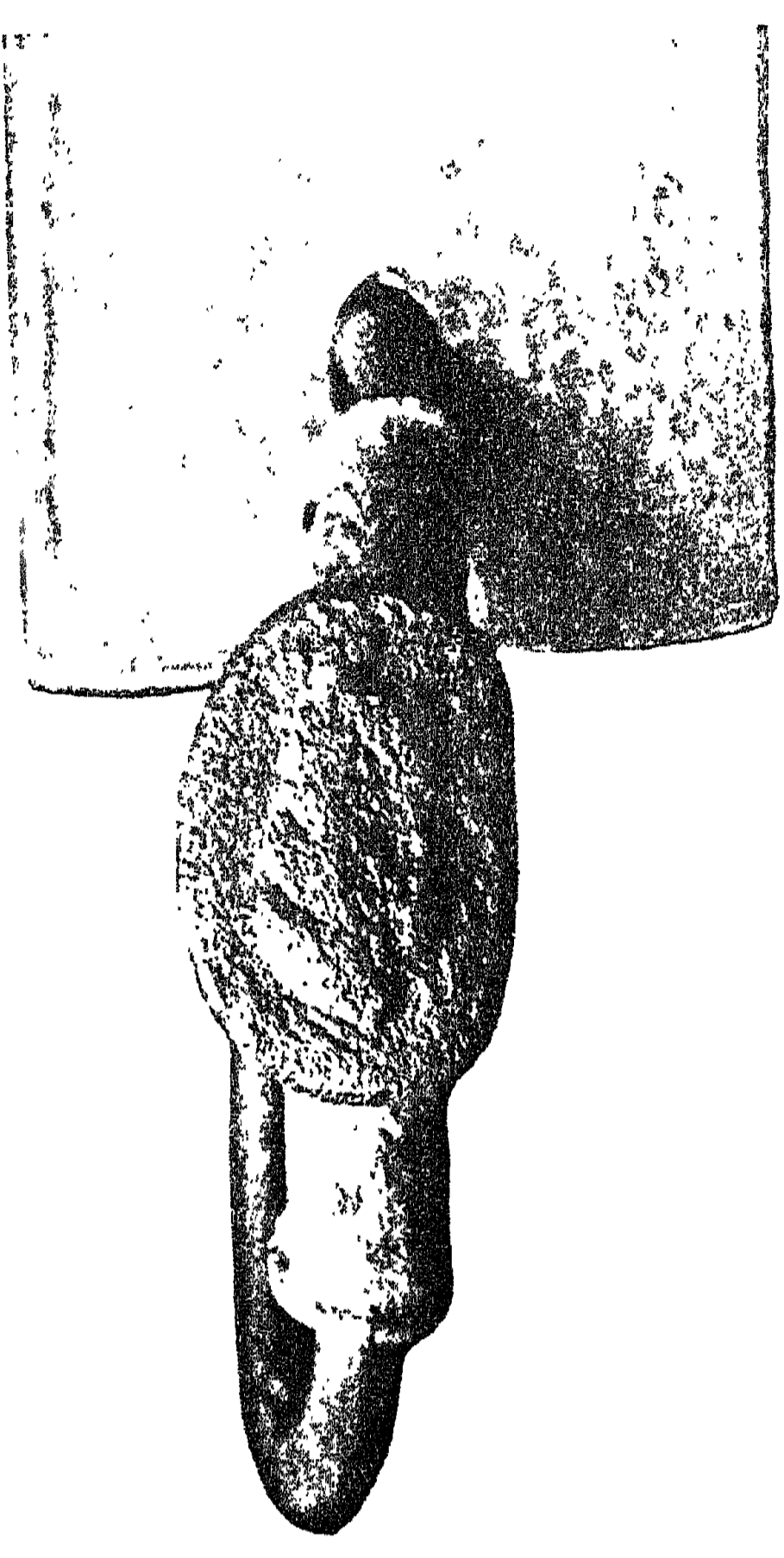
<sup>1</sup> I understand that Mr. M. S. Sarma of the *Bhārati* Office, Madras, examined the document before he sent them to me at Mr. Ramakoteswara Rao's instance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate opposite page 50.

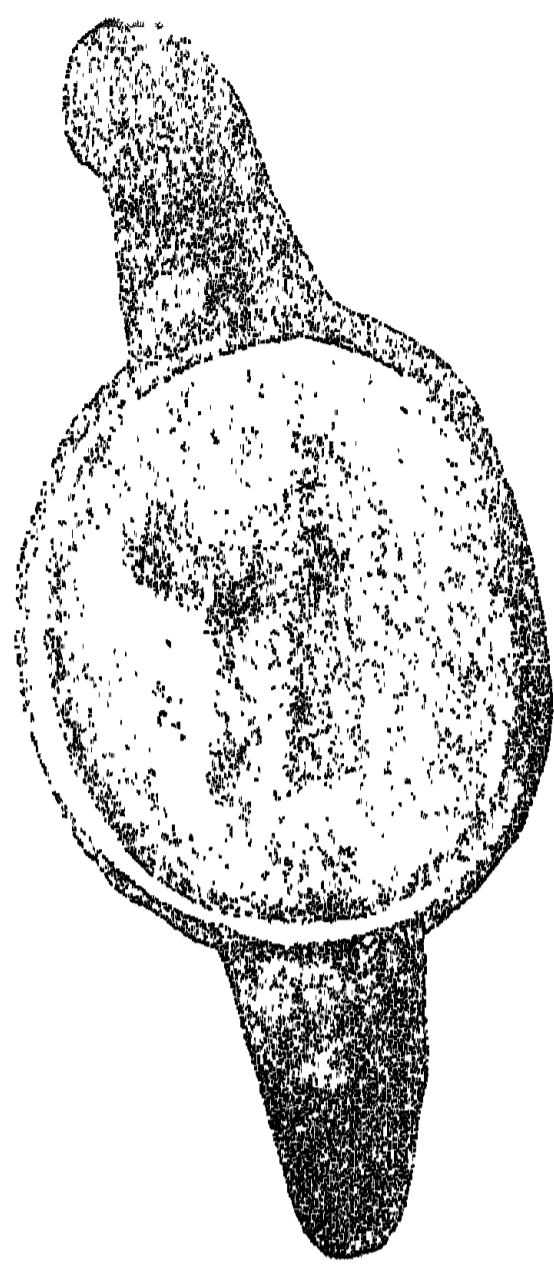


B. Chmra Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarman.  
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137ff.)

A. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarman.  
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.)



C. Pikira Grant of Simhavarman.  
(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 159ff.)





margins, the plates under examination are not numbered so. A third noteworthy point is that while all the known grants of the king begin with the invocation *Jitam Bhagavatā* preceded, in two cases (Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkīra grants), by a spiral which has been rendered by Hultzsch as *Om*<sup>1</sup>, our grant commences with the expression *Svasti* like the two other known Pallava records, viz., the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman<sup>2</sup> and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.<sup>3</sup>

The emblem on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant was originally made out by Dr. Fleet to be a 'dog',<sup>4</sup> but from deference to native opinion he later accepted it to be a 'lion'. The illustration accompanying the facsimiles of the grant suggests a wild animal like a dog or a wolf, sitting on its four legs and about to pounce. The short tail of the animal precludes its being taken for a lion which must conventionally have a long and curling tail.

The seal of the Māṅgaḷūr grant<sup>5</sup> is not described or depicted but the animal on that of the Pīkīra grant<sup>6</sup> appears from the description given by Venkayya to resemble the one on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant. Unfortunately the Ōṃgōḍu grant carries no seal and consequently the seal of the present set gains importance as being the only well-preserved one of this king known so far. The animal here is clearly a **bull**, with a prominent hump, seated facing the proper left, and having a pretty heavy dew-lap. Above the bull appears to be what looks like an anchor as already stated or, a boat as assumed by me in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934 (p. 30, para. 4). Attention may be drawn here to a Pallava coin bearing the effigy of a bull on one side and that of a double-masted boat on the other, illustrated by Sir W. Elliot.<sup>7</sup>

In the seal of the Prākṛit charter issued by Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī, the animal had been originally taken<sup>8</sup> to be a deer but a closer examination would reveal it to be a standing bull facing the proper right, the hump rather indistinct. The view taken by me on the first examination of Fleet's facsimile is confirmed by an examination of the better illustration of the seal which appears in the plate published by Dr. Hultzsch.<sup>9</sup>

A few important **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed here. The long *ī* attached to the consonants is distinguished by an inward curl. While in some other records of this king the word *jitam* in the invocation *Jitam=Bhagavatā* is written with a final *m* conjoined with the succeeding letter *bha*, here it is incised with an *anusvāra* as in the Uruvupalli and the Ōṃgōḍu grants. But the conjunct letter is employed in *Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya* in l. 6 and in *°yājīnām=Pallavānām=Mahārājah* in l. 13. The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal: *kshētrañ=cha* in l. 14, *śārīran=daṇḍam=* in l. 22, *paran=dānam=* in l. 23, *ghōran=na* in l. 24, etc. Consonants following *r* are invariably doubled as in all early grants, and as in some other earlier ones the consonants preceding *r* are also doubled as for example in *parākkramō* in l. 10. The forms *pādā-nuddhyātō* in l. 11 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in l. 14 may also be noticed. Above all, the employment of the Tamil letter for *ḷa* in *Vilavatti* (l. 13) is noteworthy and indicates the influence of Tamil on the composer of this grant though it originated in and related to the Telugu country.

The epithet *vattā* in the expression *vattā-grāmēyakāḥ* (l. 21) meaning the officers of the grouped villages also suggests the influence of Tamil. I understand that in Mahārāshṭra and Hyderābād the expression *vattam-jāghirdār* is in vogue.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, Text.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 251 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

<sup>7</sup> *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, No. 38.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

Several wrong forms, evidently due to oversight, are noticeable : e.g., *grama* for *grāma* and *grāka* for *grāsaka* in l. 15, *sumukhājñāptyā* for *svamukhā*<sup>o</sup> in l. 30 and *vasundhārā* for *vasundharā* in l. 25. The expression *kshētram* in l. 14 appears to be used in the sense of a 'department' or 'committee' in charge of the village. We may compare in this connection the expression *Ōṃgōḍu-grāmas=cha vaktavyāḥ* used in the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman.<sup>1</sup>

The grant was issued from **Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishtāna** by *Mahārāja śrī-Simhavarman*, son of Yuvamahārāja śrī-Vishṇugōpa, grandson of śrī-Skandavarman and great grandson of śrī-Viravarman, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and the family of the **Pallavas** that had performed several *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. It registers the gift of the village **Vilavaṭṭi** in **Muṇḍa-rāshṭra** together with its hamlet (*sa-grāsakaḥ*), with the several taxes (specified below) which were the property of the king, to (the Brāhman) Vishṇuśarman of the Gautama-gōtra and the Chhandōga(-śākhā).

The inscription is dated in the tenth year of the king's increasingly victorious reign (*samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājya*), on the fifth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvāṇa (*Śrāvāṇyām*).

The **main interest of the record** is in the enumeration of the several taxes which the king was entitled to collect from the village and which are now given away by him. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* (*ashtādaśa-jātibhiḥ parihāraiḥ*) mentioned but not enumerated in the Uruvupalli grant. As regards the taxes the king's command runs thus :—“whichever taxes are payable in this village by metal-workers and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakāra*), the shop-keeping cloth-dealers (*āpana-paṭṭa-kāra*), licensed spies (?) going about in loose masks or garments (*prāvārañchara*<sup>2</sup>), rope-jugglers or dancers (*rajju-pratihāra*), shops (in general) (*āpana*)<sup>3</sup>, Ājīvikas (a class of Jaina mendicants), the taxes payable by barbarians and outcastes (*nāhala*), *mukhadharakas*<sup>4</sup> (mask-actors), water-diviners (*kūpa-darśakas*<sup>5</sup>), weavers (*tantravāya*), taxes on gambling (*dyūta*), marriage (*vivāha*) and barbers (*nāpita*), and the taxes or tithes payable by the artisans enjoying the privileges of *sarvaparihāra* (?) and such other taxes that belong to me, have been given to this (Brāhman) as *brahmadēya*. The officers of the *vaṭṭa-grāmas*<sup>6</sup> shall accordingly do my bidding. Others shall (duly) render and cause the dues to be rendered unto the donee. Whoever transgresses this charter of mine, that sinner will undergo corporal punishment.” The order for the gift was issued orally by the king and committed to writing by the Private Secretary (*Rahasyādhikṛita*) **Achyuta**.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 251, Text, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> These probably represent the begging *buḍu-bukkis* who go about in loose and heavy garments.

<sup>3</sup> If *rajju-pratihār-āpana* be construed as one compound, it would indicate 'booths of rope-jugglers or dancers'.

<sup>4</sup> Alternatively we might understand this expression to refer to a particular class of self-mortifying devotees known as *mukhēnādāyin*.

<sup>5</sup> [Many of the terms in ll. 18-19 are met with here for the first time and are difficult to explain. It appears to me that tax levied for the maintenance of certain offices is indicated in l. 18. Accordingly, I would prefer to take *paṭṭakāra* not in the sense of 'silk-weaver' but in that of *paṭṭalēkhin* or writer of official documents. *Prāvārañchara* is probably the same as *Sañcharantaka* of the Uruvupalli grant and *Sañchārin* of other early records. I am not certain whether *rajju* is to be taken separately or to be compounded with the preceding or succeeding word. *Rajju* and *chōrarajju* are found in the *Arthaśāstra* as fiscal terms. *Rajjuka* as an official designation occurs not only in the edicts of Aśōka but also in such later records as belonging to the Āndhra and Vākāṭaka rulers (see above, p. 54). *Āpan-ājīvika* has probably to be taken as one word meaning 'those who live by shops', i.e., shop-keepers in general as distinguished from smiths and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakār-āpana*). *Kūpa-darśaka* may be 'an inspector of wells'.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> If *vaṭṭa* is a Prākṛit form of *vanta* the expression would mean *bhāga-grāmēyakas*, i.e., officers of the subsidiary villages. Cf. also the Telugu expression *Ontudāru*.



The epithets and eulogies applied in our grant to the several kings are almost the same as those found in the allied grants, *viz.*, the Uruvupalli, Píkira and Ōṁgōḍu ones with slight interchanges. The phraseology of the Māṅgaḷūr grant is quite distinct from that of the other charters of the king, and its author Nēmī seems to have composed it in an almost independent and original style of his own without borrowing from any of the other grants of the family. The practice in the plates appears to have been to apply a particular set of attributes to the particular generation irrespective of the actual king concerned. If we compare the text of the Uruvupalli grant with the rest we find that the same set of epithets is applied in all to the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father of the king and the king of the grant, irrespective of any particular king. Thus, epithets applied to Skandavarman I, the first member in the Uruvupalli grant, are applied to Vīravarman, the first member in the other grants. But the epithets *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* or *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* is applied consistently in all to king Vīravarman and this one appears to have been particularly his personal attribute. Skandavarman I, his son Vīravarman and the latter's son Skandavarman II of the Uruvupalli grant are mentioned in the earlier Ōṁgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II but with quite a different set of attributes. Vīravarman is not therein called the sole hero of the world. Some other epithets of the later grants are traceable in the earlier Ōṁgōḍu grant, *viz.*, *anēka-samara-labdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-pratāpa*<sup>1</sup> (for *prakāśa* of later grants) and *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṅḍalāḥ*,<sup>2</sup> which are applied to Vīravarman. It therefore appears that the ornate eulogy of the several kings was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of Vishṇugōpa and uniformly adopted in all the known grants of his son Simhavarman except in the Māṅgaḷūr grant as already remarked.

In connection with this and the allied grants there exists what we may call the "Simhavarman problem." Dr. Fleet assigned the Uruvupalli plates to Simhavarman, a supposed elder brother of Vishṇugōpa<sup>3</sup> and made him Simhavarman I of the dynasty. Dr. Hultsch, while editing the Píkira grant of Simhavarman, has attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming the non-existence of an elder brother of Vishṇugōpa by name Simhavarman and the passing of the succession from Skandavarman II to Simhavarman without Vishṇugōpa ever having ascended the throne, on the ground that he is entitled only *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*.<sup>4</sup> If Vishṇugōpa did not succeed to the throne there is no meaning in saying that he 'made a gift' as the Uruvupalli charter states. I think there is not much justification for Dr. Hultsch's supposition. The assumption of the title *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which appears to have been due to some dynastic convention or exigency does not by itself deny accession to Vishṇugōpa as it did not in the case of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.<sup>5</sup> The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Professor Dubreuil who has made a special study of the Pallava dynasty accepts that Vishṇugōpa did rule,<sup>6</sup> but follows Dr. Fleet in assuming a Simhavarman as the elder brother of Vishṇugōpa. Hultsch and Dubreuil are partially right and partially wrong. We need not either suppose with the former that Vishṇugōpa did not ascend the throne or agree with the latter and Dr. Fleet that he had an elder brother named Simhavarman. I would suggest that the difficulty can be solved by supposing that the Uruvupalli grant originally made by Vishṇugōpa was, for some reasons not known, formally issued by his son Simhavarman

<sup>1</sup> In the Uruvupalli and other plates this epithet is applied to Vīravarman's grandson Vishṇugōpa.

<sup>2</sup> In the Uruvupalli plates this epithet is given to Vīravarman, but in the other grants of Simhavarman, to his son Skandavarman II. The eulogies applied to the several generations of kings in the Uruvupalli plates are indifferently applied to the kings figuring in the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 and 154.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> See my remarks in the article on the Churā grant of Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman, above, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 63.





captured (preferably re-captured) Kāñchī which had been the Pallava capital in the earlier generations. With sufficient reason are the Chendalūr plates issued from Kāñchīpura and the donee is, very naturally, a native of a village in its vicinity, the name of which though not read by Dr. Hultsch, may, I think, be safely read as Puḷḷaḷūru<sup>1</sup> and identified with the village of that name situated 9 miles north of Conjeeveram.<sup>2</sup>

Discussing the initial date of Simhavarman Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Simhavarman II is to be accepted there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact".<sup>3</sup> I regret, I have to differ from Mr. Sastri and point out that Dr. Schram's Tables of the *Eclipses of the Sun in India* record an eclipse on the 17th of May in A.D. 440. The month of Chaitra in certain years overlaps the month of May and definitely such is the case in the years in which there is an *Adhika* and a *Nija* Chaitra month. So it is quite possible to assume that in the Chaitra of A.D. 440 there was a solar eclipse. Consequently the assumption of A.D. 436 as the initial year for Simhavarman would be fully justifiable. So the date of our grant which is dated in the tenth year of his reign would correspond to A.D. 446.

**Muṇḍa-rāshṭra** is also mentioned in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants of Simhavarman.<sup>4</sup> It is evidently identical with the later Muṇḍa-nāḍu or Muṇḍai-nāḍu of the *Nellore Inscriptions*.<sup>5</sup> **Vilavatti**, the gift village may possibly be the village Vavvēru where the plates were discovered or with greater probability it may be the village Viḍavalūru, about 12 miles east of it. Both the villages are in the Kōvūr taluk. **Paddukkar-ādhishtāna** from which the charter was issued may be identified with the village Paḍugupāḍu about 9 miles south by east of Vavvēru in the same taluk. This is now a Railway station a little distance from the northern bank of the river Pennār on the Madras-Calcutta line and within a mile from Kōvūr.

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### *First Plate.*

- 1 Svasti[\*] Jitam Bhagavatā [\*] śrī-Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishtānē parama-brahma-nyasya sva-bā-
- 2 ku-nirjjit-ārjjita-<sup>7</sup>kshātra-tapō-nidhēḥ vidhi-vihita-sarvva-<sup>8</sup>maryyādā-sthiti-sthita-
- 3 sy=āmit-ātmanō mahārājasya <sup>9</sup>prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-Vīravarmmaṇaḥ prapau-
- 4 trasy=ātyuchchita<sup>10</sup>-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Bhaga-

##### *Second Plate; First Side.*

- 5 vad-bhakti-sad-bhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānai[h]
- 6 <sup>11</sup>pravṛitta-dharma-sañchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya<sup>12</sup> mahā-

<sup>1</sup> The reading Puṭṭukākā given in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1421d, must be given up.

<sup>2</sup> Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. and above, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 and 163.

<sup>5</sup> *Nellore Inscriptions* :—See *Nellore* 19, 31, 61, 71, 72 and 121. The villages mentioned in connection with this *nāḍu* would all point to the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District in which the present plates were discovered. The southern portion of the Kandukūr taluk also would go into this *rāshṭra*.

<sup>6</sup> From the original plates and ink-impressions prepared in my office.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-bal-ārjjit-ōrjjita-* as in other plates.

<sup>8</sup> The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read *maryyādasya*.

<sup>9</sup> The Uruvupalli grant has *vasudhā-*.

<sup>10</sup> The Pīkira grant reads *prapautrō=bhyuchchita-*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *pravṛiddha* as in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants.

<sup>12</sup> Read *lōkapālasya* after this as in the above-mentioned grants.

- 7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-Skandava[r\*]mmaṇaḥ pautrasya dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ōpasē-  
vinō<sup>1</sup> vi-  
8 vṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-saṁgrāma-sāhas-āvamardd-ōpalabdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 9 <sup>2</sup>nirupam-ātmanō Yuvamahārājasya śrī-Vishṇugōpasya putraḥ Kali-yuga-dōsh-ā-  
10 vasanna-dharṁm-ōddharanē nitya-sannaddhaḥ<sup>3</sup> sprihaṇīya-parākkramō rāja[r\*]shi-guṇa-sa-  
11 rvva-sandōha-vijigīshur=ddharṁma-vijigīshur=Bhagavat-pādānuddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭā-  
raka-pāda-  
12 bhaktaḥ paramabhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vikram-ākrānt-ā[gdyā]<sup>4</sup>-śrī-nīlayō yathāvād-  
āhṛit-ā-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 13 nēk-<sup>5</sup>āśvamēdha-yājinām=<sup>6</sup>Pallavānām=mahārājaḥ śrī-Sirṁhavarmmā Muṇḍa-rāshṭrē  
Vilavattī-  
14 grāmē tasy=aiva grāmasya kshētrañ=cha sarvvāddhyakshāmś=cha tat-sañchārīnaś=ch-  
ājñāpayati<sup>7</sup> a-  
15 ya[m] <sup>8</sup>gramaḥ sa-grākas=sarvva-parihār-ōpētō <sup>9</sup>dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjam=asmad-āyur-bba-  
16 la-vijay-ābhivṛiddhayē samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē daśamē saṁvatsarē Śrāvanyāṁ  
śukla-pa-

<sup>1</sup> The Uruvupalli grant reads -ōpachāyīnō and the Pīkira grant has -āpachāyīnō. The Ōmgōḍu grant reads -ōpasēvinō as in the present one.

<sup>2</sup> The Pīkira and Ōmgōḍu grants read *saty-ātmanō*. The Uruvupalli grant applies the epithets *saty-ātman* and *mahātman* to *Mahārāja* Skandavarman.

<sup>3</sup> The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read -dharṁma-nitya-sannaddhasya. The possessive form which has evidently been incorporated from the former into the latter of these grants has been left uncorrected into the nominative, though the appositional expressions *putraḥ* (l. 10), *parākkramō* (l. 11), etc., are in the latter case : *vide* above, Vol. VIII, p. 162, text ll. 10 & 11.

<sup>4</sup> Read -ānya-nṛipa- as in other grants. The other allied grants make this an attribute of the Pallavas and not of this particular king.

<sup>5</sup> The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read -āśvamēdhānām while the Ōmgōḍu grant has -ānēka-kratūnām *Śata-kratūnām* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 254 f., text ll. 16 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> The Pīkira grant has *dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-* while Ōmgōḍu has *vallabhānām Pallavānām dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-*.

<sup>7</sup> The Uruvupalli grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas* at the first instance and then to the *āyuktakas*, *naiyōkas* (probably *naiyōgīkas*), *rājavallabhas* and *sañcharantakas*. The Pīkira grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas*, *adhikṛita-sarvvādhyakshas*, *vallabhas* and *śāsana-sañchārīns*, almost as in the Māṅgaḷūr grant.

<sup>8</sup> Read *grāmaḥ sa-grāsakas=*.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Fleet's translation of the expression *Vishṇuvarmma-sēnāpati-kṛita-Vishṇuhāra-dēvakulāya dēva-bhōga*, etc., in the Uruvupalli grant is inaccurate. The grant is not meant for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by Vishṇuvarman but for the temple (*dēvakula*) called Vishṇuhāra founded by the general of Vishṇuvarman, as a *dēvabhōga*. This would thus appear to be one of the early temples of Kandukūr founded in Pallava times. A still earlier temple of Pallava times is that of Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the Prākṛit copper-plate charter of Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī dated in the reign of Vijaya-Khandavarman (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145). Dr. Fleet's reading *dēvabhōga* in text l. 26 of the Māṅgaḷūr grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 156) is only a printer's mistake for *dēva-bhōga* (*vide* his translation, *ibid.*, p. 157). But his reading *vasad-bhōga* (*ibid.*, p. 156, text l. 29 and p. 157 f.n.) is correctly *vasad-bhōgya*. Dr. Fleet stated that the meaning of *vasad-bhōgya-aryādayā* was rather doubtful. It is possible that it corresponds to the *kuḍinīngā-dēvadāna* of the Tamil inscriptions and perhaps means 'with the tenants' occupancy rights assured'.



i.

1  
 2  
 3  
 4

ii, a.

5  
 6  
 7  
 8

ii, b.

9  
 10  
 11  
 12

iii, a.

13  
 14  
 15  
 16

iii, b.

18  
 20

၁၈  
 ၂၀

iv, a.

22  
 24

၂၂  
 ၂၄

iv, b.

26  
 28

၂၆  
 ၂၈

v.

30

၃၀



*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 7 **kshē pañchamyām** Gautama-gōtrāya Chhandōgāya Vishṇuśarmmaṇē dattam(ttah)  
 [\*] yad=asmin=grāmē  
 8 lōha-charmmakār-āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra-prāvārañchara-rajju-pratihār-āpaṇ-Ājīvika-ka-  
 9 rāṇi Nāhala-Mukhadharaka-kūpa-darśaka<sup>1</sup>-tantravāya-dyūta-vivāha-nāpita-dē-  
 0 y-ādīni cha sarvva-parihāra-kāru-dēyāni cha yāny=anyāni ch=āsmad-bhāgyāni tāny=asmai

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 brahmadēyīkrītya dattāni Vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ [asmad-ājñām\*] kurvvantv=itarē pariha[ra\*]-  
 ntu parihārayantu  
 2 cha[\*] yaś=ch=aitad=asmach-chhāsanam=atikrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ <sup>2</sup>sārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [\*]  
 Api ch=ā-  
 3 tr=ā[r]shāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || O O ||—<sup>3</sup>Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānam=iha lōkē na vidyatē [\*]  
 yaḥ praya-  
 4 chchhati bhūmi[m\*] hi sarvva-kāmān=dadāti saḥ [||\*] <sup>4</sup>Brahma-svaṁ [hi\*] visham  
 ghōran=na visham visham=uchayatē [\*] visham=ēkākinaṁ

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 hanti <sup>5</sup>prahma-svaṁ putra-<sup>6</sup>bautrikam || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundhā-  
 rām<sup>7</sup> [\*] gavām śata-  
 26 sahasrasya hantuḥ [pi]<sup>8</sup>bati kilbisham [||\*] <sup>9</sup>Yathā nirōhanty=uptāni kīrṇāni cha mahī-  
 27 talē [\*] ēvaṁ kāmā virōhanti bhūmi-dāna-samārjjitā[h\*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā ba-  
 28 hubiś=ch=ānupālītā [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

*Fifth Plate.*

- 29 <sup>10</sup>Asaṁkhyēyāni varshāṇi svarggē mōdanti bhūmidāḥ [\*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva  
 30 narakē vasēt || Prabhōḥ <sup>11</sup>sumukh-ājñāptyū<sup>12</sup> rahasyādhikritēn=**Āchytēna** likhitam śāsanam||  
 31 Svasta(sti) || ||<sup>13</sup> —

<sup>1</sup> [See above, p. 298, n. 5.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This reading is found in the Pīkīra and other grants of the king. The Mayidavōlu Prākṛit plates read *sāvī-ram śāsanam karejāmo* (above, Vol. VI, p. 87, text, l. 24).

<sup>3</sup> The Uruvupalli and other grants quote this verse in a different form. The Pīkīra grant which cites the verse reads *Bhūmidāna-saman=dānam*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

<sup>5</sup> Read *brahma*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-pautrikam*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vasundharām*.

<sup>8</sup> The letter *pi* looks like *bi*.

<sup>9</sup> This verse does not occur in the other grants of the king.

<sup>10</sup> This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

<sup>11</sup> Read *sva-mukh*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Invariably all the earlier grants adopt the form *ājñāpti* while the later ones, like those of the Eastern Chālukyas, have *ājñāpti*. The former though obsolete seems to be more suitable to the context in the technical sense of 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñā-āptih*) while *ājñāptih* would strictly refer to the 'agency that commands'.

<sup>13</sup> There is a symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.



## No. 44.—FIRST AND THIRD SLABS OF KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION : V. S. 1517.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under description was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojhā in the *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1925-26. It seems to have originally been engraved on five big slabs of stone of which the fifth or the last slab has not yet been discovered. Of the second slab, only a very small piece has been found containing the word *Devī-mātā* on the top to ensure its being a part of that slab. Of the remaining three slabs, the fourth one (which is the best preserved of whatever has so far been found of this inscription) has already been published<sup>1</sup> by R. R. Halder of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. I now take up here, at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, the first and the third slabs for edition. Both these slabs were discovered only in fragments and are, therefore, in a very damaged condition. All that has till now been discovered is deposited for preservation in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur.

The inscription belongs to a temple built by Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarṇa** on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, originally called the **Kumbhasvāmin** temple but now known as that of **Māmā-dēva**. The first slab is 3' 10" broad by 3' 7" high with a margin of about 2" on all sides, and contains sixty-eight verses (1-68) with short sentences in prose in fifty lines of writing; and the third slab is 3' 1" by 3' 6" with a margin of about 1½" on all sides containing fifty-nine verses (121-179) with some small prose sentences in forty-nine written lines. Unfortunately the slabs are very much damaged and some of the important portions of their contents have altogether been destroyed.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, and *au* which are joined to the consonants are represented by both *śirō-* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. The letters are nicely cut and are on the average about two-fifths of an inch.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is, on the whole, free from errors. In the first slab, however, we find *sandhi* not observed in *śrī Ēkalīmṃya-prabhuḥ* (l. 7) and *pralaya-krit-yō* (l. 41); and in the third slab in *°r=abhūt=śrī-Jaitra°* (l. 27). In *yad=akāri Mōkala-nṛipaḥ* (ll. 29-30, slab I) the error of syntax is obvious. Besides, there are some other minor mistakes chiefly pertaining to engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding **orthography** we find that *v* and *b* are usually distinguished, the exceptions being *Vāghelāva-varṇanam* (ll. 28 and 31, slab I) and *=Amvāprasāda-* (ll. 19 and 20, slab III). The dental sibilant is used for the palatal one in *samsprīsamty=api* (l. 20) and *sad-dhārya-saurya-* (l. 39) of the first and the third slabs respectively. The sound of *śh* is twice represented in the first slab by the sign for *kh*, e.g., in *-sarvaṃkakhah* (l. 47) and *kalukh-āsagō ya[m\*]* (l. 50). This seems to be based on the analogy of the representation of the sound of *kh* by the sign for *śh* in many of the inscriptions of this period in Rājputāna. The following other features are also to be noticed the examples for which are here drawn from the first slab only. *Anusvāra* is throughout used for nasals. *Ṇ* is almost invariably reduplicated after a superscript *r* by drawing a horizontal stroke across the body of the letter; other consonants are very often doubled, e.g., *svargga-Prayāga-* (l. 12), *muktir=jjanair=* (l. 13), *°r=vvīrair=ddānava-* (l. 16), etc., as against *muni-varair=gītā* (l. 35), *garva-sarvaṃkakh(śh)ah* (l. 47), etc. *Jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* are sometimes used and represented by a sign which here resembles the sign for *śh* as in *=mrītanmayak=khalu*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 277-288.

(l. 2), *Takshakāh*=*Kali-yugā* (l. 6), ..... (l. 16), etc. The sign for *avagraha* is used thrice, only in slab I, in *sarītō*=*'syā*[*h*\*] (l. 14), *rājatē*=*'nyō* (l. 18) and *yaśō*=*'śvamukhīh* (l. 28).

Before taking up the actual contents of the slabs under consideration, it may be mentioned that the present inscription, the Tower of Victory inscription and the ..... have a good number of verses in common. We know for certain that all these three records were composed during the reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna and are, therefore, contemporary records. Now the former two, *viz.*, the Tower of Victory inscription and the present record, besides belonging to two different localities far off from each other, have got the same date in all particulars which is Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Mārgasīrsha in Saṁvat 1517 (=A.D. 1460, Monday the 3rd November). It, therefore, seems improbable that anything from the one may have been borrowed in the other, particularly when we consider the amount of difference found in the plan of writing followed in both of them. The text common in both these records, therefore, seems to have a different source altogether in the *Ēkalin̄ga-māhātmya*, the third contemporary record, which seems to have already been compiled borrowing material particularly in its Princes' chapter, from many old inscriptions, *viz.*, the Mahāsati gate inscription<sup>1</sup> at Chitor of the time of Rāval Samarasimha dated in V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274), the Samādhīśvara temple inscription<sup>2</sup> of prince Mōkala of V. S. 1485 (=A. D. 1428) and others. That the *Ēkalin̄ga-māhātmya* was composed prior to the present record as well as the Tower of Victory inscription, and has an air of originality around it is also evidenced by the fact that the division of the Guhilōt family in two branches, *viz.*, the Rāval and the Rāṇā, in the reign of Rāval Raṇasimha or Karṇasimha, is first of all found mentioned only in this work where all other inscriptions, contemporary or otherwise, are silent. Although we do not know much about the Tower of Victory inscription at present, for, all other slabs containing it excepting the two, *viz.*, the first<sup>3</sup> and the last but one<sup>4</sup> (which also are in a very mutilated condition) are lost; but so far as the present record is concerned, much of what we find in connection with the genealogy of this dynasty in its three slabs till now discovered, is almost a reproduction of the *Rāja-varṇana* of the *Ēkalin̄ga-māhātmya*. Thus, much of the destroyed portion of the slabs under consideration is restorable from the aforesaid work as well as from records prior and posterior to it, as will be done, wherever possible, in dealing with the text.

Taking up the **contents** of the **first slab** we find that it mainly describes in poetical manner some important geographical places of Mewār including lakes, hills, sacred spots, people, etc. It opens with the propitiation of Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī and Ēkalin̄ga in three small prose sentences. Then begins the *Āśīh Prakarana* covering verses 1-14, benedictory and invocatory in nature, in praise of many a deity such as [Lambōda]ra, Gajamukha, Vindhyaśinī, Ēkalin̄ga, Pinākin, Ina and others. The deity of the first verse is, however, difficult to determine due to the initial portion of the verse being destroyed.

Then begin various descriptions the first of which is the description of **Trikūṭa**. With regard to the method of composition followed, it may be remarked here that the whole of the present inscription is distributed in various *varṇanas*, the commencement and the termination of each of which is indicated by *atha* and *iti* respectively. This *Trikūṭa-varṇana* covers verses 15-17. *Trikūṭa* is a range of hills naturally formed into a triangle within which is situated the temple and the town of Ēklin̄gajī.

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāvnagar Skt. and Pr. Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhav. Inscr.*, pp. 96-100.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, plate XXI.

Vv. 18-19 contain the description of a rivulet called **Kuṭilā** in inscriptions which rises in the Trikūṭa hill nearby and flows only in the rainy season. Its description as given here is simply hyperbolic.

In vv. 20-22 we have the description of the goddess **Vindhyavāsinī** whose shrine is situated on the slope of the hill to the north outside the rampart round Ēkalingajī's temple.

In vv. 23-24 the poet describes the god **Ēkalinga**. The temple of Ēkalingajī is, in popular belief, regarded to have originally been built by Bāpā Rāval, which, having been damaged in course of a few centuries by the Muslim invaders, was repaired by Mahārāṇā Mōkala who also furnished it with a rampart to ensure its protection. Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna, the son of Mōkala, is also stated in vv. 239-40<sup>1</sup> in the fourth slab of this very epigraph, to have done something towards reparation to this ancient shrine. The modern structure of the temple, however, is stated to be the work of Mahārāṇā Rai Mal who laid fresh foundation and erected the new structure.

Vv. 25-28 give the description of a beautiful tank situated to the east, near Ēkalingajī's temple. It is popularly known as Indra-sāgara, but it is here called **Indratīrtha-Bhōjasara**. The tank is said to have been in existence since the time of Indra who is stated in v. 8 to have meditated on the feet of Ēkalinga in *Kṛita-yuga*; but it was given its present shape by forming the dam, etc., by Bhōjabhūpa, one of the early predecessors of the Guhila family, and hence called after his own name.

Then come the descriptions of Kāmadhēnu (vv. 29-30) and Takshaka (vv. 31-33) who are stated in v. 8 to have attended upon Ēkalinga in *Trētā* and *Dvāpara* ages respectively. The city of Nāga, *i.e.*, Nāgdā, the ancient capital of Mewār, is here stated to have originally been founded by this lord of the serpents.

Vv. 34-35 describe **Dhārēśvara** whose temple is situated a few paces off the Ēkalingajī temple on the base of the western range of the neighbouring hill in front. This small temple with a reservoir attached to it seems from v. 167 of the third slab of this inscription to have been built by Rāval Samarasimha as a deed of charity.

Next comes the description of **Vaidyanātha** in vv. 36-37, whose temple must have existed at Ēkalingajī at the time. No such monument is now popularly known to exist there.

In vv. 38-40 is described another beautiful tank situated to the south of the town of Ēkalingajī, touching the site of the ancient town of Nāgdā, popularly known as Bāghelā Talāv but here simply called **Vā(Bā)ghelāva**. This tank was excavated by prince Mōkala in memory of his brother Bāghasimha.

From here the poet takes us to the fort of Chitor and describes in vv. 41-50 the temple of **Samādhīśvara** which is situated a little way to the south-west of Kumbhā's great Tower of Victory. This temple was originally built by Bhōjarāja, the Paramāra prince of Mālhwā, in the eleventh century when Chitor had already become a Paramāra possession in the reign of his uncle Muñja (Vākpatirāja). It was also called Tribhuvananārāyaṇa temple after his title *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa*, and Bhōjasvāmīdēva-jagatī<sup>2</sup>. The temple having been ruined in course of time was repaired by prince Mōkala in V. S. 1485 (=A.D. 1428) on account of which it is now generally called Mōkalajī's temple. The present inscription, however, assigns the renovation of the temple to prince Kumbhā (v. 49), but this fact is not corroborated by any other record. The poet here evidently appears to have confused this monument with the temple of Kumbhasvāmīn on the fort which really was built by Kumbhā. Rai Bahadur Ojhā regards this temple as the second

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep., Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1920-21, p. 4.*



ancient monument on the fort<sup>1</sup>, the first being that of Kālikā of the seventh or the eighth century, originally dedicated to Sūrya or the Sun god. But in fact, the temple under description is the third ancient monument on the fort, the second being the temple of Kukkuṭēśvara as will be seen from the next paragraph.

Then we come to the description of **Mahā-Lakshmī** in vv. 51-54. The temple of this goddess is now generally known as that of Annapūrṇā, but what is worshipped here is the same original image of Lakshmī with a lotus flower in her hand and an elephant on each side of her face. This temple was originally built by Mahārāṇā Hammīra (A.D. 1326-1364). These verses also contain the description of **Kukkuṭēśvara** (Śiva) and **Gadādhara** (Vishṇu) whose temples are also situated near the Mahā-Lakshmī temple. The temple of Gadādhara is now generally called as that of Chārabhujā (Chaturbhujā). The three big reservoirs of water, viz., *Mātājī kākunḍa*, the *Kukadēśvara-kunḍa* and a third one, all in the vicinity of these three temples, are also briefly mentioned here. It may be pointed out that the original temple of Kukkuṭēśvara and the adjoining reservoir of the same name date as far back as V. S. 811 (=A.D. 755), an inscription of which date recording the erection and the excavation of the temple and the reservoir respectively was found there by Col. Tod.<sup>2</sup> Later on, the reservoir being damaged was repaired by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā.

In vv. 55-57 we find the description of **Kumbhasvāmin** now popularly known as Kumbhasyāmājī, whose temple was erected on the fort of Chitor by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in V. S. 1505 (=A.D. 1448) and styled after his own name. The temple was originally dedicated to Varāha or the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu as mentioned here (v. 56), but nowadays Vishṇu in his ordinary form is here worshipped. The temple Kumbhasvāmin to which belongs the present inscription, is not to be confused with the monument under description, for, the former was erected not at Chitor but at Kumbhalgarh and was later in date. Kumbhā evidently erected two temples dedicated to the same god on both the prominent forts of Mewār.

Vv. 58-68 contain the description of the country of **Mēdapāṭa** (Mewār), mentioning in general terms its cities, rivers, hills, lakes, gardens, people, etc.

Lastly is mentioned in prose the **date** of the inscription which is **Monday, the fifth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in Samvat year 151[7] and Śaka year 1382**, corresponding to A.D. 1460, Monday the third November, taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. At the end of the first slab we are asked to consult the second slab for further description.

Of the **second slab**, we are in possession of a very small fragment as already stated, which is of no avail for our present purpose. It can, however, be concluded that it must have contained the description of some other important places of Mewār, for we find the central portions of the initial four lines contained in that fragment to be identical with the initial portion of an independent description of Chitrakūṭa extending over a good number of verses, found in another unpublished inscription from Kumbhalgarh whose first slab is preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum which seems to contain in an abridged form all that is found in the first and the second slabs of the present inscription with the same date. The second slab contained fifty-two verses (69-120).

As to the **contents** of the **third slab** we find that it opens with the description of Mahārāula śrī-**Bāpā** which extends over six verses (121-126) on this slab. Vv. 121-122 mention **Hārītarāśi**, but much of their text is now lost to us. In v. 122 mention has been made of a person whose surname (*apara-nāmadhēya*) reads in the mutilated text as [śrī] . . [ya]ku[bja] who appears to be the father of Hārītarāśi. What little is, at present, preserved to us of this verse

<sup>1</sup> *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. I, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1823 (W. Crooke's ed.).

clearly calls Hārītarāśi a *dvijendra* or the best of *dvijas*. We cannot, however, fully believe in it for the date of the present record, as compared to that of the sage under description, is much later; but we can at least believe that at the time of the composition of the record, he was regarded as of Brahmin origin. Rai Bahadur Ojhā's contention that he was an ascetic of the Nātha order<sup>1</sup> does not necessarily contradict the present description, for he, born as a *dvijendra* or the best of *dvijas*, *i.e.*, a Brahmin, might later on have accepted that order.

From v. 123 properly begins the description of Bāpā who is there said to be a *vipra* meditating on the feet of Hārītarāśi who bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mewār (vv. 124-25), and to have migrated to Mewār from Ānandapura. Verse 123 of this slab is also found in Rāval Samarsimha's inscription<sup>2</sup> at Chitor of V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274) located in the western wall of the northern gate of the Mahāsati enclosure. In the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* we have another verse of the same import composed in a different metre, originally found in the Āṭapura inscription<sup>3</sup> of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977). The only difference between the two verses is that the former mentions Bāpā and the latter Guhadatta in precisely the same terms. Now, in the former record of V. S. 1331, Bāpā is mentioned as the *Purāṇa-purusha* or the progenitor of the family and Guhadatta or Guhila as his son (the same order being followed in almost all other records later to it including the one under consideration); while the latter record of V. S. 1034, which is earlier in date, speaks of Guhadatta as the founder of the family and Bāpā as one of his descendants. This shows that already in the thirteenth century people had forgotten what their predecessors knew a few centuries ago about the genealogy of the ruling family. One point, however, *viz.* these rulers being described as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva*, is common to both earlier and later records. Guhadatta's description as *mahī-dēva* in the Āṭapura inscription referred to above led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing the record, to conclude that Guhadatta was a Nāgar Brahmin of Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt and that the Udaipur dynasty had a Brāhmanic origin<sup>4</sup>. But instances in inscriptions where the scions of this dynasty are described as *Kshatra-kshētra* (v. 6 of the same Āṭapura inscription)<sup>5</sup>, *Kshatriyavamsa-mamḍana-maṇi* (v. 5 of the Śringī-rishi inscription)<sup>6</sup>, etc., are in no way wanting as Rai Bahadur Ojhā rightly points out<sup>6</sup>. The use of such terms as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva* in their connection seems to have some bearing on their habits which they might have acquired through such association as mentioned in certain bardic chronicles<sup>7</sup>, and not on their blood. There are, again, epigraphs of various dynasties in which the ruling princes are described as born in *Brahma-Kshatriya-kula*<sup>8</sup> which simply hints at their being possessed of both divine and martial virtues, by habit and blood respectively. So also an inscription of the tenth century from Chāṭasū in the Jaipur state describes prince Bharṭripaṭṭa of this very Guhila dynasty as *Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita*<sup>9</sup>, hinting thereby at the possession of both the virtues mentioned above.

Next is given the account of Rāula śrī-[Guha]datta (vv. 127-33). He is described as the son of Bāpā and it was after him that the dynasty came to bear the title *Guhila*. He, as has already been noticed, was really the founder of the dynasty and thus an early predecessor of Bāpā. Nothing remarkable of him is mentioned here except that he had a son **Lāṭivinōda**<sup>10</sup> by name who

<sup>1</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Muhammāda Naināsī's Khyāta*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 13-17.

<sup>7</sup> Whether *Lāṭivinōda* is a proper name or simply an epithet is also doubtful, yet here it seems to have the plausibility of being the former.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 74-78.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 378-89.

was called as such due to passing his days in enjoyment with ladies of the Lāṭa country. No prince of this name has been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the dynasty so far discovered. In A.D. 1869 General Cunningham had found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra<sup>1</sup> bearing the legend *Śrī Guhila* which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Then we have the description of Rāula śrī-**Sh(Kh)ummāṇa** (vv. 134-37). He is said to have weighed himself against gold in company of his wife and children, and given away the precious metal in charity. In vv. 136-37 is mentioned his far and wide conquest (*dig-jaya*) of various countries, viz., Aṅga, Ba(Va)ṅga, Kaliṅga, Triliṅga (Telugu country), Surāshṭra, Chōḍa, Draviḍa and Gauḍa. This description is not free from exaggeration, but the martial spirit with which the name of Khummāṇa is associated in Mewār even to this day may point to some truth therein.

It may be mentioned here that the description of the foregoing three princes, viz., Bāpā, Guhadatta and Khummāṇa as found in this record contains no chronological truth.

We now come to the most **important** and also the **original portion** of the whole inscription called *Rāja-varṇana*. At the very outset it is professed that this portion dealing with the genealogy of the ancient rulers of the family, has been prepared after studying many old *praśastis* (v. 138). The first thing that draws our attention here is the title *Rāja-varṇana* which seems to have been borrowed from the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* where a whole chapter extending over 204 verses is called *Rāja-varṇana*. Although much of this Princes' chapter of the *Ēk. mht.* is contained in the present record as already mentioned above, this particular portion, at least that preceding the description of Rāval Samarasimha, seems to be genuine and prepared with solemn effort. Here we have another proof of the priority of the *Ēk. mht.*, for, if it had been posterior to the present record as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks<sup>2</sup>, that portion of the *Rāja-varṇana* under consideration which is original, dealing with the ancient rulers of the Guhila family whose chronology was even then regarded doubtful, would have been totally incorporated in the *māhātmya* being a result of very laborious researches as professed in v. 138 of the present record. On the other hand, it may be assumed that as the genealogy of the early rulers as given in the *Ēk. mht.* was not found to be trustworthy an attempt was made in the record under discussion to make it as authentic as possible.

Now we may take up the contents of this portion. In the family of Guhila was born a prince **Bhōja** by name. From him were born **Mahindra, Nāga, Bappa** and **Aparājita** (v. 139).

It may be noted here that the author has already mentioned Bāpā as the very founder of the family but now he takes him as the son of Nāga. Similarly he has described before Guhila or Guhadatta as the son of Bāpā, but here he evidently believes him to be the real progenitor of the family which he calls the *Guhila-varṇana*. This clearly shows the amount of labour bestowed on the present portion. From the Āṭapura inscription of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977) which gives a correct genealogy of the family from Guhila to Śaktikumāra, we learn that the son of Nāga or Nāgāditya was Śīla, and from the Kuṇḍēśvara temple inscription<sup>3</sup> of V. S. 718 (=A.D. 661) we find that the father of Aparājita was Śīla, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 703<sup>4</sup> (=A.D. 646) has been found and is now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Thus, we find that the term *Bāpā* or *Bappa* which is now universally believed to be not a proper name but simply a title, is either here accepted by the author as the title of Śīla, or he may have used it as an independent proper name, but in either case he has been clearly mistaken.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R., Vol. IV, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāj Itihās.*, Fasc. II, p. 619, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 99.



Then came **Mahīndra** (II) and from him was born **Kālabhōja**. After him came in succession **Sh(Kh)ummāṇa**, **Mattaṭa**, **Bharṭṛipaṭṭa** and **Allaṭa** (v. 140).

The chronology as mentioned in this verse omits between the last two princes, the names of some five princes, *viz.*, **Siṃha**, **Khummaṇa** (II), **Mahāyaka**, **Khummaṇa** (III) and **Bharṭṛipaṭṭa** (II) mentioned in the inscription of V. S. 1034. This clearly shows that the author did not possess a copy of that inscription at the time of writing this portion. He seems to have studied only some later records such as the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331, the Rāṇapura inscription of V. S. 1496, etc., which also he seems not to have studied carefully, for, the names of three princes out of five omitted here are to be found in both these records. It may also be mentioned here that *Bāpā* as a title is regarded by different scholars as belonging to the first three princes mentioned in this verse. Thus, Kavirāja Shyāmaldās takes the first prince of the verse, *viz.*, Mahīndra (II)<sup>1</sup>, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the third prince Khummaṇa<sup>2</sup> and Rai Bahadur Ojhā, the second prince Kālabhōja<sup>3</sup>, to be *Bāpā*. Col. Tod, however, with the scanty material he had at his disposal, thought long ago that *Bāpā* was the title of Śīla.<sup>4</sup>

Then came **Naravāhana** and then **Śālivāhana**. After him was born **Śaktikumāra** and from him **Amv(b)āprasāda**. **Ambāprasāda** had three brothers **Nṛivarmā**, **Anantavarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** by name (vv. 141-42).

What is worthy of note here is the name **Anantavarmā** which is not found in any other record so far discovered. Likewise, the name of **Śuchivarmā** found in some of the other records is omitted here. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, therefore, is inclined to regard the former as identical with the latter<sup>5</sup>. **Ambāprasāda** is named **Āmrprasāda** in the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331. Similarly **Nṛivarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** are called **Naravarmā** and **Kīrtivarmā** respectively<sup>6</sup> in other inscriptions. These three brothers of **Ambāprasāda** mentioned above, also seem to have ascended the throne successively as they are mentioned in order of succession in a few other inscriptions.

Then **Yōgarāja** became the ruler of Mewār whose line did not obtain royalty although he himself fully enjoyed it (v. 143). This important fact of the deprivation of throne from the progeny of **Yōgarāja** is known from this inscription only and is mentioned nowhere else. Rai Bahadur Ojhā gives the reading of the last quarter of this verse as *tach-chhā. .[nō divam] gatāh*<sup>7</sup>, with his own omissions and additions and interprets that the line of this prince came to an end during his own lifetime and the throne thus passed on to **Vairāṭa**. He has omitted one syllable in the first word of this quarter which is distinctly visible on the slab as *shā(khā)*. The intention of the Rai Bahadur in omitting the syllable seems to be to regard the first word as masculine plural ending in <sup>o</sup>nō, presuming that the word might thus mean 'off-shoots of his family', for which he has also inserted *visarga* after *gatā* at the end to make it plural. But the text as visible on the slab, although partially damaged, clearly seems to be *tach-chhāsh(kh)ā n=ō[chhri(chchhra)yaṃ] gatā* (ll. 20-21), which clearly shows that the line of this prince was cut off from the throne evidently due to some internal family feud and the lot finally fell on **Vairāṭa**, one of the progeny of **Allaṭa**. The word *api* in the beginning of this verse also emphasises this conclusion, otherwise there is no justification for its use here.

<sup>1</sup> *Vīra-vinōda*, part I, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 404.

<sup>4</sup> *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 270 (W. Crooke's ed.).

<sup>5</sup> See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 389, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 440.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 443, n. 2.

Thus **Vairāṭa** ascended the throne after **Yōgarāja** and was succeeded by **Haṁsapāla** after whom came **Vairasiṁha** (v. 144). This prince erected a rampart round **Āghāṭa-pattana** (v. 145), the modern town of **Āhaḍ** near the city of **Udaipur**, also mentioned in inscriptions as **Āghāṭapura** or **Āṭapura**. He had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a *narēndra*, was the most virtuous (v. 146). Unfortunately we do not find the name of this virtuous *narēndra* mentioned here who must evidently have succeeded his father **Vairasiṁha**. In the **Bhērā-ghāt** inscription<sup>1</sup> of the **Chēdi** year 907 (=V. S. 1212 and A.D. 1155) and the **mount Ābu** inscription<sup>2</sup> of V. S. 1342 (=A.D. 1285), the son of **Vairasiṁha** and grandson of **Haṁsapāla** is mentioned as **Vijayasiṁha**, a copper-plate grant and a stone inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1164 and V. S. 1173 respectively have been found<sup>3</sup>. Thus, it can easily be understood that the prince who is anonymously mentioned here in v. 146 is none else than **Vijayasiṁha**, and the author, due to his apparent ignorance, has not mentioned this name. In the **Rāṇapura** inscription<sup>4</sup> of V. S. 1496, however, the name of **Vairasiṁha's** successor is given as **Vīrasiṁha**; and **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** is inclined to accept him and **Vairasiṁha** of v. 147 of the present inscription whom he regards as the son of **Vairasiṁha**, as being identical with **Vijayasiṁha** of the **Bhērā-ghāt** inscription<sup>5</sup>. He does not seem to have given due consideration to v. 146 of this slab which mentions **Vijayasiṁha** in clear terms as *narēndra* though omitting his name, as already shown above. The present inscription appears to speak of **Vairasiṁha** not as the son of **Vairasiṁha**, but as his grandson unless *tasmāt* in v. 147 is meant to refer to **Vairasiṁha** which from its position and the construction seems improbable. This fact is overlooked also by **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar** who professes to have taken the names of princes of this dynasty after **Śālivāhana** from this record<sup>6</sup>. It thus becomes almost settled from this epigraph that **Vijayasiṁha's** son was **Vairasiṁha**. This is corroborated by a small inscription which I had found engraved on the pedestal of the **Haṁsapāla** image at **Padarādā** which mentions **Vīrasiṁha** as the son of **Vairasiṁha**. The date of that inscription, however, presents some difficulty. I, therefore, leave this point here for further investigation. For the time being, this portion of the chronology has to be regarded as uncertain.

Thus, we find that **Vijayasiṁha** was probably succeeded by **Vairasiṁha** and from him was born **Arasiṁha**. His throne was occupied by **Chōḍa** (v. 147). **Chōḍa** had an elder brother named **Vikramakēsari** whose son was **Raṇasiṁha** (v. 148).

**Chōḍa** is also called **Chōḍasiṁha** in the **Rāṇapura** inscription and nothing more is known of him and his predecessor from any other epigraph. **Vikramakēsari** is here mentioned as the elder brother of **Chōḍa**, but in the **Ābu** inscription of V. S. 1342 he is mentioned as the son<sup>7</sup> of **Chōḍa** which seems to be more probable. Nothing is mentioned here about **Raṇasiṁha**. The *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*, however, attributes to his reign the splitting up of the ruling family into two divisions, viz., the *Rāval* (senior) and the *Rāṇā* (junior), ruling over **Chitor** and **Sesodā** respectively. Although our author has sometimes closely followed the *Ēk. mht.*, he has, however, not borrowed the portion dealing with this division, evidently because his object here was to prepare a chronological list of the princes of the main branch who really governed **Mewār** as a whole. He, as a matter of fact, is quite cautious in distinguishing the princes of the one branch from those of the other (as

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 84-87; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 445-46; *Bhandarkar, List*, Nos. 176 and 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 113-15; *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1907-08, pp. 214 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 444, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 388, n. 7 and p. 389.

<sup>7</sup> *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, p. 86.

will be seen later on), which knowledge he appears to have derived from a close study of the *Ābū* inscription.

Raṇasimha was succeeded by **Kshēmasimha**, the younger brother of **Mahaṇasimha** who evidently predeceased his father. Then **Sāmantasimha** became the ruler of Mewār (v. 149). Nothing beyond the names of these princes is known from the present epigraph.

Sāmantasimha was succeeded by his brother **Kumārasimha** who turned out of Mewār one **Kitū** who had somehow taken hold of the country (v. 150). He also made *Āghāṭapura* his own by acquiring the favour of the ruler of Gujarāt.

Kitū whom Kumārasimha had driven out of Mewār was the third son of *Ālhaṇadēva*, the Chauhān ruler of Nādōl in Mārṅār. He was brave and ambitious and had acquired the dominion of Jālōr from the Paramāras through his own might, and had become an independent prince. He was the founder of the Sonagarā branch of the Chauhān race<sup>1</sup>. In the inscriptions and the copper-plates of the Chauhāns, his name is mentioned as Kīripāla but he was better known as Kitū<sup>2</sup> in Rājasthān. He seems to have attacked Mewār and taken hold of it in the reign of Sāmantasimha, the predecessor of Kumārasimha, when the former had become weaker owing to being at regular war with the rulers of Gujarāt in order to regain his dominions gone in their possession.<sup>3</sup> When Kumārasimha succeeded his elder brother Sāmantasimha, he practically seems to have nothing to govern except the fort of Chitor which the latter seems to have regained from the ruler of Gujarāt through hard struggle. One of the two 'princeships' (*nṛipatrē*, v. 151) which Kumārasimha is here stated to have gained was that acquired by expelling Kitū out of Mewār; the other was gained by recovering the ancient capital of *Āghāṭapura* which still remained in the possession of the rulers of Gujarāt.

*Āghāṭapura* was lost to Mewār as early as the first half of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era, having been attacked by Vākpatirāja (Muñja), the Paramāra ruler of Mālṅā, in the reign of Śaktikumāra, as known from v. 10<sup>4</sup> of the Hastikuṇḍī inscription of V. S. 1053 (=A.D. 997). Since then it became a Paramāra dominion along with the famous fort of Chitor which also seems to have been annexed thereto by the same prince, where used to live the celebrated Paramāra prince Bhōja, the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Muñja, who built there the great *Tilluṅgānārāyaṇa* temple (now popularly known as that of Samiddhēśvara and Mēkalajū, so called after his *biruda* of *Tilluṅgānārāyaṇa*).<sup>5</sup> This Paramāra dominion of Mewār subsequently passed in the hands of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarāt in the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja, who, after a hard struggle extending over a period of twelve years defeated Naravarman and his son Yaśōvarman, the Paramāra rulers of Mālṅā and brought the Mālṅā dominion, including *Āghāṭapura* and Chitor, under his own control<sup>6</sup>. The rulers of Gujarāt enjoyed an uninterrupted authority over both these important localities of Mewār for a long time, when Sāmantasimha of Mewār, the elder brother of Kumārasimha attacked the ruler of Gujarāt who is supposed to be Ajayapāla, to regain his lost citadels. There is no explicit mention of this fight in any of the records so far discovered, but we find an indication of it in the *Ābu* inscription of V. S. 1287 (=A.D. 1230)<sup>7</sup>, where the ruler of Gujarāt is stated to have been assisted by Pahlādanadēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of *Ābu*. Through this fight Sāmantasimha appears to have acquired the fort of Chitor

<sup>1</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 452 and Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 382, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 452.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 435-36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 437.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 211.



from the Chaulukya Ajayapāla, but had been unable to take back *Āghāṭa*, which task was ultimately carried out by his younger brother Kumārasimha as mentioned here. He was succeeded by **Mahanasimha** (v. 151) who is mentioned in other inscriptions as Mathanasimha.

Mahanasimha (Mathanasimha) was succeeded by **Padmasimha**, a prince of great valour whom people even now remember for his manifold merits (v. 152).

Next we come to the description of Rāula śrī-**Jayasimha**, also called **Jaitrasimha**. Though a fresh title is given to the portion dealing with this ruler it has to be regarded as a sub-division of the *Rāja-varṇana* which is still continued. This prince is stated to have governed the four territorial divisions, *viz.*, Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa; and no prince on the surface of the earth is said to have ever thought of humbling his pride (v. 154). He held his court at the capital of **Nāghrada**, the modern Nāgdā near Ēklingajī (v. 155).

Mēdapāṭa as mentioned here seems to have comprised the rest of Mewār excluding Chitor and Āghāṭapura, both of which are regarded as forming two different divisions. Vāgaḍa, which is described here as the fourth division, is the country to the south of Mewār, now forming two different states, *viz.*, Ḍungarpur and Bānswārā.

Rāula śrī-**Tējasimha** (vv. 158-159) is spoken of next. Nothing beyond his name and a poetical description of himself is given here. It may be noted that the portion dealing with this ruler has got a new title and a colophon, and has thus been made an independent description although apparently under *Rāja-varṇana*. The poet has evidently not been able to maintain a strict uniformity in the classification of his *varṇanas*.

The account of Rāula śrī-**Samarasimha**, the son of Tējasimha, which comes next extends over seventeen verses (vv. 160-176). It is worthy of note that the portion covered by these seventeen verses is nothing but a reproduction of the corresponding portion of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya*, in the same order. It has already been stated by me that the latter had been compiled prior to the composition of the record under consideration, borrowing verses from many old inscriptions and arranging them sometimes without the least discrimination. This being so, the present description of our record (being nothing but a copy from the *Ēk. mht.*) has naturally come to have certain verses (particularly v. 168), which, properly speaking, have no bearing on Samarasimha. Nothing of any historical importance is mentioned here of this prince. Simply his valour, munificence and such other virtues are poetically described. His erection of a small temple dedicated to Śiva called Dhārēśvara at Ēklingajī, however, finds mention in v. 167. The remaining verses of the sub-section, borrowed as they are from other inscriptions through the *Ēk. mht.*, are primarily found in connection with the other princes of this line. In v. 176 which is the last dealing with Samarasimha, he is stated to have gone to heaven having appointed **Ratnasimha**, his son, for protecting the fort of Chitor.

The last ruler recorded on this slab is Mahārāṇā śrī-**Lash(kh)amasī** whose account is continued on the fourth slab. The author here clearly distinguishes Lakhamasī by calling him *Mahārāṇā* from the foregoing princes who are styled *Rāula*, and seems to have critically studied the *Ēk. mht.*, particularly the portion dealing with the division of the family. He has here deliberately omitted the description of all the Rāṇās found just after that of Rāval Samarasimha in the *Ēk. mht.*, and has taken into account only one of them, *viz.*, Lakhamasī who, although not a crowned prince of Mewār just like others of his branch, was conspicuous by his presence with his seven sons, as a gallant defender of the fort when Chitor was sacked by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A. D. 1303. In v. 177 he is stated to have bravely defended the fort as well as the honour of the family which had been cast in a critical situation when Ratnasimha, the ruling prince, had fled (*gatē*, v. 177) from the field of battle in a cowardly manner (*kāpurushair=vinuktām*, v. 177).

This inscription does not speak of Ratnasimha as having bravely fought and died in the battle-field, as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks<sup>1</sup>. This battle is here stated to have continued for full one year (*samvatsaram*, v. 179) before the Muhammadans could capture the fort, while the Muslim historians reduce this period to half its length, *i.e.*, six months<sup>2</sup>. I really could not understand why Rai Bahadur Ojhā has omitted the word *samvatsaram* in his citation<sup>3</sup> of this verse, which is visible on the slab plainly enough.

Lastly, **Sarṃvat 1517** is given as the date of the inscription. Other particulars of the date are not given on this slab as on others, probably for want of space.

Nothing can be said definitely with regard to the authorship of the inscription until the last (*i.e.*, the fifth) slab is brought to light. Rai Bahadur Ojhā is, however, inclined to regard the author of the Tower of Victory inscription, Mahēśa of Daśapura (Daśōrā)-*jñāti* to be the author of this inscription also, on the ground of the common text found in both these records<sup>4</sup>. But the occurrence of some common text in two records does not necessarily imply the identity of authorship, for some of the verses common in both these records appear to have been borrowed from other ancient epigraphs.

It hardly needs any mention that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarna** of Mewār whose description has been taken up towards the end of the fourth slab and must have been continued on the fifth. Though the main object which the inscription aims at recording, cannot be definitely ascertained till the last slab is discovered, it stands to reason that it recorded the erection of the Kumbhasvāmin temple at Kumbhalgarh.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

##### First Slab.<sup>6</sup>

##### प्रथमपट्टिका १

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति [I\*] श्रीगणेशप्रसादात् ॥(1) श्रीसरस्वतीप्रसादात् । श्री[एक]लिंग-  
प्रसादात् । अथ श्री[श्रीः][II\*] — — — सुखमातनोतु जगतां यस्याङ्घ्रिपीठे  
लुठन्वदारुत्रिदशालिमौलिविलसद्रत्नप्रभादीपिते । सिंदूरारुणमंडलो दिनमणिर्भ-  
2 कैक[चिं]तामणिर्दत्तेर्चासु स[ह]स्रपत्रधिषणां [दे]वांगनानां प्रगे ॥१<sup>8</sup> [लंबोद\*][र]:  
प्रययतादतुलां सुदं यो बालोनुबिंबिततनुं शशिनं जिघृक्षुः । लब्धो मया-  
मृतमयखलु मोदकोयमित्यं ननत्त<sup>7</sup> गिरिजांगण-

<sup>1</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 484. [Mr. Vyāsa's interpretation seems far-fetched. *Gatē* may mean 'having died'.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Briggs' *Firishtā*, Vol. I, pp. 353-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 484, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 632.

<sup>5</sup> Transcribed from the original stone slabs.

<sup>6</sup> A portion of the text now missing on these slabs has been restored from other records. We shall, for the sake of convenience, call them in the footnotes by the following abbreviations: the Chaulukya Kumārapāla inscription of V. S. 1207 at Chitor (above, Vol. II, pp. 422-24)—A; the first slab of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331 (*Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 74-77 and Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XXV)—B; the Samādhiśvara temple inscription of V. S. 1485 (above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 96-100)—C; the *Princes' chapter* of the *Ēka-līnga-Māhātmya* of the time of Kumbhā (a fragmentary manuscript copy of which I have found in my father Samskriti Vyās Vishnu Ram Śāstri's collection)—D; the first slab of the Tower of Victory inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XX)—E; and the later *Ēk. mht.*, of the time of prince Rāi Mal (a manuscript copy of which written in V. S. 1754 I have also found in my father's collection)—F.

<sup>7</sup> Indicated by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 3 रंगभूमौ ॥[२]<sup>1</sup> त्रैलोक्यातुलरचनैकसूत्रधारः [कल्प]ाणं प्रथयतु व[ऋ]पिनाकपा\*]-  
 णिः । यद्भक्तिप्रवणधियो यदीयनाम्ना सर्वार्थान्मनुजगणाः क्षणाक्षभंते<sup>2</sup>॥३<sup>3</sup>  
 कपोलप्रोदं चन्द्रमधुरतालुब्धमधुपस्फुरद्गु-
- 4 जागोतिः श्रवण[प्र]ट]तालो गजमुखः । चलत्कु(च्छुं)डा[दंडा\*]<sup>4</sup>वालितकल[कंठः प्रथयता\*]<sup>4</sup>-  
 न्मुदं विभ्रत्सूत्रं त्रिभुवनमहामंडपविधौ ॥[४]<sup>5</sup> कुटिलासरित्समीपे त्रिकूटगिरि-  
 गहनभूषिणी नित्यं(त्यम्) [।\*] वाञ्छितफलप्रदा-
- 5 त्री देवी श्रीविंध्यवासि[नी] जयति ॥५<sup>6</sup> उद्यदिनद्युति[भासि\*][कि]रीटां तुंग ८ — ८  
 ८ — ८ ८ [यु]क्तां(क्ताम्) । स्मेरमुखीं दरदांकुशपाशाभीतिकरां प्रभजे  
 भुवनेशीं(शीम्) ॥६<sup>7</sup> जयति जगत्र(त्र)यनाथो जगतीपतिपूजितस्सदा शंभुः[।\*]
- 6 वाञ्छितफलप्रदोयं श्रीमा[नि]त्येकलिंगाख्यः ॥७<sup>8</sup> इंद्रः[स\*]र्वसुरेश्वरः [कृ][तयुगे भक्त्या  
 यमाराध\*]<sup>9</sup>यत्तेत्रायां [स]कलाभिलाषफलिनो धेनुस्तथा द्वापरे । नागेशः किल  
 तत्तकः [क]लियुगे हारीतनामा मुनिस्सोयं सर्व-
- 7 जगद्गुरुर्विजयते श्री<sup>10</sup>एकलिं[गप्र]भुः ॥८<sup>11</sup> जयत्येक[श\*]<sup>12</sup>[र]ाघातविदारि[तपुरत्रयः । धनु-  
 र्दराणां धौ\*]<sup>12</sup>[र]यः<sup>13</sup> पिनाकी भुवनत्रये ॥९<sup>14</sup> त्रैलोक्यं त्रिपुरांतकोवतु सदा  
 यन्मौ<sup>15</sup>लिमूले जटाजूटाचिं [ऋ]परिपिंजरे परिगता भात्युच्चकै-
- 8 जर्ज्वी । कर्पूरामलपट्टिकेव निहिता [जांबू]नदे भाज[ने] [है]माद्रेरुदिते[व]  
 — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — — ८ — ॥१०<sup>11</sup> क्वचिदलिपटलाभः काल-  
 कूटामु(नु)वेधात्क्वचिदमलतराभिर्भूतिभिः श्वेतकायः । विमल इव जलौघो यासु-
- 9 नः स्वार्धुनश्च प्रणुदतु दुरितं वो नीलकंठस्य [कंठः ॥११<sup>16</sup> ज]य देवि जगन्मा[तः  
 .. .. . ८ — .. .. । विदधा]नाननं दिष्ट्या प्रण-  
 तामरसंमु(नु)ते ॥१२<sup>14</sup> विष्णो[ऋ]का वल्लभा स्यात् किमु ननु गदितं बर्ष-  
 संघेग्निबीजं किं वा चार्थेव्ययं

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is no. 1 in E.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Praharshinī*.

<sup>4</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from E where the v. is no. 2. Here also the text is much mutilated.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Sikharinī*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Gīti*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Dōdhaka*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Āryā*.

<sup>9</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from v. 39, Ch. X of F.

<sup>10</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>12</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from v. 44, Ch. X of F.

<sup>13</sup> The *visarga* seems to have been added later on and hence is very faint.

<sup>14</sup> Metre : *Anushtubh*.

<sup>15</sup> The vertical stroke of the *au* sign in *mau* is very faint and seems to be a later addition.

<sup>16</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.



- 10 वा भवति निशि परं किं च रूपं तदात्र । किं मातल्याभि[धायि] स्फु[रति  
ननु] प[दं] [अ]य[से से]वका[नां दा]त[व्या]शीकथं वा वदत मतिमता<sup>1</sup>  
कुंभकर्षाय राज्ञे<sup>2</sup> ॥१३<sup>3</sup> इनो धिनोतु नो लीनोमीनो धीनो बु(व)नोपि  
नो<sup>4</sup> । विनोदनो मनोधा-
- 11 [न]ोहीनोज्ञानो न नोदनो<sup>5</sup> ॥१४<sup>6</sup> इत्याशीःप्रकरणं ॥ अथ [त्रि\*]कूटवर्षनं ॥  
शिखरेषु दुष्पगुरुभिस्तुरुभि[स्स]दुपत्यकासु विमलैः सलिलैः । सृदुकुंजगुंजदलि-  
भिर्वलिभिर्द्विरदैस्त्रिकूटशिखरो जयति ॥१५<sup>7</sup> इन्दिरारचितचारुमंदि-
- 12 रा हेमभूमिमवमत्य तामपि । विंध्यवासरुचिरैस्त्रिकू[टि]नं स्तौमि किं कि[म]परं  
तमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥१६<sup>10</sup> यत्र शृंगविहारिहौर<sup>11</sup>हरितारक्तोत्पलप्रोक्षसत्सक्तोत्तरभूरिभाभिर-  
जनि स्वर्गप्रयागभ्रमः । चित्रं तत्र विलोकयद्भिरमि[तं] चैतं त्रिकूटा-
- 13 चले नानायासवतापि दुर्लभतरा मुक्तिर्जनैराप्यते ॥[१७]<sup>12</sup> इति त्रिकूटवर्षनं ॥  
अथ कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ पातकविमतविनाशकशंकरतरवारिनिर्मला कुटिला ।  
सुरसरिदिव शिवमुपलतन्नावाधितुमुपगतः जयति ॥१८<sup>13</sup> क्वचिल्लीना मौ-

<sup>1</sup> Better read *matimatām* as qualifying *sēvakānām*.

<sup>2</sup> This verse, strictly speaking, should go to prince Kumbha's description, but being benedictory in nature it seems to have been included in this *prakaraṇa*. The solution to the riddle contained in this verse appears to be श्रीरस्तु चणदा सदा.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *naḥ*. The intentional change of *visarga* to medial *ō* at the end of both the halves of this verse appears to be for the sake of alliteration.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of this verse appears to be as follows :—

विनोदन इति वीनां अश्वानां ओदियाणां पक्षिणां वा नोदनः स्त्रेषु कर्मसु प्रेरकः इनः सूर्यः । मनी-  
धानः सिद्धिदायकत्वेन हर्षयित्वा मनसः पीषकः नः गणेशः । अहीनो न हीन इति सर्वेश्वर्यसुभगः, अथवा  
अहेः कालियस्य इनः शास्ता इनः एलक्ष्म्याः इनः पतिः कृष्णरूपो विष्णुरित्यर्थः । अज्ञानो न अर्थात् परम-  
ज्ञानवान्, द्वौ नञौ प्रकृतार्थे दृढयतः, एवंभूतो धीनः धियां मतीनां इनः स्वामी गीष्पतिरित्यर्थः । नोदनः  
जीवनस्य अग्रे प्रापकः बनोपि, अपिः समुच्चयार्थः, नो वायुः नः सकलप्राणिभिः स्तुतः, अस्य बन्धासौ नश्चेति  
विशेषणसमासः, सकललोकप्रशंसाभिरामो जीवनसमेधयिता च वायुरित्यर्थः । एष सर्वोपि लीनः आभिमुख्येन वर्त-  
मानः सन् नः अस्मान् अम् भटिति धिनोतु मंगलादिप्रदानेन प्रीणयतु इत्यर्थः ।

<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>7</sup> The syllables °*d=alibhi*- which were at first omitted by mistake are later on engraved above the line in smaller letters.

<sup>8</sup> The *r* over *ba* seems to have been engraved later on in a very narrow space.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Pramitāksharā*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

<sup>11</sup> The word *hīra* primarily means ' a diamond ', but it is here used in the sense of ' white ' which it may mean secondarily.

<sup>12</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre : *Āryā*.



- 21 लैरनल्पकमलैस्सलिलैः । मृगना[भि]पत्रमिव भातितरामिह मेदपाटजगती[यु][व\*]-  
तेः ॥२८<sup>१</sup> इति इंद्रतीर्थभोज[सरोव]र्षनं ॥ अथ कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ चक्री  
चारु चकार किंकरगतिं वज्री विशालानतिं रंभारंभमुपासितुं
- 22 परिणुतिं कर्तुं विरंची रुचिं(चिम्) । यस्यां विंध्यगिरिचिकूटकुहरोदंचच्छि<sup>२</sup>वारा-  
धनस्फौतो(ता)[दा]त्फलभाजि सा तनुमतो धेनुर्द्धि[नोतु अ]या ॥२९<sup>३</sup> उपास्य  
गुरुकंदराकुहरसंचरं शंकरं जगाम जगतीतलादिह हि कामधेनुर्द्धिवं-  
(वम्) । न
- 23 चेदमलचंद्रिकाधवलदुग्धधाराभरैः [स्फु]टैरधिधराधरं कथमभावि विंध्याचले ।।।३०<sup>४</sup>  
इति कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ अथ तक्षकवर्षनं ॥ उ[र्वीमं]डलमाविभिद्य सुतला-  
दाशु चिकूटाचले संयम्य स्वमुमापतिं परिगतो मे-
- 24 जे भुजंगाधिपः । तेनालीकित एष ना[ग]नगरं निर्माय विप्राय तद्वत्वा(च्चा)  
मन्दिजकीर्तिःकैरवकुले चंद्रायते तक्षकः ॥३१<sup>५</sup> शंकरं परिचचार तक्ष[क]ः  
स चिकूटधरि(र)णीविहारिणं(णम्) । पश्य तत्फलमनेन वक्षसा चारुहा-
- 25 र इव सोपि धार्यते ॥३२<sup>५</sup> स्वर्गसादक[त य]ः परीक्षितं भूपमप्रतिमयत्नरक्षितं-  
(तम्) । त[स्य] शौर्यमथ किं प्रशस्यते तक्षकस्य सुतवैरदारुणं(णम्) ॥३३<sup>५</sup>  
इति तक्षक[वर्षनं] ॥ अथ धारेश्वरवर्षनं ॥ एकलिंगनिलयस्य सन्मु(म्)-  
खं पा-
- 26 शिनो हरिति राजते हरः । संततं त्रि[पथ\*][भू]मिगाहिनी वाहिनी शिरसि  
येन धार्यते ॥३४<sup>५</sup> चिकूटगिरिकंदराकुहरवारिधाराभरैर्जटाघटनलंपटैः शिरसि  
यस्य संभूयते । यतेत मनसा परं परिकलय्य तं शंकरं करोतु
- 27 सुकृती निजं त्रिदशवल्लभादुर्लभं(भम्) ।।।३५<sup>४</sup> इति\*] धारेश्वरवर्षनं ॥ अथ  
वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ योनादिर्न परासुमुभक्त(ज्भ)ति न वा वैद्येन संसाध्यते  
वीरुहल्ललमूलपत्रविटपत्रातैरलं योजितैः । [तं] संसारमहागदं तनुमतामा-  
मूलमु-
- 28 छेदयन्मानध्यानमहौषधेन जय[तु श्री\*]वैद्यनाथो हरः ॥३६<sup>३</sup> अधिविंध्यमंध[क]-  
रिपुर्विपुलं यदगापयन्निजयशोऽश्वमुखीः । तदुपाचरत्त्रिदशभूमितलप्रतिवासिनाम-  
खिलतापरुजं(जम्) ॥।३७<sup>१</sup> इति वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ अथ वा(वा)-

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Pramitāksharā*.

<sup>२</sup> The conjunct *ch* seems to be engraved later on.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>४</sup> Metre : *Prithvī*.

<sup>५</sup> Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.



- 29 घेलाववर्षनं ॥ धौरं नौरं कमलम[म]लं मंजुला वं[जुला]ली स्फौतं गौतं मृदु  
मधुलिहां वीतशोकाश्च कोकाः । यत्रागाधे सरसरसितं जृंभते सारसानां  
काम्यां याम्यां दिशमनु सरः शंकरात्तच्चकास्ति ॥३[द<sup>१</sup> यद]कारि<sup>२</sup> मोकल-
- 30 नृपः स[रीवरं ल]सदिंदिरानिल[य]राजिराजितं(तम्) । उपगम्य भालनयनस्तदा[श]यं  
जलकेलये अयति नापरं पयः ॥३८<sup>३</sup> हरभालभंगुरशशियुतिभिः कुमुदाकरं  
विकचमुद्वहति । दिवसे दिनेशविवशेपि सरस्तदुप[त्रिकूट]-
- 31 मतुलं जयति ॥४०<sup>४</sup> [इति] वा(बा)[घे]लाववर्षनं ॥ अथ असमाधोश्चरवर्षनं ॥  
स्था[ष्णू(सू)]नां शकसंघतोभयत्रयः चेत्रेषु काश्यादिषु खैरं भक्तजनालये  
परिददेभीष्टं समाध्युत्सवैः ।<sup>५</sup> क्वेत्यं किं परिचिंत्य दुर्गमवितं श्रीचित्रकूटं  
नृपैर्यो-
- 32 ध्यास्ते शकघातिभिः स ज[यताहे\*]वः समाधोश्चरः ॥४१<sup>६</sup> [मौ]ली प्रौढो जलौघो  
वसति हिमवपूर्वक्रदोषाकरोपि प्रोच्चस्निग्धः कपर्दः कुटिलगतिपते<sup>७</sup> फूत्कतिः  
सत्फणानां(नाम्) । ज्वालौघो दारदोत्योधिगलमिति शिवायुक्त्समेत्या-
- 33 प रुद्रो दिश्याद्वश्चित्रकूटं विभव[म]भयर्दं द्राक् समाधोश[तां] सः<sup>८</sup> ॥४२<sup>९</sup> तस्मिन्  
देवः [स]र्वलोकैकनाथो वासं प्राप्तः प्रेयसीप्रौतिहृष्टः । इष्टे दत्ते भुक्तिमुक्तौ  
द्रुतं यः पुंभ्यो भाति श्रीसमाधोश्चरः सः ॥४३<sup>१०</sup> यस्य ध्वजं वीक्ष<sup>११</sup> पुमान्  
मनागप्यवेक्ष-
- 34 तेषौ महिषध्वजं न । संपूजयेत्तं [हृ]षभध्वजं यः प्रपूजयेत्तं गरु<sup>१२</sup>डध्वजोपि ॥४४<sup>१३</sup>  
तं दक्षिणेन प्रकटप्रभावा श्रीजङ्गकन्याकलितस्वभावा । मंदाकिनौति प्रथि-  
तास्ति वापी यां सर्वथा पश्यति नैव पापी ॥४५<sup>१४</sup> वापी परेयं मणिकर्षि-  
केव समा-

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

<sup>२</sup> This Passive Voice Aorist form of the verb in the Active Voice construction of the sentence is grammatically incorrect. It may have been used here for the sake of the metre.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Mañjubhāshinī*.

<sup>४</sup> Metre : *Pramitāksharā*.

<sup>५</sup> This *daṇḍa* being omitted at first was thinly engraved later on.

<sup>६</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>७</sup> Read *-patēh*.

<sup>८</sup> There is a little obscurity in the arrangement of words towards the end of this verse. *Āpa* is to be connected with *Chitrakūṭam* and *samādhīśatām*, and *dīśyād* with *vibhavaṁ*.

<sup>९</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.

<sup>१०</sup> Metre : *Śālinī*.

<sup>११</sup> Read *vīkshya*.

<sup>१२</sup> There is a medial *ē* stroke on *ḍa*, which is superfluous.

<sup>१३</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>१४</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.

- 35 धिशंभुः खलु विश्वनाथः । काशो प्र]काशोपि च चित्रकूटः किं नह .तद्यत्र  
[भ\*]वेद्विमुक्त्यै ॥४६<sup>१</sup> हंत्याराध्व(ङ्ग)जटर्गनं महदघं स्य(स्य)श्रीमरावासदः पूजा  
यस्य विमुक्तिदा मुनिवरैर्गीता सकृदा कृता । यत्रास्ते भगवान् स्वयं स  
जगतां भर्ता
- 36 समिद्धेश्वरस्तस्यालं गुणदण्डे[न] महिमानुक्तोपि विज्ञायते ॥४७<sup>२</sup> अ[स्मि]न् समिद्ध-  
हरदक्षिणमूर्तिसंस्थाः भक्ता(ङ्गा)रहारि निपतज्जलमज्जदोशा । मंदाकिनीसरि-  
दियं सुरनिम्नगाभाः स्नानावृणामधनुदेस्त्ववलोकनाच्च ॥४८<sup>३</sup> यत्र श्री-
- 37 मति चित्रकूटशिखरे श्रीकुंभभू[मी]पतिः प्रामादं गिरिजापतेर्व्यर[चय]न्दे(हे)वालयाली-  
वृतं(तम्) । उन्मीलत्सुपताकहेमकलशे रत्नावलीतोरणं यत्रेशः समवाप्य सौख्य-  
मधिकं धत्ते समाधीशतां(ताम्) ॥४९<sup>४</sup> यत्रासादशिरो न्यस्तध्वजहस्तेन  
राज-
- 38 ते । त्रैसंध्यतूर्यनादेन कलिं निर्भ[र्त्स्य]न्निव' ॥५०<sup>५</sup> इति श्रीमसाधेश्वर[व]र्षनं ॥  
अथ महालक्ष्मीवर्षनं ॥ शक्रापह्नृपाविते वसति चित्रकूटे शिवः शिवं प्रभजते  
दिशन्निति समीच्य लक्ष्मीः किमु । स्थितात्र मकरजर्दितस्यलभलं विहाया-
- 39 स्तु सा सतां परमुदे द्रुतं स(सु)फलदा [शि]वस्य प्रिया ॥५१<sup>६</sup> श्रीकुकु(कु)-  
टेश्वरगदाधरयोः पुरस्ताद्देव्याः श्रियोपि मद्रुपंद्रुवरैः सरोभिः । क्षीरोदधित्व-  
मधिगंतुमिवाप्तभेदः क्षीरोदधिस्विधिसृष्टिर्दिग्धाध्यावास ॥५२<sup>७</sup> साभास्यैकमहौष-  
धिर्भ-
- 40 गवती यस्मिन् भवानी स्वयं जागर्ति [प्रि]यमनिधानवसतिः सा[ध्वी]जनानां  
गुरुः । देवस्योपि समस्तनाकरमणौमंतानदानव्रतप्रशो(र्ष्यो)तस्यकरंदविंदुसुरभि-  
प्रस्फारनृत्यांगणः<sup>८</sup> ॥५३<sup>८</sup> पाव(र्व)तौमुखपद्मस्य नचभ्रमरशोभिनः ।
- 41 प्रबोधहेतवे नम्रः<sup>९</sup> कुकु(कु)टेश्वरभानवे ॥५४<sup>९</sup> इति महालक्ष्मीवर्ष[नं] ॥\*<sup>१०</sup> अथ  
कुंभस्वामिवर्षनं ॥ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ यत्र दधाते कलशत्रियं(यम्) । प्रासादः  
कारितः कुंभस्वामिनः कु(कुं)भभूभुजा ॥५५<sup>१०</sup> यस्त्रैल्लोक्यजनिस्थितिप्रलयकृत्<sup>१०</sup>यो-  
(द्यो)

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>२</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>४</sup> This verse is found in l. 23 of A where the first half of it is destroyed.

<sup>५</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>६</sup> Metre : *Prithvī*.

<sup>७</sup> The syllable *vā* is only partially engraved.

<sup>८</sup> This verse is no. 70 in C where variance in reading is in *saṁtāna-āna-ṛaja*. It will be seen that our author has improved the reading.

<sup>९</sup> The sense is *namrō bhavāmi*.

<sup>१०</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 42 दानवेद्रांतको यो विष्णुस्थितये वभार दशधा मूर्तिं [मु]नीद्रैर्नु[तां(ताम्) । दं]-  
 द्वाग्रोद्धतसाद्रिसागरधरो ध्यातश्च यो योगिभिर्विष्णुर्यत्र विराजते स भगवानाद्यो  
 वराहाकृतिः ॥५६<sup>१</sup> सत्यं संति जगत्र(त्त)योपरिसरे ते ते सुराधीश्वरा  
 येषां
- 43 संस्मृतिमात्रमत्र फलदं स्वर्गापवर्गादिनः । अस्माकं तु यदा[धि चि]त्तफलके<sup>२</sup>  
 संकल्पकल्पद्रुमं कुंभस्वामिपदारवि(विं)दमुदितं तेनैव सर्वाभयः ॥५७<sup>१</sup> इति श्री-  
 कुंभस्वामिवर्षनं ॥ अथ मेदपाटवर्षनं ॥ अथास्ति देशः प्रवरप्रदेशः
- 44 श्रीमेदपाटाभिधया प्रतीतः । स्वर्गोपि यं वीक्ष्य विलक्षभावाद[ल]क्षभावं प्रतिपद्य  
 तस्थौ ॥५८<sup>३</sup> तौथैर्मंदरकंदरैरिव मनोहृद्यैः पुरैः स्वःश्रियो लावण्यैरिव विस्तृतैः  
 सितमणिस्वच्छैः सरोभिश्च यः । व्योमश्रीमुकुरैरिव प्रतिपदं
- 45 स्फूतो जयत्यंगनासौंदर्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभि[ध]ः<sup>४</sup> ॥५९<sup>१</sup> उच्चैर्देवगृहैस्स-  
 रा(रो)भिरमलैः पुण्यापगाभिर्महावापौभिः शरदिंदुधामधवलैस्त्तोरणे(णै)र्मंदिरैः ।  
 आरामैरतुलैर्विचित्रखनिभिश्चाभंगलिहैरद्रिभिर्या
- 46 नूनं हसतीव शक्रवसुधां सन्नायकालंक्रता ॥६०<sup>१</sup> वाहा यत्र [त्रि]लोड्गवा इव नरा  
 गंधर्वपुत्रा इव स्वर्जाता इव धेनवश्च सुदृशो गीर्वाणकन्या इव । पंचास्या  
 इव शस्त्रिणो मणिरिव स्वच्छं मनो धीमतां देशस्सोयमनर्गलामरपुरश्री-
- 47 गर्वसर्वकखः(षः)<sup>५</sup> ॥६१<sup>१</sup> प्रजवितुरगहिषारावमाकर्ष्य यस्यासहनयुवतिलोके [कान]नांतं  
 प्रयाति । रुचिरवसनहा[रैः] कंटका(क)शावसक्तैर्धवखदिरपलाशाः कल्पवृक्षत्व-  
 मापुः<sup>६</sup> ॥६२<sup>७</sup> यत्र सत्रप्रपाः पांथसार्थविश्रामभूमयः ।<sup>८</sup> प्रति-
- 48 ग्रामं प्रतिपुर<sup>९</sup> प्रतिपत्तनमाबभुः ॥६३<sup>१०</sup> नदौतटस्थास्त्रयोध्वजारिणां अमं लुधां  
 चापहरंति हेलया । कुलीनभावात्स्वयमेव देहिनः परोपकारे हि भवंति  
 तत्पराः ॥ ॥६४<sup>११</sup> सरसाः कवयो यत्र गुरवस्तत्व(त्त)वेदिनः । बुधाः संति  
 प्रमाण-

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>२</sup> There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over *kē*.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>४</sup> This verse is no. 6 in B.

<sup>५</sup> This verse is no. 7 in B where variance in reading is in °*marapurī-śrī-garva*.

<sup>६</sup> This verse is no. 16 in B and belongs to the description of prince Bhōja of the Guhila family.

<sup>७</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.

<sup>८</sup> This mark of punctuation is incomplete.

<sup>९</sup> Read °*puram*.

<sup>१०</sup> Metre : *Anuśṭubh*.

<sup>११</sup> Metre : *Vamśastha*.



- 49 ज्ञास्तदलं स्वर्गसंस्तवैः ॥६५<sup>1</sup> सुधा च वसुधा चात्र समे विश्वधृता कृते ।  
तयोर्वर्षविशेषेण परमेका विशिष्यते ॥६६<sup>1</sup> मानवा मानवा यत्र प्रमदाः  
प्रमदाः सदा । केवलं केवलं प्राप्य तापसास्तापसा न हि ॥६७<sup>1</sup> कलाक<sup>2</sup>लाप-  
प्रथि-
- 50 तात्मभूपा जना न हीनाः कलयापि यत्र । तत्तत्कथातः कलुखा(षा)[श]योय<sup>3</sup>  
तुलामलंकर्तुमुपैति चंद्रः ॥६८<sup>4</sup> एतदनंतरवर्षनं [द्वितीय\*]<sup>5</sup>पट्टिकाया अंक-  
क्रमेण वेदितव्यं ॥ संवत् १५१[७] वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्तमाने मार्ग-  
शीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः [॥\*]

Third Slab.

[तृतीयपट्टिका ३]

- 1 हारीत[रा]शिसु[निपुंगव] — — — — [सि] — — — सादव — —  
— — [१\*] — — — — [भि]षिच्य चिरा[य] — — — —  
— — — — — [ग्रभूर्यः ॥१२१<sup>6</sup> श्री] — [य]कु[जापरना][मधे-  
यात्तपो\*]-
- 2 निधाना[दु]दभूद्विजेन्द्रः ॥(1) [हारी][तराशि] — — नि\*[ष्कलं]को — गा —  
— — — — [॥१२२<sup>7</sup> जीयाद[ानंदपूर्व] तदिह पुरमिला]खंड-  
[सौंदर्य\*]<sup>7</sup>[शोभि] [क्षोणी][पृष्ठ\*]<sup>7</sup>[स्थ][मेव\*]<sup>7</sup> [त्रि]द[शपुरमधो(धः)] कु[र्वदुच्चै\*]<sup>7</sup>
- 3 [स]मृद्ध्या ॥(1) यस्मादागत्य विप्रश्च[तुरुदधिमहीवेदि\*]<sup>7</sup>[निक्षिप्तयूपो ब][प्याख्यो  
वीतरागश्चरण\*]<sup>7</sup>[युगसु]पासीत<sup>8</sup> हारीतराशेः<sup>9</sup> ॥१२३<sup>10</sup> सं[प्राप्याद्भुत]मिक[लिं]ग-  
[चर]णंभोजप्रसा[दा]त्फ[लं] [यस्मै\*]<sup>11</sup>
- 4 [दि]व्यसुवर्षपादक[टकं] हारीतराशिर्हृदौ ॥(1) बप्याख्यः[स पुरा पुराणपुरुषः\*]<sup>11</sup>  
[प्रा][रं\*]<sup>11</sup>[भ]निर्व्व<sup>12</sup>हणातु[ल्योत्साह]गु[णो] बभूव [ज]ग[ति] श्री]मिदपाटाधिपः  
॥१२४<sup>13</sup> [सदैक\*]<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Anushtubh*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a superfluous medial *ē* stroke over this *ka*.

<sup>3</sup> Read °*sayō=yam*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>5</sup> Due space for these three syllables is left on the slab.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>7</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Read °*m=upāsishṭa*.

<sup>9</sup> This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojha (*Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 380, n. 2).

<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Sragdharā*.

<sup>11</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 10 and 29 respectively. The difference in reading in the former is in *purāṇa-purusha-prārambha-* and in the latter in *=phalam ch=āsmāi* and *babhūva nripatih*.

<sup>12</sup> First *ryā* was engraved which was afterwards turned into *rvvā*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>14</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

- 5 लिं [र्चनशुद्धबो[धसं]प्रा[प्त]सा[युज्य\*]<sup>1</sup>[महोदयस्य][ । हारीतराशेरसमप्र\*]<sup>1</sup>सादादवाप बप्पो  
नवरा[ज्य]लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मीम्) ॥१२[५]<sup>2</sup> बप्पे शि[वे] लयमुपे[युषि] नीलकंठ[प्रौढप्र\*]<sup>3</sup>
- 6 [सादम]प्रा[प्त]दमवाप्य त[स्य] ॥(1) [वंशो] [जगत्त्रय\*]<sup>4</sup>[प][वित्रचरित्रपात्रमद्याप्यखंड\*]<sup>5</sup>-<sup>3</sup>  
म[खिलां] जयतीं प्र[शास्ति] ॥१[२६]<sup>4</sup> इति म[हारा]उ[ल]श्रीवापावर्षनं ॥ ॥  
अथ राउलश्री[गुहद\*]-
- 7 [त्तव]र्षनं ॥ तस्यात्मजः [स नृप]तिर्गु[हि][लाभिधानो धर्माच्छशास वसुधां  
मधु\*]<sup>6</sup>[जित्प्रभावः ॥(1) यस्मा[ह]धी गुहिलवर्षनया [प्रसि]द्धां गौहिल्य[वं]श-  
[भव]राजगणोत्र जातिं(तिम्) ॥१[२७]<sup>4</sup> य\*
- 8 [आ]नंदपुरे] पूर्व गुह[द]त्ता[भिधो द्विजः] ॥(1) स ले[भे] .. ∪ — — .. ..  
... .. ∪ — ∪ .. ।\*<sup>6</sup> ॥१२८<sup>6</sup> [गु]हिलधरणिनाथोत्तुंगरंगः<sup>7</sup> [प्र]ताप-  
स्वरूपतरणिरि[ष] स्ना]पयन्वैरिचंद्रान् ॥(1) व्यचरद[तिविकि\*]<sup>8</sup>
- 9 [त्रं सं]ततं यत्पृथि[व्या]मदहद[रिवधूटीपद्मिनी][नां सुखाब्ज(ब्जम्)\*]<sup>8</sup> ॥१२९\*<sup>9</sup>  
— — ∪ — [त्रा\*]<sup>6</sup>[सि]तशत्रुबंधुः प्रतापसंतर्जितपद्मबंधुः ॥(1) [गां]भीर्य[दू]-  
रीक[त]सप्तसिंधुर्यशोभर[न्य] ∪ ∪ — ∪
- 10 [सिंधुः] ॥१३०<sup>2</sup> य[स्मा]दभू[द्भृ]रितर[प्रता]पो [भूपालमौ][लि\*] ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —  
[।\*] — — ∪ — — रघुव[त्सु]ध[न्वा यस्मा]त्प्र[सि]द्धो गुहिलान्ववायः  
॥१[३]१<sup>2</sup> [गुह]प्रदाना]द्गुहदत्तनामा वंशो[यसुक्तो
- 11 गुहिल]श्च कैश्चित् ॥(1) स एव गांभीर्य[वशाद्धिभर्ति रत्ना][कर\*] — ∪ ∪ —  
∪ — — ॥१३२<sup>2</sup> [ला]टीजनेन मधुरस्वरगीत[के]न पीनस्तनेन रति[काल-  
विषत्तणे]न ॥(1) साद्धं विनोदितदिनी [ग-
- 12 ति]मंथरेण लाटीविनोद इति तस्य ब[भूव सू]नुः ॥१३३<sup>4</sup> [इति राउलश्री-  
गुहदत्तवर्षन\*] ॥ ॥ अथ राउलश्रीषु(खु)म्माणवर्षनं ॥ ह[र्षा]द्योतोल[य]त्सं  
निजसुतगृहिणीसंयुतं कांच[निन प्रा-

<sup>1</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>3</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D and E where the verse is no. 30 and 7 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>5</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 13 and 17 respectively. The difference in reading in the latter is in *Srīmān=abhūt=sa*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>7</sup> Better omit the *visarga* and read *°raṅga-pralūpas=*.

<sup>8</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse no. 18 where the difference in reading is in *°turinga-rimṅa-*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.

- 13 दा]त्तद्याचकभ्यः कनकमिति लस[त्कल्पवृक्षोपमा][नः । कौर्त्तिं विस्तारयन्वां तु\*]-<sup>1</sup>  
हिनदधिसुधाञ्चौरहीरावदातां स श्रीषु(खु)म्माण[नामा] स[म]भवदेवनेर्नायको  
भूरिभा[ग्यः] ॥
- 14 १]३४<sup>2</sup> विलंबयंतौ संकलं महौत[लं दि]गं[गणं वारि][निघोन् गिरिव्रजं(जम्) ।  
षु(खु)\*]<sup>3</sup>म्माणरा[जन्यशिरोम]णिरसावसौ [न]न[र्त्ताद्भुतकीर्त्ति]नर्त्तकी ॥१३५<sup>4</sup> [त्रंगाः  
संप्राप्त]भंगाः[ः सम][रभु\*]-<sup>5</sup>
- 15 वि परं दत्तनागाः कलिंगा [वं(वं)गा नष्टाखिलांगा<sup>6</sup> श][रततिहंतिभिः पाति-  
तांगा\*]<sup>5</sup>स्त्रिलिंगाः ॥(1) सौराष्ट्रात्य(स्य)क्तराष्ट्रा [न]रपतितिलकप्रस्थितौ दिग्जयार्थ  
[ची]डाः सं[त्य][क्तचूडा\*]<sup>5</sup>
- 16 रणरस[पट]वो द्राविडी [नैवे गौडा]ः ॥१३६<sup>2</sup> प्रा[च्या] — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —  
[दजग]ण्णो दक्षिणोत्योभवद्भौ वाचमनिंदितां नरपतेरौदीच्यकोप्याददे ॥(1)  
प(पा)श्चात्योपि न [भू][षणानि\*]
- 17 [वितर]न्पाश्चा[त्यभावं दधौ तस्मि]न्दि[ग्विजयोद्यते न][रपतौ\*] — — ∪ — [त्यंजसा]  
॥१३७<sup>7</sup> ॥ इति राजलश्रीषु(खु)म्माणवर्षनं ॥ ॥ अथ राजवर्षनं ॥ अतः श्री-  
राजवंशोत्र प्र[व्यक्त]ः [प्रो][च्यते\*]-
- 18 [धुना] ॥(1) चिरंतनप्र[शस्तौ]नाम[ने]का[ना]म[तः(वे)]क्षणा[त् ॥१३८<sup>4</sup> तस्मिन् गुहि-  
लवं]श्रीभूज्जोनामावनीश्वरः ॥(1) तस्मान्म[ही]द्रनागाहो<sup>9</sup> बप्पाख्यश्चापराजितः ॥१३९<sup>8</sup>  
महो[द्रभट्ट(ट)सं-
- 19 पाला]त्कालभोजस्तोजनि ॥(1) षु(खु)[म्माणो मत्त]ट्या[सौद्ध(तृ)पट्टे(ट्टो)]थ<sup>10</sup> प(त्र)-  
[क्षटः] ॥१४०<sup>8</sup> नरवाहनसंज्ञश्च शालि[वाह]न[भूप]तिः ॥(1) [ज]ज्ञे शक्तिकुमा-  
राख्यस्तस्मादंवा(बा)प्रसादतः<sup>11</sup> ॥१४१<sup>8</sup>
- 20 [न्व]म्मानंतवर्मा च यशोवर्मा महौपतिः ॥(1) तयो[प्यंवा(बा)]प्र[सादस्य जज्ञि]रे  
[भ्रा]तरोस्य च ॥१४२<sup>8</sup> ततश्च योग<sup>12</sup>[रा]जोभू[न्मे]दपाटे महौपतिः ॥(1) अपि  
राज्ये<sup>13</sup> स्थिते तस्मिन् तच्छाषा(खा) नो[कृ(च्छ)यं]

<sup>1</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Sragdharā*.

<sup>3</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>5</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Read °*khilamgāh*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Anushtubh*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Sūrdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>9</sup> Either read *Mahindra-Nāg-āhvau* or *Mahindrō Nāg-āhvō*.

<sup>10</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>11</sup> Read -*prasādakāh*.

<sup>12</sup> Space for one letter between these two syllables seems to have originally been defective on the slab and hence not used for engraving.

<sup>13</sup> Read *rājyē*.



- 21 गता ॥१४३<sup>१</sup> पश्चादस्रटसंताने वैरटोभू[न्न]रिखरः ॥(1) ततः [श्रीहंसपालश्च] वै[रि]-  
सिंहो [नृपाग्र]णीः ॥१४४<sup>१</sup> स्थापितोभि[न\*]वो येन श्रीन(म)दाघाटपत्तने ॥(1)  
प्राकारश्च चतुर्दिक्षु च[तुर्गोपु][र\*]-
- 22 भूषितः ॥१४५<sup>१</sup> द्वाविंशतिः सुतास्त[स्य] बभूवुः सगु(द्गु)णालयाः ॥(1) तेषां मध्ये  
बभूवैको नरेंद्रः पुण्यभाजनं(नम्) ॥[१४६<sup>१</sup> तस्म]त् सुवैरसिंहोभूदरसिंहस्ततोजनि  
॥(1) तत्पट्टे चोडनामा[सौहृह]-
- 23 हं[धु]र्द्विराधिपः ॥१४७<sup>१</sup> चोडस्याप्यग्रजो [ज]ज्ञे बंधुर्विक्रमकेसरी ॥(1) तत्सुतो रण-  
सिंहाख्यो राज्ये रंजितसत्प्रजः ॥१४८<sup>१</sup> [श्री]महणसिंहकनिष्ठ(ठ)भ्रातृश्रीक्षेमसिंह-  
स्तत्सूनुः<sup>२</sup> ॥(1) सा[मंतसिंह]-
- 24 ना[मा] भूमिपतिभूतले जातः ॥१४९<sup>३</sup> भ्राता कुम(मा)रसिंहोभूत्स्वराज्यग्राहिणं  
परं(रम्) ॥(1) देशान्निक्का(ष्का)सयामास कौतूंसंज्ञं नृ[पं] तु यः ॥१५०<sup>१</sup>  
स्त्रौकृतमाघाटपुरं गूर्जरनृपतिं प्रसा[द्य मि][श्री\*]-
- 25 [घ(घा)त् ॥(1) येन] नृपत्वे लब्धे तदनु श्रीमहणसिंहोभूत् ॥१५१<sup>३</sup> तद्भ्राता  
पद्मसिंहाख्यपृथ्वीशः पृथु[वि]क्रमः ॥(1) अद्यापि संस्मरंतीह [ज]नौघा यस्य  
सद्गुणान् ॥१५२<sup>१</sup> यः सदा शौर्य[सौ]र्दार्यगांभी-
- 26 यौर्द[र्यमंदिरं(रम्) ॥(1) स श्रीमान् पद्मसिंहोभून्नान्यस्तेन समो नृपः ॥ १[५३]<sup>१</sup> अथ  
राउलश्रीजयसिंहस्यनं ॥ तत्पुत्रस्तु नि[ज]प्रतापदहनज्वालासुसंधुक्षितः<sup>४</sup> प्रो[हा]म-  
प्रतिप[क्षसं]-
- 27 तति]रभूत्श्री(च्छी)जैत्रसिंहो नृपः ॥(1) यस्याकारि न [कु]त्र[चित्ति]ति[भुजा के]-  
नापि भूमंडले नित्यं देशचतुष्टयीं विलसतः सन्मा(म्मा)नभंगे] मनः ॥१५४<sup>५</sup>  
दुर्गं श्रीचित्रकूटं समप[रमपरं भीषणं भी-
- 28 मद्गुं] चाघाटं मेदपाटं निखिलमपि वरं वागडं — — — [श्रीमन्नागं]-  
ह्रदेसौ विलसति निजदोदंडसा[म]र्थ्यतो यः ख्यातः सौर्यं [जगत्यां चिर]मिह  
जयताजै(ज्जै)त्रसिंहो नर(रे)द्रः [॥१५५]<sup>६</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Metre: Anushtubh.

<sup>२</sup> The first and the second quarters are irregular each having a syllabic instant in excess.

<sup>३</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>४</sup> Omit visarga and read -su-samdhukshita-prōddāma-.

<sup>५</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>६</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

- 29 [इह हि भव][ने]भूवन् भूयो नरा हतकक(क्रि)या ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ --- ---  
[के] ग[त]ा न हि पंचतां(ताम्) ॥(1) स्फुटमिति [वचो] धृत्वा चित्ते  
[चिरं प]रिभाव्य च सहितकरणे यत्नं(त्नो) नित्यं जनाः प्रविधीयतां(ताम्) ॥(1)
- 30 १५६<sup>1</sup> न[लिनीदलजलतरलं] धनयौव[न] . . . . . [\*] . . . . .  
[णां] निजम[नसि] चिरं विचिंत्येति ॥१५७<sup>2</sup>॥ ॥ अथ राउलश्रीतेजसिंहवर्षनं ॥  
धर्मे [य]स्य मतिर्नति[गुरु]ज[ने]
- 31 प्रीति<sup>3</sup> स]दा सद्गुणे दत्तिः पात्रगणे रणे च [निहतिः सद्भिः समं संगतिः ।  
नीति\*]<sup>4</sup> [लौ]किककर्मनर्मसुविधौ नि[र्द्धूत]लोभोद्धतिस्तेज<sup>5</sup>सिंहनरा[धि]पो विज-  
यतां तां प्रा[प्य] रा]ज्यश्रियं(यम्) ॥१५८<sup>6</sup> पद्मा-
- 32 च्यंक्रिकर]द्वयः करिकराकारोरुजं[घा] ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡  
[गं ना]भिं च रोमावली(लीम्) ॥(1) वि[स्ती]र्षां हृदयेतुल्लिकतटे सत्कंठ  
आचूचुकात् सुभ्रूस्म(श्म)शुशिराः सुतीक्ष्ण[न-
- 33 यनो] भ[क्त्या] युतो भूपतिः ॥१५९<sup>6</sup> इ[ति] राउलश्रीतेजसिंहवर्षनं ॥ अथ  
राउ\*]लश्रीसमरसिंह[व]र्षनं ॥ इह हि समरसिंहस्तस्य पुत्रः [सुवा]हस्त्रि-  
भुवनपरिसंपत्कौ(सर्पत्कौ)र्निगंगाप्रवा[हः] ॥(1)
- 34 [ध]रति [धरणि]भा रं कूर्मपृष्ठा(ष्ठा)वतारं [निजकरकमलेनास्थापनाय प्रजातः\*]<sup>7</sup>  
[॥१६०<sup>8</sup>] अज[नि] समरसिंहः कौस्तुभः चौरसिंधाविव निधिरधिधान्नामन्ववायेत्र  
भूपः ॥(1) अधिगतपरभागः [पुं]ड-
- 35 [रीकाक्षवक्षः]स्थलप[रि]सरधृत्या प्रा[प्तसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीः\*]<sup>9</sup> [॥१६१\*]<sup>8</sup> [दुर्गे श्रीचित्रकूटे\*]<sup>10</sup>  
[विल]सति [नृ]पती सर्वसामंतचूडारत्नप्रद्योतितांङ्गावभवदिति मतिर्दृक्कथं संप्र-  
याति ॥(1) सत्यं कृष्णः स कृ-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Haripā*.

<sup>2</sup> The metre here seems to be *Upagīti* but the exact number of syllables (short and long) is difficult of determination.

<sup>3</sup> Read *prītiḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 52. The difference in reading is in *sadā sad-gurau*, *Tējahsinhu* and *sanprūpya rūjya*.

<sup>5</sup> The metre here requires a long syllable. Read *Tējah°*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>7</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 53.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.

<sup>9</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 54.

<sup>10</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

- 36 [णोभवदुचितमिदं कृ]त्तिवा[साः शिवो][भूच्छैतांशुः प्रत्यहं यत्क्षतिमतिकलुषां\*]<sup>1</sup>  
[युक्त]मितद्वभार ॥१६२<sup>2</sup> अमरनगरजैत्रं चित्रकूटं पुरास्मिन् भवति समरसिंह(हे)  
शासति क्षोणिपाल(ले) ॥(1) क-
- 37 [नककलशहे]ला[प्रस्फुरद्रश्मिजा][लैर्दिनमणिकिरणालीसंप्रकाशानपेक्षं(क्षम्)\*]<sup>3</sup> ॥१६३<sup>4</sup> जगति  
कति न संति प्रार्थितार्थप्रदानप्रकटितनिजशक्तिव्यक्तकीर्त्तिप्रपंचाः ॥(1) परमिह  
पर-
- 38 [लोकश्री]वश्रीका[र]सारं [अयति] स[मर][सिंहो दानमस्ताभिमानः\*]<sup>5</sup> ॥१६४\*<sup>4</sup>  
[क्वचित्कदाचिद्दा\*]<sup>6</sup>[नां]बु हस्तो वर्धति वा न वा ॥(1) श्रीमत्समरसिंहस्य  
स तु सर्वत्र सर्वदा ॥१६५<sup>7</sup> किं कोप्यहो समरसिंह-
- 39 [नरेश्व]रस्य सद्द्वैर्यसौ(शौ)[र्य]नयकी[र्त्ति][कलाकलापं(पम्) । संख्यातुमत्र पटुधीर्भवि-  
ताथवास्ते तस्मा\*]<sup>8</sup>दलं लपनपल्लवलालनेन ॥१६६<sup>9</sup> विद्युद्विभ्रमचंचलं खलु नृणा-  
मायुर्धनं यौवनं संचित्येति चि-
- 40 [रं] विशुद्धमनसा [की]र्त्तिः परं [स्थायि][नो । चंद्राख्यप्रिययान्वितः स्वयमयं  
धारेश्वरः कारितो\*]<sup>10</sup> [ल]क्ष्मीर्वदतीव संनिपतता धारांभसात्रानिशं(शम्) ॥१६७<sup>11</sup>  
कैकी कस्मादकस्मादनुसरति सुदं
- 41 [किं म]रालः क[रा]लो वाचा[लक्ष्यातकः][किं किमिति तरुशिखासंगतोयं बकोटः ।  
नैषा वर्षावना\*]<sup>12</sup>ली विलसति भुवने किंतु भोजप्रयाणे लक्ष्यं नैवांतरिक्षं  
चलितहयखुरोद्धृतधृ-
- 42 लीपटेन ॥१६८<sup>2</sup> तु[रंगलाला\*]<sup>13</sup>गजदान[नीरप्र][वाहयोः संगममुद्वहंती । अस्य प्रयाणे  
निखिलापि भूमिः\*]<sup>13</sup> प्रयागलक्ष्मीं विभरांबभूव ॥१६९<sup>14</sup> आकर्ण्य पन्नगीगीतं  
यस्य बाहुपराक्रमं(मम्) ॥(1) शिर-
- 43 शालनया शेष[श्चक्रे कं]पं [प]रं सुवः<sup>15</sup> ॥१७०<sup>7</sup> यं त्या[गिन मनोहरेण कृतिनः  
कर्णोयमाचक्षते यं पार्थं प्रथयति वै\*]<sup>16</sup>रिसुभटाः शौर्येण सत्वा(च्चा)धिकं(कम्)  
॥(1) यं रत्नाकरमामनंति गुणिनी धैर्येण मर्यादया

<sup>1</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.

<sup>3</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 56.

<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.

<sup>5</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 57.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>6</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 58.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>8</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 59.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>10</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 60.

<sup>12</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 17 and 61 respectively. It will be seen that in the former it describes prince Bhōja and not Samarasimha.

<sup>13</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 34 and 62 respectively. In the former it describes prince Mahāyaka.

<sup>14</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>15</sup> This verse is no. 37 and 63 in B and D respectively. In the former it describes prince Khummāna.

<sup>16</sup> Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 48 and 64 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Śaktikumāra is in *Tyāgēn-ārthi manō-harēṇa*.



- 44 यं मेरुं हि स[मा]श्रये[ण] विबुधाः शंसन्ति सर्वोन्नतं(तम्) [॥१७१]¹ [भृगुपतिरिव  
इमः² क्षत्रसंहारकारी सुरगुरुरिव शश्व\*]³[न्]नी(नी)तिमार्गानुसारौ ॥(१) स्मर  
इव सुरतेषु प्रेयसीचित्तहारी शिविरिव स बभूव वस्तस-
- 45 त्वो(त्वो)पका[री] ॥१७२⁴ यस्य धनुर्गुणकिण्वति [विभ्रति विश्वंभरां भुजादंडे ।  
क्लेशविशेषमशेषं शेषः परिहृत्य सु\*]⁵दितोस्ति ॥१७३⁶ योर्यान् एषोऽप्यर्जुनार्थ-  
मेव सन्नीतिदक्षो व्यसनैर्विहीनः ॥(१) विहीनसं-
- 46 स[र्गप]राज्ञ(ञ्ज)खस्य स्त्रीसंग्रहो यस्य सुता[र्यमासीत्\*]⁷ [॥१७४]⁸ [तस्यामतिरतिरभव-  
त्तस्य सतीष्वपि वधूषु रम्या\*]⁹सु ॥(१) अन्याशु(सु) पुष्यजातिषु जात्यां  
खलु मधुकरस्येव ॥१७५⁶ स रत्नसिंहं [त]नयं नियुज्य स्वं
- 47 [चित्र]कूटाचलरक्षणाय ॥(१) महेशपू[जाहृतकल्मषौघ इलापतिः स्वर्गपतिर्बभूव\*]¹⁰  
[॥१७६⁸ अथ म\*]हाराणाश्रीलष(ख)मसौवर्षनं ॥ षुं(खुं)माणवंशः¹¹ खलु लक्ष्म-  
सिंहस्तस्मिं¹² गते दुर्गवरं ररत्न ॥(१) कुलस्थि-
- 48 [तिं] कापुरुषैर्विसृतां न जातु धीराः [पुरुषा]स्त्वजन्ति¹³ ॥१७७\*]¹³ [किञ्चा श\*]¹⁴  
[स्त्रा]णि श[स्त्रै]रथ रथनिकरैर्घातयित्वा रथौघानश्चानश्चैर्निहृत्य प्रबलतरगजान्  
पातयित्वा गजैश्च ॥(१) इत्वा योधांश्च योधैरतिश-
- 49 कनिधनाकालकालोपमेयो लक्ष्मीसिंहश्चकारातुलतुमुलम[लं] संगरं सं[गरज्ञः] ॥१७८¹⁵  
इत्थं स्नेच्छत्त[यं] कृत्वा संख्ये संव[त्सरं नृपः] ॥(१) चित्रकूटाचलं रत्नं  
शस्त्रपूतो दिवं ययौ¹⁶ [॥१७९¹⁷] सं १५१७ व[र्षे] ।[\*]

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² Better omit *visarga* and read *dripta-kshatra*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 50 and 65 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Amraprasāda, is in *rati-lōla-prēyasī-chitta-chārī*.

⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 66.

⁶ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 67.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 68. The verse obviously seems to contain a partial description of some royal damsel. It is indiscriminately fitted in both these records successively, having been borrowed from some other record.

¹⁰ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 69.

¹¹ Better read *Khumāna-vanśyah*.

¹² Read °s=*tasmin*.

¹³ This verse is no. 77 in D.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 78.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁶ This verse is no. 79 in D.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

## No. 45.—KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NĀGPUR.

**Kāman**, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the State of Bharatpur in Rājputāna, is situated in 27° 39' N. and 77° 16' E. about 35 miles North by West from Bharatpur and about 40 miles from Mathurā. There are several derivations given of the place-name. According to one account the old name of the place was Kadambavana from the numerous Kadamba trees found there; another account traces the present name to a mythical Rājā Kāmasēna<sup>1</sup>, while according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji it is derived from Kāmavana<sup>2</sup>. In the middle of the town there is an old fort which contains a mosque called Chaurāsi Khambā built with materials from Hindu temples. A Sanskrit inscription on one of the pillars built into the inner side of the court-wall of this mosque has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is undated, but according to the Pandit it can be referred to about the eighth century A.D. It records the building of a temple of Vishṇu by a prince of the Sūrasēna dynasty.

The present inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was brought to my notice by Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra, who kindly furnished me with two excellent estampages and a photograph of it. The stone which bears this record is said to have been obtained from a large well situated about half a mile outside Kāman. It is now at Gokul in the possession of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj Gosai who very kindly allowed Mr. Agrawala to copy it. Kāman is one of the twelve holy places of the Vraja Maṇḍal and is also one of the headquarters of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj. The same stone contains another record in Persian embossed letters on the reverse side.<sup>3</sup> I feel deeply grateful to the Gosai Maharaj for permission to edit the present record.

The writing covers a space 2' 2" broad by 1' 8½" high. There are twenty-four lines in all, of which the last is only one-third of the rest. The inscription has been very badly mutilated especially in lines 1-12 where only about a dozen *aksharas* at either end are now legible. Even in the lower half of the record where the writing is better preserved, a few *aksharas* here and there have been completely damaged, while some others can be read only with patience and perseverance from the faint traces which can still be marked on the back of the impressions. The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. They are very beautifully written and skilfully incised, the strokes for medial vowels being ornamentally treated as in the Jhālrāpāṭan inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Especially noteworthy are the signs for the medial *ā*, *i* and *ī* and the diphthongs. These appear in many

<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rājputāna*, pp. 338-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> [This record was copied by me in January, 1937, and has been noticed in the *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, for 1936-37. The stone, I was told by the Gosai Maharaj himself, came out of the well which was re-excavated at his instance. A number of broken Hindu images also came out of it some of which were seen placed near the well when I visited Kāman. The inscription seems to have been deliberately damaged, probably by the Muslim invaders. Mr. G. Yazdani has kindly sent me the following translation of the Persian record which is incised on the other side of the stone :

“ The well was originally excavated some 50 years ago; but was filled up with stone and earth during the governorship of Muḥammad Hājī. As the scarcity of water was causing trouble to people the well was re-excavated in the month of Ramzān 669 H. (A.D. 1271) during the reign of Ghiyāthud-d-Dīn Balban, and the government of Nuṣrat Khān, the fief-holder of Bayāna. ”

This record is under publication in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180 ff.

cases on the top of letters and their flourishes extend to several letters on the right and left, which, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the original, cause not a little confusion in decipherment. Some of the letters such as *j* and *r* appear more developed here than in the other inscription from Kāman edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. It may again be noted that the signs for the medial *i* and *ī* in the latter record do not appear wholly over the top of letters as they do in the present one.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening *ōm namaḥ Śivāya* and the particulars of the dates here and there, the whole inscription appears to have been metrically composed. The verses are not numbered and in the present damaged condition of the record it is not possible to state their total number. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* and *vice versâ* (see *trītyāyām* l. 13 and *chatastrīmśan*= l. 18), of *v* for *b* (as in *Kamvali* l. 23), and of *m* for *anusvāra* and *sh* for *visarga* (see *Samvat* l. 13 and =*āvikalpatash=pratimāsam* ll. 16-17), unless the latter is meant to be the sign for *...*

The present record is of the same type as the Sīyaḍōṇī<sup>1</sup> and Āhār<sup>2</sup> inscriptions, being a collective public copy of a number of deeds recording donations and endowments made from time to time in favour of a deity, apparently Śiva, installed in a temple at Kāmyaka. The record itself is not dated but its preserved portion contains **seven dates** of an unspecified era ranging from the **year 180 to 299**. The month, fortnight and *tithi* were stated in each case, but some of these particulars have now become illegible in two cases. As the week-day or the *nakshatra* has not been specified in connection with any of them, the dates do not admit of verification, but the palæography of the record leaves no doubt that they must be referred to the **Harsha era**. It may be noted in this connection that Kāman is only about 85 miles south-west of Āhār, the stone inscription of which contains several dates of the Harsha era. If we except the date 563 of the Pañjaur inscription, the year 299 mentioned towards the close of the present record is the latest known date of this era. The dates mentioned here thus range from A.D. 786-87 to 905-06.

The unsatisfactory condition of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. It falls into two parts which are separated from each other by an ornamental figure in l. 12<sup>3</sup>. The first part, which is almost wholly effaced, probably contained a description of the person who built the temple of Śiva where the present record was evidently put up and of the Śaiva Āchāryas who were successively in charge of it, while the second part registers the deeds recording the donations and endowments made to the deity from time to time.

After the customary obeisance to Śiva, the record seems to have had two verses invoking blessings of that deity. The third line mentions a Brāhmaṇa (*Bhaṭṭa*) named Kakkuka, who lived in a place the name of which appears to be Rōhītaka. He is described as a destroyer of his enemies. The next line speaks of several sons, apparently of this Kakkuka, who attained noble fame by their excellent qualities. The eldest of them whose name appears to be Untaṭa<sup>4</sup> is described in l. 6. The next two lines speak of a temple (*maṭha*), apparently of Śiva, erected by the same person, having realized the transitoriness (of earthly fortune). The following three or four lines (9-12) mentioned some successions of Śaiva ascetics, but unfortunately almost all their names are lost<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> There is a similar figure in l. 11 also.

<sup>4</sup> One Untaṭa is also mentioned in l. 19.

<sup>5</sup> The name of one of them mentioned in l. 10 appears to be Guṇarāśi.



The second part of the record which begins in line 12 registers the following documents:—

Document No. I (ll. 12-13). This is **undated**. It records that the *Gōshṭhikas* (members of the Managing Committee) made a permanent endowment of something, which they had acquired, evidently in favour of the deity.

Document No. II (l. 13). This document is dated in the **year 22(x)**<sup>1</sup> on the third *tithi* of of the bright fortnight of some month, now lost. It records some donation of a merchant named Vajraṭa.

Document No. III (ll. 13-17). This is dated in the **year 229** on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha. It records the gift of two plots of land situated inside the *kōṭṭa* (fort) by some one whose name occurring in the beginning of line 15 is now missing. The first of these was bounded on the east by the house of one Kṛishṇāka, on the south by a small well and on the west and north by an old royal road. The second plot of land which was situated in the eastern part of the fort was bounded on the east and the south by a royal road and in the other directions (*i.e.*, the west and the north) by the land of the temple (*sthāna*) and a small habitation. These gifts were made in favour of a deity (probably Śiva) whose name appears to be Kāmyakēśvara. It is further recorded that a guild of potters living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money received in advance, stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one *paṇa* per wheel every month.

Document No. IV (ll. 17-18). This is dated in the **year 232** on some *tithi* now lost, in the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. It records that the guild of gardeners living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently sixty garlands, of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Viṣṇu and the remaining (twenty-six) at the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā.

Document No. V (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 233** on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pausha. It records that the guild of artisans living in the place (*i.e.* in Kāmyaka), in consideration of an amount received in advance, made a permanent endowment. Every artisan who worked in the place was to pay one *dramma* per month.

Document No. VI (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 220** on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It registers that a man named Untaṭa piously denoted three plough-measures of land in his own village, the name of which has not been preserved. The land was previously tilled by the Brāhmaṇas Sāhulla, Jajja and others and was, at the time of the gift, cultivated by one Ēḍuvāka.

It is further laid down that whatever would be produced in the case of all these permanent endowments should be added to the capital<sup>2</sup>; for such is the law (*śāstra*) of endowments.

Document No. VII (ll. 21-22). This is dated in the **year 180** on the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It records that two *āvāris* (enclosures), facing the west and situated outside the fort, were donated by a *sāṃkhika* (a worker on conch-shells) named Bhadra by means of a written deed.

Document No. VIII (ll. 22-24). This is dated in the **year 299**<sup>3</sup> on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. It records that some *drammas* were formerly (*purā*) made over by

<sup>1</sup> The third figure of the date is illegible.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this is not clear. Perhaps it is intended to provide that if the amount of the endowment or the property increased in value, the benefit of it was to accrue to the donee.

<sup>3</sup> Of the three figures of this date I take the last two as denoting 9, though they are dissimilar. Of the two figures in question the second is the usual one for 9; the first also has the same value in l. 21 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka (above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96). In the Chaulukya grant of Trilōchanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plates I and II between pp. 202-203) both the signs are used to denote 9.

**Bhōjadēva** to Pramānarāśi, which the latter gave to Chāmuṇḍāka. After his (*i.e.*, Pramānarāśi's) death the *āchārya* (*i.e.*, Chāmuṇḍāka or Chāmuṇḍākarāśi) seems to have paid the amount to the *Gōshthikas*. The latter purchased two *āvārikās* with those *drammas*. The *vīthīs* or shops in the *āvārikās* were situated facing the south in the *Kambali-haṭṭa*,<sup>1</sup> which seems to mean a part of the town where a cattle-market was held. The rent of these *vīthīs* was to be utilised by the *Gōshthikas* in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights for the temples as long as the sun and the moon would endure.

The preserved portion of the inscription does not state the name of the ruling king. If any was mentioned in the introductory part of the record, it has been lost. But **Bhōjadēva** named towards the close of the record is plainly identical with the well-known Emperor Bhōja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. In the year 299 of the Harsha era (*i.e.*, in A.D. 905-06) Bhōja was dead ; for, the Unā plates give Valabhi Saṃvat 574 (*i.e.*, about A.D. 893-94) for his son and successor Mahēndrapāla. Bhōja I was himself a devotee of Bhagavatī and Vishṇu as is evidenced by his Barah plate<sup>2</sup> and the Ādivarāha *drammas*. It is therefore interesting to note that he made over a sum of money to a Śaiva *āchārya* for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple.

In view of the foregoing identification of Bhōjadēva, it may be asked if Kakkuka described in line 14 is identical with his namesake who is mentioned in the Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhōja as the grand-uncle of Bhōja's grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II. He is no doubt called here Bhaṭṭa, but that does not *per se* preclude the identification ; for according to the Jōdhpur<sup>3</sup> and Ghaṭiyālā<sup>4</sup> inscriptions the Pratihāras were descended from the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra and an expression in the former record has been taken to refer to the Brāhmaṇa caste of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj.<sup>5</sup> The description in l. 4 that Kakkuka was a destroyer of his foes shows that he was a man of warlike spirit and lends colour to his identification with the aforementioned Pratihāra prince. The damaged condition of the present record, however, makes its evidence doubtful. Besides, the subsequent portion, judging from the few *aksharas* that are still legible, does not appear to have contained the description of a royal family. I am therefore inclined to think that this Kakkuka did not belong to a royal family. As for the description that he destroyed his foes, it may have been by policy, if not by personal bravery. It is, of course, not unlikely that in that age some members of the priestly caste distinguished themselves on the battlefield, as others preferred the peaceful occupation of a farmer.

There is only one legible place-name, *viz.*, **Kāmyaka**, in the lower portion<sup>6</sup> of the record, which is evidently identical with Kāman where the inscribed stone was found. It is now clear that its modern name is not derived from Kadambavana, Kāmasēna or Kāmavana, but from Kāmyakavana<sup>7</sup>. As stated above, Kāman has still an old fort, which is clearly referred to as *kōṭṭa*

<sup>1</sup> *Kambali* means one having a dewlap, a bull.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> See Dr. D. C. Ganguli's article entitled 'Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, p. 343.

<sup>6</sup> Line 4 of the present inscription mentions a place named Rōhītaka. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, 33, 4-5), Rōhītaka, which lay to the west of Delhi, was inhabited by the Mattamayūras. [Rōhītaka, evidently same as Rauhītaka of the *Rājataranginī* (IV, 11) and the Lākṣhā Maṇḍal *praśasti* (above, Vol. I, p. 14), is to be identified with modern Rōhtak, 43 miles N. W. of Delhi.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> This Kāmyakavana is evidently different from the Kāmyakavana of the *Mahābhārata*, where the Pāṇḍavas sojourned for a short time during their exile ; for, the latter was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī. See the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan (Bombay recension), *adhyāya* 6, vv. 1-3. Cunningham has identified it with Kāmōda near Kurukshētra. See his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

in ll. 13 and 15 of the present record. The inscription edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was on a pillar of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. The present record, on the other hand, seems to have been put up at a temple of Śiva under the name Kāmyakēśvara, which must have been situated not far from the well outside the fort where the stone was found. There were, besides, two subsidiary shrines dedicated to Vishṇu and Chāmuṇḍā. These temples were evidently placed in charge of Śaiva *āchāryas* of the Pāsupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee (*Gōshṭhī*) appointed for the purpose. That the Pāsupata sect of Śaivism was flourishing in the north-west of India in the time of the Pratihāra Bhōja I is also shown by the Sirsa inscription<sup>1</sup> of his reign, edited by the late Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni.

Our inscription throws interesting side-light on some transactions of guilds in ancient India. When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of materials for the worship of a deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with a guild. In the latter case the guild sometimes stipulated to pay perpetually a definite amount or a particular rate of interest on the amount deposited with it. Our inscription shows that the guild sometimes did not pay out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member of it working in that particular locality. The inscription mentions three such guilds, *viz.*, those of potters, artisans and gardeners. We find that the members of the last guild were to pay in kind, while those of the first two had to pay a small cess probably because the articles manufactured by them were not regularly required for the use of the temple. We notice again that the guilds comprised all the members of their respective professions; for in two cases our inscription explicitly states that every one who followed the particular profession in Kāmyaka was to contribute a fixed amount. We are not told how the investments received by the guilds were utilised. But it would not be wrong to infer that they were expended on some works, religious or secular, such as those enumerated by Bṛihaspati,<sup>2</sup> which were regarded as useful to all the members of the guild. The guilds had evidently the necessary sanctions to secure the timely payment of the cess which they levied on their members. From the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* (XVII, 13)<sup>3</sup> we learn that they could impose a fine or even exile a member who refused to perform his part of the agreement. Again, both the *Arthasāstras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* mention *Śrēṇī-bala* or the army maintained by guilds, which even kings were not loth to use for their conquests<sup>4</sup>. The guilds could, therefore, be trusted to collect the stipulated amount from their members and pay it regularly to the beneficiary of the endowment.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

1 [त्रौ नमः] शिवाय । — — — — — [वि\*]स्तृतफण उ उ — — —  
 —  
 —  
 सुचैः [।\*] पाणि[प्रे ?]-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 294 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, XVII, 11 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 347-48).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. C. Majumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 51 ff. See also Kātyāyana cited in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (ed. by J. R. Gharpure), p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> Bhaṭārka the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī is, for instance, said to have obtained royal fortune with the help *inter alia* of the *Śrēṇī-bala*.

<sup>5</sup> From inked impressions.



- 2 — पर(?)वाङ्मयचकित[दल] — उ नस्मे उ — — — — — उ — — —  
 उ उ उ उ — — उ — — उ — — <sup>1</sup>[॥\*] . . . . . <sup>2</sup>दन्तुरैः शितत-  
 रोस्मिन्पाल-
- 3 . . . मुञ्चितशिरो . . . . . <sup>3</sup>जटावि[कट]जूटको . . . . .  
 . . . . . <sup>4</sup>च्छि[ता]: ॥
- 4 [रो]हौतकेभवङ्गटः ककुको[रि]विमर्दनः<sup>5</sup> ।[॥\*] . . . . . <sup>6</sup>प्य वपु[र्यो]  
 . . . . . <sup>7</sup>सदाः पुत्रा-
- 5 [स्तस्य] व(ब)भूवरुत्तमगुणप्रख्यातसत्कीर्त्तयः<sup>8</sup> [॥\*] . . . . .  
 . . . . . <sup>9</sup>टका इव ॥
- 6 . . [म्]टो[न्त ?]टो ज्येष्ठः सामान्य[प्रगु]णोद[यः ?]<sup>10</sup> . . . . . <sup>9</sup>त  
 विशदवेद्या-
- 7 न्य[स्था]ने वाभिजात्यं इति जगति वि[शुद्धं दृ]श्यते<sup>11</sup> . . . . . <sup>9</sup>मवेत्य  
 चलामि-
- 8 . . हैकीं मठमिदं . . . . . <sup>12</sup>मितत् । प्रव-
- 9 . . . . . <sup>12</sup>च्छिथोभव[त्\*] . . . . . ते योध्या-
- 10 . . [काख्यां] गतः । नानाव . . . . . <sup>13</sup>गुण]राशिस्त[च्छि]थः सच्च[-  
 [रि]तैर्यो व(ब)भूव गु-
- 11 णराशिः<sup>14</sup> । तच्छिथः . . . . . <sup>15</sup>हरिः स्वयं . . . . . ।  
 प्रेयसीमिव . . . [इता]कीर्त्तनं भव[तु तावद]क्षयं<sup>16</sup>॥ ॐ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.

<sup>2</sup> Unless stated otherwise, the number of dots approximately represents that of missing *aksharas*.

<sup>3</sup> Here about 30 *aksharas* are gone.

<sup>4</sup> Here about 11 *aksharas* are gone.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>6</sup> Here about 25 *aksharas* are gone.

<sup>7</sup> Here about 8 *aksharas* are missing.

<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>9</sup> Here about 36 *aksharas* are illegible.

<sup>10</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.

<sup>12</sup> Here about 44 *aksharas* are gone.

<sup>13</sup> Here about 35 *aksharas* are lost.

<sup>14</sup> Metre : *Ghī*.

<sup>15</sup> Here about 17 *aksharas* are illegible.

<sup>16</sup> Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.







- 12 . . . . चिता[न्म ?] . . . . नव . . . . रणसू . . . . सुत  
 . . . . १॥०॥ स्वयं कारित — — णां [मैष्टि] ऋषीः पुरार्जिताः ।  
 अधुना ताः प्र-
- 13 — — — [स्तृप्त ?]येक्षयनीविकाः<sup>2</sup>॥ ए . . . . [स\*][स्व]त्<sup>3</sup> । [२२]<sup>4</sup> .  
 . . . . <sup>5</sup>शुक्लत्रि(तृ)तीयायां प्र[ददौ] व[ज्र]टो वणिक् ॥ सं २२८  
 [मा]घशुदि ३ श्री[का]म्यकीयकीडा-
- 14 [भ्यन्तरे प्रा\*][च्यदिशि] [स्थितं ।\*] [खण्ड\*]द्वयं [भूमिरा][शि\*]र्यस्याघाटा व्यव-  
 [स्थि]ताः ॥ पूर्व्वेण कृष्णाकण्टहं दक्षिणेन तु कूपिका [।\*] पश्चिमोत्तरयो-  
 स्तस्य राजमार्गश्चिरन्तनः ।[।\*] तथान्यत्सु
- 15 ∪ न ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ यट[सूनु][ना । का\*][म्यके]खरदेवा[य भूमि\*]खं[डं] निवे-  
 दितं ।[।\*] पूर्व्व[स्वा]ं दिशि कोटस्य चतुराघाटशोधितं । पूर्व्वदक्षिणयोस्तस्य  
 राजमार्गस्तथान्ययोः ।[।\*] दिग्भागयो<sup>6</sup> स्या-
- 16 [नभूमिस्तथा च] कुटिकापरा [ ] [त\*]थैव [कुम्भका\*][राणां श्रेण्या] <sup>7</sup>काम्यकस्थया  
 ।[।\*] उत्त[मं\*] मूल्यमादाय प्रदत्ताक्षयनीविका [॥\*] यश्चात्त चक्रम्वाहयति<sup>8</sup>  
 तेन तेनाविकल्पतष्प्रति<sup>9</sup>
- 17 [मासं प्रदातव्यं] [प\*]णि(रौ)क्यं तु चक्र[कं<sup>10</sup> ॥\*] [सं\*] २३२ वै[शाख]शुदि .<sup>11</sup>  
 [मा\*]लिकानां तथा श्रेण्या काम्यके वसमा[न]या<sup>12</sup> गृहीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं  
 प्रदत्ता[क्ष]यनीविका ।[।\*] देया कुसुममालानां
- 18 षष्टिः प्रतिदिनं [शुभा] । चत[स्तृश]न्मठे<sup>13</sup> विष्णोश्चा[मु]ण्डायास्तथा[परा]ः ।[।\*]  
 सं २३३ पौष शुदि ७ तथाऽ[प्रो]षितया श्रेण्या स्वपतीनामिहस्थया । गृ-  
 हीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं प्रदत्ताक्षयनी-

<sup>1</sup> A verse of the *Anushṭubh* metre is almost wholly lost here.

<sup>2</sup> Metre from here to the end (except for a hemistich in l. 23 below) : *Anushṭubh*.

<sup>3</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>4</sup> The third figure of the date is illegible.

<sup>5</sup> There is space for four *aksharas* here and the last *akshara* looks like *sha*, so the month may be *Mārgaśīrsha* ;  
 -or it may be *Pausha* if the name of the month formed part of the following verse.

<sup>6</sup> The *visarga* is omitted here in accordance with the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

<sup>7</sup> The metre requires an additional *akshara* like *cha* to be supplied here.

<sup>8</sup> Read चक्रं वाहयति.

<sup>9</sup> Read तेनाविकल्पतः । प्रति-

<sup>10</sup> Probably प्रतिचक्रकम् is the intended reading.

<sup>11</sup> The figure of the *tihi* is illegible.

<sup>12</sup> This is incorrect for वसन्त्या.

<sup>13</sup> Read चतुस्त्रिंशन्मठे.

- 19 विका [I\*] यो यो[त्त कर्म कुरु]ते स्थपति[स्तेन] तेन तु [I\*] द्रुमैक्य(क्यं)  
मामन्दातव्यं प्रत्येकं सर्वदा [ध्रु]वं ॥ सम्वत्<sup>1</sup> २२० आवण शुदि ५ स्वभु-  
ज्यमानग्रामे च उन्तटः अद्वया-
- 20 न्वितः । अदा[<sup>2</sup>त्ति]हलिं भूमिमे[क] ॐ ॐ ॐ — [भि]धि ॥ या कृष्टा द्विज-  
साहुल्लज्जा<sup>3</sup>दिभिरलं पुरा । एडुवाकोधुना याञ्च वाहयत्येव ह्वालिकः ॥ यद-  
त्तोत्पद्यते किञ्चित्स-
- 21 र्वास्व[क्षय\*][नौ]विषु । ॐ ॐ धि ॐ ॐ — योज्यं मध्यमे [शास्त्र]मिव तत् ॥  
संवत् १८० आवण शु ३ पश्चिमामुखमावार्योर्द्वयं लेख्यविशोधितं [I\*]  
कोट्टाद्व(द्व)हिः शांखिकेन भ-
- 22 द्रेण ॐ ॐ — [दितं]<sup>4</sup> ॥ [सम्वत्]<sup>5</sup> २६६ फाल्गुन [शु २] [पु]रा श्रीभोजदेवेन  
ये द्रुमास्त्रमसादिताः । प्रमाणराशये तेन चामुण्डाकस्य तेष्विपिताः ॥ तत-  
स्तस्मिन् शिवीभू-
- 23 ते आचार्यो ॐ ॐ — ॐ नां<sup>6</sup> ॥ गोष्ठिकैरपि तै [द्रु]मैः क्रीतमावारिकाद्वयं ॥  
कम्ब(म्ब)लिहृष्टे दक्षिणवक्त्रं वीथीयुग्मं तत्संलग्नं<sup>7</sup> ॥ सुधासिन्दूरदीपाद्यैर्यत्तयाद्दी-  
थीप्रभा-
- 24 टके [I\*] गोष्ठिकैर्योजनीयन्तद्यावच्च[न्द्रा\*]र्कयो<sup>8</sup> [स्थि]ति[ः] ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>2</sup> One *akshara* is missing here. Read अददात्तिहलिं.

<sup>3</sup> What look like two *anusvāras* on ज्जा are probably due to faults in the stone.

<sup>4</sup> Some reading like भद्रेणैतन्नवेदितं is intended here.

<sup>5</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading may be आचार्योतेवसायिनां . The medial vowels of *sā* and *yi* can be marked on the back of the impression.

<sup>7</sup> This is only a hemistich. Metre : *Mātrāsamaka*.

<sup>8</sup> See note 6, p. 335, above.

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AND

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N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D.,

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# CONTENTS.

*The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

	PAGE.
ALTEKAR, A. S., M.A., D. LITT.—	
No. 33. Allahabad Municipal Museum Yupa Inscription . . . . .	245
„ 34. Fourth Maukhari Yupa Inscription from Badva . . . . .	251
BOSE, SUSHIL K., M.A.—	
No. 10. Indore Plates of Pravarasena II . . . . .	52
CHAKRAVARTI, N. P., M.A., PH.D.—	
No. 30. Bhopal Plates of the Mahakumara Harichamdradeva . . . . .	225
„ 42. Lucknow Museum Plate of Jayachchandradeva; V. S. 1237 . . . . .	291
CHHABRA, B.CH., M.A., M.O.L., PH.D.—	
No. 17. Svalpa-Velura grant of Ganga Anantavarman . . . . .	129
„ 32. Ranipur Jharial Inscriptions . . . . .	230
DEVA, KRISHNA, M.A.—	
No. 35. Kosam Inscription of Bhadramagha's reign : the year 81 . . . . .	253
GHOSH, A., M.A.—	
No. 5. An Inscribed Brick from Nalanda of the year 197 . . . . .	20
„ 40. Two Maukhari Seals from Nalanda . . . . .	283
GHOSH, JOGENDRA CHANDRA—	
No. 8. Notes on the Irida Copper-plate Grant of King Nayapaladeva . . . . .	43
„ 16. Notes on the Nandapur Copper-plate of the Gupta year 169 . . . . .	126
GOPALACHARI, K., M.A.—	
No. 39. Epigraphic Notes ( <i>see also</i> Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.) . . . . .	279
GOSWAMI, KUNJA GOVINDA, M.A.—	
No. 25. Gautami Plates of Ganga Indravarman : year 4 . . . . .	180
„ 28. Kosam Inscription of (the reign of) Kanishka : the year 2 . . . . .	210
MISHNAMACHARI, C. R., B.A.—	
No. 4. The Jurada Grant of Nettabhanjadeva . . . . .	15
„ 18. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Nishnugopavarman . . . . .	137
„ 19. Siroda plates of Devaraja . . . . .	143
„ 31. Sasanakota Plates of Ganga Madhavavarman ; 1st year . . . . .	234
„ 43. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarman . . . . .	296
KRISHNARAO, B. V., M.A., B.L.—	
No. 38. Masulipatam Plates of Ammaraja II . . . . .	268
LÜDERS, H.—	
No. 27. Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its vicinity . . . . .	194
MAJUMDAR, N. G., M.A.—	
No. 1. The Bajaur Casket of the reign of Menander . . . . .	1
„ 2. Inscriptions on two Relic-caskets from Charsadda . . . . .	8
„ 20. Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Maharaja Vaisravana of the year 107 . . . . .	146
„ 21. Cuttack Museum Plates of Madhavavarman . . . . .	148
MIRASHI, V. V., M.A.—	
No. 3. Pauni Stone Inscription of the Bhara King Bhagadatta . . . . .	11
„ 13. Rewah Stone Inscription of the time of Karna : the [Chedi] year 800 . . . . .	101

	PAGE.
MIRASHI, V. V., M. A.— <i>contd.</i>	
No. 14. The epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era . . . . .	116
„ 24. A Note on the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhata (III?) . . . . .	176
„ 37. Two Incomplete Grants of Pravarasena II . . . . .	260
„ 45. Kaman Stone Inscription . . . . .	329
NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A.—	
No. 39. Epigraphic Notes ( <i>see also</i> Gopalachari, K., M.A.) . . . . .	279
PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., M.A.—	
No. 26. Three Inscriptions of Vaidumba-Maharaja Gandatrinetra . . . . .	183
PANIGRAHI, KRISHNA CHANDRA, M.A.—	
No. 23. Komanda Copper-plates of Nettabhanja . . . . .	172
RAMANATHA AYYAR, A. S., B.A.—	
No. 12. Srirangam Inscription of Garudavahana-Bhatta : Saka 1415 . . . . .	90
„ 41. Srirangam Inscription of Achyutaraya : Saka 1461 . . . . .	285
SANKALIA, H. D., M.A., LL.B., PH.D.—	
No. 29. Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha) : V. S. 1545, Saka 1410 . . . . .	212
SESHADRI SASTRI, P.—	
No. 36. Dharanikota Dharmachakra Pillar Inscription . . . . .	256
SRINIVASARAO, G. V., B.A.—	
No. 9. Siripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga . . . . .	47
STAPEL, F. W., LIT. D.—	
No. 15. A Dutch Memorial slab in India . . . . .	123
SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, K. V., B.A.—	
No. 7. Regulations of the Sabha from two Uttaramallur Inscriptions . . . . .	28
„ 22. Tinnevely Inscription of Maravarman Sundara-Pandya II . . . . .	153
VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, V., B.A.—	
No. 6. Sendamangalam Inscription of Manavalapperumal : 5th year . . . . .	22
VYAS, AKSHAYA KEERTY, M.A., SAMSKRITI PT.—	
No. 11. Jagannatharaya Temple Inscriptions at Udaipur . . . . .	56
„ 44. First and Third Slabs of Kumbhalgarh Inscription : V. S. 1517 . . . . .	304
INDEX.—By M. Venkataramayya, M.A. . . . .	337
Title Page, Contents, List of Plates and Additions and Corrections . . . . .	i—viii



# LIST OF PLATES.

No.	1. The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander (I) . . . . .	between pages	6 & 7
	2. " " " " (II) . . . . .	to face page	7
	3. Inscriptions on two Relic-caskets from Charsadda . . . . .	between pages	10 & 11
	4. Pauni Stone Inscription of the Bhara king Bhagadatta . . . . .	to face page	14
	5. The Jurada Grant of Nettabhanjadeva and An Inscribed Brick from Nalanda of the year 197 . . . . .	between pages	18 & 19
	6. Siripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga . . . . .	to face page	51
	7. Indore Plates of Pravarasena II . . . . .	" "	55
	8. Rewa Stone Inscription of the time of Karna: the Chedi year 800 . . . . .	" "	110
	9. Svalpa-Velura Grant of Ganga Anantavarman . . . . .	" "	135
	10. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarman . . . . .	between pages	142 & 143
	11. Siroda Plates of Devaraja . . . . .	to face page	145
	12. Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Maharaja Vaisravana of the year 107 . . . . .	" "	147
	13. Cuttack Museum Plates of Madhavavarman . . . . .	between pages	152 & 153
	14. Komanda Copper-plates of Nettabhanja . . . . .	to face page	174
	15. Gautami Plates of Ganga Indravarman: the year 4 . . . . .	" "	181
	16. Three Inscriptions of Vaidumba-Maharaja Gandatrinetra . . . . .	between pages	190 & 191
	17. Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its vicinity . . . . .	" "	194 & 195
	18. Sculptures from Mathura Museum . . . . .	to face page	199
	19. " " " " . . . . .	" "	206
	20. Kosam Inscription of Kanishka: the year 2 . . . . .	" "	212
	21. Bhopal Plates of the Mahakumara Harichamradeva . . . . .	" "	232
	22. Sasanakota Plates of Ganga Madhavavarman: 1st year . . . . .	between pages	238 & 239
	23. Allahabad Municipal Museum Yupa Inscription . . . . .	to face page	250
	24. Fourth Maukhari Yupa Inscription from Badva . . . . .	" "	253
	25. Kosam Inscription of Bhadramagha's reign: the year 81 and Bantia Plates of Dharasena II: [Valabhi-] Samvat 254, Plate II . . . . .	between pages	256 & 257
	26. Dharanikota Dharmachakra Pillar Inscription . . . . .	to face page	259
	27. Two Incomplete Grants of Pravarasena II—(Set A) . . . . .	" "	264
	28. " " " " —(Set B) . . . . .	" "	266
	29. Masulipatam Plates of Ammaraja II—(I) . . . . .	" "	275
	30. " " " " —(II) . . . . .	" "	276
	31. Two Inscriptions from Karla . . . . .	" "	282
	32. Two Maukhari Seals from Nalanda . . . . .	between pages	284 & 285
	33. Lucknow Museum Plate of Jayachchandradeva: V. S. 1237 . . . . .	to face page	294
	34. Seals of Three Pallava Copper-Plate Grants . . . . .	" "	297
	35. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarman . . . . .	between pages	302 & 303
	36. Kaman Stone Inscription . . . . .	to face page	334



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- ◆—
- Page 8, para. 7, l. 1.—*For* Kharōshthī *read* Kharōshthī.
- „ 12, f. n. 1.—*For* Deotēk *read* Deotēk.
- „ 13, para. 1, l. 16.—*For* *Āptōryūma* *read* *Aptōryūma*.
- „ 16, f. n. 3.—*For* Raṇabhañja *read* Raṇabhañja.
- „ 23, para. 4, l. 6.—*For* Rājarājā *read* Rājarāja.
- „ 24, f. n. 8.—*For* Ēlīsaimōgaṇ *read* Ēlīsaimōgaṇ.
- „ 25, l. 2.—*For* Śilāvati *read* Śilavati.
- „ 27, text l. 3.—*For* [Vā]ñilaikaṇḍīsuramuḍaiya *read* [Vā]ñilaikaṇḍīsuramuḍaiya.
- „ 35, para. 5, l. 2.—*For* Tanjai *read* Tañjai.
- „ 37, f. n. 16, l. 4.—*For* Chaturvēdimāṅgalaṃ *read* Chaturvēdimāṅgalaṃ.
- „ 39, para. 2, l. 18.—*For* has to be connected *read* have to be connected.
- „ 46, f. n. 1, l. 4.—*For* Irda *read* Irdā.
- „ 53, l. 24.—*For* Duduia *read* Dudia.
- „ 57, para. 2, l. 1—2.—*For* dip-thongs *read* diphthongs.
- „ 66, text l. 11.—*For* कर्णभूञ्ज° *read* कर्णभूञ्ज°.
- „ 66, text l. 11.—*For* नागपालोभवत्पृथ्वी *read* नागपालोभवत्पृथ्वी°.
- „ 70, text l. 46.—*For* °षणे *read* °षणे.
- „ 73, text l. 12.—*For* ब्रजपद्मस्तीर्थं *read* ब्रजपद्मस्तीर्थं.
- „ 74, text l. 24.—*For* जगतसिंह *read* जगत्सिंह.
- „ 76, text l. 41.—*For* कल्पदुमा *read* कल्पदुमी.
- „ 79, text l. 14.—*For* प्रसादार्थं *read* प्रसादार्थं.
- „ 81, text l. 26.—*For* तद्वा(द्वा) *read* तद्वा(द्वा).
- „ 90, para. 3, l. 4.—*For* first fortnight and *read* first fortnight of the month of Rishabha and.
- „ 90, para. 4, l. 3.—*For* a new *read* anew.
- „ 95, para. 1, l. 1.—*For* *Vaidyariḥ* *read* *Vaijyariḥ*.
- „ 95, para. 2, l. 11.—*For* Śiṅgañña *read* Śiṅgaṇṇa.
- „ 108, end of para. 1.—*Add the following* :—
- “ On re-examining the inked impressions of the Rewa Stone inscription of Karṇa of the Chēdi year 800, I find that the second of the two missing *aksharas* before *nāmnā* in l. 31 is *ra*. The name of the cyclic year was, therefore, *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the date of this inscription. For the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Chēdi year 800 (A. D. 1048--49) was *Khara* according to the Northern luni-solar system.” (V. V. M.)
- „ 110, l. 7.—*For* Mālwa *read* Mālwā.
- „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—*For* Pēṇḍrābandh *read* Pēṇḍrābandh.
- „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—*For* Vol. XXII *read* Vol. XXIII.
- „ 133, para. 1, l. 2.—*For* characters *read* charters. (B. C. C.)
- „ 140, para. 1, l. 2.—*For* Uruvupalli plates of Śiṃhavarman *read* Uruvupalli grant of Śiṃhavarman.
- „ 154, para. 3, l. 8.—*For* Uḍaiyaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ *read* Uḍaiyaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ.
- „ 154, para. 3, l. 21.—*For* ‘ on which *varagu*,’ *read* ‘ on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu* ’.
- „ 154, para. 4, l. 2.—*For* and borne crops *read* and had borne crops.





- Page 162, l. 26.—*For* friendly relation *read* friendly relations.
- „ 166, text l. 1.—*For* P . . . . . *read* Pūmalay-tiruvu[m].
- „ 175, text l. 37.—*For* māmmyā *read* Māmmyā.
- „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—*For* Kaira *read* Kairā.
- „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—*For* Sāṅkhēḍa *read* Sāṅkhēḍā.
- „ 179, para. 5, l. 13.—*For* Valabhi *read* Valabhī.
- „ 184, para. 4, l. 7. }  
 „ 191, para. 1, l. 4. } —*For* Veluṅgaguṅṭa *read* Veluṅguguṅṭa.
- „ 185, f. n. 2.—*For* No. 453 of 1906 *read* No. 543 of 1906.
- „ 185, f. n. 8.—*For* Arakatavēmula *read* Arakaṭavēmula.
- „ 188, para. 1, l. 11.—*For* Kibbenahalli<sup>5</sup> *read* Araḷaguppe.<sup>5</sup>
- „ 189 f. ns. 1, 2 and 4.—*For* No. 309 of 1923 *read* No. 309 of 1922 and *for* No. 310 of 1923 *read* No. 310 of 1922.
- „ 211, para. 5, l. 5.—*For* thier *read* their.
- „ 213, f. n. 6, l. 4.—*For* Chāmpāner *read* Chāmpāner.
- „ 213, f. n. 7, l. 5.—*For* goddless *read* goddess.
- „ 214, para. 1, l. 1.—*For* Muslim historians) and *read* Muslim historians (and.
- „ 215, f. n. 7, l. 1.—*For* tal-dēcsasya *read* tal-dēśasya.
- „ 217, f. n. 4, l. 2.—*For* verse 21 *read* verse 22.
- „ 218, para. 5.—[In this para. Dr. Sankalia describes Jayadēva as the lord of Bāgūla and seems to hold the view that by Bāgūla the name of a country is indicated. But by the form Bāgūla a race or clan of Rāthods seems to be referred to. The origin of the name Bāgūla and its application to a race or clan are explained in *Rāshṭraoḍḍhacāṁśamahākāvya* of Rudrakavi (1596 A. D.) *vide*: Canto II vv. 27 ff. (M. V. R.)]
- „ 218, para. 6, l. 2.—*For* Śaka 1401 *read* Śaka 1410.
- „ 224, text l. 9.—*For* दं चकार *read* दं(सं) चकार.
- „ 225, f. n. 1.—*For* punayam̐ *read* punyam̐.
- „ 233, text l. 15.—*For* . . . . . *read* . . . . .
- „ 239, f. n. 10.—*For* Mā<sup>1</sup>ār<sup>2</sup>ī<sup>3</sup> . . . . . *read* Mā<sup>1</sup>ār<sup>2</sup>ī<sup>3</sup> . . . . .
- „ 242, corrected text l. 1.—*For* उत्तरैरम्ब<sup>o</sup> *read* उत्तरतेरम्ब<sup>o</sup>.
- „ 249, para. 1, l. 3.—*For* Kaubidarikā *read* Kaubidārikā.
- „ 256, l. 8 from bottom }  
 „ 257, para. 3, l. 2. } —*For* Dharanikōṭa *read* Dharanikōṭa.  
 „ 259, ll. 3-4. }
- „ 261, para. 2, l. 10.—*For* gotra *read* gōtra.
- „ 263, f. n. 7, l. 2.—*For* Bēlorā *read* Bēlōrā.
- „ 264, text l. 2.—*For* विशुद्ध<sup>4</sup> स गीतस्य सम्राट्<sup>3</sup> *read* विशुद्धसगीतस्य सम्राट्<sup>4</sup>.
- „ 279, para. 1, l. 4.—*For* pillar by the wife *read* pillar by Reti, the wife.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 1.—*For* भूतशराबु *read* भूतशरांबु.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 3.—*For* व्यरचय *read* व्यरचय.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 11.—*For* कलिकल्पमषा *read* कलिकल्पषा.
- „ 288, f. n. 5, verse l. 1.—*For* माध्यां *read* माध्यां.
- „ 299, f. n. 2.—*For* Uruvupalli plates *read* Uruvupalli grant.
- „ 302, f. n. 7, l. 1.—*For* at the first instance *read* in the first instance.
- „ 315, text l. 6.—*For* यत्तेत्रायां *read* ता.

# INDEX.

By

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[The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure refers to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; C. P.=Copperplate; *chron.*=chronicle; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; E.=Eastern; *enr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *feud.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription; *inss.*=inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *lit.*=literary; *l.m.*=land-measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythic or mythological; *n.*=name; N.=Northern; *off.*=office or official; *q.*=queen; *rel.*=religious; *ri.*=river; S.=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *t.d.*=territorial division; *te.*=temple; *tit.*=title; *vi.*=village; W.=Western; *wk.*=work.]

A	PAGE.	PAGE.
<i>a</i> , initial, . . . . . 198 and <i>n.</i> , 236, 268		Adhaporika, <i>s. a.</i> Ārdhhapaurika, 'inhabitant of Ārdhhapura', . . . . . 257, 258
<i>a</i> , initial, its euphonic elision in Kushān Prākṛit, . . . . . 9		Adhapura, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . . 257
<i>ā</i> , initial, . . . . . 130, 236, 253, 268		<i>adhikarāna-grāmika-kuṭumbināh</i> , . . . . . 129
<i>ā</i> , medial, . . . . . 53, 77 <i>n.</i> , 81 <i>n.</i> , 82 <i>n.</i> , 83 <i>n.</i> , 84 <i>n.</i> , 85 <i>n.</i> , 88 <i>n.</i> , 132 <i>n.</i> , 146, 211, 253, 329		<i>adhikaranam</i> , 'court or department', . . . . . 127, 128
<i>a</i> -endings changed into <i>u</i> , in Bengālī, . . . . . 44		<i>adhikṛita</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . . 55, 265, 266, 302 <i>n.</i>
<i>abhaya</i> pose, . . . . . 96		<i>adhikṛita-sarvvādhyakshas</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . . 302 <i>n.</i>
Abhimanyu, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . . 66		<i>adhirājya</i> , . . . . . 132, 135, 181
Abhiramuvallabha, <i>Indra's elephant</i> , . . . . . 294		<i>adhishṭhāna</i> , 'capital', . . . . . 130, 134, 181
Aboogur, <i>co.</i> , . . . . . 221		<i>adhishṭhānam</i> , 'under the supervision of', 100 and <i>n.</i>
Ābu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . . 312		<i>Adhyaksha</i> , 'Superintendent of Department' <i>off.</i> , . . . . . 128
Ābu <i>ins.</i> of V. S. 1287, . . . . . 312		Adigaimān, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . . 26
Ābu <i>ins.</i> of V. S. 1342, . . . . . 311		<i>aḍigaḷ s. a. pādāh</i> , honorific suffix, . . . . . 39
Abul Fazl, <i>Muslim historian</i> , . . . . . 61, 219 <i>n.</i> , 220		<i>aḍikkīṇirpār</i> , 'servants', . . . . . 39, 40, 42
Achala, <i>m.</i> , . . . . . 64, 84		Ādiśūra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . . 110
<i>Achalakulōtḥavaṇ</i> , <i>tit.</i> , of the Rāshṭrakūṭa <i>k.</i> Kannaradēva, . . . . . 23 <i>n.</i>		Āditya, <i>Rājakēsarivarman—, Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . . 28
<i>Achalakulōttaman</i> , <i>tit.</i> , of the Kāḍavarāya <i>ch.</i> Maṇavāḷapperumāl, . . . . . 23 and <i>n.</i>		Ādityasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . . 150, 153
<i>āchārya</i> , . . . . . 90, 92, 193, 200, 240, 241, 244, 272, 277		Ādityavarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . . 285
<i>āchāryya-purusha</i> , . . . . . 193		Ādivarāha <i>drammas</i> , <i>coins</i> , . . . . . 332
<i>āchaya</i> of <i>Dharmma</i> , . . . . . 21, 22		Adiyama-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 24
<i>achchu</i> , <i>tax</i> , . . . . . 154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172		<i>adiyurāi</i> , . . . . . 39
Achyuta, <i>Pallava off.</i> , . . . . . 298, 303		Agaloka, <i>l.</i> , . . . . . 260
Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman, . . . . . 49		Agalokaka, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . . 257, 259 and <i>n.</i>
<i>Achyutarāyābhyudaya</i> m, <i>lit. wk.</i> , . . . . . 286 <i>n.</i> , 289 <i>n.</i>		<i>āgama</i> , . . . . . 68
Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . . 285, 286 and <i>n.</i> , 287, 288 and <i>n.</i> , 289 and <i>n.</i> , 290 and <i>n.</i>		<i>agampadī</i> , 'within', . . . . . 29, 34
Adalja, <i>l.</i> , . . . . . 213 <i>n.</i>		<i>agaru</i> , 'resin of aloe', . . . . . 127
Adalja Vāv <i>ins.</i> , . . . . . 212 <i>n.</i>		<i>agattu</i> , . . . . . 30
		Agha, <i>myth. demon</i> , . . . . . 80
		Āghāta, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 313, 325
		Āghāta-pattana, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . . 311, 312, 313, 325
		Āghātapura, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . . 64
		Agnihōtrika, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . . 231, 233
		Agra, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . . 211, 309
		<i>ayra</i> , <i>s. a. agrabhāga</i> , . . . . . 127
		<i>agra-bhāga</i> , 'King's share', . . . . . 127

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>Agrahara</i> , 'one who takes or collects the King's share', <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	127	<i>Akrūra</i> , <i>Vṛishṇi</i> prince, . . . . .	197, 198
<i>agrahāra</i> , . . . . .	49, 51, 52, 127, 128	<i>akshapātala</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	16, 19
<i>Agrahārika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	127	<i>akshapātālika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	294, 295
<i>Agrahārin</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	127, 128	<i>akshapātalin</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	18
<i>Agrahārīṇa</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Agrahārika</i> , . . . . .	128 n.	<i>Akshasālā</i> , . . . . .	183 n.
<i>Agrahārīṇa-mahattara</i> , 'headman and revenue collector of the vi.', <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	127, 128	<i>Akshasālīka</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	173 and n., 175
<i>agra-janman</i> , <i>Brāhmaṇa</i> , . . . . .	109 n.	<i>Akshasālin</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	181, 182, 183 and n.
<i>Agrasvāmin</i> , <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153	<i>akshayanīvikā</i> , . . . . .	335
<i>Āhād</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	63, 311	<i>Akshayarāja</i> , <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	61
<i>Āhāda</i> , <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	232, 233	<i>Āḷagarmalai</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	156, 157, 162, 164
<i>Āhāda</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Āghātapura</i> or <i>Ātapura</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	64, 77	<i>Āḷagarmalai</i> <i>ins.</i> , . . . . .	157
<i>Ahammadā</i> ( <i>Ahmad</i> I), <i>Shāh</i> , <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 214, 215 and n., 216, 223	<i>Āḷagiyamaṇavāla</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Lakshmisakha</i> , <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
<i>Ahammadapura</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Ahmadābād</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	218, 219, 224	<i>Āḷagiyamaṇavāla-Maṅgalādarāya</i> , <i>te. off.</i> , . . . . .	90, 93 and n., 99, 100
<i>Āhār</i> <i>ins.</i> , . . . . .	330	<i>Āḷagiya-Pallavaṇ</i> , <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	25, 26
<i>Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara</i> I, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	107	' <i>Āḷagiya-Pallavaṇ</i> ', <i>tit. of the Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> <i>Maṇavāḷapperumāl</i> , . . . . .	23
<i>Ahirōla</i> , <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	177, 178	<i>Āḷagiya-Pallavaṇ</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Kōpperuñjiṅga</i> I, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	26
<i>Ahmad</i> I, <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	216, 220	<i>Āḷagiya-Pallava</i> <i>Viṅṅagar</i> <i>Emberumāṇ</i> , <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	23
<i>Ahmadābād</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	215, 219 and n.	<i>Āḷagiyaśīyar</i> <i>Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva</i> I, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	26
<i>Ahmad(a) Shāh</i> , <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	214, 219, 220, 221	<i>Āḷagiyaśīyar</i> <i>Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvar</i> , <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	27 n.
<i>Ahmadnagar</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	60, 218, 219	<i>Ālapāḍu</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
<i>ai</i> , <i>medial</i> , . . . . .	100 n., 304	<i>Ālaparti</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273, 278
<i>Aihole</i> <i>ins.</i> of <i>Pulakēśin</i> II, . . . . .	179, 123	<i>Ālappirandān</i> <i>Vīrasēkhara</i> <i>alias</i> <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	24, 26
<i>Ailaka</i> , . . . . .	272	<i>Alasanda</i> , <i>birth-place of the Greek k. Menander</i> , . . . . .	6
<i>Aindavānanda-nāṭaka</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	128	<i>Alā-ud-dīn</i> <i>Ahmad</i> , <i>Bahmani Sultān</i> of <i>the Deccan</i> , . . . . .	216
<i>Āin-i-Akbarī</i> , <i>hist. chron.</i> , . . . . .	219 n., 220 n.	<i>Alā-ud-dīn</i> <i>Khaljī</i> , <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Delhi</i> , . . . . .	59, 213 n., 313
<i>Āin Pūrah</i> , <i>suburb</i> of <i>Ahmadābād</i> , . . . . .	219 n.	<i>Albērūnī</i> , <i>Muslim</i> <i>historian</i> , . . . . .	116, 118 n.
<i>Airāvata</i> , <i>n. of elephant</i> , . . . . .	167, 170 and n.	<i>Alexandria-under-the Caucasus</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Alasanda</i> , . . . . .	6
<i>Aitihāsika</i> <i>Patra-vyavahāra</i> , . . . . .	122 n.	<i>Alhaṇadēva</i> , <i>k. of Nāḍōl in Mīrwār</i> , . . . . .	312
<i>Ajānanda</i> , <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	16, 18, 19	<i>Alhaṇadēvī</i> , <i>Kalachuri q.</i> , . . . . .	105, 116, 117
<i>Ajaṇṭā</i> <i>inss.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.	<i>Ālināḍaṇ</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār</i> , <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	96
<i>Ajayagadh</i> <i>ins.</i> of <i>Nāna</i> , . . . . .	109 n.	<i>Āḷiya Rāma-Rāja</i> , <i>Vijayanagara</i> <i>prince</i> , . . . . .	287
<i>Ajayapāla</i> , <i>Chaulukya k. of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	312, 313	<i>Allahābād</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	123 n., 146, 210, 245, 253, 255
<i>Ajayapāladēva</i> , <i>Chaulukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	230	<i>Allahābād</i> <i>Municipal Museum</i> <i>Yūpa</i> <i>ins.</i> , . . . . .	252
<i>Ajayasimha</i> , <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	59	<i>Allahābād</i> <i>pillar</i> <i>ins.</i> of <i>Samudragupta</i> , . . . . .	133 n., 198 n., 255
<i>Ajayavarman</i> , <i>Paramāra k. of Mālvā</i> , . . . . .	229, 230	<i>Allāṭa</i> , <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 324, 325
<i>Ājivakas</i> , <i>Jaina mendicants</i> , . . . . .	298, 303	<i>Allūru</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	258
<i>ajjakas</i> , . . . . .	272 and n., 277	<i>Allūru</i> <i>inss.</i> , . . . . .	281
<i>ajjakā</i> 'female ascetic', . . . . .	272	<b>Alphabets</b> :—	
<i>Ajmer</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	61, 304, 306 n., 309	<i>Archaic</i> <i>variety</i> , . . . . .	143, 194
<i>Ājñā</i> , <i>wrong</i> for <i>Ajānanda</i> , . . . . .	18	<i>Arrow</i> or <i>nail-headed</i> , . . . . .	296
<i>ājñ-ūpti</i> , 'agency that obtains the command', . . . . .	303 n.	' <i>Box-headed</i> ', . . . . .	52, 260, 296
<i>ājñapti</i> , 'executor', . . . . .	145	<i>Brāhmī</i> , . . . . .	6 and n., 11, 141 n., 194 and n., 198 n., 210, 211, 253, 257 and n., 279
<i>ājñapti</i> , 'agency that commands', . . . . .	303 n.	<i>Dēvanāgarī</i> , . . . . .	213
<i>ājñāsānchārī</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	55, 265 and n., 266	<i>Grantha</i> , . . . . .	22, 27 n., 28 n., 29, 35, 90, 98 n., 154, 285, 287, 289 n.
<i>Akabara</i> , <i>s. a.</i> , <i>Akbar</i> , <i>Mughal</i> <i>emperor</i> , . . . . .	68 and n.		
<i>Akālavarsha</i> , <i>sur. of</i> <i>Krishṇa</i> III, <i>Rāsh-trakūta k.</i> , . . . . .	190		
<i>Akbar</i> , <i>Mughal</i> <i>emperor</i> , . . . . .	60, 61, 68 and n.		
<i>Akbar-nāma</i> , <i>hist. chron.</i> , . . . . .	61		
<i>Akhērāja</i> ( <i>Akshayarāja</i> ), <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	61		



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Alphabets— <i>contd.</i>		Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II, . . . . .	118 n.
Gujarātī, . . . . .	225 n.	Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I, . . . . .	105, 120
Gupta, . . . . .	148 n., 198, 199	Amōdā plates (first set) of Prithvidēva II, . . . . .	119
Gupta, Eastern variety, . . . . .	146, 253, 255	Amōdā plates (second set) of Prithvidēva II, . . . . .	119
Kannaḍa, . . . . .	287 and n., 288	'Amōghakalaśa', <i>tit.</i> , of the <i>Bhañja k.</i> , Vidyā-	
Kharōshthī, . . . . .	1, 2, 3, 4, 5 n., 6, 8, 9 and n., 10, 204 n.	dharabhāñja, . . . . .	15 n., 17
Kushāṇa, . . . . .	253	Amōghavarsha I, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	109 n.
Marāṭhī, . . . . .	122	Amraoti, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	123 n.
Nāgarī, . . . . .	57, 102, 122, 130, 287, 291, 304	Amraoti, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	258, 263
Nāgarī, (Central Indian variety), . . . . .	226	Amrāprasāda, <i>s. a.</i> Ambāprasāda, <i>Guhila k.</i>	
Nail-headed, . . . . .	296	of <i>Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 328 n.
Northern class, . . . . .	130, 146, 149, 180, 240, 329	<i>amṛita-kalaśa</i> , . . . . .	96
Pallava-Grantha, . . . . .	235	<i>amṛita-kalaśa</i> , emblem on seal, . . . . .	15
Southern class, . . . . .	52, 138, 235	Amṛitēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	288 n.
Tamil, . . . . .	22, 29, 35, 285, 287	Amṛvā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	304
Telugu, . . . . .	268, 287	<i>aṇa</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Ājñā</i> in Central-Asian Kharōshthī	
Telugu-Kannaḍa, . . . . .	183, 184	documents, . . . . .	5
Ālūr copper plates of Yuvarāja Mārasimha, . . . . .	187 n.	— <i>āna</i> , suffix of proper names in Śaka language, . . . . .	206
Ālvārs, . . . . .	90, 92	Anādhriṣṭī, <i>Vṛishṇi prince</i> , . . . . .	197, 198
Ālvār Śrībalidēva, <i>donce</i> , . . . . .	163	Aṇahilapattana, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	215, 223
Amā, <i>s. a.</i> <i>Amāvāsyā</i> , . . . . .	74 and n.	Āṇaimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	32
<i>amacha</i> , 'minister', . . . . .	259	Ānandanidhi, gift, . . . . .	285 n., 287, 288 and n., 289 and n., 290 and n.
<i>amānta</i> , . . . . .	122	Ānandapura, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	308, 322, 323
Amaralal, <i>priest</i> , . . . . .	62 n.	Anaṅgasēnā, <i>courtesan</i> , . . . . .	196, 197
Amarasimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 61, 63, 64, 69, 77, 81, 85	Ananta, <i>s. a.</i> Śēsha, <i>serpent-lord</i> , . . . . .	70
Amarāvati, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	14, 256, 257 and n., 258, 259, 279	<i>ananta-nidhi</i> , incorrect for <i>Ānandanidhi</i> , . . . . .	290 n.
Amarāvati ins., . . . . .	14	Ananatapur, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	234, 238
Amarāvati tope, . . . . .	258	Ananta-Śaktivarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	50
Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha, <i>Saiva ascetic</i> , . . . . .	241	Anantaśayanagudī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	287 n.
Amarēśvara, <i>s. a.</i> Indra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	75	Anantavarman, <i>Guhila prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 324
Amarēśvara, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145 and n.	Anantavarmadēva, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	130, 131, 133, 135, 136 and n., 181
<i>amātya</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	273, 276, 281	Anantavarman, <i>Early Kaliṅga-Gaṅga royal name</i> , . . . . .	131
<i>Amātya-dharma</i> , . . . . .	113	Anantavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	49, 51
<i>ambalam</i> , . . . . .	37 and n.	Anantavarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Ambāprasāda, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 324	Anapāya, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	37 n.
Ambikā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	63, 83	Ānarta, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	45, 222 n.
Ambila, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	126, 127, 128	Anāthapiṇḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	21
Ambulia or Ambalia, <i>s. a.</i> Ambila, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	126	anchor, emblem on seal, . . . . .	296, 297
Āmgāchchi charter, . . . . .	43	<i>Andhaka</i> , Buddhist school, . . . . .	258 n.
<i>amārs</i> , . . . . .	60	Andhakaripu, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	318
<i>amma</i> , village goddess, . . . . .	273, 278	Āndhra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	14, 44, 259 and n., 272, 273
Amma or Ammarāja I, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	270, 271, 275	Āndhra, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	13, 236, 281, 298 n.
Amma II, <i>s. a.</i> Ammarāja II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	270	Āndhra, <i>k. of Āndhra co.</i> , . . . . .	123 n.
Ammaiyappaṇ <i>alias</i> Rājarāja-Śambuvārāyaṇ, . . . . .		<i>anṅka-samara-labdha-vijaya-yasak-pratāpa</i> , . . . . .	
Śambuvārāya <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	25	Pallava ep., . . . . .	299
Ammarāja II, Vijayāditya, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .		<i>aṅga</i> , . . . . .	41
268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278		Aṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45, 104, 106, 109-10, 111, 112, 309, 324
Ammasvāmin, <i>Jaina preceptor</i> , . . . . .	227	Aṅgula, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	174
		Āṅguttara-Nikaya, Buddhist wk., . . . . .	5
		Anhilwāra Pattan, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	64 n.
		Animala, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	191

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Añjanavāṭaka, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	53, 55	Āpatsahāyēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	22
<i>añka</i> , . . . . .	270	Aphsaḍ ins., . . . . .	283
<i>añkakāra</i> , . . . . .	270	Apnavāna, <i>rishi</i> , . . . . .	135 n.
Annapūrnā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	307	Appaya-daṇḍanāyaka, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> , . . . . .	162
<i>aṇṇar</i> , 'elder brother', . . . . .	159	<i>apracha-rajā</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	4, 5, 7
Annawardi- <i>chan</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Anwar-ud-din Khān, <i>Carnatic Nawab</i> , . . . . .	124	<i>apracha-rajā</i> , legend on Taxila coins, . . . . .	6
Anṇigere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	287 and n., 288 n., 290 n.	<i>upratihata-chaka</i> , legend on coins of Gon- dopheres, <i>Indo-Parthian k.</i> , . . . . .	4
<i>Antagaḍadasāo</i> , <i>Jaina Prākṛit wk.</i> , . . . . .	196, 197	<i>a-pratyag-rāja</i> , one who has no royal ad- versary', <i>s. a.</i> . . . . . <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	4
<i>antahpura-mahāmātra</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	273, 276	<i>Arabic history of Gujarāt</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	214
<i>antahpurika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	294	Arabic ins. of Mahmūd of Gujarāt, . . . . .	214
<i>Antarūla-pattalā</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	292	Arabic ins., . . . . .	213 n.
<i>Antaraṅga</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	134 and n., 135, 137	Āradā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	173
<i>antarāya</i> , <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172	Arahat, . . . . .	205
Antirigam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	16, 17, 18	<i>ārahanta</i> , form of <i>arhat</i> in Mathurā dia- lect of Prākṛit, . . . . .	198
Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadēva, . . . . .	17, 18	<i>ārahat</i> , form of <i>arhat</i> in Mathurā dia- lect of Prākṛit, . . . . .	198
Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañjadēva, . . . . .	16	<i>ārahāta</i> , form of <i>arhat</i> , in Mathurā dia- lect of Prākṛit, . . . . .	198
<i>antyēśhṭi</i> , . . . . .	247	<i>ārāma</i> , . . . . .	147
<i>anupravaras</i> :		Ārāmaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	53, 55
Āṅgīrasa, . . . . .	173, 175	(A)raṇabhīta, <i>Śaitōdbhava k.</i> , . . . . .	150, 152
<i>anusvāra</i> , . . . . .	56 n., 101, 238, n., 246	Araśanārāyaṇa, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	25
<i>anusvāra</i> , doubling of consonants after—, . . . . .	53	Araśanārāyaṇaṇ Kachchiarāyaṇ <i>alias</i> Kāḍavarāyaṇ, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	24 and n., 26
<i>anusvāra</i> , guttural nasal used for—, . . . . .	150	Arasavilli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	47
<i>anusvāra</i> , in Brāhmī, . . . . .	195	Arasī, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 59, 67, 84
<i>anusvāra</i> , omission of—, . . . . .	226	Arasinha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	311, 325
<i>anusvāra</i> , redundant, . . . . .	135 n.	Arayan Viradamuḍittāṇ <i>alias</i> Pallavarā- yaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	169, 172
<i>anusvāra</i> , replaced by class nasal, . . . . .	138, 236, 297	<i>ārchā</i> , 'image of a god', . . . . .	198
<i>anusvāra</i> , use of double consonant in place of—, . . . . .	48	<i>ārchā</i> , 'adoration', . . . . .	198
<i>anusvāra</i> , used for class nasal, . . . . .	48, 130, 180, 226, 291, 304	<i>archādēśa</i> , 'object of worship', . . . . .	198
<i>anusvāra</i> , used for final <i>m</i> , . . . . .	130, 180, 213, 291, 297	<i>ārchādēśām</i> , 'objects of adoration' . . . . .	194, 195, 196
<i>anusvāra</i> , used for final <i>n</i> , . . . . .	20, 150, 180	Ārddhapaura, 'inhabitant of Riddhapura', . . . . .	258
<i>anusvāra</i> , used for long vowel in Central-Asian Kharōshṭhī, . . . . .	5	Ārddhapaurika, 'inhabitant of Riddhapura', . . . . .	258
<i>anusvāra</i> , used for <i>n</i> in plural endings . . . . .	198	<i>Ardha-nārīśvara</i> , form of Śiva, . . . . .	102
<i>anusvāra</i> , used redundantly before nasal, 130, 136 n.		Ardhapura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257
Anwar-ud-din Khan, <i>Nawāb of the Carnatic</i> , . . . . .	124	Arhat, . . . . .	10, 203, 204
<i>apacharaja</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>apracharaja</i> , . . . . .	7	<i>ārhat</i> , form of <i>arhat</i> in Mathurā dialect of Prākṛit, . . . . .	198
<i>apachaya of dharmma</i> , . . . . .	21, 22	<i>Ari</i> , form of <i>Ārya</i> , . . . . .	237
<i>apadihata</i> , <i>tit.</i> occurring in Indo-Greek Coins, . . . . .	4	Arisimha, <i>Prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	83
Apaku, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	279	Arisimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	63, 83,
<i>āpaṇa</i> , 'shops', . . . . .	298, 303	Arjuna, <i>demon</i> , . . . . .	80
<i>āpaṇājīvika</i> , 'those who live by shops', . . . . .	298 n.	Arjuna, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	79, 69, 84, 272, 277
<i>āpaṇa-paṭṭa-kāra</i> , 'shop-keeping cloth dealers', . . . . .	298, 303	Arjuna, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	64, 84, 89
Apāpa, <i>com. or engr.</i> , . . . . .	239 n.	<i>arjuna</i> , <i>tree</i> , . . . . .	80
Aparājita, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	309, 324	Arjuna Mīśra, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	128
Aparājita, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	28 and n., 188 n.	Arjunavarman, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālwa</i> , . . . . .	229, 230
Aparaśaila, <i>Buddhist sect</i> , . . . . .	258 and n.	Arkalgūḍ, <i>vi. di.</i> , . . . . .	188 n., 189 n.
Aparaseliyā, <i>s. a.</i> Aparaśaila, <i>Buddhist</i> <i>sect.</i> , . . . . .	258 and n.	Arkaṭavēmula, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	185 n.
Aparaśila, <i>s. a.</i> Aparaśaila, <i>Buddhist</i> <i>sect.</i> , . . . . .	258		
<i>ā-parijñāna</i> , 'cognisance', . . . . .	16		





	PAGE.		PAGE.
Bala, <i>Buddhist monk</i> , . . . . .	211	Batavia, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	124, 125
Bala, <i>Maukharī ch.</i> , . . . . .	252	Baudh, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	174
Baladēva, Baladeve, <i>Vrishni prince</i> , 196, 197, 198, 200		<i>Baudhāyana Grihyasūtra</i> , . . . . .	247 n.
Baladēva, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	222 n., 272, 277	Bāuka, <i>Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	331 n.
Balagāmve ins., . . . . .	105	Bayāna, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	329 n.
Bālāghāt, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	123	<i>be</i> , used for <i>dvē</i> , . . . . .	282
<i>Bālakrīdu</i> , commentary on <i>Yājñavalkya-smṛiti</i> , 134 and n.		Bēgaḍō, <i>s. a.</i> Begarhā, <i>sur. of</i> Mahmūd Shāh, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	216
Balasiṃha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	252	Bēlōrā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	260, 263 and n.
Bali, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	66, 69, 86, 294	Belyabera or Beliaberia, <i>estate</i> , . . . . .	46
Bāna, <i>Sanskrit author</i> , . . . . .	151, 283, 284 and n.	Benares, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	291, 292
Bāna, <i>dy.</i> , 161, 183, 184, 185 and n., 186 and n., 187, 188 & n., 189, 190, 191		Benares plate of Karṇa, . . . . .	102 and n., 103, 123 n.
Banabīra, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	59	Benḍigānahallī plates, . . . . .	236, 237
Bānarasa, <i>Bāna ch.</i> , . . . . .	184, 185, 186, 187, 191, 192, 193	Bengal, 43, 44 and n., 102, 105, 106 and n., 109 n., 111, 127, 128, 129 and n., 133 n., 134 n.	
Bānāsura, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	317 n.	Bengal, <i>North</i> ,— . . . . .	126
Banavāsi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	280	'Beny Rāy', <i>s. a.</i> Jayasiṃha, <i>ch. of Chām-pāner</i> , . . . . .	217 n.
Bānavidyādharma, <i>Bāna k.</i> , . . . . .	184, 186, 187, 188	Berhampur, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	18
Bānda plate of Chandēla Madanavarmmadēva, 229		Besnagar, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	200
Bandhogarh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	256 n.	Bēta, <i>Kaṇṭhikā—E. Chālukya prince</i> , . . . . .	271
Ba(Va)ṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	309, 324	Betwa, <i>s. a.</i> Vētravati, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	231
Baṅgāla, <i>s. a.</i> Bengal, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	109, 111	<i>bh.</i> , . . . . .	11, 253, 255, 296
Bāngarh Charter, . . . . .	43	Bhadadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	146 n.
Baṅgavāḍi Bāna ins., . . . . .	189	Bhadramagha, <i>Mahārāja—k. of Kauśāmbī</i> , 146, 253, 254, 256	
Baṅgavāḍi ins. of the 24th year of Vijaya-Narasimhavikramavarman, . . . . .	185	Bhādrapadādi, . . . . .	121
Baṅgavāḍi record of Mahābali Bānarasa, . . . . .	185	<i>bhadraśanam</i> , . . . . .	295
Bānki, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	148	Bhadrayāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203
Bānswārā, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	60, 313	<i>bhāga</i> , kind of income, . . . . .	295, 233
Bāpā, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	310	Bhagadata or Bhagadatta, <i>Bhāra k.</i> , 11 and n., 12, 14	
Bāpā-Rāval, <i>ancestor of the Rānās of Mewār</i> , 58, 59, 63, 65, 66, 84, 306, 307, 308, 309, 322, 323		Bhagadatta, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	193
Bāpatla, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	137, 141	Bhagadatta, <i>Nala k.</i> , . . . . .	11, 12
Bappa, <i>s. a.</i> Bāpā-Rāval, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , 309, 322, 323, 324		<i>bhāgagrāhī</i> , . . . . .	127
<i>Bappa-bhāṭṭaraka-pādabhaktak</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	141	<i>bhāga-grāmēyakas</i> , 'officers of the subsidiary villages', . . . . .	298 n.
<i>Bappa-dīpāṅka-pādaśāstrik</i> , <i>Pallava ep.</i> , . . . . .	302	<i>bhāgahara</i> , . . . . .	127
Bāppāryya, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	53, 55	Bhāgalpūr, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	110
Bāppavāṃśa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	317	Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	302 n.
Barābar Hill cave ins. of Anantavarman, . . . . .	198 n.	Bhagavat, <i>s. a.</i> god Vishṇu, . . . . .	55, 236, 238
Baragūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	189	Bhagavat, <i>s. a.</i> the Buddha, . . . . .	4, 7, 21, 22, 147
Barāha (Varāha)vartanī, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	50	Bhagavat, 138, 141, 195, 200, 208, 209, 210, 297, 301, 302	
Barah Copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, . . . . .	262 n., 332	Bhāgavata religion, . . . . .	200
Bāravaī, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	196	Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā, . . . . .	199, 200, 210
Bardu, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	216 n.	<i>Bhāgavatapurāṇa</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	96, 222 n.
Bargāon ins., . . . . .	45	<i>Bhāgavata-sampradāya</i> , . . . . .	272
Baripada, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	172	Bhagavatī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	332
Baroda, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	212	<i>Bhāgika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	134
Baroda, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	221	<i>Bhāgin</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	134, 135, 137
Baroda, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	220 n.	Bhagīratha, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	73
Barodar, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	216 n.	Bhāgīrathī, <i>s. a.</i> the Ganges, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	264
Basinikoṇḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	183	<i>bhāgya</i> , . . . . .	303
		Bhāgyadēvī, <i>Pāla q.</i> , . . . . .	43

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Bhāilasvāmi-Mahādīvādāsaka- <i>maṇḍala</i> , t. d., .	230	Bhīma, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	67, 69, 271, 277
Bhāilasvāmin, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	227, 231, 232	Bhīma, <i>k. of Anhilwad</i> , . . . . .	107
Bhāilasvāmīn, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	229, 230, 231	Bhīma II, <i>s. a. Chālukya-Bhīma II, E.</i>	
Bhāillēśa, <i>Sun-god</i> , . . . . .	231	<i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	270
Bhāimsaḍā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	64, 65, 77	Bhīma or Rāja-Bhīma, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	271, 272 and <i>n.</i> , 277
Bhākamiśra, <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	109	Bhīmadurga, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	325
<i>bhāṃḍāgūrika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	294	Bhīmakarṇa, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	59
<i>Bhāmja</i> , . . . . .	174	Bhīma-Mahārāja, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	191
Bhānā or Bhāṇā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	64, 71, 83, 89	Bhīmasēna, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	146 and <i>n.</i>
Bhāṇḍārā, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	11	Bhīmasēna, <i>Mahārāja—, k. of Kausāmbī</i> , . . . . .	254, 255, 256 and <i>n.</i>
<i>Bhāṇḍārī</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128	Bhīmasēna, <i>Rājan Vāsishṭhīputra—, k. of</i>	
Bhāṅgōra or Bhāṅgōrā, <i>family of</i>		<i>Kausāmbī</i> , . . . . .	256 and <i>n.</i>
<i>masons</i> , . . . . .	64, 71, 83, 89	Bhīmasimha, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 66, 84
Bhāñja, <i>dy.</i> , 15 <i>n.</i> , 16 and <i>n.</i> , 17 and <i>n.</i> , 18, 19,	173, 174	Bhīmavarman, <i>Mahārāja—, k. of Kausāmbī</i> , . . . . .	146 and <i>n.</i> , 254
Bhanvaralāl, <i>architect</i> , . . . . .	64 <i>n.</i>	<i>bhishag</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	294
Bhāra, <i>clan</i> , . . . . .	11, 12, 13, 14	Bhita sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha, . . . . .	255
Bhāradvāja, <i>descended from sage Bharadvāja</i> , . . . . .	302	<i>bhōga</i> , 'state share of land produce', . . . . .	134, 233, 295
Bhāradvāja, <i>lineage</i> , . . . . .	138, 142	<i>bhōga</i> , t. d., . . . . .	49 and <i>n.</i> , 51, 52
Bhāradvāja, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Bhōgadāṇḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	46
Bhārahe-vāse, t. d., . . . . .	196, 197	Bhōgavarman, <i>later Marikhari k.</i> , . . . . .	284
Bhāra Mal (Bihār Mal), <i>ch. of Idar</i> , . . . . .	60	<i>Bhōgika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	134, 144, 145
Bhārasīva, <i>clan</i> , . . . . .	12, 13 and <i>n.</i> , 14, 264	<i>Bhōgin</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	134, 135, 137
Bharata, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	102, 111, 187	Bhōja, <i>Guhīla prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	309, 324
Bhārata, <i>epic</i> , . . . . .	37 <i>n.</i>	Bhōja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	105, 107, and <i>n.</i> , 306, 312
Bharatpur, <i>State</i> , . . . . .	329	Bhōja I, <i>Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	103, 107 <i>n.</i> , 332, 333
Bhartripatta, <i>Guhīla k.</i> , . . . . .	308, 301, 324	Bhōjabhūpa, <i>Guhīla k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	303, 317, 321 <i>n.</i>
Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭa, <i>Brāhmaṇa</i> , . . . . .	64, 76, 83, 79	Bhōjadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	262 <i>n.</i>
Bhāskara-kshētra, . . . . .	288	Bhōjadēva, <i>s. a. Bhōja I, Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	332, 336
Bhāskaravarman, <i>k. of Kāmarūpa</i> , . . . . .	262 <i>n.</i> , 283	Bhōjasara, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	306, 317, 318
Bhāṭa, . . . . .	55, 134, 135, 137, 182, 183, 265, 266	Bhōjasvāmidēvajagatī, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	303
Bhāṭārka, <i>Maitraka k.</i> , . . . . .	333 <i>n.</i>	Bhōjavarman, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> , . . . . .	109 <i>n.</i>
Bhāṭṭa, <i>tit.</i> , 16, 19, 36, 109, 130, 135 and <i>n.</i> , 173,	175, 330, 332, 334	Bhonsla, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	122, 263
<i>Bhāṭṭāl-kottu</i> , . . . . .	90, 95, 99, 100	Bhonsle Rāja of Nagpur, . . . . .	122
<i>Bhāṭṭaputra</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	16 <i>n.</i>	Bhopāl plates of Arjunavarman, . . . . .	229
Bhāṭṭa-Sōmayājī. <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	36	Bhopāl plates of Harichandra, . . . . .	231
<i>Bhāuma</i> , <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	151 <i>n.</i>	Bhopāl plates of Udayavarman, . . . . .	227, 228, 229, 230 and <i>n.</i>
Bhava, <i>s. a. Śiva, god</i> , . . . . .	58, 65, 70, 115	Bhrigupati, <i>s. a. Paraśurāma, myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	328
Bhavanāga, <i>Bhārasīva k.</i> , . . . . .	13 <i>n.</i> , 264	Bhūdhara, <i>mason</i> , . . . . .	64, 71, 83, 89
Bhavanī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	65, 70, 72, 77, 84, 320	<i>bhujishya-patram</i> , . . . . .	113
Bhavanīpati, <i>s. a. Śiva, god</i> , . . . . .	232	<i>bhukti</i> , t. d., 43, 46, 47, 150, 153, 261, 263, 264, 266	
Bhavattavarman, <i>Nala k.</i> , . . . . .	263 <i>n.</i>	Bhulūṇḍa, <i>Mahārāja—, k.</i> , . . . . .	52
Bhāvilla, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	16, 18, 19	<i>Bhuvanādhipā</i> , <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	19
Bhāvīṇṇa, <i>wrong reading for Bhāvilla</i> , . . . . .	18	Bhūmiyāṇḍāl, <i>s. a. Bhuvanādhipā, f.</i> , . . . . .	93 <i>n.</i>
Bhāvṇagar inss., . . . . .	58 <i>n.</i>	Bhūpēndravarmān, <i>E. Gaṅga k. of the</i>	
Bhayabhūti, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	282	<i>Svētaka branch</i> , . . . . .	133
Bherā-Ghāṭ ins. of Alhaṇḍēvi, . . . . .	105, 116, 117, 311	Bhūravādā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	64, 65, 77
<i>bhikhu-sagha</i> , . . . . .	259	<i>Bhūti</i> , suffix of personal names, . . . . .	282
Bhilsā, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	231	Bhuvanādhipā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	93 and <i>n.</i>
Bhilsa topes, . . . . .	205 <i>n.</i>	Bhuvanasiṃha, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 66, 84
Bhīma, <i>s. a. Śiva, god</i> , . . . . .	69	Bhuvanatriṇētra, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	191
Bhīma, <i>Chālukya k. of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	107 and <i>n.</i>	Bhuanēśvari, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	319
Bhīma, <i>ch. of Idar</i> , . . . . .	59		





	PAGE.		PAGE.
Chakravāṇanāmbi, <i>s. a.</i> , Iranda-kālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ Kūḍal Chakravāṇanāmbi <i>alius</i> Uttamanāmbi-Piḷḷai, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	97	<i>chār</i> , 'head of a <i>parganā</i> ', off., . . . . .	134
Chakrī, <i>s. a.</i> Vishṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	318	Chārabhujā or Chaturbhujā, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	307
Chalakenallāta, <i>ep. of</i> Kriṣṇa III, <i>Rāshṭra-kūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	190	<i>charaṇa</i> , . . . . .	51, 52
Chalākero ins. of Prabhūtavarsha Gōvinda (II), . . . . .	186 n.	<i>charaṇas</i> :—	
Chāḷukyas, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	50, 105 n., 107 n., 151, 179, 191, 224 n., 271, 274, 276, 280	Taittirīya, . . . . .	235, 239 and n.
Chāḷukyas, <i>Early—, dy.</i> , . . . . .	123, 185	Vājasaneyā, 130, 135 and n., 137, 175, 181, 182, 183	
Chāḷukyas, <i>Eastern—, dy.</i> , . . . . .	139, 141, 185, 268, 269 and n., 272, 299, 303 n.	Charsadda, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	1, 8
Chāḷukyas, <i>Later—, dy.</i> , . . . . .	105 and n., 107, 110, 123	Charsadda Relic Casket Ins. of the year 303, . . . . .	1, 2, 9
Chāḷukya-Bhīma I, <i>E. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 270, 274, 275	Chārudēvī, <i>Pallava q.</i> , . . . . .	297, 302 n.
Chāḷukya-Bhīma II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	270, 271 and n., 272, 275, 277	Chāruponnēra, <i>Noḷamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	186 n.
<i>chāmara</i> , 'fly-whisk', . . . . .	72, 272, 277	Chāṭa, off., . . . . .	55 n., 134, 135, 137, 182, 183
Chamba, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	133 n., 134	Chāṭasū, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	308
<i>chāmkama</i> , 'promenade' (?), . . . . .	212 and n.	Chatina, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	46
Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II, 53, 54, 55 n., 56 n., 262, 263		<i>chatuḥśālā</i> , . . . . .	209
Champakapadra, <i>s. a.</i> Chāmpāner, <i>ci.</i> , 217, 219, 224		<i>chaturālai or chaturśālai</i> , . . . . .	36 n., 37 and n.
Champakapura, <i>s. a.</i> Chāmpāner, <i>ci.</i> , 218, 219, 224 n., 225		Chaturānana, <i>s. a.</i> Brahmā, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	87
Chāmpāner, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	213 n., 216, 217 and n.	<i>chaturāṅga-sēnā</i> , . . . . .	170 n.
Chāmpāner, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	219, 220, 221	Chaturāsi Khambā, <i>mosque</i> , . . . . .	329
<i>Chāmpū-kūrya</i> , . . . . .	286	Chaturāśrama, . . . . .	113
Chāmuṇḍā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	331, 333, 335	<i>chatur-danta</i> , . . . . .	170 n.
Chāmuṇḍākarāśi, <i>ascetic</i> , . . . . .	332, 336	Chaturvarga- <i>chintāmaṇi</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	288 and n.
Chānskū, <i>Vākāṭaka ca.</i> , . . . . .	13	Chaturvēdi, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	36, 41, 142
Chāṇḍavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	48, 49, 132	Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, . . . . .	154, 167, 168, 170, 171
Chandēlla, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	44, 109 n., 229	Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	41 n.
Chāṇḍī or Chāṇḍikā, <i>s. a. goddess</i> Pārvatī, . . . . .	88, 317	Chauhān, <i>clan of Rājputs</i> , . . . . .	217 and n., 312
Chāṇḍīśvara, <i>s. a. god</i> Śiva, . . . . .	75	Chauḷukya, <i>s. a.</i> Chāḷukya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	107 n., 230
Chāndor, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	145	Chaulukyas (of Gujarāt), <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	215, 312, 313
Chandra, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.	Chaulukya grant of Trilōchanapāla, . . . . .	331 n.
Chandrā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	327	Chaulukya Kumārāpāla ins. of V. S. 1207 at Chitor, . . . . .	314 n.
Chandra, <i>merchant</i> , . . . . .	54, 55	Chchhrāvasti, <i>s. a.</i> Śrāvasti, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	21
Chandras, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	105, 106	Chēdi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	107 n., 113, 116, 117, 122, 123
Chandrachūḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	89	Chēdi, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	111, 112, 113, 147 n.
Chandradēva, <i>Gāhaḍavāla k. of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	292, 293, 294	Chēkata, . . . . .	133 n.
Chandragiri-prabhu, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	98	Chēkata, . . . . .	133 n.
Chandragupta II, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	198 n., 261	Chelvunū, <i>hero</i> , . . . . .	184, 192
Chandralekha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	37 n.	Chenab, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	6
Chandraprabhasūri, <i>Jain writer</i> , . . . . .	213 n.	Chendalūru plates of Kumāravishṇu II, 138 n., 235, 297, 299 n., 300, 301	
Chandrapura, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145	Chēra, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	165
<i>Chandra-pushkarinī</i> , tank, . . . . .	99 and n., 100	Chēra, <i>k. of the Chēra co.</i> , . . . . .	158
Chandraśekhara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	15	Chēranma, <i>Chēra k.</i> , . . . . .	103 n.
Chandraśekhara, <i>s. a.</i> Śandayan, <i>Vaidumbā ch.</i> , 190		Chēsamiśarman, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	138, 142
Chandrasēna, <i>Jaina preceptor</i> , . . . . .	272, 277	Chetiya, . . . . .	279
Chantamāna-Daḍi, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	184, 189, 192, 193	<i>chetiya-ghara</i> , . . . . .	279
		Chetiya-Jātaka, . . . . .	147 n.
		<i>chh</i> , in Nāgarī, used for <i>chchh</i> , . . . . .	57
		Chharampasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
		Chhatina, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	46
		Chhatna, <i>n. of a Jungle Mahal</i> , . . . . .	46
		<i>chhatra</i> , . . . . .	148, 272, 277, 295
		<i>chhātra</i> , off., . . . . .	55 and n., 265, 266
		<i>chhatrava</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Kshatrapa, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	9, 10







	PAGE.		PAGE.
days of the week:— <i>contd.</i>		Dhāmadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Tuesday, . . . . .	62 and <i>n.</i> , 118 <i>n.</i> , 119, 120, 285, 289, 290	Dhamayasā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	203
Wednesday, . . . . .	63, 118 <i>n.</i>	<i>Dhamma-mahāmāta</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	140
Thursday, . . . . .	57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 80, 119, 212	<i>Dhammapada</i> , Buddhist wk. (in Kharōshthī), 9 and <i>n.</i>	
Friday, . . . . .	64, 118 <i>n.</i> , 119, 120, 121, 122	<i>Dhammapada</i> , Buddhist wk. (in Prākṛit), . . . . .	9 <i>n.</i>
Saturday, . . . . .	62, 119, 121, 227	Dhaññakāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Dhaññakāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i>
Deccan (Dekkan), <i>the</i> —, 185, 187, 188, 216, 218, 220, 221		Dhaññakāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Dhaññakāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i>
deer (?), <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	297	Dhamōri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	123 <i>n.</i>
Dēhaduāra-pattalā, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	293, 294	Dhanada, <i>s. a.</i> Kubēra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	288 <i>n.</i> , 289, 290 and <i>n.</i>
Dēlha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Dhaññakāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Dharanikōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257, 259, 260
Delhi, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	61, 62, 69, 213 <i>n.</i> , 214 and <i>n.</i> , 215, 292, 332 <i>n.</i>	Dhanakāṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Dhaññakāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i> , 258
Delhi Emperors, . . . . .	214	Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman, . . . . .	130, 132, 180, 181
De Neys, <i>s. a.</i> Pieter De Neys, <i>Dutch officer</i> , . . . . .	125	Dhanavati, <i>Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	211
Dengaposhi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	174	Dhaṅga, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45
Dēō-Baraṅk ins., . . . . .	284	Dhaṅgu, <i>s. a.</i> Dhaṅga, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> , . . . . .	44
Deoli plates of Kṛishṇa III, . . . . .	263 <i>n.</i>	<i>dhanī</i> , . . . . .	193
Deotēk inscriptional slab, . . . . .	12	<i>Dhanmi</i> , . . . . .	38 <i>n.</i>
Deotēk ins., . . . . .	12 <i>n.</i>	Dhaññakāṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Dhaññakāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i>
<i>dēśa</i> , synonymous with <i>āspada</i> , . . . . .	198	Dhanuttrāta, <i>Maukhari ch.</i> , . . . . .	252, 253
dessave, <i>Dutch tit.</i> , . . . . .	125	Dhanvantari <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	90, 91, 93 <i>n.</i> , 98
Deula-Pēdi, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	15	Dhanvantari-Emberumāṅ, 'the Divine physician' 90, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101	
<i>dēvabhāga</i> , incorrect for <i>dēvabhōga</i> , . . . . .	302 <i>n.</i>	Dhānyaghaṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Dhānyakāṭaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i>
<i>dēvabhōga</i> , . . . . .	272, 277, 302 and <i>n.</i>	Dhānyakāṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Dhaññakāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i>
<i>dēvabhāgahala</i> , . . . . .	302	Dhānyāṅkapura, <i>s. a.</i> Dhānyakāṭaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 <i>n.</i>
Dēvāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50	Dhar, <i>state.</i> , . . . . .	227 <i>n.</i>
Dēvadā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	64	Dhārā, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	229, 230
Dēvadaha, <i>s. a.</i> Dēvadā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	64, 65, 72, 90	Dhārā, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	107 <i>n.</i>
<i>dēvadāna</i> , . . . . .	154, 156, 166, 167, 168, 171	Dharakota plates of Śubhākaradēva, . . . . .	151
Dēvāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50	Dharanikōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	256, 259
<i>dēvagriha</i> , 'temple' . . . . .	210	Dharapadra, <i>s. a.</i> Dādarapadra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	231
Dēvagupta, <i>s. a.</i> Chandragupta II, <i>Gupta k.</i> , 55, 261, 264, 265		Dharaśarman, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	235, 239
Dēvagupta of Mālwa, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	284	Dhāravarsha, <i>Paramāra ch. of Abū</i> , . . . . .	312
Dēvānanda, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	244 and <i>n.</i>	Dhārēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	306, 313, 318, 327
Dēvapāla, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	230	<i>dharma</i> , . . . . .	38, 41, 68, 137
Dēvapura, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	49, 50	<i>dharma</i> , 'law and order', . . . . .	40
Dēvaputra, <i>Kushān tit.</i> , . . . . .	200	<i>Dharmachakra</i> , . . . . .	257, 258, 260
Dēvarāshtra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	49, 50	<i>Dharma-chakra</i> , 'Buddhist wheel of Dharma', <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	43, 47
Dēvarāja, <i>Gōmin k.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145	<i>Dharmachakra-dhvaja</i> , . . . . .	257
Dēvarāja, <i>s. a.</i> Indra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	144, 145	<i>dharma-ādara-karaṇa</i> , . . . . .	56 <i>n.</i>
Dēvarāya II, <i>Vijayavagara k.</i> , . . . . .	90 <i>n.</i>	<i>Dharmādhyaksha</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	273, 276
<i>dēvar-kādamai</i> , 'assessment', . . . . .	155	<i>Dharmam</i> , 'law', . . . . .	166
Dēvāryya, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	53, 55	<i>Dharma-mahādhiraṅja</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 236, 238
Dēvavarman, <i>Śālanākāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	281	<i>Dharma-mahāmātras</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	140
Dēvēndravarmān, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	132, 133	<i>Dharma-mahārāja</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	138, 139, 140, 142, 236, 238, 302 and <i>n.</i>
Devgaḍ Baria, <i>State</i> , . . . . .	217 <i>n.</i>	<i>Dharma-mahārājādhiraṅja</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140
<i>dh</i> , . . . . .	53, 130, 135 <i>n.</i> , 255	<i>Dharmāmṛita</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	230
<i>dha</i> , . . . . .	43 and <i>n.</i>	Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	45 and <i>n.</i> , 47
<i>dhā</i> , in Nāgarī, . . . . .	102	Dharmapāladēva, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	128
<i>Dhamachaka-dhaya</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Dharmachakra-dhvaja</i> , 257, 259		Dharmapurī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	189
		Dharmarāja, <i>Śailōdbhava k.</i> , . . . . .	150

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>Dharmarāja</i> , tit., of Maurya k. Aśoka,	140	dog, emblem on seal,	297
<i>dharmāsana</i> , 'royal court',	34, 36	Dohad, fort,	212, 213 and n., 218, 219 and n., 220 and n.
<i>dharmasāstras</i> , 30, 32, 33, 34, 39, 41, 137, 175, 182, 333		<i>dona</i> , s. a. <i>drōṇa</i> , 'reliquary or casket'	9 and n., 10
<i>dharmasthāna</i> , 'place of religious worship',	263, 265, 266	<i>doṇadhātu</i> ,	9 n.
<i>dharmasthānam</i> , 'temple',	12	doṇa-measure, measure of capacity,	3
Dharmasūnu, s. a. Yudhishtīra, epic hero,	85	<i>Dōṅaka</i> , variety of resin of alce,	127
<i>Dharmasūtra</i> ,	247	<i>Dōṅaka</i> , vi.,	127
Dharmavarma's wall,	98	<i>Dōṅagrāma</i> , s. a. <i>Dōṅaka</i> , vi.,	127
<i>Dharma-Yuvarājya</i> , tit.,	140	Dormieux, Dutch family of French origin,	126
<i>dharmi</i> ,	38 and n.	Dormieux, s. a. Philippus Jacobus Dormieux,	
<i>dharmādīkaraṇa</i> ,	56 and n.	Dutch officer,	124, 126
Dharmmasvāmin, donee,	150, 153	<i>doruvu</i> , 'pond',	238 n.
Dhārtarāshtra,	79	<i>dramma</i> , coin,	154, 331, 332, 336
Dhātā, s. a. Brahmā, god,	71	Draupadī, epic princess,	197, 199
Dhavaḷapēṭa plates of Umavarman,	49 n., 50	Draviḍa, co.,	309, 324
Dhavaḷcyarasa, ch.,	186	<i>drōṇa</i> , 'vessel or measure of capacity',	9 and n.
Dhēnukākāṭa, vi.,	282	Drōṇāryya, donee,	53, 55
Dhindhōra, ci.,	61	Drug, vi.,	263 n.
Dhṛitipura, <i>Bhañja ca.</i> ,	17 and n.	Drupada, epic k.,	197
<i>Digambaras</i> , Jaina sect,	203, 272	<i>dūba</i> ,	268, 273, 278
Digbhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja k.</i> ,	17	Dudhēśvara Mahādēva, god,	220 n.
<i>dig-gajas</i> ,	170 n.	Dudhipuranagara, s. a. Dadhipadra, ci.,	220 n.
Dighi, s. a. Dīrghadraha, vi.,	263	Dudia plates,	52, 53, 54, 56 n.
Dighwa-Dubauli ins.,	44	Duggarāja, gen.,	273
<i>digvijaya</i> ,	218	Dūṅgarpur, ci. and state,	60, 61, 70, 303
Dilli, s. a. Delhi, ca.,	39	Dungarsi, min. of Rājā Patāi of Chāmpāner,	217
Dinājpur, di.,	126 and n., 127 and n.	Durgā, s. a. Pārvatī, goddess,	58, 65, 67, 122 and n.
<i>Dinakara-charaṇārchanarata</i> , ep. of Early		Durgadēva, engr.,	173 and n., 175
Gurjara k. Dadā Prasāntarāga,	176, 179	Durgā-Sarasvatī, goddess,	213 n.
' <i>Dinakara-kiraṇārchanarata</i> ', ep. of		Durgaśarman, m.,	173, 175
Early Gurjara k. Raṇagraha,	176	Durgā' festival,	117, 122 and n.
Dinakara-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> ,	58, 66, 84	Durvinīta, <i>Gaṅga k.</i> ,	188 n., 237
<i>Dīpavaṁsa</i> , Ceylonese chron.,	258 n.	Durvinīta, sur. of Yuvarāja Mārasimha, W.	
diphthongs,	329	<i>Gaṅga prince</i> ,	188 n.
diphthongs, (in Nāgarī,) represented by <i>śirō-</i>		<i>Dushta</i> ,	35, 40, 41
<i>mātras</i> ,	57	<i>dūta</i> or <i>dūtaka</i> , off.,	130, 136, 137, 150, 153, 173, 175, 227, 234, 294
diphthongs, medial—, (in Nāgarī),	102	Dutreuil de Rhins Ms.,	9
Dīrghadraha, vi.,	261, 263, 266 and n.	<i>Dvādaśarāśi</i> , 'the twelve signs of the Zodiac'	86
<i>dīrghanāsiky-archā</i> , image of god,	198	Dvāpara-Yuga,	306, 315
<i>discus</i> , weapon of god Viṣṇu,	96	Dvārakā, ci.,	222 n.
Divākarasēna, Yuvarāja—, <i>Vākātaka prince</i> ,	261, 262 and n.	Dvārakā, co.,	219, 222 n.
Divāli, festival,	122 n.	Dvāravatī, ci.,	196, 197
Divaspati, s. a. Indra, god,	114	<i>dvē</i> , substituted by <i>be</i> ,	282
Divisional assemblies,	33	<i>Dvēdai</i> , form of <i>Dvivēda</i> ,	138 n.
<i>Divyāśraya-mahākāvya</i> , wk.,	221 n., 224 n.	<i>Dvēdaigōmapuram</i> , vi.,	138 n.
<i>Divyasūris</i> , 'Ālvārs and Āchāryas',	92	<i>Dvēdaya</i> , form of <i>Dvivēda</i> ,	138 and n., 140, 142
<i>Divyasūricharitam</i> , hagiological wk.,	91, 92, 93 and n., 94, 98	Dvēdaya-Vṛiddhaśarman, m.,	138, 142 and n.
<i>Divyāvadāna</i> , Buddhist wk.,	207	<i>dvija</i> , 'Brāhman',	113, 308
Doab,	104	<i>dirja-guru-vṛiddhōpachāyinaḥ</i> ,	141 and n.
Dōchayya, <i>Muṭlamale—</i> , m.,	184, 192, and n.	<i>Dvivēda</i> , tit.,	138 n., 231, 233
		Dvivēdī, ep.,	36
		Dwārakā, s. a. Dvārakā, ci.,	222 n.

	PAGE.
<b>E</b>	
<i>e</i> , medial, . . . . .	211, 282
<i>ē</i> , initial, . . . . .	20
<i>ē</i> , medial, . . . . .	78 n., 253, 304
Eastern Turkestan, . . . . .	199
Eastern Turkestan Kharōshthī documents, . . . . .	204 n.
eclipses :—	
lunar, . . . . .	16, 19, 119, 120, 227, 232, 288 and n.
solar, . . . . .	62 and n., 74, 117, 288 and n., 301
[E]dhisiri <i>incorrect for</i> B[o]dhisiri, . . . . .	280
' <i>edir</i> ', . . . . .	165 n.
Eduttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār, <i>s. a.</i> Narasimha,	
<i>god</i> , . . . . .	91, 94, 96
Ēduvāka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	331, 336
Ēkalinga, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	63, 66, 70, 72, 77, 78, 81, 82,
84, 85, 304, 305, 306, 313, 314, 315, 317, 318, 322,	323
Ēkalinga-māhātmya, <i>lit. wk.</i> , . . . . .	59, 82 n., 305, 308,
309, 311, 312, 313, 314 n.	
Ēkanāyakṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	155 n.
Ēkavīra, . . . . .	224
Ēkavīsha, <i>s. a.</i> Ēkalinga, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	71
Ēklingī, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	63, 65, 82, 305, 313
elephant, <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	234
elephant-goad, <i>symbol on seal</i> , . . . . .	268
Ēḷisaimōgaṇ, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24 n., 25, 26 n.
Ēḷisaimōgaṇ <i>alias</i> Jananātha Kachchiarāyaṇ,	
<i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	24, 26
Ēḷisaimōgaṇ Kāḍavarāyaṇ, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	24, 26
Ēḷisaimōgaṇ Maṇavāḷap-perumāl, <i>s. a.</i> Maṇavāḷap-	
perumāl, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	23
Ēḷisaimōgaṇ Maṇavāḷap-perumāl, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> ,	26 n.
Ēḷisaimōgaṇ-sandī, . . . . .	23
Elizabeth Maria Mestral de Meserie, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	124, 126
'Ellai-nilaiyiṭṭa', <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	97
Ellore plates of Dēvavarman, . . . . .	281
<i>ellu</i> , 'sesamum crop', 154 ( <i>add.</i> ), 168, 169, 171, 172	
<i>emberumāṇ</i> or <i>emberumāṇār</i> , derived from <i>Pra-</i>	
<i>mukha</i> , . . . . .	39
<i>emmekāḍu</i> , . . . . .	184
<i>ent-aṇisu</i> , 'whatever', . . . . .	193
Epics, . . . . .	140, 196
Ēraṇ stone ins. of Samudragupta, . . . . .	198 n.
eras :—	
Chēdi, 108 ( <i>add.</i> ), 116, 117, 118 and n., 119, 120,	
121, 122, 123, 255, 256, 311	
Christian, . . . . .	48, 246, 254
Gaṅga, . . . . .	48, 49 and n., 50
Gāṅgēya, . . . . .	132, 181 and n.
Gupta, . . . . .	21, 117, 126, 149, 151, 198 n., 255, 256
Harsna, . . . . .	151, 330, 332
Hijra, . . . . .	60, 212, 225 n., 329 n.

	PAGE.
eras :— <i>contd.</i>	
Kalachuri-Chēdi, <i>s. a.</i> Chēdi, . . . . .	116 and n., 117,
118 and n., 121, 147, 176, 177, 178, 179 and n.	
Kṛita (Vikrama), . . . . .	245, 251
Kushān, . . . . .	207
Mālava, . . . . .	9
Nēwār, . . . . .	116
Śaka, 68, 90, 91 n., 93 n., 96, 97 and n., 98, 100,	
107 n., 116, 119, 120, 122, 164, 176 n., 186, 187,	
189, 190 n., 191 and n., 212, 218, 219, 225, 230,	
235, 256, 270, 285, 286 and n., 287, 288, 289,	
291, 307, 322	
Samvat (Vikrama), 62 n., 90, 305, 306, 307, 308,	
309, 310, 311, 312, 314 and n., 322	
unspecified, . . . . .	116
Valabhi, . . . . .	332
Vikrama Samvat, 44, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62 and n.,	
63, 64 and n., 69, 76, 77, 80, 83, 87, 107 n., 123 n.,	
198 n., 212, 213 and n., 217 n., 218, 221 n., 225,	
227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 246, 291, 292, 293	
Vikrama (Northern) . . . . .	116, 307
Vikrama (Southern) . . . . .	118
ēri-vāriyam, village committee, . . . . .	40
Euthydemus, <i>Greek k.</i> , . . . . .	6
Ēvuvāṇ, <i>s. a.</i> Viyavaṇ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	32
<b>F</b>	
Farhat-ul-Mulk, <i>governor of Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	215
Fatehjang ins. of year 69, . . . . .	3 n.
Firishta, <i>Muslim historian</i> , 59 n., 214 and n., 217 n.,	
218 n., 220, 221 n., 222 n., 287 n.	
fish, <i>emblem</i> , . . . . .	170
fish, <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	160
fly-whisks, <i>symbol on seal</i> , . . . . .	268
fortnights of the seasons :—	
sixth, . . . . .	258, 260
Fort St. David, . . . . .	27
French, . . . . .	26, 126
<b>G</b>	
<i>g</i> , . . . . .	11, 24, 253, 255
<i>g</i> , used for <i>k</i> , in early Prākṛit, . . . . .	11
Gadādhara, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	307, 320
Gadag, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	287 n., 288, 290 n.
Gaḍa-Vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	16
<i>gaḍh</i> , 'fort', . . . . .	225 n.
Gādhipura, <i>s. a.</i> Kanyakubja or	
Kanauj, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	293
Gadvāl grant, . . . . .	185 n.
Gaganaśaśimauli, <i>Śaiva ascetic</i> , . . . . .	241
Gaganaśiva, <i>do.</i> . . . . .	240, 241, 242, 243
Gaganēsa, <i>do.</i> . . . . .	241



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Gāgrūn, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	59	Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja, . . . . .	149, 151
Gāhadavālas of Kanauj, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	291, 292	Gañjām plates of Nētribhañjadēva, . . . . .	175 n.
Gajamukha, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṇēśa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	305, 315	Gañjām plates of Vid'yādharabhañja, . . . . .	19 n.
Gājāsya, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	88	Gāralagunṭha, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	273
gāmasāmikō, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	9 n.	Garbeta, <i>thānā</i> —, . . . . .	46
Gaṅga, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	181, 183	Garibadāsa, <i>Mewār prince</i> , . . . . .	63, 83
Gaṅgādharma, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Gartēsvara, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Gaṅapati, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	63, 65, 72, 77, 79, 84, 88	Garuḍa, <i>emblem</i> , . . . . .	226
ganḍa, . . . . .	270	Garuḍa figure, . . . . .	233 n.
Gaṅḍagōpāla, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	163 n.	Garuḍa-Purāna, . . . . .	45 and n.
Gaṅḍamba-tree, . . . . .	3	Garuḍāśrīvāhana-Śrīsada, <i>s. a.</i> Garuḍavā-	
Gaṅḍatriṇētra Vaidumba-Mahārāja, <i>Vai-</i>		hana, <i>author of Divyasūri-charita</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
dumba <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	183, 184, 185, 189 and n., 191,	Garuḍavāhana, <i>sur.</i> , . . . . .	92
	192, 193	Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, <i>author of</i>	
Gandhāra, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	3	Raṅgaghōṣhaṇai, . . . . .	90, 99, 100
Gaṇēśa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	72, 88, 305, 314, 316 n.	Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1257,	
Gaṇēshrā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	206	<i>author</i> , . . . . .	91, 92, 93 n., 94, 95, 99, 100
Gaṅga, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 181, 235 and n.,	Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1493, <i>s. a.</i>	
	236	Śrīnivāsa <i>alias</i> Śrīraṅga Garuḍavāha-	
Gaṅgas, <i>Eastern</i> —, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	48, 130, 132, 133, 135,	na-Bhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	91, 92, 93, 94, 95 and
	136 and n.		n., 100 and n., 101
Gaṅgas of Kalinga, <i>Early</i> —, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	130, 131	Garuḍavāhana-panḍita, <i>disciple of Rāmā-</i>	
Gaṅgas of Orissa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	180	nuja, . . . . .	92, 96
Gaṅgas of Svētaka, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	181	Garuḍavāhana-panḍita, <i>tit. or cognomen</i> , . . . . .	92
Gaṅgas, <i>Western</i> —, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	139, 185, 186, 187	Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
	and n., 188 and n., 189	Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita Śrī Uttamanambi	
Gaṅgā, <i>s. a.</i> the Ganges, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	73, 75, 78, 86, 87, 100,	<i>alias</i> Kavivaidyapurandara Śrīnivāsa-	
	151, 224, 272	mahākavi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
Gaṅgadās, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṅgarājēśvara, <i>ch. of</i>		Gauḍa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45, 128, 151, 309, 324
Chāmpāner, . . . . .	216, 217 n.	Gauḍēśvara-mahāmantri śrīmad-Viśvāsa-	
Gaṅgādēvī, <i>poetess</i> , . . . . .	98, 287 n.	rāya, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128
Gaṅgaidēvar <i>alias</i> Siṅgaṇaṇ-ḍaṇḍanāyak-		Gauhilyavamśa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	323
kaṇ, <i>Hoysala min. and gen.</i> , . . . . .	92	Gauptī, <i>metronymic</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram, <i>Chōla ca.</i> , . . . . .	106	Gauptīputra, <i>s. a.</i> Gotiputra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-Rājendra-Chōla I, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	13 n.	Gaurī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	65, 82
Gaṅgakōṇḍapura, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-		Gautama-Dharmasūtra, . . . . .	247 n.
chōlapuram, <i>Chōla ca.</i> , . . . . .	106 n.	Gautamī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	180
Gaṅgāpurī, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-Chōla-		Gautamī plates, . . . . .	181
puram, <i>Chōla ca.</i> , . . . . .	106	Gautamīputra, <i>Bhārasīva k.</i> , . . . . .	264
Gaṅgarājēśvara, <i>ch. of Chāmpāner</i> , . . . . .	217 n.	Gautamīputra, <i>Vākātaka k.</i> , . . . . .	54
Gaṅgārāmpur, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	127	Gautamīputra, <i>metronymic of a Kosam</i>	
Gaṅgaru-sāsira, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	187	<i>k.</i> , . . . . .	256
Gaṅgavāḍī, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	16, 19, 235	Gavudam, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	167, 170
Gaṅgdhār stone ins. of the time of		Gayā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	44
Viśvavarman, . . . . .	198 n.	Geḍilam, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	27, 28
Ganges, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	13 and n., 63, 101, 108, 110,	George Mackay, <i>Captain</i> —, <i>Officer of the</i>	
	123 n., 293, 295	<i>East India Company</i> , . . . . .	125
Gāṅgēyadēva, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	103, 104 and n., 105	Gēpuraka-mārgga, . . . . .	55
	and n., 112, 118 n.	gh, . . . . .	253
	13 n.	ghaṭikā, . . . . .	41 n.
Gañja, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	18 and n., 19 n.	Ghatiyāla, <i>cf.</i> , . . . . .	332
Gañjām, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	15, 18, 50, 129, 133, 151,	Ghāt Lādki, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	263
Gañjām, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	180, 181	Gheias-ood-Dowla-ood-Deen Moha-	
Gañjām C. P. grants of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva, . . . . .	173	med Shāh, <i>s. a.</i> Mahammada (son of	
Gañjām plates of Jayavarmadēva, . . . . .	135 n.	Muzaffar Shāh), <i>Sulṭān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	214 n.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Ghiyās-ud-dīn, 'the Aid of the Faith', <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	216	<i>gōshthi-śeydān</i> , 'Convener of the <i>pari-</i> <i>shat</i> ' <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	38
Ghiyāthud-d-Dīn Bālban, <i>Sultān</i> , . . . . .	319 n.	Gotamīputa siri-Yañā Sātakaṇi, <i>Āndhra</i> <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	280
Ghosh, <i>surnamē</i> , . . . . .	128	Gotī, <i>s. a.</i> Gaupṭī, <i>metronymic</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Ghōshitārāma, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	147	Gotiputra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Ghōsrāwā Buddhist ins., . . . . .	240 n.	Gotiputra, <i>metronymic of Pothayaśaka</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Ghotia plates of Prithvidēva II, . . . . .	118 n.	<i>Gōtrapravarānibandhakadamba</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	135 n.
Gingee, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	98 and n.	<i>gōtras</i> :—	
Giñja ins., of Bhīmasēna, . . . . .	146, 254	Adavāha, . . . . .	231, 233
<i>Gīranāra-Māhātmya</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	222 n.	Ātrēya (Atri), . . . . .	49, 51 and n., 52
Girijā, <i>s. a.</i> Pārvatī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	88, 314	Bhāradvāja, . . . . .	36, 109, 144, 145, 231, 233, 235, 239, 298, 302
Girijāpati, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	320	Gautama, . . . . .	173, 175, 231, 233, 298, 303
Girinagara, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	221, 222	Grēvya, . . . . .	271, 272 and n., 276
Giritanayā, <i>s. a.</i> Pārvatī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	275	Harita, . . . . .	36
Girnal, <i>s. a.</i> Girnar, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	221 n.	Kāṇvāyana, . . . . .	235, 236, 238
Girnar, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	216, 217, 221, 222 and n.	Kāśyapa . . . . .	36, 92, 93, 97, 138, 142, 231, 232, 233, 261, 265, 266
Girnar Rock-edict of Aśōka, . . . . .	11	Kaunḍīnya . . . . .	232, 233
Girvā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	65	Kṛishṇātrēya, . . . . .	231, 233
Goa, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	143, 145	Mānavya, . . . . .	274
Gōdāvarī, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	50, 186 n.	Parāśara, . . . . .	181 and n., 182, 183
Gōdāvarī plates of Prithvīmūla, . . . . .	170 n.	Śāṇḍilya, . . . . .	110 and n., 231, 232, 233
Godhrā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	218 and n., 221	Śāṅkṛitya . . . . .	231, 233
Goharwā plates of Karṇadēva, . . . . .	101, 102 and n., 103, 105, 111 n., 112 n., 113 n., 118 n.	Śaunaka, . . . . .	231, 233
Gōkarṇēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	181, 182	Vāji-Kauśika, . . . . .	53, 55
Gōkarṇēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	134, 136 and n.	Vatsa, . . . . .	36, 130, 135 and n., 137, 235, 239 and n., 293, 295
Gokul, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	329	Vishṇuvṛiddha, . . . . .	264
<i>gōkulādhikāri</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	294	Viśvāmitra, . . . . .	16, 19
<i>goṭa-goṭṭu</i> , 'offered battle', . . . . .	192	Gōtrānanda, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	293, 295
Gōlakagaṇa, . . . . .	225	<i>govalava</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>gōvallabha</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	279
Gōlasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153	<i>gōvallabha</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	279
<i>golden-horse</i> , kind of gift, . . . . .	62, 80	Gōvardhan, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	194
Gōlhē, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Gōvāryya, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	53, 55
Gōmāyana, <i>patronymic</i> , . . . . .	144	Gōvinda, <i>engr.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Gomins, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	143, 144, 145	Gōvinda (II), Prabhūtavarsha, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	186 n.
Gōṇḍāryya, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	53, 55	Gōvinda III, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	187 n.
Gondopheres, <i>Indo-Parthian k.</i> , . . . . .	4	Gōvindachandra, <i>Gāhadavāla k. of</i> <i>Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	292, 294
Gonti, <i>s. a.</i> Kunti, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	193	Gōvindachandra, <i>k. of Vāṅgāla-dēśa</i> , . . . . .	105-6
Gooty, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	185, 238	Gōvindadēva, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	130, 136, 137
Gōpachandra, <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> —, . . . . .	127	Gōvindasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	144, 145
<i>gōpaḥ</i> , 'watchman', <i>witness</i> , . . . . .	31 n.	Grahavarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . .	283, 284 and n.
Gōpāla I, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	45	<i>grāka</i> , incorrect for <i>grāsaka</i> , 'hamlet', . . . . .	298, 302
Gōpāladēva II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45	<i>grāma</i> , 'village assembly', . . . . .	33
Gopalpur, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	21 n.	<i>grāma-kaṇṭaka</i> , 'traitor to the village', . . . . .	34, 35
Gōpaṇārya of Gingee, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	98 and n.	<i>grāma-kārya</i> , . . . . .	35, 40, 41-2
Gopīballabhpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	46	<i>grāma-kārya-peramaṅkaḥ</i> , . . . . .	40
<i>gō-prachāra</i> , 'pasture-land for cows', . . . . .	144, 145	Grāmam ins., . . . . .	190
<i>gōpura</i> , . . . . .	92, 94, 96 and n., 98	<i>grāmapati</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	134, 135, 137
<i>gōśahasra</i> , gift, . . . . .	80 and n., 282	<i>grāmasvāmin</i> , 'lord of villages', <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	9, 10
<i>gōśālā</i> , . . . . .	159	<i>grāmēyaka</i> , . . . . .	144 n., 302 n.
<i>gōshhī</i> , 'committee', . . . . .	33		
<i>gōshhīkas</i> , 'Members of the Managing Committee', . . . . .	331, 332, 335, 336		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>grāmika</i> , off., . . . . .	144 n.	Gūrjaras, <i>people</i> , . . . . .	103
<i>Grāmika-janu-samūha</i> , 'assembly of the village', . . . . .	30	Gurjara, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	45
<i>grāmīna</i> , . . . . .	128 n.	<i>Gūrjaranripati</i> , 'King of the Gūrjaras', . . . . .	325
<i>Grāmīya-kula</i> , s. a. <i>Grāmika-jana-</i> <i>samūha</i> , . . . . .	30	Gūrjara-Pratihāra, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	104
<i>grāsaka</i> , 'hamlet', . . . . .	298, 302 and n.	Gūrjarēndra, <i>k. of the Gūrjara co.</i> , . . . . .	123 n.
<i>griha-sthāna</i> , 'house-site', . . . . .	144, 145	Gurmha plates of Jayādityadēva, . . . . .	109 n.
<i>Grihasthapadavī</i> , . . . . .	113	Guru, s. a. <i>Bṛihaspati</i> , <i>preceptor</i> , . . . . .	223
Grihya sacrifices, . . . . .	247	<i>Guruparamparā</i> , <i>Vaishṇavite wk.</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
<i>grishma</i> , Prākṛit form of <i>grīshma</i> , . . . . .	146 and n., 147	Gwalior, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	231, 242
<i>grīshma</i> , 'summer', . . . . .	253, 254	Gwalior <i>prasaasti</i> of Bhōja, . . . . .	332
Grīva, <i>gōtrarshi</i> , . . . . .	227 n.	Gyāsaddīna, s. a. <i>Ghiyās-ud-din</i> , 'the Aid of the Faith', <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	216, 223
<i>guḍi</i> , 'temple', . . . . .	273		
Gughāvata, <i>family name</i> , . . . . .	64, 89	<b>H</b>	
Guhachandra, <i>dūtaka</i> , . . . . .	150, 153	<i>h</i> , . . . . .	102, 130, 253, 255
Guhadatta, <i>Rāwal k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	308, 309, 323	<i>h</i> , looped form, in Gupta alphabet, . . . . .	146
Guhēśvara Bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	16, 19	<i>h</i> , substitution of guttural nasal for <i>anusvāra</i> before—, . . . . .	150
Guhila, s. a. <i>Guhadatta</i> , <i>Rāwal k. of</i> <i>Mewār</i> , . . . . .	308, 309, 323	<i>ha</i> , . . . . .	146 (Gupta), 282
Guhila, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	308, 309, 323, 324	Haafner, s. a. <i>Jacob Haafner</i> , <i>Dutch author</i> , . . . . .	125
Guhila, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	306, 321 n.	Haarlem, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	125
Guhila, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	308, 323	Haihayas, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	103 n., 123 n., 241 n., 275
<i>Guhila</i> , <i>Śrī</i> —, legend on coins, . . . . .	309	Haihayas of Raipur, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	123 n.
Guhilōt, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	305	Haihaya, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	102, 111
guild of stone-masons, . . . . .	254, 256	Haihaya, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	116
Gujarāt, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	46, 59 and n., 60, 64 n., 102, 110, 122 n., 176, 177, 213 and n., 214, 215, 216 n., 217, 218, 220, 221, 222 n., 308, 312	Haihayachakravartin, s. a. <i>Kārtavīryārjuna</i> , <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	111
Gujarāt inss., . . . . .	224 n.	Hajiapur, s. a. <i>Hasanpur</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	146
Gujarāt Sultāns, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	213 and n., 214, 215, 216 n., 217	Hāji Sultānī, <i>Imād-ul-Mulk under Mahmūd</i> <i>Begarhā</i> , . . . . .	219
Gujjararāa, s. a. <i>Gūrjararāja</i> , . . . . .	107 n.	<i>hala</i> , l. m., . . . . .	64 and n., 77, 302
Gulzar, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	146	<i>hala</i> , . . . . .	302
Gumsur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	18	<i>hal</i> , s. a. <i>Saśānī</i> , <i>author</i> , . . . . .	109 n.
Gumsur C. P. grant, . . . . .	173	Haldighāṭi, place of battle, . . . . .	60
Gumsur plates of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva, . . . . .	18	<i>hali</i> , l. m., . . . . .	336
Guna, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	242	Hali, s. a. <i>Balarāma</i> , <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	86
Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III, <i>E. Chāḷukya</i> <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	270, 273, 274	Halol gate, . . . . .	213 n.
Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	103	Hamgha, . . . . .	279
Guṇarāśi, <i>Śaiva ascetic</i> , . . . . .	330 n., 334	Hamīra or Hammīra-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 59, 67, 84, 307
Guṇārṇava, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	132	Hammīra, s. a. <i>Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-</i> <i>Daulah</i> , <i>Yāminī k.</i> , . . . . .	292, 294
Guṇavarman, <i>Kalīnga k.</i> , . . . . .	49, 50, 51	Hammīra, legend on coins of Muhammad bin <i>Sām</i> , . . . . .	292
Guṇḍugolanu plates of Ammarāja II, . . . . .	269	<i>Hammīra</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	292
Guntur, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	137, 140, 256, 273	Hampi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	285 n., 286, 287 n., 288
Gupta, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	13, 54, 105, 146, 198, 222 n., 246, 253, 255, 256, 283 n.	Hamśapāla, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	311, 325
Gupta inss., . . . . .	146	Handāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	287 n.
Gurgi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101 n.	Hara, s. a. <i>Śiva</i> , <i>god</i> , . . . . .	67, 78, 79, 89, 152, 173, 174, 318, 319
Gūrjara, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	68, 102, 103, 107, 111, 113, 116, 176, 219, 222	Harāhā ins., . . . . .	283, 284
Gurjara, <i>Early kings of</i> —, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	176, 177, 178, 179	Hari, s. a. <i>Vishṇu</i> , <i>god</i> , . . . . .	66, 68, 71, 74, 81, 87, 88, 89, 232, 286 n.



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Hari, form of Ari, . . . . .	237	<i>Hiranyakaśipu</i> , 'golden pillow', . . . . .	74
Hari, 'the sun', . . . . .	86	<i>Hiranyakaśipu</i> , myth. k., . . . . .	66, 74, 96
Haribrahmadēva, <i>Haihaya-Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	123 n.	<i>Hiranyavadhairp-paḍalam</i> , . . . . .	96 n.
Harichandradēva, <i>Mahākumāra</i> —, . . . . .		<i>Hiranyārāti</i> , s. a. Vishṇu, god, . . . . .	232
<i>Paramāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 228, 232, 234	<i>Hiranyāśvam</i> , 'golden horse', charity, . . . . .	62, 80
Harihar, vi., . . . . .	287 n.	Hirēbidanūr, vi., . . . . .	189, 190
Hariśarman, m., . . . . .	173, 175	Hirehaḍagali plates of Sivaskandavarman, 138n., 139, 144, 145 n.	
Hariśchandra, <i>Brāhmaṇa ancestor of the Pratihāras</i> , . . . . .	332	Huien Tsiang, <i>Chinese pilgrim</i> , 186 n., 257 n., 258	
Hariśchandra, myth. k., . . . . .	276	Hoḷalkere, di., . . . . .	287 n.
Hariśchandra, <i>Paramāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	227, 228, 229	Hōli, vi., . . . . .	64, 65, 77
Hārīta, sage, . . . . .	315	Hoshangābād, s. a. Purikā, <i>Vākāṭaka ca.</i> , 13 and n.	
Hārītarāśi, <i>Brāhmaṇa sage</i> , 307, 308, 317, 322, 323		Hoysaḷa, dy., . . . . .	26, 91, 94, 95, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165
Hārīti, sage, . . . . .	274	<i>                        </i> . . . . .	242
Hārītiputa Vinhukaḍa Chuṭukulānamda		<i>                        </i> . . . . .	241
<i>Sātakaṃṇi, Chuṭu k.</i> , . . . . .	280	Hūshang Shāh, k. of the <i>Mālavas</i> , . . . . .	215
<i>Harivaṃśa</i> , lit. wk., . . . . .	13 and n.	Hūvishka, <i>Kushān prince</i> , . . . . .	200, 201, 211
<i>Harivaṃśapurāṇa</i> , Jaina wk., . . . . .	197		
Harivarman, <i>Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	236, 237	<b>I</b>	
Harivarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . .	283, 284, 285	<i>i</i> , initial, . . . . .	20, 130, 268
Harsauda ins. of Dēvapāla, . . . . .	230 and n.	<i>i</i> , medial, . . . . .	82 n., 130, 236, 246, 253, 255, 329, 330
Harsha, <i>Paramēśvara</i> —, k. of <i>Kanauj</i> , 106, 179, 283 and n., 284		<i>i</i> , medial, not distinguished from long <i>ī</i> , . . . . .	180
<i>Harshacharita</i> , wk., . . . . .	151, 283 and n., 284 n.	medial, . . . . .	11, 71 n., 130, 180, 195, 246, 253, 297, 329, 330
Harshagupta, later <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	284	<i>ī</i> , medial, . . . . .	88
Harshaguptā-Bhaṭṭārikā, <i>Maukhari q.</i> , . . . . .	285	Ibhāśya, s. a. Gaṇapati, god, . . . . .	88
Hasanpur, vi., . . . . .	146	<i>Iḍappeyartogudi</i> , . . . . .	37 n.
Hastikunḍī ins. of V. S. 1053, . . . . .	312	Idar, co., . . . . .	59, 60, 216
Hastin, <i>Maukhari ch.</i> , . . . . .	252, 253	Īḍeru plates of Amma I, . . . . .	270
<i>hastimadhya</i> , . . . . .	207	Ikhāku, dy., . . . . .	141
Hastivarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	50	Ikshvāku, dy., . . . . .	13
Hathasni ins. of Mēhara chief Thēpaka, . . . . .	221 n.	Īlam, co., . . . . .	167, 170
Hathigumphā ins. of Knāravēla, . . . . .	49 n.	Īlao plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga, . . . . .	176 n.
Heliodoros ins. at Besnagar, . . . . .	200	Īlāpati, . . . . .	328
Hēmachandra, author, . . . . .	107, 197, 213 n., 221 n., 224 n.	Imādala, <i>Muslim gen.</i> , . . . . .	219, 221
Hēmachandrasūriprabandha, wk., . . . . .	213 n.	Imādala, <i>Malika</i> —, governor under Sultān Mahmūd of Gujarāt, . . . . .	218, 219
Hēmādri, author, . . . . .	288, 290 n.	Imādala Mulaka, governor, . . . . .	218, 219, 225
Hēmanta, . . . . .	211, 212	Imādalamulaka, s. a. Imād-ul-Mulk, min., 213, 218	
Hēmantamāśa, monk, . . . . .	207	Imādālendra-ṇripati, . . . . .	224
Hēmvakamaṭamva-Vishaya, t. d., . . . . .	181, 182, 183	Imād-ool-Moolk, gen., . . . . .	221
Hijjali, t. d., . . . . .	174	<i>Imād-ul-Mulk</i> , n. of office, . . . . .	219
hill, coin-symbol, . . . . .	6	Imād-ul-Mulk, min. of Mahmūd Begarhā of Gujarāt, . . . . .	213
Himāchala (Himagiri, Himālaya, Himavat), mo., 88, 109, 112, 113, 127		Imād-ul-Mulk, s. a. Imādala Mulaka, . . . . .	219, 225
<i>hindī</i> , . . . . .	197	Imād-ul-Mulk Buda, off., . . . . .	219
Hindu, . . . . .	117, 118, 134 n., 200, 208, 209, 210, 213 n., 217, 218, 220, 222 n., 244, 250, 273, 283 n., 329 and n.	Imād-ul-Mulk Hājī Sultānī, off., . . . . .	219
Hindupur, di., . . . . .	234, 238	Imād-ul-Mulk Malīk 'Ain', m., . . . . .	219 n.
Hindupur record, . . . . .	187	Imād-ul-Mulk Sha'bān, off., . . . . .	219
Hindu Trinity, . . . . .	62		
<i>hiranya</i> , . . . . .	233		
Hiranyagarbha, gift, . . . . .	282		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Ina, s. a. the sun, god,	88, 305, 316 and n.		
Indo-Greek coins,	2		
Indo-Parthian, <i>dy.</i> ,	4		
Indo-Parthian coin types,	6		
Indore plates of Pravarasēna II,	249 n.		
Indra, god,	144, 170 n., 306, 315, 317		
Indrabhatṭāraka, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> ,	269, 274		
Indrabhatṭārikā, <i>Maukhari q.</i> ,	283, 285		
<i>indrajāla</i> ,	111		
Indraprastha, s. a. Delhi, <i>ci.</i> ,	292		
Indrasāgara, <i>tank</i> ,	306		
Indrasthāna, <i>co.</i> ,	292, 293		
Indrasvāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	144, 145 and n.		
Indra-tirtha-Bhōjasara, <i>tank</i> ,	306, 317, 318		
Indravarmadēva, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	130		
Indravarman, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> ,	139		
Indravarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	48, 181, 182		
Indravarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k. of the Svētaka branch</i> ,	133		
Indravarman, <i>Mahārāja</i> ——, <i>E. Gaṅga k. of the Svētaka branch</i> ,	133 and n.		
Indravarman, (son of Prithivivarman), <i>E. Gaṅga k. of the Svētaka branch</i> ,	133		
Indravarman, <i>Kalīṅga k.</i> ,	49		
Indravarman, <i>Vishnukundin k.</i> ,	48		
Ingallūr-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> ,	191		
Ipūru plates of Vishṇuvardhana III,	139		
Irādi-mahāpatha,	141, 142		
<i>iraiyili</i> , 'tax-free',	27, 91		
Irājavibhāṭaṇ, s. a. Rājavibhāṭaṇ, <i>n. of land measuring rod</i> ,	99 and n.		
'Irandakālam-eḍutta', <i>tit.</i> ,	97 n.		
Irandakālam-eḍutta Alāgiyamaṇavāladāsaṇ, <i>warden of Srīraṅgam te.</i> ,	97 n.		
'Irandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ', <i>tit.</i> ,	97		
Irandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ <i>alias</i> Kūḍal <i>Uttāmanambipillai</i> ,	90, 96		
Irandakālam-eḍutta Perumāḷ Kūḍal Chak- ravāḷaṇambi <i>alias</i> Uttāmanambipillai, <i>trustee of Srīraṅgam te.</i> ,	99, 100		
Irdā, <i>vi.</i> ,	46		
Irdā plate,	46 n.		
Irigāya-Mahārāja, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> ,	191 n.		
Iriya-Nolamba, <i>Nolamba ch.</i> ,	190		
<i>irungu</i> , kind of crop,	154, 168, 169, 171, 172		
Isāna, s. a. Śiva, god,	88		
Isānavarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> ,	283, 284, 285		
Isāpūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	245, 246, 247, 248, 250		
Isāpur-Yūpa ins.,	246		
Islam,	217		
Isvara- <i>vaṁśa</i> ,	272 n.		
Isvaravarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> ,	222 n., 285		
		J	
<i>j.</i> ,	253, 255, 330		
<i>j.</i> , palatal, used for dental <i>d</i> , in early Prākṛit,	11		
<i>ja</i> , miswritten as <i>jā</i> ,	138		
Jāabbe, <i>W. Gaṅga princess</i> ,	187		
Jabalpur plates,	104		
Jacob Haafner, <i>Dutch author</i> ,	125		
Jacob Pieter De Neys, <i>Dutch officer</i> ,	125		
Jagamandira, <i>palace at Udaipur</i> ,	63		
Jagannātharāya, <i>te.</i> ,	56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 77, 79, 80, 84, 90		
Jagat (Dvārakā), <i>co.</i> ,	219		
Jagatsimha Prasasti,	58		
Jagatsimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> ,	57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 and n., 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74 and n., 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89 and n., 90		
Jaggayyapēṭa, <i>vi.</i> ,	257 n.		
Jaggayyapēṭa Prākṛit ins. of Ikhāku k. Sirivira Purisadata,	141		
<i>jāghir</i> ,	137		
<i>Jāgirdār</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	60		
<i>jāgirs</i> ,	252		
Jahān Panāh, <i>fort</i> ,	218		
Jāhnavēya-kula,	235, 238		
Jāhnavī, s. a. Ganges, <i>ri.</i> ,	315		
Jahnukanyā, s. a. Ganges, <i>ri.</i> ,	319		
Jaina, <i>sect</i> ,	154, 171, 196, 197, 209, 268, 269, 271, 272, 298		
Jain Stūpa at Mathurā,	202		
Jaipur, <i>state</i> ,	308		
Jaitrasimha, s. a. Jayasimha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> ,	313, 325		
Jaitugi, <i>Yādava k.</i> ,	123 n.		
Jājalladēva II, <i>k.</i> ,	118 n.		
Jājilpārā Charter of Gōpāladēva II,	44, 45		
Jajja, <i>Brāhmaṇa</i> ,	331, 336		
Jalor, <i>ci.</i> ,	221, 312		
Jālu, <i>Brāhmaṇa</i> ,	110 n.		
<i>jambu</i> ,	91, 93 n.		
Jambubhūti, <i>n.</i> ,	282 n.		
Jambukēśvaram, <i>vi.</i> ,	97		
Jāmi Masjid,	220		
Jananātha Kachchiarāyaṇ <i>alias</i> Eḷisaimō- <i>gaṇ</i> , <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> ,	24, 26		
Janapada, <i>off.</i> ,	232		
Janārdana, s. a. Viṣṇu, god,	86		
Jaṅgai, <i>vi.</i> ,	126		
Jaṅgōyikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	126, 127		
Jarādā, s. a. Jurādā, <i>vi.</i> ,	18		
Jarāsandha, <i>epic k.</i> ,	197		
Jasakarṇa, <i>Mewār k.</i> ,	58, 66, 84		
<i>Jātaka</i> ,	147 n.		
Jātavarman, <i>ch.</i> ,	106		

	PAGE.
Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	159
Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara ( <i>Pūṭalamāḍandai</i> , etc., <i>prasasti</i> ) <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	164
Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	95, 96
<i>jauhar</i> , . . . . .	217
Jauliā ins., . . . . .	2, 8
Jaunpur stone ins. of Īśvaravarman, . . . . .	222 n.
Jayabhāñjadēva, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , . . . . .	17 and n., 18
Jayabhāṭa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	221 n.
Jayabhāṭa, <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	176, 177
Jayabhāṭa I, <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	178
Jayabhāṭa I, <i>Vitarāga, Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	177, 178
Jayabhāṭa II, <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	177, 178, 179
Jayabhāṭa III, <i>Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	116 and n., 176, 177, 178, 179 and n.
Jayabhāṭa IV, <i>Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	116 n.
Jayabhāṭa (IV), <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	177, 178
Jayabhāṭa-Vitarāga, <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	176
Jayachchandradēva, <i>Gāhaḍavāla k. of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	291, 292, 293, 294
Jayadēva, <i>Bāgūla ch.</i> , . . . . .	217 n., 218, 225
Jayadēva, <i>Nēpal k.</i> , . . . . .	284 n.
Jayadēva, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	106 n.
Jayadēva, <i>ruler of Pāvāgarh</i> , . . . . .	218
Jayādityadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	109 n.
Jayakāṭaka-vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	151
Jayamitā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	282
Jayanandivarman, <i>Bāṇa ch.</i> , . . . . .	186
Jayanta, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	153
Jayantāchārya, <i>engr.</i> , . . . . .	273, 278
Jayapura-Vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	150, 151, 153
Jayasēna, <i>Jaina preceptor</i> , . . . . .	272, 277
Jayasimha, 'heater' of record, . . . . .	150, 153
Jayasimha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	119
Jayasimha, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	107 n.
Jayasimha, <i>Chālukya k. of Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	220
Jayasimha, <i>k. of Chāmpāner</i> , . . . . .	217 and n.
Jayasimha, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 66, 84
Jayasimha, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālwa</i> , . . . . .	107 n.
Jayasimha, <i>unidentified k.</i> , . . . . .	107 n.
Jayasimha II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 274
Jayasimha II, <i>k. of Kuntala</i> , . . . . .	105 and n.
Jayasimha, <i>Rāula Śrī, k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	313, 325
Jayasimhadēva, <i>ch. of Pāvāgarh</i> , . . . . .	218
Jayasimhadēva, <i>Chēdi k.</i> , . . . . .	106
Jayasimha Siddharāja, <i>Chaulukya k. of</i> <i>Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	312
Jayasimhavallabha I, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 274
Jayasvāmini-bhaṭṭārikā, <i>Maukhari q.</i> , . . . . .	285
Jayavarmadēva, <i>Gāṅga k. of Kalīṅga</i> , . . . . .	135 n.
Jayavarmadēva, <i>Paramāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	227, 228, 229, 230
Jayavarmadēva, <i>Rāṇaka—, ch.</i> , . . . . .	181
Jayavarman, <i>Brihatphalāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	143, 281
Jayavarman, <i>E. Gāṅga k. of the Svētaka</i> <i>branch</i> , . . . . .	133

	PAGE.
Jayavarman, <i>Rāṇaka—, E. Gāṅga k. of the</i> <i>Svētaka branch</i> , . . . . .	133
Jāwar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	63, 83
Jebubhūti, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	282
Jehāngir, <i>Mughal emperor</i> , . . . . .	61
Jētavana, . . . . .	21
Jeypore, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	151
Jeysingh, <i>s. a. Jayasimha, ch. of Chāmpāner</i> , . . . . .	217 n.
Jhālrāpātan ins., . . . . .	227, 329
Jhānsī, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	242
Jhimjharakōṭa, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	222
<i>jihvāmūlīya</i> , . . . . .	144, 236, 268, 304
Jina, <i>Lord—</i> , . . . . .	271, 277
<i>Jina-bhavana</i> , 'Jaina temple', . . . . .	272, 277
Jinadāsa, . . . . .	201
<i>Jina-nigama</i> , . . . . .	278
Jinasēna, <i>Jaina author</i> , . . . . .	197
Jirjīngi plates of the Eastern Gāṅga k. Indra- varman, . . . . .	48, 49 n.
Jirṇa, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	219, 221, 222, 223 and n.
Jirṇa, <i>s. a. Junāgarh, fort</i> , . . . . .	216
Jishṇu, <i>s. a. Arjuna, epic hero</i> , . . . . .	86
<i>jivaputā</i> , . . . . .	199
Jiyamahīpati, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	25
Jiyamahīpati, <i>s. a. Kōpperuñjīngā I, Kāḍava-</i> <i>rāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	26
Jiyayā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145
<i>jñ</i> , in <i>Asōkan Kharōsthī</i> , . . . . .	5
Joannes Spits, <i>Dutch officer</i> , . . . . .	124, 126
Jōdhpur ins. of Pratihāra Bāuka, . . . . .	331 n.
Jōgēsvara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	244
Jōngaka, . . . . .	127
Jubbulpore Kotwali plates of Jayasimha, . . . . .	119
Julwara, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	221
Jumna, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	253
Junagarh or Joonagarh, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	216, 217, 221, 222
Junnar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	280, 282
Jupiter, planet, . . . . .	48
Jupiter, <i>Twelve-year Cycle of—</i> , . . . . .	48
Jurādā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	16, 18, 19
<i>Jyēskṭha-Kāyastha</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128
Jyōtishkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98 n.

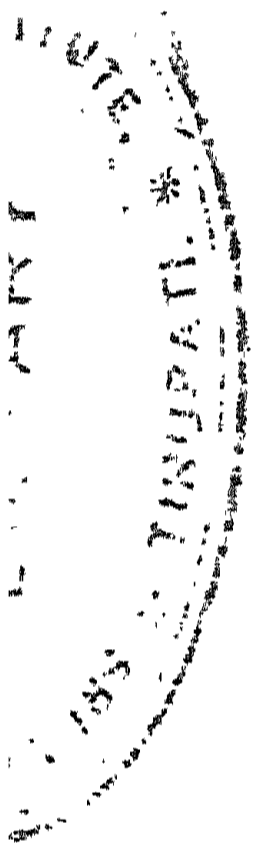
## K

<i>k</i> , . . . . .	23, 43 and n., 130, 201, 246, 296
Kabul, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	6
Kāchāra, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	108, 109 and n., 110, 113, 115
Kachāśiva, <i>Saiva ascetic</i> , . . . . .	241
Kachchi, <i>s. a. Conjeeveram, ci.</i> , . . . . .	25, 35, 41, 42
Kaḍāhī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	293 and n., 294
<i>Kaḍaikkūṭṭāṇ</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	91, 94 n.
Kadāmba, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 235
<i>Kadāmba</i> , kind of tree, . . . . .	329
Kadāmbaguh-ādhivāsin, <i>Saiva ascetic</i> , . . . . .	241



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Kadambavana, s. a. Kāman, ci.,	329, 332	Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, E. Chālukya k.,	270, 274
Kaḍāram, co.,	167, 170	Kālīya, n. of serpent,	80, 103
Kāḍava or Kāḍavarāya, dy.,	24, 25, 161	Kaliyarttiganda, s. a. Kaliyattiganda,	270
Kāḍavarāyar, Kāḍavarāya ch.,	24	Kaliyattiganda or Kaliyarttyaṅka, ep. of E.	
Kāḍuvetti, Nolamba gen.,	187, 189	Chālukya k. Vijayāditya IV,	270, 527
Kāḍuvettiḡaḷ alias Udaiyap-perumāl, ch.,	27 n.	Kallakurchi, di.,	27
kāhala, musical instrument,	272, 277	kallavāla, 'distiller or seller of spirits',	204 n.
Kahaum pillar ins. of the reign of Skanda-		Kalpa, 'celestial tree'	68
gupta,	198 n.	Kalpadruma, Kalpataru, 'celestial tree of	
Kahla plates of Sōḡhadēva,	103, 110 n.	gifts'	83, 85-6, 112
Kailāsa,	73, 81, 82	Kalpalatā, Kalpavallī, gift,	62, 80
kainkarya,	92	Kalpanāmaṇḍīṭikā, wk. written in early	
Kairā plates of Kalachuri year 380,	176, 177, 179	Gupta script,	198 and n., 199
Kairā plates of Kalachuri year 385,	176, 177, 179	Kalpavriksha, a kind of gift,	62, 76, 87
kairvartakah, 'fisherman', witness,	31 n.	Kaluchumbarru grant of Amma II,	270
Kakkuka, Brāhmaṇa,	330, 332, 334	Kalwār,	204 n.
Kākusthavarman, Kadamba k.,	185 n., 235	Kalyāṅakalaśa, Bhañja k.,	174
Kalā,	67	Kalyāṅakalaśa, sur. of Bhañja k. Mahā	
Kalā, m.,	64, 65, 84, 89	rāja Nēṭṭabhañja,	17, 18, 173, 174
Kāla, abb. of Kālavāla, off.,	204 n.	Kalyāṅakalaśa, sur. of Nēṭṭabhañja (I),	17
Kāla, s. a. Kara, tit.,	204 n.	'Kalyāṅakalaśa', sur. of a Bhañja k.,	15 n.
Kālabhōja, Guhila k. of Mewār,	310, 324	Kalyapāla, 'distiller or seller of spirits',	204 n.
Kalachuri, dy.,	101, 102, 104, 105, 107 and n.,	Kāma,	68
	108, 109, 110 n., 116, 117,	Kāmadhēnu, celestial cow,	306, 318
	118 and n., 123 and n., 241,	Kamala, wrong reading for Kalā, m.,	64-5
	263 n.	Kamalaka or Malaka, m.,	16, 20 and n.
Kalachuris of Raipur, dy.,	123	Kamalāpur, vi.,	287 n.
Kalachuris of Ratanpur, dy.,	123	Kamalāpuram, di.,	186 n., 191
Kalachuris of Tripurī, dy.,	123, 292	Kamalarāja, k.,	105
Kālahasti, vi.,	186, 286 n.	kāmali, kind of income,	295
Kalakatṭūr record of Nolambadiyarasa,	187 n., 189	Kāman, ci.,	329 and n., 330, 332
kālakūṭa,	115	Kāmarūpa, co.,	127
kalam, measure of capacity,	154, 155 and n.,	Kāmasēna, myth. k.,	329, 332
	156, 168, 169, 171, 172	Kamauli plate of Vijayachandra of V. S. 1224,	292
	38	Kamauli plate of V. S. 1171,	292
kālam, 'trumpet',	204 n.	Kāmavana, l.,	329, 332
kalār,	17	Kāmba, author of Tamil Rāmāyaṇa,	96
kalāśa, emblem on seal		Kāmbali, 'bull',	332 n.
Kalavādā, Kalavādā, Kālavādā, Kālavādā or		Kāmbali-haṭṭa, l.,	332, 336
Kālavālā, s. a. Kālavāla, off.,	201, 202, 205	Kāmba-Rāmāyaṇam, Tamil wk.,	96 n.
Kālavāla, s. a. Kālavādā, off.,	202, 203, 204 and	Kāmbōja, co.,	45, 46
	n., 205, 206	Kāmbōjas, dy.,	43, 46 n.
	213 n.	Kāmbōja-Divāṅgr-atiparah, ep.,	43
Kalhana, chronicler,		Kāmbōja-varṁśa-tilakah, ep.,	279
Kali, age,	70, 152, 166, 169, 270, 302, 305, 315	Kamma, m.,	141
Kālidāsa, poet,	12 n., 263 n.	Kammāka-ratha, s. a. Karma-rāshṭra, t. d.,	141
Kaligettriṇētra, sur. of Bhīma-Mahārāja,		Kamma-nāṇḍu, t. d.,	332 n.
Vaidumbā ch.,	191	Kāmōdā, vi.,	98, 287 n.
Kālikā, te.,	307	Kāmpaṇa, Vijayanagara prince,	28 and n., 29
Kālīṅga, co.,	49 and n., 51, 105, 130, 131,	Kāmpavarman, Pallavā k.,	80
	132, 135, 136, 150, 152, 167,	Kāṁsa, myth. k.,	
	170, 181, 183, 300, 324	Kāmyaka, s. a. Kāman, ci.,	300, 331, 332, 333, 335
	49	Kāmyakavana, s. a. Kāman, ci.,	332 and n.
Kālīṅga, dy.,	105	Kāmyakēśvara, god,	331, 333, 335
Kālīṅga, k. of the Kālīṅga co.,	49, 50, 51	Kaṇa, s. a. Kaṇa, Kalachuri k.,	107 n.
Kālīṅgādhipati, tit.,	132		
Kālīṅganagara, ca.,	49 n.		
Kālīṅgapatam, ci.,			

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>Kanakahaya</i> , 'golden horse', a kind of gift, . . . . .	80	<i>Karañattān-madhyasthan</i> , off., . . . . .	41
<i>Kānam</i> , measure of weight or capacity (?), 36, 40, 42		Karanbēl ins. of Jayasimhadēva, . . . . .	106
<i>Kāṇa-nāḍu</i> , t. d., . . . . .	162	Karaṇḍa, vi., . . . . .	292
Kanara, South—, di., . . . . .	287 n.	Karañjāḍu, vi., . . . . .	173, 175
Kanauj, ci., . . . . .	46, 118 n., 220, 283 n., 284, 332	Kare-Punnani-māni, hero, . . . . .	183, 191, 192
<i>Kāñchana-mēdinī</i> , 'golden-earth', a kind of gift, . . . . .	64, 77	Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III, . . . . .	103 n.
<i>Kāñchī</i> , ca., 44, 106, 109, 112, 187, 286 and n., 301		'Karīm', tit., of Mahammada, <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	216 and n.
Kandāḍai Rāmānujadāsa, m., . . . . .	97	Karimukha, s. a. Gaṇapati, god, . . . . .	88
Kaṇḍatriṇētra, s. a. Gaṇḍatriṇētra, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	184, 192	Karindrānana, s. a. Gaṇapati, god, . . . . .	58, 65
Kandavarman, s. a. Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	138, 141	<i>Kariṇī-bhramana</i> , 'taking the she-elephant round', ceremony of fixing land-boundaries, . . . . .	32
Kandukūr, di., . . . . .	140, 301 n., 302 n.	Kāriśvara, m., . . . . .	28 n.
<i>kaṇḍu-mudal</i> , . . . . .	154	Kāritalāi ins., . . . . .	103, 109
<i>Kāṅgrā</i> , di., . . . . .	104	<i>Kāri-taruṇa-pittan-ākara-sihāna-gōkūl-ādihikārin</i> , off., . . . . .	294
<i>Kāṅgrā</i> valley, . . . . .	104, 110	<i>kāriyappēr</i> , 'agents', . . . . .	92
Kaṅhe, s. a. Vāsudeve, epic k., . . . . .	196, 197	<i>kāriyavārāchchi</i> , tax, 154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172	
Kanheri inss., . . . . .	146	Karḍatamārāyaṇ, ch., . . . . .	24
Kanhiāra ins., . . . . .	203	Kārla Chaitya pillar ins., . . . . .	282
<i>kāñi</i> 'one-eightieth of <i>vēli</i> ', l. m., . . . . .	91, 155	Kārle inss., . . . . .	14 n.
Kanishka, <i>Kushān k.</i> , 5, 146, 148 n., 201, 202, 206, 210, 211 and n., 212, 253		<i>Karma-rāshtra</i> , t. d., . . . . .	138, 139, 141, 142
Kanishka I, do. . . . .	148 n.	Karṇa, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	107 n.
Kaṅkāli Tīlā, l., . . . . .	202, 205, 206	Karṇa, epic hero, . . . . .	66, 69, 85, 223, 327
Kaṅṇaṇūr, ca., . . . . .	98	Karṇa, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , 101, 102 and n., 103, 104, 105, 106, 107 and n., 108, 111 n., 112 and n., 113, 117, 118 n., 119, 121, 123 n.	
Kaṅṇaradēva 'who took Kachhi and Tañjai', s. a. Kṛishṇa III, <i>Rāshtrakūta k.</i> , . . . . .	35	Karṇa, k. of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	220
Kaṅṇaradēva, <i>Rāshtrakūta k.</i> , . . . . .	23 n., 41	Karṇagarh, vi., . . . . .	47
Kantēru plates of Nandivarman, . . . . .	281	Karṇasāgara, lake at <i>Udaipur</i> , . . . . .	63, 81
Kanthi, vi., . . . . .	46	Karṇasimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , 58, 59, 61, 63, 69, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85	
Kaṅṭhikā-Bēta, s. a. Kaṅṭhikā-Vijayāditya, E. <i>Chālukya</i> prince, . . . . .	271 and n.	Karṇasimha, Rāval—, k. of <i>Udaipur</i> , . . . . .	305
<i>kaṅṭhikādāma</i> , . . . . .	271, 275	Karṇāṭa, 'Chālukya', . . . . .	107 n.
<i>kaṅṭhikāpaṭṭa</i> , . . . . .	271 n.	<i>Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-māna-mārdin</i> , tit. of <i>Pallava</i> Peruñjīnga, . . . . .	161
Kaṅṭhikā-Vijayāditya, E. <i>Chālukya</i> prince, . . . . .	271 and n., 275	Karṇāṭa kings, dy., . . . . .	163
Kaṅṭi, s. a. Contai, vi., . . . . .	46	Kārṇya 'of the West', s. a. Karṇa, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	104
Kantichak, vi., . . . . .	46	kār-season, . . . . .	154, 155
Kaṅva, sage, . . . . .	181 and n., 182, 183	Kārttikādi, . . . . .	118, 121, 122
Kanyakubja, s. a. Kanauj, ca., . . . . .	292, 294	Kārttikēya, god, . . . . .	240
<i>kapāla</i> , . . . . .	170 n.	<i>karuñchey</i> , 'black-soil land', . . . . .	168, 171
<i>kapardā</i> , . . . . .	86, 115	<i>kāsakāras</i> , 'artisans', . . . . .	280
Kapila, sage, . . . . .	75	Kāsākūḍi plates of Nandivarman <i>Pallava</i> vamalla, . . . . .	32
kār, 'paddy harvested in the Kār season', 154, 168, 169, 171, 172		Kāsalam, co., . . . . .	167, 170
Kara, tax, . . . . .	66, 233, 295	<i>kashāya</i> , 'decoction', . . . . .	90 n., 91, 93 n., 94
Kara, tit., . . . . .	204 n.	Kashmir, co., . . . . .	102, 213 and n., 222 and n.
Karachuli, s. a. Kalachuri, dy., . . . . .	107 n.	Kāśī, co., . . . . .	292, 293, 317, 319, 320
Karaḍā, vi., . . . . .	173	Kāśī, s. a. Benares, ci., . . . . .	62, 65, 76
karāṇa, off., . . . . .	128, 153, 175, 182, 183	Kasia C. P., . . . . .	21 n.
<i>karañattān</i> , vi. off., . . . . .	32, 41	Kāśmīra, co., 102, 109, 111, 213 and n., 222 and n.	



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Kāsmīravāsini, goddess, . . . . .	213 n., 222	Khandanāga, s. a. Skandanāga, m., . . . . .	257, 259
Kāśyapa, sage, . . . . .	109 n.	Khadirādityasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	150, 153
kāśu, coin, . . . . .	91, 94, 154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172	Khairhā plates of Yāsahkarnadēva, 104 and n., 105 n., . . . . .	118 n.
Kāṭaka, . . . . .	120	Khajurāho ins., . . . . .	44
Kāṭakarāja, off., . . . . .	273, 278	Khalāri stone ins. of Haribrahmadēva, . . . . .	123 n.
Kāthaka, s. a. Kādava, dy., . . . . .	161	Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāladēva, . . . . .	128
Kāthaṇḍi, sur. of Lakshminātha, son of		Khalgukhaṇḍa, t. d., . . . . .	130, 133, 135, 137
Sarvēśvara, . . . . .	76	Khalugakhaṇḍa, s. a. Khalgukhaṇḍa, t. d., . . . . .	133
Kāthaṇḍi, vi., . . . . .	64, 65, 76, 83	khambha, 'pillar', . . . . .	279
Kāthavattu, Pāli lit. wk., . . . . .	258 n.	Khamba-tīrtha, s. a. Stambhatīrtha, l., . . . . .	45
Kāthiāwār, co., . . . . .	103, 134, 213 and n.	khaṇḍa, l. m., . . . . .	335
Kāṭia, s. a. Kārttika, month, . . . . .	3, 7	'khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍa mola-rupyā', . . . . .	16, 20
Kātmāṇḍu ins. of Jayadēva, . . . . .	284 n.	Khaṇḍōji alias Chimnāji Bāpu, Bhonsla	
Katsa, l., . . . . .	256	prince of Nagpur, . . . . .	122
kaṭṭalai, . . . . .	99	Khān Jahān, k. of Gīrnar, . . . . .	217
Kātyāyana, author, . . . . .	31, 32, 34, 333 n.	Khānu, 'pillar', . . . . .	279
Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, . . . . .	247 n.	Kharapuri-maḍamba, di., . . . . .	49, 50, 51, 52
Kaubidārikā, . . . . .	246, 249, 251	Khāravēla, Kāliṅga k., . . . . .	49 n., 174
Kaumāra-saudha, 'princes' palace', . . . . .	63, 87	Kharōshthī documents, . . . . .	2
Kausala, . . . . .	207	Khazar, tribe, . . . . .	109 n.
Kausāmbi, ci., . . . . .	146, 147, 210, 245	Khiching, s. a. Khijīngakōṭṭa, Bhañja ca., . . . . .	173
Kausika, family, . . . . .	203, 204	Khijariparā, t. d., . . . . .	174
Kausikī, . . . . .	274	Khijīngakōṭṭa, Bhañja ca., . . . . .	173
Kausikī-putra, metronymic, . . . . .	208, 209	Khiñjali, t. d., . . . . .	174
Kaustubha, 'gem', . . . . .	108, 114	Khiñjali-maṇḍala, t. d., . . . . .	16, 17, 18, 19
Kauṭilya, author of Arthasāstra, . . . . .	126, 128, 129, 134	Khizr Khār, Khuljī prince of Delhi, . . . . .	59
and n., 183 n.		Khummaṇa (II), Guhila k. of Mewār, . . . . .	310, 324
Kāvērī, ri., . . . . .	100	Khummaṇa III, Guhila k. of Mewār, . . . . .	310
Kāvērī, tributary of ri. Narmadā, . . . . .	65 and n., 73	Khummaṇa, Rāula Śrī—, Rāwal k. of Me-	
Kavi, tit., . . . . .	93	wār, . . . . .	309, 310, 323, 324, 327 n., 328 and n.
Kāvī-śāstrī, s. a. Kaṇḍakāya, wk., . . . . .	106 n.	Khurdā plates of Mādhavarāja, . . . . .	149, 151
Kāvi plate of Gūrjara k. Jayabhata III		Khurram, Mughal prince, . . . . .	61
(IV ?) . . . . .	116 and n., 117	Khusrav Malik, Sultān, . . . . .	292 n.
Kāvi plate of Kalachuri year 486, . . . . .	176, 177, 486	Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah, Yāminī k., . . . . .	292
Kāvi-vaidya-purandara, sur. of Garuḍavāha-		and n.	
na-Paṇḍita alias Śrīnivāsa, author, . . . . .	92, 93	Khusrav Shāh, Sultān, . . . . .	202 n.
Kāvli, ci., . . . . .	260	Khyāta, chron., . . . . .	308 n.
Kāvyaṇḍakāśa, Sanskrit wk., . . . . .	104 n.	Kibbenahalli, vi., . . . . .	188
Kāyastha, caste, . . . . .	84, 101, 108, 109 and n.,	Kilādri, mo., . . . . .	70
110, 114		Kilāi-Kūḍalūr, vi., . . . . .	154, 166, 167, 168, 171
kāyastha, off., . . . . .	128	Kilamai, s. a. Urimai, 'head-ship', . . . . .	170 n.
Kāyavarasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	150, 153	Kil-āmūr-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	23, 25
Keisur Khān, gen., . . . . .	221	Kil-Iraṇiyamuṭṭa-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	164
kēli-mandira, . . . . .	63, 82	Kilūr ins. of Kṛishṇa III, . . . . .	190
Keller, s. a. Coenraad Pieter Keller, Dutch		King-on-horseback, symbol on Indo-Parthian	
officer, . . . . .	124	coins, . . . . .	6
Kendūapādā Maṭh, . . . . .	148	Kira, co., . . . . .	104, 110, 112
Kēnduvalli, te., . . . . .	243, 244	kīrtana, 'building or temple', . . . . .	240
Kēraḷas, dy., . . . . .	163	kīrti, s. a. kīrtana, . . . . .	240 and n., 244
Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	156	Kīrtigrāma, vi. (?), . . . . .	70
Kēśi, myth. demon, . . . . .	80	Kīrtindu, vi. (?), . . . . .	77
kētu, 'shape or form', . . . . .	317 n.	Kīrtipāla, s. a. Kitū, Chauhān prince of Mār-	
kh, in Nāgarī, . . . . .	102	wār, . . . . .	312
kh, used for sh, . . . . .	304		
Khachara, 'tribe', . . . . .	109 n.		



	PAGE.
Kirtirājadēva, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , . . . . .	15, 16 and n.
Kirtivarman, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	120 n.,
Kirtivarman, <i>s. a. Yaśōvarman, Guhila prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310
Kirttirāja, <i>s. a. Kirttivarman, Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	151
<i>kirtti-sthāna</i> , . . . . .	240 n.
<i>kirttitam</i> , 'built', . . . . .	240, 243
Kirttivarman, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	151
Kirudore, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	185
Kitū, <i>Chauhān prince of Mārwar</i> , . . . . .	312, 325
Kiwām-ul-Mulk, <i>gen.</i> , . . . . .	60
Kōbidārikā, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	53, 55, 249 n.
Koda, . . . . .	205
Kōḍa-Gāḷidiparru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273, 278
Kōdaiyāṇḍāl, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	97
Kodala, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	15
<i>kōḍe</i> , <i>s. a. chinna</i> , . . . . .	273
Kōḍe-Gādelavarru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
Kōḍikkulagar, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	95
Kodola, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	18
Kōkkalla II, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	103, 104, 111, 112 n.
Kokkili, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 274
Kōlāñcha, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	110 and n.
Kōlavennu plates of Chālukya-Bhīma II, . . . . .	271
Kōli, . . . . .	206
Kollabhigaṇḍa <i>sur. of Kaliyarttyaṅka Vijayāditya IV, E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	271
Kollair plates of Nandivarman II, . . . . .	281
Kōmaṇḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	172, 173
Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman, . . . . .	48, 49 n., 132 and n.
Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman, . . . . .	143, 281
Koṇḍaṅgūru grant of E. Chālukya Indravarman, . . . . .	139
Koṇḍeḍḍa plates of Dharmarāja, . . . . .	150
Kōnēṭi-rāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	97
Koṅgaṅivarman-Dharmarāja-Mahārāja, <i>W.</i> <i>Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	235, 236, 238
Kōṅgōḍa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	148, 151
Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	151
Koṅgu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	163, 164, 165
Koṅgu kings, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	163, 164, 165
Koṅgu, <i>North—, co.</i> , . . . . .	163
Koṅgu, <i>South—, co.</i> , . . . . .	164
Koṅgu-Chōḷa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	164
Konkan, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	216 n.
Koṅkanivarman, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	237
Koṅkanivarman surnamed Mādhava, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	237
Kōpperuñjīgadēva, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	26
Kōpperuñjīga, <i>two chiefs of the name of—</i> , . . . . .	27 n.
Kōpperuñjīgadēva I, <i>s. a. Maṇavālap-perumāl, Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	27

	PAGE.
Kōpperuñjīga I, <i>s. a. Pallavāṇḍār alias Kāḍavarāyar 'Conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam', Eḷiśai-mōgaṅ Maṇavālap-perumāl, Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl, Aḷagiya-Pallavaṅ and Āṅgamahīpati, Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	26
Kōpperuñjīgadēva II, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	23, 26, 27
Kōra Dēsiṅambu, <i>hero</i> , . . . . .	184, 192, 193
Kōrōshaṇḍa plates of Viśākhavarman, . . . . .	48
<i>kōs</i> , measure of distance, . . . . .	60
<i>kōśa</i> , 'dictionary', . . . . .	198
<i>kōśa</i> , 'treasury', . . . . .	54, 264, 265
Kōsala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	103
Kōsala, <i>Dakshina—, co.</i> , . . . . .	103, 105, 284
Kosalan Pāṇḍavas, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	284
Kosam, Kosambī, <i>s. a. Kauśāmbī, ci.</i> , . . . . .	146 and n., 147 n., 148, 210, 245, 253, 254, 255, 256
Kosam coins, . . . . .	148
Kosam ins. of Bhadramagha Mahārāja, . . . . .	146, 254 and n.
Kosam ins. of Bhīmavarman Mahārāja, . . . . .	146, 254
Kosam ins. of Kanishka, . . . . .	146
Kosam ins. of Sivamagha Mahārāja, . . . . .	146, 254
Kosam ins. of Vaiśravaṇa Mahārāja, . . . . .	254
Kosam ins., . . . . .	146 n., 254, 255, 256
Kōśambaka, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	53, 55, 249 n.
Kōśambakhaṇḍa, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	55 n.
Kosam pillar, . . . . .	146, 253
Kōśamva-taṭāka, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	182, 183
<i>Kōśasāra</i> , lit. wk., . . . . .	196
<i>Kōśikī</i> , 'of the Kauśika family', . . . . .	203, 204
<i>Kōśikī</i> , <i>s. a. Kauśikī</i> , . . . . .	204
Kotah, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	251, 252
<i>kōṭṭa</i> , 'fort', . . . . .	331, 332, 335, 336
Kōṭṭadēva, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	54, 46
<i>kōṭṭubika</i> , <i>s. a. kauṭumbika</i> , 'householder', . . . . .	257, 259
<i>Kōvidāra</i> , n. of tree, . . . . .	249 and n.
<i>kōvilkanakku</i> , 'temple accountant', . . . . .	290
Kovilpatti, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	166
Kōvūr, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	296, 301 and n.
Kowam-ool-Moolk, <i>governor of Godhrā</i> , . . . . .	221
<i>Kōyilolugu</i> . wk., . . . . .	90 n., 91, 92 and n., 96 and n., 97 and n., 98 and n., 298 n.
Kramavid, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	36, 41
Krauñchachohhid, <i>s. a. Kumāra, god</i> , . . . . .	71
Kṛishṇa, <i>s. a. Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa, Brāhmaṇa</i> , . . . . .	65
Kṛishṇa, <i>s. a. Viṣṇu, god</i> , . . . . .	68, 77, 85, 86, 197 209, 222 n., 244, 316 n., 326-7
Kṛishṇā, <i>q. (?) of Amarasimha, k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	69
Kṛishṇā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	273
Kṛishṇā, <i>s. a. Draupadī, epic princess</i> , . . . . .	69
Kṛishṇa III, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	29, 35, 102, 189 190, 263 n.
Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	64
Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa (-budha), <i>Brāhmaṇa donee</i> , . . . . .	64, 77, 78, 83, 89, 90

	PAGE.
Krishnadatta, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	263
Krishnadēvarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	286, 287
Krishnāka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	331, 335
Krishṇaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	94 n.
Krishṇarāja, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	123 n.
Krishṇa Rājā, <i>s. a. Paramūra k. Vākpatirāja</i> , . . . . .	231
Krishṇarāja- <i>Uttamamūli</i> , <i>trustee of Śrīraṅgam</i> <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	96, 97
Krishṇavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	140
Krishṇavarman, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	236, 237
Krishṇa Vāsudēva, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	196
Krishṇayaśa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203
Krita-yuga, . . . . .	306, 315
Krittivāsas, <i>s. a. Śiva, god</i> , . . . . .	327
Krōḍāñchi, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	110
Krōḍāñja, . . . . .	110
<i>Kshapanakas</i> , . . . . .	272, 277
<i>Kshatra-kshētra</i> , . . . . .	308
<i>Kshatrapa</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	9, 10
<i>Kshatrapa</i> , <i>Northern—, dy.</i> , . . . . .	210
<i>Kshatriya</i> , <i>caste</i> , . . . . .	45, 204, 252, 271
<i>Kshēmasimha</i> , <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	308
<i>Kshēmēśa</i> , <i>s. a. Maṅgalādhipa, m.</i> , . . . . .	312, 325
<i>kshētra</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
<i>kshētram</i> , 'department or committee', . . . . .	67, 138, 142 and n.
<i>Kshētrasimha</i> , <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	298, 302
<i>Kshīrasvāmin</i> , <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	58, 67, 84
<i>kshullakas</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
<i>Kubēra</i> , <i>god</i> , . . . . .	272, 277
<i>Kubēra</i> , <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	288 n., 289, 290 and n.
<i>Kubēra</i> of <i>Dēvarāshṭra</i> , <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	271
<i>Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I</i> , <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	50
<i>Kuchcharam</i> , <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	139, 269, 274
<i>kudal</i> , 'entrails', . . . . .	167, 170
<i>Kūḍal</i> , <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	97 n.
<i>Kūḍal-Chakravālanāmbi</i> , <i>s. a. Irāṇdakālam-</i> <i>ēdutta-Perumāḷ Kūḍal Chakravālanāmbi</i> <i>alias Uttamamūli-Pillai, m.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24, 25
<i>Kūḍal Ēḷisaimōgaṇ Āḷappirandāṇ</i> , <i>Kūḍavarāya</i> <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	97
<i>Kūḍal (Ēḷisaimōgaṇ) Āḷappirandāṇ</i> <i>alias</i> <i>Kāḍavarāyaṇ</i> , <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	24, 25
' <i>Kūḍal Sāravāḷa</i> ', <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	97 n.
<i>Kūḍal Sāravāḷa Nayiṇār</i> , <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	97
<i>Kūḍalūr</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	154, 166, 167 and n., 168, 171
<i>Kūḍalūr</i> grant of <i>Mādhavavarman</i> , . . . . .	235, 237 n.
<i>Kūḍalūr</i> plates of <i>Mārasimha II</i> , . . . . .	187 n.
<i>kūḍam</i> , . . . . .	36, 37
<i>kūḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna</i> , . . . . .	302 n.
<i>kūḍinīr</i> , 'kashāya or decoction', . . . . .	90 and n., 95, 99
<i>kūḍinīr-amudu</i> , 'decoction offering', . . . . .	and n., 100 and n.
<i>Kudiram</i> , <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	90, 99, 100, 101
	167 and n., 170

	PAGE.
<i>Kuḍithiyam</i> plates of <i>Gaṅga Krishṇavarman</i> , . . . . .	236, 237
<i>Kujula Kara Kadphises</i> , <i>Kushān k.</i> , . . . . .	204 n.
<i>Kukalēśvara-kunḍa</i> , water reservoir, . . . . .	307
<i>Kukkuṭēśvara</i> , <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	307, 320
<i>Kuladhara</i> , <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 232, 233
<i>Kula-dheri</i> , mound, . . . . .	8
<i>Kulāñchā</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	108, 110, 113
<i>Kulāñdhīya</i> , incorrect for <i>Kulāñchīya</i> , . . . . .	110 n.
<i>Kulāñjā</i> , <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	113
<i>kula-pañjikas</i> , . . . . .	110
<i>kulapparippu</i> , tank-spread, . . . . .	168, 171
<i>Kulaputra</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	55, 265, 266
<i>Kulaśekhara</i> , <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	90 n.
<i>Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya</i> , <i>Pāñḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	157, 158
and <i>n.</i> , 159, 161, 163, 164, 165	
<i>Kulaśekharaṇ-perunteru</i> , <i>n. of street</i> , . . . . .	154, 168, 171
<i>Kulenur</i> ins., . . . . .	105
<i>kuli</i> , <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	155 n.
<i>Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa</i> , <i>author</i> , . . . . .	30, 41
<i>Kulōttuṅga III</i> , <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	158 and n., 159, 160,
	161, 165
<i>Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I</i> , <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	25, 37
<i>Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III</i> , <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	23, 25 and n.,
	26, 27
<i>Kulōttuṅga (Rājakēsari)</i> , <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163
<i>Kulūta</i> , <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	159
<i>Kumāragupta</i> , <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	6n.
<i>Kumāragupta I</i> , <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	13n.
<i>Kumāralāta</i> , <i>author</i> , . . . . .	198n.
<i>Kumāra-mandira</i> , 'palace', . . . . .	199
<i>Kumārapañjarī</i> , <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	87
<i>Kumārāmātya</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	196
<i>Kumārāmātya</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	133n., 134, 135, 137, 153
<i>Kumārāpāḷa</i> , <i>Chālukya k. of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	153
<i>Kumārāpura</i> , <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	220, 230
<i>Kumārasimha</i> , <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	16, 18
<i>Kumāravishṇu</i> , <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	312, 313, 325
<i>Kumāravishṇu II</i> , <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	300
	138n., 235, 236,
	297, 299n., 300
<i>Kumāravishṇu III</i> , <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	300
<i>Kumbha</i> , <i>Rāṇā</i> , <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	216
<i>Kumbhakarṇa</i> , <i>epic hero (?)</i> , . . . . .	67
<i>Kumbhakarṇa</i> , <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 59, 67, 84,
	304, 305, 306, 307, 314 and n., 316 and
	n., 320
<i>Kumbhalgarh</i> , <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	59, 304, 307, 314
<i>Kumbhamēru</i> , <i>s. a. Kumbhālgarh, fort</i> , . . . . .	68, 70
<i>Kumbharāja</i> , <i>s. a. Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa</i> , . . . . .	68
<i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	304, 306, 307, 314,
<i>Kumbhasvāmin</i> , <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	320, 321
<i>Kumbhaśyāmaji</i> , <i>s. a. Kumbhasvāmin, te.</i> , . . . . .	307

	PAGE.
<i>Kumbha-yantra</i> , . . . . .	68
Kumbhōdbhava, <i>s. a.</i> Agastya, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	67, 68
Kumuda, <i>n. of elephant</i> , . . . . .	170n.
Kuṇḍabhōgin, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
Kundakunda Āchārya, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	272
<i>kuṇḍam</i> , . . . . .	200
Kundarāja, <i>Chālukya prince</i> , . . . . .	105 and <i>n.</i>
Kuṇḍavidḍi-guṇṭha, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	273, 278
Kundavve, <i>W. Gaṅga princess</i> , . . . . .	187
Kundēru, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	185 and <i>n.</i>
Kuṇḍēśvara <i>te. ins. of V. S. 718</i> . . . . .	309
Ku[ñja], <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	232, 233
<i>kuntala</i> , 'one who wields the spear', . . . . .	104n.
Kuntala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	104 and <i>n.</i> , 105 and <i>n.</i> , 107, 110, 112
Kuntala, <i>k. of Kuntala co.</i> , . . . . .	106
Kuntī, <i>q. of the epic k. Pāṇḍu</i> , . . . . .	193
<i>Kunvarpadōn-kī-chhatrī</i> , <i>building</i> , . . . . .	63
<i>kūpa-darśakas</i> , 'water-diviners', . . . . .	298, 303
<i>kūpa-darśaka</i> , 'inspector of wells', . . . . .	298n.
Kūram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	36
Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīraṅga- Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	289
Kūpattālvār, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	96
<i>Kūrma-purāna</i> , . . . . .	45 and <i>n.</i>
Kurram Vase <i>inss.</i> , . . . . .	2
'Kurreem or the Merciful', <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	216n.
Kuruksheṭra, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	332n.
<i>kuruni</i> , <i>measure of capacity</i> , . . . . .	91, 94, 155 and <i>n.</i>
Kushān, Kushāna, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	2, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20 <i>n.</i> , 54, 148 <i>n.</i> , 198, 200, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211 and <i>n.</i> , 212, 247, 253, 254, 255, 256
Kushān <i>inss.</i> , . . . . .	2, 11
Kuśika, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	292, 293
Kuṭilā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	306, 315, 316, 317, 319
Kutub-ud-dīn (Qutb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh), <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	214, 215, 217 <i>n.</i>
Kuṭumbins, . . . . .	273, 276

**L**

l,	53 (Central-Indian Box-headed), 130, 146, 149, 246, 255, 281
l, subscript, in 'box-headed' Central Indian script, . . . . .	56n.
l, in Telugu-Kannada, . . . . .	184
l,	297
lā, in Tamil, . . . . .	99 <i>n.</i>
la, changing to da, . . . . .	273
Lādegaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	263 <i>n.</i>
Lādki, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	263
Lādnū, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	213 <i>n.</i>

	PAGE.
<i>Laghudīpikā</i> , commentary on <i>Dasakumā- racharita</i> , . . . . .	196 <i>n.</i>
Ḷagubamṛu, <i>s. a.</i> Daggupāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	137 141, 142
Lakhā Maṇḍal <i>praśasti</i> , . . . . .	240 <i>n.</i> , 332 <i>n.</i>
Lakhamasī Rāṇā, <i>s. a.</i> Lakshmanasimha- Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	84, 313, 328
Lākhā (Laksha)-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	64 <i>n.</i>
Lakshasimha, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 67, 84
Lakshmaṇa, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	271, 277
Lakshmanarāja, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	102, 103, 108, 109, 111, 114
Lakshmanarāja of the Kāhla plates, . . . . .	103
Lakshmanasimha, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 59, 67, 84
Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	86, 115, 169 and <i>n.</i> , 170, 240, 243, 271, 291, 307
Lakshmidhara, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
<i>Lakshmīkāvya</i> m, Sanskrit <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	97
Lakshminātha (son of Sarvēśvara), <i>Brāh- maṇa</i> , . . . . .	64, 76, 77, 83, 89
Lakshminātha <i>alias</i> Bābū Bhaṭṭa, <i>poet and com.</i> , . . . . .	64, 78, 83
Lakshminātha <i>alias</i> Bābū Bhaṭṭa (son of Kṛishṇabhāṭṭa), <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	64 and <i>n.</i> , 65, 83, 89
Lakshmisakha, <i>s. a.</i> Aḷagiyamanavāḷa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 <i>n.</i>
Lakshmisimha, <i>s. a.</i> Lakhamasī, Mahā- rāṇā —, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	328
Lakshmivarman, Mahākumāra —, <i>Para- māra ch.</i> , . . . . .	227, 228, 229, 230
Lakshmiṅvatī-Bhaṭṭārikā, <i>Maṅkhari q.</i> , . . . . .	285
Lālgudi, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	91 <i>n.</i>
Lambōdara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	305, 314
<i>lāñchhana</i> , 'emblem', . . . . .	17, 150
<i>lāñchhita</i> , 'registered or endowed with emblem', . . . . .	130, 136, 137, 150, 153, 175
languages :—	
Apabhramśa, . . . . .	107 and <i>n.</i>
Arabic, . . . . .	213 <i>n.</i> , 214, 215
Beṅgālī, . . . . .	44, 128
English, . . . . .	125
Gujarātī, . . . . .	216, 225 <i>n.</i>
Hindī, . . . . .	123
Kannada, . . . . .	105, 183, 184, 287 <i>n.</i> , 288
Malayāḷam, . . . . .	41
Marāṭhī, . . . . .	118 <i>n.</i> , 122, 123
Mewār dialect, . . . . .	57, 58
Mixed dialect (Prākṛit and Sanskrit), . . . . .	211, 254
Oriya, . . . . .	172, 180
Pāli, . . . . .	3, 4, 9 and <i>n.</i> , 21 <i>n.</i> , 39, 147 <i>n.</i> , 258 and <i>n.</i> , 279
Persian, . . . . .	61, 329 and <i>n.</i>
Portuguese, . . . . .	143





	PAGE.		PAGE.
Maçura, <i>Noḷamba gen.</i> , . . . . .	187, 189	<i>Mahāperiyapradhāna</i> , off., . . . . .	95
Magadai, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	161	<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> , off., . . . . .	95
Magadaipperumāl, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	163 n.	Maharaja, <i>s. a.</i> Mahārāja, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	7
Magadam, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	167, 170	<i>Mahārāja</i> , <i>tit.</i> , 2, 3, 7, 17, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55,	132, 133, 139, 140, 141 and <i>n.</i> , 147, 148, 181, 182,
Magadha, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45, 86, 104, 284	200, 211, 212, 229, 235, 239 <i>n.</i> , 253, 256 and <i>n.</i> ,	264, 297, 298, 301, 302 and <i>n.</i>
Māgadha, <i>people of Magadha co.</i> , . . . . .	86	Mahārāja, <i>s. a.</i> <i>Vaidumba k.</i> Gaṇḍatriṇētra,	183, 184, 185, 191, 192, 193
Māgha, <i>merchant</i> , . . . . .	147, 148	<i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> , <i>tit.</i> , 43, 55, 83, 89, 127, 130, 133,	135, 136, 140, 151, 185 <i>n.</i> , 227, 230, 232, 264,
Mahābali Bānarasa, <i>Bāṇa k.</i> , . . . . .	185, 188	265, 283, 284, 285, 288 and <i>n.</i> , 289, 290, 291, 292,	294
Mahābalikula, . . . . .	186	Mahārājasimha ( <i>i. e.</i> , Kōpperuñjīnga) of Kūḍal,	
Mahābalipuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28 n.	<i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	25
Mahābali race, . . . . .	189, 190	Mahārājāvāḍi, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	191
Mahābhairava, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	264	<i>Mahārānā</i> , <i>tit.</i> , 57, 63, 83, 89, 304, 305, 306, 307,	313, 328
<i>Mahābhārata</i> , epic, .128, 147 <i>n.</i> , 197 and <i>n.</i> , 203,	332 n.	Mahārāshtra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	122, 297
<i>Mahābhāshya</i> , . . . . .	149 n., 198	Mahārāshtras, <i>the three—, co.</i> , . . . . .	123
<i>Mahābhāshya</i> of Patañjali, <i>Sanskrit grammar</i> , . . . . .	6	Mahārāula, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	307
<i>Mahādandanāyaka</i> , off., . . . . .	133 n., 206, 207	<i>maharāya</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	140
Mahādēva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	240, 243	<i>mahāsabhā</i> , . . . . .	35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42
<i>Mahādēvī</i> , 'chief queen', . . . . .	130, 136, 137	<i>Mahāsāmanta</i> , off., . . . . .	130, 133, 135, 136
Mahādēvī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	82	Mahāsānghika, <i>Buddhist school</i> , . . . . .	258
<i>mahādēvī</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	16, 17, 19	<i>Mahāsandhivīgrahika</i> , off., . . . . .	130, 136, 137
Mahādīvadaśaka- <i>maṇḍala</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	227, 229, 230, 231,	Mahāsati gate ins., . . . . .	305, 308
	232	Mahāsēna, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	67, 274
<i>Mahā-gōvallabha</i> , off., . . . . .	279	Mahāsēna, <i>Vrishṇi prince</i> , . . . . .	196, 197
Mahākāla, <i>god of Avanti, s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	62, 73	Mahāsēnagupta, <i>Later Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	283
Mahākāla, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	73	<i>Mahāsēnāpati</i> , off., . . . . .	252
Mahā-Kōśala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	52	Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti, <i>Gupta k. of Dakṣiṇa-</i>	
<i>Mahākshapatalika</i> , off., . . . . .	293, 294, 295	<i>Kōśala</i> , . . . . .	105
<i>Mahākshapatalika</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	194, 196, 208, 209, 210	Mahāśiva-Tivara, <i>k. of Southern Kōśala</i> , . . . . .	284
<i>Mahākshapatalika</i> , <i>Paramāra tit.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 228, 229,	<i>Mahāsthāna</i> , 'great temple', . . . . .	208, 209, 210
	230, 232	<i>Mahātagivara</i> , incorrect for <i>Mahātalavara</i> ,	281
Mahākumāras, <i>branch of the Paramāra chiefs</i> ,	227, 228, 230	<i>Mahātalavara</i> , off., . . . . .	281
Mahā-Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	307, 320	<i>Mahattara</i> , 'headman of the village', off., 127, 128,	129
Mahalla (Mahallama)-Lāṭa, <i>vi.</i> , 261, 263, 264, 265 <i>n.</i> ,	266	<i>Mahāvamsa</i> , wk., 3 and <i>n.</i> , 4 and <i>n.</i> , 9 <i>n.</i> , 157 <i>n.</i> ,	163, 258 and <i>n.</i>
<i>mahāmahattara</i> , off., . . . . .	128	Mahāvihāra of Dhāṅśakaḍa, . . . . .	257, 259, 260
<i>Mahāmaṇḍalēsvāra</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	15, 16, 17, 19	<i>Mahāvīnasliya</i> , . . . . .	280
<i>Mahāmātras</i> , off., . . . . .	54	Mahāvīra, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	205
<i>mahāmātya</i> , off., . . . . .	128	Mahāyaka, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 327 n.
Mahammada, <i>s. a.</i> Muhammad I, <i>Sulṭān of</i>		Mahēndra, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	134, 136, 150, 152
<i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 214, 215, 223	Mahēndra, <i>Noḷamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	189 & <i>n.</i> , 190
Mahammada Shāh, <i>Sulṭān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	221	Mahēndra of Pishṭapura, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	50
Mahāmūda, . . . . .	224, 225	Mahēndra- <i>bhōga</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	49 n.
Mahāmūda, <i>Shāh—, s. a.</i> Mahmūd Shāh I,		Mahēndrāchala, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	180, 181, 183
<i>Begarhā, Sulṭān of Gujarāt</i> , 213, 214, 215, 216,	217 and <i>n.</i> , 218	Mahēndra-Noḷambādhirāja, <i>Noḷamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	187, 188
Mahāmūda Khāna, <i>s. a.</i> , Mahmūd Khalji II,		Mahēndrapāla, <i>Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	332
<i>Sulṭān of Mālwā</i> , . . . . .	59 n., 68 and <i>n.</i>	Mahēndrapāla I, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45
Mahaṇa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	232, 233	Mahēndrasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
Mahānadī, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	173, 174	Mahēśa, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	314
Mahaṇasimha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	312, 313, 325		
<i>Mahāniddeśa</i> , <i>Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	148 n.		
<i>mahāniyōga</i> , . . . . .	91		
<i>mahāpatha</i> , . . . . .	141, 142		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Mahēśa, s. a. Śiva, god, . . . . .	86, 89, 317, 328	<i>Malika Imādala</i> , . . . . .	220
Mahēśvara, do. . . . .	17 n., 51, 75, 136, 183, 245, 249, 251, 261	<i>Malika Imādala</i> , s. a. Imād-ul-Mulk, . . . . .	224
<i>Māhēśvara</i> , tit., . . . . .	49, 51	Malik Ashraf, gen., . . . . .	221
<i>Mahēśvaras</i> , . . . . .	28	Malik Hussain Bahmanī, s. a. Nizām-ul-Mulk, Governor of Idar, . . . . .	60
Mahfuz Khān, Prince of the Carnatic, . . . . .	124	Malik Kafur, Muslim gen., . . . . .	98
Mahīchandra, <i>Gāhaḍavāla</i> k. of Kanauj, . . . . .	292, 293	Malik Sūdhā, governor under Sultān Mahmūd of Gujarāt, . . . . .	217
Mahīndra (I), <i>Guhīla</i> k. of Mewār, . . . . .	309, 324 and n.	Malik Wagi, gen., . . . . .	221
Mahīndra (II), <i>Guhīla</i> k. of Mewār, . . . . .	310	Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II, . . . . .	269, 273
Mahīndrabhīma, engr., . . . . .	130, 136, 137	Malladēva, ch., . . . . .	221 n., 222 n.
Mahīndravarmān, E. Gaṅga k. of the <i>Śvētaka</i> branch, . . . . .	133	Malladēva, <i>Bāna</i> ch., . . . . .	186, 188
Mahīpāla, <i>Pāla</i> k., . . . . .	45 n.	Mallapa, s. a. Yuddhamalla, E. <i>Chāḷukya</i> prince, . . . . .	270, 271, 275
Mahīpāla I, k. of Aṅga and Magadha, . . . . .	104	Mallasārul plate of Vijayasēna, . . . . .	127, 128 and n.
Mahīpāla I, <i>Pāla</i> k., . . . . .	44	Malliyan Kārūnai, donor, . . . . .	28 n.
Mahīpāla II, <i>Gūrjara</i> k., . . . . .	103	Mālwā, fort, . . . . .	59 n.
Mahīpati, tit. of Mahammada, Sultān of Gujarāt, . . . . .	214, 215, 223	Mālwā, s. a. Mālava, co., 59, 60, 61, 62 and n., 107 & n, 110, 215, 216, 217, 220, 226, 227, 228, 230, 284, 306, 312	
<i>Mahisūranarapatirījayam</i> , hist. wk., . . . . .	287 n.	Māmādēva, te., . . . . .	304
Mahmūd Shāh, Sultān of Gujarāt, . . . . .	221 n.	<i>māmādi</i> , 'uncle', . . . . .	154, 156, 168 and n., 169, 171
Mahmūd, . . . . .	219, 221	Mā-Madurai, s. a. Madura, ci., . . . . .	170 n.
Mahmūd, Sultān of Gujarāt, . . . . .	213 and n., 220	' <i>Māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-kāla-daṇḍa</i> ', tit. of Chōla k. Rājendra-Chōla III, . . . . .	160 n.
Mahmūd, Sultān of Mālwā, . . . . .	216	Māṃḍalika, . . . . .	222 n.
Mahmūd (Mahmūd I), Sultān of Gujarāt, . . . . .	214	Māmdara, vi., . . . . .	293 and n., 294
Mahmūd I, Sultān of Gujarāt, . . . . .	220	Māmmā, corruption of <i>mahāmāyā</i> or the queen, . . . . .	173, 175
Mahmūdābād, ci., . . . . .	221	Mammata, Sanskrit author, . . . . .	104 n.
Mahmūdābād-Chāmpāner ci., . . . . .	221	Mā-nagar, s. a. Madura, ca., . . . . .	170 n.
Mahmūd Begarhā (Biharh), Sultān of Gujarāt, 213 and n., 218 n.		Manahali charter, . . . . .	43
Mahmūd Khaljī II, Sultān of Mālwā, . . . . .	59 & n., 60	<i>maṇai</i> , 'house' (?), . . . . .	168, 169, 171
Mahmūd Khiljī, k. of Mālwā, . . . . .	216	Mānasimha, general of Akbar, . . . . .	60, 69
Mahomedan, . . . . .	214 n.	<i>Mānavadēva</i> , 'god amongst men', ep., . . . . .	271, 277
Mahometh Mafus-Chan, s. a. Mahfuz Khān, prince of the Carnatic, . . . . .	124	<i>Mānava-dharmmasūtra</i> , . . . . .	153
Maināka, myth. no., . . . . .	82, 87	Maṇavāla-mahāmuni, <i>Vaiṣṇava</i> teacher, . . . . .	90
Main Stūpa at Nālandā, . . . . .	20, 21	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl, s. a. Maṇavālaṅ-Perumāl, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	27, 28
Maitraka, dy., . . . . .	179, 333 n.	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl, <i>Sakalabhuvanachakra-</i> <i>vartigal</i> —, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	23
<i>Majmūdār</i> or <i>Majumdār</i> , off., . . . . .	128	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	23, 26
Makara, co., . . . . .	161	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl alias <i>Ēlisaimōgaṅ</i> s. a. Kōp-peruñjiṅga I, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	26 and n.
Malāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	190	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl alias <i>Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-</i> perumāl, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	23
Malamāvuka, m., . . . . .	279	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl, s. a. Aḷagiyapallavaṅ, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	25
Mālava, s. a. Mālwā, co., . . . . .	76, 107 & n., 215, 223, 229	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl, s. a. Jiya-mahīpati, . . . . .	26
Mālava, k. of Mālwā, . . . . .	105	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl ( <i>Ēlisaimōgaṅ</i> ), <i>Kāḍava-</i> <i>rāya</i> ch., . . . . .	24
Mālavas, people, . . . . .	215	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl, (son of <i>Ēlisaimōgaṅ</i> ), <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	26 n.
Mālavaka, co., . . . . .	219	Maṇavālaṅ-perumāl of Kūḍal, <i>Kāḍavarāya</i> ch., . . . . .	25
Mālavāḷi pillar ins., . . . . .	139		
Maḷavarāyaṅ, n. of royal seat, . . . . .	154, 156, 167, 170		
Mālavayas, race, . . . . .	170 n.		
Maldeo Sonagarā, gen., . . . . .	59		
Mālēpāḍu plates, . . . . .	186		
Mālēpāḍu stone ins. of the Chōla k. Satyā- ditya, . . . . .	185		
Malik Aīz, Governor of Sōraṣh, . . . . .	60		



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Manda, s. a. Śani, planet, . . . . .	66	Mārasimha, Yuvarāja—, W. Ganga prince, . . . . .	187
Mandākini, celestial tank, . . . . .	319, 320	and n., 188 and n.	
Mandākini, s. a. Ganges, ri., . . . . .	81	Marāthā, people, . . . . .	122
maṇḍala, t. d., . . . . .	16, 17, 18, 19, 43, 46, 47, 133 n., 151, 164, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232	Marāthā, co., . . . . .	104
Maṇḍana, architect-author and builder of the Tower of Victory at Chitor, . . . . .	64 n.	Māṇavarman II, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	157
maṇḍapa, . . . . .	37, 96, 98	Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	96, 155 n.
Mandarāga, myth. mo., . . . . .	86	Māṇavarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	156, 157
Mandasor, ca., . . . . .	60	Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	156, 157, 158, 159, 160 and n., 161, 162 164, 165, 170 n., 172 n.
Mandasor inss., . . . . .	198 n.	Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya of the Tirup- pūvanam grant, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	156
Māṇḍava s. a. Mālwā, fort, . . . . .	59 and n., 68	Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya ('pūmalar- tiruvum' etc., praśasti), s. a. Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	156
Māṇḍāvuda, vi., . . . . .	185, 189	Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	154, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 170
Māṇḍayūru, vi., . . . . .	273, 277-8	Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	158, 159, 164, 165
Māṇdhātā, myth. k., . . . . .	62, 73	Mārgaḷi-nīrāḷal, . . . . .	94 n.
Māṇdhātī-tīrtha, . . . . .	61, 62, 72, 73	mārgaṇa, 'beggar', . . . . .	74
Māṇḍū, s. a. Māṇḍava or Mālwā, fort, . . . . .	59 and n., 215	Mārichīparināyam, lit. wk., . . . . .	287 n.
Māṅgaḍūr (Māṅgaḷūr) grant of Śiṃhavarman, . . . . .	138, 139, 281, 296, 297, 299, 302 n.	Mārkandēya-purāṇa, . . . . .	45 and n.
Māṅgaḷādhīpa, s. a. Kshēmēśa, m., . . . . .	93 n.	marumagan, 'sister's son', . . . . .	163
Maṅgala-ślōkas, . . . . .	102	Mārṅwār, co., . . . . .	62 n., 221, 312
Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, E. Chāḷukya k., . . . . .	139, 269, 274, 299	Masudi, Muslim historian, . . . . .	220
Maṅikārnīkā, pool, . . . . .	319	Masulipatam plates of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II, . . . . .	271 n.
Māṅikīāla, vi., . . . . .	5	Māt, vi., . . . . .	202, 208 n.
Māṅikīāla inscription of the reign of Kanishka, . . . . .	5	Māt inss., . . . . .	201
mānisi, 'servant', . . . . .	184, 192 and n.	Māt statues, . . . . .	200
Maṅiyamaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	163	Mātājī-kā-kunḍa, water reservoir, . . . . .	307
Māṅjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, Buddhist wk., . . . . .	284 n.	matha, . . . . .	241, 330, 334
Māṅkha, wk., . . . . .	198	Mathanasimha, s. a. Mahānasimha, k. of Mewār, . . . . .	313
'Mān Mahēsh', n. of citadel, . . . . .	218 n.	Mathurā, ci. . . . .	2, 5, 10 n., 13 n., 148 n., 194, 199 and n., 200 n., 201 and n., 202 and n., 205, 206, 207, 208 and n., 211, 253, 329
Mannārguḍi, vi., . . . . .	37 n.	Mathurā image ins. of G. 135, . . . . .	198 n.
mannava, . . . . .	193	Mathurā inss., . . . . .	200, 201 n., 203, 207, 211, 254
Maṅṅe, W. Ganga ca., . . . . .	188	Mathurā ins. No. 85, . . . . .	210
Maṅṅe plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, . . . . .	187 n.	Mathurā inss. of the Kushān period, . . . . .	198 and n. 207
manneya, . . . . .	193	Mathurā ins. of the reign of Kanishka, . . . . .	848 n.
Maṅōrathāryya, donee, . . . . .	53, 55	Mathurā inss. of Satraps, . . . . .	194
maṅṅam, . . . . .	37	Mathurā Lion Capital inss., . . . . .	2, 5
Mānsēhra, vi., . . . . .	2	Mathurā Lion Capital ins. A-9, . . . . .	10 n.
Mānsēhra Edicts of Aśōka, . . . . .	2	Mathurā Museum, . . . . .	194, 199, 200, 202, 208
Mantrabrāhmaṇa, . . . . .	41 n.	Mathurā pedestal ins. of Kanishka, . . . . .	253
mantra-śakti, 'power of good counsel', . . . . .	108, 113, 136 n.	Mathurā pillar ins., . . . . .	194
mantri, 'minister', off., . . . . .	294	Mathurā school of sculpture, . . . . .	211
Manu, law-giver, . . . . .	30, 31 n., 41, 128, 129, 235, 236, 239	mātrā, . . . . .	101
Manujatrinētra, Vaidumbā k., . . . . .	185	Mātrichandrasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	150, 153
Māṅūr ins., . . . . .	41 n.	Mātrichandrasvāmin (II), donee, . . . . .	150, 153
Manu-smṛiti, wk., . . . . .	30 n., 31 n., 40 n., 128 n., 129 n.	Matsyapurāṇa, . . . . .	62n., 259
Manvādi, . . . . .	288 and n.		
Manvārtha-muktāvalī, wk., . . . . .	30, 36		
māpadanāḷa, measuring rod, . . . . .	72, 89		
ma-parumakha, . . . . .	39		

	PAGE.
Mattamayūras, <i>people</i> , . . . . .	332n.
Mattamayūra, <i>school of Śaiva ascetics</i> , . . . . .	241, 242
Matta-mayūra-tūrya, <i>ep. of Bhañja kings</i> , . . . . .	17, 19
Mattata, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 324
Maṭṭēpād plates of the Ānanda-gōtra k., Dāmōdaravarman, . . . . .	144, 282
matvarthīya <i>ach.</i> , . . . . .	149
Mau ins. of Madanavarman, . . . . .	229
Maukhari, <i>clan</i> , . . . . .	245, 251, 252, 253
Maukhari, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	283 and n. 284 and n., 285
Maula, . . . . .	31, 32
Maurya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	148, 174, 198
Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, . . . . .	143, 299, 303n.
Mayindaḍi, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	183, 185, 189, 191, 192
Mayindaḍi, <i>s. a.</i> Mayindama Chōla-Mahārāja, Chōla <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189
Mayindama Chōla Mahārāja, Chōla <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189
Mayindiramikkirama, Chōla <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	185
Mayindiramikkirama, <i>s. a.</i> Mayindama-Chōla Mahārāja, Chōla <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189
Mayūra, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	106
Mayūra-Bhañja, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	17
Mayūrbhañj, <i>State</i> , . . . . .	172, 173 and n.
Mēdapāta, <i>s. a.</i> Mewār, . . . . .	65, 66, 70, 78, 83, 84, 87, 88, 307, 313, 317, 318, 321, 322, 324, 325
mēḍi, . . . . .	138
Mēdinī Rāi, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	59
Mēghadūta, <i>Sanskrit poem</i> , . . . . .	12 n., 263 n.
Mēhara, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	221 n.
Mehraulī iron pillar ins. of Chandra, . . . . .	198 n.
Mēlāmbā, <i>q. of E. Chālukya k. Vijayāditya IV</i> , . . . . .	270, 275 271, 276
Mēlaparāja, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	32
Mēli or Chitra-mēli, 'plough', emblem on boundary stones, . . . . .	131
mēli, <i>s. a.</i> mēḍi, . . . . .	138, 142
mēlitāpa, . . . . .	190
Mēlpāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	191 n.
Mēlpāḍi ins., . . . . .	3
Menadra, legend on the coins of Menander, . . . . .	3
Menadra, <i>s. a.</i> Menander, <i>Greek k.</i> , . . . . .	4, 5, 6 and n.
Menander, <i>Greek k.</i> , . . . . .	271, 277
Mēṇḍāmbā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	124, 125, 126
Merchant, <i>Dutch rank</i> , . . . . .	23
Mēṅkā-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	68, 80, 83, 142, 358
Mēru, <i>myth. mo.</i> , . . . . .	68, 80, 83, 142, 358
Metres :—	
Ānushṭubh, 65 n., 66 n., 67 n., 68 n., 69 n., 70 n., 72 n., 73 n., 74 n., 75 n., 76 n., 77 n., 78 n., 79 n., 80 n., 81 n., 82 n., 83 n., 84 n., 85 n., 86 n., 87 n., 89 n., 90 n., 110, 151, 175 n., 222, 232 n., 324 n., 244, 246, 248, 249 n., 320 n., 250, 252, 267 n., 274 n., 284 n., 293, 316 n., 317 n., 321 n., 322 n., 323 n., 324 n., 325 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334 n., 335 n.	

	PAGE.
Metres :—contd.	
Āryā, 84 n., 110, 151, 174 n., 222, 315 n., 316 n., 325 n., 328 n., . . . . .	276 n.
Āryāgīti, . . . . .	71 n.
Aupachchhandasika, . . . . .	198, 199
Bhujāṅgavijrīmbhita, . . . . .	315 n.
Dōdhaka, . . . . .	110 n., 293
Drutavilāmbita, . . . . .	65 n., 77 n., 82 n., 83 n., 315 n., 334 n.
Gīti, . . . . .	326 n.
Harinī, . . . . .	75 n., 76 n., 84 n., 110, 151, 222, 293, 319 n.
Indravajrā, 75 n., 76 n., 84 n., 110, 151, 222, 293, 319 n.	78 n.
Indravainśā, . . . . .	82 n. 319 n.,
Mañjubhāshinī, . . . . .	110, 174 n., 293, 315 n., 321 n., 323 n., 326 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334 n.
Mālinī, 110, 174 n., 293, 315 n., 321 n., 323 n., 326 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334 n.	319 n.
Mandākrāntā, . . . . .	336 n.
Mātrāsamaka, . . . . .	315 n.
Praharshinī, . . . . .	74 n.
Pramānikā, . . . . .	316 n., 318 n., 319 n.
Pramitāksharā, . . . . .	318 n., 320 n.
Prithvī, . . . . .	110, 175 n.
Pushpitāgrā, . . . . .	67 n., 80 n., 316 n., 317 n., 318 n., 334 n.
Rathōddhatā, 67 n., 80 n., 316 n., 317 n., 318 n., 334 n.	110
Ruchirā, . . . . .	66 n., 68 n., 80 n., 88 n., 234 n., 293 n., 319 n.
Śālinī, 66 n., 68 n., 80 n., 88 n., 234 n., 293 n., 319 n.	67 n., 68 n., 70 n., 71 n., 72 n., 73 n., 74 n., 75 n., 76 n., 77 n., 78 n., 79 n., 80 n., 81 n., 82 n., 83 n., 86 n., 87 n., 88 n., 89 n., 110, 151, 174 n., 222, 287, 288, 293, 314 n., 315 n., 316 n., 317 n., 318 n., 319 n., 320 n., 321 n., 322 n., 324 n., 325 n., 326 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334 n.
Sārdūlavikrīḍita, 67 n., 68 n., 70 n., 71 n., 72 n., 73 n., 74 n., 75 n., 76 n., 77 n., 78 n., 79 n., 80 n., 81 n., 82 n., 83 n., 86 n., 87 n., 88 n., 89 n., 110, 151, 174 n., 222, 287, 288, 293, 314 n., 315 n., 316 n., 317 n., 318 n., 319 n., 320 n., 321 n., 322 n., 324 n., 325 n., 326 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334 n.	79 n., 315 n., 317 n.
Sikharinī, . . . . .	56 n., 245
Ślōka (Ānushṭubh), . . . . .	66 n., 68 n., 69 n., 70 n., 71 n., 72 n., 73 n., 76 n., 77 n., 79 n., 80 n., 81 n., 83 n., 85 n., 86 n., 87 n., 88 n., 89 n., 110, 151, 222, 274 n., 275 n., 277 n., 278 n., 293 n., 316 n., 317 n., 319 n., 322 n., 324 n., 325 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334.
Sragdharā, 66 n., 68 n., 69 n., 70 n., 71 n., 72 n., 73 n., 76 n., 77 n., 79 n., 80 n., 81 n., 83 n., 85 n., 86 n., 87 n., 88 n., 89 n., 110, 151, 222, 274 n., 275 n., 277 n., 278 n., 293 n., 316 n., 317 n., 319 n., 322 n., 324 n., 325 n., 327 n., 328 n., 334.	76 n., 80 n.
Svāgatā, . . . . .	84 n.
Udgīti, . . . . .	65 n., 74 n., 76 n., 82 n., 84 n., 85 n., 326 n., 328 n.
Upagīti, 65 n., 74 n., 76 n., 82 n., 84 n., 85 n., 326 n., 328 n.	66 n., 67 n., 68 n., 69 n., 72 n., 73 n., 75 n., 76 n., 78 n., 80 n., 81 n., 82 n., 84 n., 86 n., 110, 114 n., 222, 317 n., 319 n., 320 n., 321 n., 322 n., 323 n., 324 n., 327 n.
Upajāti, 66 n., 67 n., 68 n., 69 n., 72 n., 73 n., 75 n., 76 n., 78 n., 80 n., 81 n., 82 n., 84 n., 86 n., 110, 114 n., 222, 317 n., 319 n., 320 n., 321 n., 322 n., 323 n., 324 n., 327 n.	80 n.,
Upajāti of Rathōddhatā and Svāgatā, . . . . .	71
Upajāti of Vaitāliya and Aupachchhandasika, . . . . .	71

	PAGE.
Metres :— <i>contd.</i>	
<i>Upēndravajrā</i> , . . . . .	65 n., 67 n.
<i>Vaitūlyā</i> , . . . . .	71 n.,
<i>Vaiśastha</i> or <i>Vaiśasthanī</i> , . . . . .	249 n. 321 n.
<i>Vasantatilakā</i> , 66 n., 76 n., 110, 151, 175 n., 233 n., 274 n., 293, 315 n., 317 n., 320 n., 322 n., 323 n., 327 n.	
<i>Mēvāda</i> , s. a. <i>Mewār, co.</i> , . . . . .	70
<i>Mewār, co.</i> , 57, 58, 59, 61, 62 n., 63, 64 n., 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314	
<i>mūga-varil</i> , . . . . .	30
<i>Milinda</i> , Pāli form of Menander, <i>Greek k.</i> , . . . . .	3
<i>Milindapañho</i> , 'The Questions of King Menander' <i>Pāli wk.</i> , . . . . .	3, 5, 6, 9 n.
<i>Mīmāṃsā</i> , system of Hindu philosophy, . . . . .	41, 95, 241
<i>Minadra</i> , <i>Mahārāja</i> —, s. a. Menander, <i>Greek k.</i> , . . . . .	1, 2, 3, 4, 7
<i>Mināmdra</i> , s. a. Menander, <i>Greek k.</i> , . . . . .	3
<i>Mira</i> , a <i>Muhammadan</i> community, . . . . .	67
<i>Mirāt-i-Ahmādī</i> , hist. chron., . . . . .	214, 220
<i>Mirāt-i-Sikandarī</i> , hist. chron., 214, 316 n., 217 n., 218 n., 219, 220	
<i>Mitāksharā</i> , wk. . . . .	30 and n.
<i>Mitidasa</i> , m., . . . . .	282
<i>mīṭka</i> , . . . . .	30
<i>Mlēcchha</i> , 'Muhammadan or foreigner', 67, 68, 69, 70, 77, 328	
<i>Mōgaṇār Māraṇār</i> , vi., . . . . .	23, 27
<i>Mohammed Shāh</i> , tit. of <i>Tātār Khān</i> , . . . . .	214 n.
<i>Mōhanamandira</i> , palace, . . . . .	63, 81
<i>Mōhanāngī</i> , authoress, . . . . .	287 n.
<i>Mōhanasimha</i> , <i>Mewār</i> prince, . . . . .	63
<i>Mohant</i> , off., . . . . .	148
<i>Mōkala</i> , <i>Mahārāṇā</i> , k. cf. <i>Mewār</i> , 58, 63, 67, 81, 84, 304, 305, 306, 319	
<i>Mōkalajī</i> , te., . . . . .	306, 312
<i>Mōkhari</i> , s. a. <i>Maukhari</i> , clan, . . . . .	253
<i>Mōksha</i> , . . . . .	68
<i>Mōkshadharmārthadīpikā</i> , wk., . . . . .	128
<i>Monghyr</i> , di., . . . . .	126
months :—lunar,	
<i>Āshāḍha</i> , . . . . .	62 and n., 289
<i>Āsvina</i> , 43 n., 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122 and n., 123	
<i>Bhādra</i> or <i>Bhādrapada</i> , . 62, 64, 76, 77, 83, 116, 117, 119, 120, 289, 290	
<i>Chaitra</i> , . . . . .	119, 122, 270, 301
<i>Chaitra</i> ( <i>Adhika</i> ), . . . . .	301
<i>Chaitra</i> ( <i>Nija</i> ), . . . . .	301
<i>Jyēshṭha</i> , . . . . .	62, 74 n.
<i>Kārttika</i> , . . . . .	3, 6, 7, 47, 63, 91, 114, 117, 118 and n., 119, 122 and n., 123, 227, 232, 261, 288 and n.
<i>Mādhava</i> ( <i>Vaiśākha</i> ), 57, 58, 62, 69, 79, 80, 87, 288 and n.	

	PAGE.
months :—lunar— <i>contd.</i>	
<i>Māgha</i> , 22, 48, 51, 52, 119, 120, 288 and n., 331, 335	
<i>Mārgaśīrsha</i> , 58, 63, 85, 87, 118 and n., 119, 305, 307, 322, 335 n.	
<i>Pausha</i> , . . . . .	44, 331, 335 and n.
<i>Phālguna</i> , 16, 19, 61, 63, 85, 118, 119, 120, 130, 136 and n., 137, 181, 182, 183, 237, 238, 293, 294, 295, 331, 336	
<i>Śrāvaṇa</i> , 43 n., 151, 153, 286 n., 290, 298, 302, 331, 336	
<i>Śuchi</i> ( <i>Āshāḍha</i> ), . . . . .	62 n., 74
<i>Śuchi</i> ( <i>Āshāḍha</i> or <i>Jyēshṭha</i> ), . . . . .	74 and n.
<i>Vaiśākha</i> , . 3, 6, 8, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 212, 225, 288 and n., 331, 335	
<i>Vaiśākha</i> [ <i>dvitīya</i> (?) ], . . . . .	90
months :— <i>Muhammadan</i> (lunar),	
<i>Jamāda'l awwal</i> , . . . . .	212
<i>Ramzān</i> , . . . . .	329 n.
months :—solar,	
<i>Aippaśi</i> , . . . . .	155
<i>Āvaṇi</i> , . . . . .	154
<i>Chittirai</i> , . . . . .	155
<i>Mārgaḷi</i> , . . . . .	94 n.
<i>Mēsha</i> , . . . . .	270
<i>Puraṭṭādi</i> , . . . . .	23, 27, 28, 154
<i>Rishabha</i> , . . . . .	90, 98, 100
<i>Tai</i> , . . . . .	27 n.
<i>Tulā</i> , . . . . .	154, 168, 169, 171, 172
months of seasons :—	
2nd of <i>Hēmantā</i> , . . . . .	211, 212
months of the year :—	
<i>Hēmantamāsa</i> , . . . . .	207
<i>Mōrā</i> , vi., . 194, 198, 199, 200 and n., 206, 208, 210	
<i>Mōrā</i> Well ins., . . . . .	194, 197
<i>Morsi</i> , vi., . . . . .	260, 263
<i>Mṛigarāja</i> , n. of horse, . . . . .	64, 77
<i>Mṛiga</i> , nakshatra, . . . . .	117
<i>mu</i> , in <i>Kharōshthī</i> , . . . . .	2 n.
<i>mudal</i> , 'yield or produce', . . . . .	154, 156, 168, 169
<i>mudal</i> , 'commencing from', . . . . .	156, 168
<i>mudal</i> , 'head of classification', . . . . .	155, 156, 168
<i>Mudaliyāṇḍāṇ</i> , m., . . . . .	91
' <i>mudal-tavirndu</i> ', . . . . .	156, 168
<i>Mudaphara</i> , s. a. <i>Muzaffar Shāh II</i> , <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	59 n., 68 and n.
<i>Mudāphara</i> , <i>Shāh</i> , s. a. <i>Muzaffar Shāh I</i> , <i>Sultān</i> of <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 214, 215, 222, 223
<i>Mudāphara Pātasāha</i> , s. a. <i>Muzaffar I</i> of <i>Guja-</i> <i>rāt</i> , . . . . .	213
<i>mudī</i> , 'ancient', . . . . .	138, 142
<i>Mudimaḍugu</i> , vi., . . . . .	191
<i>mudīṭi-tatāka</i> , 'ancient-tank', . . . . .	138, 142
<i>Mududa</i> ( <i>ḍa</i> ?), off., . . . . .	281, 282
<i>Mudumaḍuvu</i> , s. a. <i>Mudimaḍugu</i> , . . . . .	191



	PAGE.
Mudumaḍuvu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184, 189, 191, 192, 193
<i>mūdūr</i> , 'ancient city', <i>ep. of Madura, ci.</i> , . . . . .	170 n.
Mughal, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	61, 62, 222
Muhammad I, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	215
Muhammad II, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	216
Muhammadābad, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	218
Muhammadan, 59, 60, 91, 97, 98, 122, 146, 218 n., 314	
Muhammad bin Sām, <i>s. a. Muhammad Ghūri</i> , <i>Sultān</i> , . . . . .	292
Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, <i>Muslim k.</i> , . . . . .	98
Muhammad Ghūri, <i>Sultān</i> , . . . . .	230, 292
Muhammad Hāji, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	329 n.
Muhammad Khān, <i>s. a. Tātār Khān, Sultān of</i> <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	214 n.
Muhammad Shāh, <i>Dehli Emperor</i> , . . . . .	215
Muhammad Shāh (Muhammad), <i>Sultān of</i> <i>Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	214 and n.
Muhaṇṭa Naiṇasī, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	308 n.
<i>muhappu-maṇḍapam</i> , . . . . .	92
Mukanda or Mukunda, <i>mason</i> , . . . . .	64, 71, 83, 89, 90
<i>mukhadharakas</i> , 'mask-actors', . . . . .	298, 303
<i>mukhamanḍapam</i> , . . . . .	37 n.
<i>mukhēnādāyin</i> , 'class of self-mortifying devo- tees', . . . . .	298 n.
Mukhyādēśa, <i>n. of dūtaka</i> , . . . . .	227, 234
<i>Muktātulāpūrusha</i> , gift, . . . . .	286 n.
Mukundpur stone ins. of [Kalachuri] year 772, 118 n.	
<i>mūlakhātaka</i> , witness, . . . . .	31 n.
<i>Mūlaparuḍai</i> , . . . . .	38
Mūlasthānēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	164
Mūlavarman of Borneo, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	247 and n.
Muḷbāgal, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	186
Mulher, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	220 and n.
Muḷūran, <i>Paḍāgattu Peruntachchan—, scribe</i> , . . . . .	28 n.
Multan, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	118 n.
Muḷuḍa, <i>incorrect for Mutuḍa, off.</i> , . . . . .	281
Mummuḍisōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	37 n.
Mummuḍisōḷach-charuppēdimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	91, 94
Mummuḍisōḷamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	91 n.
Muṇḍai-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	301
Muṇḍa-rāshṭra, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	298, 301 and n. 302
<i>muni</i> , . . . . .	272
<i>munīndra</i> , 'sage', . . . . .	108
Muñja, <i>s. a. Vākpatirāja, Paramāra k. of Mālvā</i> , 306, 312	
<i>Muṇṇ-udaiyār</i> , 'previous owners', . . . . .	155, 168
<i>Munshī</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128
<i>Munuḍa</i> , <i>incorrect for Mutuḍa</i> , . . . . .	281
<i>Munyada</i> , <i>incorrect for Mutuḍa, off.</i> , . . . . .	281
<i>muraja</i> , l. m. (?) . . . . .	182 n.
<i>muraja</i> , musical instrument, . . . . .	182 n.
Murappu-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , 154, 155, 162, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171	

	PAGE.
Murappunāḍu-Kōyilpattu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166 n.
Murappu-Nāḍupudugrāmam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166 n.
Murāri, <i>s. a. Viṣṇu, god</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
Mūrtimāmbā, <i>wife of Chinna Chevvappa Nāyaka</i> <i>of Tanjore</i> , . . . . .	286
musketeers, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	124
Muslim, . . . . .	213 n., 216, 217, 230, 306, 314, 329
Muslim chronicles, . . . . .	218
Muslim Emperors of Dehli, . . . . .	213 n., 215
Muslim historians, 60, 214, 215, 216, 217 and n., 219, 220, 221	
Mustafābād, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	217
Muttālankurichchi <i>alias Rājasingamaṅgalam, vi.</i> , 166, 167, 168, 171	
Muṭlamale, <i>off.</i> , (?) . . . . .	192
Mutuḍa, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	281, 282
<i>Mutyada</i> , <i>incorrect for Mutuḍa</i> , . . . . .	281
<i>Muyuru(r)-kūṭuva</i> , 'meeting place of three villages', 138, 142 and n.	
<i>muyvam</i> , 'reward', . . . . .	193
<i>muyyalkuṭṭu</i> , 'meeting place of three boundaries', 273, 278	
Muzaffar II, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	220
Muzafar Shāh, <i>s. a. Muzaffar I, Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , 214	
Muzaffar Shah I, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , 213, 214 and n., 215	
Muzaffar Shāh II, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , 59 and n., 60, 68 n.	

## N

<i>n</i> , 2 (Kharōshṭhī), 53 (box-headed), 130, 146 (Gupta), 236, 246, 253, 255, 261, 280	
<i>n</i> , final, . . . . .	20, 268
<i>n</i> , final, changed into <i>anusvāra</i> , . . . . .	150
<i>n</i> , changed to <i>n</i> , . . . . .	102
<i>n</i> , used for <i>anusvāra</i> or <i>m</i> (?), . . . . .	102
<i>n</i> , in Nāgarī, . . . . .	102
<i>n</i> , 2 (Kharōshṭhī), 53 (box-headed), 147 n. (Gupta), 149, 246, 253, 255	
<i>n</i> , lingual, used for <i>jñ</i> , in Aśōkan Kharōshṭhī, . . . . .	5
<i>nā</i> , . . . . .	236
<i>na</i> , <i>bijākshara</i> , . . . . .	316 n.
Nachnā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	13 n.
Nāḍa Vadhānāya Bhogavata, <i>donor</i> , . . . . .	280
Nadēśī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	60
Nādōl, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	312
<i>nāḍu</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , 39, 154, 162, 164, 166, 168, 171, 186, 191, 301 and n.	
Nāḍupani-guṇṭha, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	273, 278
Nāga, . . . . .	103
<i>Nāga</i> , 'people of the serpent-world', . . . . .	75
<i>Nāga</i> , <i>tribe or clan</i> , . . . . .	13
<i>Nāga</i> , hooded—, <i>emblem on Dharmachakra pillar</i> , 256	
<i>Nāga</i> or <i>Nāgāditya</i> , <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . . 309, 324 and n.	

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Nāga image, . . . . .	202	Nandidēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	193 and <i>n.</i>
Nāgabhaṭa II, <i>Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	332	Nandigāma, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	258
Nāgahrada, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	313, 325	Nandivardhana, <i>Vākāṭaka ca.</i> , . . . . .	261, 263 and <i>n.</i> , 264
Nāgaḷa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	141	Nandivarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	28
Nāganagara, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	318	Nandivarman II, <i>Śālaṅkāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	281
Nāgapāla, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 66, 84	Nandivarman III, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	186, 187 and <i>n.</i>
Nagar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	237	Nandivarman Pallavamalla, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	32, 186
Nāgarāja, . . . . .	79	Nāndsā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	245 and <i>n.</i> , 246, 247
Nāgar Brāhmans, <i>caste</i> , . . . . .	109 <i>n.</i> , 308	Nāṅ-Māḍa Kūḍal, <i>s. a. Madura, ci.</i> , . . . . .	170 <i>n.</i>
Nagardhan, <i>s. a. Nandardhan, ca.</i> , . . . . .	263	Nannamaraiyar, <i>Vaidumbha ch.</i> , . . . . .	191
Nāgarjunī hill cave ins. of Anantavarman, . . . . .	198 <i>n.</i>	Nanniga Bira-Nolamba, <i>Nolamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	190 and <i>n.</i>
Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	14, 257 <i>n.</i> , 258, 279, 280, 281	Nanniga Bira Nolamba, <i>s. a. Ayyapadēva, Nolamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	190 <i>n.</i>
Nāgarjunikoṇḍa ins., . . . . .	281	Nanniya-Gaṅga Nitimārga of the Arkalgūḍ record, . . . . .	188, 189 <i>n.</i>
Nāgasēna, <i>Buddhist sage</i> , . . . . .	3	Nanniya Gaṅga, (son of Prithvīpati) <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 189, 190
Nāga states, . . . . .	13	Nanniya-Gaṅga, <i>sur. of W. Gaṅga k. Būtuga II</i> , . . . . .	188
Nāgavaṁśa, . . . . .	13	<i>nāpita</i> , 'barber', . . . . .	298, 303
Nāgdā, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	306, 313	Narapati-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 66, 84
Nāgōlāmi, <i>s. a. Nāgaḷa, vi.</i> , . . . . .	141, 142	Narasa, <i>Vijayanagara gen.</i> , . . . . .	286 <i>n.</i> , 287 <i>n.</i>
Nagpur, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	12 <i>n.</i> , 107 <i>n.</i> , 117, 122 and <i>n.</i> , 123 and <i>n.</i> , 260, 263	Narasāchyuta, <i>s. a. Achyuta, k. of Vijayanagara</i> , . . . . .	286 <i>n.</i>
<i>nāhala</i> , 'barbarians and outcastes', . . . . .	298, 303	Narasā Nāyaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	97
Nahusha, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	276	Narasimha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	96
Nai Gaj, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	148 <i>n.</i>	Narasimha, <i>Yādavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . .	163 <i>n.</i>
<i>naimittika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	294	Narasimha II, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	160, 161, 162, 165
<i>Naishadhīyacharita</i> , <i>lit. wk.</i> , . . . . .	109	Narasimhavikramavarman, <i>Vijaya—, Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	185
<i>naiyāmika</i> , <i>s. a. naiyamika, off.</i> , . . . . .	138	Narasīngapalle plates of Gaṅga Hastivarman, . . . . .	50
<i>naiyāvika</i> , <i>s. a. naiyāmika, off.</i> , . . . . .	138, 142	Naravāhana, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 324
<i>naiyōgika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	138 <i>n.</i> , 302 <i>n.</i>	Naravāhana, <i>s. a. Kubēra, myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	271, 276
<i>naiyōka</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	302 <i>n.</i>	Naravāhana I, <i>prince</i> , . . . . .	271, 276
pakshatras :—		Naravāhana II, <i>prince</i> , . . . . .	271, 272 and <i>n.</i> , 277
<i>Bhādra (Bhādrapadā)</i> , . . . . .	203	Naravāhanadatta, <i>legendary hero</i> , . . . . .	197
<i>Maitra (Anurādhā)</i> , . . . . .	270	Naravarmā, <i>Guhila prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310
<i>Phagu (Phalgunī)</i> , . . . . .	203	Naravarmmadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	227, 232
<i>Prōshthapada</i> , . . . . .	203	Naravarman, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālwa</i> , . . . . .	312
<i>Pushya (Pūsam)</i> , . . . . .	90, 99, 100	Nārāyaṇa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	16, 18, 274, 276, 294
<i>Rōhinī</i> , . . . . .	119	Nārāyaṇa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
<i>Tiruvōnam (Śravaṇa)</i> , . . . . .	289, 290	Nārāyaṇagarh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	47
Naktamcharagrāmaṇī, <i>s. a. Rāvaṇa, epic hero</i> , . . . . .	111	Nārāyaṇapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	47
Nakula, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	272, 277	Nārāyaṇapālādēva, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	43, 44, 45
Nala, <i>dy. or tribe</i> , . . . . .	12, 263 <i>n.</i>	Narbadā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	45
Nala, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	85, 276	<i>narēndra</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	311, 325
<i>nālā</i> , . . . . .	253	Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269
Nālandā, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	20, 21, 283, 284	<i>Nār-Kōḍu</i> , 'Chatur-danta', . . . . .	167, 170 <i>n.</i>
Nālandā Main Stūpa, . . . . .	20, 21	Narmadā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	13, 62, 65 <i>n.</i> , 73, 74, 75
Nālandā Seal of Śarvavarman, . . . . .	283, 285 <i>n.</i>	Narsapur plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman, . . . . .	235
<i>Nālayiraprabandham</i> , <i>Tamiḷ wk.</i> , . . . . .	90	nasal consonant, used for <i>anusvāra</i> , . . . . .	138, 236
Nāna, <i>Chandēlla min.</i> , . . . . .	109 <i>n.</i>	nasal, use of —, . . . . .	180
Nānāghāt reliefs ins., . . . . .	282	Nāsik ins. of Ushavadāta, . . . . .	11
Nānātasarman, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	130, 135 and <i>n.</i> , 137	Nasik ins., . . . . .	14 <i>n.</i> , 247
Nanda-Prābhāñjanavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	49		
Nandapura <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	126		
Nandarbar, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	220		
Nandardhan, <i>s. a. Nandivardhana, co.</i> , . . . . .	263		







	PAGE.
Pallavāṇḍār <i>alias</i> Kāḍavarāyar 'Conqueror of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam', <i>s. a.</i> Eḷisaimōgaṇ Maṇa- vālap-perumāl, Vānilai-Kaṇḍaperumāl, Aḷa- giya-pallavan, Jiyamahīpati, <i>s. a.</i> Kōp- peruñjiṅga I, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . . 26	
Pallavāṇḍār <i>alias</i> Kāḍavarāyar, <i>s. a.</i> Virar Virar Kāḍavarāyar, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> , . . . . . 24, 25	
Palli, <i>n. of place</i> , . . . . . 224 <i>n.</i>	
Palliacatta, (Pulicat), <i>Dutch port</i> , . . . . . 126	
<i>palli-araikkūdam</i> , 'hall of the bed-chamber' . . . . . 167	
<i>pallichchanda</i> , 'land granted to Jaina or Buddhist shrines', . . . . . 154, 168 and <i>n.</i> , 171	
Pallidēsa, <i>co.</i> , 218 and <i>n.</i> , 219, 221 and <i>n.</i> , 224 and <i>n.</i>	
<i>pallippitam</i> , 'reclining seat', . . . . . 167	
Pallivāla Brāhmaṇa, <i>sect</i> , . . . . . 62 <i>n.</i>	
Palukūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 140	
Paṇ, <i>s. a.</i> Paṇḍita, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . . 231, 232, 233	
Pāmiravaṁśa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . . 224	
Paṁparāja, <i>Kākaira ch.</i> , . . . . . 117	
<i>paṇa</i> , coin, . . . . . 331, 335	
<i>panatrisa</i> , 'thirty-five', . . . . . 258, 259 and <i>n.</i>	
<i>Paṇava</i> , a musical instrument, . . . . . 111	
<i>Pañchamahāvira</i> , . . . . . 196, 197	
<i>pañchupravara</i> , . . . . . 293, 295	
<i>pañchūrshēya-pravara</i> , . . . . . 16, 19	
<i>pañchūrshēya-pravara</i> , . . . . . 135 <i>n.</i>	
<i>Pañchavira</i> , 'administrative body', . . . . . 196	
<i>Pañchavīras</i> , . . . . . 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200	
<i>Pañchavīras</i> of the Vṛishṇis, . . . . . 210	
<i>Pañchavira</i> statues, . . . . . 200 <i>n.</i>	
<i>Pañchavīragoshṭha</i> , . . . . . 196	
<i>pañchāyat</i> , . . . . . 196	
Pāṅch Mahāls, <i>di.</i> , . . . . . 212, 221	
<i>Pañchōli</i> , <i>caste</i> , . . . . . 64, 89	
<i>pañchupili</i> , tax, . . . . . 154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172	
Pāṇḍamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 90 and <i>n.</i> , 99, 100	
Pāṇḍaramātrisvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . . 150, 153	
Pāṇḍaraṅga, <i>E. Chālukya gen.</i> . . . . . 273	
Pāṇḍava brothers, <i>epic heroes</i> , . . . . . 199, 332 <i>n.</i>	
Pāṇḍikulāśani-vaḷanāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 91, 94	
Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 164	
Pāṇḍu, <i>epic k.</i> , . . . . . 84	
Pāṇḍya, <i>co.</i> , . . . . . 25, 103	
Pāṇḍya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . . 25, 95, 97 <i>n.</i> , 103 and <i>n.</i> , 154, 155, 156, 157, 158 and <i>n.</i> , 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164 and <i>n.</i> , 165, 186, 188.	
Pāṇḍya, <i>k.</i> , . . . . . 102, 111, 188 <i>n.</i>	
'Pāṇḍyakula-samuddharaṇa' <i>tit.</i> of Hoysala <i>k.</i>	
Virar Sōmēśvara, . . . . . 162	
'Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sihāpana-sūtra-dhāra', <i>tit.</i> of Pallava Peruñjiṅga, . . . . . 161	
'Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya', <i>tit.</i> of Hoy- sala <i>k.</i> Virar-Sōmēśvara, . . . . . 162 and <i>n.</i>	

	PAGE.
<i>paṇi</i> , 'act', . . . . . 184, 192	
Pāṇini, <i>grammarian</i> , . . . . . 45, 102, 149 <i>n.</i> , 335 <i>n.</i>	
Pañjaur ins., . . . . . 330	
Panjhora, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . . 1	
Panjshir, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . . 6	
Paṅṭa-kula, <i>community</i> , . . . . . 272	
Parakēsarivarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . . 38	
Parākramabāhu, <i>k. of Ceylon</i> , . . . . . 157, 161	
Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . . 157, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165	
<i>Paramabhāgavata</i> , . . . . . 302	
<i>Paramabhāṭṭāraka</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . . 43, 130, 133, 135, 136, 227, 230, 232, 276, 291, 292, 294.	
<i>Paramabrahmaṇya</i> , . . . . . 141, 301	
<i>parama-dhārmika</i> , . . . . . 144, 145	
<i>Paramamāhēśvara</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . . 133, 135, 173, 174-5, 176, 179, 181, 261, 264, 265, 285, 291, 292, 293, 294	
Paramāra, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . . 105, 123, 226, 227, 228 and <i>n.</i> , 229 and <i>n.</i> , 230 and <i>n.</i> , 231, 306, 312	
<i>Paramasaugata</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . . 43, 47	
<i>Paramavaishṇava</i> , . . . . . 16, 17, 18	
<i>Parama-vaṁś-ōdbhava</i> , Pallava <i>ep.</i> , . . . . . 272 <i>n.</i>	
Paramēśvara, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . . 80	
Paramēśvara, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . . 43, 130, 133, 135, 136, 179, 227, 230, 232, 276, 284, 291, 292, 294	
Paramēśvara of Paḍāgam, <i>carpenter and archi- tect</i> , . . . . . 28 <i>n.</i>	
Paramēśvara-vadi, . . . . . 28 <i>n.</i>	
Paramēśvaravarman II, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . . 28 <i>n.</i>	
Parāntaka I, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . . 28, 29, 36, 190	
<i>para-samaya</i> , Jaina doctrine, . . . . . 272, 277	
Parāsara, <i>sage</i> , . . . . . 181 and <i>n.</i> , 182, 183	
Parāsara-Bhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> , . . . . . 96	
Pārdi, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . . 216	
<i>Parganā</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 134	
<i>parichāra</i> , 'temple servant', . . . . . 91	
Parigi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 238	
<i>parihāra</i> , . . . . . 138, 142, 298	
<i>Pārijāta</i> , 'celestial tree', . . . . . 68	
Parikshit, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . . 318	
Parimi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 273	
<i>Parinirvāna</i> , . . . . . 6	
Paris, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . . 125	
<i>parishat</i> , 'assembly', . . . . . 38	
Parlakimedi, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . . 15	
Pārtha, <i>s. a.</i> Arjuna, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . . 85, 327	
Parthian, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . . 4	
<i>Paramakha</i> , form of <i>Pamukha</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Pramukha</i> , . . . . . 39	
<i>parusha: -i ājānār</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . . 38	
Paru-vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 235, 238, 239	
Paruvi-vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . . 238, 239 <i>n.</i>	
Pārva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . . 192	

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Pārvatī, goddess,	150, 151, 320	Pedda Vēgi plates of Nandivarman,	281
<i>paśān</i> , season,	155	Peṅḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla,	120
<i>paśāṇam</i> , kind of crop,	154, 168, 171, 172	Pennār, <i>ri.</i> ,	190, 301
Pāśin, <i>s.a.</i> Varuṇa, god,	318	Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhavavarman II (III),	235, 236, 237, 238 and <i>n.</i> , 239 <i>n.</i>
<i>Pāśīnaḥ</i> , 'western direction',	318	<i>pērambalam</i> ,	35, 37 and <i>n.</i> , 41
<i>pastharika-śrēṇī</i> , 'guild of stone-masons',	256	Perbbāṇavamśa, <i>dy.</i> ,	185 <i>n.</i>
Pāsupata, <i>Śaiva</i> sect,	333	<i>Periyadēvar</i> ,	159
'Pātai', contraction of 'Pāwāpati',	217 <i>n.</i>	Periyālvār, <i>saint</i> ,	93 <i>n.</i> , 97
Patāi, <i>k. of Chāmpāner</i> ,	217	<i>Periya-nāyiṇār</i> ,	159
<i>pāṭaka</i> , 'hamlet',	293 <i>n.</i>	<i>Periyapurāṇam</i> , Tamil wk.,	37 <i>n.</i>
<i>pāṭaka</i> , <i>t. d.</i> ,	293 <i>n.</i>	<i>periya-tirumurram</i> ,	155 <i>n.</i>
<i>Pātāla</i> ,	87	Periya-vāchchāṇ-Pillai, <i>commentator</i> ,	94- <i>n.</i>
Patañjali, <i>Sanskrit</i> grammarian,	6	Periyavar,	159
Pātapadhara,	90	Permāṇḍi, <i>s. a.</i> Nanniya-Gaṅga, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	189
Pātasāhi, <i>s. a.</i> Pādshāh, <i>tit.</i> ,	222	Permāṇḍi, <i>sur. of</i> Satyavākya Rāchamalla,	
<i>pate</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>pātra</i> , 'the bowl', or 'relic-casket',	4	<i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	189
Pathar Khān, <i>l.</i> ,	254	Permāṇḍigal, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	185
Patika, <i>Satrap</i> ,	2, 5	Permāvi, <i>ci.</i> ,	189
<i>patimā</i> , 'image',	201, 202	Persian chronicles,	61
<i>patipadā</i> , <i>s.a.</i> <i>pratipadā</i> , 'slab with foot-prints',	14	<i>Perumakaṇ</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Pramukha</i> ,	39
Pāṭṇā, <i>state</i> ,	239, 241 <i>n.</i> , 242	<i>Perumakkaḷ</i> ,	39, 42
<i>pātra</i> , 'bowl or relic casket',	4, 6 <i>n.</i>	Perumāḷ, <i>s. a.</i> Rāṅganātha, <i>god</i> ,	90, 99, 100 and <i>n.</i> , 101
<i>Pātra</i> , 'minister',	16, 19	Perumāḷ, <i>te.</i> ,	23
<i>Paṭṭakāra</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Paṭṭalēkhin</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	298 <i>n.</i>	<i>Perumāṇ</i> , derived from <i>Pramukha</i> ,	39
<i>Paṭṭakila</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	232	<i>perumandapam</i> ,	37 <i>n.</i>
<i>Paṭṭalā</i> , <i>t. d.</i> ,	292, 293, 294	Perumbāṇappāḍi, <i>t. d.</i> ,	186
<i>Paṭṭalēkhin</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	298 <i>n.</i>	<i>Peruṅgurimakkal</i> ,	37 <i>n.</i>
<i>Paṭṭamahishī</i> , 'senior queen',	286 and <i>n.</i>	Peruṅjiṅga, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	159, 161, 162 and <i>n.</i> , 165
Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasēna II,	12, 261	<i>Peruṅkuri</i> ,	37 <i>n.</i>
Pattana, <i>s. a.</i> Anahilapattana, <i>ca.</i> ,	215, 223	<i>Peruṅkuri-mahāsabhai</i> ,	35, 36 and <i>n.</i> , 37 and <i>n.</i>
Pattana, <i>s. a.</i> Kaliṅgapattana,	49 <i>n.</i>		38, 42
Pattana-bhōga, <i>t. d.</i> ,	49, 51, 52	<i>Peruṅkuri-sabhai</i> ,	41, 42
<i>Pattanākarasthāna</i> ,	294	<i>peta-dakḥhiṇā</i> , 'gifts to dead ancestors',	5
<i>paṭṭikā</i> ,	304	<i>Petavattu</i> , Buddhist wk.,	5
<i>Paṭṭiṇa-marudūr</i> , <i>vi.</i> ,	154, 166, 168, 171	<i>ph</i> , in Nāgarī,	102
<i>paṭṭi-pada</i> , 'foot-prints on a slab',	14	Phaguyaśā,	203
<i>Paṭṭukākā</i> , <i>incorrect for</i> Puḷḷaḷūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	301 <i>n.</i>	Phaṇirāja-bhōga-śayana, <i>s. a.</i> Rāṅganātha,	
Pauni, <i>ci.</i> ,	11, 12, 14	<i>god</i> ,	92
Pauni relic stone box,	12	Phērava, <i>vi.</i> ,	132, 133
Pauranic,	250	Phērava grant of Sāmantavarman,	132, 133, 181
<i>paṭṭura</i> , corrupt form of <i>pautra</i> ,	138, 142 and <i>n.</i>	Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, <i>Dutch</i> officer,	124, 126
Pāvāgarh, <i>fort</i> ,	217, 218, 221 and <i>n.</i>	Phulasara C. P. grant of Kirtirājadēva,	15
Pāvaka, <i>s. a.</i> Pāvāgarh, <i>fort</i> ,	218, 219, 225	Phulsara, <i>vi.</i> ,	15
Pāvaka, <i>god of fire</i> ,	224, 225	Pikira, <i>vi.</i> ,	48
Pāvakadurga, <i>s. a.</i> Pāvāgarh, <i>fort</i> ,	217 and <i>n.</i> , 221, 224, 225	Pikira grant of Simhavarman, 48, 139, 142 <i>n.</i> , 235, 296, 297, 299, 300, 301 and <i>n.</i> , 302 <i>n.</i> , 303 <i>n.</i>	
Pāvulūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	141	Piḷḍuvīpati, <i>s. a.</i> Prithvīpati I, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	188 <i>n.</i>
Pāwā, <i>s. a.</i> Pāvāgarh, <i>fort</i> ,	217 <i>n.</i>	Pillai Lōkāchārya, <i>m.</i> ,	98 and <i>n.</i>
Peacock, emblem on seal,	144	<i>piṇḍoyaka</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>piṇḍōdaka</i> ,	7
Pedda-Gādelavaruru, <i>s. a.</i> Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparru, <i>vi.</i> ,	273, 277	Pinākapāṇi, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> ,	315
Peda-Palakalūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	140	Pinākin, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> ,	305, 315
Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparru, <i>vi.</i> ,	272, 273, 277		
Peddatippasamudram, <i>vi.</i> ,	184		



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Pinbaḷagiyaperumāl-Jiyar, <i>author</i> ,	93 n.	Prabhūtavarsha Gōvinda (II), <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	186 n.
<i>piṇḍōdaka</i> ,	5	<i>Prabōdhinī ekādaśī</i> ,	261
Piṅgala, <i>thānā</i> —,	46	<i>Prāchyāmbhōnidhi</i> , 'Eastern Ocean',	151
<i>Piṅgalārthapradīpa</i> , Apabhraṁśa work,	107 n.	<i>Pradhāna</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	91, 94
Piṅgbani, <i>vi.</i> ,	46	Pradyumna, <i>epic hero</i> ,	85, 197
Pipliānagar plates of Arjunavarman,	229	Pradyumnasvāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	150, 153
Pipliānagar plates of Hariśchandra,	227-8, 229	<i>prahara</i> , 'part of a day',	61
Piṣṭapura, <i>Kaliṅga ca.</i> ,	50	Praharāja, <i>family</i> ,	46
<i>pisuna</i> , 'back-biter'?,	193	Praharāja Chaudhuri, <i>m.</i> ,	46
Pitāmaha, <i>s. a.</i> Brahmā, <i>god</i> ,	276	Prahlāda, <i>myth. prince</i> ,	66
<i>Pitāmaha</i> , <i>tit. of Lord Buddha</i> ,	147-8, 148 n.	Prahlādanadēva, <i>Paramāra Prince of Ābu</i> ,	312
Podāgaḍ Stone ins. of Nala Bhagadatta,	12	Prajāpati, <i>s. a.</i> Brahmā, <i>god</i> ,	294
<i>podī</i> ,	37	<i>prākāra</i> , 'rampart',	90, 94, 96, 98, 153, 285
<i>podu</i> ,	37	<i>prakīrtitā</i> , 'built',	240, 244
<i>poduvāl</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>madhyastha</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	41	<i>prakṛiti-kutumbināḥ</i> ,	129
Polalchōra, <i>Nolamba ch.</i> ,	186 n.	Prākṛitism,	254
<i>poṇ</i> , 'coin',	91	Pramānarāśi, <i>ascetic</i> ,	332, 336
Pondicherry, <i>ci.</i> ,	26	<i>Pramukhas</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Perumakkal</i> ,	39
Ponnamarāvati, <i>vi.</i> ,	160	<i>prāṇa-samedā</i> ( <i>prāṇa-samēta</i> ),	3
Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā,	261, 262, 263	<i>prāṇa-samēta</i> , 'endowed with life',	3, 4
Poppaḷam, <i>co.</i> ,	167 and n., 170	<i>prānta-parti</i> , 'ancient village-site',	268, 273, 278
Portrait statues,	207	Prasāntarāga, <i>biruda of Early Gūrjara kings</i> ,	173
<i>Poruladhikāram</i> ,	23 n.	<i>praśasti</i> , 'eulogy',	13, 89, 107 n., 108,
<i>poru-tīral</i> , 'war-disc',	166, 170 and n.		115, 192, 198 n., 269, 309, 324
Pōśaḷam, <i>co.</i> ,	167, 170	Prasēnajit, <i>k.</i> ,	207
Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam,		Pratāpachakravartin, <i>tit. of Vīra Rāma-</i>	
<i>vi.</i> ,	154, 155, 162, 166, 168, 169, 171	<i>nāthadēva</i> , <i>Hoysala k.</i> ,	90, 91, 92, 99, 100
Poṭha,	203	Pratāpamalla, <i>Kalachuri k. of Ratanpur</i> ,	120
Poṭhasiri,	146 n.	Pratāpasimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> ,	58, 60, 61,
Poṭhadevā, <i>f.</i> ,	203		68, 69, 84
Poṭhaghōsha, <i>m.</i> ,	203	<i>pratāp āpanatu-rājā-maṅḍalāḥ</i> , <i>Pallava ep.</i> ,	299, 301
Poṭhaka, <i>m.</i> ,	203	<i>pratihāra</i> , <i>off.</i> ,	16, 18, 19, 294
Poṭhayas, <i>tribe</i> ,	203	Pratihāra, <i>dy.</i> ,	44, 45, 46 and n., 103, 331 n.,
Poṭhayasaka, <i>m.</i> ,	203, 204		332 and n., 333
Poṭhayasaka, <i>Prākṛit form of Prōshṭhayasaska</i> ,		<i>Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra</i> ,	21
<i>m.</i> ,	204	<i>Pratyēka Buddhas</i> ,	10
Pottapi, <i>vi.</i> ,	191	<i>pravaṇikara</i> , <i>kind of income</i> ,	295
Pottipāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	183	<i>pravaras</i> :—	
<i>pōṭu</i> , 'conflict',	192, 193	Autathya,	173, 175
Pōṭyavva or Pōṭi-avva, <i>village deity</i> ,	273, 278	Bhārgava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurva-Jāmadagnya,	293, 295
<i>pōy</i> , 'learned',	154, 167, 168	Bhṛigu-Dairda-Chyavana-Jamadagni,	135
Prabajjana (Prabhañjana) varman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> ,	49, 51	Bhṛigu-Ūrva-Chyavana-Āpnavāna-Jama-	
<i>Prabandham</i> ,	90, 91, 94, 99, 100	<i>dagni</i> ,	137
Prabhākara, <i>com.</i> ,	144, 145	<i>Prabhāṅgi-Ūrva-Āpnavāna-Chyavana</i> ,	
Prabhākara, <i>m.</i> ,	108 n.	Bhṛigu,	135 n.
Prabhañjanavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> ,	49, 51	Parāsara-Śakti-Vāsishṭha,	181 n.
<i>prabhātaka</i> , 'rent',	336	Śakti-Kāṇva-Vāsishṭha,	181, 182, 183
<i>Prabhāvākacharita</i> , <i>wk.</i> ,	213 n.	Vatsa-Dairdda-Bhṛigu-Jamadagni-	
Prabhāvatiguptā, <i>Vākātaka q.</i> ,	55, 258, 261, 262,	<i>Chyavana</i> ,	135 n.
	263, 264, 265	<i>prāvārañchara</i> , 'licensed spies' (?),	298 and n.,
<i>prabhu</i> , <i>tit.</i> ,	144, 145, 184, 192		303
Prabhumēru Vijayāditya, <i>Bāna ch.</i> ,	187, 188, 189	Pravarapura, <i>ca.</i> ,	263
Prabhu-Nāga Bhōgikāmātya, <i>officer</i> ,	144, 145	Pravarasēna I, <i>Vākātaka k.</i> ,	13, 261, 263, 264
<i>prabhu-śakti</i> , 'power derived from royal			
position',	108, 113, 136 n.		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Pravarasēna II, Vākātaka k., . . . . .	12 and n., 52 53, 54, 55 and n., 56 n., 249 n., 260, 261, 262 and n., 263, 264, 265-6	privileges :—contd.	
Pravarēśvara, god, . . . . .	263	sa-matsy-ākara . . . . .	294
Pravarēśvara-shaḍ-vimśativāṭaka, vi., . . . . .	261, 263, 265 and n., 266 and n.	sa-māna-tōya, . . . . .	19
Pravīra, Vākātaka k., . . . . .	13	s-āmra-madhū, . . . . .	19
Prayāga, s. a. Allahābād, ci., . . . . .	104, 327	sa-nidhi, . . . . .	56, 266 and n.
Priduvayya, s. a. Prithvīpati I, W. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	188 n.	sa-padr-āraṇya, . . . . .	19
Prince of Wales Museum plates, . . . . .	176	sarva-bādhā-parihāra, . . . . .	175
Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhāṭa dated Kalachuri 486, . . . . .	116 n., 177, 178, 179	sarva-jāta-bhōgya, . . . . .	249, 251
prishṭha-mātrās, . . . . .	57, 102, 304, 317 n.	sarva-kara-parihāra, . . . . .	277
Prithivishēṇa, Vākātaka k., . . . . .	55, 264 and n., 265 and n.	sarva-kara-parihāra-parihṛita, sarva-parihāra, . . . . .	51 239, 298, 302, 303
Prithivishēṇa II, do. . . . .	13 n.	sarva-vishṭi-parihāra-parihṛita, sarv-ōpadrava-varjjita, . . . . .	56, 266 19
Prithivivarman, E. Gaṅga k. of the Śvētaka branch, . . . . .	133	sa-viṭapa-latā, . . . . .	19
Prithvidēva I, Haihaya k., . . . . .	105, 120	s-ōpakṣipta, . . . . .	56 and n.
Prithvidēva II, Haihaya k., . . . . .	118 n.	s-ōpanidhi, . . . . .	56, 267 and n.
Prithvimahārāja, Kalinga k., (?), . . . . .	50	s-ōrddhv-ādhaś-chatur-āghāṭa-viśuddha, sva-sīmā-paryanta, . . . . .	294 294
Prithvimalla, Mewār k., . . . . .	58, 66, 84	Priyaṅgu, ca., . . . . .	43, 46
Prithvimūla, k., . . . . .	170 n.	Prōshṭhas, s. a. Poṭhayas, tribe, . . . . .	203
Prithvīpati I, W. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	187, 188 and n.	Prōshṭhayaśaska, s. a. Poṭhayaśaka, m., . . . . .	204
prithvītal-aika-vīra, tit., . . . . .	299, 301	Pubbāparaselikā, Buddhist sects, . . . . .	258 n.
Prithvīvallabha, tit., . . . . .	288	Pubbaseliya, s. a. Pūrvaśailiya, Buddhist sect, 258 and n.	
Prithvīvarman, E. Gaṅga k. of the Śvētaka branch, . . . . .	133	Pulakēśin II, Chālukya k., . . . . .	50, 123, 179
privileges :—		Pulicat, Dutch port, . . . . .	126
a-bhāṭa-chchhātra-pravēśya, . . . . .	55 and n., 266	Pulināḍu-sixty, t. d., . . . . .	185, 186, 187, 189
a-bhṛita-pravēśya, . . . . .	249, 251	Pulindasēna, m., . . . . .	150, 152
a-chār-āsana-charm-āṅgāra, . . . . .	55, 266	pullaḍi, s. a. haṁsapāda, 'mark of interlinea- tion' emblem on boundary stones, . . . . .	32
a-chāṭṭa-bhāṭṭa-pravēśa, . . . . .	19, 175	Pullalūru, vi., . . . . .	301
a-dūdha-dadhī-gaḥaṇa, . . . . .	14 n.	Pulōmā, Āndhra k., . . . . .	259
a-haritaka-sāka-pupha-gaḥaṇa, a-kara-dāyina, . . . . .	14 n. 55, 266	Pulōmāvi, Āndhra k., . . . . .	259 n.
a-karavva, . . . . .	175	Pulumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra—, Āndhra k., . . . . .	259
a-lavaṇa-kinna-krēṇi-khanaka, a-loṇa-gula-chchhobha, . . . . .	14 n., 55 266 14 n.	'Pū-malar-tiruvum' etc., hist. introduction, 154, 156, 157	
a-pāraṅga-gaḥaṇa-śāṅgāra, . . . . .	14 n.	'Pūmalar vaḷar' etc., hist. introduction, . . . . .	23
a-pāraṅga-gaḥaṇa-śāṅgāra, . . . . .	14 n.	Pū-maruviya-tirumadandai' etc., Pāṇḍya praśasti, . . . . .	156, 157
a-pāraṅga-gaḥaṇa-śāṅgāra, . . . . .	14 n., 55, 266 and n.	Puṅganūr, di., . . . . .	183, 185, 188, 189 n., 190
a-pushpa-kshēra-sandōha, . . . . .	14 n., 55, 266	Puṅganūr, vi., . . . . .	186
bhānishyat-kara-rahita, . . . . .	19	Puñjarāja, ch. of Dūṅgarpur, puñchey, 'dry-lands', . . . . .	61, 70 168, 171
nidhi-nikshēpa-sahita, . . . . .	233	Puṅḍaram, co., . . . . .	167, 170
sa-danda-nigraha, . . . . .	56	Puṅyakumāra, Chōḷa ch., . . . . .	186 and n.
sa-gartti-ōshara, . . . . .	294	purambadi, 'without', . . . . .	30
sa-giri-gaḥaṇa-nidhāna, . . . . .	294	purambu, . . . . .	155 n.
sa-jala-sthala, . . . . .	19, 294	Purāmdara, god, . . . . .	295
sa-klīpta, . . . . .	56 and n.	Purānas, . . . . .	13, 41, 62 n., 140
sa-klīpt-ōpakṣipta, . . . . .	267 and n.	Purānānūru, Tamil classical work, . . . . .	39
sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara, . . . . .	294	Purāna-purusha, . . . . .	308
sa-madhuk-āmra-vana-vātīkā-viṭapa-triṇa- yūti-gōchāra-paryanta, . . . . .	294	Purānasiddha, s. a. Rāmānuja, Vaishṇavite teacher, . . . . .	95
		Purandara, Śaiva ascetic, . . . . .	241
		Purañjanacharita, Sanskrit wk., . . . . .	263

	PAGE.
<i>Purapporuḷ venbāmālai</i> , Tamil wk., . . . . .	22
<i>Purattinaiyiyal</i> , . . . . .	23 n.
<i>puravu</i> , . . . . .	155, 168, 169, 171
Purikā, s. a. Hoshangābād, <i>Vākāṭaka ca.</i> , 13 and n.	
Purī plates of Mādhavavarman, 149 and n., 150, 151	
<i>pūrṇa-kumbha</i> , emblem on seal, . . . . .	15
Pūrṇapāla, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 66, 84
<i>Pūrṇimānta</i> , . . . . .	62 n., 116, 118 and n., 120, 121, 307
<i>purōhita</i> , off., . . . . .	72, 163, 273, 276, 294
Purūravas, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	102, 111
<i>puruvaya</i> , Prākṛit form of <i>pūrvvāyām</i> , 146, 147	
Pūrvasailīya, <i>Buddhist sect.</i> , . . . . .	257, 258, 260
Purvasela, s. a. Pūrvasaila, <i>Buddhist sect.</i> , . . . . .	258
<i>Pūrvasīkhā</i> , community of Brāhmins, . . . . .	97
Pūrvasilā, s. a. Pūrvasaila, <i>Buddhist sect.</i> , . . . . .	258
Pūrvvasiddhāyatana, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148
'Pūṭalamadandai' etc., <i>praśasti</i> , . . . . .	164
Puvaseliya, s. a. Pūrvasailīya, <i>Buddhist sect.</i> , . . . . .	259

## Q

Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh, <i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , 214	
--	--

## R

r, . . . . .	8 (Kharōshthī), 130, 296, 330
r, doubling of consonants after—, . . . . .	15, 53, 57, 102, 130, 138, 150, 180, 213, 226, 236, 240, 261, 291, 297, 304
r, doubling of consonants before—, 150, 180, 261, 297	
r, subscript, in Kharōshthī with phonetic signification, . . . . .	4-5
Rāchamalla I, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	187, 188
Rāchamalla II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192
Rādḥā, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	43, 44, 45, 46, 47
Rādḥeya, s. a. Karṇa, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	66
Rādḥī Brāhmaṇas, <i>sect.</i> , . . . . .	110
Rāgamañjarī, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	196
Raghōjī II, <i>Bhonsla Rāja of Nagpur</i> , . . . . .	122
Raghu, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	65, 323
Raghunātha, s. a. Rāma, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	76
<i>Raghunāthābhyaḍayam</i> , Telugu wk., . . . . .	286
Raghupati, s. a. Rāma, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	12 n.
Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, . . . . .	236
Rāhan plate of V. S. 1166, . . . . .	292 n.
Rāhappa-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 62 n., 66, 84
<i>Rahasyādhikṛita</i> , 'Private Secretary', <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145, 298, 303
Rai Māl, <i>ch. of Idar</i> , . . . . .	59, 60

	PAGE.
Rai Māl, Mahārāṇā—, <i>ch. of Udaipur</i> , 306, 314 n.	
Rāi Patāi, s. a. Jayasīṃha, <i>ch. of Chāmpāner</i> , 217 n.	
Raipur, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	123 and n., 239 n.
Raisen (Rājaśayana), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	231
Raivata or Raivataka, s. a. Girnār, <i>mo.</i> , 216, 219, 221, 222 and n., 223, 224	
Rājā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	64, 71, 89
<i>Rājabhāryā</i> , . . . . .	193
Rāja-Bhīma II, s. a. Chālukya-Bhīma II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	275
Rājā Bir of Idar, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	213
<i>Rājadharmā-prakarana</i> , . . . . .	314
Rājādhirāja I, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	103, 191
Rājādhirāja II, <i>do.</i> , 25, 157, 158 and n., 159, 165	
Rājādhirāja III, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	160
<i>Rājādhirāja</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	275, 276, 281 n.
<i>Rājaguru</i> , . . . . .	293
Rājākēsari, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163
Rājākēsari Kulōttuṅga, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	163, 165
Rājākēsarivarman, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	29, 36 n.
Rājākēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , 163	
'Rājāki-pralayā rupyā', . . . . .	13, 20
'Rājākaḷ-Perumāḷ', <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	97
Rājamahēndra, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	276
<i>Rājamahēndraṅ-tiruvāsal</i> , . . . . .	97
<i>Rājamahishī</i> , . . . . .	285, 287, 289, 290
Rājamalla, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 68, 84
<i>rājamāṇḍala</i> , . . . . .	141
Rājamārtāṇḍa, <i>E. Chālukya prince</i> , 270, 271, 275	
Rājamārttāṇḍan <i>alias</i> Aparājita, <i>Pallava k.</i> , 28 n.	
Rājamayya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	270
Rājamitra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	249 and n., 250
Rājan, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	256
<i>Rājan</i> , . . . . .	175, 241, 294
Rājanagar, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	65
<i>Rājanaka</i> , . . . . .	175
Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāya, <i>Śāmbuvarāya ch.</i> , 163 n.	
<i>Rājaparamēśvara</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	288 and n., 289, 290
<i>Rāja-praśasti</i> , <i>hist. chron. of Mewār kk.</i> , 58, 59, 61, 64 and n.	
<i>Rājaputra</i> , 'prince', . . . . .	103, 175
Rājapurusha, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	232
Rājarāja, <i>unidentified k.</i> , . . . . .	163
Rājarāja I, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	36 n., 38, 190 n.
Rājarāja II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	25, 159
Rājarāja III, <i>do.</i> , 23, 25, 26, 27, 95, 159, 160 and n., 161, 162, 165	
Rājarājak-Kāḍavarāyan, <i>tit. of Kāḍavarāya ch.</i>	
Maṇivālap-perumāḷ, . . . . .	23
<i>Rājarājanilai</i> , . . . . .	36 n.
Rājarāmpur, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	126
Rājaśayana, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	231
<i>Rājasiddhānta</i> , 'science of polity', . . . . .	275
Rājasīṃha, <i>prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	83



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Rājasimha, <i>Udaipur k.</i> , . . . . .	57, 58	<i>Rāmāyana</i> , epic, . . . . .	58, 96, 104
Rājasimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , 63, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89		Rambhā, <i>celestial nymph</i> , . . . . .	318
Rājasimhamaṅgalam <i>alias</i> Muttālankuruchchi, <i>vi.</i> , 166, 167, 168, 171		Ramēsa, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	86
<i>Rājasthānīya</i> , . . . . .	153	Rāmiredḍipalle inss., . . . . .	281
<i>Rājatarāṅginī</i> , <i>hist. chron.</i> , . . . . .	332 <i>n.</i>	Rāmtēk, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	263 and <i>n.</i>
Rājātirāja, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	200	Rāmtēk Lakshmaṇa temple ins., . . . . .	123 and <i>n.</i>
<i>Rājacallabha</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	142 and <i>n.</i> , 302 <i>n.</i>	Ramya-jāmātri, <i>s. a.</i> Aḷagiya-maṇavāla, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 <i>n.</i>
<i>Rājucallabha</i> , work on architecture, . . . . .	64 <i>n.</i>	Rāṇā, Junior or Sesodā branch of the Guhila family, . . . . .	305, 311
<i>Rāja-varṇana</i> , . . . . .	309, 324	Rāṇā, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	58, 59, 66, 84, 216
Rājaviḥhāṭaṅ, <i>tit. and n. of land-measuring rod</i> , 99 and <i>n.</i> , 100 and <i>n.</i>		Raṇabhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , 16 and <i>n.</i> , 17, 19, 173, 174	
Rājendra-Chōḷa I, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	105, 106, 159, 190 <i>n.</i>	Raṇachhōḷa Bhaṭṭa, <i>author of Rājaprasasti</i> , . . . . .	64
Rājendra Chōḷa III, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	95, 160 and <i>n.</i> , 161, 163, 165	Raṇagraha, <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	176 and <i>n.</i>
Rājendrachōḷa-Brahmamārāyar, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	191	Rāṇaka, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	16 <i>n.</i> , 17, 133, 181
Rājendradēva, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	36, 159	Rāṇaka Jayavarmadēva's plates, . . . . .	181
..... .....	37 <i>n.</i>	Raṇapāla, <i>donce</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Rāj family of Nārāyaṇagarh, . . . . .	47	Raṇapura ins. of V. S. 1496, . . . . .	310, 311
Rājju, fiscal term, . . . . .	298 <i>n.</i>	Raṇasimha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	311, 312, 325
Rājjuka, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	54 and <i>n.</i> , 298 <i>n.</i>	Raṇasimha, <i>Rāval—, Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	59, 305
Rājjupratihāra, 'rope-jugglers or dancers', 298, 303		Rāṇās of Mewār or Udaipūr, <i>dy.</i> , 58, 59, 60, 61, 63	
Rājju-prātikār-āṇa, 'booths of rope-jugglers or dancers', . . . . .	298 <i>n.</i>	Raṇasthipuṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, . . . . .	272 <i>n.</i>
Rājū, . . . . .	294	Raṅgādhīp-ārōgyasālā, . . . . .	92
Rājputs, . . . . .	217	Raṅgaghōshāñai, <i>lit. wk.</i> , 90, 91, 94, 99, 100 and <i>n.</i>	
Rājputāna, <i>co.</i> , 56, 213 <i>n.</i> , 218, 221 and <i>n.</i> , 304, 306 <i>n.</i> , 307 <i>n.</i> , 309, 329 and <i>n.</i>		Raṅganātha, <i>tc.</i> , . . . . .	90, 285, 290
Rājubula, <i>s. a.</i> Rājūvula, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	194	Raṅganātha, <i>god</i> , 90, 91, 92, 93 and <i>n.</i> , 94, 95, 98, 100 and <i>n.</i> , 101	
Rajuka, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	54, 56	Rani, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	242
Rājūvula, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	194	Rāṇikāvāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	16, 19
Rājyapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	43, 44, 45, 46 <i>n.</i>	Raṇipadra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	241 and <i>n.</i> , 242
Rājyaśrī, <i>Maukhari q.</i> , . . . . .	283	Rāṇipadra, <i>incorrect for</i> Raṇipadra, . . . . .	241 <i>n.</i>
Rākshasa-parvata, . . . . .	244	Rāṇipur Jhariāl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	239, 242, 244
Rāma, <i>epic hero</i> , 58, 65, 67, 75, 85, 163, 187, 261, 271, 276, 277		Rāṇōḍ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	241 and <i>n.</i> , 242
Rāma, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	95 <i>n.</i>	Rāṇōḍ ins., . . . . .	241 and <i>n.</i>
Rāmabhadra, <i>s. a.</i> Rāma, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	234, 278, 295	Rao Māṇḍalik, <i>ch. of Girnar</i> , . . . . .	216
Rāmachandra, <i>Kalachuri k. of Raipur</i> , . . . . .	123	Rāsala, <i>donce</i> , . . . . .	232, 233
Rāmachandra, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	123	rāshṭra, <i>t. d.</i> , 39, 138, 261, 263, 266, 298, 301 and <i>n.</i>	
Rāmachandra (son of Lakshminātha), <i>Brāhman</i> , 64 and <i>n.</i> , 77, 83, 89		Rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>dy.</i> , 102, 103, 23 <i>n.</i> , 29, 35, 123, 187 <i>n.</i> , 185, 186, 187 and <i>n.</i> , 189, 190, 191, 220, 224 <i>n.</i> , 270, 275	
Rāmachandra (son of Mādhava), <i>Brāhmaṇa</i> , 64, 76, 83, 89		Rāshṭrakūṭas, 'land-holders' (?) . . . . .	273, 276
Rāmachandra Guha, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	128	Rās Mālā, <i>hist. chron.</i> , . . . . .	217 <i>n.</i>
Rāmāgiri, <i>s. a.</i> Rāmtēk, . . . . .	12 <i>n.</i> , 263 <i>n.</i>	Ratanpur, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	123
Rāmanāthadēvar, <i>s. a.</i> Hoysala <i>k.</i> Vira-Rāma- nātha, . . . . .	91, 95	Rāthāsēnā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	63, 82
Rāmānuja, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher</i> , 93, 91, 92, 93 and <i>n.</i> , 94, 95, 96		Rāthōḍs of Kanauj, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	220
Rāmāpāl C. P. of Śrīchandra, . . . . .	129	Ratipati, or Ratīśa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	62, 65, 76
Rāmāpati, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	72, 80, 90 and <i>n.</i>	Ratnadēva II, <i>Kalachuri k. of Ratanpur</i> , . . . . .	119
Rāmarāja, <i>priest</i> , . . . . .	62 and <i>n.</i> , 72	'Ratna-dhēnu', gift, . . . . .	64, 83
Rāmātirtham plates of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indra- varman, . . . . .	48	Ratnaghāṭa, <i>n. of temple</i> , . . . . .	79
		Ratnapur, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	119
		Ratnasimha, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	59, 313, 314
		Ratnasimha, <i>prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	328
		Ratna-Śirsha, <i>s. a.</i> Jagannātharāya <i>tc.</i> , . . . . .	64, 83
		Ratnasūri, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	227

	PAGE.
<i>ratnāsva</i> , 'a kind of gift', . . . . .	69
<i>rāṣṭra</i> , corrupt form of <i>rāshṭra</i> , . . . . .	138
Rauhītaka, s. a. Rōhītaka, vi., . . . . .	332 n.
Rāula, tit., . . . . .	308, 313, 323, 328
Rāval, senior or Chitor branch of the Guhila family, . . . . .	59, 305, 311
Rāvāls of Dūngarpur, dy., . . . . .	61
Rāvala, tit., . . . . .	58, 65, 66, 84, 225, 305
Rāval Puñja, s. a. Puñjarāja, ch. of Dūngarpur, . . . . .	61
Rāvāna, epic hero, . . . . .	67
Ravi, ri., . . . . .	6
Ravivarman, Kadamba k., . . . . .	140
'Rāwāl Patāi', s. a. Jayasimha, ch. of Chāmpāner, . . . . .	217 n.
'Rawal Tuppai', s. a. Jayasimha, ch. of Chāmpāner, . . . . .	217 n.
Rāya, tit. of the chiefs of Chāmpāner, . . . . .	217 n., 218
Rāyabhañja, Bhañja prince, . . . . .	16, 17, 19
Rāyadurga, fort, . . . . .	218, 225
Rāyakōṭa, vi., . . . . .	188, 189
Rāyakōṭa Bāṇa ins., . . . . .	189
Rāyamalla, s. a. Rājamalla-Rāṇā, Mewār k., . . . . .	84
'Rāyar-mudrai', . . . . .	97
Reddis of Āndhradēśa, dy., . . . . .	272
Reize Van Madras naar Ceilon, (Voyage from Madras to Ceylon), Dutch wk., . . . . .	125
Rēnāṇḍu, t. d., . . . . .	185 and n., 186 and n., 187
Rēnāṇḍ-ēlu-vēlu, s. a. Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand, t. d., . . . . .	192
Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand, t. d., . . . . .	184, 185, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193
Rēpalli, di., . . . . .	273
rēpha, doubling of consonants after—, . . . . .	48
Reti, f., . . . . .	279
Rēvā, s. a. Narmadā, ri., . . . . .	65, 70, 72, 73, 75
Rēvatāchal, mo., . . . . .	222 n.
Rēvata Kuṇḍ, mo., . . . . .	222 n.
Rēvata Rājā, epic prince, . . . . .	222 n.
Rēvatī, epic princess, . . . . .	222 n.
Rewah, state, . . . . .	101, 146 n., 148, 256
Rewah C. P. ins. of Kīrtivarman, . . . . .	120 n.
Rewah plates of the time of Vijayasimha, . . . . .	120
Rewah stone ins. of the time of Karṇa, . . . . .	119
ri, substituted by ri, vowel, . . . . .	261
ri, used for vowel ri, . . . . .	330
ri, substituted by ri, . . . . .	330
ri, used for ri, . . . . .	261
ri, used for ru, . . . . .	231
ri and ri, interchanging of—, . . . . .	53
Riddhapura, ci., . . . . .	258
Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, . . . . .	12 n., 56 n., 261, 262
Rikshavat, s. a. Sātpurā, mo., . . . . .	13

	PAGE.
Rithpur, s. a. Riddhapura, ci., . . . . .	253
Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman, . . . . .	263 n.
ritvik, . . . . .	150, 153
Rōhītaka, l., . . . . .	330, 332 n., 334
Rōhitaka, vi., . . . . .	332 n.
Rohtak, vi., . . . . .	332 n.
Rudra, Kākatīya (?) k., . . . . .	123 n.,
Rudra, s. a. Śiva, god, . . . . .	76, 81, 82, 88, 319
Rudradāman, Satrap, . . . . .	221 n., 222 n., 246
Rudrasēna I, Mahārāja—, Vākātaka k., . . . . .	12, 54, 264
Rudrasēna II, Mahārāja—, Vākātaka k., . . . . .	55, 264, 265
Rudrasīva, Rājaguru of the Kalachuri k., . . . . .	292
Rudrasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	150, 153
Rukmiṇa, or Rukmi, epic prince, . . . . .	86
Rūpa-sāgara, lake . . . . .	63, 82
Ruppiṇī, epic queen, . . . . .	196, 197

## S

s, . . . . .	2, 4 and n. (Kharōshthī), 11, 20 and n., 102, 130, 246, 253, 255
s, used for ś, . . . . .	15, 226, 244, 291
ś, . . . . .	9 (Kharōshthī), 10 (Kharōshthī) 102, 143, 246, 253, 255
ś, used for s, . . . . .	15, 226, 261, 291
Sabang, Thānā—, . . . . .	46
Sabarata-vilāsa, s. a. Sarvartuvilāsa, . . . . .	63
palace at Udaipur . . . . .	106 n.
Śabdārṇava, poet, . . . . .	28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and n., 42, 163
sabhā, . . . . .	38
sabhāi-kūttuvān, off., . . . . .	41
Sabhāi-Tiruvāḍi, . . . . .	156 and n.
Sabhāiyār, 'members of assembly', . . . . .	42
sabhā-māṅgam, 'assembly discussions', . . . . .	42
sacrifices :—	
Agnishṭōma, . . . . .	13, 247, 248, 250, 264
Aptōryāma, . . . . .	13, 247 and n., 248, 252, 253, 261, 264
Āsvamēdha, . . . . .	13 and n., 142, 152, 254, 274, 298, 302 and n.
Atirātra, . . . . .	247 and n., 248, 252, 261
Atyagnishṭōma, . . . . .	247 and n., 248
Bahuhiranya, . . . . .	247 n.
Bahusuvārnaka, . . . . .	247 n.
Brihaspatisava, . . . . .	254
Dvādaśa-rātra, . . . . .	247
Ēkashashṭirātra, . . . . .	247 n.
Shashṭirātra, . . . . .	247
Shōḍaśin, . . . . .	247 and n.
Shōḍaśy-atirātra, . . . . .	264
Trirātra, . . . . .	247
Ukthya, . . . . .	13, 247 and n., 264
Vājapēya, . . . . .	13, 20, 247, 248, 264, 295

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Sadambu, s. a. Tsadamu, vi., . . . . .	189 n.	Śaktikumāra, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	308, 310, 324, 327 n.
sadar, t. d., . . . . .	47	Śaktivarman, <i>Kalīnga k.</i> , . . . . .	49, 236
Sadāśiva, <i>Śaiva ascetic</i> , . . . . .	241	śākunika, 'fowler', witness, . . . . .	31 n.
Sadāśivarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	287	Śākyamuni, s. a. The Buddha, . . . . .	2, 4, 7,
sādhana, 'army' (?), . . . . .	54, 264, 265	Salachanikā, vi., . . . . .	181, 182, 183
Sadraspatnam, s. a. Sadras, ci., . . . . .	124, 125, 126	śālai, 'hospital' (?), . . . . .	91, 92 and n., 93 n.
Saduktikarṇāmṛita, wk., . . . . .	106 and n.		94 and n.
Śadurajarādi, Tamil wk., . . . . .	37 n.	Salakam China-Tirumalarāya, <i>Vijayana-</i>	
Sagara, myth. k., . . . . .	239, 75, 135, 175, 182, 234, 239, 295	gara off., . . . . .	287
Sāgarakula, 'family of Sagara', . . . . .	75	Salakam Peda-Tirumalarāya, <i>Vijayana-</i>	
Sahadēva, epic hero, . . . . .	272, 277	gara off., . . . . .	287
Saheṭh-Maheṭh brick ins., . . . . .	20 n.	Salakam Tirumala, <i>Vijayanagara off.</i> , . . . . .	289 n.
Saheṭh-Maheṭh image ins. of the time of		Śālankāyana, dy., . . . . .	280, 281
Kanishka, . . . . .	210	Salavanikā, s. a. Salachanikā, vi., . . . . .	182 n.
Sāhulla, <i>Brāhmaṇa</i> , . . . . .	331, 336	Salbani, thānā—, . . . . .	46
Sailadēvagrāham, 'stone-temple', . . . . .	194, 195, 196, 198, 200	Salem, di., . . . . .	161, 183, 188
Sailapura, vi., . . . . .	261, 263, 265, 266	Sāler, fort, . . . . .	220 and n.
Sailātmajā, s. a. Pārvati, goddess, . . . . .	88	Śālivāhana, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310, 311, 324
Sailōdbhava, eponymous k., . . . . .	150, 152	Salsette, . . . . .	145
Sailōdbhavas, dy., . . . . .	148, 149 and n., 151, 152, 174	Sāluva, dy., . . . . .	97
Sainyabhīta, <i>Sailōdbhava k.</i> , . . . . .	151	Sāluva-Tirumalairāja, off., . . . . .	97
Sainyabhīta, s. a. Mādhavavarman,		Sāluva-Tirumalairāja, tit., . . . . .	226
<i>Sailōdbhava k.</i> , . . . . .	148, 150, 151, 152	Samādhiśambhu, s. a. Samādhiśvara,	
Sainyabhīta, son of (A)raṇabhīta,		god, . . . . .	319-20
<i>Sailōdbhava k.</i> , . . . . .	150, 151, 152	Samādhiśvara, te., . . . . .	305, 306, 314, 319, 320
Śaiva Āchāryas, . . . . .	330, 332, 333	Samādhiśvara te. ins. of Mōkala, . . . . .	305
Śaiva-siddhāntas, . . . . .	241	Samādhiśvara te. ins. of V. S. 1485, . . . . .	314 n.
Śaivism, . . . . .	14, 17 n., 333	samāiyam, 'creed', . . . . .	166, 169 n.
Śākhās :—		sāmājika, off., . . . . .	16
Chhandōga, . . . . .	298, 303	sāmanta, off., . . . . .	133, 135, 136, 164, 273, 274
Kāṇva, . . . . .	16, 19, 130, 135 and n., 137, 173, 175	Sāmanta, tit., . . . . .	252
Taittirīya, . . . . .	261, 265, 266	Sāmanta-chikna, . . . . .	272, 277
Śakimuni, s. a. Śākyamuni, . . . . .	2, 7, 8	sāmantas, 'neighbouring land-owners', . . . . .	30, 31 and n., 32, 33
śakāra-thāna, 'place of worship', . . . . .	4 n.	Sāmantasimha, k. of Mewār, . . . . .	312, 325
Sālbardī, s. a. Sailapura vi., . . . . .	263 and n.	Sāmantavarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	130, 132, 133, 180, 181
Śakra, s. a. Indra, god, . . . . .	70, 87	sāmanti or sāmanti, off., . . . . .	16, 19
Śakti, goddess, . . . . .	63	sāmantakarana, . . . . .	33, 34, 35
Śakti, rishi, . . . . .	181 and n., 182, 183	sāmantuśeydal, . . . . .	33, 34, 35
Śaktis, the three—, . . . . .	136 n.	Samarasimha, Rāval—, k. of Chitor, . . . . .	305, 306, 308, 309, 313, 326, 327
		Sama-talukavāṇarāja, tit., . . . . .	288
		Samatrāta, n. of preceptor, . . . . .	200
		sāmavāji or sāmājika, or sāmavājika,	
		off., . . . . .	16, 19
		sāmavāyika, off., . . . . .	16
		Samaya-sāra, <i>Jaina wk.</i> , . . . . .	272
		Śāmba, <i>Vṛishṇi prince</i> , . . . . .	196, 197
		Sambala, . . . . .	224
		Śambara, myth. hero, . . . . .	68
		Śambara, <i>Sulṭān of Gujarāt(?)</i> , . . . . .	68
		Sāmbayya, ch. of the Mahābali race, . . . . .	190



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Śambhu, s. a. Śiva, god,	110, 72, 88, 89, 110, 151, 152, 275, 315, 317	Sāṅkhedā plates (I & II) of Kalachuri year 392,	176, 179
Śambhu-nivāsa, palace,	63	<i>saṅkrāntis</i> :—	
Śambhusimha, Mahārānā—, Mewār k.,	63	Makara,	120
Saṅgha,	279	Santaka, off.,	55 and n., 265, 266
Saṅghitas,	248	santāna, 'celestial tree',	68
Samiddhēśvara, s. a. Śiva, god,	320	Sāntaras, dy.,	190
Samiddhēśvara, te.,	312	Santōsha Bhaṭṭa, m.,	16 and n., 19
Śaṅkhika, 'worker on conch shells',	331, 336	Santōsha-Mādhavī, Bhaṅja q.,	16, 17; 19
Śāṅkhya, system of Hindu philosophy,	241	Sapādalaksha, co.,	230
Samāsā, l.,	46	Sapta-pākayajña-saṁsthā, Gṛihya sacri- fices,	247
saṁskāras,	247	Sapta-sāgara, gift,	62, 77
Samuddavijae, m.,	196, 197	Saptasindhu,	323
Samudragupta, Gupta k.,	13, 50, 133 n., 198, 255	Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā, 'seven Sōma sacri- fices',	246, 247, 248, 252
Samvatsaravāriyap-perumakkal, Commi- ttee,	40	Sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā,	247, 248
saṁyuktasambuddha, tit. of Lord Buddha,	148 and n.	Śarabhapura, ca.,	52
Samyutta-Nikāya,	147 n.	Śarabhapura kings, dy.,	52
Saṅchārakas, 'circuit officers',	142 n.	Śāradā, goddess,	213 n.
Saṅcharantaka, corrupt form of Saṅchāra- ka,	138, 142 and n.	Śāradā shrine of Kāshmir,	213 n.
Saṅcharantaka, off.,	298 n., 302 n.	Śāradā, t. d.,	173, 175
Saṅchārins, off.,	54, 298 n., 302	Saran, di.	44
Sāñchī, ci.,	231, 257	Sāraṇa, Vrishṇi prince,	197, 198
Sāñchi ins.,	203	Sarasala, Brāhman,	62 n.
Sāñchi Stūpa inss.,	205	Sarasvatī, goddess,	72, 77, 213 n., 305, 314, 332 n.
Sanchor, ci.,	221	Śaravaraṇa, l.,	9, 10
Śandayan, Vaidumba ch.,	190	śarīra, 'the corporeal relic of the Buddha',	3, 5, 7, 10
Sāndērao, l.,	62 n.	Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II,	119
sandhi, mistakes in—,	130, 138	Sārnāth, ci.,	210, 211 and n., 212
sandhi, non-observance of rules of —,	20, 53, 130, 135 n., 243 n., 242 n., 243 n., 304, 315 n., 317 n., 320 n., 324 n.	Sārnāth fragmentary ins., of the time of Karna,	117, 121
sandhi, observed,	246, 296	Sārnāth inss.,	211
sandhivigrahappēru, tax,	154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172	Sārnāth ins. of the 3rd year of Kanishka,	210
Sandhivigrahin, off.,	173, 175	śārṅga,	268, 274
śandi, service to god in temple,	156, 162	Sārthavāha, 'merchant',	202
Sāṅga (Sāṅgā)-Rāṇā, Mewār k.,	58, 59, 60, 68 and n., 84	Sārthavāhinī, 'lady merchant',	202
Saṅghārāma,	9, 10	sarvādhyaksha, off.,	14 n., 55, 265, 266, 297, 302 and n.
Saṅgrāmasimha Rāṇā, s. a. Sāṅgā, Mewār k.,	84	Sarvajña-Chūdāmaṇi, sur. of Saumyaśrī- sakha-Maṅgalādhipa, m.,	92
Saṅjān Plates of Amōghavarsha I,	109 n.	Sarvakratu-vājapēyayājī, ep.,	36
Śaṅkara, s. a. Śiva, god,	65, 241, 243, 318	sarvaparīkṣā-kāradēya,	303
Śaṅkaradēva, Vaidumba ch.,	190 n.	Sarvartu-vilāsa, s. a. Sabaratavilāsa, palace at Udaipur,	63
Śaṅkaragaṇa, Kalachuri k.,	103	Sarvāstivādin, Buddhist sect,	6, 198
Śaṅkha,	98 n., 295	Śarvavarman, Maukhari k.,	283, 284, 285 and n.
Śaṅkhamāthik-ādhipati, Śaiva ascetic,	241	Sarvēśvara-Bhaṭṭa, Brāhmaṇa,	64, 76, 83, 89
Sāṅkhedā (odd) plate of Kalachuri year 346,	176 n.	Sarvvānanda Paṇḍit, m.,	293, 295
Sāṅkhedā plates of Kalachuri year 391,	176	Śarvvāsvāmin, donee,	150, 153
		Śāsanakōṭa, vi.,	234, 238
		śāsana-saṅchārin, off.,	302 n.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Śasānka, <i>Cauḍa k.</i> , . . . . .	151	Śēsha, 'lord of the serpent world', . . . . .	71, 111, 174, 293, 327, 328
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, . . . . .	169 n.	Sesodā, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	311
Śātavāhana, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	14 n., 259	Sesodā, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	59
Śātavāhana ins., . . . . .	14 n.	Śtubānka, Prākṛit poem, . . . . .	261
Śātpurā, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	13	Śevvirukkai-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	169, 172
Śātrap, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	10	<i>sh.</i> , . . . . .	20, 253, 255
Śātrubhañja, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , . . . . .	16 n., 17	<i>sh.</i> , used for <i>visarga</i> , . . . . .	330
Śātrubhañjadēva, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	173, 174	<i>shā</i> , in Nāgarī, . . . . .	79 n.
Śātrubhañja, <i>Rāṇaka—, do.</i> , . . . . .	17	Sha'ban, <i>Imūd-ul-Mulk</i> under Mahmūd	
Śātrusimha, <i>prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	63, 83	Begarhā, . . . . .	219
<i>satru</i> , . . . . .	248, 249	Shābhāzgarhī Edicts of Aśoka, . . . . .	2, 5
Satyā, <i>s. a.</i> Satyabhāmā, <i>wife of Lord</i>		Shābhāzgarhī Rock Edict XII, . . . . .	9
<i>Krishna</i> , . . . . .	86	Shadāṅgavid, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	36
Satyāditya, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	185	Shāh Ahammada, <i>s. a.</i> Ahmad I, <i>Sultān</i>	
Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra, <i>s. a.</i> Pulakēśin		<i>of Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 214, 215 and n., 216, 217 n., 223
II, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 274	Shāh Mohammada, <i>s. a.</i> Muhammad II,	
Satyavākya, <i>ep. of W. Gaṅga kings</i> , . . . . .	188 and n.	<i>Sultān of Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 214 and n., 216, 223
Satyavākya-Koṅgaṇivarman, <i>W. Gaṅga</i>		Shāh Mahamūda, <i>Sultān of Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 214, 215, 216, 217 and n., 218, 223, 224
<i>k.</i> , . . . . .	139	Shāh Mudāphara, <i>Sultān of Gujārāt</i> , . . . . .	213, 222, 223
Satyavākya Rāchamalla, <i>s. a.</i> Rācha-		Sheorinārāyaṇ image ins., . . . . .	117
malla II, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 189	Sheorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II, . . . . .	119
Satyavākya Rāchamalla II, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	189	Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī, <i>Emperor of Delhi</i> , . . . . .	213 n.
Saumya-śrīsakha, <i>s. a.</i> Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa,		Shinkot, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	1
<i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 n.	Sialkot, <i>s. a.</i> Sākala, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	6
Saumya-śrīsakha-Maṅgaḷādhipa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	92, 93 and n.	Śibi, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	328
Sauvira, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	45	<i>śikhāchārya</i> , . . . . .	245
Śavarāja, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	173, 175 and n.	Siddhalingamaḍam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	190
Savvatantrādhikṛita, 'Superintendent of		<i>Siddhānta</i> , . . . . .	272, 277
all departments', <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145	<i>Siddhasārusvata</i> , . . . . .	213 n.
Sayād, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216 n.	Siddhārtha, <i>s. a.</i> the Buddha, . . . . .	240
Śchētaka, <i>incorrect for Śvētaka, E. Gaṅga</i>		Siddhēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	240, 243
<i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	131, 133 n.	Siddhi one-thousand, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	185, 186
Scythian, . . . . .	208	Siddhout, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	185, 186
seasons of the year:—		Sihāb-ud-dīn (Muhammad Ghūrī), . . . . .	230
Grishma, . . . . .	74 n., 146 and n., 147, 148, 253, 254, 256 and n.	Śīla, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	309, 310
Hemanta, . . . . .	211, 212	Śīlabhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , . . . . .	17, 173, 174
Kār, . . . . .	154, 155	Śīlāhāra, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	225 n.
Pāsān, . . . . .	155	Śilappadikāram, <i>Tamil wk.</i> , . . . . .	170 n.
Śarad, . . . . .	74 n.	Śīlāstambha, . . . . .	74
Suchi (Grishma), . . . . .	74 and n.	Śīlāvati, <i>Kāḍavarāya q.</i> , . . . . .	25
Sēdā-maṅḍala, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	133 n.	Śīlē, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Śembāttūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Śīṅghavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	138, 141
Sēna Kings of Bengal, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	129	Śīmha, <i>Guhila k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	310
Śēnalūr <i>alias</i> Tiṅgaruṅga-chaturvīdīmān-		Śīmhaṇa, <i>Kalachuri k. of Raipur</i> , . . . . .	123
galam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166, 167, 168, 171	Śīmhaṇa, <i>s. a.</i> Mahāperiyapradhāni Śīṅga-	
Śēnāpati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	133, 252, 261, 262, 267, 273, 276, 294	ṇa Daṅḍanāyaka, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> , . . . . .	95 n.
Śēndamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 162	Śīmhaṇa, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	123
seni, 'guild', . . . . .	280	<i>śīmhasana</i> , . . . . .	271, 276
seri or chēri, . . . . .	39	Śīmhavāhinī, <i>s. a.</i> Durgā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	67
		Śīmharman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	48, 138, 139, 140, 142 n., 235, 236, 237, 298, 299 and n., 300, 301, 302

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>Śinhavarman</i> , sur. of Gaṅga Mādhavarman,	237	Śivadatta, <i>min.</i> ,	247, 249, 250
Śinhavarman I, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	139 n., 299	Śivakhadavarman, Hārītiputta, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	139
Śinhavarman II, <i>do.</i>	301	Śivaliṅga,	12, 264
Śinhaviṣṇu, <i>do.</i>	138	Śivamagha, <i>Mahārāja</i> —, <i>k. of Kauśāmbī</i> ,	146 254, 255, 256
Śinhīja, 'horse',	72	Śivamagha, <i>Rājan Vāsishṭhīputra</i> —, <i>k.</i> ,	256
Śinhīja, <i>s. a. Rāhu, planet</i> ,	74	Śivamaka Śātakarṇi, <i>Andhra k.</i> ,	279
Śimitrā, <i>s. a. Śivamitrā, f. donor</i> ,	203, 204 and <i>n.</i>	Śiva-Māndhātrivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	140
Sindh (Sindhu) <i>co.</i> ,	45, 118 n., 219, 221	Śivamāra, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	187 and <i>n.</i>
Sindhurāja, <i>Paramāra ch.</i> ,	312	Śivamitrā, <i>donor</i> ,	203 and <i>n.</i> , 204 and <i>n.</i>
Sindūragiri, <i>hill</i> ,	263 <i>n.</i>	Śivamitrā, <i>f.</i> ,	204 <i>n.</i>
<i>Sindūragiri-māhātmya</i> , <i>lit. wk.</i> ,	263	Śivarakhitā, <i>s. a. Śivarakshitā, donor</i> ,	205
Śiṅgadēva, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	95 <i>n.</i>	Śivarakshitā, <i>donor</i> ,	205
Śiṅgadēva, <i>m.</i>	92 <i>n.</i>	Śivarāma, <i>commentator</i> ,	196 <i>n.</i>
Śiṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyakkāṇ, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	91, 95	Śivaskandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	139, 143, 144
Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkā, <i>Mahāpradhāna</i> <i>Maṇḍalikariyamarājaṇ</i> —, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	156	Śivaskandavarman, <i>Yuvamahārāja</i> —, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	299
Śiṅgaṇṇa, <i>s. a. Mahāperiyapradhāna</i> Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	95 <i>n.</i>	Śivatattvaratnākara, <i>wk.</i> ,	49 <i>n.</i>
Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	95	Śivayaśā, <i>f.</i> ,	203
Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, <i>Mahāperiyapra-</i> <i>dhāna</i> —, <i>s. a. Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanā-</i> <i>yaka, Hoysala gen.</i> ,	95	Śivanī plates,	52, 53, 54, 55 <i>n.</i> , 56 <i>n.</i> ,
Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, <i>s. a. Śiṅgadēva-</i> Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	94, 95	Śiyadōṇi <i>ins.</i> ,	330
Śiṅgaradēva, wrong for Śiṅgadēva,	95 and <i>n.</i>	<i>Si-yu-ki</i> , <i>wk.</i> ,	257 <i>n.</i> , 258 <i>n.</i>
Śiṅgaradēva-Daṇḍanāyaka, <i>Hoysala gen.</i> ,	95 and <i>n.</i>	Skandabhōgin, <i>engr.</i> ,	150, 153
Śiṅgapuranāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> ,	190	Skandādityasvāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	150, 153
Śiṅhapura, <i>Kaliṅga ca.</i> ,	49, 50	Skandagupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> ,	198 <i>n.</i> , 222
singular and plural, <i>indifferent use of</i> —, in <i>Tamiḷ</i> ,	30	Skandanāga, <i>m.</i> ,	257, 260
<i>Sinhalese</i> ,	157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 165	Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	138, 235, 237, 298, 300, 302 and <i>n.</i>
Śiprā, <i>ri.</i> ,	62, 73	Skandavarman I, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	299, 300
Śiripuram, <i>s. a. Śrīpura, ci.</i> ,	47, 49 <i>n.</i>	Skandavarman II, <i>s. a. Vijaya-Skandavar-</i> <i>man II, Pallava k.</i> ,	299 and <i>n.</i> , 300
Śirivīra Purisadata, <i>Ikhāku k.</i> ,	141	Skandavarman, <i>Vijaya</i> —, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	235, 236, 237
Śirkap, <i>Saka-Palhuva ca.</i> ,	6	Smara, <i>s. a. Manmatha</i> , 'Cupid',	68, 108, 115, 328
Śirmai, <i>t. d.</i> ,	97	Smarārāti <i>s. a. Śiva, god</i> ,	232
Śiroda de Ponda, <i>vi.</i> ,	143	<i>Smritichandrikā</i> , <i>wk.</i> ,	333 <i>n.</i>
śirō-mātrās, in <i>Nāgarī</i> ,	57, 304	Sōdā-maṇḍala, <i>s. a. Sēdāmaṇḍala, t. d.</i> ,	133 <i>n.</i>
Śirōmja (Śironj), <i>ci.</i> ,	61, 69	Śodāsa, <i>Satrap</i> ,	194, 196, 200, 202, 208, 209, 210 and <i>n.</i>
Śirpur <i>ins.</i> ,	284	Sōḍhadēva, <i>k.</i> ,	103
Śirsa <i>ins.</i> of the time of Bhōja I,	333	Sōḍhadēva, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	110 <i>n.</i>
śishtas,	40, 41	Śōḷan, <i>k.</i> ,	37 <i>n.</i>
Śitā, <i>epic princess</i> ,	271, 277	Śōḷaṇ Śilambaṇ <i>alias Vira-Chōḷa Laṅkēśvara-</i> <i>dēva, Śāmanṭa of Koṅgu k.</i> ,	164
Śiva, <i>god</i> ,	12, 13, 46, 47, 63, 65, 66, 67, 70 and <i>n.</i> 79, 84, 97, 101, 102, 108, 110 <i>n.</i> 136, 150, 179, 181, 183, 184, 220 <i>n.</i> , 226, 240, 241, 242, 243, 249 and <i>n.</i> , 250, 263, 317 <i>n.</i> , 319, 320, 327, 330, 331, 333	Sōma, <i>s. a. Sōmēśvaradēva, god</i> ,	240, 243
Śivā, <i>s. a. Pārvatī, goddess</i> ,	88	Sōmadēva, <i>donee</i> ,	231, 233
Śivadāsan Maṅgalādityan, <i>madhyastha</i> ,	41, 42	Sōmanātha, <i>god</i> ,	103
		Sōmanātha, <i>Vaidumbā ch.</i> ,	190 <i>n.</i>



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Sōma-sacrifices, . . . . .	247 and n., 248, 249, 250, 252	Śrī-Kūrmam, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	133
Sōmaśarman, <i>engr.</i> , . . . . .	238, 239	Śrīmitrā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	204 n.
Sōmayājī, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	36, 41	Śrī-Nēttabhañjadēvasya, legend on seal, . . . . .	172
Sōmēsanātha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	243	Śrīngi-rishi <i>ins.</i> , . . . . .	63, 308
Sōmēśvara, <i>Brāhman min.</i> , . . . . .	109 and n.	Śrīnivāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 n.
Sōmēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	103	Śrīnivāsa, <i>tit.</i> , of Mādhavavarman, <i>Sailōd-</i> <i>bhava k.</i> , . . . . .	150
Sōmēśvara, <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	108, 109, 114	Śrīnivāsa <i>alias</i> Śrīraṅga Garuḍavāhana- bhaṭṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Garuḍavāhana-bhaṭṭa of 1493 A.D., <i>author of Divyasūricharitam</i> , . . . . .	90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 99, 100
Sōmēśvara I, Āhavamalla, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	107 and n.	Śrīpati, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	88
Sōmēśvara II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	107 n.	Śrīpura, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	49
Sōmēśvaradēva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	240, 242, 243 and n.	Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīnivāsa <i>alias</i> Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana- bhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	93, 98
Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166	Śrīraṅgam, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	90 and n., 91, 93 n., 95, 96, 97 and n., 98, 160, 285, 287, 288, 289 and n., 290 and n.
Sōmpēta, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	133	Śrīraṅgam Plates of Dēvarāya II, . . . . .	90 n.
Śōnādūkonḍarūḷiya, <i>ep. of Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	157	Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	289
Sonagarā, <i>branch of the Chauhān race</i> , . . . . .	312	Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ, <i>accountant</i> , . . . . .	289, 290
Sōṇḍala, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	232, 233	Śrīraṅganātha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	91
Sonepur, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	242	Śrīraṅganātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	289, 290
Śōṇita, <i>s. a.</i> Śōṇitapura, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	317 and n.	Śrīraṅgappa Nāyaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	289, 290
Sorath, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	217	Śrīraṅgarājastava, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	96
Sōrath, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	60	Śrīśaila, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	185
Sōrathaka, 'one who hails from Surāshṭra', <i>merchant</i> , . . . . .	147, 148	Śrī-Sainyabhūtasya, legend on seal, . . . . .	148
Sōremaṭi, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	183, 184, 185, 189 and n., 191, 192	Śrīśāmanta, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	133, 135, 136
śōru, 'food'?, . . . . .	38	Śrīsvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
Sōtā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkuśa, legend on seal, . . . . .	268
Sotthivati-nagara, <i>s. a.</i> Śuktimatī, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	147 n.	Śrīvaikuṇṭham, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	166
Southern luni-solar system, . . . . .	122	Śrīvaishṇavas, <i>rel. sect.</i> , . . . . .	92 n., 93 n.
spiral, <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	235	Śrīvallabha, <i>tit.</i> , of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, . . . . .	185 n.
Spits, <i>s. a.</i> Joannes Spits, <i>Dutch officer</i> , . . . . .	124, 126	Śrīvallabha of A.D. 1535, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	97 n.
<i>sp.</i> , used for Sanskrit <i>śv.</i> in Kharōshṭhī, . . . . .	5	Śrīvatsa, . . . . .	80
Śraddhāmanta, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	36	Śrīvatsānka-mīśra, <i>s. a.</i> Kūrattālvār, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	96
Śrāvaka, 'lay hearer', . . . . .	147, 148, 272, 277	Śrīvilliputtūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97
Śrāvanādi, . . . . .	58, 61	Sruṅgavarapukōṭa, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	50
Sravantī, 'river', . . . . .	71	Sruṅgavarapukōṭa plates of Anantavarman, . . . . .	48, 49
Śrāvastī, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	21, 22, 211	Śruti, 'the Vēda', . . . . .	41, 72, 73, 170 and n.
Śrāvastī, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	110	Stambhadēva, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	173, 175
śrēṇī, 'guild', . . . . .	253, 256, 335	Stambha-tīrtha, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	45
śrēṇi-bala, 'army maintained by guilds', . . . . .	333 and n.	Standing deity, symbol on Indo-Parthian coins, . . . . .	6
śrēshṭhin, <i>off(?)</i> , . . . . .	273, 276	Steynfield, <i>vi. in Germany</i> , . . . . .	125
Śrībhaṇḍāram, 'temple-treasury', . . . . .	91	sthala, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	78
Śrībhāshyam, . . . . .	95	sthala-purāṇa, . . . . .	133
Śrīchandra, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	129	sthāman, 'seat or place', . . . . .	144 n.
Śrīchandra, <i>Chandra k. of Eastern Bengal</i> , . . . . .	105	sthāmya, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	144 and n., 145
śrīdvāra, . . . . .	272, 277	sthānabhūmi, 'land of the temple', . . . . .	331, 335
Śrīdhara, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	sthānādhikarāṇika, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	144 n.
Śrīdhara, <i>Āvasathika—donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	sthānādhikrīta, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	144 n.
Śrīdhara, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	150, 153		
Śrīdharadāsa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	106		
Śrīkaṇṭha, <i>Vaidumbā ch.</i> , . . . . .	190		
Śrīkaṇṭhadēva-Āchārjya, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	184, 193		
śrīkaraṇa, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	273, 276		
Śrīkaraṇaguru, <i>off(?)</i> , . . . . .	276		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>sthānādhipati</i> , off., . . . . .	273, 276	<i>Suvarṇa-raupya</i> , coin, . . . . .	89
Subhadrā, f., . . . . .	69	Suvarṇarēkhā, ri., . . . . .	46
Subhadrā, wife of Arjuna, the epic hero, . . . . .	86	<i>suvarṇa-rūpyā</i> , . . . . .	183 n.
Subhākaradēva, Bhauma(?) k., . . . . .	151	Suvēla, myth. mo., . . . . .	71
<i>Subhāshitāvalī</i> , wk., . . . . .	106 n.	Suvra, Maukhari k., . . . . .	284 n.
Sucha(ndravarman), Maukhari k., . . . . .	284 n.	Suyōdhana, epic hero, . . . . .	66
Suchivarmā, Guhila prince of Mewār, . . . . .	310	<i>Subhājitā-prakāśa-ākṣara-Kaṭīkā-</i> <i>ādhirājya</i> , praśasti, . . . . .	132, 135
<i>Sudarśanaśatakam</i> , wk., . . . . .	289	<i>Subhājitā-prakāśa-ākṣara-Kaṭīkā-</i> <i>Śvētak-ādhirājya</i> , praśasti, . . . . .	132
Sudhanyakāṭaka, s. a. Dhanakāṭaka, vi., . . . . .	257 n.	<i>svalpa</i> , 'small', . . . . .	133
Sūdi ins. of Ś. 996, . . . . .	107 n.	Svalpa-Vēlura(o), vi., . . . . .	130, 133, 135, 137
Sūdra, caste, . . . . .	108, 109 and n., 272 and n.	Svalpa-Vēlura grant of Gaṅga Anantavarman, . . . . .	181
<i>Sūkara-kshētra</i> , . . . . .	63, 87	Svāmichandrasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	150, 153
<i>Sukha-pāla</i> , 'a kind of palanquin', . . . . .	70 and n.	Svāmīdāsa, Mahārāja—, k., . . . . .	52
<i>Sukranūtī</i> , wk., . . . . .	127 and n., 128 and n.	Svāmin, s. a. Kārttikēya, god, . . . . .	240, 243
Suktimatī, vi., . . . . .	147 and n., 148	<i>Svāmin</i> , Satrap tit., . . . . .	194, 196, 208, 209
<i>Suktiśākhya</i> , Chēdi ca., . . . . .	147 n.	Svapnēśvara, te., . . . . .	15
<i>śūla</i> , 'trident', emblem on boundary stones, . . . . .	32	<i>Svarnakāra</i> , 'goldsmith', . . . . .	89
<i>Sultān</i> , legend on coins, . . . . .	292 n.	<i>svarnamēru</i> , gift, . . . . .	286
Sultāns of Gujarāt, dy., . . . . .	59, 60, 218, 220, 221	<i>sva-samaya</i> , Jaina doctrine, . . . . .	272
Sultāns of Mālhwā, dy., . . . . .	59	<i>svastika</i> , coin-symbol, . . . . .	6
Sumaṅgala, <i>dātaka</i> , . . . . .	173, 175	Svayambhū, s. a. Brahmā, god, . . . . .	71, 150, 152
Sumēru, myth. mo., . . . . .	71	<i>Svayambhu</i> , s. a. Śiva, god, . . . . .	71
Sumitra, myth. ancestor of the Mewār kk., . . . . .	58	<i>svayamvara</i> , . . . . .	197
'Sunagara', Kalinga ca., . . . . .	50	Śvētaka, Early E. Gaṅga ca. and co., . . . . .	130, 131, 132, 133 and n., 134, 136, 181, 183
Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	161	Śvētaka branch of the Early Gaṅgas of Kalinga, dy., . . . . .	132, 133
Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Jaṭavarman—, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	24	Śvētaka-pushkarinī, . . . . .	133
<i>Sundara-Pāṇḍya-kōl</i> , land-measuring rod, 154, 168, 169, 171, 172	154, 168, 169, 171, 172	Śvētāmbara Jainas, rel. sect., . . . . .	203
Sundarā-Pāṇḍya-Tennāru, n. of channel, . . . . .	166, 167, 168, 171	Swan, emblem on seal, . . . . .	143, 144
<i>Supāpasāgara</i> , lake(?), . . . . .	73	Swat, ri., . . . . .	1
Supratika, n. of elephant, . . . . .	170 n.		
Surada, s. a. Jurādā, vi., . . . . .	18 n.		
Suraguru, s. a. Bṛihaspati, . . . . .	328		
Suranimnagā, s. a. Ganges, ri., . . . . .	320		
Śūraṅkuḍi, vi., . . . . .	166		
Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu, v. ā., . . . . .	166		
Surapati, s. a. Indra, god, . . . . .	294		
Śūrasēna, dy., . . . . .	329		
Surāshṭra, co., . . . . .	59, 146 n., 147, 309, 324		
	220		
Surat, co., . . . . .	141		
Sūrāvāripālem, vi., . . . . .	147 and n.,		
Śurpāya, merchant, . . . . .	148		
	74		
<i>sūrya-graha</i> , 'solar eclipse', . . . . .	261, 265 and n., 266		
Sūryasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	283, 284		
Sūryavarman, Maukhari k., . . . . .	283		
Susthitavarman, do., . . . . .	297		
Sūsyala, donor, . . . . .	64, 71, 89		
<i>Sūtradhāra</i> , mason(?), . . . . .	284, 285 and n.		
Suva (cha) . . . . ., Maukhari k., . . . . .	183 n.		
<i>Suvarṇādhyaksha</i> , off., . . . . .	239 n.		
<i>suvarnakāra</i> , 'goldsmith', . . . . .			

## T

<i>t</i> , . . . 8 (Kharōshthī), 11, 53 (box-headed), 253, 255, 260 (looped), 280	57
<i>t</i> , doubled after <i>r</i> , . . . . .	130, 150, 180
<i>t</i> , doubled before subscript <i>r</i> , . . . . .	48, 130, 135 n., 268
<i>t</i> , final, . . . . .	53 (box-headed), 261 (looped)
<i>t</i> , subscript, . . . . .	3
<i>t</i> , in Prākṛit used for Sanskrit <i>rt</i> , . . . . .	217 n., 218 n.
<i>Tabakāt-i-Akbarī</i> , hist. chron., . . . . .	292 n.
<i>Tabaqūt-i-Nāsirī</i> , chron., . . . . .	169, 172
Tadaṅkannich-Chirpūr, vi., . . . . .	189 n.
Taddayya, officer, . . . . .	117
Tahankāpār (first and second) plates of Pampa- rāja, . . . . .	64, 65, 83
Tailāṅga, . . . . .	64, 65
Tailāṅga-Brahmaṇa, sect., . . . . .	127
<i>tailaparnikā</i> , 'leaves producing oil', . . . . .	190
Takkōlam, vi., . . . . .	306, 315, 318
Takshaka, 'lord of serpents', . . . . .	

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Tāla, <i>E. Chālukya prince</i> , . . . . .	271, 275	Tibet, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	104 and <i>n.</i>
Talakāḍu, <i>W. Gaṅga ca.</i> , . . . . .	188, 189	Tibetan, . . . . .	104, 257 <i>n.</i>
tāla-kattu, 'top-stroke', . . . . .	296	<i>timpīras</i> , <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
Tālguṇḍa pillar ins. of Kākusthavarman, . . . . .	185 <i>n.</i>	<i>tiṇaiippul</i> , 'kind of crop', . . . . .	154, 168, 169, 171, 172
Tamatadā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	150, 153	Tindivanam, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	22
Tāmrarnī, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	103 and <i>n.</i> , 162 <i>n.</i> , 166	<i>tiṇṇai</i> , . . . . .	37 <i>n.</i>
<i>tāmra-paṭṭa</i> , . . . . .	150, 153, 295	Tinnevelly, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	153
Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates . . . . .		Tinnevelly ins. of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya	
<i>man</i> , . . . . .	138 <i>n.</i>	I, . . . . .	160
Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of Prithvīmahārāja, . . . . .	50	<i>Tipallatthamiḅa-Jātaka</i> , . . . . .	147 <i>n.</i>
Tanem-Kuttal, . . . . .	145	Tippalur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	186 <i>n.</i>
Taṅjai, <i>s. a. Tanjore, ca.</i> , . . . . .	35, 41, 42	Tīra-bhukti, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	44, 104
Tanjore, <i>Chōla ca.</i> , . . . . .	160	<i>tiramam</i> , coin, . . . . .	154, 168, 169, 171, 172
Tanjore inss., . . . . .	30	Tirāth foot-print ins., . . . . .	2
Tanjore plates, . . . . .	237	Tirithāṇa grant of Chāṇḍavarman, . . . . .	49
Taṅporunda-āru, <i>s. a. Tāmrarnī, ri.</i> , . . . . .	166, 167,	Tirōḍi plates of Mahārāja Pravarasēna II, . . . . .	52, 53,
	168, 171		54, 55 <i>n.</i> , 56 <i>n.</i> , 261, 263
<i>tantravāya</i> , 'weavers', . . . . .	298, 303	<i>tīrthas</i> , . . . . .	263, 292, 293
<i>tāpita</i> , 'heated', . . . . .	150, 153	<i>Tiru</i> , <i>s. a. Lakshmī, goddess</i> , . . . . .	166 and <i>n.</i> , 167, 169
Tapparāla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273, 278	Tiruchchirāppalli, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	289
<i>Tāraka</i> , . . . . .	89	Tiruchchirāp-palli-śīrmai, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	97
Tarbhā, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	242	<i>tirugōpuram</i> , . . . . .	91
Tāsapaikērā grant, . . . . .	173	<i>Tirukkaivalakkam</i> , 'offerings distributed to	
Tātār Khān, <i>s. a. Mahammada (Muhammada)</i> ,		devotees etc.,' . . . . .	99 and <i>n.</i>
<i>Sultān of Gujarāt</i> , . . . . .	214 and <i>n.</i>	Tirukkalākkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98
Taxila coins of Vijayamitra, . . . . .	6	Tirukkalāvūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	38
Taxila plate of Patika, . . . . .	2, 5	Tirukkalukkuṅṅam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	25
Tējasimha, Rāula Śrī—, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	313, 326	Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	156
<i>tējaskara</i> , 'polisher', . . . . .	280	Tirukkōyilūr, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	25
Tekkali, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	15	Tirukkōyilūr, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	22
Tekkali plates of Umavarman, . . . . .	49	Tirumala, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> , . . . . .	286
Teliṅgam, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	167, 170	Tirumala I, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> . . . . .	140 <i>n.</i>
Teṅkarai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	164	Tirumalai ins., . . . . .	45 <i>n.</i> , 47
Ten-Koṅgu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	163	Tirumalainātha, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	97
Terahi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	242	Tirumalainātha-Uttamanāmbi, <i>trustee of Śrīraṅ-</i>	
Tērāmbagriha, Uttara—, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	240, 241, 242, 243	<i>gam te.</i> , . . . . .	96, 97
Tērāmbi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	241, 242	Tirumalai rock ins. of Rājendra-Chōla I, . . . . .	105
Tērāmbipāla, <i>Śaiva asectic</i> , . . . . .	241	Tirumalāmbā, <i>s. a. Ōduva Tirumalāmbā, poetess</i> ,	
<i>Tērāmbipāla</i> , . . . . .	241		286 and <i>n.</i> , 287
<i>terri</i> , . . . . .	35, 37 and <i>n.</i> , 41, 42	Tirumāliruṅjōlai, <i>s. a. Aḷagarmalai, vi.</i> , . . . . .	164
<i>terri-ambalam</i> , <i>s. a. chittira-kūḍam (chitrakūṭa)</i> ,		Tirumāliruṅjōlai-ṅṅararuliya-Paramasvāmin,	
	37 and <i>n.</i>	<i>god</i> , . . . . .	156
<i>tesakara</i> , 'artisan' (?), . . . . .	280	Tirumalli-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	169, 172
<i>th</i> , in Nāgarī, . . . . .	102	<i>tirumanḍapam</i> , . . . . .	37 <i>n.</i> , 92
<i>th</i> , subscript, in Nāgarī, . . . . .	102	Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	90 <i>n.</i> , 96 and <i>n.</i>
Ṭhakkūra Śrīpati, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	293, 295	<i>Tirumugam</i> , . . . . .	91, 99, 100
Ṭhakkura Vasishṭha, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	292	Tirumukkūḍal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94
Ṭhakura, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	231, 232, 233	Tirumuṅaiappāḍi, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	23
Thānā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	46, 126, 127, 220 <i>n.</i>	<i>tirumurram</i> 'court-yard', . . . . .	37
Thanniyarka-Kōṭṭihkayyā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	144, 145	<i>tirunaḍai-māḷigai</i> , . . . . .	91, 92, 94
Theodamas, <i>Greek ch.</i> , . . . . .	1	<i>tirunāmattukkāṇi</i> , . . . . .	23, 27
Ṭhēpaka, <i>Mēhara ch.</i> , . . . . .	221 <i>n.</i>	Tirupati, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	286 <i>n.</i> , 289 and <i>n.</i>
Thūpārāma Chetiya in Ceylon, . . . . .	3	Tiruppāṅālvār, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	90 <i>n.</i>
<i>ti</i> , . . . . .	43 and <i>n.</i>	<i>Tiruppaliyār</i> , community, . . . . .	95 <i>n.</i>



	PAGE.
Tiruppattūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98
<i>Tiruppāvai</i> , lit. wk., . . . . .	94 n.
Tiruppūvanam grant, . . . . .	156
Tiruvadi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23
Tiruvaḍi, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	289 n.
Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, . . . . .	31, 33, 156
Tiruvallam inss., . . . . .	190 n.
Tiruvallam ins. of Rājarāja I, . . . . .	191
Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	27, 95
Tiruvaraṅgachaturvēdi-maṅgalam <i>alias</i> Sēnalūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166, 167, 168, 171
Tiruvaraṅgaṅ-tiruppati, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīraṅgam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	99, 100
Tiruvāyppāḍi temple, . . . . .	36
' <i>tiruveḍuttukkatti</i> ' 'covered enclosure', . . . . .	37
Tiruvēndipuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23
Tiruvēndipuram ins., . . . . .	23
Tiruvēndipuram ins. of A. D. 1232-3, . . . . .	161
Tiruvenṅainallur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24
Tiruviḍaimarududaiyār, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	155 n.
Tiruviḍaimarudūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	155
<i>tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam</i> , . . . . .	99, 100, 101
Tiruvayya I, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	190
Tiruvayya II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	190
Tiruvayya, <i>s. a.</i> Vikramādityaṅ Tiruvayyaṅ, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	190
<i>tiruvōlakkamaṅḍapa</i> , . . . . .	37
Tiruvuḷa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	189.
Titilagarh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	239 and n.
<i>Tittira-Jātaka</i> , . . . . .	147
Tivaradēva, <i>k. of Mahākōśala</i> , . . . . .	52, 284
<i>ina</i> , ligature, in Central Indian 'box-headed' script, . . . . .	53
<i>Tollāppiyam</i> , Tamil wk., . . . . .	23
Tōlmālaiyaḷagiyār, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	91, 94
T'o-na-kie-tse-kia, <i>s. a.</i> Dhanakāṭaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257 n.
Toṅḍaimaṅḍalam, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	24, 25, 26, 28
Toṅḍaradippodī, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	90 n.
Tōṅṭāpara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	49, 50, 51, 52
<i>tōraṅam</i> , 'gateway', . . . . .	208, 209
<i>toru</i> , 'pond', . . . . .	238 n.
Tośā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	201, 202
Toshā, <i>s. a.</i> Tośā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	194, 195, 196, 200, 202
Toshā image, . . . . .	200 n.
Tōṭāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50
<i>tōṭṭam</i> , 'garden-lands', . . . . .	168, 171
<i>tōṭṭa-vāriyam</i> , 'a village Committee', . . . . .	40
Tower of Victory at Chitor, . . . . .	64 n., 305, 306
Tower of Victory ins. at Chitor, . . . . .	305
Traikūṭaka, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	224 n.
Trailōkyavarmmadēva, <i>Mahākumāra—</i> , <i>Para-</i> <i>māra ch.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 228, 232
Trami, <i>donor</i> , . . . . .	10
<i>Trepitākā</i> , . . . . .	211
Trētā-yuga, . . . . .	306, 315

	PAGE.
Tribhuvanachakravartin, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	154, 160 n., 167
Tribhuvanānārāyaṅa, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	306, 312
<i>Tribhuvanānārāyaṅa</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	312
Tribhuvanānārāyaṅa, <i>tit. of</i> Bhōjarāja, . . . . .	306
Tribhuvanavīradēva, <i>s. a.</i> Kulōttuṅga III, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	25 n., 26, 27 n.
Trichinopoly, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	90 n.
Tridaśapura, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	322
trident, <i>emblem on boundary stones</i> , . . . . .	28
Trikaliṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	105
Trikaliṅgādhipati, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	105
Trikūṭa, <i>hill in Mewār</i> , 305, 306, 307, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319	
Trikūṭāchala, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	82 and n.
Triliṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	309, 324
Trilōchanapāla, <i>Chāulukya k.</i> , . . . . .	331 n.
Trilōchanapāla, <i>Gūrjara-Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	104
Trimbakadās, <i>s. a.</i> Trimbakabhūpa, <i>ch. of</i> <i>Chāmpāner</i> , . . . . .	217 n.
Triṅāvarta, <i>myth. demon</i> , . . . . .	80
Trinayana, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	75
Triṅayana-kula, <i>n. of family</i> , 271, 272 and n., 276	
Tripatha-bhūmigāhīnī, <i>s. a.</i> Ganges, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	318
Tripathagā, <i>s. a.</i> Ganges, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	75
<i>Tripāthī</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	231, 333
<i>Tripitāka</i> , Buddhist wk., . . . . .	211, 212
Tripurāntaka, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	315
Tripurāntakam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	26
Tripurī, <i>Kalachuri ca.</i> , 103 n., 119, 123, 241 n., 292	
<i>triratna</i> , coin-symbol, . . . . .	6
<i>Trishasṭhisālākāpurusha-charitra</i> , Jaina wk., . . . . .	197
Trivēdī, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	36, 41
Trivikrama, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	294
Triyāmbaka, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	288
<i>tryārshēya-pravara</i> , . . . . .	16
<i>ts</i> , in Kharōshthī, . . . . .	8
Tsadamu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	189 n.
Tsuṅḍūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
Tukkarai, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	191
<i>Tulā</i> ceremonies, . . . . .	63
<i>tulābhāra</i> , gift, 285 and n., 286 and n., 287, 289, 290	
<i>tulā-stambha</i> , . . . . .	62, 63, 75, 81
<i>tulā-vēdī</i> , . . . . .	74
<i>tulukka-vāṅam</i> , 'Muhammadan invasion', 92, 97, 98	
Tuḷuva, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	97
Tuḷuvam, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	167, 170
Tumba, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	187 n.
Tummāṅa, <i>Kalachuri ca.</i> , . . . . .	105
Tuṅgabhadrā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	288
<i>tuṅganāsiky-archā</i> , image of god, . . . . .	198
<i>tūni</i> , measure of capacity, . . . . .	38, 91, 94, 155 n.
<i>turiya-janman</i> , . . . . .	108, 109, 113
<i>turiya-varna</i> , 'Śūdra', . . . . .	109 n.
Turughura, <i>incorrect for</i> Turuḷura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	279

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Turuḷura, vi., . . . . .	279	Untata, m., . . . . .	330 and n., 331, 334, 336
Tuśām rock ins., . . . . .	200	upadhmanīya, 48, 53, 138, 144, 236, 268, 304, 330	
U		upādhyāya, . . . . .	150, 153
u, initial, northern variety, . . . . .	130	upanayana, . . . . .	247
u, medial, . . . . .	11, 47, 74 n., 281, 282	Upagupta-Bhattārikā, <i>Maukhari g.</i> , . . . . .	285
ū, medial, . . . . .	69 n., 70 n., 281	Uparika, off., . . . . .	134, 135, 137, 153
u-termination in Prakṛit, . . . . .	9	Uparkoṭ, fort, . . . . .	222
Ubhaya-Khiṅjali-maṇḍala, t. d., . . . . .	17	Upēndrasimha, scribe, . . . . .	150, 153
Udaipur, ci., . . . . .	56, 62, 63, 64, 304, 311	ūr, . . . . .	30, 33, 34, 35, 36
Udaipur, State, . . . . .	58, 308	Uraiyūr, <i>Chōla ca.</i> , . . . . .	160
Udaiyaṅ Kūttāḍuvāṅ alias Villavadaraiyaṅ, m., 154, 168, 171		urimai, 'headship', . . . . .	170 n.
Udaiyap-perumāl alias Kāḍuvettigal, ch., . . . . .	27 n.	urimai, 'queen', . . . . .	166, 169 n.
Uḍaiyavar, <i>Vaiśṇavite teacher</i> , . . . . .	92	Ūrjayat, Ūrjayanta, mo., . . . . .	222
Udaya, s. a. Udayasimha-Rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	58, 64, 68, 82, 84	ūr-madhyasthaṅ, off., . . . . .	41 n.
Udayāditya, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālwā</i> , . . . . .	107 n.	Uruvupalle (i) grant of the time of Pallava Simhavarman, 139, 140, 141 and n., 142 n., 236, 296, 297, 298 and n., 299 and n., 300, 301 and n., 302 n., 303 n.	
Udayāditya of the Bhopāl inss., . . . . .	230	Ūrva, <i>rishi</i> , . . . . .	135 n.
Udayagiri cave ins. of the time of Chandragupta II, . . . . .	198 n.	Ushavadāta, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	11, 246
udayam, 'produce', . . . . .	91	Utkala, s. a. Orissa, co., . . . . .	104, 105, 112
Udayapur stone ins. of V. S. 1229, . . . . .	231	utsāha-śakti, 'energy', . . . . .	108, 113, 136 n.
Udayapura, ca., . . . . .	230, 231	Uttama-Chōḷa, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	38
Udayasāgara, lake, . . . . .	62, 63, 82	Uttama-Chōḷa, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163
Udayasimha-rāṇā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , 58, 62, 64, 68, 76, 82, 84		Uttamanambi, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	93 n., 96, 97
Udaya-taṭāka, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	182, 183	Uttamanambi-Chakrarāyar, trustee of Śrīraṅgam te., . . . . .	96
Udayavarman, <i>Paramāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	227, 228, 229, 230	Uttara-Kōśala, co., . . . . .	93 n., 97
Uddharana, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Uttara-Kōśala, co., . . . . .	292, 293
udumbara, kind of tree, . . . . .	288	Uttaramallūr, vi., . . . . .	28 and n., 29, 36, 38 and n., 39, 40, 41 n.
Udyāna, co., . . . . .	1	Uttaramallūr inss., . . . . .	40 and 41 n.
Uggasēna, <i>Vriśṇi prince</i> , . . . . .	196, 197	Uttaramēruchaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., 34, 35, 41, 42	
Ujjain, ci., . . . . .	62	Uttarāpatha, co., . . . . .	6 n.
Ujjain plate of Lakshmi-varman, . . . . .	229	Uttara-Rādhā, co., . . . . .	43, 46
Ujjayanta, mo., . . . . .	222	Uttara-Tēraṁbagriha, l., . . . . .	240, 241, 242, 243
Ulagamulududaiyār, q. of Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, . . . . .	167, 170	Uttarāyana, . . . . .	138, 142 and n.
Ulagudaiyāl, s. a. Bhuvanādhipā, f., . . . . .	93 n.	Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, . . . . .	44
Ulaguppa-ṅala-Śivaramaudaiyār, god, 154, 168, 171		Uyyaniṅrāḍuvāṅ Vira-Śōḷadēvaṅ alias Kurukulattaraiyaṅ, m., . . . . .	169, 172
Ulāna, <i>Śaka gen.</i> , . . . . .	206, 207	V	
ulavu, 'cultivating ryots', . . . . .	155, 168	v, 20 n., 43 and n., 53 (box-headed), 57, 102, 130, 147, 182 n., 253, 255, 296	
ullāga, . . . . .	30	v, not distinguished from ch, . . . . .	226
ullālai, s. a. agampadi, . . . . .	30	v, used for b, . . . . .	15, 102, 130, 150, 180, 226, 240, 291, 330
ul-vari, 'tax-register', . . . . .	169, 171	Vāchaspati, <i>mīn.</i> , . . . . .	231
Umā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	241	Vāchaspati, s. a. Brihaspati, <i>celestial preceptor</i> , 294	
Umāpati, s. a. Śiva, god, . . . . .	318	Vāchaspatyam, Sanskrit lexicon, . . . . .	109 n.
Umavarman, k. of <i>Kaliṅga</i> , . . . . .	48, 236	Vāchchhuka, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
umbrella, closed—, symbol on seal, . . . . .	268	Vaḍagalai, sect, . . . . .	98 n.
Umetā plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga, . . . . .	176 n.		
Unā plates, . . . . .	332		
uñchavṛittik, 'gleaner of corn', witness, . . . . .	31 n.		
Under-Merchant, <i>Dutch off.</i> , . . . . .	124, 125, 126		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Vaḍa-Koṅgu, <i>co.</i> ,	163	Vākpatirāja, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālwā</i> ,	231, 306, 312
Vaḍama, <i>s. a. Vardhamānapura, ca.</i> ,	49 n.	Vākūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	37
Vādhūlavaraḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	93 n.	Valabhī, <i>ca.</i> ,	333 n.
Vaḍnagar, <i>ci.</i> ,	308	Valabhī, <i>co.</i> ,	59, 179
Vaḍugavaḷi-twelve-thousand, <i>t. d.</i> ,	186, 188	Valabhī, <i>dy.</i> ,	224 n.
Vāgaḍa, <i>co.</i> ,	70, 218	Valāna, <i>s. a. Ulāna, Śaka gen.</i> ,	207
Vāgaḍa, <i>t. d.</i> ,	313, 325	Valandāṇḍār <i>alias Kāḍavarāyar, Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> ,	24
Vā (Bā)ghā, <i>enr.</i> ,	64, 90, and n.	Vālhuka, <i>donee</i> ,	231, 233
Vāghēla, <i>clan</i> ,	304	Vaḷichcheḷvāṇ, <i>s. a. Viyavaṇ, vi. off.</i> ,	32
Vā (Bā)ghēlāva, <i>tank</i> ,	306, 318-9	Valivēru, <i>vi.</i> ,	273, 278
vāguṇi, <i>off. (?)</i> ,	16, 19	Valiyadimainilaiyiṭṭa-Uttamanāmbi, <i>m.</i> ,	96
Vaidumbā, <i>dy.</i> ,	184, 185, 186 n., 187, 188, 189 and n., 190, 191 and n., 192 and n.	vallabha, <i>off.</i> ,	134, 135, 137, 182, 183, 302 n.
Vaidumbā-Mahārāja, <i>tit.</i> ,	190, 191	Vallūru, <i>ca.</i> ,	191
Vaidumbā-Mahārāja, <i>tit. of Vaidumbā k.</i>		Valugūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	154, 168, 171
Gaṇḍatrinētra,	184, 191, 192	Vāmadēvasvāmin, <i>donee</i> ,	150, 153
Vaidumbā-Mahārāja, <i>Vaidumbā ch.</i> ,	189 n., 190	Vāṁśadhara, 'palanquin bearer',	70
Vaidumbā Mahārāja Bhuvanatrinētra, <i>Vaidu-</i>		Vāṁśaprabhāvam, <i>s. a. Uttamanāmbivāṁśa-</i>	
<i>m̄ba ch.</i> ,	191	<i>prabhāvam, wk.</i> ,	97
Vaidumbā-Mahārāja Vikramāditya, <i>Vaidumbā</i>		vāntarī, 'witch',	225 n.
<i>ch.</i> ,	190	vanagōcharaḥ, 'forester', <i>witness</i> ,	31 n.
Vaidumbāvrōlu, <i>Vaidumbā ca.</i> ,	187	Vāṇagōppādi, <i>t. d.</i> ,	190
Vaidyanātha, <i>god</i> ,	306, 318	vāṇam,	90, 97, 99, 100
Vaijayantī, <i>ci.</i> ,	115	Vāṇaṇs, <i>s. a. Bāṇas, dy.</i> ,	161
Vaijayantī, <i>myth. ci.</i> ,	82	Vāṇaprasṭhapada,	113
vaijya-parichāraḥ, 'medical attendants',	91, 94	Vaṅga, <i>s. a. Eastern Beṅgāl, co.</i> ,	44, 105
vaijyar, 'doctor',	91, 95	Vaṅga, <i>k. of the Vaṅga co.</i> ,	105
Vaikunṭha,	80, 293	Vaṅgāla-dēśa, <i>co.</i> ,	106
Vaikunṭhaperumāl, <i>tc.</i> ,	29	Vaṅhidasāo, <i>Jaina Prākṛit wk.</i> ,	197
Vailūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	27	vāṇilai,	22, 25
Vairasiṁha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> ,	311, 325	Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl, <i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> ,	25, 26
Vairāta, <i>k. of Mewār</i> ,	310, 311, 325	Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl, <i>tit., of the Kāḍavarāya</i>	
Vairisiṁha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> ,	311, 325	<i>ch. Maṇavālap-perumāl</i> ,	23
Vaiśēshika, <i>system of Hindu philosophy</i> ,	241	Vāṇilaikaṇḍaperumāl, <i>s. a. Kōpperuṅjūṅga I,</i>	
Vaishṇava, <i>sect</i> ,	16 n., 17, 96, 97, 285	<i>Kāḍavarāya ch.</i> ,	26
Vaishṇavism,	17 n.	Vāṇilaikaṇḍīsuram-udaiya-Nāyaṇār, <i>god</i> ,	23, 27, 28
Vaiśravaṇa-Mahārāja, <i>k. of Kauśāmbī</i> ,	147, 148, 254	Vaṅjippaḍalam, <i>a chapter of Purapporū-</i>	
Vaiśravaṇa, <i>legend on Kosam coins</i> ,	148	<i>veṅbāmālai</i> ,	22
Vaiyiramēghataṭākam, <i>tank</i> ,	34, 35	Vaṅjulvaka, <i>Bhaṅja ca.</i> ,	17 n., 173, 174
Vājapēyayājī, <i>ep.</i> ,	36, 41	Vaṅka, <i>n.</i> ,	44
Vajirā, <i>s. a. Bajaur, vi.</i> ,	6 n.	Vaṅkēśvara, <i>god</i> ,	263 n.
Vajrahasta, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	131 and n.	Vaṅkō-Tummāṇa, <i>Kalachuri ca.</i> ,	263 n.
Vajrāta, <i>donor</i> ,	331, 335	Vaṅku, <i>n.</i> ,	44
Vajravarmaṇ, <i>ch.</i> ,	106	Vāṅmaṅgalam,	23
Vajrāvati, <i>ca.</i> ,	6 n.	vāṅṭa,	298 n.
Vajrī, <i>s. a. Indra, god</i> ,	318	Vāpā, <i>s. a. Bāpā, ancestor of the Rāṅās of Mewār</i> ,	65
Vakālā ins.,	205	Vāpanna, <i>s. a. Vā[pp]anna, donee</i> ,	16, 19
Vakamihira, <i>donor</i> ,	207	Vā[pp]anna, <i>min. and donee</i> ,	16, 19
Vākātaka, <i>dy.</i> ,	12 and n., 13 and n., 14, 53, 54, 55 and n., 258, 260, 261, 262, 263 and n., 264 and n., 265, 298 n.	vāra, 'multitude',	39
Vākātaka inss.,	12, 13 and n.	Varadādēvi-Amman or Varadāmbikā, <i>q. of k.</i>	
Vākātaka plates,	14 n.	Achyuta of Vijayanagara,	286 and n., 289
		Varadājī-Amman, <i>s. a. Varadādēvi-Amman or</i>	
		Varadāmbikā, <i>Vijayanagara q.</i> ,	289
		Varadāmbikāpariṣayam, <i>Sanskrit wk.</i> ,	286 & n., 287 n.



	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>varagu</i> , 'kind of crop', . . . . .	154, 168, 169, 171, 172	<i>vāṭikā</i> , 'house-site with garden', . . . . .	87, 138, 142
Varaṅga, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	188	Vatsa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	147
Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu, . . . . .	307	Vatsa, <i>myth. demon</i> , . . . . .	87
<i>Varāha-lāñchhana</i> , . . . . .	274	<i>vaṭṭa</i> , 'grouped', . . . . .	297, 298 and <i>n.</i>
<i>Varāhaṅ-poṇ</i> , coin, . . . . .	91, 94	<i>vaṭṭa-grāmas</i> , 'subsidiary villages,' . . . . .	298 and <i>n.</i>
Varāhavartanī, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	50	<i>vattā-grāmēyaka</i> , . . . . .	297, 298 and <i>n.</i> , 303
Vārāṇasī, <i>s. a.</i> Benares, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	293, 295	<i>vattāṅ-jāgīrdār</i> , off., . . . . .	297
Varavarādhīśa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 <i>n.</i>	<i>vaṭuka</i> , 'pupil', . . . . .	227, 232, 233
Varavarakshēmēśa-Lakshmīśakha, <i>s. a.</i> Aḷagiya		Vatva(tsa ?), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Maṅavāla-Maṅgalādarāya(dhīpa), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	93 <i>n.</i>	Vavvēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	296, 301
Varddhamāna, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	43, 47	<i>vayavaṅ</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>vīyavaṅ</i> , <i>vi. off.</i> , . . . . .	32
Varddhamāna- <i>bhukti</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	43, 46, 47	Vēda, <i>s. a.</i> Brahmā, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	166, 169
Vardhamāna, <i>Jain teacher</i> , . . . . .	201, 202, 203, 204	Vēda, . . . . .	41 and <i>n.</i> , 78, 95, 138, 154, 167, 168, 170 and <i>n.</i> , 171, 252 <i>n.</i>
Vardhamānapura, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	49	Vēdas :—	
Varēndrī Brāhmaṇas, <i>sect</i> , . . . . .	110	Sāma, . . . . .	110 and <i>n.</i>
<i>vāriyam</i> , 'committee', . . . . .	39	White Yajurvēda, . . . . .	130
<i>vāriyapperumakkal</i> , 'members of committees',	40, 42	Yajur, . . . . .	16, 19
<i>vāriyilār</i> , 'maintainers of revenue accounts',	169, 172 and <i>n.</i>	Vēdanārāyaṅa-Perumāḷ, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	166
Varman kings of Bengal, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	129	Vēdāranyam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Varmans, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	105	Vēdasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
Varman k. of Magadha, . . . . .	284	Vēdhas, <i>s. a.</i> Brahmā, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	68, 71
Varmans of the Maukhari race, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	284	<i>vēdikā</i> , . . . . .	208, 209 and <i>n.</i>
<i>vārttika</i> , . . . . .	232 <i>n.</i>	<i>vēdiyar</i> , 'Brāhmins', . . . . .	166
Vāruṇī, 'the west', . . . . .	68	Vēja, Prākṛit form of <i>Vaidya</i> , 'physician', . . . . .	282
Vāsabhāṭṭārikā, <i>E. Gaṅga q.</i> , . . . . .	130, 136, 137	Velanāṅḍu- <i>Vishaya</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	273, 276
<i>vasad-bhōga</i> , incorrect for <i>vasad-bhōgya</i> , . . . . .	302 <i>n.</i>	<i>vēli</i> , <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	90, 94, 99, 100, 101, 155 and <i>n.</i>
<i>vasad-bhōgya</i> , . . . . .	302 <i>n.</i>	Veligallu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184, 191
<i>vasad-bhōgya-maryāda</i> , . . . . .	302 <i>n.</i>	Vellālas, <i>community</i> , . . . . .	32, 37
<i>vasakara</i> , incorrect for <i>tesakara</i> , . . . . .	280	<i>vellāṅ-vagai</i> , . . . . .	156, 168
<i>Vasanta</i> , . . . . .	72	Vēlpumadugu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	238 and <i>n.</i>
Vāsava, <i>s. a.</i> Indra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	73, 107 <i>n.</i>	Vēlputtoru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	235, 238, 239
Vāsishka, <i>Kushāna k.</i> , . . . . .	246	Veluṅgagunṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Veligallu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184, 191, 193
Vāsishtha, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	49, 50, 51	Vēlūra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	133
Vāsishtha, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	181 and <i>n.</i> , 182, 183	Vēlūrpāṅḍiyam plates, . . . . .	300
Vāsishthiputra, <i>metronymic of a Kosam k.</i> , . . . . .	256	Vēṅgaḷa-Nāyaka, <i>Tuḷuva ch.</i> , . . . . .	289, 290
Vāsishthiputra, <i>metronymic of the Āndhra k.</i>		Vēṅgī, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	271, 274, 275, 278
Pulumāvi, . . . . .	259	Vēṅgī-nātha, . . . . .	275
Vāsithiputa, <i>s. a.</i> Vāsishthiputra, <i>metronymic</i>		Vēṅī, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	123 <i>n.</i>
of <i>Āndhra k.</i> Pulumāvi, . . . . .	259	Vēṅkaṭādrī <i>alias</i> Chikkarāya, <i>Vijayanagara</i>	
Vasithipūta, <i>metronymic of Mahārāja Bhīma-</i>		prince, . . . . .	285, 286 and <i>n.</i> , 287 and <i>n.</i>
<i>sēna</i> , . . . . .	256 <i>n.</i>	Vēṅkaṭēśa, <i>god of Tirupati</i> , . . . . .	289
Vāstuvīdyāmayāṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	28 <i>n.</i>	Vēṅkuṅṅakōṭṭam, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	190
Vāstuvīdyāmayāṅ Nakkāṅ, <i>scribe</i> , . . . . .	28 <i>n.</i>	Verāval, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	103
Vasu, <i>donor</i> , . . . . .	208, 209	Vesa, <i>Buddhist 'novice'</i> , . . . . .	9, 10
Vasudēva, <i>epic k.</i> , . . . . .	197	Vēśpāsi, <i>n.</i> , . . . . .	5
Vāsudēva, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	47, 208, 209, 210, 272, 277, 295	Vēś(r)akh(r)a, <i>s. a.</i> Vaiśākha month, . . . . .	7
<i>Vasudevahīṅḍi</i> , <i>Jaina story-book</i> , . . . . .	197	Vētāla, <i>demon</i> , . . . . .	112
Vāsudeve, <i>s. a.</i> Kṛishṇa, <i>epic k.</i> , . . . . .	196, 197	<i>vētkōvaṅ</i> , <i>vi. off.</i> , . . . . .	41
<i>vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	299	Vētravatī, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	227, 231, 232
Vasumitā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	282	<i>vēṭṭi-pāṭṭam</i> , <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172
<i>vaṭāgrāma</i> , . . . . .	142	<i>vēṭṭippōga</i> , 'dismissal from office', . . . . .	34
		<i>vibhaṅga</i> , . . . . .	21
		Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur, . . . . .	63

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Vidavalūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	301	Vijayavarman, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	151
Videnūrapallikā, incorrect for <i>Videtūrapallikā</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	281	Vijayavāṭikā, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	272, 273, 277
Videtūrapallikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	281, 282	<i>Vijayavilāsam</i> , Telugu wk., . . . . .	286
Vidhu, <i>s. a.</i> Vishṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	276	Vijaya-Vishṇugōpa III, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	300
Vidūratha, <i>Vṛishṇi prince</i> , . . . . .	197, 198	Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	138, 139 and n., 142, 299 n.
Vidyā, <i>poetess</i> , . . . . .	106 n.	<i>Vijjaka</i> , <i>s. a.</i> <i>Viyakamitra</i> , . . . . .	4
Vidyādharaḥaṅjadēva, <i>Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	15 n., 17, 19 n.	Vijñānēśvara, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	31 and n.
Vigrahapāla II, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45	Vikhilapadra-twelve, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	227, 232
Vihagadā-Śrīnātha-Śrīnātha, <i>s. a.</i> Garu- dāvāhana, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	93 n.	Vikkama, <i>s. a.</i> <i>Vikrama, k.</i> , . . . . .	107 n.
<i>vihāra</i> , . . . . .	32, 200, 279	Vikrama, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	223
Vijapāla, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	232, 233	Vikrama, <i>s. a.</i> <i>Vikramāditya VI, Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	107
Vijaya, <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	70	Vikrama-Chōla, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	25, 155 n.
Vijaya, <i>s. a.</i> Arjuna, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	70	Vikrama-Chōla, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163, 164
Vijayabhūpa, <i>myth. ancestor of Mewār kk.</i> , . . . . .	58, 65	Vikramādityā, <i>Mewār k.</i> , . . . . .	59
Vijaya-Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	143, 297, 302 n.	Vikramāditya, <i>Vaidumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	190
Vijayachandra, <i>Gāhadavāla k.</i> , . . . . .	292, 294	Vikramāditya I, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	185 n.
<i>Vijayā-Daśamī</i> , . . . . .	122	Vikramāditya II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	271, 275
Vijaya-Dēvavarman, <i>Śālaṅkāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	235	Vikramāditya III, <i>Bāna ch.</i> , . . . . .	190
Vijayāditya, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	187, 188	Vikramāditya (V), <i>k. of Kuntala</i> , . . . . .	105 n.
Vijayāditya, <i>s. a.</i> <i>Prabhumēru Vijayāditya</i> , <i>Bāna ch.</i> , . . . . .	187	Vikramāditya VI, <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	107 and n.
Vijayāditya I or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka, <i>E.</i> <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	270, 274	Vikramāditya Satyādityunru, <i>Chōla ch.</i> , . . . . .	184, 185, 186
Vijayāditya II Narēndra Mṛigarāja, <i>E. Chālu-</i> <i>kya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 270, 274	Vikramādityaṅ Tiruvayyaṅ, <i>Vaidumba</i> <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	190
Vijayāditya IV Kaliyattigaṇḍa, <i>E. Chālukya</i> <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	270, 271, 275	Vikramāditya Vaidumba-Mahārāja, <i>Vai-</i> <i>dumba ch.</i> , . . . . .	190
Vijayāditya, <i>Kaṅṭhikā—, E. Chālukya</i> <i>prince</i> , . . . . .	271	Vikramāditya, <i>Yuvarāja—, E. Chālukya</i> <i>prince</i> , . . . . .	274
Vijayāditya, <i>Prabhumēru, Bāna ch.</i> , . . . . .	187, 188, 189	Vikramakēsarī, <i>prince of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	311, 325
Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	165	<i>Vikramāṅkacharita</i> , <i>hist. poem</i> , . . . . .	106 n., 107 n.
Vijaya-Khandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	302 n.	Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	158, 159, 160, 164
Vijayālaya, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	157	<i>Vilā-nāḍu, t. d.</i> , . . . . .	91, 94
Vijayamitra, <i>vassal of the Greek k. Menander</i> , . . . . .	3, 4, 5 and n., 6 and n., 7, 8	<i>vilāsavantudu</i> , . . . . .	184
<i>Vijayamitrāsa</i> , <i>coin-legend from Taxila</i> , . . . . .	6	Vilavattī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297, 298, 301, 302
Vijayanagara, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	285, 286 n., 287 and n., 288	Vil[hv]ē, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Vijayanagara, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	96, 97, 98, 140	Villavadaraiyaṅ <i>alias</i> Udaiyaṅ Kūttāḍu- vāṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	154, 168, 171
Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	138 n.	Villiyānūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	26
Vijaya-Paṭṭakāḍhishthāna, <i>Pallava</i> <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	298, 301	Vima Kadphises, <i>Kushān k.</i> , . . . . .	202
Vijaya-Paṭṭakāḍhishthāna, <i>Pallava ca.</i> , . . . . .	138, 140, 141	Vimalāditya, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	272 n.
Vijayarāja, <i>s. a.</i> <i>Vijayavarman, Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	151	Vināyaka, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	69, 241
Vijayasēna, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	127	Vināyakaśarman, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	181, 182, 183
'Vijayasiddhi', <i>tit of Maṅgiyuvarāja, E.</i> <i>Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	139	Vindhya, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	316
Vijayasimha, <i>Chēdi k.</i> , . . . . .	120	Vindhyaḡiri, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	318
Vijayasimha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	311	Vindhyaśakti, <i>Vākātaka k.</i> , . . . . .	13
Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātrivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	140	Vindhyaavarman, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālwa</i> , . . . . .	229, 230
Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	143	Vindhya-vāsa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	316, 317
Vijaya-Skandavarman II, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	235, 297, 298, 299 and n.	Vindhya-vāsini, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	305, 306, 315, 317
		<i>viṅiyōga</i> , <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 172
		<i>viṅṅapam</i> , . . . . .	99
		Vira-Chōla, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163, 164

	PAGE.
Vira-Chōla, 'who ruled the two Koṅgus', <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163
Vira-Chōla Lankeśvara <i>alias</i> Śōlaṅ Śīlaṅ- baṅ, <i>Sāmanta of Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	164
Viradhavala, <i>ch. of Chāmpāner</i> , . . . . .	217 n.
'Vira' Imādala, <i>Muslim gen.</i> , . . . . .	219, 224, 225
Virakhada, <i>s. a. Viraskanda, m.</i> , . . . . .	257, 259 and n.
Virakōrchavarman, <i>s. a. Viravarman</i> , <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	300
<i>virāma</i> , . . . . .	81 n., 268
<i>Viramitrōdaya</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	40 n.
Vira-Narasimha, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	97
Viranārāyaṇa (Uttama-Chōla), <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163
<i>Virapūṇḍīyaṅ</i> , 'n. of measure of capa- city', . . . . .	156, 168, 169, 171, 172
Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	158 n.
Vira-Pāṇḍya (son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya), <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	157, 158 and n., 160, 161, 164, 165
<i>Virapratāpa</i> , <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	288 and n., 289, 290
Virarājendra, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	94, 159
Virarājendra Rājakēsari-varman, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	106
Vira-Rājendra (Rājakēsari), 'who ruled the two Koṅgus, <i>Koṅgu k.</i> , . . . . .	163, 164, 165
Vira-Rāmanāthadēva, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	91, 92, 94, 95, 96
Virar Virar Kādavarāyar, <i>Kādavarāya</i> <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	24
Vira-Śaivas, <i>s. a. Liṅgayats, rel. sect.</i> , . . . . .	13
Virasēna, <i>Vrishni prince</i> , . . . . .	196, 197
Virasimha, <i>k. of Mewār</i> , . . . . .	311
Viraskanda, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	257
Viraskanda, <i>s. a. Virakhada, m.</i> , . . . . .	260
Vira-Sōmēsvara, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	95, 156, 157, 160, and n., 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166
Vira-Sōmēsvaran-śandi, . . . . .	156, 162
Viraśrī, <i>Kalachuri princess</i> , . . . . .	106
Viravarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	298, 299 and n., 300, 301
<i>Vira-vinōda</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	57 n., 61 n., 310 n.
Virayaśas, <i>Kulūta k.</i> , . . . . .	6 n.
Viriñchi, <i>s. a. Brahmā, god</i> , . . . . .	318
Virsingh, <i>s. a. Viradhavala, ch. of Chām- pāner</i> , . . . . .	217 n.
Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	23
<i>Viryaka</i> , <i>s. a. Viyakamitra</i> , . . . . .	4
Viśākhāryya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	53, 55
Viśākhavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	48
<i>visarga</i> , . . . . .	43 and n., 195 (Brāhmī) 310
<i>visarga</i> , changed into medial <i>ō</i> , . . . . .	316 n.
<i>visarga</i> , omission of—, . . . . .	130, 150, 226
<i>visarga</i> , substituted by <i>sh</i> , . . . . .	330
<i>visarga</i> , superfluous use of—, . . . . .	135 n.
<i>visarga</i> , wrongly used, . . . . .	130
Vishamagiri plates of Indravarmadēva, . . . . .	130
<i>vishaya</i> , <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	18, 19, 39, 78, 130, 133, 135, 150, 151, 153, 181, 182, 235, 238, 239 and n., 273

	PAGE.
<i>Vishayapati</i> , 'head of the district', <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	127, 134, 135, 137, 175
<i>vishaya-sunka</i> , tax, . . . . .	184, 193
<i>Vishaya-vyavahārins</i> , 'officers of the dis- trict', . . . . .	128
<i>Vishayī</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128
<i>Vishayika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	232
Vishṇu, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	232, 233
Vishṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	12 and n., 37 n., 67, 69, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 87, 88, 96, 108, 261, 268, 272, 274, 275, 289, 290, 291, 307, 315, 316 n., 321, 329, 331, 332, 333, 335
Vishṇugōpa, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	237
Vishṇugōpa, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	48
Vishṇugōpa II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	300
Vishṇugōpa III, <i>s. a. Vijaya-Vishṇugōpa- varman, Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	138, 139, 141 and n., 299 n.
Vishṇugōpa, <i>Yuvamahārāja—, Pallava, k.</i> , . . . . .	139, 298, 299 and n., 300 and n., 302
<i>Vishṇuhāra</i> , <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	302n.
Vishṇukunḍins, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	13, 48, 50
<i>Vishṇu-pañchāyatana</i> , . . . . .	58
Vishṇuśarman, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	298, 303
Vishṇuśarman, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	138, 142 and n.
Vishṇuwardhana II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	269, 274
Vishṇuwardhana III, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	139, 270, 274
Vishṇuwardhana IV, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	270, 274
Vishṇuvarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	140
Vishṇuvarmma Sēnāpati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	302n.
<i>vishu</i> , 'equinox', . . . . .	288 and n.
<i>visiadors</i> , 'governors', . . . . .	124
Viśpila, <i>scribe</i> , . . . . .	3, 5, 7, 8
<i>Viśva-chakra</i> , gift, . . . . .	62, 77
Viśvakarmma, <i>myth. architect</i> , . . . . .	65, 72, 77, 84
Viśvanātha, <i>s. a. Śiva, god</i> , . . . . .	320
Viśvarūpachārya, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	134
<i>Viśvāsa</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	127, 128
<i>Viśvasaka</i> , <i>tit. or off.</i> , . . . . .	206, 207
<i>Viśvāsa-Khāna</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128
<i>Viśvāsa-rāya</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	128
<i>Viśvāsika</i> , or <i>Viśvasika</i> , <i>tit. or off.</i> , . . . . .	206, 207
Viśvavarman, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	198n.
Vitarāga, <i>Early Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	176
<i>vithē</i> , 'shops', . . . . .	332, 336
Viṭṭhalēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	280
Vivasvān, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	293
Viyakamitra, <i>vassal of the Greek k. Menan- der</i> , . . . . .	3, 4 and n., 5, 7
<i>viyavan</i> , 'village off.', . . . . .	32 and n.
Vizagapatam, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	15, 47, 49n., 239n.
Vōṅkhāra-bhōga, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	49n.
Vōṅtclvādityasvāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	150, 153
Vraja Maṅḍal, <i>rel. sect.</i> , . . . . .	329
Vriddhāchalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24
Vṛishabha, <i>myth. demon</i> , . . . . .	80



	PAGE.
Vṛishṇis, . . . . . 194, 195, 106 and n., 197, 198,	210
Vṛishṇis, <i>The Five</i> —, . . . . .	199
Vṛishṇi heroes, . . . . .	200
vyādhaḥ, 'hunter', witness, . . . . .	31n.
vyādhaḥ, 'hunter', t. d., . . . . .	150, 153
Vyāsa, sage, . . . . .	53, 56, 278
Vyavahārin, off., . . . . . 172, 175 and n.,	182
vyavasthai, 'regulation', . . . . .	34, 35, 39, 41, 42
vyāvahārin, s. a. vyavahārin, off., . . . . .	172, 175
Vyōmakēśa, s. a. Śiva, god, . . . . .	232
Vyōmaśambhu, Śaiva ascetic, . . . . .	241
Vyōmaśiva, do., . . . . .	241, 242
Vyōmēśa, do., . . . . .	241

## W

Waingāṅgā, ri., . . . . .	11, 123n.
Warangal, ca., . . . . .	98
Wardak Vase inss., . . . . .	2
Wardhā, di., . . . . .	260
Wardhā, ri., . . . . .	260, 263 and n.
Watervliet, Dutch ship, . . . . .	125
wolf (?), emblem on seal, . . . . .	297

## Y

y, . . . . . 9 (Kharōshthī), 10 (Kharōshthī), 20, 57,	
130, 182n., 211 (Early Kushāṇa), 246, 255	
y, doubling of consonants preceding, . . . . .	261
y, subscript, . . . . .	147n., 211
Yādava, epic dy., . . . . .	197
Yādavas, dy., . . . . .	123 and n., 163n., 225n.
Yajñasvāmin, donee, . . . . .	150, 153
Yajñavalkya, smṛiti-writer, . . . . .	30, 31
Yajñavalkya-smṛiti, wk., . . . . .	30n., 31n., 134 and n.
Yajus, Black —, . . . . .	252n.
yamali-kāmali, kind of tax, . . . . .	293, 295
Yamashaheka, tit. or off., . . . . .	206
Yāminī, dy., . . . . .	292
yāmyā, 'Southern direction', . . . . .	319
Yasāhkarṇadēva, Bīnā k., . . . . .	16
Yasāhkarṇadēva, Kalachuri k., . . . . .	105n., 118n., 292
Yasōdhara, min., . . . . .	16, 19
Yasōdharman, k., . . . . .	198n.
Yasōdhavaḷa, m., . . . . .	231, 233
Yasōvarman, s. a. Yasōvarmmadēva, Para-	
māra k., . . . . .	227, 220, 229, 312
Yasōvarmmā, Guhila prince of Mewār, . . . . .	310, 324
Yasōvarmmadēva, Paramāra k., . . . . .	227,
228, 229, 232	
Yasōvighraha, Gāhadavāla k. of Kanauj, . . . . .	292, 293
Yatipati, s. a. Rāmānuja, Vaishṇavite	
teacher, . . . . .	91, 93n.
yātrādāna, . . . . .	163
Yavana, tribe, . . . . .	6

	PAGE.
Yavana, 'Muhammadan', . . . . .	67
Yavanēśvara, 'Muhammadan king', . . . . .	68 and n.
Yayāti, s. a. Mahā-Śivagupta-Yayāti, Gupta	
k. of Dakṣiṇa-Kōśala, . . . . .	105
years of the cycle:—	
Īśvara, . . . . .	117
Khara, . . . . .	108 (add).
Nandana, . . . . .	286 n.
Piṅgaḷa, . . . . .	190 n.
Pramādin, . . . . .	90, 98, 100
Sādhāraṇa, . . . . .	213 n.
Saumya, . . . . .	97 n.
Śubhakṛit, . . . . .	286 n., 287 n.
Vijaya, . . . . .	289 n.
Vikārin, . . . . .	122, 285, 289, 290

## years of the reign:—

1st, . . . . .	165, 237, 239
2nd, . . . . .	165, 211, 212 and n.
3rd, . . . . .	91, 92, 127, 159, 164, 165, 210, 211
4th, . . . . .	44, 158 and n., 159, 165, 181, 182, 183, 301
4+1+1st, . . . . .	165
5th, . . . . .	3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 23, 27, 28, 44, 95, 155 n., 158 n.,
165, 190, 211 n.	
6th, . . . . .	26, 27 n., 28 n., 36 n., 44, 45
7th, . . . . .	28 n.
8th, . . . . .	28 n., 44, 154, 157, 158 n., 165, 167, 170
8+1+1st, . . . . .	165, 168, 171
8th+988th day, . . . . .	165
9th, . . . . .	28 n., 44, 119, 165, 269
10th, . . . . .	28 n., 157, 280, 298, 301, 302
11th, . . . . .	26, 27 and n., 157, 165, 261, 267
11+1st, . . . . .	165
11+1+1st, . . . . .	166
11+3rd, . . . . .	165
12th, . . . . .	29, 144, 145, 158 n., 165, 280
13th, . . . . .	47, 149 n., 261, 269
14th, . . . . .	28 n., 29, 191, 253
15th, . . . . .	166
16th, . . . . .	28 n., 38
18th, . . . . .	54, 189, 262, 263, 269, 270
19th, . . . . .	25, 44, 130, 136, 137, 181, 189 n.
20th, . . . . .	191
21st, . . . . .	28 n., 29, 34, 35
23rd, . . . . .	53, 56, 95, 149 n., 247, 248, 250
24th, . . . . .	25, 28 n., 45, 185, 246, 259
25th, . . . . .	28 n., 35, 41, 42, 95, 164, 269
26th, . . . . .	28 n.
27th, . . . . .	280
28th, . . . . .	23, 25
29th, . . . . .	23, 25
30th, . . . . .	95, 269, 270
31st, . . . . .	25 n.
33rd, . . . . .	211, 269
35th, . . . . .	25, 258, 259, 260



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