

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume II (1894)



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001  
1984

*ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.*

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(NEW IMPERIAL SERIES.)

VOLUME XIV.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME II.



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Reprinted 1983



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Price : Rs. 110.00

Printed by Pearl Offset Press, 5/33, Kirti Nagar Industrial Area,  
New Delhi-110015.

*ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.*

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:

A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,

TRANSLATED BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

EDITED BY

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## VOLUME II.

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CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING INDIA.

CALCUTTA—THACKER, SPINK & Co. BOMBAY—THACKER & Co., LD.

LONDON—Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., LUSAC & Co. LEIPZIG—O. HARRASSOWITZ.

1894.

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## PREFACE.

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

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

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



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

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

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

"I learned," he says, in his very instructive report, "that the casket had been found just above the summit of the remaining portion of the brick dome. I ascertained this point to be 15 feet above the level of the floor of the procession-path which surrounds the building. Although this casket had been found, I considered that, as the principal deposit is usually placed down in the centre near the foundation, or at the level of the procession-path, there was a great probability of there being another. After having found the centre of the circular brick-work, which, through the demolition, is not now in the middle of the mound but considerably towards the north, I saw that the bricks there had not been touched. In the centre was a narrow well,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, filled with earth. This hole, it appears, was open when the top of the stûpa was removed, and was then sounded with a rope to a depth of about 15 feet from the present surface. Around it were courses of eight bricks radiating from the centre to a diameter of 3 feet. These bricks I removed to a depth of 14 feet 6 inches.

"At that depth I came on a large, irregular, triangular slab of black stone laid on the outside of the excavated shaft. The two inner sides of the stone radiated from the centre, its outer side was curved concentric with the brick-work, and extended a foot into the wall of the shaft. It would have lain clear, had another ring of brick-work been removed, making the shaft 5 feet in diameter, but I did not expect to find more than one casket, in the centre. On removing it, I found a rectangular cutting on the under surface of the stone measuring 11 inches by 8 inches and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch deep: the length was placed east and west. Below it was another similar but thicker stone with a raised rectangular rim on its upper surface cut to fit into the hollow in the upper stone. The inner sides of this rectangle slope down into a circular cavity 5 inches deep. The

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\* *Conf. Ind. Ant.* vol. I, pp. 153, 374; vol. III, p. 124; *Madras G. O.* 1st Nov. 1878, No. 1620, pp. 33, 34.

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

In the cavity, was a small globular black stone relic-casket. Around the casket, and mixed with some earth which filled the cavity, were the following objects:—2 small hemispherical hollow copper or bell-metal (?) cups,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inches in diameter: they fit into each other, and one bears traces of some sort of resin having been inside; on the apex of one is a gold bead,  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch in diameter; the other has had a gold bead also, which was found in the earth alongside; 1 copper finger ring and several bits of copper; 1 small bead; 2 double pearls; and the following articles in gold, weighing collectively  $\frac{1}{2}$  tola and 13 grains (*i.e.*, 148 grains) *viz.*, 1 single and 1 double gold bead; 7 small triangular pieces; 4 lotus flowers in thin sheets with eight bent petals, each  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inches across; 2 *trīśūlas* in thin plates each  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inches by 1 inch; 1 hexagonal crystal with slightly convex sides,  $2\frac{1}{16}$  inches by  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, pierced with a hole through its axis. On each of the sides of the prism is lightly traced an inscription in the same character as that on the stone (see No. x, p. 329).

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

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

"At a depth of 17 feet, was another black stone, on the north side of the well, and, like the first, sunk a foot into the wall. It is roughly triangular in form, with rounded corners, and measures about 2 feet across, by 10 inches thick. On the top is a circle,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, raised half an inch. The under-side is smooth with a circular hollow 12 inches in diameter and half an inch deep. The circle is filled in with an inscription in 18 lines (No. iii, p. 327), while around it, are two others in two lines (Nos. iv and v, p. 328). All had the letters filled in with white. Below it was a stone, roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. In it is a circular cavity  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter at the top and 4 at the bottom. Round the top is a raised rim  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad; and on the upper surface, round the hole, are inscriptions in two lines (Nos. vi and vii, p. 328). The characters are the same as those of the inscription first described. The letters were filled with *chunam*, evidently that they might show distinctly in the black stone. The cavity was nearly filled with earth and had no inner stone casket. In it was a crystal phial  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches in diameter by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches high. Its lid is moulded like a *dāgaba*. The top and bottom were lying separate and filled with earth. There was no sign of a relic inside. Mixed with the earth in the stone cavity were,—164 lotus leaves and buds, 2 circular flowers, a *trīśūla*, and a three-armed figure like a *svastika*,—all in gold leaf; 2 gold stems for the lotus flowers—one of them attached; 6 gold beads; and 1 small coiled gold ring. The lotus leaves (or petals) are of different sizes, having been fitted inside each other as in the flower itself. The beads represent the opening buds. These articles weigh collectively close on  $1\frac{3}{4}$  tolas (315 grs.). Also, two pearls; 1 garnet; six coral beads and one bit of the same material; 1 slightly blue, flat, oval, crystal bead; one pointed, oval, white crystal bead; and two green tinged, flat, hexagonal beryl drops: one is  $\frac{1}{2}$  and the other  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in length; a number of bits of corroded copper leaf, including lotus flowers, stems, a miniature umbrella, and one or more thin sheets of silver folded flat into about eight thicknesses. The metal of the latter is much corroded and extremely brittle: it will be impossible to unfold the sheets. One side is broken but the fragments remain. The largest piece measures 2 inches by  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and shows some letters or symbols pricked on with a metal point.

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

7½ inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom. On the top is a rim 2¼ inches broad which fits into the hollow in the upper stone. On the upper surface of the stone, round the rim, is an inscription in one line, with letters whitened (No. ix, p. 329).

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

"Close to the phial, was found the actual relic casket with the relics inside. It is made of a large beryl measuring ⅞ inch in length, by ⅜ inch, by ⅜ inch. A cylindrical hole, ⅜ inch in diameter, is drilled in its axis, in which are the relics,—three small pieces of bone. The hole is closed by a small white crystal stopper with hexagonal bulbous top. The necking is covered with gold leaf, and another sheet of the same material is fixed outside on the bottom. This unique casket had been originally placed inside the crystal phial, but had been displaced probably by shaking of the stone when it was laid. There was also in the cavity:—1 amethyst bead ⅝ inch long; another smaller; and 1 yellow coloured crystal bead; 1 small hexagonal crystal drop of a slightly yellowish colour, and another flat one of white crystal; 1 bone bead; 6 pearls, and 32 seed pearls, all pierced; 30 lotus flowers, a bent two-armed figure, and a quatre-foil in gold leaf; a piece of seemingly decomposed quartz having the appearance of salt but insoluble in water; a few bits of copper, and an iron (?) cinder.

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

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

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

JAS. BURGESS.

22, SEYON PLACE, EDINBURGH:

*August, 1894.*



# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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

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

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

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅜" and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *om om namo Vrahmaṇe* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevi.<sup>3</sup> As regards orthography, the letter *ḥ*

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

<sup>2</sup> See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. li and lii; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nāgpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karnadeva, according to another it belongs to Gayakarna, and the transcript is said to read *Sri-mukha-Karna*: but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yaśaḥkarna and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Śrīmad-Yaśaḥkarna*. Karnadeva is said to have built a fort named Karna Meru from which flowed the river Karpavati; in reality Karna built a temple at Banāras, which the poet describes as Karna's Meru, and he founded the town of Karpavati. The same Karna is said to have conquered Bhīmeśvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhīma II, one of the eastern Chālukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yaśaḥkarna defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhīmeśvara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 7, note 48.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 483—495; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—123. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhī inscription.

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

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

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—‘and this...*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva,’<sup>4</sup>—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, i.e., Yaśaḥkarnadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nāgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayakarnadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarnadeva<sup>5</sup> which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśaḥkarṇa would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nāgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription<sup>6</sup> the grant recorded in it was made ‘at the time of the Makara-samkrānti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha.’ And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year<sup>7</sup> the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year the Makara-samkrānti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A. D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Māghabadi 10 of Chedi-samvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśaḥkarnadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-samvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078—1178) the only year in which the Makara-samkrānti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Māgha, was Śaka-samvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122—23).

TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>9</sup> [॥<sup>\*</sup>] श्री नमो ब्र(त्र)ह्मणे ॥  
जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानज(ज)सूतिः ॥(1)  
अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदष्टास्तदनु जयति जश्म प्राप्तवा-
2. नश्विवन्तुः<sup>10</sup> ॥<sup>11</sup>—[1].  
अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमज्जवाश्ववस्त्र<sup>12</sup> ।  
तनयं जनयाव(ब)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[2].  
पुत्रं पुरुरवसमीरसमाप सू-
3. नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य ।  
आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥<sup>14</sup>—[3].  
अ[त्रा]न्वये किल यताधिकसप्तमिधयूपोपरुहयमुनो-
4. क्षविविक्तकीर्तिः ॥(1)  
सप्ताश्वि(श्वि)रत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविस्त्रं(श्वं)भ[रा]सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥ —[4].  
हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कासर्व्वीर्यः ॥(1)  
अ-
5. त्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम स(श)शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥ —[5].  
स हिमाचल इव कलशुरिवंस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृतां भर्ता [॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
सुक्तामणिभिरिवामलहत्तैः पूतं महीप-
6. तिभिः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[6].  
तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरोमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥(1)  
आसीद्वद्वान्वयपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्मायकेसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[7].  
सिंहासने नृप-
7. तिसिंहमसुथ सुतुमारुरूपवनिभर्तुरमात्यमुख्याः ॥(1)  
कोकिलमर्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टरुचतुरङ्गचनूपचारं ॥ —[8].  
इन्दुप्रभां निंदति हारगुच्छं सुगुप्सते
8. चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती [॥]  
यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्तिः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[9].  
मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः क्षिताक्षो<sup>18</sup> नगरपरिषदैर्घी(र्घ्यं) लंघय[न्तो]र्घ्येन ।  
[शिर]सि
9. कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[10].  
सवीरसिंहासनमीलिर[त्रं] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।  
य[क्षाद]कक्षादप[वर्गं ?]-

<sup>8</sup> From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> Read °नश्विवन्तुः.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>12</sup> Read °मज्जवाश्ववस्त्र.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā. As the noun *nirmātha* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *nirmāthi* (*nirmāthin*).

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>18</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī.



- L. 10. मिच्छन्नकुच्छलः कुं स्वजि? तां व(व)भार ॥<sup>20</sup>—[11].  
 प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श)व(व)भौ सार्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्तिं ।  
 पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलितारि करीन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलैः
11. कर्णककुभीर्षति कर्णदेवः ॥<sup>22</sup>—[12].  
 कनकसि(शि)खरवेङ्गहैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितग[ग]नखिलत्वेचरोचक्रखे[द]ः ॥(1)  
 किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्यां) य[स्य] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(व)?]-
12. हल[कीर्त्तः] कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेवः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[13].  
 अग्रं धाम से(त्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःसवन्थाः किरीटं [1\*]  
 व्र(व्र)ह्मस्तंभो येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्य[ष्ठापि] क्षातलव्र(व्र)ह्मलो[कः]
13. ॥<sup>24</sup>—[14].  
 अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हृणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्मणां श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां ॥(1)  
 शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्गाक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वैलासहचरितयस(श):श्रीः श्रीयस(श):कर्ण-
14. देवः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[15].  
 [चंद्रार्कदीप]वति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभासिनि महा[ब्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमध्ये[1\*]  
 चक्रे पुरोहितपुर[स्कृ]तिपूत[कर्मा] धर्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं ॥<sup>26</sup>—[16].  
 न
15. खलु स[मदगो]ष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ॥<sup>27</sup>न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलो[ज्ञावकष?] ॥(1)  
 कलयन्नि कलिनामन्युहमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(जम्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[17].  
 चिन्ता-
16. मणि[कृष्ण?]सु(श)क्तियु[ग्म]क्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं [1\*]  
 दृष्टे(श्ये)त दृशोस्तस्य दातुः सादृश्यं(श्यं) [ध]वलारुणेक्षणस्य । ॥<sup>29</sup>—[18].  
 यः ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसत्र(व्र)ह्मचारिणः ।
17. [आसा(शा)न्ते]षु जयस्तन्मानुदस्तंभयदुश्चकैः ॥<sup>30</sup>—[19].  
 यो व्र(व्र)ह्मणा पाणिषु पंचषाणि दाता<sup>31</sup>निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [1\*]  
 तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यव[ज्ञां] ॥<sup>32</sup>—[20].
18. महीभर्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [1]  
 गरिम्णा [मि]रत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिनः । ॥<sup>33</sup>—[21].  
 स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि चीरनीरनिधिसं(श)खसु(श)चीनि ।  
 सा(शा)ङ्गि-
19. [वेष?]फणिकंचुकभांसि स्फोटतां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥<sup>34</sup>—[22].  
 अन्धाधीस(श)मरुदोर्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता  
 येनाभ्यर्च्यत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व(श्व)रो

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>21</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>27</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Bhadravirāj. The third Pāda wants one short syllable, between *drisṣos* and *tasya*. I would suggest reading *tadāśya*.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>31</sup> This is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>33</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>34</sup> Metre, Svāgatā.

L. 20.

[भूष]णैः ॥(1)

यस्मा[व]र्ण[यदात्त?]दृत्वलहरीदुवस्निगोदावरी

[वीर्यायु?]अदहंसनादमधुरैः स्रोतःसरैः सप्तभिः ॥(॥)<sup>35</sup>—[23].

कुर्वन्महीं त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणसा-

21.

दरिचतनिव(व)र्णः [1<sup>x</sup>]शा(सा)र्च पदसु(श)रामेष यः सार्धमधिरोहति ॥<sup>36</sup>—[24].

स च परममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रन्नीवामदेवपा-

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(Verse 1.) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus ! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye!<sup>37</sup>

(2.) Now the king<sup>38</sup> who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god<sup>39</sup> who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvaśī and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings.

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

(5.) Highly glorious is in his family that Kârtavîrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king<sup>40</sup> only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

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

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

(8.) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,<sup>41</sup> was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>37</sup> This first verse glorifies the god Viṣṇu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, i.e., Mercury) married (Ilā or Iḍā) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuṇa), and that their son was Purûravas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.

<sup>38</sup> i.e., the moon.

<sup>39</sup> i.e., again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.

<sup>40</sup> For the same idea, compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading *chakrame* in the Kumbhī copper-plate (instead of *chakrame*) yields no sense.

<sup>41</sup> The original has only the word *chaturāṅga*.

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

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

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

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

(13.) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kāśī, there is a temple (*erected by him*), Karṇa's *Meru*,<sup>42</sup> (*so lofty*) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

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

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

(16.) Of this law-abiding (*son*) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.<sup>43</sup>

(17.) Glorious is that jewel-lamp<sup>44</sup> of Jambūdvīpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lampblack—base conduct.

(18.) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (*put*) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (*king*) whose eyes are both white and red.<sup>45</sup>

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

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

<sup>42</sup> *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, i, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gāṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

<sup>43</sup> At an ordinary *abhisheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśaḥkarṇa's *abhisheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himālaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

<sup>44</sup> i.e., a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world, including India.

<sup>45</sup> The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.

Brāhmans<sup>46</sup>; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.<sup>47</sup>

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

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

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he revered the holy Bhīmeśvara<sup>48</sup> with many ornaments. The Godāvarī, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

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

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

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

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 907.

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

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

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

<sup>46</sup> viz., at the time when he is making donations to them.

<sup>47</sup> The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'

<sup>48</sup> i.e., the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākṣhārāma in the Godāvarī district.—E. H.]

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 78.

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

the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{9}{16}$  and  $\frac{11}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *mahīpālaḥ=Karṇaḥ*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhmānīya* in *Hūṇaḥ=praharṣaṃ*, in line 10. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.<sup>3</sup> The language is not quite free from mistakes.<sup>4</sup> For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhattām*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *vidhattām* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chaṇḍimatā*, and, in line 2, the adjective *valgu*, used in the sense of the participle *valgat*. And the rules of *saṃdhi* have not been observed in *kim=vā*, line 2, and in *yushmān=śarīraiḥ*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *ḍ* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *v*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrat*, but in line 6 *vibhrat*; in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have *śaṭāla*, instead of *saṭāla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anuvāra* the dental *n* has been wrongly employed in the word *sinha* (in the proper names *Vairisinka*, *Vijayasinha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *vanśa*, line 20, and in *sudhānsuḥ*, line 18 (properly written *sudhāmsu* in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *sansatsu*, line 5, and *etān=sūriḥ*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anuvāra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anuvāra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇīdhara<sup>5</sup> and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra*; written on the stone by his elder brother Prithvīdhara; and engraved by Mahīdhara, a son of the artizan Bālasimha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhanadevī, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayākarnadeva, and mother of the reigning king Nara-simhadeva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *maṭha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nāmaūṇḍī, in the Jāulī *pattalā*, and of Makarapāṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāsupata ascetic, named Rudrarāśi, of Lāṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pīthe.

<sup>3</sup> The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

<sup>4</sup> Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

<sup>5</sup> Dharaṇīdhara, Prithvīdhara and Mahīdhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva, of the Chedi year 902. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2.

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

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

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha commenced 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exceptionally, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,

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

The two villages Nāmaūṇḍī and Makarapāṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāulī *pattalā*, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśahkarna's copper-plate,<sup>6</sup> must have been the country around Jabalpur.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>8</sup>[॥<sup>9</sup>] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥  
 कल्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनीतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥(1)  
 एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगतां द्वितीयावु(बु)द्धिमदोषविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥<sup>9</sup>—[1].
2. किं मालाः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किन्मर्मप्रकर्माङ्कुराः<sup>10</sup>  
 किम्वा<sup>11</sup>कक्षुकिक्कुकाः किमथवा भृत्यद्वयमा भान्यमी ।  
 इत्यन्नाकिवितर्किताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगा-  
 रिङ्गद्वलांतरङ्गभङ्गिततयः पुष्पप्र-
3. पाः पान्तु वः ॥<sup>12</sup>—[2].  
 भूतं सद्भिषु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जग-  
 क्षेत्रानन्दकरं धराश्रयरसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् ।  
 यद्वन्मोहुरधाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः  
 सस्यै यदरूपमेभिरवताद्युष्मान्ध(ज्म)रीरैः
4. शिवः ॥ —[3].  
 शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचर्चितः ।  
 ताण्डवाडव(ब)रः कुर्यान्नीलकण्ठः प्रियाणि वः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[4].  
 विघ्नौघसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया शकलं सुधांशोः ।  
 कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाङ्घ्रा-
5. नः श्रेयः परन्दिशतु वः सदयं द्विपास्यः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[5].  
 रूपैरनेकैर्व्यवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती वः ।  
 यक्षेशलालित्यलवादि स्यात्सन्सत्सु<sup>15</sup>पुसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् ॥<sup>16</sup>—[6].  
 गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-
6. रभूद्धि(हि)भस्वहसं करा-  
 न्प्रत्येकान्तिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जाम्यविः ।  
 तेजोभिर्जगतीभृताम्यरिभवी नाम्नाङ्गुनः संस्मृते-  
 र्यस्याप्याप्यधिगम्यते वस्तु गतकीर्तं च चौरैश्चिरम् ॥<sup>17</sup>—[7].  
 तस्या-
7. न्वये समभवत्प्रथितः पृथिव्या नाथः कथाश्रुततमापि वृथा न यस्य ।  
 कोकलदेव इति बिम्बदु[दार]रूपनाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥<sup>18</sup>—[8].  
 निर्जित्योर्जितगर्वपर्वतभृतः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

<sup>6</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>10</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* in the last word is very faint, but it is there.

<sup>11</sup> Read किं वा.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>15</sup> Read स्यात्सन्सत्सु.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

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

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

L. 8.

भुजः

प्राप्तानन्तयया बभूव नृपतिर्भाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः ।  
पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमेण[रि]धनां  
स्वर्णाद्रूर्ध्वमधःस्त्रितापि विबुधाधारे [स?]मापादिता ॥<sup>19</sup>—[9].  
पुण्यासृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धसज्जप्रवर्धि-

9.

[त]र ।

यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्व्व व्याप त्र(त्र)ह्याण्डमण्डपम(म) ॥<sup>20</sup>—[10].  
तेनाजनि महीपालङ्करणैः स्वर्णेन कुर्व्वता ।  
पूर्य्यतृष्णार्य्यवानर्थिसार्थानर्थितकीर्त्तिना ॥ —[11].  
पाण्ड्यशङ्किमताभ्युमोच मुरलस्तत्वाज गव्य[य]र्द्ध<sup>21</sup>

10.

[कु]ङ्कः<sup>22</sup> सङ्गतिमाजगाम चकपे<sup>23</sup>वङ्कः कलिङ्गेः सह ।  
कीरः कीरवदास पञ्चरष्टहे ऋण७प्रहर्षे जहौ  
यस्मिन्नाजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं विभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥<sup>24</sup>—[12].  
अस्मद्भर्तृपरभवेन सकला-

11.

भुंक्ते [मुवं] यामसौ

तामेतास्तनवामहै तनुतराकारामितोव स्त्रियः ।  
यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजात्रयनजैर्वाधैः पयोधीन्वाधुः  
स्कारान्नममहीभिभिः पुनरमी तं वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-<sup>25</sup>

12.

किरि ॥ —[13].

चम्पारस्थविदारणीतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासय-  
न्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावद्वयः स्नापालचूडामणिः ।  
तस्माज्जम्भ समाससाद विद्यदं श्रीमान्धशःकरणं ह-  
त्वीदार्याह[निकी]-<sup>26</sup>

13.

चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष सर्व्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाङ्गवत्सभः समभवद्वयकर्णदेवः ।  
यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपदे ॥<sup>27</sup>—[15].

14.

द्युतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथुतरगुणमालः शत्रुवर्गैककालः ।  
विमलितरणमालः काम्बकीर्त्त्या श(स)टालः श्रिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[16].  
अस्ति

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The *akṣhara* put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>21</sup> Of the *akṣhara* in brackets only the consonant *r* is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably गव्यार्द्ध.

<sup>22</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter *k* remains. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xviii, p. 217, line 10.

<sup>23</sup> This reading is absolutely certain. चकपे is grammatically incorrect, for चकपे.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 12-14, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> The word तं of this line is quite certain. Of the *akṣharas* in brackets only the first is partly visible.

<sup>26</sup> Of the *akṣharas* in these brackets only the vowel *i* of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī.



- L. 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रस्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ।  
श्रीर्यावसञ्चितनिरर्म्मलसैन्यसंघनस्त्रीकृतास्त्रिमलद्रिपुचक्रवालः ॥<sup>32</sup>—[17].  
तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-
16. चमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जिताङ्गेः<sup>33</sup> ।  
श्रीवैरिसिन्धुवसुधाधिपतिर्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्विधिर्न परमर्यिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥—[18].  
स श्रीरिसिन्धोप्यनयद्रिपूषां कुलानि गभीरगुहाय-
17. ह्यणि ।  
स्त्रयश्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥<sup>34</sup>—[19].  
तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यश्रीर्यभरभङ्गुरिताङ्गितश्रीः ।  
पृष्णीपतिर्विजयसिन्धु<sup>35</sup> इति
18. प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य ययःसुधान्धः<sup>36</sup> ॥<sup>35</sup>—[20].  
तस्याभवन्नालवमण्डलाधिनायोदयादित्यसुता सुरूपा ।  
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरञ्जितश्रीः ॥<sup>36</sup>—[21].
19. मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभूतामायका-  
हीरिस्त्रामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षाग्रजानां सुजः ।  
तस्मादलक्ष्मदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाचक्रमाङ्गुपते-  
रेतस्त्राञ्ज-
20. श्रीवर्षवन्धविशदप्रैक्ष्यताकाकृतिः ॥<sup>37</sup>—[22].  
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णनरेखरः ।  
चक्रे प्रीतिम्यरामस्त्रां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[23].  
शृङ्गारयाला कलशो कलानां जावन्धमाला गु-
21. चपलभूमिः ।  
पद्मत्त पुत्रव्यकर्णभूपादसौ नरेयश्वरसिन्धुदेवम्<sup>39</sup> ॥<sup>41</sup>—[24].  
अस्य श्रीनरसिन्धुदेवपतेः<sup>40</sup> प्रोद्यन्त्यशसन्दमा  
दिम्बिन्तीर्विदधातु व(व)त्पुत्रसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव ।  
भूर्भर्तारस-
22. वाप्य चैनसुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुया-  
त्पूर्वेषां यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभूतां ध्यायति ॥<sup>42</sup>—[25].  
अस्त्रालुजो विजयतां जयसिन्धुदेवः<sup>43</sup> सौमित्रिवप्रथमजिह्वतरुपसेवः ।  
यो मेघनादव(व)हु-
23. मायमहातिकायसैन्यं विषामभिभवन्नह[ह] प्रहस्तः ॥<sup>44</sup>—[26].  
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलिरिदम्भेनाङ्गुतभूमिकेन ।

<sup>32</sup> Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>33</sup> Originally "वि" or "वि"; but altered to "वृ": At the commencement of the next line read श्रीवैरिसिन्धु.

<sup>34</sup> Read श्रीवैरिसिन्धु.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.

<sup>36</sup> Read "विजय".

<sup>37</sup> Read "सुधान्ध".

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>40</sup> Read श्रीवैरिसिन्धु.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>43</sup> Read "विजयदेव".

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>45</sup> Read श्रीनरसिन्धु.

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>47</sup> Read जयसिन्धु.

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

सहासुना श्रीनरसिंहदेवप्रसूरासावल्लभदेव्युदारा<sup>46</sup>—[27].

व्याख्यानशा-

L. 24. लामुखानमालामविकलाममूम(म्) ।

अकारयत्सुयं शम्भुप्रासादालीङ्गयन्त्रिजैः<sup>47</sup>—[28].

देवायास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाह्वी जाडलीपत्तलायाम् ।

ग्रामास्त्रा नामडक्कीति सर्वादायैः<sup>48</sup>स्त्रा-

25. ई चारुचर्चाप्रसिद्धैः<sup>49</sup>—[29].

नर्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्वतोपत्यकान्त्रये ।

तथापरमदाङ्गामास्त्रा मकरपाटकम्<sup>50</sup>—[30].

लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्विधिवद्भक्तम्<sup>51</sup> ।

खानस्थ रक्षावि-

26. धिमस्थ तावद्यावन्निमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः<sup>52</sup>—[31].

मौन्या(ना)न्वये<sup>53</sup>भार्गववैतहव्यसावेतसेतिप्रवरत्रयास्मै ।

महेन्द्रराख्याधरणीधरोभूवास्त्रा गरिम्णा यशसा त्रिया च<sup>54</sup>—[32].

कोमल-

27. कान्तिसटालेनीचैःज्ञेहातिभारभरितेन ।

दीर्घमनोज्ञदयेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन<sup>55</sup>—[33].

पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्थवपारदृष्ट्वा ।

प्रशस्तिमेतामलिख्यदीयैर्हि-

28. डम्भल्लो शिखरपौर्व्विजिम्भे<sup>56</sup>—[34].

एतस्मावरजस्तर्कनिष्ठातोद्भूतनैपुणः<sup>57</sup> ।

प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतान्मूरिः<sup>58</sup>शशिधराभिधः<sup>59</sup>—[35].

<sup>60</sup>भक्त्यदिदं सर्वं विश्वकर्म्मविधानवित् ।

पीथेसमभिधः सूत्र-

29. धारः पृथ्वीमृदुर्यथा<sup>61</sup>—[36].

सूत्रधाराशचीवा(वा)लसिंहसुनुर्महीधरः<sup>62</sup> ।

शिलास्तथाकरोहर्णैर्भक्तसारकितं यथा<sup>63</sup>—[37].

संवत् ८०७ मार्गशुद्धि ११<sup>64</sup>रजौ ॥ ❧ ॥ ❧ ॥

<sup>46</sup> Read श्रीनरसिंह<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>49</sup> This sign of *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Śālini.

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>52</sup> The correct form would of course be विश्वत्तम्.

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>54</sup> The correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>56</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>57</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>58</sup> Of the *akṣhara* तौ the superscript line which turns a into o is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.

<sup>59</sup> Read ° तौ

<sup>60</sup> Metre of verses 35-37, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>61</sup> Originally चार्<sup>0</sup>, altered to चर्<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Read °वासिंह<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> There is no doubt whatever about these figures.

## TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1.) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only one (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*)!<sup>64</sup>

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping<sup>65</sup> tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view!

(3.) (*That body*) which, being a gross element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light; (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures; and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth; (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is characterized by cold; (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel;—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies<sup>66</sup> (*of his*) protect you!

(4.) May Nīlakaṇṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you!<sup>67</sup>

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

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

(7.) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Arjuna, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom<sup>68</sup> is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago.

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

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

<sup>64</sup> *Viz.*, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *kalyāṇitā* is not given by the dictionaries.

<sup>65</sup> *Valgu*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *valgat*, opposed to *ringat*.

<sup>66</sup> These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā*.

<sup>67</sup> The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*nīlakaṇṭha*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to the god Kārttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandraka* by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

<sup>68</sup> Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, which expresses the same idea.

supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*<sup>69</sup> without equal.

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

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

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence,<sup>70</sup> the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,<sup>71</sup> the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vāṅga trembled with the Kalinga, the Kira staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hūṇa left off being merry.

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

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

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarnadeva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function<sup>72</sup> of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

(16.) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,<sup>73</sup> was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

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

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

(19.) That Vairisimha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

<sup>70</sup> The abstract noun *chāṇḍimāda* of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is *chāṇḍiman*.

<sup>71</sup> Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

<sup>72</sup> This function belongs properly to the moon.

<sup>73</sup> This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishnu, *Harer-vīryam*, (see M. Williams' *Dictionary*); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *Srī*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishnu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

<sup>74</sup> Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>76</sup> *I.e.*, Lakṣmaṇa.

<sup>77</sup> *Meghaṇḍa* and *Atikāya* are also the names of two sons of the demon Rāvaṇa; and *Prahasta* was one of Rāvaṇa's generals.

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

<sup>79</sup> Compare the *Āśvalāyana-Srautasūtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 872.

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

(V. 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp<sup>81</sup> to the three worlds.

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

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

(36.) The architect named Pīthe, who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,<sup>82</sup> planned all this, as Prithu did the earth.

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

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

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

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

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

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

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

<sup>81</sup> The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; *sneha* also means 'oil', and *dasā* 'the wick of a lamp'.

<sup>82</sup> The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 536; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 487.

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

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

used instead of the palatal in *naresvaraḥ*, line 3, *Kesavaḥ* and *aivaram*, line 6, and *Kesavanya*, line 8; and *n* instead of *anuvāra* in *Jayasinha-*, line 4, (but not in *Narasinha-*, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *sandhi*.

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *nāyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kātyāyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka; during the reign of the king Jayasimhadeva, a younger brother of the king Narasimhadeva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayākarna. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. Referring this date, again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, for the solar Śrāvaṇa lasted from the 26th June, 12 h. 3·2 m., to the 27th July, 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 h. 30 m., and on the 27th July, 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śrāvaṇa corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 h. 35 m. and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrāvaṇa corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Svātī about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrāvaṇa.<sup>4</sup>

The village Sīkhā which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mālavaka or Mālava, I am unable to identify.

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

- I. 1. श्री<sup>6</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>] ज्ञानानंद<sup>7</sup> परं ब्र(म)ह्म ब्र(म)ह्मादिसुरसेवितं । वंदेम-
2. हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमन्नयाक-
3. र्णवृषस्य<sup>8</sup> सुतुर्वरेख(ख)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो<sup>9</sup> । जिष्मे धरि-
4. श्रीमनुजोस्य सम्पाट्<sup>10</sup> जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिंहदेवः<sup>11</sup> ॥
5. <sup>12</sup>वि[प्रो योस्त]<sup>13</sup>कना[माभू]दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।
6. केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादमसुमैख(ख)रम् ॥
7. सम्बत्<sup>14</sup> ८२८ आवषसुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोत्रं कात्यायनं खानं मा[ल?]-<sup>15</sup>
9. वके सीखाग्रामः ॥<sup>16</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 62.

<sup>5</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>9</sup> Read "हरः".

<sup>10</sup> Read सभाट्.

<sup>11</sup> Read "सिंहदेवः".

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>13</sup> The reading of the *aksharas* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be विप्रसासकनाकोसूद<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>15</sup> The *akshara* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.

<sup>16</sup> This line is on the proper left margin.

## TRANSLATION.

Om!

(Line 1.) Let us adore (*him<sup>17</sup> who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmā and the other gods,—Mahādeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

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

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)<sup>18</sup>, caused that temple of Īvara to be built.

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

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

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

By H. H. DHURVA, B.A., LL.B.

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

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

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3½, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sāmdhivigrahika* Āditya-Bhogika. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is “a small man not more than a Thākur of one or a few villages; for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, *e. g.* in the Kāvī grant of Jayabhāṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 110). In the *Deśīkosha* its Prākṛit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grāma-pradhāna*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *I. e.*, Mahādeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

<sup>18</sup> Or possibly: ‘The Brāhman, named Astaka, had (a son) Āladeva; his son Keśava.’ See note 13, above.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bühler's *Pāyālaśekhānāmāṇḍī*, v. 104 (*gāmanī bhoio ya gāmanai*, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as “headman or lord of a village,” and quotes *bhogika* from inscriptions. The Gujarātī for *bhogika* or *bhoio* is *bhōyo*, and *grāmapati* or *gāmanai* is *gāmetā*. The word *bhoga*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pālana* or “protection,”—see *Amara*, III, 23, and Maheśvara's commentary on it, also *Viśvakosha*, v. 268; *Medinīkosha*, v. 16 of words ending in *ga*; and *Trīkāṇḍaśekhakośha*, III, 120 (पालने स्ववहारे च निर्वेशे पश्ययोषिताः । भोगः सुखे चने वाहे; इतीरपचदीर्घा । Thus भोगिक according to these authorities would be an equivalent of पालक or “protector;” as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.



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

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, i.e. with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Samvat 346 probably corresponds with A.D. 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III., circiter 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.<sup>3</sup> Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. आचन्द्रार्कवर्षवर्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यसुदकातिसर्गेषु
2. प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुत्रययोर्भिहृदये अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्वा 'क्रियत × करि-
3. षापयतो' वा न कैश्चिद्वापेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरक्षदङ्गैर्वी<sup>7</sup> सामान्यं भूमि-
4. दानफलमवेत्तायमक्षहायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता व्या-
5. सेन ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त्वा राजभिः 'सागरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
6. तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
7. व नरके वसे' ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयास्तु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः क्षणसर्पा भिजायन्ते<sup>8</sup>
8. ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[.] ॥ यानीह दस्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि धर्माख्ययशस्कराणि निर्मा-
9. खवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु × पुनराददौत ॥ लिखितं चात्र साध्विविग्रहिकेना-
10. दिव्यभोगिकेन संवत्सरशतत्रयं षट्चत्वारिङ्गोत्तरके<sup>10</sup> ॥ ३४६

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Read कषतः.

<sup>5</sup> Correctly कर्षयती.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'क्षीरलेवा.

<sup>7</sup> Read सागरादिभिः

<sup>7</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>8</sup> Read हि जायन्ते.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'नये.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'रिन्द्रदुत्तरके.

No. I. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA III. Ch. Sam. 346. (2nd plate).

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे भगवत्पश्यन् कुरु-  
 क्षेत्रं दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रो पाप-  
 मृत्योर्मायाम्बुजं विमलजम्बु-  
 दहम् ॥ १ ॥

*From impressions by H.H. Dhruba.*

Size of original

No. 2. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA IV. Ch. Sam. 391 (2nd plate).

ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದುದು. ೧. ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ  
 ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೨. ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ  
 ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೩.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೪.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೫.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೬.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೭.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೮.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೯.  
 ಸರ್ವಜನರೂ ಅರಿತಂತೆ ಇದೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದುದು. ೧೦.

*Size of original.*

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

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया<sup>13</sup> उदकातिसर्गेणोच्छिष्टं<sup>14</sup> यतोऽस्मात्तद्वृक्षैरन्यैर्वागामिभोगपतिभिः अय-<sup>15</sup>
2. <sup>16</sup>मन्त्रादायोनुमन्त्र्य<sup>17</sup> पालयितव्यं यो वाञ्छानतिमिरपटला<sup>18</sup> वितराच्छिन्त्यादाच्छिन्त्यमान<sup>19</sup> वा-
3. नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः<sup>20</sup> संयुक्तः<sup>21</sup> स्या<sup>22</sup> इत्युक्तं भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवरिष-
4. सहस्राणि<sup>23</sup> स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदा<sup>24</sup> चाच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे<sup>25</sup> विन्ध्याटवीष्व-  
तोयासु शुष्क-
5. कोटरवासिनः<sup>26</sup> क्रिष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः<sup>27</sup> यानोह दत्तानि पुरा  
नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
6. धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तामव्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम<sup>28</sup> साधुः<sup>29</sup> पुनरादधीति<sup>30</sup> स्वदत्ता<sup>31</sup>  
परदत्तां वा
7. यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर<sup>32</sup> मही<sup>33</sup> महिमता<sup>34</sup> श्रेष्ठ दातातुच्छेद्योनुपालनमिति<sup>35</sup>
8. संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये<sup>36</sup> वैशाखवहुलपक्षदश्यां सं ३९१ वैशाख व १५
9. दूतकोच भोगिकपालकटज्ञानः<sup>37</sup> दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनु
10. रणयहस्य श्रीदहपादान्तर्घाति<sup>38</sup> लिखितमिदं संश्लिष्विगृहाधिक्रित<sup>39</sup>मात्रिभटेन

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

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

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.  
<sup>12</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 908 ff.; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. I, pp. 247 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Read °शर्मा.

<sup>14</sup> Read °ओच्छिष्टः.

<sup>15</sup> Read °पतिभिरपटला.

<sup>16</sup> Read °मन्त्रादायो.

<sup>17</sup> Read °मन्त्र्यः.

<sup>18</sup> Read °वितराच्छिन्त्या.

<sup>19</sup> Read °दाच्छिन्त्या.

<sup>20</sup> Read °साधुः.

<sup>21</sup> Read °षष्टि वरिषः.

<sup>22</sup> Read भूमिदाः.

<sup>23</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>24</sup> Read लक्षा.

<sup>25</sup> Read नाम.

<sup>26</sup> Read °दधीत.

<sup>27</sup> Read °दत्ता.

<sup>28</sup> Read युधिष्ठिर.

<sup>29</sup> Read मही.

<sup>30</sup> Read महिमता.

<sup>31</sup> Read दानाच्छेद्यो.

<sup>32</sup> Read एकनवत्यां.

<sup>33</sup> Read °शान्तिः.

<sup>34</sup> Read °विगृहाधिक्रितं.

Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakaṭaka*), located at Nīrguṇḍipadraka (l. 1), Śāntilla, the general (*balādhikṛita*, l. 5) of the *bhogikapāla* and *mahāpalapati* (*mahāpallapati*) Nīrihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śamkaragaṇa (*Śamkaragaṇa*, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantasvāmi (*Bhajika*<sup>35</sup> *Anantasvāmin*, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pāshāṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vājasāneya* (*Saṃhitā*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *piṭaka* of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western *sīm* of Śrī-Paṇḍākā, which belonged to (*the district of*) Taṇḍulapadraka (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahāyajñas*. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*'s feet, i.e. probably of Śamkara[ga]ṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Śāntilla's position is sufficiently clear. His master Nīrihullaka must have been a Bhīl chieftain; for the title *mahāpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe."<sup>36</sup> It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskrit, but a barbarous Deśī word. The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śamkara[ga]ṇa" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. *Pādānudhyāta* is frequently used in the former sense.<sup>37</sup> With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarāja and Śamkara[ga]ṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śamkaragaṇa* for *Śamkaragaṇa* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions<sup>38</sup> mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharāja, the son of Śamkaragaṇa, from whom Maṅgalīśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śamkaragaṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadā's Khedā plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgalīśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Samvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

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

<sup>35</sup> *Bhajika* might be *bhajaka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee;" V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word *bhaṭṭa* in Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See Dr. Böhtlingk's *Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *palla*. Mr. V. S. Apte (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 687) assigns to the same word the meaning "a large granary." On a local enquiry I find that the country about Nākhedā goes by the name of Palla (Gujarātī *Pāla*). Thus, *mahāpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pāla."

<sup>37</sup> See e. g. l. 33 of Mr. Fleet's No. 1, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

<sup>38</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 16.



NO. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALÂDHIKRITA SÂNTILÂ. (plate 1).



From impressions by H. H. Dhruva.

Size of original.



certain period and been given to Mīmāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Śābarasvāmin, the author of the *Bhāṣhya* on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*; of Agnisvāmin, the commentator on Lātyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra*; of Bhavasvāmin, the author of a *Bhāṣhya* on Baudhāyana; of Keśavasvāmin, the writer of an introduction to the *Baudhāyana-prayoga-śāstra*; Devasvāmin, quoted in the *Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana* and author of a comprehensive *Bhāṣhya* on Āśvalāyana; Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin and others. Kumārila is both a *Svāmin* and a *Bhaṭṭa*. The title *Svāmin* was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhi inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramāditya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dāsasvāmin, son of Janasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmin Dīkshita, and one of 705 A.D. gives Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 128 and 136), while a Valabhi grant, dated Samvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṅkasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin and Bhavasvāmin, and places Śābarasvāmin two or three centuries earlier (*vide* p. 32 of his *Report*). The general inclination is towards the seventh century for the age of names bearing such titles. The records above noted were of rulers or families that were perhaps close neighbours of the recorders of the present grant. The grant mentions Bhajikantantāsvāmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

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

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. श्री खडि निर्गुणपद्रकावस्थितविजयकटकात् स — — [स्थिति] — — —<sup>39</sup>
2. स्थितचरकमलः श्रीविष्णुराजः<sup>40</sup> तत्सुनुरनेकस[म]रविजय — — —<sup>41</sup>
3. स्थितवधूवदनपद्मजन्मनिकरः श्रीशंकरः स्तथादानुष्ठासकसः<sup>42</sup>
4. महीमखलतलप्रथितकोर्तिर्भोगिकपालमहापुपतिमिरिहसः<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Restore सकलस्थितिमखला.

<sup>40</sup> Read "विष्णुराजः".

<sup>41</sup> Restore "सकल".

<sup>42</sup> Read मकरमखलः; "मुखावधू".

<sup>43</sup> Read "कोर्तिर्भोगिक"; महापुपति.



- L. 5. कस्तहलाधिकृतशान्तिः<sup>44</sup> सर्वानेव परमपादीयास्वांश्चावेदयति<sup>45</sup>  
 6. यथा पाषाणिहृद<sup>46</sup> वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेयसद्वह्मचारिणो<sup>47</sup>  
 7. भजिकनस्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्मक्रियोत्पर्षणाय<sup>48</sup> परमभट्टा-  
 8. रकपादानां पुण्ययज्ञोभिर्निहये<sup>49</sup> तण्डुलपदकान्तर्भक्त<sup>50</sup> श्रीपञ्चाका-  
 9. शां पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभट्टप्रावेशं<sup>51</sup> पत्तपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं आदि-<sup>52</sup>  
 10. — परागकालमुदकातिसन्मोक्षं व्रीहिपिटकवापचेतं आश्वाहि-<sup>53</sup>  
 11. — — वक्षति[स्त्रि]तिसमकालीनं प्रतिपादिष्य चतुस्त्रा —<sup>54</sup>  
 12. — — ररानुव्याथा भनूनिपतिभिः<sup>55</sup>

### V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

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

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

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Bhilri (Nos. i—iii), | 6. Roho (xii—xvi),        |
| 2. Dilmal (iv—vii),     | 7. Sarotra (xvii—xxvi),   |
| 3. Mandal (viii),       | 8. Sonak (xxvii, xxviii), |
| 4. Munjpur (ix),        | 9. Taranga (xxix).        |
| 5. Palanpur (x, xi),    |                           |

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

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

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarât. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultân Ahmad and the names of his father Sultân Muhammad, and of his grandfather Sultân Muzaffar Shâh. It also mentions a Malik Kâmachanda, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Mandalî (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagâm Taluka, and that of a local chief called Ranaka (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vanarâja, of the Gedîâ family, in Samvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

<sup>44</sup> Read °धनतशान्तिः.

<sup>45</sup> Read °यान्ता°.

<sup>46</sup> Read °हृद°.

<sup>47</sup> Read °वाजसनेयि°; °चारिणे.

<sup>48</sup> Read °उत्पर्षणाय.

<sup>49</sup> Read °निहये.

<sup>50</sup> Can °तर्भक्त° be for °तर्भक्ति° ?

<sup>51</sup> Read पुष°.

<sup>52</sup> Restore °स्त्रीपराम°.

<sup>53</sup> Restore °वाचन्दाकांशव°.

<sup>54</sup> Read प्रतिपादिष्य. The remaining words I am unable to restore.

<sup>55</sup> This line too is unintelligible. [Restore चतुस्त्रिंशत्तया-  
यकारस्त्रिंशत्तया भद्रनपतिभिः ?—E. H.]

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

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

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

- L. 1. सं[व]त् १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [आ]ग्निन व[ि]द १५ सोमे  
 2. ॥ प्र[ग्व]ाटप्रातीय श्रे[ष्ठ] — — [ण]सुत  
 3. समयकेन मूर्ति कारापि[त]<sup>2</sup> . . .

## TRANSLATION.

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

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

- L. 1. [श्री] महिदेवरीयमठाधिप-  
 2. जिराजगुरु[श्रीध्यान]गणाचार्य-  
 3. स्व ॥

## TRANSLATION.

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

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

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्रावण सुदि १५ चवण ज्येष्ठ वदि  
 ८ जन्मा । फागुण [श्रा]  
 2. सुदि १२ दिक्खा । फागुण वदि १३ नाणं ।  
 ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ मुक्खो स्वामि

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! The conception (*chhavana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa; birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha; consecration (*dīkṣā*) on the 12th

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

<sup>2</sup> Read मूर्ति: कारापिता.

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

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

(day) of the bright half of Phālguna; enlightenment (*jñāna*) on the 18th (day) of the dark half of Phālguna; liberation (*moksha*) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyeshtha . .

. . . . .

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

#### No. IV.<sup>1</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १[२]८५ वर्षे पौषे वदि ८ गुरौ गामलाग्रामे डीलविक-  
 2. भंगानंतरं श्रीपार्श्वनाथविभो मातृपितृमूर्तिश्च कारिता ये:  
 3. सोहडसुतकुमारभदेन<sup>2</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1295 (?) on the 8th (day) of the dark half of Pausa, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pārśvanātha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śreshṭhin Kumaraḥbhadrā (?), son of Sohaḍa, in the village of Gābhalā, in the district (?) of Dīlavika.

#### No. V.<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. [श्री] सिद्धिः । — — । सज — समु-  
 2. द्रो । याव [च] — — [त]डि[त]ने[कः] ।  
 3. यावत्त — — — — ये । ताव-  
 4. हि — — — — य — ॥ ख-  
 5. ॥ स्ति [संवत् १५१२]वर्षे य-  
 6. षाष यदि १० उगौकेला  
 7. ॥ उत दा[गा]सुत वादाकेन हि  
 8. जेयकः करापितः ॥ नुत [भरव]  
 9. अस्मिन् — [शे]लके कते सति उ-  
 10. भय कुला नये [भवत्] मूटप दृ-  
 11. वद प्रतिसूत्र सागा कत [ट]क ४००  
 12. कश्यप[डाहु] शो वशव

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

#### No. VI.<sup>4</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १५३२ वैशाख वदि ११  
 2. रवौ के<sup>5</sup>लषासुतदेवा-  
 3. केन स्थापितो नारायणः ।

#### TRANSLATION.

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

<sup>1</sup> At Dilmā: on the base of an image of Pārśvanātha.

<sup>2</sup> Read विव.

<sup>3</sup> May also be "वदेन.

<sup>4</sup> At Dilmā: on a pillar of the Kīrtistambha to the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.

<sup>5</sup> At Dilmā: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.

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

- L. 1. स्वस्ति संवत् १५३२ वर्षे वैसाख वदि ११  
 2. रवौ के° रा[घ]स्तु मा° सादाभांटा  
 3. [यए]तयो भार्या ठा° नरसिंग-  
 4. तनया बाइ रूपाइ मा° सादास[ह]  
 5. तथा ठा° गोपालतनया बाई माई  
 6. मा° भांटासह अहर्निशि श्रीलक्ष्मी-  
 7. नारायणाभ्यां प्रणमतः ॥ प्रति-  
 8. मा पिंडी [तत]: कारापिता शिव-  
 9. मस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

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

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

- L. 1. بتاريخ پانزده يوم ماه ذى القعدة سنة عشرين و ثمانمائه  
 2. در عهد سلطان سلاطين احمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاه  
 3. السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . عمل كالمجند . . . اين كتابت<sup>12</sup>  
 4. . . . .  
 5. . . . .  
 6. . . . .  
 7. [स्] स्ति संवत् १४७४ वर्षे पौष वदि  
 8. — क्रो<sup>13</sup> अद्येह मंडल्यां मलिक श्री [का]-  
 9. मचंदप्रतिपत्तौ राण श्रीरण[क]-  
 10. विजयराज्ये समस्तमांडलिनि[वा]-  
 11. [सी]त्येकविद्यमान मांडवी [हृद] खप  
 12. [त]निखल कीधी ते पूर्वम[दनी]<sup>14</sup>को  
 13. ल[खद]निहरदिपू[ह]ीयाह्विजेपा  
 14. पवत्तदाननिलाविलाय [दपं तप]

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

<sup>11</sup> At Mandāl: on a stone in the Chauki.

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

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

<sup>14</sup> Corrected below the line to पुरै [मह]—नौ. The third letter may be ह and the fifth seems to have been intentionally effaced.

## TRANSLATION.

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

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

No. IX.<sup>15</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—  
 2. हडा [यानभ]सा — तथा माय — — [शरि]सी [क]स  
 3. मताल सा — — धव — श्रीनि[पुर] सदेव कारापित . . .

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

No. X.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि १०  
 2. क्के<sup>17</sup> खीवाणास्थाने श्रीमहावीर  
 3. त्थे<sup>18</sup> योसा पेदिकायां [स]विवा प  
 4. [य]ी खंजमेक कारापित ॥ [ये]चि

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

No. XI.<sup>19</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुक्ले गेडीया  
 2. राउत्त [मे]वां [सुत्त] वणरां । [धा]रातीर्थे पतितः ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1282, on the fourth (*day*) of the bright half of Pausa, a Friday, fell the Geḍīā Rāutta (*Rājaputra*) Vaṇarām (*Vanarāja*), the son of Meghām. The stone must be a so-called Pāliā.

No. XII.<sup>20</sup>

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

<sup>15</sup> At Munjpur : in the Jāmi Masjid, on a beam.

<sup>16</sup> At Palanpur : on the side of a well.

<sup>17</sup> Read पके.

<sup>18</sup> Read चेले.

<sup>19</sup> At Palanpur : on a loose stone lying near the railway.

<sup>20</sup> At Rohe : on a pillar of the Chhattri of Pārṇavātha ; much defaced.

- L. 4. [ती]जो गा — — — ये  
 5. यं — पं — — — कुं  
 6. — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

. . . . caused to be made by . . . . son of Jasadeva in Samvat 1250, Kārttika sudi 1, a Friday.

No. XIII.<sup>21</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२६[५] — ती  
 2. — — — — वदि १४  
 3. — — — देव —र्यं सि  
 4. रीहा — — व — ता  
 5. — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No. XIV.<sup>22</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२६८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३ सोमे ऋषभदेवीचैत्ये निर्वृतिगच्छे गौरदेविस्तुते[न वाला]  
 केन मातानिमित्तं नेमिनायबिंबं कारा[पितं] शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1299, on the 13th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaisākha, a Monday, an image of Neminātha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Valāka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛiti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevi (?).

No. XV.<sup>23</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६[७४]  
 2. वर्षे । पोसमास । कृष्णपक्षे । पंचम्यां ति-  
 3. थौ । गुरुवासरि । [छाभी]वंशे । भट्टेसरी [—]<sup>24</sup>  
 4. शाखायां । रांत श्रीमांडणजी । भार्या बाइ  
 5. श्रीचांपा वापी कारापिता । प्र[1]साद हौ सहि-  
 6. ता प्रतिष्ठा कारापिता । बाई पुत्री श्रीसज्ज-  
 7. बाई सहितेना पीरीजी ५१००० एकावन्न  
 8. सहस्रव्ययो कृता । आ चंद्रार्क नंदात्  
 9. मासं ११ कार्यं वी प्रासाद ह सहिता कृता ।  
 10. वंशो विस्तरवायातु । यातु पुष्पं मङ्ग-<sup>25</sup>  
 11. यश । आयुविपुलतां यातु । यस्यवा वा-<sup>26</sup>  
 12. पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरनेना] ढाला कृतं ॥  
 13. पं° — — — — श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

<sup>21</sup> At Roho : on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced.

<sup>22</sup> At Roho : on the arch over the old well,—first storey.

<sup>23</sup> At Roho : on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.

<sup>24</sup> L. 3 : Probably [जी].

<sup>25</sup> L. 10. Read °तरसा° । °मङ्गवाच,

<sup>26</sup> L. 11. Read °विपु° । यस्यैवा.

## TRANSLATION.

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

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

- L. 1. श्री संवत् १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ दने [वारगत् आ]<sup>28</sup>  
 2. — मानचक्र रात श्रीमडणजी भारय श्रीचप बाई पूतो सज्जनजे — पू — [प]ल  
 3. सूत्र ना[बा] स — — — — श्रीगणेश न — — — —  
 4. म श्रीनराय[न] — — — — —

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

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

- L. 1. संवत् १६७८ वर्षे फागणमासे शु पक्षे नवम्यां तथौ शनिवसरे रो [ह]-<sup>30</sup>  
 2. ॥ लीनचक्रे । धन्या अयोध्यादसरथनृपा साप माताप धान्या  
 3. ॥ धन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रामनामपुङ्गवा । धन्या देसी ऋच-  
 4. पतिभवां<sup>31</sup> जत्र रामाभवतारा धन्यो लोको नीश्रातमगुंण राम  
 5. ॥ वाचं शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीसरजुणजी । बाई श्रीपदमां बाई । बाई<sup>32</sup>  
 6. ॥ श्रीअमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदासजी वेजयराज्ये<sup>33</sup> । छत्री कारापिता

## ABSTRACT.

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

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

- L. 1. सं १६८५ वर्षे अषण शुदि ११ दने [हरदास लपना]<sup>35</sup>

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

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps वारगुत्.

<sup>29</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>30</sup> L. 1. Read शु(क्ल) तिथौ । रोहिणी°.

<sup>31</sup> Bhavān is meant for bhagavān.

<sup>32</sup> The metre of the verse in ll. 2—5 seems to be Mandākrāntā. It may be restored as follows:—

*Dhanyo yodhyādaśarathanipah sāpi mātāpi dhanyā,  
 Dhanyā vāni kavivaramukhe rāmanāmaprasāritā,  
 Dhanyo deśo raghuṣatibhavan yatra rāmadātāro,  
 Dhanyo loko nijatamagunām rāmadachakṣṇīnōti.*

<sup>33</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये.

<sup>34</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>35</sup> L. 1. Read आषण.

## TRANSLATION.

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

No. XIX.<sup>30</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६[८८] वर्षे आषाढमा[से] [ब]हुलप[क्षे] एकादीसी ११ तथ[ै]<sup>37</sup> रविवासरे — —  
 2. ॥ धान्या अयोध्यादसरयनप सा माताप धान्या धान्या वांणी कविवरमुखे  
 3. ॥ रामनामप्रवृत्ताः । धन्या देसो [कृष्ण]पतिभवान् जिह्न रोमाभवतारा घन्या  
 4. ॥ [लो] का नीअतमगुणा रामवाण्य शृणोती ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । बा-  
 5. ई श्रीजिवंती ॥ बाई राजू ॥ सबक ॥ वषट्ग नाम संवत्सरो । पूज श्रीतोम[की] व-  
 6. ॥ जयराजे ॥ छत्री करापितः<sup>38</sup> ॥ २ ॥

## ABSTRACT.

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

No. XX.<sup>39</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः आचार्य श्रीविजयसिंह-  
 2. सूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो<sup>40</sup> नमः ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे आषाढ व० ११ दिने देहरीनीपजतई सं [घण]  
 3. लाडण भार्या नाथी सुत सं० हरदास । सं० सांपा । सं० तेजा । सं० देवकरणई रूपईय  
 [— —]<sup>41</sup> । आप्या छई [॥]

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa Sam . . . . .  
 Lādāṇa, whose wife was Nāthī and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā,  
 Sam. Devakarāṇaī, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while  
 Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayadevasūri and Vijayasimhasūri were [living].

No. XXI.<sup>42</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः<sup>43</sup> ॥ संवत् १६८८ वर्षे [वदि]  
 2. [ना] सं० लाडण भार्या ना[थ]सुत सं० हरदास सं० सांपा सं० तेजा सं० [देवकरण]  
 3. — — — — [सुत याब] — क — — — स्वपति[बुका] — दि[सर्वेषां] श्रेयो-  
 4. र्थ । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रूप्येः [कारिता] ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . . Sam. Lādāṇa, whose wife  
 was Nātha (?), and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Dev-  
 karāṇa, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvīra.

<sup>36</sup> At Sarotra : in an old chhatrī.

<sup>37</sup> L. 1. Read एकादशीतिथी.

<sup>38</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराजे । करापिता.

<sup>39</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Divaja temple.

<sup>40</sup> Read गुरुभ्यो.

<sup>41</sup> Looks like घण.

<sup>42</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Divaja temple. Preser-  
 tion bad and most letters indistinct.

<sup>43</sup> Read गुरुभ्यो.



No. XXII.<sup>46</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ “भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥  
 2. सं० १६८८ व० सं लाङ्गण [भा० वा०] “नाथी [त्य पूग] सं० हर-  
 3. दास सं० तेजादिकुटुंब श्रेयार्थदेहरी कारापिता ॥

## ABSTRACT.

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

No. XXIII.<sup>47</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीगुरुभ्यो न०  
 2. सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुं शुदि १३ दिने ए देहरीनीपजतद् वुः हरदास—  
 3. वु[प]नावु माङ्गण तथा भोज — देभइ रूपए [ — — ]<sup>48</sup> आया छ

## ABSTRACT.

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

No. XXIV.<sup>49</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शुदि १० दिने वु[प] — करणइ ए देहरी [नीपजतद्]  
 2. रूपइया [— — ]<sup>50</sup>आया छइ ॥ इति संगलम् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

## ABSTRACT.

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

No. XXV.<sup>51</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीविजयदेवसूरीगुर[र]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शु  
 2. दि १० दिने वुहरा-[वस्था]कीकरे ए देहरीनीपजतद् रूपइया — — आया छे — — — :  
 3. . . . .

## ABSTRACT.

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

<sup>46</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>47</sup> Read भटार, गुरु.

<sup>48</sup> Possibly for भावा वार्त.

<sup>49</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>50</sup> Looks like दवा.

<sup>51</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>52</sup> Looks like दप.

<sup>53</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

No. XXVI.<sup>62</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ महारकात्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु-  
 2. भ्यो नमः सं० १६८६ वर्षे फा० वदि ११ दिने ए  
 3. देहरीनीपजतद् दु मा[ता] ताना [रा]ज पालि रूप [य यव]  
 4. चाप्या ह्व ॥

## ABSTRACT.

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

No. XXVII.<sup>63</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १३५६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११  
 2. गन । यद्येह सूर्यकामे स-  
 3. हाराण श्री[स्त्री]तलप्रतिपत्तौ  
 4. लीष ° महिपालेन देवीश्री-  
 5. शिवलीयातायां नाट [पूजाय]  
 6. प्रदत्त पा[ट] सं दि[न] पूमि-  
 7. [य]न — — ना माता [त्रियो]-  
 8. पीलक [ब्रह्मपुरे] सहित [सक]  
 9. समपि या[म] ॥ श्रीः ॥

## ABSTRACT.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Līsha (?) Mahipāka in Sam. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahārāpa, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sūnaka, on the occasion of the Yātrā of Devī Śrīśivalī.

No. XXVIII.<sup>64</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १५८६ वर्षे  
 2. श्रावण वदि १३ सोमे — — —

## TRANSLATION.

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

No. XXIX.<sup>65</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६४२ वरषे चासाढ शुदि १०  
 2. दने पातसा श्रीधकबर शहि  
 3. गढीभा° महिस गढी सजा  
 4. पगी श्री° गोवर्द पगी श्रीरांस

<sup>62</sup> At Sarotra : over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhveja Temple.

<sup>63</sup> At Sonak : on a pillar in an old temple.

<sup>64</sup> At Sonak : on the base of an image in the same temple.

<sup>65</sup> At Taranga : on the side of the great temple.

- L. 5. जईननु पातया जंगमतीर-  
 6. य श्रीहीरविजयसूरिः ॥  
 7. श्रीवजयसे । नसूरिः ॥  
 8. तेहना घरमं साचा जाणी  
 9. श्रीवीसलनगरि संघिमूषि  
 10. साहा<sup>०</sup> गणांपति आदर  
 11. करी गुरख ठामठामथक  
 12. गरख आणीनि प्रासादनु  
 13. नवो आचार कीथो किः ॥  
 14. सो<sup>०</sup> सवसी कूरीआ  
 15. उपरि रही कबाडू करा छ  
 16. सूत्र<sup>०</sup> गोवाल वडनगर  
 17. सूत्र<sup>०</sup> भूपा वीसलनगर  
 18. कबाडूकरः ॥ सू<sup>०</sup> गो [पा]  
 19. रात<sup>०</sup> साह्रपासरठा

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

## VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚĀTRUMJAYA.

BY G. BÜHLEK, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śātrumjaya near Pālitānā, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i-xxxii which range between Samvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Samvat 1783 to 1943 or 1887 A.D.<sup>1</sup> As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the Añchala *gachchha*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskrit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Merutuṅga, Rājasekhara and Jinamandana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr. J. Kirste, Privat-Docent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

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

<sup>1</sup> The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.

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

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

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarāt, it deserves to be noticed that Sultāns Sikandar and Mahmūd, the two brothers of Sultān Bahādur, who reigned each for a short period after Sultān Muzaḥfar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khān Majhād or Majhādaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahādur's *vazīr* in Samvat 1587. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*,<sup>2</sup> that dignity was bestowed on Tāj Khān in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarāja or Karmasimha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevād. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Rānās agrees with Tod's. The statements of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (*op. cit.*, p. 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Samvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sultān of Gujarāt were of a friendly nature.

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

1. Jahāngīr is mentioned as Nūradīna J. Savāi in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Samvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Samvat 1683. Nos. xvii—xx mention also prince Khosrū (*Shāhijādā Suratāna Shosaḍū*) and the governor (*sobāi*) of Ahmadābād (*Rājanagara*), Sultān Khurme (*Sahiyāna suratāna Shurame*).

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

Among the local chiefs of Kāthiāvād, the inscriptions mention—

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

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

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

- (b) Unadāji in No. li, of V. S. 1861;
- (c) Khamdhāji; his son, Noghanāji, and his grandson, Pratāpasimghaji, in Nos. lxviii and lxix, dated V.S. 1891 and 1892;
- (d) Noghanāji and his son, Pratāpasimghaji, in No. xcvi, of V.S. 1910; and
- (e) Pratāpasimghaji, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).
- (f) Sūrasimghaji, in No. cxi, of V.S. 1940.

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

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

I.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Kharatara gachchha.*

The following list is given in No. xvii—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Ud(d)gotanasūri,                       | <i>Narāṅgī vṛitti</i> , and discoverer of the Pārśva-nātha of Stambhana,                    |
| 2. Vardhamānasūri, <i>vasatimārgapra-</i> |   |
| <i>kāśaka</i> ,                           |   |
| 3. Jineśvarasūri I.,                      |   |
| 4. Jinachandrasūri I.,                    |   |
| 5. Abhayadevasūri, composer of the        | 6. Jinavallabhasūri,  |
|   | 7. Jinadattasūri, to whom a <i>devatā</i> gave the title <i>yugapradhāna</i> , <sup>3</sup> |
|   | 8. Jinachandrasūri II.,   |

<sup>3</sup> The first seven Sūris are mentioned also in No. xviii.

- |                                |                                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 9. Jinapattisûri, <sup>4</sup> | 16. Jinachandrasuri IV.,         |
| 10. Jineśvarasûri II.,         | 17. Jinodayasûri,                |
| 11. Jinaprabodhasûri,          | 18. Jinarâjasûri,                |
| 12. Jinachandrasûri III.,      | 19. Jinabhadrasûri, <sup>5</sup> |
| 13. Jinakuśalasûri,            | 20. Jinachandrasûri V.,          |
| 14. Jinapadmasûri,             | 21. Jinasamudrasûri,             |
| 15. Jinalabdbhisûri,           | 22. Jinahamsasûri,               |
| 23. Jinamânikyasûri,           |                                  |

24. Jinachandrasûri VI,<sup>6</sup> who awakened the Pâtisâhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhâna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahâmgîra and protected the Sâdhus banished by him.

25. Jinasimhasûri, who caused the *mantrin* Karamachandra to institute<sup>7</sup> a *rûpanandi* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*sapâdakoti*), wandered through Kâthina, Kâsmîr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sâhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrîpura,<sup>8</sup> Golakumḍâ (Golkonda), Gajjaṇḍa (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhâna* from Jahâmgîra-Nûradî-Mahammada.

26. Jinarâja,<sup>9</sup> whose parents were Sâ Dharmasi and Dhâralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikâ, and in consequence deciphered the *prasasti* on an ancient image at Ghamghâṇîpura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention :—

Jinachandrasûri, Samvat 1794,<sup>10</sup> (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasûri,<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1887 (No. lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No. lxxviii), Samvat 1892 (No. lxxix); Jinamahendrasûri, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippaliya branch (Nos. lxxxii-v),<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> This form, which is found also in the Pâtan *Prasasti*, ante, vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt's Jinapati, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 245ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned also in No. xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii, xxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv, add "before Akabarasâhi."

<sup>8</sup> According to No. xviii Śrîkâstîpura, according to No. xix Śrîkâra-Śrîpura, according to No. xxiii Śrîpura.

<sup>9</sup> Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii-xxiv, xxvi.

<sup>10</sup> Klatt has a Jinachandra (No. 69) in S. 1834.

<sup>11</sup> This is the last on Klatt's list, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 245ff.

<sup>12</sup> Nos. lxxxii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jinachandrasûri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive. Regarding the Pippaliya Kharatara gachchhe, see Klatt, *ut sup.*, under No. 56.

of the Vajrā śākhā (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nāga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidhyādhara, the third of whom founded the Chāndra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Samvat 1285 the *Tapābiruda* (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

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

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

(3) Hīravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sāhi Akabbara to Mevāta, and persuaded the emperor in Samvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujjia*-tax, and a *śulka*,<sup>14</sup> to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatrumjaya to the Jains, to establish a Jaina library (*paustakam bhāṃdāgāram*), and to become a saint-like king Śrenika, who converted the head of the Lumpākas, Meghaji,<sup>15</sup> made many people adherents of the Tapā gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarāt and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mālava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatrumjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hīravijaya belonged to the *Sāpha* race. He died, according to No. xlii, by starvation, at Unnatadurga, in Samvat 1652, Bhādrapada śukla 10, and his *pādūks* were erected in the same year, on Mārga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakarana of Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lābhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramāna*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Choli-be-gam (*Choli Vegama*), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Samvat 1650.

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

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

In the later inscriptions are named—

Vijayakshamāsūri, No. xxxviii.

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

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

Vijayadhaneśvarasūri, No. lxxviii, Samvat 1893.

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi—x, all dated in Samvat 1620.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 335 (5th edition). The *Sujjia* tax is, of course, the *jisya*, or capitation tax on infidels.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the Lumpākas see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84*, p. 153.

Vijayadevendrasūri,<sup>16</sup> No. lxxxvi, Samvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Samvat 1905, No. xlii, Samvat 1908, No. xcvii, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924.

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

A Samvijñāyamārgīya Tapāgachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasīhasūri, is mentioned in No. lxxxvi of Samvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Samvat 1940.

### III.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Añchala or Vidhipaksha gachchha.*<sup>17</sup>

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

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Āryarakshita, <sup>18</sup>           | (16) Dharmamūrti,   |
| (2) Jayasīmha,                            | (17) Kalyāṇasāgara or Kalyāṇasamudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683, |
| (3) Dharmaghosha,                         | (18) Amarodadhi,  |
| (4) Mahendrasīmha,                        | (19) Vidyāsūri (Vidyābuddhi), <sup>19</sup>                 |
| (5) Simhaprabha,                          | (20) Udayārṇava, or Udayasāgara, <sup>20</sup>              |
| (6) Devendra or Devendrasīmha,            | (21) Kīrtisindhu or Kīrtisāgara, No. li, Samvat 1861,       |
| (7) Dharmaprabha,                         | (22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasāgara, (No. li, of S. 1861),       |
| (8) Simhatilaka,                          | (23) Muktisāgara, Samvat 1905, <sup>21</sup>                |
| (9) Mahendra,                             | (24) Ratnodadhi, Samvat 1921;                               |
| (10) Merutuṅga,                           | (25) Vivekasāgara, Samvat 1940, No. cxi.                    |
| (11) Jayakīrti,                           |   |
| (12) Jayakeśari,                          |   |
| (13) Siddhāntasamudra or Siddhāntasāgara, |   |
| (14) Bhāvasāgara,                         |   |
| (15) Guṇanidhāna or Sugunaśevadhi,        |   |

### IV.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Sāgara-gachchha.*

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

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

Teachers of two other *gachchhas* are named:—

- (1) Rājasāmasūri of the Laghuposāla *gachchha* in No. xlii, dated Samvat 1815.
- (2) Paṇḍit Ānandakuśala of the Pāyachanda *gachchha* in No. xcv, dated Samvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that *Pāyachanda* is a

<sup>16</sup> Spelt also Vijayadevīndra and Vijayadevidra.

<sup>17</sup> The name Vidhipaksha *gachchha* occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding this Āryarakshita, see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* of 1883-84, p. 152. The *Paṭṭāvali* described by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar (*op. cit.*, pp. 14, and 319ff.) is that of the

Āñchala-*gachchha*, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.

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

<sup>20</sup> No. li.

<sup>21</sup> No. xc. Before him appears Rājendrasāgara, Samvat 1886, in No. lvi.



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

*V.—Digambara Paṭṭāvali.*

No. xxx, dated Samvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 *et seq.*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kumḍakunda (*read Kundakunda*) Āchārya in the Balātkāragana, the Sarasvatī *gachchha* and the Mūlasaṃgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as follows :

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

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

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

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.<sup>22</sup> The processes by which the forms *Ūkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Usa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Oīśa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prākṛita vyākaraṇa*, i, 173).

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

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

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

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Rājakoṣhṭhāgāra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Āma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Paṭṭāvalis* and the *Prabandhas*, Āma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Samvat 800.<sup>23</sup> I may add that the genealogy of Karmarāja, which is

<sup>22</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 233ff.

<sup>23</sup> See S. P. Pandit, *Gauḍavaho*, pp. cxxxviii.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Visā Śrīmālī occurs in No. xcv.

About the same importance belongs to the Prāgvāṭa tribe, called also Prāga-vaṃsa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravāḍa or Poravāla, (pronounce Porvād and Porvāl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghuśākhā. Visā Poravāḍas or Poravālas are named in Nos. l and xcvi; Dasā-Porvāḍas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, viz. Gūrjara *jñāti*, No. x; Dīśāvāla *jñāti*, No. vii; Dūgaḍa *gotra*, No. liv; Nimma *jñāti*, No. ciii; Mohotā *gotra*, No. cv; Saṃghavāla *gotra*, and Kāchhara *samtāna*, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

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

- (12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
- (13) Jesalamera, i.e. Jesalmir in Marvād,
- (14) Damaṇa bandira, i.e. Daman in Gujarāt,
- (15) Dīvabamdira or Diu in Kāthiāvad,
- (16) Devagiri or Daulatābād in the Dekhan,
- (17) Dhanapura,
- (18) Nabhinpura, in Kachh,
- (19) Nalinapura, in Kachh,
- (20) Navānagara, in Kāthiāvad,
- (21) Pālanapura, in Northern Gujarāt,
- (22) Bāluchara,
- (23) Bhāvanagara, in Kāthiāvad,
- (24) Makasudāvāda—Bāluchara or Makśudāvāda,
- (25) Mumbāi, or Bombay,
- (26) Mesāṇa, in Gujarāt,
- (27) Rādhanaपुरा, in Northern Gujarāt,
- (28) Vikāṇera, or Bikāner, in Northern Rājputānā,
- (29) Visalanagara, in Northern Gujarāt,
- (30) Sirohi, in Southern Rājputānā,
- (31) Surata bamdira, in Gujarāt.

The name of Ahmadābād or Rājanagara occurs most frequently.

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

#### No. I.<sup>24</sup>

- L. 1.    । श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधरिचरां पातसाहस्रीमहिमूदपद्मभाकरपातसाहस्रीमदाफरसाह-  
पद्मोद्योतकारक ॥
2. पातसाहस्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीबाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरंधरवान-  
श्रीमभादपानव्या-
3. पारे श्रीशंजयगिरौ श्रीचिचूटवास्तव्य । दो० करमाकृतसप्तमीद्वारसक्ता प्रयक्षिर्लिख्यते ॥  
स्वस्ति श्रीसौख्य-
4.                    दो शीयात युगादिजिननायकः ।  
केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १<sup>25</sup>  
श्रीमदपाटे प्रगटप्रभावे [1]  
भावेन भ-
5.                    ये सुवनप्रसिद्धे ।  
श्रीचिचूटो मुकुटोपमानो [1]  
विराजमानोऽस्ति समस्तलक्षणगः ॥ २<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Ādīśvara Bhagavān;—see *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, &c. (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verse 1, Anuṣṭubh. Read °जीवाद. A good measure of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. K.

<sup>26</sup> Metre of verses 2—4, Upajāti. Read °ज्या.

समंदनो दातृसुरदुमश्च [1]

तुं-

L. 6. गः सुवर्णोऽपि विहारसारः ।

जिनेश्वरस्त्राचपविचभूमिः [1]

श्रीचित्रकूटः सुरशैलतुल्यः ॥ ३

विशालमालक्षिति-

7. लोचनाभो [1]

रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी [1]

विचित्रकूटो गिरिचित्रकूटो [1]

लोकस्तु यत्राखिलकूटमुक्तः ॥ ४

तत्र श्रीकुं-

8. भराजो ऽभूत् कुंभोज्ज्वनिभो नृपः ।

वैरिवर्गः समुद्रो हि येन पीतः क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५<sup>27</sup>

[त] त्पुत्री राजमल्लोभूद्राक्षां म-

9. ल इवोत्कटः ।

सुतः संग्रामसिंहो ऽस्य संग्रामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६

तत्पट्टभूषणमणिः सिंहैर्द्रवत्पराक्रमी ।

रत्नसिंहा ऽ<sup>28</sup>

10. धुना राजा राजलक्ष्मण विराजते ॥ ७

इतश्च गोपाह्नगिरौ गरिष्ठः [1]

श्रीवप्यभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।

श्रीश्रामराजो ऽजनि तस्य

11. पद्मी [1]

काचिदभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८<sup>29</sup>

तत्कुलिजाता[?]किल राजकोष्टा [1]

गाराह्णगोत्रे सुकृतैकपात्रे ।

श्रीउग्रवंशे विशदे

12. विशाले [1]

तस्यान्वये ऽमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९<sup>30</sup>

श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्री रामदेवनामाभूत् ।

लक्ष्मीसिंहः पुत्री[?]तत्पु-

13. श्री भुवनपालाख्यः ॥ १०<sup>31</sup>

श्रीभीमराजपुत्री — —<sup>32</sup> रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्रः ।

पेताकस्तत्पुत्री नरसिंहः तत्पु-

<sup>27</sup> Metre of verses 5-7, Anushubh.

<sup>28</sup> Read °हीः.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Upajāti. Read गरिष्ठः.

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Indravajrā. Read °कोष्टा । श्रीभीम पुत्रपा..

<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 10-19, Āryā.

<sup>32</sup> Looks like नर

- L. 14. [— — —]<sup>35</sup> ॥ ११  
तत्पुत्रस्त्रीलाभ्यः पत्नी तस्याः[स्त्र]प्रभूतकुलजाता ।  
तारादे परमाणी लील पुत्रप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२  
तत्कथिसमुद्रताः व[ट]
15. पुत्रा<sup>36</sup> कल्पपादपाकाराः [1]  
[धर्मा]मुद्रानपराः श्रीवतः श्रीकृतो ऽन्वेष्टा ॥ १३  
प्रथमो र[त्ना]स्यसुतः सम्यक्ज्ञोद्योतकारकः कामं ।
16. श्रीचिक्कूटनगरे प्रासादः [कारितो]येन ॥ १४  
तस्या ऽस्ति कीमला पाण्डवकीव<sup>37</sup> विशदास्तदा ।<sup>38</sup>  
भार्या रत्नमलदेवी पुत्रः[ः]श्रीरंगना-
17. मासी ॥ १५  
आता ऽन्यः पोमान्नः पतिभक्ता दानश्रीलगुणयुक्ता ।  
पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ मानिक्यहीराक्षौ ॥ १६  
बभुर्गवस्त-
18. तीर्थभार्या<sup>39</sup>गुह्यरत्नराशिविख्याता [1]  
गङ्गरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रौ देवाभिधौ ज्ञेयः ॥ १७  
तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-
19. हभक्ता ।  
देवल[द्र]मदेव्यौ पुत्रः केलाभिधौ ज्ञेयः ॥ १८  
आता ऽन्यो भोजाभ्यः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।
20. भावलहर्षमदेव्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमङ्गलो जीयात् ॥ १९  
सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्याद्रिगुणैः प्रयुक्तः  
श्रीकर्मराजो
21. भगिनी च तेषां जीयास्तदा सुहृदिनामधे[या] ॥ २०<sup>40</sup>  
कर्माभ्यभार्या प्रथमा कपूर [1]-  
देवी पुनः कामलदे द्वितीया ।  
श्रीभीमजी-
22. कस्तुरीलोदयाद्रि-<sup>41</sup>  
सूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१  
श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनबिंबपूजा-  
पद्मप्रतिष्ठादिकवर्मभार्याः ।  
सुपाचदानेन प-
23. विषमाभाः  
सर्वेदृशाः सत्पुत्राः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२<sup>42</sup>  
श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधीरेयः ।  
श्रीकर्मसिंहदत्तो सुस्थो

<sup>35</sup> Read °ती जावः.<sup>36</sup> Read पुत्राः.<sup>37</sup> Read कल्पवल्लीव. Above पा there is a mark.<sup>38</sup> Read विशदा सदा.<sup>39</sup> Read °तीनी.<sup>40</sup> Metro: Upajāti.<sup>41</sup> Metro: Indravajra. Read °जीवः.<sup>42</sup> Metro: Upajāti. Read °विहा°. सर्वे° stands for सर्व ३°.

- L. 24. व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३<sup>४१</sup>  
 श्रीयत्तुंजयमाहात्म्यं शु[त्वा]सद्गुरुसंनिधौ ।  
 तस्मिन्धारयते भावः कर्मराजस्य — यभूत् ॥ २४<sup>४२</sup>  
 भाग-
25. त्व गौर्जरे देये विवेकेन नरायणे ।  
 वसन्ति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यस्त्रीका इवाऽऽहुताः ॥ २५  
 तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीश्वरीमत् ॥ २६
26. बाहदरो मृगः ।  
 तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६  
 राज्ञ्यव्यापारधीरियः धानः श्रीमान् मन्नादकः ।  
 तस्य गेहे भ-
27. हामंभी रवास्थो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७  
 तस्य सन्मानमुप्राप्य बहुविलम्बयेन च ।  
 उच्चारः सप्तमस्तेन चक्रे शृंगुजये गिरौ
28. ॥ २८  
 श्रीपादलिप्तलक्ष्मणासरस्यदेये  
 सहाय्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] ।  
 श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[त्रि]कायां  
 चक्रे महीश्व-
29. वनरः सुगुरुपदेयात् ॥ २९<sup>४३</sup>  
 चंचलं गच्छदंगरं च नामिरीनक्षेरीरवा-  
 बीथा[वंश]विशुद्धनालविभवासाधर्मि[वात्सल्य]
30. कं ।  
 वक्ष्मासंक्रान्ति[हिम]तुंगतुरगादीनां च स[ह]र्ष-  
 मेवं विभूतपूर्वकं गिरवरे विंशप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥ ३०<sup>४४</sup>  
 विक्रमसमयातीति ति-
31. विमितसंवत्सरेऽथ वसुवर्षे । १५८७ ।  
 याके जगन्निवासे ५३ वैशाखे कृष्णपक्षां च ॥ ३१<sup>४५</sup>  
 मिश्रिताः सूरयः संघा मार्गचसु-
32. निपुंगवाः ।  
 बहमाने धनुर्लक्ष्मे प्रतिष्ठा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२<sup>४६</sup>  
 चावच्छसमयास्थेन पंडितेन महात्मना ।  
 स[म]भोधारसक्ता
33. च प्रशस्तिः प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३  
 श्रीमहा[हृदर]क्षितोद्यवचनादागत्य शृंगुजये [।]  
 प्रासादं विदधाप्य येन ह — । — विंशमा-

<sup>४१</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>४२</sup> Metre of verses 24-33, Anuṣṭubh.<sup>४३</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>४४</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrāṇṭa. Tend निरि, •४७० The con-  
text is not clear.<sup>४५</sup> Metre: Āryā. Read •४७१.<sup>४६</sup> Metre of verses 32, 33, Anuṣṭubh. Read •४७१: ४७१.

L. 34.

रोष्य च ।

उच्चारः किल सप्तमः कलिशुगे चक्रीय ना — — —  
जीयादेव सदोशर्वशमुकुटः श्रीकर्मराजखिरं ॥ ३४<sup>47</sup>  
य-

35. कर्मराजेन कृतं सुकार्य-  
मन्धेन केनापि कृतं हि तन्नो ।  
यन्मोक्षराज्ये[पि नृपा]न्नयैवो-  
च्चारः कृतः सप्तम एव येन ॥ ३५<sup>48</sup>

36. स — — — र्याणि बह्विनि संघे  
कुर्वति भव्याः परम[च] काले ।  
कर्माभिधानव्यवहारिणैवो-  
च्चारः कृतः श्रीवि-

37. मलाद्रियुगे । ३६<sup>49</sup>  
श्रीचिचकूटोदयशैलशृंगे ।  
कर्माख्यभानोदयान्वितस्य ।  
श्रुञ्जये विंशविहारकृत्य-  
[कर्मा-

38. व]सीयं स्फुरतीति चिचं ॥ ३७<sup>51</sup>  
श्रीमेदपाटे विषये निवासिनः  
श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कीर्तिरु[ज्ज्वला] ।  
देशेऽन्येऽपि [संश्रित्य]-

39. हो  
ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रस्य नभोविहारिणः ॥ ३८<sup>52</sup>  
दत्तं येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरभाषाय तन्मानतो  
यात्रा येन [स्त]-

40. सा च संचपतिना श्रुञ्जये कारिता ।  
साधूनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्ठा ऽर्चिता-  
मित्यं वर्धनमुच्यते किय-

41. दहो श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ ३९<sup>53</sup>  
येनोच्चारः श्रुभवति नगे कारितः पुंडरीके ।  
स्वाज्योच्चारो विग्रहसतिना दुर्ग-

42. तस्येन चक्रे ।  
येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्ता  
स्येन चिभुवनतले सर्वदैवप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ४०<sup>54</sup>  
सौम्यत्वे-

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>48</sup> Metre: Indravajra.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps सपुष्पावाधि.

<sup>50</sup> Metre: Indravajra.

<sup>51</sup> Metre: Indravajra.

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Indravajra.

<sup>53</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa. Read °हा.

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā. Read °हा, तेन, °हा.

- L. 43. न निशामणिर्दिनमणिस्तीव्रप्रतापेन च  
वंशोद्दीपनकारणात् गृहभण्डिखितामणिदानतः ।  
धर्मात् आश्वशिरोम-
44. निर्मदविषध्वस्तभण्डिर्भोगिनः  
एकानेकमयो गुणैर्नवनवैः श्रीकर्मराजः सुधीः ॥ ४१<sup>66</sup>  
तोलासुतः सुतन[यो]
45. विनयोज्वलस्य  
लीलसुकुस्मिनलिनीश्वचिराजहंसः ।  
सम्मानदानविदुरो मुनिपुंगवानां  
सद्गुह्यवाधवयुतो
46. — — कमराजः ॥ ४२<sup>68</sup>  
कर्मी श्रीकर्मराजोयं कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।  
तेषां शुभानि कर्माणि यैर्दृष्टः पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३<sup>67</sup>
47. अधीशः पुंडरीकस्तु मरुदेवा[वः]कपर्दिराट् ।<sup>69</sup>  
आश्वश्रीकर्मराजस्य सुप्रसन्ना भवन्त्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥  
श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थोद्धारः ।
48. कमठा[य] सनिध्यकारक सां जहता भां बाई चांपू पुच नाथा आतृ कीता ॥ अहमदा-  
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कीला
49. पुच सूत्रधार विरु[पा]सूं भीमा ठं बेला ठं वळा ॥ श्रीचिचकूटादागत सूं टीला सू  
पोसा सूं गांगा सूं गोरा सूं ठाला
50. सूचं देवा ॥ सूचं नाकर सूं नाईआ सूं गोविंद सूं विणायग सूं टीला सूं वळा सू  
भाणा सूं का[ह्रा] सूचं
51. देवदास सूं टीका सूं ठाकर — — पं काला वा० विणायग ठां काम ठां हीरा सूं  
दमोदर वा० हराज सूं धान
52. ॥ मंगलं आदिदेवस्य मंगलं विमलाचले । मंगलं <sup>70</sup>सर्कलसंघस्य मंगलं लेखकस्य च । पं  
विवेकधीरगणिना लिखि
53. [ता प्र]शस्ति ॥ <sup>71</sup>पूण्य पं समयरत्नशिख पं लावण्यसमयस्त्रिसंध्यं श्रीभादिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति  
भद्रं ॥ श्रीः
54. — 'हरपति । ठां हांसा ठं मूला ठां लण्णा ठा का[ह्रा] ठां हळा सूं भाधव सूं बाद्र ॥ लो  
सहज

No. II.<sup>71</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ <sup>72</sup>संवत्[त] १५८७ वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [विशा]ख वदि ६ । रवी ॥ श्रीचिच [कूट]  
2. वास्तव्यश्रीउशवा[स]भातीय<sup>73</sup> हृदयापाया<sup>74</sup> दो<sup>75</sup> नरसिंह सुत दो<sup>76</sup> [से]ला भार्या बाई लील  
पुच ६ दो

<sup>66</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita. Read 'शाम'.

<sup>67</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>68</sup> Metre of verses 43-44, Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>69</sup> Read 'राट्'.

<sup>70</sup> Read सर्वसं.

<sup>71</sup> Read 'सि'.

<sup>72</sup> On the base of the image of Ādinātha in the great temple.—J. B.

<sup>73</sup> Looks like एडं.

<sup>74</sup> Read 'बास'.

<sup>75</sup> Read बाबाया.



- L. 3. रत्ना भार्या रजमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो° पोसा भा° पंथादे हि° पटमादे पुत्र माणिकहीर दो° गणा  
भा° गुराद [हि]° गारवेदे पु° दवा  
4. दो° दशरथ भा° देवलदे हि° टूरमदे पुत्र केहला दो° सोसा भा° भावलदे हि° [स] वम[दे पु]  
— — — भगिनी [सुह] विदे [— वं] धव श्रीमद्राजसभाशृंगारहारश्रीशंजयसप्तमोहार-  
5. कारक दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे हि° कामलदे पुत्र भीषजी पुत्री बाई सोभां वा° सोना वा°  
मन वा° प्रता प्रमुषसमस्तकुटुंबश्रेयोर्थ<sup>65</sup> शंजयमुख्यप्रासादो [वा] र श्रीपादिनाथबिंबं प्रति-  
ष्ठापितं<sup>66</sup> । म° रघो मं° नरसिंगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>67</sup> श्रीसूरिभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III.<sup>68</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ संवत् [त] १५८७ वर्षे वैशाख दि  
2. श्रीउग्रवंशे वृद्धभाषायां दो° तोला भा° बाई लीलू सुत दो° रत्ना दो° पोसा  
3. दो° गणा दो° दशरथ दो° भोजा दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे । कामलदे पु° भीषजी सहि-  
तेन श्रीपुंडरीकबिंबं कारितं श्रीः ॥

No. IV.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री नमः ॥ संवत् [१६] २० वर्षे आषाढ शुदि २ रघो ।  
2. गंधारवास्तव्य । प्राग[वंश]दोसी । श्रीगोईआ सुत दौ ।  
3. नेजपाल भार्या बोई<sup>71</sup> [भोड]की सुत दौ । पंचारण ।  
4. भ्रातृ दौ । भीम दौ । नने दौ । देवराजप्रमुख ।  
5. [स]कुटुंबेन युतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।  
6. कारापिता हर्षेण । तपागळेविबुधिमणि<sup>72</sup> श्री-  
7. विजयदानसूरिस्त्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादा[त्]  
8. शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. V.<sup>73</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि २ दत्ते  
2. गंधारवास्तव श्रीश्रीमालप्रतीयसा । श्री [पा]स[वीर] ।  
3. भार्या बाई [पू]तल सुत सा । श्रीवर्धमान भार्या बाई  
4. वमलादे भमरादे सुत सा । श्रीरामजी भाई सा<sup>74</sup> । श्री-  
5. लङ्गुजी सा । हंस[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रमुषस्तकुटुं-  
6. बेन युतः श्रीसेनंजयोपरि श्रीशान्तिनाथप्रासा-  
7. दं चोमय कारापित । श्रीतपागळेविबुधशरो [शिरो-]  
8. मणिस्त्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादात् शुभं भ-  
9. वतु[॥]

<sup>65</sup> Read °सुह°.<sup>66</sup> Read °वा°.<sup>67</sup> Read °हि°.<sup>68</sup> On the base of the image of Puṇḍarika is the temple facing Ādīśvara Bhagavān's temple: *Lists*, v. s. p. 196, No. 88.—J. B.<sup>69</sup> In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Ādīśvara: conf. *Lists*, p. 194, Nos. 38—43.—J. B.<sup>70</sup> At the beginning of each line stands a symbol looking like ए.<sup>71</sup> Read बाई.<sup>72</sup> Read °पुधशिरीमणि.<sup>73</sup> In the Gandhāria Chaumukh temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Ādīśvara temple. *Lists*, p. 195, No. 73.—J. B.<sup>74</sup> Looks like एई.<sup>75</sup> The middle bar of the ए is wanting.

No. VI.<sup>76</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५  
 2. ॥ गुरौ । श्रीगंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वंशज्ञातीय । संघ-  
 3. ॥ धी श्रीजावडा सुत सं<sup>०</sup> श्री[सीपा] भार्या बार्दे ॥  
 4. ॥ गिर [सुनाम्ना सुत । सं ।] जिवंत भ्रातृ । सं । काड-  
 5. ॥ जी । सं । अ[ट्ट]जी । प्रमुख[स्व]कुटुंबेन युतः ॥  
 6. ॥ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवकुलिका । कारापिता ॥  
 7. ॥ श्रीतपागच्छे । श्रीविजयदानसूरि[ः] श्री-  
 8. ॥ हीरविसूरिप्रसादात् [त्] ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VII.<sup>77</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ गुरु  
 2. ॥ श्रीअश्वदावादावास्तव्यदीसावालम्ना-  
 3. ॥ तीय मङ्ग श्रीवर्णाङ्ग सुत मङ्ग । श्रीगला  
 4. ॥ भार्या बार्दे मंगार्दे सुत । मङ्ग । वीरदास  
 5. ॥ स्वकुटुंबेन युतः । श्रीसेतंजयोपरि श्री-  
 6. ॥ आदिनाथदेवकुलिका कारापिता । श्री-  
 7. ॥ तपागच्छेश्रीविजयदानसूरिश्रीहीरवि-  
 8. ॥ जयसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VIII.<sup>78</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि  
 2. ॥ २दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वंश[वांश]व्यो । श्री  
 3. ॥ परवत सुत व्यो<sup>०</sup> फोका सु<sup>०</sup> व्यो । व[—]  
 4. ॥ आ स्वकुटुंबेन युतः श्रीसेतंजयो-  
 5. ॥ परि देवकुलिका कारापिता । श्रीत-  
 6. ॥ पागच्छेविबुधशिरोमणिश्रीविजय-  
 7. ॥ दानसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. IX.<sup>79</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शु-  
 2. ॥ दि ५ दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वंशज्ञातीय ।  
 3. ॥ व्यो<sup>०</sup> समरीश भार्या बार्दे । भोलु पुत्री बा-  
 4. ॥ ई वेरयार्दे । बार्दे । कोबार्दे स्वकुटुंबेन यु-  
 5. ॥ तः । श्रीशान्तिनाथदेवकुलिका कारा-  
 6. ॥ पिता । श्रीतपागच्छेविबुधसरोमणि<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> In a cell against the wall of the Ādiśvara temple, at the north-east corner.

<sup>77</sup> In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>78</sup> In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of, the Ādiśvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>79</sup> In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Ādiśvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>80</sup> Read °शिरोमणि.

- L. 7. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरि । श्रीहीरविजय ।  
8. ॥ सूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्री

No. X.<sup>81</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशा-  
2. ॥ ष शुदि ५ गुरुदिने श्रीगंधारवास्तव्य-  
3. ॥ श्रीश्रीमालीयज्ञातीय परी । देवा भा-  
4. ॥ र्या बाई<sup>82</sup> कमलाई सुत परी । मूंथी । तथा  
5. ॥ गूजरज्ञातीय दोसी । श्रीकर्ण भा<sup>83</sup> बा  
6. ॥ अमरी सुत । दोसी । हंसराज उभयौ ।  
7. ॥ मीलने श्रीसिखंजयोपरि श्रीआदिना-  
8. ॥ यदेवकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपागळे-  
9. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादात् [तु]॥

No. XI.<sup>82</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६४० वर्षे फागुण<sup>84</sup> शुदि १३ दने<sup>85</sup>  
2. ठाकर करमसी भार्जा बाई मली ठाकर  
3. दामा भार्जा बाई चडी ठाकर माहव ठा-  
4. कर जसू ठाकर धीम ठाकर जसूजी भा-  
5. र्जा बाई जीवादे ठाकर माहव सुत ते-  
6. जपाल भार्जा बाई तेजलदे संघवी  
7. जसू सुत तेजपाल प्रसाद<sup>86</sup> करा-  
8. पितं शुभ भवतु<sup>87</sup> ॥ दो<sup>88</sup> नाकर सेठ नावाणे  
9. ७४ ॥ चडी सावाल ।

No. XII.<sup>87</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥  
श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुष्पात्मना ।  
मस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखाब्धिमकरः श्री — —

<sup>81</sup> In the left end of the verandah to some small chapels or cells on the west of the preceding, and against the north wall of the great temple.—J. B.

<sup>82</sup> On the Śiṃhāsana of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Ādiśvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>83</sup> Read फासगुण.

<sup>84</sup> Read दिने.

<sup>85</sup> Read प्रसाद.

<sup>86</sup> Read शुभं भवतु.

<sup>87</sup> In the porch of the east, or front, entrance of the Ādiśvara temple, on the south or left hand, facing No. 1. A transcript is given in the *Lists*, pp. 188. After this inscription No. cxviiij should follow.—J. B.

<sup>88</sup> Metre of verses 1—3: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read श्री चादिदेव;

पायाङ्गः परमप्रभावभवनं श्रीवर्द्धमानः प्रभुः ।

उत्पत्तिस्त्रिति[सं-]

L. 4. इतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौर्जगत्पावनी ।

स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोज्जासिनो ॥ २

आसीद्वासवहृदवदितपदहृद-

5. पद सपदां ।

तत्पद्मांशुधिचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधर्माभिधः ।

यत्प्रीदार्ययुता प्रकृष्टसुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती ॥

धत्ते

6. संततिरुन्नतिं भगवतो वीरप्रभोगौरीव ॥ ३<sup>99</sup>

श्रीसुस्थितः सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ ।

सूरी अभूता तदनुक्रमेण ।

याभ्या गणो ऽ भू-

7. दिह कोटिकाङ्ग ।-

चंद्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः । ४।<sup>100</sup>

तत्राभूद्विष्णो वंद्यः । श्रीवज्रविगणाधिपः ।

मूलं श्रीवज्रग्राह्याया । गं-

8. गाया हिमवानिव । ५<sup>101</sup>

तत्पद्मांबरदिनमणि । रुदितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् ।

नागेंद्रचंद्रनिर्वृति । विद्याधरसंज्ञकाश्च तच्छिष्याः

9. । ६ ।<sup>102</sup>

स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यश्चत्वारि जज्ञिरे ।

कुलानि काममेषु कुलं चांद्रं तु दिद्युते ॥ ७ [॥]<sup>103</sup>

भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः स्थाति-

10. भाजनं ।

भूरयः सूरयस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः । ८ ।

बभूवुः क्रमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चंद्रसूरयः ।

यैस्तपाविरुदं लेभे । बाणसिद्धा ऽ कं

11. १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९

क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हिम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् ।

तत्पदे सूरयोभूव । ज्ञानंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० [॥]

साध्याचारविधिः य-

12. यः शिथिलतः सम्यक् श्रियां धाम यै ।-

रुद्धे स्तनसिद्धिसायकसुधारोचिर्निभे १५८२ नेहसि ।

जोभूतैरिव यैर्जगत्पुनरिदं तापं

<sup>99</sup> Read हृदः पदं संपदां.

<sup>100</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.—Read अभूता, याभ्या.

<sup>101</sup> Metre: Anushṭubh.

<sup>102</sup> Metre: Giti.

<sup>103</sup> Metre of verses 7—10: Anushṭubh.—Read जज्ञिरे.

- L. 13. हरद्विभृशं ।  
 सन्धीकं विदधे गवां श्रुचितमैः स्तोमै रसोक्तास्मिभिः ॥ ११ ॥<sup>94</sup>  
 पञ्चाशयैरसमलक्षितये स तेषां ।  
 प्रीयमाना- .
14. ह्रि जगतां कमलोदयेन ।  
 पट्टः प्रवाह इव निर्झरनिर्झरिष्वाः ।  
 शुक्लाभिविजयदानमुनीश्वरैः ॥ १२ ॥<sup>95</sup>  
 सौभाग्यहरिसर्व[प]-
15. वैहरणं<sup>96</sup> रूपं च रंभापति ।-  
 श्रीजैवं शतयन्त्रमिचमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुनः ।  
 येषां वीर्य सनातनं मधुरिपुस्तः स्वामिधर्मांशवो ।  
 जाताः
16. काममपन्नपाभरभृतो गोपत्वमासाद्यः ॥ १३ ॥<sup>97</sup>  
 तत्पट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकसितोद्द्योतस्तथा सौधव[त्] ।  
 सखेहैर्य[त्]राज-
17. हीरविजयखेहप्रियैर्निर्ममे ।  
 सौभाग्यं महसां धरेण महतामत्यर्थमुक्तासिनां ।  
 विद्वांसः स यथाजनिष्ट सुदृशां कामप्र-
18. मोदाखदं ॥ १४  
 देशाद् गूर्जरतोय सूरिष्ठभा आकारिताः सादर[र] ।  
 श्रीमत्साहिभकब्धरेण विषय<sup>98</sup> मेवातसंज्ञं शुभम् ।  
 या-
19. — — — अपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरतो गवां ।  
 स्तोमैः श्रुचितविश्वविश्वकमसोक्तासैर्नभोका इव ॥ १५ ॥  
 चक्रुः फतेपुरम-
20. — — — — [र्]भौम ।  
 दृग् शुभमकीककुलमाप्तसुखं सृजतः ।  
 अर्द्धकपावकनृपप्रसिद्धे १६३८ स्वर्गोभिः ।  
 सोक्ता-
21. — — — — — सुजकाननम् ये ॥ १६ ॥<sup>99</sup>  
 दामेवाखिलभूपमूर्धसु निजामाज्ञां सदा धारयन् ।  
 श्रीमान् साहिभकब्धरो नरवरो[दिद्येव]
22. शेषेष्वपि ।  
 वण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपट्टोद्घोषानवधसिनः ।  
 कामं कारयति स हृष्टहृदयो यथाकलारजितः ॥<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read 'विजय'.

<sup>95</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.—Read 'निर्झरिष्वाः'.

<sup>96</sup> Read 'सौभाग्य'.

<sup>97</sup> Metre of verses 13—15: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>98</sup> Read 'विषय'.

<sup>99</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>100</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read 'अर्द्धक' ; 'रजित'.

- L. 23. ॥ १७ [॥]  
 यपुपदेशवशेन सुदं दधन्निखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे ।  
 स्रतधनं च करं च सुजीजिआभिधमकम्बरभूपतिरत्यजत् ।
24. ॥ १८ [॥]  
 यहाचा कतकाभया विमलितस्वांतांशुपूरः कृपा ।-  
 पूर्णः शाहिरनिन्दनीतिवनिताक्रो [डीकतात्मा]त्यजत् ।  
 शुक्लं त्व [क्तु]
25. [म] शक्यमन्यधरणीराजां जनप्रीतये ।  
 तहावीडजपुंनपूरुषपशूँसामूसुचङ्गरिशः ॥ १९ ॥<sup>१</sup>  
 यहाचा<sup>२</sup> निचयैर्मुधाकृतसुधास्वा [दे]
26. [र] मंदैः कृता ।-  
 ल्हादः श्रीमदकम्बरः क्षितिपतिः संतुष्टिपुष्टाशयः ।  
 त्यक्त्वा तत्करमर्थसार्थमतुलं येषां मनःप्रीतये ।  
 जैनैभ्य-
27. : प्रददौ च तीर्थतिलकं शत्रुंजयोर्वीधरं ॥ २० [॥]  
 यहाभिर्मुदितसकार करुणास्फूर्जन्मनाः पौस्तकं ।  
 भांडागारमपारवाङ्मय-
28. मयं वेश्मेव धान्दैवतं ।  
 यत्संवंगभरेण भावितमतिः शाहिः पुनः प्रत्यहं ।  
 पूतात्मा बहु मन्यते भगवतां सहर्षो दर्शनम् ॥ २१ [॥]
29. यहाचा तरणित्विमेव कलितोक्तासं मनः पंकजं ।  
 बिभ्रच्छाहिभकम्बरो व्यसनधीपाथोजिनी चंद्रमाः ।  
 यज्ञे आहजनोचितैश्च सुकृतै-
30. : सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि ।  
 ख्यातोर्हतभक्तिभावितमतिः<sup>३</sup> श्रीश्रेणिकम्भापवत् ॥ २२ ॥  
 लंपाकाधिपमेघजीवृषिमुखा हित्वा कुमत्याशह<sup>४</sup> ।  
 भेजुर्यश्च-
31. रणहयोमनुदिनं भृगा इवांभोजिनीं ।  
 उक्तासं ममिता यदीयवचनैर्वैराग्यरंगोन्मुखैः ।-  
 र्जाताः स्वस्वमतं विहाय बहवो लोकास्तपासंनका-
32. ॥ २३ [॥]  
 आसीच्चैत्यविधापनादिमुक्ततत्त्वेषु वित्तव्ययो ।  
 भूयान् यद्वचनेन गूर्जरधरामुख्येषु देशेष्व ऽलं ।  
 यात्रां गूर्जरमालवादिकमहादेशो-
33. इवैर्भूरिभिः ।  
 संचैः सार्धं च पीच्छरा विदधिर शत्रुंजये ये गिरौ ॥ २४ [॥]

<sup>१</sup> Read यपुपदेशं. Metre: Drutavilambita.<sup>२</sup> Metre of vv. 19-24: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>३</sup> Read बहावा.<sup>४</sup> Read विष्णा.<sup>५</sup> Read यज्ञ.

तत्पद्ममिव रम्यतमं खजंतः ।

स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरंतः [1]

[क]-

L. 34. रमोन्नसखुवलयप्रणया जयति [1]

स्फूर्जत्कला विजयसेनसुनींद्रचंद्राः । २५[11]<sup>6</sup>

यत्प्रतापस्य माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं ।

असुप्रप्रायश्चिरे येन जीवं[तो]-

35. पि हि वादिनः । २६[11]<sup>7</sup>

सौभाग्यं विषमायुधात्मलिनीकांताश्च तेजस्विना ।-

मैश्वर्यं गिरिजापतेः कुमुदिनीकांतात्कलामालिनां ।

माहात्म्यं च-

36. रणीधराश्चभुजां गांभीर्यमभोनिधे ।-

रादायांबुजभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयी । २७[11]<sup>8</sup>

ये च श्रीमदकब्बरेण विनयादाकारिताः

37. सादरं ।

श्रीमन्नामपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं सुपर्वीत्करैः ।

भूयोभिर्भ्रतिभिर्बुधैः परिहृतो [1]वेगादलंचक्रिरे ।

सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला

38. इव । २८[11]

अर्हंतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं ।

साक्षात्साहिष्मकब्बरस्य सदसि स्तोमैर्गवामुद्यतैः ।

यैः संमोलिवलोचना<sup>9</sup> विदधिरै

39. इत्यक्षरैः<sup>10</sup> श्रिया ।

वादोन्मादभृतो हिजातिपतयो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९[11]

श्रीमत्साहिष्मकब्बरस्य सदसि प्रोत्कर्षिभिर्भूरिभि- [1]

वादैर्वादि-

40. वरान् विजित्य समदाश्विर्हर्षिपेद्रानिव ।

सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिव्युत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् ।

यैः कैलास इवोज्वलो निजयशःस्तंभी

41. निचखे महान् । ३०<sup>10</sup>[11]

दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयश्रीसूरिराजां पुरा ।

यच्छ्रीशाहिष्मकब्बरेण धरणीशक्रेण तस्मिन्तये ।

तच्छक्रेखिलमप्यबालम-

42. तिना यत्साञ्जगत्साक्षिकं [1]

तत्पक्षं पुरमाणसंभ्रमनघसर्वा<sup>11</sup> दिशो व्यानये ॥ ३१[11]

<sup>6</sup> Vasantatilakā.

<sup>7</sup> Anubhūbh.

<sup>8</sup> Metre of vv. 27--31, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'चित्तली'.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps meant for प्रत्यक्षं.

<sup>11</sup> Read दत्तं, 'नघं च'.

किं च गौहपभकासरकांता ।-

कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेयाः ।

मोक्ष-

L. 43. मेव मृतवित्तमशेषं [1]

बन्दिनीपि हि न च ग्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>12</sup>

यत्कलासलिलवाहविलासप्रोतचित्ततरुणाजनतुष्ट्यै ।

स्वीकृतं स्वयमकम्बरधात्रीस्वामि-

44. ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ ॥

चोलीवेगमनन्दनेन वसुधाधीयेन सम्मानिता ।

गुर्वीं गूर्जरमेदिनीमनुदिनं स्वर्लोकविम्बोकिनी ।

45. सदृत्ता महसां भरेण सुभगा गाढं गुणोन्नासिनो ।

ये हारा इव कंठमंजुजदृशां कुर्वन्ति शोभासदं ॥ ३४ ॥<sup>13</sup>

इतश्च ॥

आभूराव्यय[प]-

46. द्यपद्मसवया उकेशवशेभव ।-

च्छेष्टी<sup>14</sup> श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्षिकः पुण्यधीः ।

तत्पुत्रोजनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।

[क]-

47. तलाद्भोजनि तत्सुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि वाचाभिधः । ३५[॥]

तस्याभूदक्षिणाभिधश्च तनुजः ख्यातो रजार्द्रभव ।-

स्तस्याभूच्च सुहासिणी [ति]

48. गृहिणी पद्मेव पद्मापतेः ।

इन्द्राणीसुरराजयोरिव जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्चभव ।-

तेजःपाल इति प्रकृष्टसुमनाः पित्रोर्मनःप्रोतिकृत् ॥ ३६[॥]

[का]-

49. मस्येव रतिर्हरेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते ।-

रासोत्तेजलदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः [ — — — ] ।

भोगश्रीसुभगो गुरी प्रणयिनी शशस्वपर्वदरी ।

पौलो-

50. मोचिदशेखरायिव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ ॥

वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्वनिशाकराणां ।

तेषां च ह्रीरविजयव्रतिसिंधुराणां ।

सौभाग्य [भा]-

51. व्यपराभागविभासुराणां ।

तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनमुनीश्वराणां ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>15</sup>

वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुदंचितैः ।

आहः स शोभनमना भज-

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

<sup>13</sup> Metre of vv. 34—36, Śārdūlavikrānta.

<sup>14</sup> Read °च्छेष्टी.

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



L. 52.

ति स्म भावं [1]

श्रीसंघम]क्षिपनदानजिनद्रवैर्यो-[1]

द्वारादिकर्मसु भृश सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥३९॥<sup>16</sup>

विशेषकं ।

ग्रहैः प्रशस्तेहि सुपाख्यभर्तु-

53. [र]नंतभर्तुषु शुभां प्रतिष्ठां ।

सो ऽ चीकरत्पण्ड्युगभूप १६४६ वर्षे ।

हर्षेण सौवर्षिकतेजपालः । ४० [1]<sup>17</sup>

आदावार्षभिरच तीर्थतिलके शकुंज]-

54.

ये ऽ चीकर ।

सैत्य<sup>18</sup> शैत्यकरं दृशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुरं ।

अचान्येपि भुजार्जितां फलवतीसुखैः स्रजंतः श्रियं ।

[प्रा]-

55.

सादतदनुक्रमेण बह्ववसाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४२[1]<sup>19</sup>

तीर्थेच साधुकरमाभिधो धनी सिद्धिसिद्धितिथि १५८८ संख्ये ।

चैत्यम[ची]-

56.

करदुक्तेरानंदविमलमुनिराजां ॥४३॥<sup>20</sup>

तं वीक्ष्य जीर्णं भगवद्विहारं ।

स तेजपालः स्वहृदीति दध्यौ ।

भावी कदा सो ऽवस-

57.

रो वरीयान् ।

यत्रा ऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ ॥<sup>21</sup>

अन्येषुः स्वगुरुपदेशशरदा कामं वलचीकृत ।-

स्वांतांभाः स वणिग् व[र] पु-

58.

रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् ।

तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शकुंजयेष्टदृष्टो [1]-

द्वारं कर्तुमना अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छन् श्रियः । ४५[1]<sup>22</sup>

59.

अत्र स्यात् सुकृतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं ।

मत्वं निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानंदप्रमोदासये ।

तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले [1]

60.

मौलेर्हतो मंदिरं ।

जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतनूजभवत् ॥ ४६ ॥

शृंगेण भिन्नगणांगणमेतदुच्चैः ।-

चैत्यं चकास्ति शि-

<sup>16</sup> Read 'जिनेन्द्र', अर्थ.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>18</sup> Read 'चीकरचैत्यं'.<sup>19</sup> Śārdūlavikṛīṭa. The figure 89 is missing: Read प्रासादं<sup>20</sup> Metre: Āryā.—Read 'मंद'.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>22</sup> Metre of vv. 45, 46: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

- L. 61. स्वरस्थितहेमकुंभं ।  
 हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तमितसुसुपैति नाक ।-  
 लक्ष्मी विजेतुमिव काममखर्वगर्वा । ४७[11]<sup>23</sup>  
 यत्रार्द्धदोक्तसि जितागरकुम्-
62. भिकुंभाः ।  
 कुंभा विभांति शरवेदकरेदु १२४५ संख्याः ।  
 किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः<sup>24</sup> प्रचुरप्रताप ।-  
 पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८[11]
63. उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानशेषान् ।  
 विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणो युगपन्निहतुं ।  
 सख्याः स्म इत्यमभिधातुमिवेदुनेचाः २१ ।  
 सिंहा विभांत्युप-
64. गता जिनधानि यत्र ॥ ४९ ॥  
 योगिन्धो यत्र शोभन्ते चतस्रो जिनवैश्वानि ।  
 निवेदितुमिवाक्रांताः प्रतापैरागता दिशः । ५०[11]<sup>25</sup>  
 राजन्ते च दि-
65. शां पाला [ — १ ] यत्र ५ हृदालये ।  
 मूर्त्तिमंत × किमायाता धर्माख्यमिनाममी । ५१[11]  
 द्वासप्ततिः त्रियमयंति जिनेन्द्रवन्द ।-  
 बिंबानि देवकुलि-
66. कासु च तावतीषु ।  
 द्वासप्ततेः त्रितजनालिकलालतानां ।  
 किं कुटुम्बला × परिमलैर्भुवनं भरन्तः । ५२ ॥<sup>26</sup>  
 राजन्ते यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे-
67. श्वानि ।  
 विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ ॥<sup>27</sup>  
 यत्र चैत्ये विराजन्ते । चत्वारश्च तपोधनाः ।  
 अमी धर्माः किमाया-
68. ताः । प्रभूपास्वै वपुर्भृतः ॥ ५४ ॥  
 पंचालिकाः त्रियमयंति जिनेन्द्रधानि ।  
 द्वात्रिंशदिन्द्रमणीभरजैरूपाः ।  
 ज्ञात्वा यतीनि-
69. ह जिने किमु लक्षणम् ।-  
 राजां प्रिया निजनिजेशनिभालनोक्ताः ॥ ५५ ॥<sup>28</sup>  
 द्वात्रिंशदुत्तमतमानि च तोरणानि ॥  
 राजन्ति य-

<sup>23</sup> Metro of vs. 47—49: Vasantatilakā.<sup>24</sup> <sup>०</sup>युः visible on the reverse.<sup>25</sup> Metro of vs. 60: 51: Anushṭubh.<sup>26</sup> Metro: Vasantatilakā.<sup>27</sup> Metro of vs. 53, 54: Anushṭubh.<sup>28</sup> Metro of vs. 55, 56: Vasantatilakā.

L. 70. च जिनधास्त्रि मनोहराणि ।

किं तोर्यङ्गददशनलक्ष्मिस्वर्गेष्वनाम्ना ।-  
मंदोलनानि सरलानि सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥  
गजाक्षतु-

71. विंशतिरऽद्रितुगा ।

विभांति शस्ता जिनधास्त्रि यच्च ।  
देवाक्षतुर्विंशतिरोशमस्त्यै ।  
किमागताः कुक्षररूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥<sup>29</sup>  
स्त-

72. भाक्षतुस्ततिरऽद्रिराजो ।-

सुंगा विभांतीह जिनेद्रचैत्ये ।  
दिशामऽधीशैः सह सर्व्व इन्द्रा ।-  
× किमाशमस्त्यै समुपेयिवासः ॥ ५८ ॥

73. ॥ ५८ ॥

रम्यं नन्दपयोधिभूपति १६४८ मिते वर्षे सुखीत्कर्षकत् ।  
साहाय्याद् जसुठकुरस्य सुकतारामैकपाथोमुचः ॥  
प्राप्ता (i)-

74. दं वक्षिष्यासुतेन सुधिया शञ्जये कारितं ॥

दृष्ट्वाऽष्टापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते रतिः ॥ ५९ ॥<sup>30</sup>  
चैत्यं चतुर्धामिव धर्म-

75. मेदिनी ॥-

भुजां गृहं प्रीणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥  
शञ्जयोर्व्वीभति नदिं वर्षना ।-  
ऽभिधं सदा यच्छतु वाञ्छितानि यः ॥ ६० ॥<sup>31</sup>  
[ — ]

76. यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितनेत्रयैत्ये ।

चैत्येऽच भूरिरऽभवद् विभवव्ययो यः ।  
ज्ज्ञात्वा वदन्ति मनुजा इति तेजपालं ॥  
क-

77. ल्पद्रुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन । ६१ ॥<sup>32</sup>

शञ्जये गगनवाणकला १६५० मितेऽब्दे ।  
यात्रां चकार सुकताय स तेजपा ।-

78. लः ॥

चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभिः प्रतिष्ठा ॥  
चक्रे च हीरविजयाऽभिधसूरिसिंहैः ॥ ६२ ॥  
मार्त्तण्डमंडलमिवांबुद्वहं

<sup>29</sup> Metre of vs. 57, 58 : Upajāti.

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Upajāti of Indravamsā and Vamśastha.

<sup>32</sup> Metre of vs. 61, 63 : Vasantatilakā.

L. 79.

समूहः ॥

पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः ।  
 केकिप्रजः सलिलवाहमिवाऽतितुंगं ।  
 चैत्वं निरीक्ष्य मुदमेति जनः

80.

समस्तः ॥ ६२ ॥ ६

चैत्वं चारु चतुर्मुखं कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीधारितं ।  
 प्रीतुंगं जसुठक्षुरेण विहितं चैत्वं द्वितीयं शुभं ।  
 रम्यं कुंभ-

81.

रजीविनिर्मितम् ॥ भूचैत्वं तृतीयं पुन ।-

मूलयेष्टितं निकामसुभगं चैत्वं चतुर्थं तथा ॥ ६४ ॥<sup>35</sup>  
 एभिर्विष्वविसारिभिर्भुतिभरै-

82.

त्वर्धसंच्छितोद् ।-

द्योतो दिक्षुऽखिलासु निर्झरपतिः स्वर्लोकापाक्षैरिव ।  
 श्रीशृंगजयशैलमौलिसुकुटं चैत्वं चतुर्भिर्यु-

83.

तः ॥

प्रासादोऽगिमनोवि ॥ नोदकमलाचैत्वं चिरं नंदतु ॥ ६५ ॥  
 वस्ताभिधस्य वरसुधधरस्य शिष्यं ॥  
 चैत्वं चिरादिदमुदीक्ष्य

84.

निरीक्षणीयं ।

शिव्यत्वमिच्छति ॥ कलाकलितोपि विभक्त ।-  
 कर्मास्य शिल्पिपटले भवितुं प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥<sup>36</sup>  
 सदाचाराब्जोनां कमलविज-

85.

याज्ञानसुधियां ।

पदद्वंद्वंभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हिमविजयः ।  
 फलकारैराब्जां स्त्रियमिव शुभां यां विहितवान् ।  
 प्रशस्तिः श[स्त्रे-]

86.

या जगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ॥<sup>37</sup>

इति सौवर्णिकसाहस्रीतेजःपालोद्भूतविमलाचल-  
 [पट्ट] नश्रीपादीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः [त्र]यः<sup>38</sup>

87.

बुधसहजसागराणां विनयजयसागरोऽलिखद्वर्णैः ।  
 शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णः । माधवनांनाभिधानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>37</sup>

No. XIII.<sup>38</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुष्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसं-  
 वेगवेरा-  
 2. निःस्पृहतादिगुणरजितेन सहि श्रीशकवरनरेन्द्रेण प्रतिवर्षं प्रायश्चासिकसकलजंतुजाता-

<sup>35</sup> Metre of vs. 64, 65: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read 'वेदि'.<sup>36</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>37</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.<sup>38</sup> Read 'वेद'.<sup>37</sup> Metre: Āryā beginning with बुध°.<sup>38</sup> Round a pair of Pādukas in a small temple to the west of Ādīśvara Bhagavāna temple:—*Lists of Ant. Rem.*, p. 198, No. 119.—J. B.

3. भयदानप्रवर्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्तनजीजिष्वादिक्लमोचनमुंडका-
4. भिधानक्लमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे-
5. श्रीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं० १६५२ व-
6. र्धे भाद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्यानां तपागच्छा-  
धिराजभट्ट
7. श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारिं स्तंभतीर्थीय सं० उदयकरणेन प्र०भं
8. श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः पं० धनविजय-
9. — णिभ्यां स[ठ]प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ[वा]
10. [ — — रा ] राध्यमानाश्चिरं
11. [ नंद ] तु ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. XIV.<sup>39</sup>

- L. 1. १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले संवत्सालगो-
2. श्री<sup>40</sup> काचरसंताने सां केलहा पुत्र सां यथा
3. पुं नरसिंघ पुं कुंभरा पुं नच्छा भार्या नव-
4. रंगदे पुं सुरताण भार्या सैदूरदे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुं-
5. यतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक<sup>41</sup>-
6. सप्तशेचोमस्त्रवित्त सां वेतसी भां सोभागदे
7. पुं पदमसी भार्या प्रेमलदे पुं इंद्री भार्या [भा]
8. ° वीरमदे द्वितीयपुत्र सोमसी स्त्रलघुपुत्र सां
9. विमलसी भार्या लाडिमदे पुत्र पोमसी द्वितीय-
10. भार्या विमलादे पुत्र दूजणसी पोमसी भार्या
11. केसरदे पुत्र विं डूंगरसी प्रमुखपुत्रपौत्र-
12. पौत्रपरिवारसहितेन चतुर्मुखविहारपूर्वा-
13. भिसुखस्थाने — — — देवगृहिका कुटुब-
14. श्रेयोर्थी<sup>42</sup> कारिता श्रीहृत्स्वरतरंगछाधिराज-
15. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरिपट्टालंकारक[°]
16. शत्रुंजयाष्टमोक्षप्रतिष्ठाकारकश्रीजिनराज-
17. सूरिसूरि[समाजराजायि]राजैः <sup>43</sup>[॥]

No. XV.<sup>44</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ सं० १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्लवारे सुरताणनूरदीनख्वांगोरसवारविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीः
2. चक्षुदावास्तव्यप्राग्य टात्रातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक सं० मार्षा भार्या नाक् पुत्र सं० जीगी भार्या  
वसमादे
3. शुक्लसकलसुखवकसंय्यताकरणविहितयज्ञ सं० सीमजी भार्या राजसदे पुत्र संघपति  
रूपजीकेन भाया

<sup>39</sup> On the shrine door of the temple of Puṇḍarika in front of the Chaumukha temple in the Kharataravasi Tank; *Lists*, p. 306, No. 312.—J. B.

<sup>40</sup> Read °वीरे.

<sup>41</sup> Read °शत्रुंजय°.

<sup>42</sup> Read इटव°.

<sup>43</sup> Read °राजाधि°.

<sup>44</sup> Round *pādukas* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tank; Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4—6 on the east. *Lists*, p. 206, No. 320.—J. B.

- L. 4. जेठो पुत्र चि° उदयवंत बाई कोडिकुंअरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसंप्राकारयो-  
 5. विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्वारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथ-  
 पादुके परमप्रमोदाय  
 6. कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीहृत्स्वरतरंगच्छाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्त्रिलकैः ॥ प्रणमति  
 भुवनकीर्तिगणिः ॥

No. XVI.<sup>45</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले ॥ श्रीसवालज्ञातीयलोढागोत्रीय सा° रायमल्ल भार्या  
 2. रंगादे पुत्र सा° जयवंत भार्या जयवंतदे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मकारकश्रीशत्रुंजययात्रा  
 3. विधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक सं° राजसीकेन° भार्या कसुंभदेव तुरंगदे पु° अषयराज भार्या अह-  
 4. कारदे  
 5. पु° अजयराज स्वभ्रातृ सं° अमीपाल भार्या गूजरदे पु° वीरधवल भा° [जु]गतादे स्वलघुभ्रा-  
 6. तृ सं° वीरपाल भार्या लीलादे प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन श्रीआदिनाथपादुके कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते  
 युगप्रधानश्रीजि[न]  
 7. सिंहसूरिपट्टोद्योतकश्रीजिनराजसूरिभिः श्रीशत्रुंजयोद्वारप्रतिष्ठाय[ि] श्रीहृत्स्वरतरंगच्छाधि-  
 राजै [ः ॥]

No. XVII.<sup>46</sup>

- L. 1. सं° १६७५ मिते सुरताण्णूरदोजहांगोरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिजादासुरताण्णोस[डू] प्रवरे  
 श्रीराजी  
 2. नगरे सोबडसाहियानसुरताण्णुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहमदावास्तव्यलघुशाखाप्रकट-  
 प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय सं° देवराज भार्या  
 3. [डू]डी पुत्र सं° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र सं° राजा पुत्र सं° सार्दपा भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोग  
 भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तश्रीसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभ-  
 वनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्स्यादिधर्मलेखी-  
 4. मस्ववित्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे कुश्चिरत्न राजसभाशृंगार सं° [डू]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं° शिवा  
 स्वहृदभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदर[दास] सपर लघुभ्रातृ घीमजी पुत्र रविजी स्वभार्या जेठो पु° उदय-  
 वंत पितामह भ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सं° सूरजी प्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन  
 5. स्वयंसमुहारितसंप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्वारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिना-  
 थबिंब कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवपट्टानुपट्टाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्योतनसूरि-  
 श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्र-  
 6. [सू] रि नवांगहत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वनाथप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि देव-  
 ताप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनदत्तसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनपत्तिसूरि श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि  
 श्रीजिनप्रबोधसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनकुशलसूरि श्रीजिनपद्मसूरि श्री-  
 7. जिनलब्धिसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनोदयसूरि श्रीजिनराजसूरि श्रीजिनभद्रसूरि श्रीजिन-  
 चंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरि श्रीजिनहंससूरि श्रीजिनमाणिक्यसूरि दिल्लीपतिपातसाहि-  
 श्रीअकबरप्रतिबोधकतद्वत्तयुगप्रधानबिरुद्धारकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिका-

<sup>45</sup> Round a second pair of feet in the same temple; Line 1 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the south, and 5-7 on the east.

<sup>46</sup> In the Gaumukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple in the Kharataravasi Tank, — *Lists*, p. 205, No. 310.  
 — J. B.

L. 8. मारिप्रवर्त्तावककुंयित<sup>47</sup> जङ्गागीरसाहिरवक्तव्यमंडलबहिःकृतसाधुरवकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्र-  
सूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितसपादकोटिविस्तव्यरूपनंदिमहोत्सवप्रकारकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीश-  
कबरसाहिमनःकमलभ्रमरानुकारकवर्षावधिजल-<sup>48</sup>

9. जलजंतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तक<sup>49</sup> श्रीपुरगोलकुंडागळ्याप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकसकलविद्याप्रधानजङ्गागी-  
रनरदीमहम्मदपातिसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पद्मालंकारकश्रीशंभिकावरधारकतद्वलवाधित-  
घेषाणिपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्ति [व -]-

10. तरबोहित्यवंशोय सा<sup>50</sup> धर्मसीधारलदेदारकचतुःशास्त्रपारीणधुरीणशृंगारकभट्टारकवृंदारकश्रीजिन-  
राजसूरिसूरिशिरो[मुकुटैः] ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोम महोपाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय  
श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं<sup>51</sup> आनंदकीर्ति खलघुसहोदर वा<sup>52</sup> [भद्र]

11. [सिनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥]

No. XVIII.<sup>53</sup>

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते सुरताणनूरदीजङ्गागीरसवार्दिवजयिराज्ये

2. साहिजादासुरताणधीस[रु]प्रवर राजनगरे सोब्रसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे ॥ वैशाख सित १ शुक्ल । श्री

3. अहम्मदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटजातीय से<sup>54</sup> देवराज भार्या [रु]डी पुत्र से<sup>55</sup> गोपाल भा<sup>56</sup> राजू पु<sup>57</sup> से<sup>58</sup>  
राजा पु<sup>59</sup> सार्दपा भा<sup>60</sup> नाऊ पु<sup>61</sup> से<sup>62</sup> जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघप-  
तितिल-

4. कनवीनजिनभवनविंशप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवास्तव्यादिधर्मदेशोत्सवित्त सं<sup>63</sup> सोमजी भार्या राजलदे  
कुचिरत्न संघपति [रु]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं<sup>64</sup> शिवा खड्गभ्रातृ रत्नजी सुत सुंदरदास सवर लघुभ्रातृ श्रीमजी  
पुत्र रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं<sup>65</sup> नाथा पुत्र सु-

5. रजी खपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिहृतेन खयंसमुत्तुतसंपाकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूखोधारसार-  
चतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारश्रीपादिनाथविंश कारित प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविष्णुपरंपरायातश्रीउद्यो-  
तनसूरि श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वर-

6. सूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि नवांगहत्तिकारकश्रीखंभनकपार्श्वप्रकटकश्रीशमयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवक्त्रभसूरि  
युगप्रधानश्रीजिनदत्तसूरिया[पा]द श्रीजिनभद्रसूरिया[पा]द श्रीशकबरप्रतिबोधकतद्वत्तयुगप्रधानपदधार-  
कसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिपालकवास्तवसिकाभय-

7. दानदायकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितश्रीशकबरसाहिसमक्षसपादयत्नविस्तव्य-  
रूपनंदिमहोत्सववि [स्तार] विहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधुरतरातिशायिखलचनचातुरीरंजिताने<sup>66</sup>  
कहिंदूकतुरष्वाधिपतिश्रीशकबरसाहिश्रीका-

8. स्त्रीपुरगोलकुंडागळ्याप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवर्षावधिजलधिजलजंतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तावकसुरता-  
णनूरदीजङ्गागीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुदप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पद्मभाकरसमुपलब्धश्रीशंभिकावरबोहि-  
त्यवंशोय<sup>67</sup> सा<sup>68</sup> धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्र-<sup>69</sup>

9. चक्रवर्त्तिभट्टारकशिरस्त्रिलोकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः श्रीवृहत्स्वरतरंगकाधिराजैः ॥ आचार्य  
श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं<sup>70</sup> आनंदकीर्ति खलघुभ्रातृ वा<sup>71</sup> भद्रसिनादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

<sup>47</sup> Probably 'कुंयित'.

<sup>48</sup> Read 'जलधि'.

<sup>49</sup> Read 'निर्व'.

<sup>50</sup> In the shrine of the great Chaumukha temple (No. 310)  
on the south image.—J. E.

<sup>51</sup> Read 'रंजित'.

<sup>52</sup> Read 'वंशोय'.

<sup>53</sup> Dels 'चक्र'.

No. XIX.<sup>66</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ मिति सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराण्ये साहिजादासुरताणपोस[डू]प्र-  
 2. वरे राजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहमदावाददास्तव्यप्राग्वा-  
 टप्रातीय से° देवराज सा°  
 3. [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से° राजा पुत्र से° सार्ङ्गा भार्या नाजू पुत्र से° जोगी  
 भार्या जसमादे पु° श्रीशङ्कुजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंचपतितिलकनवीनजिनभवनबिंबसाधर्मिकवात्स-  
 ल्यादिधर्मसेवो-  
 4. सखवित्त से° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संचपति [डू]पजीतेन [°केन] पितृव्य शिवालालजी  
 खल्लुभ्रातृरत्न रत्नजी सुं [दरदास] खल्लुभ्रातृ धीमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ से° नाथा पुत्र सूरज  
 स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंसमुच्चारित-  
 5. संप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि भूलोहारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिनायबिंब कारितं प्रति-  
 ष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविष्णुपरंपरायातश्रीहस्तस्त्रतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीअकबरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्पदस-  
 युगप्रधानबिरुद्धारकयाण्मासिकाभय-  
 6. दानदायकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंचिसुख्यकर्मचंद्रकारितश्री-  
 अकबरसाहिसमस्तपदादशतलक्षवित्तव्ययरूपनदिपदमहोत्सवविस्तारविहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधु-  
 रतरातिशायिस्वचनचातुरीरंजिताने-  
 7. कश्चिद्रूपकुरष्कराधिपश्रीअकबरसाहिश्रीकारश्रीपुरगोलकुंडागजणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवधाव-  
 धिजलधिजलजंतु जातघातनिर्व° सौवकसुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदस्युगप्रधानपदधारकसकलविद्याप्रधा-  
 नयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाक°  
 8. श्रीअंबिकावरप्रवाचितघंघाणीपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्तिवर्त्तातरबीहित्य[व°]शीय सा° धर्म-  
 सीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकशिरोमणिश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिपुरंदरैः ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोममहो-  
 पाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं° आनंद-  
 9. कीर्त्ति खल्लुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेन पं° राजधीर पं° भुवनराजादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

No. XX.<sup>67</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते ॥ सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराण्ये साहिजादा-  
 2. सुरताणपोस[डू] प्रवरे श्रीराजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअह-  
 3. मदावाददास्तव्यप्राग्वाटप्रातीय से° देवराज भार्या [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से-  
 राजा पु° से° सार्ङ्गा भार्या नाजू  
 4. पुत्र से° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र श्रीशङ्कुजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंचपतिपदवीकनवीन-  
 जिनभवनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिसत्कर्मधर्मकारक से° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संचपति  
 [डू]पजीकेन भार्या जेठी पुत्र  
 5. उदयवंत पितृव्य से° शिवा खल्लुभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदरदास सपर खल्लुभ्रातृ धीमजी सुत  
 रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ से° नाथा पुत्र [से°] सूरजी प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसंप्राकारश्रीविम-  
 लाचलोपरि भूलोहारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीआदि-

<sup>66</sup> In the same on the west image.—J. B.<sup>67</sup> Read निर°.<sup>68</sup> Read °भावर.<sup>69</sup> In the same, on the north image.—J. B.



6. नाथविंशं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवीरतीर्थकराविष्णुपरंपरायातयोद्धत्स्वरतरगच्छाधिप-  
श्रीधकवरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतददत्तयुगप्रधानविदधारकसकलदेगाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिन-  
चंद्रसूरि श्रीधकवर-

7. साहिरंजकविविधजीवदयालाभप्राप्तकसुरताणनरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविदधारकयुग-  
प्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टविभूषणबोहित्यवंसीय<sup>१०</sup>सा<sup>११</sup> धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीजिनराज-  
सूरिसूरिदिनमणिभिः ॥ आ-

8. धार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं० आनंदकीर्तिं खलचुसहोदर वा० भद्रसेनादिसत्यरिकरैः ॥

### No. XXI.<sup>१२</sup>

L. 1. श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभर्त्तापि न विष्णुचतुराननः ।

न ब्रह्मा यो हृषांकोपि न रुद्रः स जिनः श्रिये ॥ १ ॥<sup>१३</sup>

संवत्

2. १६७५ वर्षे शाके १५४१ प्रवर्त्तमाने ।

समयदेशग्रंथार । ज्ञानारतिलकोपमम् ।

अनेकेभ्यश्चक्राकीर्णं । नवीनपुरसु-

3. तमं ॥ २ ।

अभ्रंलिहविहारारप । ध्वजांशुकहृतातपम् ।

रूप्यस्वर्णमणिव्यास । चतुष्पथविराजितम् । ३ । युग्मम्

तत्र राजा

4. [प्र] शास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः ।

यामश्रीशुभशुभाङ्गकुलावरनभोमणिः । ४ ।

सकलतापाम्बिसंतोषसंतप्त इव ताप-

5. नः ।

निर्माति जलधौ नित्यमुष्णजननिमज्जने । ५ । युग्मम् ।

बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपद्मानुक्रमभूषणाः ।

श्रीधर्मचलगणा-

6. तीया आर्यरक्षितसूरयः । ६ ।

तत्पदपंकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः ।

श्रीधर्मवीरसूरीद्रा महेंद्रास्त्रिंशसूरयः<sup>१४</sup>

7. । ७ ।

श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीयाः सूरयो जितसिंहकाः ।

श्रीमहेंद्रसूरीयाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः । ८ ।

श्रीसिंहतिलकाज्ञाय श्रीम-

8. [च] द्रुमाभिधाः ।

श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंगाश्वा बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ८ ॥

<sup>१०</sup> Read श्रीय.

<sup>११</sup> On the north wall of a temple near the Hāthipola, in the Vimalavastī Tūka: *Liste*, p. 203, No. 234.—J. B.

<sup>१२</sup> Metre: Anushtubh.

<sup>१३</sup> Probably महेंद्रसिं.

समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः स्मृतिश्रीजयकीर्त्तयः ।

तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्री-

- L. 9. जयकेशरिसूरयः । १० ।  
श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्त्तयः ।  
भावसागरसूरीन्द्रास्ततो ऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ ११ [३]  
श्री-
10. मङ्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् ।  
युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः स्मृतिश्रीधर्मभूक्तयः । १२ ।  
तत्पद्मोदयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिसं-
11. निभाः ।  
जयंति स्मृतिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ ।  
श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्यु । पकेशज्ञातिभूषणः ।  
इभ्यः श्रीह-
12. रपालाङ्ग आसीलालणगीचकः । १४ ।  
हरीयाख्यो ऽय तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः ।  
उदेसीत्यथ तत्पुत्रः पर्वताङ्गस्त-
13. तो ऽभवत् । १५ ।  
वष्कुनामा ऽय तत्पुत्री चामूढाङ्गलदेविका ।  
तत्पुत्रिमानसे हंसतुल्यो ऽथा ऽमरसंघकः । १६ ।  
लिंग-
14. देवोति तत्पुत्री तदीरखास्त्रयो वराः ।  
जयंति श्रीवर्द्धमानचांपसीपद्मसिंहकाः । १७ ।  
अतः परं विशेषतः साहिवर्द्धमान-
15. साहिवर्द्धमानसिंहयोर्वर्द्धनम् ।  
गांभीर्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोपमौ ।  
अञ्जालुगुणसंपूर्णौ बोधिना श्रेणिकौ-
16. पमौ । १८ ।  
प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ ।  
मंजिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिंहौ सहोदरौ । १९ ।  
महेला वर्ष-
17. मानस्य । वक्रादेवोति विश्रुता ।  
तदंगजावुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २० ।  
वर्षिनी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगर्भा
18. सुजाणदे ।  
श्रीपालकुंरपालाङ्गरणमहास्तदंगजाः । २१ ।  
एवं स्वतंत्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनस्योत्सवपूर्वकम् ।  
साहिश्रीवमाहनश्री-

- L. 19. पद्मसीम्यां प्रधादरात् । २२  
 प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । माधवाङ्मुनपक्षके ।  
 रोहिणीभतृतीयायां बुधवासरसंयुजि
20. । २३ ।  
 श्रीशान्तिनाथमुख्यानां । जिनामां चतुरसरा ।  
 द्विती प्रतिमा ह्यया । भारिताय प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ ।  
 युग्मम् ।
21. पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते ।  
 श्रीनव्यनगरे ऽकारि । प्रासादः शैलसंनिभः । २५ ।  
 हासप्रतिजिनी-
22. कोभि । खंडितश्च चतुर्भुजैः ।  
 कैलाशपर्वतोत्तुंगैर । द्वाभिः शोभितो ऽभितः । २६ ।  
 युग्मम् ॥  
 साहिश्री-
23. पद्ममिहेना ऽकारि शङ्खज्योपरि ।  
 उत्तुंगतोरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ ।  
 यं दृष्ट्वा भविकाः स-
24. वै । चिंतयन्ति स्वचेतसि ।  
 उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोद्वि । दृश्यते ऽभ्रलिङ्गो यतः । २८ ।  
 येन श्रीतीर्थराजोयं राजते सा-
25. वतंसकः ।  
 प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तश्च श्रीश्रेयांसमुखा ऽर्हताम् । २९ ॥  
 तथा च । संवत् १६७६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सित द्वि-
26. तीयायां तिथौ दैत्यगुरुवासरे रवतोनक्षत्रे श्रीमतो नव्यनगरात् साहिश्रीपद्मसीकेन श्रीभरतचक्र-
27. वर्त्तिनिर्मितसंघसदृशं महासंघं कृत्वा श्रीशंखलगणाधीश्वरभट्टारकपुरंदरयुगप्रधानपूज्यराज-
28. श्री ५ श्रीकल्याणसागरसूरीश्वरैः सार्धं श्रीविमलगिरितोर्थवरे समेत्य स्वयंकारितश्रीशङ्खज्य-  
 गिरिशि-
29. रः प्रासादे समहोत्सवं श्रीश्रेयांसप्रमुखजिनेश्वराणां सति बिंबानि स्थापितानि ॥  
 सन्निः पूज्यमानानि
30. चिरं नंदंतु ।  
 यावद्विभाकरनिशाकरभूधराख्यरत्नाकरध्रुवधराः किल जायन्तीह ।  
 श्रेयांसनाथजिनमंदिरमश्च ता-
31. वचंदत्तनेकभविकीचनिषेध्यमानम् [म्] । २ ।<sup>62</sup>  
 वाचकश्रीविनयचंदगणीनां शिष्यमुदेव सागरेण विहिता प्रशस्तिः [॥]

No. XXII.<sup>63</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि  
 2. १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे श्रीमदंचलग-  
 3. ष्ठाधिराजपूज्यश्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरि-  
 4. तत्पट्टालंकारसूरिप्रधाने युगप्र-  
 5. धानपूज्यश्रीकल्याणसागरसू-  
 6. रिविजयिराज्ये श्रीश्रीमालीना ॥  
 7. तीयभूमदावाद्वास्तव्य साह  
 8. भवान् भार्या राजलदे पुत्र साह ।  
 9. श्रीमजी सूपजी द्वाभ्यामेका देह ।-  
 10. री कारापिता विमलाचले चतुर्मुखे [॥]

No. XXIII.<sup>64</sup>

- L. 1. [सं]° १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीराजनगर  
 वास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञा-  
 2. तीय से° देवराज भार्या [रु]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू सुत राजा पुत्र से° साईभा भार्या नाकू  
 पुत्र से° नाथा भार्या ना-  
 3. रिंगदे पुत्ररत्न से° सूरजीकेन भार्या सुषमादे पुत्रायित इंद्रजी सहितेन श्रीशान्तिनाथबिंबं कारितं  
 प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीहृत्खरतर[ग]-  
 4. ष्ठाधिराजश्रीभक्तवरपातसाहिभूपालप्रदत्तधास्मासिकाभयदानतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिहदधारकसक-  
 लदेष्टाष्टाङ्गिकामा<sup>65</sup> — — — — —  
 5. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि पट्टोद्दीपककठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीभक्तवरसाहिचित्तरंज-  
 नप्रपालितश्रीपुरगे — — — — —  
 6. प्रमुखदेशामारिजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारिश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टोदयकारकभट्टारकशि-  
 रोरत्नश्रीजिनरा[जसूरि] — — —

No. XXIV.<sup>66</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य  
 2. प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° साईभा भार्या नाकू पुत्र से° जोगी भार्या असमादे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मापा-  
 र्जक से° श्रीमजी ।  
 3. भार्या राजलदे पुं से° रतनजी भार्या सुजाणदे पुत्र २ सुंदरदाससषराभ्यां पितृनाम्ना श्रीशान्ति-  
 नाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्री-  
 4. हृत्खरतरगळे युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि जहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिहदधारकश्रीभक्तवर-  
 साहिचित्तरंजककठिनक[र]-  
 5. [र]मीरादिदेशविहारकारकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकबोहित्यवंशभृंगारकभट्टारक-  
 हंदारकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिभृंगराजैः [॥]

<sup>63</sup> In a cell or chapel attached to the north-east corner of the great Âdiśvara temple, close to that in which are Nos. vi and vii.—J.B.

<sup>64</sup> In the Khartaravasi Tūṅk, immediately to the north-east of the great Chaumukha temple, on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 333.—J. B.

<sup>65</sup> Probably °सारि°.

<sup>66</sup> In the Khartaravasi Tūṅk in a temple fronting that containing No. xxiii, to the south-east of the great Chaumukha on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 316.—J. B.

No. XXV.<sup>67</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६७६ वर्षे वैशाखासित ६ शुक्ले लघुशाखीयश्री ।-  
 2. श्रीमालिङ्गातीय मंजिजीवा भार्या बार्ह गंगार्ह सुत मंजिख[व]।-  
 3. [स]वाङ्काकेन भार्या बार्ह गंगार्ह प्रसुखकुटुंबयुतेन श्रेष्ठ ।  
 4. [भ]णसालोशिवजीप्रसादात् स्वयंप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविमलना-  
 5. थदेवकुलं कारितं ॥ श्रीमत्तपागणगणनांगणगणनमणि[स]।-  
 6. [मा] नभद्वारकश्रीविजयसेनसुरीश्वरपद्मालंकारभद्वारक ।  
 7. [श्री] विजयदेवसुरीश्वरविजयिराज्ये ॥  
 यावद्देवगिरिर्भाति  
 8. ॥ यावत् शत्रुंजयाचलः ॥  
 तावद्देवकुलं जीयात् । श्रीवाङ्काकेन  
 9. कारितं ॥ १ ॥ श्री : ॥

No. XXVI.<sup>68</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ नमः श्रीमारुदेवादिबर्हमानांततीर्थकराणां श्रीपुंडरीकाक्षगौतम-  
 2. स्वामिपश्यंतिभ्यो गणधरेभ्यः सम्यजनैः पूज्यमानेभ्यः सेव्यमानेभ्यश्च संवत् ।  
 3. १६८२ ज्येष्ठ वदि १० शुक्ले श्रीजिसलमेरुवास्तव्योपकेयवश्रीयभांडशालिके  
 4. सुधावककर्तव्यताप्रवीणधुरीण सा श्रीमत्त भार्या चापलदे पुत्र पवित्र चरित्र ।  
 5. लोद्रवापत्तनकारितजीर्णोद्धारविहारमंडनश्रीचिंतामणिनामपार्श्वनाथाभिराम-  
 6. प्रतिष्ठाविधायकप्रतिष्ठासमयार्हसुवर्णलंभनिकाप्रदायकसंघनयककरणीय-  
 7. देवगुरुसाधर्मिकवात्सल्यविधानप्रभासितसितसम्यक्गुह्यप्रसिद्धस[द्धि] व्ययविहि-  
 8. तश्रीशत्रुंजयसंघलब्धसंघाधिपतिलक सं याद [डूनामको]हिपंचाशदुत्तरचतुर्दश-  
 9. शत १४५२ मितगणधराणां श्रीपुंडरीकादिगौतमानानां पादुकास्नानमजातपूर्वम-  
 10. चीकरत् स्वपुत्रहरराजमेघराजसहितः समेधमानपुण्योदयाय प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवृद्ध-  
 11. त्स्वरतरगङ्गाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः पूज्यमानं चिरं नंदनात् ॥

No. XXVII.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८३ वर्षे ॥ पातिसाहजिह्वांगीरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमंडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥  
 2. ॥ श्रीचक्रेश्वरी नमः ॥ श्री ॥ महोपाध्यायश्री ५ श्रीहिमभूर्तिगणिसुबुद्धयो नमः ॥ श्री ॥  
 3. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥  
 स्वस्ति श्रीः शिवशंकरोपि गणमान् सर्वत्रशत्रुंजयः [I]  
 शर्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]-  
 4. न् गौरी वृषांको मृडः ।  
 गंगोमापतिरस्तकामविक्रतिः सिद्धैः कृता ऽतिस्तुती [I]  
 रुद्रो यो न परं श्रियै स

<sup>67</sup> In a temple in the Vimalavasi Tank, near Âdiśvara's.—J. B.

<sup>68</sup> Round the margin of *pādukas* or foot-prints, No. 8, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khartaravasi Tank *Lists*, p. 205, No. 317.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasi Tank, on the left hand between the Vāghana-pola and Hāthi-pola; *Lists*, p. 204, No. 138.—J. B.

- L. 5. जिनपः श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ ॥<sup>70</sup>  
 उद्यच्छीरजडः कलंकरहितः संतापदोषाऽपहः [I]  
 सौम्यः प्राप्तस[○]-
6. याऽमितकलः सुश्रीर्गंगाकोऽव्ययः ।  
 गौरानोद्धतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातृकः प्राणिनां ।  
 चंद्रः [कर्म]
7. जयत्यहो जिनपतिः श्रीवैश्वसेनिर्महान् ॥ २ ॥  
 लज्जा राजीमती यः स्वनिहितद्वयानेकपत्नीः ○ -
8. पां ।  
 सिद्धिर्ही भूरिरज्ञामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीशः ।  
 लोके स्थातस्तथापि स्फुरदतिशय[वान्]
9. ब्रह्मचारोति नाम्ना [I]  
 स श्रीनेमिजिनेन्द्रो दिशतु शिवसुखं सात्वतां योगिनाथः ॥ ३ ॥<sup>71</sup>  
 चंचच्छारं चंद्रचा [ह ○]<sup>72</sup>
10. दनश्रेयोविनिर्यहचः [I]-  
 पैयूषौघनिषेक्तो विषधरेणापि प्रपदे द्रुतं ।  
 देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[म]-
11. तुलं यस्यानुकंपानिधेः ।  
 स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेशितास्तु सततं विघ्नच्छिदे सात्वतां ॥ ४ ॥<sup>73</sup>  
 यस्य श्रीवरयास[न]
12. क्षितितले मार्संडबिंबायते [I]  
 यद्वाक्च भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पीतायते देहिनां ।  
 यद्भ्यानं [भ-]
13. विपापपंकदलने गंगाबुधारायते ।<sup>74</sup>  
 श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेन्द्रनंदनजिनः सोऽस्तु त्रिये सर्वदा ॥ ५ ॥ [II]
14. अथ पट्टावली ॥  
 श्रीवर्धमानजिनराजपदक्रमेण ।  
 श्रीभार्यारक्षितमुनीश्वरसूरिराजाः ।  
 वि-
15. व्यापगाजलधयो विधिपक्षगच्छ ।-  
 संस्थापका यतिवरा गुरुयो बभूवुः । ६ ॥<sup>75</sup>  
 तत्कारुण्यकमला[ज]-
16. लराजहंसा ।-  
 शारिचमंजुकमलाश्रवणावतंसाः [I]  
 गच्छाधिपा बुधवरा जयसिंहसूरि ।-  
 नामा[न]

<sup>70</sup> Metre of verses 1-2 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>71</sup> Metre : Śragdharā.<sup>72</sup> Read °आरचनं द्रवाचर°.<sup>73</sup> Metre of verses 4-5 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>74</sup> Read गंगापु°.<sup>75</sup> Metre of verses 6-7 : Vasantatilakā. Read दुरवी



- L. 27. तपेऽद्य जयति मन्मथभटाङ्कारगर्भीपमाः ।  
श्रीकल्याणसमुद्रसूरिगुरवः कल्याण —
28. कंदबुदाः ।  
भय्यांभोजविबोधनैककिरणाः सद्व्रानपाद्योधियः ।<sup>88</sup>  
श्रीमंतो जयति सूरिवि-
29. भुभि ।<sup>89</sup> सेव्याः प्रभावोद्यताः । १३ ॥  
श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीयमंजीश्वरश्रीभंडारी तत्पुत्र महं श्रीच-
30. मरसी सुत महं श्रीकरण तत्पुत्र सा  
श्रीधवा तत्पुत्र साह श्रीसोपा तत्पुत्र सा° श्रीवंत त-
31. झार्या उभयकुलानंददायिनी बाई श्रीसोभागदे तत्कुचिसरोराजहंस साह श्रीरूप—
32. तद्गणिनी उभयकुलानंददायिनी परमश्राविका श्रीरबाई पुत्र पारीष श्रीसोमचं<sup>90</sup>
33. प्रष्टतिपरिकरयुतया । संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । माघ शुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे [ओ]-
34. चंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनमंदिरजीर्णोद्धारः कारितः । श्रीराजनगरवास्त्व<sup>91</sup> महं भंडारी प्र-
35. साद कराविउ हुतु तेहनइ वठी पेढी [इ] बाई श्रीहीर बाई हुई तेणीइ प — — — उद्धार  
कराविउ ॥  
संघसहित ११ वा-
36. रयाभा कीधी ॥ श्वसुरपणे पारिष श्रीगंगदास भार्या बाई गुरदे पुत्र पारिष श्रीकुंथरजी भार्या  
बाई कमण्णदे-
37. कुचिसरोराजहंसोपमौ पारिषश्रीवीरजीपारिषश्रीरहीयाभिधानौ । पारिष वीरजी भार्या बाई  
हीरादे पुत्र पं
38. सोमचंदस्तबाळा श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>92</sup> ॥ देशाधीश्वरस्वभापतपनप्रभो-  
ज्ञासितादि-<sup>93</sup>
39. लभूमंडल — — — — श्रीकांधुजी तत्पुत्र राख्य श्रीसिवाजी — — — — श्राविका  
श्रीहीर बाई पुत्री बाई कीई वा-
40. ई कल्याणी भ्राता पारिष रूपजी तत्पुत्र पारिष गुडीदासयुतेन ॥ संवत् १६८२ वर्षे माघ शुदि  
त्रयोदशी [शी] सोमव-
41. तसरे श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिप्रतिष्ठा<sup>94</sup>कारिता ॥ भट्टारकश्रीकल्याणसागरसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>95</sup> ॥ वाचक-  
श्रीदेवसागरग[र] -
42. [शी]नां कृतिरियं ॥ पंडितश्रीविजयमूर्तिगणीनालेखि ॥ पं° श्रीविनयशेखरगणीनां शिष्य सु°  
श्रीरविशेखरगणीना लि-
43. स्थितिरियं ॥ श्रीशेकुंजय नमः यावत् चंद्रार्कं चिर नंदतात् श्रीकवडयक्षप्रसादात् ॥ गजधररामजी  
लघुभार्ता कुच-
44. — — — ऐजरतनकल्याणकृतायां अत्र भद्रं ॥

<sup>88</sup> Read °पाद्योधयः.<sup>89</sup> Read °भुभिः.<sup>90</sup> Read °चद.<sup>91</sup> Read °शास्त्र.<sup>92</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठितं.<sup>93</sup> Probably for प्रतिपन्नं.<sup>94</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठा.<sup>95</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठितं.



No. XXVIII.<sup>66</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ सं १ [६] ८४ माघ वदि ५ शुक्ले श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यश्रीमालाश्रीतीय ठं जसपालपीनेष पि-  
2. तृ ठं राचा मातृ ठं सी [दुषेयो इयं] ठं धाधाकेन श्रीभादिनायविषं खत्तकसहितं कारितं ॥

No. XXIX.<sup>67</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६८६ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १५ दिने दक्षिणदेये देवगीरोनगर-  
2. वास्तव्यश्रीमालीश्रीतीयलघुभाषीय साहा तुकजी भार्या बां तेजलदे  
3. सुत सां हासुजी भार्या बाइ हासलदे लघुभाता सां वडुजी सां देवजी  
4. भार्या बाइ चहादे देराणी बाइ देवलदे पू [पु] व सां धर्मदास भगी[गि]नो बां  
5. कुपरि प्रमुखसमस्तकुटुंब श्रीविमलाचलनी याचा करोनि  
6. श्रीपदबुद चा — — — [या] सादनो मंडमनो की ३ सहित फे-  
7. री छहार कराव्यु — — — — छारक [ओ] — — — — — [रा] ज्ये  
8. तत्पहालंकारे [ओ] — — — — — [ओ] — — — — — [अ] ॥  
9. पंडितोत्तम श्रीह — — — — सुपदेयात् शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXX.<sup>68</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे प्राक्के १५५१ प्रवर्तमाने श्रीमूलसंवे सरस्वतीगच्छे  
2. बला[ला]रगणे श्रीकुंडकुंदाचार्यान्वये भट्टारक श्रीसकलकीर्तिदेवास्त्यष्टे भं श्रीभुवनकीर्तिदेवा-  
स्त्यष्टे भं श्रीज्ञानभूषणदेवा-  
3. स्त्यष्टे भं श्रीविजयकीर्तिदेवास्त्यष्टे भं श्रीशुभचंद्रदेवास्त्यष्टे भं श्रीसुमतिकीर्तिदेवास्त्यष्टे  
भं श्रीगुणकीर्तिदेवास्त्यष्टे भं श्रीवादिभूषणदेवास्त्यष्टे भं श्रीरामकीर्तिदेवास्त्यष्टे भं श्रीपद्मनंदिगुरु-  
पदेयात् पातसाहाश्रीभाहा-  
4. ज्वाहाविजयराज्ये श्रीगूर्जरदेये श्रीपद्मादावादास्त्यष्टुंबडप्रातीयवृहत्पाखीयवात्सरदेयस्तांतरी-  
यनगरनौतनभद्रप्रासादोदरस्थार जाडा सं भोजा भां सं लङ्ग सुं संवस्ता भां सं रत्नादे तयोः  
5. सुत ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतप्रतिपालनेन पवित्रीकृतनिजांगसप्तचेन्नारोपितस्वकीयवित्त सं लटकण भां सं  
लक्षतादे तयोः सुत निजकुलकमलविकासनीकसूर्यावतारः दानशुणेन नृपतिश्रेयांससमः श्रीजिनविंशप्रति-  
6. षातीर्त्ययाचादिधर्मकर्मकारणोत्पुलकचित्तसंचपति श्रीरत्नसी भां सं रूपादे द्वितीयभां सं  
मोहचदे तृतीयभां सं न[य]रंगदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी श्रीरामजी भां सं केशरदे तयोः सुत संघवी  
7. हुगरसी भार्या सं डाडमदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी [रायव]जी भां सं गमतादे [एते सर्वे] महासि-  
द्धोच श्रीश[चुंजयनाकि] गिरौ श्रीजिनप्रासादे श्रीशान्तिनायविषं कारयित्वा निव्यं प्रथमंति । शुभं भवतु [५]

No. XXXI.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. । श्री ॥ भट्टारकपुरंदरभट्टारकश्रीहरी-  
2. । विजयसूरीखरगुरुभ्यो तमो नमः तत्-  
3. । पद्मभाकरभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेन-

<sup>66</sup> On the base of a Chaumukha image in a small temple, west of the great Ādiśvara Bhagavān; *Lists*, p. 198, No. 114.—J. B.

<sup>67</sup> In the shrine of "Bhīmadēva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. B.

<sup>68</sup> In the Digambara temple, in a small court to the north-east of the great Ādiśvara temple; *Lists*, p. 202, No. 227.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> Beside the doorway of the Śeṣhakṛta temple, facing the south door of the great Ādiśvara temple; *Lists*, p. 137, No. 97.—J. B.

- L. 4. । सूरिगुरुभ्यो नमः संवत् [त] १६९६ वर्षे वै-  
 5. । श्राव सुदि ५ रवी श्रीदीवन्दिरवास्तव्य सं-  
 6. । धवी सचा भार्या बाह तेज बाह तयो<sup>100</sup> सुपुत्र  
 7. ॥ संववी गोविंदजी भार्या बाह वयज बाह  
 8. । प्रमुखकुटुंबश्रुतेन<sup>1</sup> स्वश्रेयसे श्रीशुभ-<sup>2</sup>  
 9. । ये उत्तम<sup>3</sup> प्रासाद [ः] कारापित [ः] श्रीपार्श्वनाथ-  
 10. । विंशं स्थापितं प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>4</sup> च श्रीतपागच्छनाय-  
 11. । कभट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिभिः तत्प-  
 12. । शालंकारगुवराजश्रीविजयसिंहसूरि चिरं जीय<sup>5</sup>

No. XXXII—(610).<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः  
 2. प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदि-दं खलु तीर्थ<sup>7</sup> ।  
 4. रायसिंह इह वर्धमानभूः [ः]  
 6. शासनाद्विज-यदेवगुरोः स-  
 8. हाचक्षेन वि-नयाद्विजये-न ॥ १ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
 श्री-विजयसिंहसूरिः । स जयतु तपगच्छमौ-लमाणिकं ।  
 15. अजनिष्ट यदु । पदेशात् । स-हस्रकूटाभि-धं तीर्थम् ॥ २ ॥<sup>9</sup>  
 19. दिक्कश्रिज-लघिमितेन्दे १७१० सित ष-ष्ठ्यां ज्येष्ठमासि<sup>10</sup> तीर्थेक्षिन् ।  
 24. अर्द्धद्विंशसह-स्रं । स्थापितम-ष्टोत्तरं वंदे ॥ ३  
 27. यावज्जयति सुमेध । स्ताव-जीयात्कष्ट-सौभाग्यः ।<sup>11</sup>  
 श्री शत्रुंजयनूर्ध-नि । सहस्र-कूटः किरी-टीयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII.<sup>12</sup>

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| <p>L. 1. अर्द्धम्<br/>         2. ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसं-<br/>         3. वत् १७१० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ<sup>13</sup><br/>         4. शुक्ल षष्ठी<sup>14</sup> तिथौ गु-<br/>         5. ह्वारे श्रीउग्रसेनपु-<br/>         6. रवास्तव्यकेशश्री-<br/>         7. तीयहृदयाखीयकु-<br/>         8. हाडगोत्र सा । वर्धमा-</p> | <p>9. न भा । वाल्हादे पु । स<br/>         10. मानसिंहयानसिंह-<br/>         11. रायसिंहकानकसिंह-<br/>         12. उग्रसेनकृष्णभदासी-<br/>         13. सा । जगत्सिंहजीवण-<br/>         14. दासप्रमुखपरिवार-<br/>         15. युतैः स्थापितवचनात्त-<br/>         16. त्पुण्यार्थे श्रीसहस्रकू-</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>100</sup> Read तयोः.

Read "कुटुंब".

<sup>1</sup> Read "शुभ".<sup>2</sup> Read "सुत".<sup>3</sup> Read "हित".<sup>4</sup> Read जीयान्.<sup>5</sup> In the temple of Śeṣhaḥkoṭa, on the left hand column.

—Liste, p. 147, No. 97.—J. B.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Svāgātā. The penultima of the second pāda ought to be long.<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 2—4: Āryā.<sup>9</sup> Read ज्येष्ठमासि.<sup>10</sup> Read सावज्यौ.<sup>11</sup> On a column in the Śeṣhaḥkoṭa temple, in the Vimalavasi Tūṅk.—J. B.<sup>12</sup> Read ज्येष्ठ.<sup>13</sup> Read षष्ठी.

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| <p>L. 17. तृतीयं कारितं स्वप्रति-<br/>         18. छायां प्रतिष्ठापितं<sup>14</sup> । त-<br/>         19. पागच्छे म । श्रीहीरवि-<br/>         20. जयसूरिपद्मभाकर<br/>         21. म । श्रीविजयसेनसूरि-<br/>         22. पद्मालंकारपातिशा-<br/>         23. हिश्रीजिह्वागोरप्रदत्त-<br/>         24. महातपाविदधारि-<br/>         25. अनेकराजाधिराजप्र-<br/>         26. तिबोधकारिभट्टारक<br/>         27. श्री ७ श्रीविजयदेवसू-<br/>         28. रीश्वरभाचार्यश्रीविज-<br/>         29. यप्रभसूरिनिर्देशात्</p> | <p>30. श्रीहीरविजयसूरि-<br/>         31. शिखररत्नसोपाध्या-<br/>         32. य श्री ५ कीर्त्तिविज-<br/>         33. य ग । शिखोपाध्या-<br/>         34. यश्रीविजयविज-<br/>         35. यगणिभिः प्रतिष्ठि-<br/>         36. तं श्रीरसु ॥ श्रीशङ्ख-<br/>         37. यमहातीर्थकार्यक-<br/>         38. रपंडित श्री ५ शांति-<br/>         39. विजय ग । देवविजय<br/>         40. ग । मेघविजय ग । सा-<br/>         41. हाय्यतः सिद्धमिदम्<br/>         42. सूत्रधार मनजीः ।</p> |
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No. CV.<sup>15</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥  
 2. ॥ श्री नमः ॥  
 बभ्रुः श्रीमहावीरः पद्मलोकमभूषणः [ ]  
 श्रीशङ्खलगणाधीशः आयरिचितसूरयः<sup>16</sup> [ ] १ [ ]  
 3. तत्पद्मपंकजादित्या सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः [ ]  
 श्रीधर्मगोपसूरीन्द्रा । महिंद्रसिंहसूरयः<sup>17</sup> [ ] २ [ ]  
 श्री ।  
 4. सिंहप्रभसूरीयः<sup>18</sup> सूरयो जिनसिंहकाः [ ]  
 श्रीमहेन्द्रसूरीयाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः [ ] ३ [ ]  
 श्रीसिंहतिलकाङ्गाय  
 5. श्रीमहेन्द्रप्रभाभिषाः [ ]  
 श्रीमंतो मेरुतुम्बाख्याः<sup>19</sup> बभ्रुः सूरयस्ततः [ ] ४ [ ]  
 समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयकी-  
 6. र्तयः [ ]  
 तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्रीजयकेसरसूरयः [ ] ५ [ ]  
 श्रीसिंहान्तसमुद्राख्यः सूरया<sup>20</sup> भूरिकीर्त्तयः [ ]  
 भावसागरसू-  
 7. रीन्द्रा ततोभूवन् गणाधिपाः [ ] ६ [ ]  
 श्रीमङ्गलनिधानाख्यः सूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् [ ]  
 युगप्रधाना<sup>21</sup> श्रीमंतः सूरिश्री-

<sup>14</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठापितं.<sup>15</sup> In the Khartaravast Temple, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Narsi Kofarji's temple.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 342.—J. B.<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीराः । आयरिचितं.<sup>17</sup> Read L. 3 : "दित्याः । श्रीयः । महिंद्रः".<sup>18</sup> Read श्रीयाः.<sup>19</sup> Read L. 5 : "तुम्बा" । बभ्रुः.<sup>20</sup> Read L. 6 : "द्वय" । "ख्याः सूरयी".<sup>21</sup> Read L. 7 : "रीन्द्राख्यः" । "द्वय" । "ख्याः" । "यायाः".

- L. 8. धर्ममूर्त्तय [४] ७ [४]  
 तत्पद्मोदयशैलाग्रः प्रोद्यत्तरक्षिसन्निभा<sup>22</sup> [१]  
 अभवन्सूरिराजश्रीयुजः कल्याणसागराः
9. [१] ८ [१]  
 श्रीभमरोदधिचूर्तिद्रा ततो विद्यासूरयः [१]  
 उदयार्णवसूरिश्च कीर्त्तिर्निधुमुनिपतिः [१] ८ [१]<sup>23</sup>  
 ततो पु-
10. श्रीदधिचूर्तिराजेंद्रार्णवसूरयः [१]  
 मुक्तिसागरचूर्तिद्रा बभूवुः गुणशालिनः [१] १० [१]  
 ततः<sup>24</sup> रत्नी-
11. दधिचूर्तिर्जयति विचरद्भुवि [१]  
 ज्ञातदातव्यायुक्त भव्यान्<sup>25</sup> धर्मोपदेशकः [१] ११ [१]  
 इति प-
12. द्वावलि ॥  
 अथ कण्ठसुरादे च कीठारानगरे वरे [१]  
 बभूवु लघूयाच्यायामर्णसी-<sup>26</sup>
13. ति गुणोज्ज्वल [१] १२ [१]  
 तत्पुत्री नायकी अग्रे हीरवार्ध च तन्मिया [१]  
 पुत्री<sup>27</sup> केशवजी तस्य
14. रूपवान्पुण्यमूर्त्तय[१] १३ [१]  
 मातुलेन समं मूर्ध्वदरे तिलकोपमे<sup>28</sup> [१]  
 अगात्पुण्यप्रभावेन
15. बहु स्व समुपार्जितं [१] १४ [१]  
 देवभक्तिगुरुरागी<sup>29</sup> धर्मश्रद्धाविवेकिनः [१]  
 दाता भीक्ता यमः
16. कीर्त्तिं स्वर्गं विभ्रतो बहु [१] १५ [१]  
 पावेति तस्य पत्नी च नरसिंहसुतोजनि<sup>30</sup> [१]  
 रत्नवार्ध त-
17. स्व भार्या पतिभक्तिसुशीलवान् [१] १६ [१]  
 केशवजीकस्य भार्या हितिया<sup>31</sup> मांकवार्ध चः [१]
18. नाम्ना लोकमजी तस्य पुत्रीभुत्<sup>32</sup> स्वल्पजीवोनः [१] १७ [१]  
 नरसिंहस्य पुत्रीभुत् रूपवान्

<sup>22</sup> Read L. 8.: °स्यः । °धाःपी°.

<sup>23</sup> Read द्वावलि । ततः .

<sup>24</sup> Read L. 10: °यो° । °श्री° । वसी.

<sup>25</sup> Read L. 11: °नयति विचरद्भुवि ज्ञातदात° । युक्ती भवान्.

<sup>26</sup> Read °विः । °लघू°.

<sup>27</sup> Read °ज्वलः । पुनः .

<sup>28</sup> Read L. 14: रूपवान्पुण्य° । मुने° । °मुण्य°.

<sup>29</sup> Read °स्व । °गुं°.

<sup>30</sup> Read L. 16: विभ्रतो । Perhaps °विं°.

<sup>31</sup> Read हितिया । च.

<sup>32</sup> Read °भुत् । °भुत्°.

L. 19.

सुंदराकृति [i]

चिरंजय सदा ऋषि वृषिर्भवतु<sup>३८</sup> धर्मत [H] १८ [H]:

इति वंशावलिः ॥

20. गांधी मोहोतागोत्रे सा वसवकी निजभूजोपार्जितवित्त<sup>३९</sup> धर्मकार्याणि कुर्वते क  
 21. तस्यया निजपरिकरवृत्तो संवसा<sup>४०</sup> विमलाब्जितीर्थे समेत्त कच्छसीराद्रगुर्धरः स-<sup>४१</sup>  
 22. वधरमेवाङ्गुलुषादिदेशादागताः बहुसंघलोकाः मिश्रिताः संजनयसाका-  
 23. प्रतिष्ठा<sup>४२</sup>दिमहोत्सवा<sup>४३</sup> विद्यालभंभयं कारयति क तस्यै नवीनजिनविंश-  
 24. मां वृषपावाचसंधातूनां बहुसंघसंस्थानां सुसुहृत्ते सुलभे पीठीपरि संस्था-<sup>४४</sup>  
 25. ध्य तस्य विधिना क्रयाकरवा<sup>४५</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिविधिपञ्चगव्यपतेरादे-  
 26. यतः सुनिश्चोदेवचद्रगायना तथा क्रियाकुशलयादौः सद्यः शास्त्रोक्तवित्ता<sup>४६</sup>  
 27. शुद्धकीया कुर्वन् श्रीवीरविक्रमाकृतः संवत् १९२१ मा वर्षे तस्मिन्<sup>४७</sup> श्रीया-  
 28. लीवाहनभूपाकृतयाके १७८६ प्रवर्त्तमाने मासोत्तम<sup>४८</sup> श्रीमाघमासे शुक्ल-  
 29. पक्षे तिथि सप्तम्याः शुक्लासरे मार्त्तुदोदयवेलायां सुसुहृत्ते सुलभे स्वर्वा<sup>४९</sup>  
 30. लाकया जिनसुद्राक्षां श्रीशुभभिश्च साधुभिरंजनक्रियाकुर्वते कः सधलोका-<sup>५०</sup>  
 31. न सुवेसचारीन् बहुकृष्णा गीतगांनवाजिह्वपूर्वक समेत्त जिनपुजनलोह-<sup>५१</sup>  
 32. नादिक्रियायाचकानादानादिसचवात्सल्यादिभक्तिवर्धतस्मै पुनः<sup>५२</sup> धर्मया-  
 33. लायां चारासोपलनिर्मितं सास्ततःषष्ठभादिजिनामां चतुर्मुखं चैत्वं पुनः गिरि-  
 34. शिखरोपरि श्रीशमिनंदनजिनस्य विद्यालभंदिनं तस्य प्रतिष्ठा<sup>५३</sup> माघ सित व-  
 35. योदक्षां बुधवासरे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रिया कृता<sup>५४</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिचामुप-  
 36. देशंतः श्रीसंघपति निजपरिवारेण सद्यः श्रीशमिनंदनादिजिनविंश<sup>५५</sup> स्य-  
 37. पिता ततः शुभमस्त्रिसंघभक्तियत्नानुगारेण कृतः गोहिलवर्धयविशुद्ध-<sup>५६</sup>  
 38. ठाकीरश्रीसूरसंघजीराज्ये पादक्षितपुरे<sup>५७</sup> मदनोत्सवमभूत् श्रीसंघस्य भद्रं  
 39. भूयात्[.] कल्याणमस्तु यमं भवतु[.] ॥

माषिकसिंधुवरसुस्थसुनिवरेषु<sup>५८</sup> ।

40. तत्स्थिष्यवाचकवरविनयार्थवेन [i]

एषा प्रशस्ति अवशास्ततुल्यरूपा<sup>५९</sup>

संघ-

41. क मायनससुचतिकारलेखिः<sup>६०</sup> १: ॥

वाचकविनयसागरेण्यं प्रशस्ति-

<sup>३८</sup> Read L. 19: "कृतिः । जयः । ईदृष्टिः ।<sup>३९</sup> Read "सुधी" ।<sup>४०</sup> Read L. 21: "वाहि" । "जंरन" ।<sup>४१</sup> Read "विष्ठा" ।<sup>४२</sup> Read L. 24: "वृष" । "वृत्ते" ।<sup>४३</sup> Read "विष्ठा" ।<sup>४४</sup> Read L. 26: "सुनि" । "संघ" । "रीया" ।<sup>४५</sup> Read L. 27: "जिनाः" । "वर्धन" ।<sup>४६</sup> Read L. 28: "कृत" । "जाने" । "वृष" ।<sup>४७</sup> Read L. 29: "विष्ठा" । "वृत्ते" । "वृष" ।<sup>४८</sup> Read L. 30: "विष्ठा" । "वृत्ते" ।<sup>४९</sup> Read L. 31: "वृष" । "दिनपूर्वक" । "पुनः" ।<sup>५०</sup> Read L. 32: "संघ" । "पुनः" ।<sup>५१</sup> Read "वा" ।<sup>५२</sup> Read L. 35: "वाजी" । "कृता" ।<sup>५३</sup> Read L. 36: "देवता" । "विष्ठा" ।<sup>५४</sup> Read L. 37: "पिते" । "कृतवृत्ता" । "कृत" । "वृष" ।<sup>५५</sup> Read "पुरे" ।<sup>५६</sup> Read "पुरे" ।<sup>५७</sup> Read L. 40: "विष्ठा" । "वृष" ।<sup>५८</sup> Read "वा" । "वाहि" ।

## L. 42. लिखिताः ॥

यावत् मेव मन्त्रिष्वर यावत् चन्द्रदिवाकरौ<sup>५५</sup> [1]43. यावत्तीर्थ जिनेन्द्राणां [2] तावत् नन्दतु मन्दिरः<sup>५६</sup> ॥ १ ॥

श्रीरसु [3]

## ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv.<sup>५५</sup> Samvat 1788, Māha sudi 5; *Siddhachakra*, dedicated by Anandabāi, wife of Shetā (Khetā) of the Śrīmālī *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Dhanapura; consecrated by *paṇḍitavara* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandra, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Jñānadharmaji, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārājī in the *śākhā* of Jinachandra Sūri, *yugapradhāna* of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, who awakened Pātisāhi Akabbara.

No. xxxv.<sup>५७</sup> Samvat 1788, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhīmamuni dedicated by Dulichand, son of Sā(hu) Kikā of the Kharatara *gachchha*; consecrated by *upādhyāya* Dīpachandragani.

No. xxxvi.<sup>५८</sup> (Date as above); an image of Śrī-Yudhishtira [*shthira*] muni (remainder as above).

No. xxxvii.<sup>५९</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1788, Śāka 1653, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premaji (surnamed Cheuli, from his residence in Cheula), of the Śrīmālī *vṛiddhaśākhā*, at the request of *bhaṭṭāraka* Vijaya-Dayāsūri, and of the Tapā *gachchha*; consecrated by *bhaṭṭāraka* Sumatisāgara of the same *gachchha*.

No. xxxviii.<sup>६०</sup> Samvat 1791, Vaiśākha sudi 8, *pushyārke*; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by *bhaṇḍārī* Ratnasimha, a *mahāmantri*, who caused an edict of *amārt* to be proclaimed in Gujarāt, son of Udayakarāṇa (and Udayavantadevi), son of Shetasihaji, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Dīpaji, of the Osavāla *vṛiddhaśākhā* and the Nāḍūla-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayāsūri, successor of Vijai-Kshamāsūri, of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xxxix.<sup>६१</sup> Samvat 1794, Śāka 1659, Aśāḍha sudi 10, Sunday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by *bhaṇḍārī* Harashachanda son of *bhaṇḍārī* Sivachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Rūpachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Tārachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Nārāyanaji, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Bhānaji of the Oisavamśa *vṛiddhaśākhā*, Nāḍūla-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinachandrasūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, by *paṇḍita* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandaji, pupil of *upādhyāya* Jñānadharmaji, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārājī.

<sup>५५</sup> Read L. 42: °चिवा । °मन्त्रीष्वरी । च°.

<sup>५६</sup> Read °तीर्थ । नन्दतु मन्दिरः.

<sup>५७</sup> On a *Siddhachakra* slab in the south corridor of the Kharataravast Tūṅk.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 337.—J. B.

<sup>५८</sup> On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pañcha Pāṇḍava temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 350.—J. B.

<sup>५९</sup> In Pañcha Pāṇḍava temple, on the base of the principal image.—*Lists*, ib.

<sup>६०</sup> Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Ādīvara.—*Lists*, p. 197, perhaps No. 100.

<sup>६१</sup> In the Vimalavast Tūṅk, on right hand when going towards the Hāthipola, about half-way up.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 247.

<sup>६२</sup> In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipavast Tūṅk.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 367

No. xl.<sup>62</sup> Samvat 1810, Māha sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sumatinātha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, *Saṅghavi* Kachara Kikā and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasūri.

No. xli.<sup>63</sup> Samvat 1814, Māgha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a *śikhara*, dedicated by *Vo.* Kāsarisaṅgha, son of *Vo.* Lādhā, (and Prānakumara,) son of *Vo.* Dipachand, son of *Vo.* Sakalachanda of the Prāgvāṭa-vaṃsa, *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Udayasūri.

No. xlii.<sup>64</sup> Samvat 1815, Vaiśākha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by *masa* Kuyarajī Lādhā of Bhāvanagara; consecrated by Rājasāmasūri, of the Laghuposāla *gachchha*.

No. xliii.<sup>65</sup> Samvat 1822, Phālguna śudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśā, Deshavāla-Tapā *gachchha*'s *derī*, dedicated by *gāndhī* Parasottama Sūdarajī and by his nephew Amāidāsa and his brothers Nāthā and Kumbera, all of Meśāṇā. The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Samvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xliv.<sup>66</sup> Samvat 1843, Śāka 1708, Māgha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Rājānagara, a Śrīmālī of the *laghuśākhā* of the Kāśyapa gotra and Paramāra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlv.<sup>67</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1860, Śāka 1726, Vaiśākha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Harashachanda, son of Hīrachanda (and Kumarabāi), son of Sā Rāyakaraṇa, a Śrīmālī of the *vṛiddha śākhā*, a native of Damaṇa-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phiraṃgijāti Puratakāla pātasāhi (the king of Portugal).

No. xlv.<sup>68</sup> (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjharā-Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Savāichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachanda and Joyatī, a Jhaverī (*jeweller*) of the Usavāla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasūri, of the *gachchha*. Vijaya-Ānandasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlvii.<sup>69</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asrahurā (Vijjharā?) Pārśvanāth, dedicated by Jhaverī Premachanda, . . . . an Usavāla of Surat, belonging to the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Ānandasūri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri, *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlviii.<sup>70</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasakuṭajī (*Sahasrakūṭa*), dedicated by Dāhābhai, son of Sā Lālabhāi, grandson of Sā Bhāisāji, a Śrīmālī, at the request of Puṇyasāgarasūri of the A mchala *gachchha*, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlix.<sup>71</sup> Date and contents as of the preceding.

<sup>62</sup> In a temple on the south of the way to the Hāthipola, in Vimalavasi Tuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 285.—J. B.

<sup>63</sup> On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Ādiśvara temple.

<sup>64</sup> On the base of an image on the south side of the way to the Hāthipola.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 291.

<sup>65</sup> In Modi Premachand's temple No. 84?

<sup>66</sup> In Vimalavasi Tuṅk, in a small temple on the south of the Vāghana-pola.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 304.—J. B.

<sup>67</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tuṅk, on an image in the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 362.

<sup>68</sup> On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tuṅk of Modi Premachand.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 367.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tuṅk, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 364.

<sup>70</sup> On a column in the Śeshakoṭa in the Pūcha Pāṇḍava's temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 351.

<sup>71</sup> In the same temple.—J. B.

No. i.<sup>72</sup> Samvat 1860, Māhā sudya 13; a temple was begun and finished Samvat 1861, Phāguna vadi 5, Wednesday, by Virachanda, son of Pitāmara, grandson of Harashachanda, a Pārekha of Ahmadābād, of the Visā-Poravāla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānandasūri.

No. ii.<sup>73</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1861 and Śālivāhana Śāka 1726, Dhātā samvatsara Mārgaśīrsha sudi 3, Wednesday, Pūrvāshāḍha nakshatra, Vṛiddha Yoga, Gira Karana, in the victorious reign of Puṇyasāgarasūri, successor of Kirtisāgarasūri, successor of Udayasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha, a kumda, called Ichhākumda, was dedicated by Ichchhābhāi, son of Nihālachandabhāi, a Śrīmālī of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unnadāji ruled over Pālītānā.

No. iii.<sup>74</sup> Samvat 1867, Chaitra sūda 15; an agreement in Gujarātī not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hāthī Pola.

No. liii.<sup>75</sup> Samvat 1875, Māgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhinātha(?), dedicated by Sosaji, son of Mūlaji and Māmnakumara, of Rādhanaपुरा; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sedugarasi, son of Mūlaji and (?); an image of Mallinātha, and a little temple (*dehari*) dedicated by Kāmṭiyā Hemaji, son of Tokarasi.

No. liv.<sup>76</sup> Samvat 1885, Vaiśākha śukla akshayatrityā, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śrāvikā Gulāvabentī, by Bābu Harsha-chandaji and Visanachandaji, sons of Jethamallaji, Būranachandaji and Keśava-dāsaji, sons of Sāha Bohitthaji, of the Dūgada gotra, inhabitant of Bālūchāra; consecrated by Jinaharshasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lv.<sup>77</sup> Samvat 1886, Śāka 1751, Māgha, śuklapaksha 5, Friday; an image of Puṇḍarīka gaṇadhara, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhāi, son of Seth Pānābhāi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Seth Vakhatachanda Khusyālachanda of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated during the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lvi.<sup>78</sup> (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pārsvānātha, dedicated for the welfare of Bāi Rāmākumyara, wife of Sāha Harakhachanda, son of Sāha Mūlachanda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverabāi, wife of Dosi Kusalachanda, in the reign of bhāṭṭāraka Rājendrasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha.

No. lvii.<sup>79</sup> (Date as above); a *chaturvīṃsatīlīrthakarapaṭṭa* with *hrīmkāra*, dedicated by Motichanda, son of Sāha Malukachanda, and Kusalabāi, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated by the bhāṭṭāraka of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lviii.<sup>80</sup> (Date as above); a *parameshṭī[shṭhi]pada*, with *Omkāra*, dedicated by the donor of No. lvii; consecrated as above.

<sup>72</sup> In Vimalavasi Tūnk, to the south-east of the Chaumukh of a hundred pillars.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 245.—J. B.

<sup>73</sup> On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.

<sup>74</sup> On the wall, beside the Hāthīpola, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Ādīvara Bhagavān and the eastern section of the Vimalavasi Tūnk.—J. B.

<sup>75</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tūnk, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.

<sup>76</sup> In a small temple to the south of Puṇḍarīka's.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 345.

<sup>77</sup> In Hemabhai's Tūnk, at the entrance.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 408.

<sup>78</sup> On the seat of an image south of Puṇḍarīka's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatchand's Tūnk.

<sup>79</sup> In Hemabhai's Tūnk, on the north wall of the Maṇḍapa of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.

<sup>80</sup> In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.



No. lix.<sup>51</sup> (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhāvahu, wife of Naginadāsa, son of Śeṭh Himabhāi, son of Śeṭh Vakhatachamda Khusyālachamda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lx.<sup>52</sup> Samvat 1887, Vaisākha sudi 13, *jñavāsara*, in the reign of Gohel Kāmdhājī, *kumvara* Noghanājī, of Pādaliptanagara, a temple (*vihāra*) built, and an image of Kumthanātha by Gajamalajī Parakh, son of Himatarāma, son of Sāha Tilokachamda of the Luniyā gotra, Ukeśa jñātīya Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ajameranagara; consecrated by Devachamda, in the reign of *bhaṭṭ*. Jinaharshasūri, of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxi.<sup>53</sup> Samvat 1888, Vaisākha vadi — — *śorivāsare* (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khemakuvarabāi, wife of Nihālachamda, son of Sāha Pāmnāchamda, Ośavāla of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Devachandra, in the reign of Jinaharshasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxii.<sup>54</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisāsha śukla 13, Wednesday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Ujamabāi, daughter of Vakhatachamda, an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*. A small temple in the Moṭī ṭunk near Puñchabhāi's temple by the same.

No. lxiii.<sup>55</sup> (Date as above); an image of Rishabhadeva, dedicated by Paradhāmnavaṇu, wife of Sūryamala, son of Śresṭhī Vakhatachamda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ukeśa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the Sāgara *gachchha* (?).

No. lxiv.<sup>56</sup> (Date as above); an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachamdaājī, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachamda Jasarupājī, younger brother of Jasarupājī, son of Patāājī Pārakh; consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxv.<sup>57</sup> (Date as above), *chaturmukha bimba*, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhāi by his whole family, *viz.* Naginadāsa, his wife Ichhāvahu, his younger brother Premabhāi, his wife Sāmkaliyahu and his sisters Rukhamāṇī, Prasana, Motkumara—Hemabhāi's wife Kamkuvahu, parents Śeṭh Vakhatachamda and Jadāvabhāi, grandfather Khusālachamda, Ośavālas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-*gachchha*.

No. lxvi.<sup>58</sup> Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?); a *pañchaparameshṭi-śhṭhi*-*paṭṭa*, containing an *Omkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxii); consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?).

No. lxvii.<sup>59</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisāsha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a *chaturvīṃsatīrthamkarapaṭṭa*, containing a *Hṛīmkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxvi), consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?).

<sup>51</sup> In a shrine in Hemabhāi's Ṭunk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.

<sup>52</sup> Outside Kharataravasi Ṭunk, in a temple at the north-east corner.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 347.—J. B.

<sup>53</sup> In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, on the north side.

<sup>54</sup> In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.

<sup>55</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.

<sup>56</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, north corridor, room No. 2.

<sup>57</sup> In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 412.

<sup>58</sup> In the principal temple in Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, on the south wall, see No. lviii.

<sup>59</sup> In Hemabhāi's temple, in the Maṇḍapa north wall, east corner, see No. lvii.—J. B.

No. lxviii.<sup>90</sup> Samvat 1891, Māgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khāmdhājī, his son being Noghanājī and his son Pratāpasīnghājī, of Palitānā, an image of Rishabhā, dedicated by Imḍrajī, son of Nihālachamḍa, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ośavāla race, Brīhat-śākhā, inhabitant of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated by Pam. Devachandra, pupil of Pam. Jayavamtājī, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Brīhat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxix.<sup>91</sup> Samvat 1892, Vaiśākha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohel Khāmdājī (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Sambhavanātha, Pārśvanātha and Śī-talanātha, dedicated by Mahetābakumāra, wife of Bābu Pratāpasīnghājī, brother of Bābu Bahādarasīnghājī, son of Bābu Rādhāsīnghājī, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ukesa race), Brīhat-śākhā, of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Brīhat-Kharatara *gachchha* by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhadra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharājī.

No. lxx.<sup>92</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādinātha dedicated by Phūlakumyara, daughter of Anopabhāi and Manachhi, Anopabhāi being son of Vakhatachamḍa (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxi.<sup>93</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāntinātha dedicated by Ujalivahu, wife of Phatebhāi, son of Motīchamḍa, Vṛiddha-śākhā, Ośavāla, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāg. ga.

No. lxxii.<sup>94</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāntinātha dedicated by Bhagubhāi, son of Phatebhāi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motīchanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii.<sup>95</sup> (Date as above), a temple built in Hemābhāi's ṭūṅk and image of Ajitanātha dedicated by Sā Lashamichamḍa, (wife Pāravati), son of Sā Jesamgha, son of Sā Hīrāchamḍa, of the Vṛiddha-śākhā, Usavāla, inhabitant of Khambhānāyāra.

No. lxxiv.<sup>96</sup> Samvat 1893, Jyeshṭha śudi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bāphanā Gumāmnachamḍajī Bahādaramallājī of Jesālamēru, consecrated by Jinamahēndrasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxxv.<sup>97</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Premachanda, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Padmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi.<sup>98</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Ajab and Mānakumara, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāmara, son of Sā Sākalachamḍa, son of Sā Premachamḍa, son of Sā Dāmodaradāsa of the Laghu śākhā of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Ahammadāvād, consecrated by

<sup>90</sup> In temple outside the gate of Puṇḍarika temple of the Kharataravast Ṭūṅk and next to that containing inscription No. lx.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 341.—J. B.

<sup>91</sup> Outside the enclosure of the great Chaumukha on the east, next to preceding on the base of an image.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 339.

<sup>92</sup> In Hemābhāi Ṭūṅk, west corridor, room No. 1.

<sup>93</sup> In the same Ṭūṅk in a shrine in the west corridor.

<sup>94</sup> In Hemābhāi's Ṭūṅk, west corridor, room No. 5.

<sup>95</sup> In the Hemābhāi Ṭūṅk, north corridor, first room.

<sup>96</sup> In the shrine of Gaumukha, at the entrance to the Chaumukha temple.—*Lists*, p. 205 No. 311.

<sup>97</sup> Sākalachand Premachand's Ṭūṅk, on the seat below the image (Chintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 494.

<sup>98</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Ṭūṅk, on the seat of Puṇḍarika, facing the principal temple.—J. B.

Rûpavijayagani, pupil of Padmavijayagani, a Samvijñamārgī, of the line of Vijayasīhasūri, in the Samvijñayamārgīya—Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxxvii.<sup>99</sup> (Date as above), an image of Padmanātha, dedicated by Sā Mûlachamda, son of Sā Karmachamda, son of Sā Premachamda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rûpavijayagani (etc., see No. lxxvi).

No. lxxviii.<sup>100</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmmanātha, dedicated by Amarachamda (and family), son of Ratnakhimachamda and Devakûara Bâi, son of Premachamda and Ichhâbâi of the Ośa race, Laghu Śākhâ, inhabitant of Mumbâi, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhaneśvarasûri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānamdasûri, called the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxxix.<sup>1</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Sâhavisimgha, son of Sâ Keśirisimgha, son of Sâ Khusâlachamda, son of Sâ Nâhâlachamda, an Ośavâla of the Vriddhasâkhâ, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd, consecrated by Śâmtisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxx.<sup>2</sup> (Date as above), an image of Âdinātha, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family), son of Śeth Motichamda and Divâlî Bâi, son of Śeth Amichamda and Rupâ Bâi; an Ośavâla of the Vriddhasâkhâ and Nâhaṭā gotra, inhabitant of Mumbai-bindara (*Bombay*), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, successor of Jinaharshasûri of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha* (Kharatara Pippaliya), during the reign of Gohel Pratâpasimghajî.

No. lxxxi.<sup>3</sup> (Date as above), image of Śeth Mo[ticham]da and his wife Ichhâvâlî set up by Śeth Khemachamda, in the Kharatara-Ghinaliya (*Pippaliya*?) *gachchha*.

No. lxxxii.<sup>4</sup> (Date as above), image of Śâmtinātha, dedicated by Śeth Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahendra, (*Kharatara-Pippaliya-gachche bha-ja-yu śrî-Jinadevasûri tatpatte bha-śrî-Jinachamdasûri vidyamâne saparikarasam-yute*).

No. lxxxiii.<sup>5</sup> (Date as above), an image of Supârśvanātha, dedicated by Rûpâ Bâi, wife of Śeth Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxiv.<sup>6</sup> (Date as above), an image in the temple of *śrîvat*-Kesarîdevî (Ambâ), dedicated by Mumgîvahu, wife of Khemachamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxv.<sup>7</sup> (Date as above), an image of Puṇḍarîka, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasuri, etc. (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxvi.<sup>8</sup> Samvat 1897, Śâka 1763, Vaiśâka, śukla 13, Monday; an image

<sup>99</sup> In the temple in the north-east corner of Sâkalachand Premachand's Tûnk.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 498.—J. B.

<sup>100</sup> In Motîśâh's Tûnk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 420.

<sup>1</sup> In Motîśâh's Tûnk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 433.

<sup>2</sup> In Motîśâh's Tûnk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> Near the door below the image of the Śeth and his wife, in the principal temple in Motîśâh's Tûnk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 417.

<sup>4</sup> On the base of an image to the right of the principal image in temple No. 420.—*Lists*, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north-east of the central one.

<sup>6</sup> On the base of image of Ambâ Mâtâ (Chakreśvartî) to the right of the principal temple in Motîśâh Amichand's Tûnk.

<sup>7</sup> On the base of Puṇḍarîka, in the temple at the entrance of Motîśâh's Tûnk; the temple of Puṇḍarîka always faces the principal shrine of Âdinātha.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.

<sup>8</sup> On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motîśâh's Tûnk.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 421.

of Ādinātha, dedicated by Phulachamda, son of Kapurachamda and Kasali, son of Pārekha Jiboghā (?) and Lashamī, Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Mumbāi-bidar (*Bombay*), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devidrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxxxvii.<sup>9</sup> Samvat 1900, Śāka 1765, Māgha śukla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kshemachamda.

No. lxxxviii.<sup>10</sup> Samvat 1903, Śāka 1768, Māgha, kṛishna 5, Friday; an image of Rūpabāi (etc., see No. lxxxiii), dedicated by Kshemachamda; in the reign of Jinamahindrasūri of the Brihat-Kharatara Pīpaliya *gachchha*.

No. lxxxix.<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1905, Vaiśāṣa, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by *mehetā* Motīchamda, son of *m.* Khetasī, Osavāla of the Vṛiddha-Śākhā, inhabitant of Pālanapūra; two other images of Ādinātha, dedicated by his wives Rāmākuyara and Indara, two more images of Ādinātha, dedicated by Maṃgālī, son of *metā* Īśvara and Jñānavahu, son of Rāmākuyar and Motīchamda, as well as by Dilubāi, wife of Khetasī, son of Mūlachamda, in the reign of Devindrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xc.<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1905, Śāka 1770, Māgha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamdraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a *dharmasālā* 120 *gaja* long and 40 *gaja* broad, built in Pālitanā, south side, an *upāsar* in Pālitanā for the Amchala *gachchha* restored, (*all*) by Sā Hīrajī and Sā Vīrajī with their wives Purabāi and Līlā Bāi, they being sons of Sā Narasī and Kuarabāi, son of Bhāramalla, and Maṃka Bāi Osavalas of the Laghu-sāsha, and Nāgaḍā-gotra, members of the Amchala *gachchha*, inhabitants of Nabhinpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (*upadeśāt*) of Muktiśāgarasūri of the Amchala *gachchha*.

No. xci.<sup>13</sup> Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Śeṭh Vakhatachanda, his son Hemābhāi and his grandson, the late Nagarśeṭh Premābhāi of Ahmadābād. He belonged to the Osavāla-jñāti, the Addai Śākhā, the Śīsodīa-*vaṃśa*, the Kumkumalola-gotra, worshipped the gotra-devī Āsāpurī, the Kshetrpāla Baraḍā. The pedigree includes (1) [K]ulautapatirājā Sāmāntasamgha rāmṇo, (2) his son Kuarapāla, converted to Jainism by Achāraja Dharmagoshasūri, (3) his son Sā Harapati, (4) his son Sā Vachchhā, (5) his son Sā Sehasakarana, (6) his son Śeṭh [Sā]mtidāsa of Rājanagara, a courtier (*rājasabhāśragāra*) in the time (*pravartte*) of Dalipatipatasāha—Sāhajāṃgājī, his son Śeṭh Lakhamichamda; (8) his son Shusālachamda (Khushālchand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Seṭh Vashatachamda (Vakhatchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a *pañṇāvalī* of the Sāgara-*gachchha*; (1) Rājasāgarasūri; (2) Vṛiddhisāgarasūri; (3) Lakshmisāgarasūri; (4) Kalyāṇasāgarasūri; (5) Punyasāgarasūri; (6) Udayasāgarasūri; (7) Ānandasāgarasūri; (8) Śāntisāgarasūri, V. S. 1905.

No. xcii.<sup>14</sup> Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhatā

<sup>9</sup> In Śākalachand Premachand's Tūṅk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 499.

<sup>10</sup> On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motīśāh's Tūṅk.

<sup>11</sup> In Motīśāh's Tūṅk, south corridor, first room.

<sup>12</sup> In the Khurataravasi Tūṅk in a temple outside the Chaumukh enclosure and behind that of Narsi Keśavji.

<sup>13</sup> In Hemabhai Vakhatachand's Tūṅk, on the front wall, at the south corner, outside the principal temple of Ajitachand, built by Premābhāi.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 467.—J. B.

<sup>14</sup> In Motīśāh's Tūṅk, in a room in the south corridor.

Moti-vast (Motiśāh's Tūnk), by Vṛddhishamḍajī, son of Muhatā Patichāna and Punyakuara, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vikānera; consecrated by Pam. Devem-drakuśala, brother of Ānamdakuśala of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xciii.<sup>16</sup> Samvat 1908, Vaisāsha kṛishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanāthajī, dedicated by Khusālabhāī, son of Dipachamḍa, a Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Rājānagara

No. xciv.<sup>16</sup> (Date as above), an image of Śumatinātha, dedicated by Jethābhāī, another son of Dipachamḍa (see No. xciii).

No. xcv.<sup>17</sup> (Date as above), an image of Rishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkhamdasūri by Jethābhāī (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pāyachamḍa(?) gachchha, consecrated by Pam. Ānamdakuśala.

No. xcvi.<sup>18</sup> Samvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Rājarājesvara Mahārājādhirāja (II) Gobhī Śrī Noghana, his son being Prātāpasimghajī, of Pālītāṇa, a new temple built and eight images of Adijina, Suvrata, Ādinātha, Naminātha, Adinātha, Śruvrata, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Vaghmalajī, son of Agarakuvarabāī and Dhanarūpamalla, Osavāla of the Vṛddha Śākhā and Śrī-Murmiyā gotra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasubhāgyasūri, successor of Jīna harśha of the Khar. ga. by Hemachamḍra, younger pupil (laghushikshya) of Māmnasumdarajī, of Harshakīrtti, pupil of Dayāvilāsajī, pupil of Jayabhadrajī, pupil of Pam. Kanakasesharajī.

No. xcvi.<sup>19</sup> Samvat 1911, Phālguna, kṛishṇa 2 Monday,<sup>20</sup> an image of Abhinamḍanasvāmimūlanāyaka, dedicated in the Motivasitūnka by Sā Kālidāsa, son of Bāī-Deva and Bhagavāna, son of Sā Harashachamḍa, a Viśā Poravāda, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Pam. Ānamdakuśala in the reign of Devimdrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xcvi.<sup>21</sup> Samvat 1913, Māgasara, śudi 6; Navāsare, an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Phattebhāī, son of Sā Motibhāī and Rupakumvarabāī, of the Sisodhiā sāsā and Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ammadāvād.

No. xcix.<sup>22</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Chaganabhāī, son of Siradarakumvarabāī and Sā. Mānasushabhāī, of the Sisodhiā sāsā and the Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād.

No. c.<sup>23</sup> (Date as above), an image of Abhinamḍana, dedicated by Samarathakuarabāī, daughter of Pradhānakumvarabāī and Śeṭh Surajamalabhāī, Osavāla of the Sisodhiā sāsā and the Kumkamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād.

No. ci.<sup>24</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgaśīrsha, śudi 7, Monday; an image of Dattajina, dedicated by Bāī Aindra, wife of Sāhā Velachamḍa Mānyekachamḍa of Rājānagara.

No. cii.<sup>25</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgaśīrsha, vadi aikame,<sup>26</sup> Wednesday (vārabuddhe); an image of Śūvrattajina, dedicated by Bāī Harakumyyara, wife of Mānikachamḍa Khimachamḍa, an Usa of Rājānagara.

<sup>14</sup> In Motiśāh's Tūnk, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>15</sup> In the same room as the preceding.

<sup>17</sup> In the same place as in No. xciii.

<sup>18</sup> In the Chaumukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—*Liste*, p. 206, No. 325.

<sup>19</sup> In Motiśāh's Tūnk, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.

<sup>20</sup> Date on the image 903.

<sup>21</sup> In Hemabhai's Tūnk, south wing, room No. 33.—J. B.

<sup>22</sup> Hemabhai's Tūnk, south wing, No. 32.

<sup>23</sup> In the same corridor, No. 31.

<sup>24</sup> In Motiśāh's Tūnk, south corridor, No. 28; see No. cvi.

<sup>25</sup> In Motiśāh's Tūnk, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.

<sup>26</sup> Date on the image Samvat 1893.

No. ciii.<sup>27</sup> Samvat 1916, Vaiśākha, kṛiṣṇa 6, Thursday, (*ullarāśhādhanakshatra samkrānti mesha, sūryo udayāt ghaṭi 1, pala 45*); a temple (*Śrīcāsupādyoprasāda*) built, *yātrā* and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapaḍavanaja, a Nemiya by race, of the Vṛiddha-sāśhā and Maṇiyāna-gotra, called Sā Hīrāji, his son Gulābachaṇḍa and wife Manakuvara, their son Pārekha Mithubhai and wife Benakumvara, their son Karamachaṇḍa and wives (1) Bāi Jaḍāva, (2) Bāi Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyānāṇḍasūri, successor of Dhaneśarasūri of the Āṇandasūri *gachchha* by Gaṇi Raṁgavijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Viravijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Dhīravijaya, a *samvega-pakshi*, pupil of Paṁ. Khemāvijaya of the Tapā *gachchha*, during the reign of *rājā-dhīrāja* Pratāpasimghaji.

No. civ.<sup>28</sup> Samvat 1916, Śāka 1781, Phālguna, kṛiṣṇa 2, Friday; an image of Ajitanātha, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachaṇḍavasi, by Śeṭh Anopachaṇḍa, son of Vakhatachaṇḍa (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adhīra and daughter Bāi Ddhīrya (Dhīraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrāsūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. cvi.<sup>29</sup> Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an image of Aranātha, dedicated by Śivaprasāda, son of Modī Namidāsa, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and the Chhājeḍā gotra, inhabitant of Kāśī, consecrated by Hīrāchaṇḍra, pupil of Paṁ. Devachaṇḍa, by command of (?) Jinamuktisūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. cvii.<sup>30</sup> Samvat 1924, Māgha śukla 10, Monday<sup>31</sup>; an image of Sitalanāthaji, dedicated by Sā Amolakakasālā, a Dasā-Poravāḍa of the Laghu-Śākhā, inhabitant of Viśālanagara (Viśalnagar?) in Gujara-deśa; his sons were Mūlachāṇḍa, Mayāchaṇḍa, Ravichaṇḍa, their sons Gokala, Dipachaṇḍa and Shimachaṇḍa; consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrāsūri of the Tapā *gachchha* by Paṁ. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.<sup>32</sup> Samvat 1928, Māgha sukla 13, Thursday; an image of Pārśvajina, in their own temple (*dehari*) in the Ṭuṅk of Seṭh Motisā, dedicated by Prāgaḍji and his father Gaḷālachāṇḍa, the latter being the son of Bāi Iratana, and Khimaji, son of Jhaverī Velāji of Navānagara.

No. cix.<sup>33</sup> Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Māṁnakachaṇḍa Motīchaṇḍa, of Amadāvād.

No. cx.<sup>34</sup> Vikrama-Samvat 1939, Mahāmāsa, kṛiṣṇa 12, Tuesday; an image of Sāmtinātha, dedicated by Nānāpujā Sā Pītāṁbaradāsa, a Poravāḍa of the Laghu Śākhā inhabitant of Amadāvād.

No. cxi.<sup>35</sup> Samvat 1940, Śāka 1805, Vaiśākha śukla 3, Monday (*iṣṭa ghaṭi 3 pala 10 suryodayāt*); during the reign of Goyala Sūrasimghaji of Pālitaṇā, in the time of Vivekaśāgarasūri of the Amchala *gachchha*, an image of Ādinātha dedicated in Sā Keśava Nāyaka's Ṭuṅk in the temple of Puṁḍarika, by Sāhā Trikaṁa, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchha and in Mu[m]bāibimdar (*Bombay*), an Ośavāla of the Laghu śākhā and Shotā-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetasi.

<sup>27</sup> In the Bālābhāi Ṭuṅk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 493—J. B.

<sup>28</sup> In Hemabhai's Ṭuṅk, in another room, No. 27 of the same *Bādmī*, with No. c.

<sup>29</sup> In Motisā's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 28; in the same room as No. ci.

<sup>30</sup> In Motisā's Ṭuṅk, in the south corridor room No. 23.—J. B.

<sup>31</sup> Date on the image—Samvat 1903.

<sup>32</sup> In Motisā's Ṭuṅk, in the south corridor room No. 30—J. B.

<sup>33</sup> In Motisā's Ṭuṅk, south corridor No. 35.

<sup>34</sup> In Śākalchand Premchand's Ṭuṅk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.

<sup>35</sup> In the shrine of Puṁḍarika at Keśavji Nāvak's temple in Vimalavasi Ṭuṅk.—J. B.

No. cxii.<sup>36</sup> Samvat 1940, Māgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Parasatāmidhayā (?), son of Jayasimha Himachamda, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Amatavāṁsa (?), consecrated by Pamnyāsa Gulābavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Pamnyāsa Manivijaya.

No. cxiii.<sup>37</sup> Samvat 1940, Phālguna śukla 3, Friday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Rāmachamda Phulachamda, a Vṛiddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Anahilapura; consecrated by Pamnyāsa Gulābavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Pamnyāsa Manivijaya-gaṇi of the Samvijñā-paksha of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cxiv.<sup>38</sup> Samvat 1943, Pausa, kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī, Monday; a Vāsūpājyajina, dedicated by Sā Kevala Lakhamicha(m)da, a Daśa-Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amadāvād, his wife Kesarabāi, his son Chunilāla, with his wife Parasanabāi, and their daughter Bena Sāmkuna.

No. cxv.<sup>39</sup> Samvat 1943, Māgasukla 10, Thursday; an image of Sā(m)tināth, dedicated by Sā Lalu Vakhatachamda, a Viśā-Osavāla of Amadāvād, his wife Bāi Adhīr, his daughter Dhīraja, and his sons Vāṇilāla and Bholābhāi.

No. cxvi.<sup>40</sup> No date; an image of Śreyāmsa, dedicated at the request (*upadeśa*) of Kalyāṇasāgarasūri<sup>41</sup> of the Amchala gachchha, consecrated on Vaiśākha sudi 3, Wednesday.

No. cxvii.<sup>42</sup> Samvat 15... (? ?) ... sudi 5; buddhe, an Aṣṭāpada, dedicated by Jhaverachamda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

No. cxviii.<sup>43</sup>

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| <p>L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ सं १६५० [प्र] वै° पूर्णि-</p> <p>2. मायां सुविहितसाफसीर-</p> <p>3. सागरप्रोक्षासयोतपादानां</p> <p>4. निजवचनरंजितसाहित्री-</p> <p>5. अकल्परप्रदत्तत्रीसिद्धयै-</p> <p>6. लानां भटारकत्रीविजयसे<sup>44</sup></p> <p>7. नक्षत्रप्रमुखसुविहित-</p> <p>8. भक्तिभरसेव्यमानपादा-</p> <p>9. रविदानां श्री ६ श्रीहीरवि-</p> <p>10. जयस्वरिपादानां माहात्म्यप्रो-</p> <p>11. णितसीहिनिर्मितसकल<sup>45</sup></p> | <p>12. सत्त्वद्रव्यमहण[सु]न्निका-</p> <p>13. यां प्रथमचैत्रीपूर्णिमायां [त-]</p> <p>14. षष्ठ्यसकलवीचककोटि<sup>46</sup></p> <p>15. कोटीरगतकोटित्री ६ श्रीवि-</p> <p>16. मलहृषगणिमि<sup>47</sup> । शे° पं° देव°</p> <p>17. हर्ष गं श्रीशुद्धजयकृतकृत्य<sup>48</sup></p> <p>18. पं° धनविजय गं पं° जयवि-</p> <p>19. जय गं असविजयहंसवि<sup>49</sup></p> <p>20. जय गं सुनि [वे]सलादिसुनि-</p> <p>21. शतहयपरिकरितैर्निर्वि-</p> <p>22. <sup>50</sup>—कीकता यात्रा इति भद्रम् [॥]</p> |
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Samvat 1650, Chaitra, full moon day; Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhāṭṭāraka Hira-vijaya, of the Sāpha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sāhi Akabbara and received from him the Siddhasāila (*Satrumjaya*), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

<sup>36</sup> In a cell of Keśavji Nāyak's temple in the Vimalavasi Tūnk, east corridor.—J. B.

<sup>37</sup> In some place as the preceding.

<sup>38</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Tūnk, on the seat below the image in the temple to the right of the principal one.

<sup>39</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand, under an image, west side, corridor 17.

<sup>40</sup> On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hāthi-pola, north side.—*List*, p. 201, No. 234.

<sup>41</sup> This name shows that the inscription belongs to Samvat 1675 or 1683.—1676 is the date of the temple.—J. B.

<sup>42</sup> On a brass plate in Modi Premachand's temple, see No. xlii.—J. B.

<sup>43</sup> On the south wall of the temple of Ādiśvara Bhagavān temple.—J. B.

<sup>44</sup> Read अहारक°

<sup>45</sup> Read °साहि°

<sup>46</sup> Read °वाचक°

<sup>47</sup> Read °णिमि°

<sup>48</sup> Read °हृषय° । जयहृषय°

<sup>49</sup> Read हंस°

<sup>50</sup> Read °की°

## VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCHI STŪPAS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the Sānchi, or more correctly Kākanāda,<sup>1</sup> Stūpas Nos. I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs. Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr. Führer, who visited Sānchi during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A. Cunningham's collection,<sup>2</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stūpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stūpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stūpa I and five from Stūpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A. Cunningham's work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A. Cunningham's book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham's No. 177 (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate xix), see also *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I, Plate xx<sup>3</sup>, which, as I have already pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka's so-called Kosambi edict on the Allahābād Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:—

## Allahābād.

. . . . . saṃghaṃ [ . ]  
[Bho]khati bhikhu-va bhikhunī-vā. [pi]  
chā [ . ] (2) dā[tā]ni [d]usāni . nam  
dhāpayitu ānapesa . v. s. y. y. [ . ]

## Sānchi.

. . . . . saṃghaṃ (3)  
Bhokhati bhikhu [v\*] ā bhikhuni [vā\*]  
[ . ] dātā (4) ni du[sā]ni s[ā\*]nān.  
[dh\* ā]p[a\*]yit [u\*] anā[p\*]e (5) esi  
visapetaviye [ . ] Ichhā hi me sā (6) ti  
saṃghasa \* mage ehlathitike siyā ti ( 7 ).

Assuming a new sentence to begin with *bhokhati* L. 5, the remainder of the Sānchi version may be translated as follows:—

"Monks and nuns will dine,<sup>4</sup> (and) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (you) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (of Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time."

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the *mahāmātra* in charge of Mālva, just as the edict on the Allahābād Pillar gives directions to the governor of

<sup>1</sup> See J. F. Fleet: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31.

Inscriptions found only in Sir A. Cunningham's collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed.

<sup>2</sup> During the repairs under Major Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stūpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr. Führer in his hurried visit.—J. B.

<sup>3</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's two facsimiles (*A*, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix; *B*, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected:—

L. 4, *ta bhikhu . . i omdāto* (*A*) *chā bhikhuni yi khuddā* (*B*);

L. 5, *dupāni* (*A*), *du[sā] pir* (*B*); *sanān* (*A*, *B*); *chhavān andto* (*A*); *pāyita and* (*B*);

L. 6, *vidhapataviye* (*A*).

L. 7, *tiṃ saṃghasāsa* (*A*), *tiṃ* (*B*); *milathitikeṃ* (*A*).

I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sānchi version. Mr. Prinsep's and Sir A. Cunningham's attempts (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 280 f.) do not seem to me successful.

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps "(if) a monk or a nun will dine, (then) etc."



Kosambi. According to Childers, *Pali Dictionary* (sub voce *dussa*), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sānchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahābād Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, "for it is my wish" and "that . . . may endure for a long time." Finally, it must be pointed out that *chilathitika*, instead of which the dialect of Mālvā would have required *chirat. 'ika*, as well as the final *e* of the masculine nominative singular *mage*, is a Magadhism, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sānchi version show the type of Aśoka's Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka's times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stūpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham's views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.<sup>6</sup> According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vāsīthiputa Ānanda, *āvesani* or foreman of the artisans of king Siri-Sātakaṇi. Identifying this Sātakaṇi with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson's calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ānanda's inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sātakaṇi of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurāṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Sānchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Śeṭh Nāgapiya two, our Nos. 85 (= C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stūpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka's inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nāgapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvānlāl<sup>7</sup> in identifying the first Andhra Sātakaṇi with the Sātakaṇi, whom Khāravēla, king of Kāliṅga, protected in the second year of his reign. The

<sup>6</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 271 ff. Sir A. Cunningham's assertion that the occurrence of the name *Gotiputra* (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, *Gotiputra*, in Sanskrit *Gauṭtiputra*, means only that the royal scribe *Subhita* was the son of a lady of the *Gota* or *Gauṭa* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Goti* or *Gauṭi* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka's times.

<sup>7</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient.*, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka's conquest of Kāliṅga, fixes the beginning of Sātakaṇi's reign in 98 B.C.

thirteenth year of Khāravēla corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvānlāl, *op. cit.* p. 140). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B.C., Khāravēla's second year lay between 169 and 159 B.C., and Siri-Sātakaṇi was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 96 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A.D., *viz.* the inverted *da*, the square *sa*, the angular *ma*, and the *anuvāra* above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No. 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken *vedikās*.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stūpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stūpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeṭh Nāgapiya, whose case has already been noticed.<sup>8</sup> It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arahaguta-Sāsādaka, occurs in No. 19 (C.) of Stūpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 25) of Stūpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka's times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stūpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka's edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (*loc. cit.*),<sup>9</sup> that the Stūpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggaliputta, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pāṭaliputra, and of Majjhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himālaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box *savahemavatāchariya* "the teacher of the whole Haimavata (*district*)."

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B.C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions,<sup>10</sup> which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty.

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka's edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in *ī* and *ā*, which sometimes end in *ya* or *yā*, and sometimes in *ye*. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka's edicts is the ablative in *āto*, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> and the

<sup>8</sup> It is also possible that Nāgila, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No. 1 of Stūpa II, may be identical with the venerable Nāgila, whose relatives according to No. 84 (C. 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stūpa I.

<sup>9</sup> I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the *Dīpavansa* and the *Mahāvansa*.

<sup>10</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's excellent edition of these documents in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XL, p. 58 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 372.

original from which the Śauraseni termination *ādo* and the Mahāshtrī *āo* have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 3, where *kekaṭeyakasa jamata-vijitasa* is a negligent spelling for *kekaṭeyakasa jāmātā-vijitasa*, and takes the place of the grammatically correct *jāmātu* or *jāmāti-vijitasa*. The same anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, *isimigo-jātaka*, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Further, the use of the feminine affix *ā* at the end of female names in *devā*, e.g. *Sonado* [*de*]vā, I. 8; *Dhamadevā* II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in *Chāpadevā*, No. 22, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrhis and in the sense of "she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Chāpa."<sup>13</sup>

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pali and of Aśoka's Gīrnār edicts. Even the *ra*, which is never changed to *la*, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name *Prātīṭhānasa*, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Gīrnār inscriptions for words like *prāṇa*, *priya* and so forth. The *ā* stroke is attached to *ra*, and both are placed above the *pa*, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. *Bhichhu*, which appears far more frequently than *bhikkhu*, shows the change of *ksha* to *chchha* or *chha* observable in Pali *achchhi*, a variant for *akkhi*, and Aśoka's *chhudaka* for *khudaka* and other words.<sup>14</sup> The only remarkable point is that the form with *chha* does not occur in this particular case in Pali, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions<sup>15</sup> see, e.g., Nos. 27, 31, 65, 120. *Nhusā*, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit *snushā* "daughter-in-law" has been formed according to the principle applied in Pali to medial *sn*. It is interesting, because neither the Pali nor Aśoka's dialects admit the group *nḥ* in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pali forms for *snushā* are *sunisā*, *sunhā* and *husā*.<sup>16</sup> *Nusā*, a further corruption of *nhusā*, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name *Patīṭhiya*, I. 22, 23, no doubt represents the Sanskrit *pratiṣṭhita*, and thus shows an elision of a medial *ta*. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pālī Grammatik*, p. 56.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sānchi and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon :—

- (1) The frequent omission of a medial long *ā*, e.g. in *danam* for *dānam*, I. 6, 49, 82, *jamata* for *jāmātā*, I. 3, *Achalaya* for *Achalāya*, I. 6, *Sonado*[*de*]vaya for *Sonadevāya*, I. 8, *upasikāye* for *upāsikāye*, I. 20, *Asvadevaye* for *Asvadevāye*, I. 30, *Yasilaya* for *Yasilāya*, I. 33, *pajavatiyā* for *pajāvatīyā*, I. 48, *bhatu* for *bhātu*, I. 63, *Samidatasa* for *Sāmidatasa*, I. 65, *Avisinaye* for *Avisināye*,

<sup>12</sup> See ante, vol. I, p. 375.

<sup>13</sup> Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in *a* take *ā* in the feminine.

<sup>14</sup> See E. Müller: *Pālī Grammar*, p. 65;—Kuhn: *Beiträge zur Pālī-Grammatik*, p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Another abnormal *chha* occurs in *sechha*, Sanskrit *śaiksha* and Pali *sekha*, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 15.

<sup>16</sup> The latter probably stood in I. C. 58, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless *gusa*; see below, note 27.

- I. 79, *Arapána* for *Arápáná* (ablative), I. 89 *Jitāmitāye* for *Jitāmitāye*, I. 101, *Vedisakāya* for *Vedisakāya*, I. 117, *Dhamasenāya* for *Dhamasenāya*, II. 9, and *Nāgapalitāya* for *Nāgapālītāya*, II. 10.<sup>17</sup>
- (2) The occasional omission of short *i*, e.g., in *Dhamarakhatāye* for *Dhamarakhitāye*, I. 76, and *bhichhunayā* for *bhichhuniyā*, I. 119
- (3) The almost invariable omission of medial *anusvāras*, e. g. in *Udubaraghara* and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in *Nadinagara* and its derivatives (see *ibidem*), *Tubavana* (*ibidem*), *Upidadata* (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with *Dhama*<sup>o</sup> (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in *atevāsi* for *amtevāsi* I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long *ā* is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like *jamata*, *jataka* and *jitamita*, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of *i*-strokes and of the *Anusvāras*, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the *i* is omitted stand, one and all, in *thesi*, i.e. immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that *na* and *kha* were sometimes actually pronounced instead of *ni* and *khi* in words like *bhichhūnāyā* and *Dhamarakhatāye*. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Aśoka's inscriptions *aya* appears occasionally instead of *iya*,<sup>18</sup> and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the *Anusvāra* it must be borne in mind that the spelling *dhama*<sup>o</sup> instead of *dhamma*<sup>o</sup> is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence *dhama* may be read *dhamma*, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* may stand for *Upidadata* and *Tūbavana*, because long *ī* and *ū* are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like *Upidadata* and *Tūbavana* are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where *ī* and *ū* may be put for *im* and *um* as in *sīha*, *visati* and so forth. And it must be noted that the form *Ida* for *Indra* occurs repeatedly, e.g. in L. 1 of the large Nānāghāt inscription, *Archæological Rep. West Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60. A form like *Nadinagara* may be a negligent spelling for *Nādinagara*, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases *ā* for *am*, e.g., in *dāṭhā* for *damshtrā*, *saṇḍāsa* for *samdamśa* and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the *Anusvāra* seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in

<sup>17</sup> Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 155, *gam brāhmaṇo avayesi jatakam*, which, as Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, is a quotation from *Jātakas*, vol. I, p. 293, verse 61 (Faustböll), where the text has *gam brāhmaṇo avadesi*.

<sup>18</sup> See M. Senart's collection of such forms in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 304; and my additions in *der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, p. 154, to which instances *chetaya* for Sanskrit *chaitya*, Pali *chetiya*, has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No. 11.

scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons,<sup>19</sup> we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I, C. 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I, 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pāḍukulikā II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 240 and p. 280) takes in both cases *grāma* as a personal name or as a part of such. But *grāma* is not used in such a manner, and the translation of *Vejjajasa gāmasa dānam* by "Gift of Vejjajagrāma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be *Vejjajagāmasa dānam*. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pāḍukulikā corresponds to Pāṇḍukulikā, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pāṇḍu, i.e. the Nāga Pāṇḍu, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations *aj*, *ej*, and *ij*, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes *aya*, *eya* and *īya*<sup>21</sup>. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit *vaidya*, which possibly may be an abbreviation of *Vaidyanātha*.<sup>22</sup> Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions<sup>23</sup>, and those recorded on the Sānchi Stūpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pāḍukulikā were Upāsakas of the Buddhist Saṃgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Panch, belonged to the Bauddha sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mālvā. Of equal interest is the mention of a *Bodhagoṣṭhī*, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to *Bauddhagoṣṭhī*. A *goṣṭhī* is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Bauddha shrine, or perhaps a Vihāra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goṣṭhīs existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term *goṣṭhī* occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word *Barulamisāya* or *Barulumisāna*. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the *Vedisakā dāntakārā*, or workers in ivory of Vedisā, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or *śreṇī*, such as the Nāsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vākiliyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila, I, 84, and the Upāsikās

<sup>19</sup> This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadevā, the mother of Bahadata (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadevā, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Isidatā of Madhuvāsa (I, C. 132), the same as the nun Isidatā of Kurāra.

<sup>20</sup> The number of the Upāsikās is uncertain, because possibly the Oḍī, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Oḍī, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

<sup>21</sup> The map of Gujārāt furnishes e. g., Adālej, Arnej, Kāmlej, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Palej, Prāntij, Sarkhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kāmlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit *Karmanya* or *Kamanīya* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 193).

<sup>22</sup> Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepal inscriptions; *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 175.

<sup>23</sup> The Bharhut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of *Karahakafa* (*Karahakafa-nigamasa*).

or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I, C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkalâ devî, the mother of Ahimita, mentioned in I, C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, *Vâkiliya*, further, must be considered to stand for *Vâkaliya*. It would then correspond to Sanskrit *Vârkaliya* and *Vâkalâ* to *Vârkalâ*. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from *Vrikala*, which name is found in the mythological lists of the *Purânas* (see the Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stûpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stûpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nâsik, Kârlé, Amarâvatî and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutâtikini* or *Sâtâtikini*, I, 79, 80, "a female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sâtras*" and *dhamakathika*, I, C. 191, "a reciter of the Dhamma," have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, *pachanekayika*, I. 66, has escaped detection. *Pachanekayika* is a negligent spelling for *pâchanekâyika* or *pañchanekâyika*, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit *pāñchanāikāyika*, and means, as Dr. Hultzsch has translated it, *loc. cit.*, "one who knows the five Nikāyas." The five Nikāyas are (see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, *sub voce*) the five divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the *Dīghanikāyo*, *Majjhimanikāyo*, *Samyuttanikāyo*, *Anguttaranikāyo* and *Khuddakanikāyo*. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka's edicts.<sup>24</sup> The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka's longer Bairāt edict with portions of the *Majjhimanikāyo* and *Anguttaranikāyo*. *Yugapajaka*, I, 74, which I translate tentatively by "the path-(finder) of the age," seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, e.g. Bhamḍuka and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel's *Index*. Aya-Pasanaka, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonārī Tope No. I. Monks and nuns, who

<sup>24</sup> See also Dr. Hultzsch's remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and on the quotation from the *Jātaka*, *ibidem*, p. 76.

had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kāboja, Prātiṭhāna, Chirātī, and perhaps also Oḍī, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out. Some similar names occur among the laymen—thus the name of Kekateyaka, I. 1. 3, the father of Dhama- and father-in-law of Vijita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikateyaka, and means 'he of the Kikaṭa country or Magadha.'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank belongs the Vākalādevī, I, C. 8. Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati*, or village landholder,<sup>25</sup> I, 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *seṭhi*, *sheṭh*, or alderman, II, 11, 35, 57, 85, 99, 115; C. 45, C. 46, C. 94, II, C. 8. Simple traders *vāṇija* or *vāṇika* are mentioned I, 47, 81, 91, C. 119. A royal scribe *rājālipikara* occurs I, 49, a professional writer, *lekhaṇa*, I, C. 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, *āvesani*, I, C. 190, a trooper, *asa-vārika*, I, 117, and a humble workman, *kaṇika*, I, 10. The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvatī*, literally 'a mother of children,' I, 8, 48, 95, 117; C. 45, C. 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,'<sup>26</sup> and, that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,<sup>27</sup> is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, *Tāpasīyānaṃ nuṣāya Mitāya* 'of Mitā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas'. The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tāpasīyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.<sup>28</sup> If Mitā is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Āpastamba, *Dharmasūtra*, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)." I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Āpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tāpasīyas, are required.

<sup>25</sup> See Prof. Rhys Davids: *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, p. 257, note.

<sup>26</sup> See I, 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 88; C. 166.

<sup>27</sup> See e. g. I, 30; C. 83. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jaina inscriptions.

<sup>28</sup> According to Sir A. Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows:—No. 58, *Ujjeniya Tapasīyāna Pūṇanajaya dānaṃ*; No. 59, *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyāna Isimīṭasa dānaṃ*; No. 67, *Ujjeniya Tapasīyāna Sīhadataya dānaṃ*. None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) *Ujjeniya Tapasīyāna Nuṣā-Naddaya dānaṃ*, "The gift of Nuṣā (*Nandā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain;" (2) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyāna Isimīṭasaddānaṃ*, "The gift of Isimīṭa (*Rishmitra*) of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain;" (3) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyāna Sīhadataya dānaṃ*, "The gift of Sīhadatā (*Sīhādattā*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain." If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 73, it is evident that the Tāpasīyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 265), that they were ascetics. We have also Pāṇinīyaka Rājās, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 97ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, *loc. cit.*, the Tāpasīyas with the "Tabasi Magorum" and the "Tabasa gens" of the classical authors.

The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.* Araha, Araha, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāsi, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Budhila, Budhapālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Saṃghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Saṃgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, *e.g.* Asāḍa, Mulā (*i.e.* *Mūlā*), Muladatā, Phaguna, Poṭhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusini, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poṭhaka, Poṭhādevā, Rohiṇī (*Rohini*), Sātīla, Svātīguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Grihyasūtras*,<sup>29</sup> which recommends the use of *nakshatranāmāni*, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agnisarmā*), Agido-[de]vā, Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitā, Vesamanadatā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhitā, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nāgā, Nāgila, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vishnudattā or Vishnurakshitā, Upidadata or Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitra (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishna, Baladeva or Balarāma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), Namdigiri,<sup>30</sup> Sāmidata (*Svāmi*-, *i.e.* *Kumāra-datta*), Samika and Samikā (*Svāmika*, *Svāmikā*), Sivanadi (*Śivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read,<sup>31</sup> it corresponds to Sanskrit Īśadatta. The other two *may* be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may, however, be also derived from *Hima*, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sanchi Stūpa, it is possible

<sup>29</sup> See, *e.g.*, *Hir. Gri. Sū.* II, 4, 13.

<sup>30</sup> I would explain *Nandigiri* by "he whose mountain (*i.e.* protection) is or may be Nandin," on the analogy of *Dantidurga*, for which name *Dantivarman* appears. Devagiri, Himagiri, Dhamagirika, Sihagiri may be explained similarly, though Devagiri and Himagiri may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. Vijha, *i.e.* Vindhya, furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

<sup>31</sup> Possibly the correct form may be Isidata, *i.e.* *Rishidatta*, (compare *Isiguta*).



to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Paurāṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, e.g., we learn from the *Bhikkhupācittiya*, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takshasilā was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the *Suttavibhanga* was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead *Dharakina*, is without doubt the modern Eraṇ in the Sagar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakana, and in Sanskrit Airikina.<sup>32</sup> Mahisati is the ancient town of Māhishmati, identified with the modern Mandāl,<sup>33</sup> Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmir, Pratīthāna (the base of the male proper name Prātīthāna) either Allahābād<sup>34</sup> or Paithān on the Godāvarī, Ujēti, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantī or Eastern Mālvā, and was the residence of Mahākachchāyana.<sup>35</sup> Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The *Indian Atlas*, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 23° 38' N. Lat., and 77° 5' E. Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sānchi-Kākanāda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, XIV, 15, or with its chief town; that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonārī close to Sānchi where some stūpas exist; that the name of Pādāna, the etymon of the adjective Pādāniya, is preserved in the modern Parana, Lat. 23° 36' N. and 76° 38' E. Long. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N. W.*); and that Na(m)dinagara and Kāpāsīgāma correspond with the modern 'Nandner', Lat. 23° 4' N. and Long. 76° 6' E. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N.W.*) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28' N. and Long. 77° 54' E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasi' is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55' N. and Long. 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubaraghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubaraghariya, and Aba, i.e. Amba, the etymon of *Abeyaka*; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sānchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

<sup>32</sup> Fleet: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> Cunningham: *Ancient Geography*, p. 488.

<sup>34</sup> Jhāsi, opposite to Allahābād, — see Führer: *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 138. — Ed. E. I.

<sup>35</sup> See Dr. Wenzel's Index: *Jour. Pali Text Soc.*, 1886.

than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper.

TOPE I.

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटयकपुत्रस धमसिवस दानं [१\*]<sup>35</sup>

"The gift of Dharmasiva (*Dharmasiva*), son of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमगिरिकस मातु दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Dhamagirika's (*Dharmagirika's*) mother."

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटयकस अमत विजितस दानं [१\*]<sup>36</sup>

"The gift of Vijita, son-in-law<sup>37</sup> of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Kāda (*Kānda*)."

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनकस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]<sup>38</sup>

"The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (*the venerable Prasannaka*)."

No. 6 = C. 14.

नदिनगरा अचलस्य भिक्षुनिय दानं [१\*]<sup>39</sup>

"The gift of the nun Achalā, from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगरा काबोजस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Kāboja (*Kāboja*) from Nādinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिहरखितस पलावतिय सोवदोवय दानं [१\*]<sup>40</sup>

"The gift of Soṇadevā (*Suvarnadevā* or *Soṇadevā*), wife of Sibarakhita (*Simharakhita*)."

<sup>35</sup> Possibly ककटयक<sup>35</sup>, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanāgarī inscription : रा श्री सावदेव प्रपन्नसि निव्यं [१\*] 'The king (P), the illustrious Sāvadeva, adores constantly.'

<sup>36</sup> An apparent c-stroke above the last व is an accidental scratch.

<sup>37</sup> अमत seems to stand for आमाता, the nominative being used instead of the stem.

<sup>38</sup> There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions.

अयपसनक stands for अयसाय and दानं for दान.

<sup>40</sup> सोवदीवय is meant for सोवदीवय.

No. 9 = C. 19.

धमरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*)."

No. 10 = C. 20.

अठस कमिकस दानं [1\*]<sup>41</sup>

"The gift of Aṭha (*Artha*), the labourer (?).

No. 11 = C. 23.

L. 1. सामनेरस

2. अबेयकस

3. सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Sāmanera,<sup>42</sup> the Abeyaka Sheth (*i.e. the Sheth of a town or village called Aba or Amba, in Sanskrit Amra-grāma*).

No. 12 = C. 24.

प्रातिठानस भिक्षुनो हाटियस अतेवासिनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the Prātiṭhāna monk (*i.e. the monk from Pratiṣṭhāna*), pupil of Hāṭiya."

No. 13 = C. 25.

उदुबरधरियस सीहरखितस दानं [1\*]

The gift of Sīharakhita (*Simharakshita*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*)."

No. 15 = C. 30.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकायै दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 16 = C. 33.

L. 1. [गो]तिपुतस

L. 2. भंङुकस

L. 3. भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Bhamḍuka, son of Goti (*i.e. of a mother of the Gaupṭa race*).

No. 17 = C. 34.

L. 1. वेजजस मामस दा

L. 2. नं [1\*]<sup>43</sup>

"The gift of the Vejaja village."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The 4-stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of ऋ.

<sup>42</sup> With the proper name Sāmanera (*Srāmanera*), literally "a novice," compare the name Semaṇḍ; Bharhut Inschr., ed. Hultzsch, No. 29, and Samana; I, C. 179.

<sup>43</sup> The नं is faint and blurred, the Anusvāra distinct. Both stand above the line.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction.

No. 18 = C. 35.

अरहगुप्तस सासादकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsada.”

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभगस

L. 2. कुरघरस दन [1\*]

“The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (*Kuraragriha*).”<sup>45</sup>

No. 20 = C. 38.

वुदिनाये उपसिकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>46</sup>“The gift of Vudinā (*Vyudīrṇā*), a female lay-disciple.

No. 21 = C. 39.

का[कणा]ये भगवतो पमाणसति [1\*]<sup>47</sup>“The measuring-staff of the Divine one (*Buddha, the gift*) of Kākāṇā<sup>48</sup> (i.e. probably *kākinī*, ‘the little crow’).

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुबवना गहपतिनो [प]तिठियसुसाय वेसमन[दत]ाये दानं [1\*]<sup>49</sup>“The gift of Vesamanadatā (*Vaiśraṇanadattā*), daughter-in-law of Paṭiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*), a *gahapati* from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).<sup>50</sup>

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [1\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Paṭiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावुनो च नादिविरोहिंस च दानं [1\*]

“The gift both of Nāḍavu (*Nandāyu* ?) and of Nādivirohi (*Nandivirohin*).”

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोठिय धमवदनना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Bauddha Committee of Trustees from Dhamavadhanana (*Dhamavardhanana*).”<sup>51</sup><sup>45</sup> Regarding this name see the Introduction.<sup>46</sup> The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct.<sup>47</sup> Possibly काकणाये is to be read.<sup>48</sup> Dr. Bhagvān Lal Indrāji according to Mr. Fleet, *Corp. Insc. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31, took काकणाये to stand for काकणाये.<sup>49</sup> The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like वद.<sup>50</sup> Regarding the precise meaning of गहपति, see the Introduction.<sup>51</sup> Regarding the explanation of Bodhagoṭhī, see the Introduction. Though the term *Dhamavadhanana* occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for *Dhamavadhana*. Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 74, 10, see the *Petersb. Dict.*; s. v.

No. 26.

बोधामोठिया धम्मवठनना दानं [1\*]<sup>22</sup>No. 27 = C. 76.<sup>23</sup>

उज्जेनिया वाकिलियाना दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the Vākiliyas, from Ujjain."

No. 28 = C. 78.

चिरातिय भिक्कुनिया दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Chirāti (*Kirāti*)"

No. 29 = C. 79.

सधमस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Sadhana (*i.e. Sa-dhana or Sad-dhana*)".

No. 30 = C. 80.

अस्रदेवये बहदतमातु दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Asvadevā (*Asvadevā*), mother of Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*)".

No. 31 = C. 81.

उगिरियकस सतिगुतस दानं [1\*]<sup>24</sup>The gift of Svatiguta (*Svātigupta*), an inhabitant of Ugirā.

No. 32 = C. 82.

अरहगुताये दानं [1\*]

The gift of Arahagutā (*Arhadguptā*)".

No. 33 = C. 84.

यसिलस्य सत्थेवसिनि संघरक्षिताये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Saṅgharakhitā (*Samgharakhitā*), pupil of Yasilā (*Yasīlā*)".

No. 34 = C. 86.

यसिलायि दानं [1\*]<sup>25</sup>"The gift of Yasilā (*Yasīlā*)".

No. 35 = C. 87.

शेठिनो पटिकमकारिकाना दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the Sheṭh, the great executor of repairs".<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No. 25, not a second impression of No. 25. For the size of most letters does not agree in the least and the termination of the first word ends in *व* instead of in *व*.

<sup>23</sup> See also I, C. 11.

<sup>24</sup> The subscribed *व* of *सतिगुतस* is not quite distinct.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly *विसिदायि* to be read.

<sup>26</sup> I take *पटिकमकारिकाना* as *pluralis majestatis*, agreeing with the singular *शेठिनो*, see above, vol. I, p. 573.

No. 36 = C. 90.

उपिददत्तस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Upidadata (*Upendradattā*)."

No. 37 = C. 92.

वाघुमता सघदिनाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [1\*]<sup>37</sup>

"The gift of the nun Saghadinā (*Samghadattā*) from Vāghumata."

No. 38 = C. 93.

यक्षिय भिक्षुनिय वेदिसा दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakhi*) from Vedisa (*Vediśā*)."

No. 39 = C. 95.

कुररिये तापसिया मातु दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Kurari, the mother of Tāpasi."<sup>38</sup>

No. 40 = C. 99.

कापासिगामा अरहस दानं [1\*]<sup>39</sup>

"The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kāpāsīgāma (*Kārpāsigrāma*)."

No. 41 = C. 101.

कटककुवा भद्रकस दानं [1\*]<sup>40</sup>

"The gift of Bhadaka (*Bhadraka*) from Kaṭakañu."

No. 42 = C. 102.

अपथकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Apathaka (*Apārthaka*)."<sup>41</sup>

No. 43 = C. 103.

भोगवढमकस अजितिगुतस [1\*]

"(The gift) of Ajitiguta (*Ajtiḡupta*?), inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No. 44 = C. 104.

मोरसिहिकटि अरहदिनस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Morasihikaṭa (*Mayūrasimhikaṭa*).

No. 45 = C. 105.

धम्मरक्खितय सिवनदिनो मातु [1\*]<sup>42</sup>

"(The gift) of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), mother of Sivanadi (*Sivananadin*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

<sup>37</sup> Perhaps वाघुमती.

<sup>38</sup> Tāpasi may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tāpasiya family (see the Introduction).

<sup>39</sup> There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

<sup>40</sup> The letters are much blurred.

<sup>41</sup> I take the name to be formed from *apārtha*, "who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth." It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit *alpārthaka*, 'poor.'

<sup>42</sup> There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

No. 46 = C. 107.

नवगमकसमिकायै उज्जैनि[ह]ारा दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Samikā (*Svāmikā*), inhabitant of Navagama (*Navagrāma*) from the district of Ujjain."<sup>65</sup>

No. 47 = C. 108.

L. 1. सिरिगुतस

L. 2. वानिजस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the merchant Siriguta (*Śrīgupta*)."

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुबाहितस पञ्चवतिया मन्निमाया दानं [1\*]<sup>66</sup>

"The gift of Majhimā (*Madhyamā*), wife of Subāhita.

No. 49 = C. 110.

L. 1. सुबाहितस गोतिपुत-

L. 2. स राजलिपिकरस

L. 3. दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the scribe Subāhita, son of a Goti (i. e. of a mother of the *Gaupta* race)."

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिडपदा नागाय उपासिकाय — —<sup>67</sup>

"(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiridapada (Tiridapadra?)."

No. 51 = C. 112.

बरुलमि[साय] गोठिया दान [वे]दिसातो [1\*]<sup>68</sup>

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedisa (*Vidiśā*)."

No. 52 = C. 113.

L. 1. धमरखिताये भिक्कुनिय काशुपथे

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>69</sup>

"The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*) in Kāchupatha."

No. 53 = C. 114.

धमरखितस काशुपथस भि[कु]नी दान [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of Kāchupatha."

<sup>65</sup> *Ujjenihārā* may stand for *Ujjeni-āhārā* (see E. Müller: *Pāli Grammar*, pp. 40-41). *Āhārā* is the well-known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that *Navagrāma* was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

<sup>66</sup> There is a second copy, which bears only सुबाहितस पञ्चव[त] ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

<sup>67</sup> The last two syllables दानं and half the preceding य are wanting in the impression.

<sup>68</sup> Possibly बरुलमिसान.

<sup>69</sup> Possibly भिक्कुनिये; According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter स has been lost after काशुपथे. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.

No. 54 = C. 115.

संधानस भिक्कु दानं [1\*]<sup>66</sup>

"The gift of the monk Samdhâna."

No. 55 = C. 116.

पुसगिरिनी नावगामकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagrâma*)."

No. 56 = C. 117.

भिक्कुस पाडानियस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Bhichhuka (*Bhikshuka*), inhabitant of Pâdâna."

No. 57 = C. 124.

L. 1. सामनेरस अबेय-

L. 2. कस सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Sâmanera, the Abeyaka Shethh."<sup>68</sup>

No. 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाना भिक्कुनो [1\*]<sup>70</sup>

"The gift of Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), the monk."

No. 59 = C. 127.

अरा[पा]नातो अरहदिन — — — — [1\*]<sup>71</sup>

"(The gift) of Arahadina ('s mother) from Arâpâna."

No. 60 = C. 128.

तंबलमडा कुज — दानं [1\*]<sup>72</sup>

"The gift of Kuja—(?) from Tâmbalamada."(?)

No. 61 = C. 129.

— धुवना धमगुतस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>73</sup>

"The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) from Madhuvana."

No. 62 = C. 131.

महागिरिनी भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Mahâgiri."

No. 63 = C. 135.

उपसिक्तस फगुनस भत्तु भिक्कुनो [1\*]

<sup>66</sup> Read भिक्कुनी.

<sup>68</sup> See above, No. 11.

<sup>70</sup> The apparent d-stroke at the end of दाना may possibly be an *anusvâra*, run together with the द.

<sup>71</sup> Sir A. Cunningham completes स मातु दानं.

<sup>72</sup> Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable. I suspect that कुजर, i. e. कुचर, is meant (see Bharhut Inscr., No. 104).

<sup>73</sup> Restore मधुवना.



"The gift of the monk Upasijha (*Upasidhya*), brother of Phaguna (*Phāḷ-guṇa*)."

No. 64 = C. 136.

भोगवडनातो रसिरक्षिताय [1\*]

"(The gift) of Isirakhita (*Rishirakshita*) from Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-dhana*)."

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Samidata (*Svāmidatta*)."

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1. देवगिरिनो पचनेकयिकस

L. 2. भिक्षुनो स चत्तेवसि — — षो [11\*]"

"(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas,<sup>76</sup> and of his pupil."

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*) the monk."

No. 68 = C. 143.

चुडस च धमरक्षितस च भिक्षुनं दानं [1\*]

"The gift both of Chuḍa (*Kshudra*) and Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*)."

No. 69 = C. 144.

उज्जैनिये अगिसिमये दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Agisimā (*Agnisarmā*) in Ujjain."<sup>78</sup>

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1. [प्रा]तिठानस भिक्षुनो दानं

L. 2. च[यतिस]कस चत्तेवासिनो [1\*]"

"The gift of the monk Prātithāna<sup>79</sup>, pupil of Aya-Tisaka (*the venerable Tishyaka*)."

No. 71 = C. 146.

बुधरक्षितस भिक्षुनो दानं एजावतस [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), the Ejāvata."<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Though the last sign looks like षो, I suspect that the writer meant to give *Sa-alsoḍḍino dānaṃ*.

<sup>77</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>78</sup> Possibly अगिसिमये is to be read.

<sup>79</sup> Possibly प्रतिठानस or पतिठानस. — The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.

<sup>80</sup> See above, No. 12.

<sup>81</sup> The etymological meaning of एजावत would be "endowed with desire." This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.

No. 72 = C. 148.

अरापाना असाडस मातु दानं [1\*]<sup>80</sup>“The gift of Asāda's (*Aśādha's*) mother, from Arāpāna.”

No. 73 = C. 149.

L. 1. उजेनिया ताप-

L. 2. सियानं नुसा-

L. 3. मिताय

L. 4. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Mitā (*Mitrā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 74 = C. 150.

[भ]रडियस सपुरिसस युगपजकस दानं (1\*)<sup>81</sup>“The gift of the Bharāḍiya, the holy man, the path-(finder) of the age.”<sup>82</sup>

No. 75 = C. 153.

जोहकस भिहुनी दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnaka*).”

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>83</sup>“The gift of Dhamarakhatā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 77 = C. 155.

माहमोरगिस्सा सिहगिरिनो दानं [1\*]<sup>84</sup>“The gift of Sihagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सि]रिया भिहुनिये मडलखिकटिकाये

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>85</sup>“The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (*Dharmaśrī*), inhabitant of Maḍalāchhikaṭa (*Maḍalākshika*?).”

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. अविसिनये सूतातिकिनिया

L. 2. मडलखिकटिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Avisinā (*Avishanṇā*),<sup>86</sup> who is versed in the Sutta-Piṭaka, an inhabitant of Maḍalāchhikaṭa.”<sup>80</sup> Possibly असाडस is to be read. But the wavy line below the अ is probably accidental.<sup>81</sup> The left side of the initial भ has been almost cut away in the impression.<sup>82</sup> Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of Bharāḍa, etc.<sup>83</sup> Meant for धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये.<sup>84</sup> Possibly माहमोरगिस्सा. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read *Māhamoragirimā*, from the great Mayūragiri. Compare Bharhut Inscr. Nos. 81, 94, 95, where *Moragirimā* occurs.<sup>85</sup> The third sign of धमसिरिया has been originally णि, which afterwards was altered to सि.<sup>86</sup> Compare Pali *nisinna* for *nishanṇa*, and the male name *Avisana*; Bhar. Inscr. Nos. 141, 142.

No. 80.

L. 1. अविमिनाये सुतातिकिनि—

L. 2. मडलकिकटिकाय दानं [1\*]<sup>97</sup>

No. 81 = C. 162.

L. 1. सघदेवस वेरोहकटस

L. 2. वाणिजस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Saghadeva (*Samghadeva*), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakata."

No. 82 = C. 167.

L. 1. ओडिय

L. 2. नदिनग-

L. 3. रिकय दन [1\*]

"The gift of Oḍi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 83 = C. 180.

अरहदिनस भिखुनो पोखरियकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)."

No. 84 = C. 181.

L. 1. भदतनागिलस

L. 2. सवानं जातीन-

L. 3. दानं यभो [1\*]<sup>98</sup>

"A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila."

No. 85 = C. 182.

कोररस नागपियस अक्कावडे सेठिस दानं यभो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), inhabitant of Kurara,\* a Sheth in Achhāvaḍa."<sup>99</sup>

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालीताया भिखुने[या] दानं [1\*]<sup>101</sup>

"The gift of the nun Budhapālītā."

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>102</sup>"The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (*Proshṭhaka*)."

No. 88 = C. 193.

अयबुडस अतेवासिनी बलमित्रस दान यभो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuḍa (*Kshudra*)."<sup>97</sup> Restore सुतातिकिनि.<sup>98</sup> There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 सवानं and the other सुनिनं, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.<sup>99</sup> The proper form of the name is *Kurara*; see No. 98.<sup>100</sup> This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achhāvaḍa.<sup>101</sup> Meant for भिखुनिया.<sup>102</sup> The apparent 4-stroke after पोठ is in my opinion accidental.

No. 89.

अरपान देवकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Devaka from Arapāna (*Arápāna*)."

No. 90.

अरहदिनस दानं रमोरज[हि]कडि — —<sup>88</sup>

"The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Ramorajakadi (?).

No. 91.

अस्ववतिया इसिगुतस वणिजस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the merchant Isiguta (*Rishigupta*) from Asvavati (*Asvavati*)."

No. 92.

इसिकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Isika (*Rishika*)."

No. 93.

L. 3. इसिकस रोहडा —

L. 2. शिपदियस दा —<sup>89</sup>

L. 1. नं [1\*]

"The gift of Isika (*Rishika*), inhabitant of Rohinipada."

No. 94.

इसिरखितस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakhita*)."

No. 95.

L. 1. उजैनिया विस्वदे-

L. 2. वस पजावतिया

L. 3. मुलाय दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Mula (*Mulā*), wife of Visvadeva (*Visvadeva*), from Ujjain."

No. 96.

[उ]दुंबरघरिय [स]चमि[तस] दा[न 1\*]<sup>90</sup>

"The gift of Sachamita (*Satyamitra*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 97.

L. 1. क[ट]क[जुय]कस पयपतुडस<sup>91</sup>

L. 2. भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu."

<sup>88</sup> The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in दस and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of *Ramorajakadi* (?).

<sup>89</sup> The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहिषि°.

<sup>90</sup> This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain.

<sup>91</sup> Most of the letters of l. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.

No. 98.

कुरारा संवलितस दानं[\*]

"The gift of Samvalita from Kurāra."

No. 99.

L. 1. कौरघरस शेठिनो

L. 2. सीहस दानं[\*]

"The gift of the Sheṭh Siha (*Siṃha*), inhabitant of Kuraghara."

No. 100.

गिरिगुताय भिक्षुनिया दानं[\*]

"The gift of the nun Girigutā (*Giriguplā*)."

No. 101.

जितमितये भिक्षुनिये वडिवहनिक्काये दानं[\*]

"The gift of the nun Jitamitā (*Jitāmitrā*), inhabitant of Vaḍivahana."

No. 102.

धमताय दानं पुणवधनियाये [\*]"

"The gift of Dhamatā (*Dharmadatā*), inhabitant of Puṇavadhana (*Punyavardhana*)."

No. 103.

धमदत्तस भिक्षुनो दानं च[य]भिक्षुकिय[स [\*]"

"The gift of the monk Dhamadata (*Dharmadatta*), pupil of Aya-Bhaḍuka (*Āya-Bhaḍuka*, No. 16)."

No. 104.

L. 1. [पिय]धमाय

L. 2. बोधिय च

L. 3. कौरघरिन

L. 4. भिक्षुनिनं दानं [\*]

"The gift of Piyadhamā (*Priyadharmā*) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara."

No. 105.

पुसये भिक्षुनिये नदिनगरिकाये दानं [\*]

"The gift of the nun Pusā (*Pushyā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 106.

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-

L. 2. गिरिनो दानं [\*]

"The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (*Pushkara*)."

No. 107.

पोरविचिक्कस धम्मसिवस दानं [\*]

"The gift of Dhammasiva (*Dharmasiva*), inhabitant of Puravikha(?)."

\* Probably वसदत्ता is to be read.

\* वसदत्तुचिक्क looks almost like वसदत्तचिक्क; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.

No. 108.

बेदकरा नन्दिगि[रि]मातु द[र]न [१\*]

"The gift of Nandigiri's mother from Bedakara."

No. 109.

[भोगवड]मकस महि[द] — — —<sup>98</sup>

"(The gift) of Mahida (*Mahendra*), inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-dhana*)."

No. 110.

L. 1. मधुवनिकाये बुधरखितये भिक्षुनिये

L. 2. दानं १\*

"The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhu-  
vana."

No. 111.

महिसतिय देवभगस [दा]न [१\*]

"The gift of Devabhaga (*Devabhāga* ?) from Mahisati (*Māhishmati*)."

No. 112.

L. 1. यक्षिलस भिक्षुनो वयदेवगिरिनो पते-

L. 2. वासिनी दानं [१\*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakhila*), pupil of the venerable Devagiri."

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहषिपदिय-

L. 2. स निगडिस दा-

L. 3. न [१\*]

"The gift of Nigadi, inhabitant of Rohanipada (*Rohanipada*)."

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहषिपदिय-

L. 2. स बुलिकस

L. 3. दानं [१\*]

"The gift of Bulika,<sup>99</sup> inhabitant of Rohanipada."

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहषिपदियसि

L. 2. शेठिनो नागदि-

L. 3. नस दानं [१\*]<sup>1</sup>

"The gift of Sheth Nāgadina (*Nāgadatta*), inhabitant of Rohanipada."

<sup>98</sup> Restore महिदस दानं.

<sup>99</sup> Compare the *Beli* tribe (Wenzel: *Indes*, sub voce) of *Allakappa*.

<sup>1</sup> Read पदियस; the सि stands above the line, and is a correction.

No. 116.

वाडिवहना छडिकस भिहुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Chhaḍika (*Chhardika*?) from Vādivahana.”

No. 117.

L. 1. वेदिसकय [हं]सरखितास असवारकस

L. 2. पजावति — नागदता[य] दानं [1\*]<sup>2</sup>“The gift of Nāgadattā (*Nāgadattā*), wife of the cavallerist Hamsarakhita (?) (*Hamsarakshita*), an inhabitant of Vedisa (*Vidiśā*).

No. 118.

समिकाये सधितिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Samikā (*Śāmikā*) and of her daughter.”

No. 119.

सिरिदिनाय भिहुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Śrīdattā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 120.

सोयसस दानं भादनकटियस [1\*]

“The gift of Soyasa (*Sauyaśasa*), inhabitant of Bhādanakata.”

No. 121.

[रि]वाये उजेनिकाये उपासिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain.”

No. 122.

— — — स भिहुनो दानं भयभंडुकियस [1\*]<sup>3</sup>“The gift of the monk . . . , pupil of the venerable *Bhaṇḍuka*.”<sup>4</sup>

No. 123.

L. 1. — — — [ते] कन

L. 2. [नो] रुहकस

L. 3. — — [म] — त — स उ

L. 4. — रि — —

TOPE II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

पाण्डुकुलिकाय गामस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the village of Pāṇdukulikā (*Pāṇḍukulikā*).”<sup>2</sup> The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.<sup>3</sup> Possibly another स may have stood in the beginning.<sup>4</sup> See above, Nos. 16 and 103

No. 2 = C. 4.

बुधिलस भोग[व]ठनकस दान [1\*]

"The gift of Budhila (*Buddhila*), an inhabitant of Bhogavādhana (*Bhogavādhana*)."

No. 3 = C. 5.

धमदेवय देनं मितसिरिय अंतेवासिनि[य] [1\*]<sup>5</sup>

"The gift of Dhamadevā (*Dharmadevā*), (*who is*) a pupil of Mitasiri (*Mitrasiri*)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

इसिलस भिक्षुनो दाना [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (*Rishila*)."

No. 5 = C. 11.

विभस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Vijha (*Vindhya*)."

No. 6 = C. 12.

यखिलस भिक्षुनो दान [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*)."

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागपियस अछाव[ड]

L. 2 स शेठिस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), a Sheth of Achhāvada."

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1 सपकाय कोररिय दान

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Sapakā (*Sarpakā* ?), an inhabitant of Kurara."

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1. धमसेनय कोररिय दान भिक्षुनि

L. 2. य [1\*]

"The gift of Dhamasenā (*Dharmasenā*), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun."

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालितय दान यभो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapālita."

No. 11 = C. 25.

[ओ]डिय भिक्षुनिय यभो दान [1\*]<sup>6</sup>

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi."

<sup>5</sup> Read दान; the third letter of मितसिरिय was originally an णि, which was afterwards corrected to सि.

<sup>6</sup> This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Tōpe I.

<sup>7</sup> Properly कुरार; see I, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly ओडाय.



No. 12 = C. 30.

सघमितस सोनरकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Saghamita (*Samghamitra*), an inhabitant of Sonara (*Sonāri*).”

No. 13 = C. 32.

अ[गि]लस दानं अधपोरकस [1\*]

“The gift of Agila (*Agnila*), inhabitant of Adhapura (*Ardhapura*).”

No. 14 = C. 33.

यसोमिरिनो दानं भिहुनो [1\*]

“The gift of Yasogiri (*Yasogiri*), a monk.”

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नादिनागरिकाय [1\*]

“(The gift) of Gadā, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 16 = C. 38.

अयनादुकस भिहुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Aya-Nāduka (*the venerable Nāduka*), a monk.”

No. 17.

पुसरखितस दानं [अ]यस चतेवासिनो [1\*]

“The gift of Pusarakhita (*Pushyarakshita*), the pupil of Aya (*Ārya*, i.e. the venerable one).”

No. 18.

सिहाय दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 19.

L. 1. सुमनस भिहुनो

L. 2. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Sumana (*Sumanas*).”

No. 20.

धमगुतस पुसिनिया च दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) and Pusiniya (*Pushyanikā*).”

No. 21.

विसाखस पाडा — यस [1\*]<sup>\*</sup>“The gift of Visākha (*Viśākha*), an inhabitant of Pādā[na].”<sup>\*</sup> Restore पाडानिसस, according to I, 66.

## APPENDIX.—LISTS OF NAMES.

## I.—Monks.

Arāhadina I, 83, 90.  
 Arāhaguta I, 18; II, C. 19.  
 Arāhaka II, C. 34.  
 Balaka II, C. 19.  
 Balamitra I, 88.  
 Bhamḍuka (Gotiputa) I, 16; °kiya, 103, 122.  
 Bharāḍiya I, 74.  
 Budharakhita I, 71.  
 Chhādika I, 116.  
 Chūḍa I, 68; (aya—) I, 88.  
 Devagiri I, 66, (aya—) 112.  
 Dhamadata I, 103.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 178.  
 Dhamaguta I, 61.  
 Dhamarakhita I, 9, 53, 68.  
 Dhana I, C. 31.  
 Dhanaka (aya—) I, C. 151.  
 Gotiputa—see Bhamḍuka.  
 Hāṭiya I, 12.  
 Isika I, 92 (93?).  
 Isila II, 4.  
 Jonaka I, C. 152.  
 Jonhaka I, 75.  
 Kāboja I, 7.  
 Kāda I, 4.  
 Mahāgiri I, 62.  
 Nadiguta I, 58.  
 Nagadina I, C. 10.

Nāduka (aya—) II, 16.  
 Nāgarakhita II, C. 39.  
 Nāgila (bhadata—) I, 84; II, C. 1.  
 Pasanaka (aya) I, 5.<sup>10</sup>  
 Patuḍa (?) I, 97.  
 Poṭhaka I, 87.  
 Prāṭiṭhāna I, 12, 70.  
 Pusa I, C. 29, C. 158.  
 Pusagiri I, C. 21.  
 Pusaka I, 67.  
 Pusarakhita II, 17.  
 Rahila (aya—) I, C. 37.  
 Sadhana I, 29.  
 Saghamita II, C. 7.  
 Sagharakhita II, C. 40.  
 Saṁdhāna I, 54.  
 Samidata I, 65.  
 Sumana II, 19.  
 Tisaka (aya—) I, 70.  
 Upasijha I, 63.  
 Vājuka (bhadata—) I, C. 122.  
 Vejha II, 5.  
 Visākha I, C. 123.  
 Vira I, C. 186.  
 Yakhadā[di]na I, C. 50.  
 Yakhila I, 112; II, 6.  
 Yasogiri II, 14.

## II.—Nuns.

Achalā I, 6.  
 Arāhadāsī I, C. 175.  
 Avisinā I, 79, 80.  
 Balikā I, C. 159.  
 Bodhi I, 104.  
 Budhapālītā I, 86.  
 Budharakhitā I, 110.  
 Chirātī I, 28.  
 Dhamadevā II, 3.  
 Dhamarakhitā I, 52.  
 Dhamasenā II, 9.  
 Dhama[s]iri I, 78.  
 Dūpasā (?) I, C. 170.  
 Gaḍā (II, 15?), C. 21, 86.  
 Girigutā I, 100.  
 Hana (?) I, C. 2.  
 Isidāsī I, C. 169; II, C. 22.  
 Isidatā I, C. 132, 133.  
 Isidinā I, C. 147.

Jitamitā I, 101.  
 Kaḍi I, C. 65.  
 Mitasiri II, 3.  
 Mula II, C. 21.  
 Odatikā I, C. 26.<sup>11</sup>  
 Oḍi (I, 82?); II, 11.  
 Phagulā II, C. 18.  
 Piyadhamā I, 104.  
 Pusā I, 105.  
 Saghadinā I, 37.  
 Sapakā II, 8.  
 Saṁgharakhitā I, 33.  
 Sedi II, C. 43.  
 Siridinā I, 119.  
 Valā II, C. 15.  
 Yakhī I, 38; (Yakha) C. 187.  
 Yamarakhitā II, C. 20.  
 Yasilā I, 33 (34?).

<sup>10</sup> *Pasanaka* occurs as teacher of *Dhamaguta* and *Sagharakhita* in the inscription on a pillar of the Sonāri Tōpe No. I, Cunningham, *Bhilsa Tōpes*, plate xxiii.

<sup>11</sup> This corresponds to Sanskrit *asaddhikā*, literally 'the pure one.'

## III.—Male names, not marked as clerical.

- Agila II, 13.  
 Ahimita I, C. 8.  
 Ajitiguta I, 43.  
 Apathaka I, 42.  
 Araha I, 40.  
 Arahaka I, C. 165 (see also List I).  
 Arahadāsa I, C. 100.  
 Arahadina I, 44, 90.  
 Arahatapālita I, C. 164.  
 Asāda I, 72.  
 Aṭha (kamika) I, 10.  
 Bahadata I, 80.  
 Bahula II, C. 35.  
 Bhadaka I, 41.  
 Bhichhuka I, 56.  
 Budhapālita (seṭhi) II, C. 8.  
 Budharakhita II, C. 10, 23.  
 Budhila I, C. 32; II, 2.  
 Bulika I, 114.  
 Chadaguta I, C. 97.  
 Chheta I, C. 66.  
 Dadata (?) I, C. 89.  
 Damaka (?) I, C. 174.  
 Devaka I, 89.  
 Devabhaga I, 111.  
 Dhamadata I, C. 173.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 56.  
 Dhamagirika I, 2; C. 166.  
 Dhamaguta II, 20.  
 Dhamapāla I, C. 134.  
 Dhamarakhita II, C. 2.<sup>12</sup>  
 Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.  
 Dhanagiri I, C. 157.  
 Disarakhita (?) I, C. 42.<sup>13</sup>  
 Gobila I, C. 77.  
 Gopāla I, C. 12.  
 Gotiputa, —see Subāhita.  
 [Ham]sarakhita I, 117.  
 Hirnagiri I, 106.  
 Isadāta (?) I, C. 52.  
 Isigura (vāpija) I, 91.  
 Isika I, 93 (?) (compare also List No. II).  
 Isipālita I, C. 179.  
 Isimita I, C. 59.  
 Isirakhita I, 94.  
 Kekatēyaka I, 1, 8.  
 Kuja (?) I, 60.  
 Kujara I, C. 94.  
 Mahida I, 109.  
 Mulagiri (lekha) I, C. 48.  
 Nadāvu I, 24.  
 Nādivirohi I, 24.  
 Nagadina I, C. 74.  
 Namdigiri I, 108.  
 Nāgadina I, 115.  
 Nāgapiya (seṭhi) I, 85; C. 192; II, 7.  
 Nigadi I, 113.  
 Opedadata I, C. 62-64.  
 Patitṭhiya (gahapati) I, 22, 23.  
 Phaguna I, 63.  
 Pusagiri I, 55.  
 [Sa]chami[ta] I, 96.  
 Sadatba (?) I, C. 168.  
 Sagha I, C. 192.  
 Saghadeva I, 81.  
 Saghāmīta II, 12.  
 Samana I, C. 179.  
 Samghila I, C. 163.  
 Sāmanera I, 11, 57.  
 Samika (vānika) I, C. 83, C. 119.  
 Samvalita, I 98.  
 Sātīla I, C. 98.  
 Sihagiri I, 77; C. 28 (?) (facsimile, *Sapagarano*).  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Siriguta (vāpija) I, 47.  
 Siripāla I, C. 120.  
 Sivanadi I, 45.  
 Sīha (seṭhi) I, 99.  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Sona I, C. 57.  
 Soyasa I, 120.  
 Subāhita, Gotiputa (rājapīkara) I, 48, 49.  
 Subhaga I, 19.  
 Syatiguta I, 31.  
 Upidadata I, 36.  
 Vaḍa (?) I, C. 172.  
 Vaḍha I, C. 47.  
 Vajaguta I, C. 3.  
 Vijita I, 3.  
 Vimala I, C. 138.  
 Visa I, C. 77.  
 Viśākha II, 21 (see also List I).  
 Viśvadeva I, 95.  
 Yasopāla I, C. 27, 156.

<sup>12</sup> If the following *seṭhi* stands for *śaśkha*, this person was an ascetic.<sup>13</sup> The name is probably wrong.

## IV.—Females, not marked as nuns.

Agido[de]vā I, C. 17.	Oḍi I, 82 (compare also List II).
Agis[i]mā I, 69.	Padonā (?) I, C. 51.
Arahagutā I, 32.	Patolā (?) II, C. 28.
Asvadevā I, 30 ; C. 83.	Poṭhādevā, I, C. 44.
Balakā I, C. 61.	Pusini II, 20.
Budhā I, C. 64.	Revā, I, 121.
Dāsā I, C. 46.	Rohuni (?) I, C. 55.
Dhamatā [datā] I, 102.	Sagharakhitā II, C. 22.
Dhamarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76.	Saghā I, C. 106.
Gaḍā II, 15 (compare also List II).	Sāmidarā [tā] I, C. 176.
Himadatā I, C. 63.	Samikā I, 46, 118.
Isimitā I, C. 54, 69.	Semākā (?) I, C. 91.
Isirakhitā I, 64.	Sihā II, 18.
Kā[ka]nā I, 21.	Sihadatā I, C. 67.
Kanī I, C. 85.	Sonado[de]vā I, 8 ; C. 17.
Kurāi I, 39.	Subhagā I, C. 18.
Majhimā I, 46.	Tāpasi I, 39.
Mayadatā I, C. 62.	Vākālā devī I, C. 8.
Mitā (Tāpasīyanam nusa) I, 73.	Vasulā I, C. 88.
Mulā I, 95.	Vesamanadatā I, 22.
Muladatā I, C. 60.	Vinhukā II, C. 24.
Nāgadatā I, 117.	Vipulā I, C. 70.
Nagamitā I, C. 72.	Vudinā I, 20.
Nāgāpalitā II, 10.	Yakhadāsī I, C. 171.
Nāgā I, 50 ; C. 45.	Yasilā I, 35 (see also List No. II).

## Geographical names.

Abeyaka (adj.) I, 11, 57.	Kuraghara I, C. 69 ; C. 71-72 ; <i>Koraghara</i> (adj.) I, 19, 99, 104.
Achhāvaḍa I, 85 ; (adj.) I, C. 192 ; <sup>14</sup> II, 7.	Kurāra I, 98 ; <i>kurariya</i> (adj.) I, C. 138 ; C. 192 ; <sup>17</sup> <i>kurarī</i> (adj.) I, C. 138 ; <i>korara</i> (adj.) I, 85 ; II, 8, 9 ; C. 15.
Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.	Madalachhikāṭika (adj.) I, 78, 79, 80 ; C. 159.
Ananimitaka (? adj.) II, C. 10.	Madhuvana I, 61 ; <sup>18</sup> C. 132 ; <sup>19</sup> <i>vanika</i> (adj.) I, 15, 76, <sup>19</sup> 110.
Arāpāna I, 59, 72, 89.	Māhamoragi, I, 77 ; <i>Mahāmo</i> I, C. 28.
Asvavatī I, 91.	Mahisati I, 111.
Bedakara I, 108.	Morasibikāṭa I, 44.
Bhasikāḍa I, C. 156.	Nadinagara I, 6 ; C. 170 ; <i>Nādī</i> I, 7 ; <i>Nādinagarika</i> (adj.) <sup>20</sup> I, 82, 105 ; C. 147, 169 ;
Bhādanakāṭiya (adj.) I, 120.	<i>Nādinagarika</i> (adj.) I, 119 ; II, 15.
Bhogavadhana <sup>15</sup> I, 45 ; <sup>16</sup> <i>vaḍhana</i> , I, 64 ; C. 137 ;	Navagamaka (adj.) I, 46 ; <sup>21</sup> <i>gāmaka</i> , I, 55 ; <sup>22</sup> <i>gāmika</i> , I, C. 53.
<sup>16</sup> <i>vaḍhanaka</i> , (adj.) I, 43, 109 ; II, 2.	Pādāniya (adj.) I, 56 ; II, 21. <sup>21</sup>
Chahāṭiya (adj.) I, C. 158.	Pāḍukulikā II, 1 ; <i>Paḍukulini[ki]ya</i> (adj.) II, C. 8.
Dhamavadhanana (read <sup>16</sup> <i>vaḍhana</i> ) I, 25, 26.	Pokhara I, 106 ; <sup>23</sup> <i>reyaka</i> I, 83 ; C. 23, 39.
Ejāvata (adj.) I, 71.	Poravikhika (adj.) I, 107.
Erakina <sup>18</sup> I, C. 98.	Prāthithāna (proper name) I, 12, 70.
Kāboja (proper name) I, 7.	Puñnavadhaniya (adj.) I, 102.
Kāchupatha (adj.) I, 52, 53.	
Karṇadagāma I, C. 47 ; <sup>19</sup> <i>gāmiya</i> (adj.) I, C. 45, 46.	
Kāpāsīgāma I, 40.	
Kāṭakañu I, 41 ; <sup>20</sup> <i>kaṭuka</i> (adj.) I, 97.	
Kāṭakareyaka (adj.) I, C. 100.	
Kekāṭeyaka (proper name) I, 1, 3.	

Ramorajahikāḍi (?) I, 90.

<sup>14</sup> *Achhavaḍa*, on facsimile.<sup>15</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 95.<sup>16</sup> *Dharakina*, on facsimile.<sup>17</sup> *Kararāya*, on facsimile.<sup>18</sup> First syllable obliterated.<sup>19</sup> Spelt *vanika*.<sup>20</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 13.<sup>21</sup> Third syllable obliterated.<sup>22</sup> *Pokhamreyakaḍa* [sa], on copy.

Rohanipadiya (adj.) I, 113, 114, 115; <i>Rohāṇi</i> <sup>o</sup> I, 93.	Ugireyaka (adj.) I, 31.
Sāhakagāmiya (adj.) I, C. 97.	Ujeṇi I, 27, 69, 73, 95; C. 11, 12, 49, 55-68, 70, 77; <i>ka</i> (adj.) I, 121.
Sāsadata (adj.) I, 18; II, C. 19.	Vādivabana I, 116; <i>Vādivabana</i> (adj.) I, 101; <i>Vāḍya</i> <sup>o</sup> (adj.) II, C. 24.
Sonaraka (adj.) II, 12.	Vāghumata I, 37; C. 118.
Tambalamaḍa I, 60.	Vedisa <sup>as</sup> I, 38; <i>Vedisaka</i> (adj.) I, 117; C. 189;
Tiriḍapada I, 50.	<i>sika</i> I, C. 28.
Tubavana I, 22, 23.	Veja I, 17.
Udubaraghariya (adj.) I, 13; II, C. 41; C. 42; <i>Udumbara</i> <sup>o</sup> I, 96.	Verohakata (adj.) I, 81.

### VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1030.

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

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchāpahar," which is near the village of "Harasnāth" in the Shaikhāwati province of the Jaypur state of Rājputāna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75° 15', Lat. 27° 31', *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoe, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV, pp. 361-400.<sup>1</sup> In the course of last year Mr. Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr. Burgess; they were prepared by Mr. Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 11" broad by 2' 10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¾"; it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

<sup>2</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Nos. 22, 32, 85, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 932-937.

are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a *prabasti*, and was composed by Dhīranāga, the son of the *karanika* Thiruka (verse 45).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; before *r*, *t* is always doubled after a vowel, e.g., in *vichittra*, line 4, and *śūtradhāro* and *dagdha-ttripura*, line 6; and a single *j* is written instead of *jj* in *ujvalaḥ*, line 16, and *viśphurajñāna*, line 22. The dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *dhvana*, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in *auttaresvaraḥ*, line 22, and in *Chandāsiva*, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in *prasannaḥ*, line 15, and wrongly retained in *nirṇāśita*, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.\*

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allāṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allāṭa's disciple Bhāvadyota. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chāhamāna family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gūvaka I., said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes (v. 13). His son was—
2. Chandrarāja (v. 14); his son—
3. Gūvaka II. (v. 14); and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudrena<sup>2</sup> (v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vākpatirāja, who put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv. 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Simharāja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavana, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

\* See notes 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 77, 78, 81 & 85.

<sup>2</sup> I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapāla.

7. Vighraharāja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed, who restored the fortune of his family; but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlabharāja (vv. 20-26). It will appear below that, besides Vighraharāja, Simharāja had two other sons, Chandrarāja and Govindarāja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarāja.

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijholt of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Chāhamānas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarūpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Pañchārthala* doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhāvarakta, also called Allāṭa, who was born in a family of Brāhmans of the Vārgaṭika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rāṇapallikā, a village where the *Sāmsārika* doctrine was practised. Allāṭa built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv. 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhāvadyota (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allāṭa was built by the architect Chaṇḍaśiva, a son of Virabhadra (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allāṭa is (in v. 48) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the *yoga* Śubha and the *nakshatra* Hasta, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A.D. 970; for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the *Simha-samkrānti* took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhādrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the *yoga* Śubha up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar *samkrānti*, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.\*

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Āshāḍha-śudī 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:—

The king Simharāja, after having bathed at Pushkaratirtha, had given the villages Simhagoshṭha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

\* The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengālī character.

Īśānakūpa<sup>5</sup> in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *viśhaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarah-kotṭa *viśhaya*; his brother Vatsarāja the village Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *viśhaya*; the king Vighraharāja the villages Chhattradhārā and Śamkarāpaka (verse 25); Simharāja's other sons Chandrarāja and Govindarāja two hamlets in the Paṭṭabaddhaka and Darbhakaksha *viśhaya*s; Dbandhuka, an official of Simharāja's, the village Mayūrapadra in the Khaṭṭakūpa *viśhaya*; and a certain Jayanarāja the village Kolikūpaka. Besides, fields had been given by various pious people, at Madrapurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harsha, and . . . [ka]lāvanapadra. And taxes on salt and on horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by the traders (?) of Śākambhari and by the horse-dealers from the north.

Of the localities in this list, to which may be added the village of Rānapallikā near Harsha, mentioned above, few have as yet been identified. Jayapura, Śākambhari and Pushkaratirtha near Ajmere are well known. Of the rest, Rānapallikā must be the village "Ranoli," about 7 miles east of "Harasnāth" and one mile west of "Shishu;" and Nimbadikā, the village "Nimara," 4½ miles south of "Harasnāth," near a salt-lake which may have given its name to . . . [ka]lāvanapadra.

The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

L. 1. . . . . [य]<sup>7</sup> ॥

सर्वविघ्नयम[नं सुरार्चितं]<sup>8</sup> पूर्वमेव शिव[यो]स्तनूद्वयम् ।

भुक्तिमुक्तिपरमार्थसिद्धिदं तं नमामि वर[द] उ — उ उ <sup>9</sup>॥<sup>10</sup>—[1.]

. . . . .

2. . . . . [का]कुलितमानसैः ।

स्तूयमानस्तु सदैवैः पातु वस्त्रपुरातकः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[2.]

पादध्यासावनुवा नमति वसुमती शेषभोगावलम्बा

[वा(वा)]ङ्गत्वेयैः स[मं] — उ उ उ उ उ उ — — उ

3. — — ऋचन्दैः ।

भिन्नावलं समस्तं भवति हि भुवनं यस्य नृसे प्रवृत्ते

स श्रीहर्षाभिधानो जयति पशुपतिहस्तविष्णुतुङ्गपः ॥<sup>12</sup>—[3.]

सखे शूलं त्रिशूलमपरे दोष्णि [भि]न्नाक[पाल]

भूवा — — उ उ उ

4. [भु]जगः कण्ठिका नीलकण्ठे ।

नेदृश्वेवस्त्रिनयन मया स्नापि दृष्टो विचित्र

<sup>5</sup> See note 79.

<sup>6</sup> From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. S. Jacob, C. I. E., and made by Lāla Rām Baksh of Jaypur.

<sup>7</sup> The words broken away at the beginning were probably श्री श्री नमः शिवाय.

<sup>8</sup> The *akṣaras* in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain.

<sup>9</sup> The word broken away here was probably नजानमम्.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Rathoddhātā.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Bragdhārā.



इत्थं गौर्यां प्रहसितहरः सञ्चितः पातु युष्मान् ॥<sup>15</sup>—[4.]

वेगोद्गतायमादिप्रहङ्गनतलं व्यमुवाणा जलौघे-

न्यङ्कुर्वन्सा स[सु][द्रान्\*]

L. 5. चय[व]लितजलानूर्निमालासहस्रैः ।

देयादभ्यर्थितं वः शशधरधवला स्वर्चनी चंद्रमौले-

र्मौली लीलां वहन्ती स्फुटविकटजटाव(व)न्यने चोरिकायाः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[5.]

चंचचंद्रार्कतारं भुवननगनदीदी[प]सि[धु]-

6. [प्र]पंचं

विश्वं देवासुरादिप्रमथमुनिवरैर्यक्षभर्तैः सनाथम् ।

यस्येष्टाशक्तिभावादसदपि सकलं जायते लीयते च

सोऽद्याहो हर्षदेवो भुवनविरचनासूत्रधारोप्रमेयः ॥ —[6.]

नूनं वायाम्बिदग्धजिपुरसुररिपु-

7. [जी]तहर्षः सहर्षे-

रिंद्रार्थैर्हृषकंदैः क्षतनुतिनतिभिः पूज्यमानोऽसौ शैले ।

योभूलास्यापि हर्षो गिरिशिखरभुवोर्भारतानुग्रहाय

सो<sup>16</sup> स्ताहो लिंगरूपो द्विगुणितभवनचंद्रमौलिः शिवाय ॥ —[7.]

निर्यसेचा[ख]-

8. [भा\*]खानणुदहनरुचि श्लोषसंभ्रान्तसत्त्वं(चं)

प्रान्तज्वालावलीढद्रुमव(व)हलमहाधूमधूमायितामम् ।

संरंभारंभभीमस्वनमसमशरोच्छेदि यस्याशशंके

दृष्ट्वा देवैः [स्व]रूप<sup>16</sup> किमिय[स]समये संहतिर्वी(र्वी)भुवे[य]॥—[8.]

9. देवः पुरधगध्यास्ते यमभ्रंक्षयमुत्तकैः ।

हर्षख्यातिः स हर्षाख्यो गिरिरेव<sup>17</sup> पुनातु वः ॥<sup>18</sup>—[9.]

शूरस्येदं श्लोकं<sup>19</sup> ।

गांगं नो निर्झरं(रांभ)ः प्रवहति न शुभा नंदनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः

सद्रवस्वर्णमृगामलविधिरुचो नैव —<sup>20</sup>

10. [स्त<sup>21</sup>]वाच ।

अन्यां धत्ते तथापि त्रियमतिशयिनीमेव शैलीद्वितीयां

साक्षाच्छंभुर्यदास्ते तदपि हि परमं कारणं रम्यतायाः ॥<sup>21</sup>—[10.]

अष्टमूर्तिर्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धयष्टकविभुः स्वयम् ।

महिमा भूधरस्यास्य परमः कोपि — ७ ८<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>22</sup>—[11.]

<sup>15</sup> Metre : Mandākrāntā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 5-8 : Sragdharā.

<sup>17</sup> Read स.

<sup>18</sup> Originally सद्यं was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स्त.

<sup>19</sup> Originally रंवा, altered to रंवा.

<sup>20</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>21</sup> Read शूरस्येव श्लोकः.

<sup>22</sup> The two akṣharas here broken away were perhaps सीधा.

<sup>23</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>24</sup> The word here broken away was perhaps विद्यते.

<sup>25</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

- L. 11. [एत<sup>x</sup>]सुवर्णाच्छकांतिप्रवरतममहामण्डपाभोगभट्टं  
 प्रांतप्रासादमालाविरचितविकटापाण्डुपुष्पाभिरामम् ।  
 मेरोः शृंगोपमानं सुचटितवृषसत्तोरणहाररम्यं  
 नानासङ्गोद्युक्तं जयति भगवतो हर्षदेवस्य [ह<sup>x</sup>]-
12. [स्य<sup>x</sup>म्] ॥ <sup>24</sup>—[12.]  
 आद्यः श्रीगुणकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिद्याहमानान्वयोभूत्<sup>25</sup>  
<sup>26</sup>श्रीमन्नागा[द्य?]लोकप्रवरनृपसभालब्ध(व)वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।  
 यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयो भौतली कीर्त्तिमूर्ति-  
 कीर्त्तिकापि स्थिरैषा प्रतपति परमैः —
13. ॐ — — ॐ — [मै?]: ॥ —[13.]  
 पुत्रः श्रीचंद्रराजोभवदमलयशास्तस्य तीव्रप्रतापः  
 सूरुस्तस्थाय भूपः प्रथम इव पुनर्गुणकाख्यः प्रतापो ।  
 तस्माच्छोचंदनोभूत्वितिपतिभयदस्तोमरेण सदर्थं  
 हत्वा रुद्रेनभूष<sup>27</sup> समर[भुवि]
14. [ब<sup>x</sup>]लाद्ये[न लब्ध<sup>x</sup>] जयन्तीः ॥ —[14.]  
 ततः परमतेजस्वी सदा समरचित्वरः ।  
 श्रीमान्वाक्पतिराजाख्यो महाराजोभवत्सुतः ॥ <sup>28</sup>—[15.]  
 येनादैव्यं स्वसैन्यं कथमपि दधता वाजिवह्णा सुसुहृ  
 प्रागेव आसितेभः सरसि क[रि]रटडुडिमेडु ॐ
15. —[जै?] <sup>29</sup>।  
 वन्द्यस्माभर्तुंराज्ञां समदमभि[व]<sup>30</sup> हन्नागतोनंतपार्श्व-  
 क्षापालस्तंक्षपालो दिशि दिशि गमितो ह्रीविषण्णः प्रसण्ण(व): ॥ <sup>31</sup>—[16.]  
 शूरस्त्रिदं ।  
 लोकैर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिचंद्रोपमो गीयते  
 त्यागैश्च[र्य]जयेषु की[र्त्ति<sup>x</sup>]-
16. [र<sup>x</sup>]मला धर्मस्य यस्त्रोच्च(व)लः ।  
 येनादायि हराय मंदिरकृते भक्त्या प्रभूतं वसु  
 श्रीमहाक्पतिराजसूरसमः श्रीसिंहराजोभवत् ॥ <sup>32</sup>—[17.]  
 हैममारोपितं येन शिवस्य भवनोपरि ।  
 पूर्णचंद्रोपमं स्त्रीयं मूर्त्तं य[श] ॐ [पिं?]डक[म्] ॥ <sup>33</sup>—[18.]
17. — —<sup>34</sup> । तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं  
 बुद्धे येन नरेन्द्रराः प्रतिदिशं निर्वा(वर्ण)यिता जिष्णुना ।

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 12-14: Sragdharā.

<sup>25</sup> Read "भूषण". The *akshara* यो, preceding भूत्, may possibly have been altered to ये.

<sup>26</sup> Originally undoubtedly श्रीमन्नागाव was engraved, but the *akshara* व appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only *akshara* which would suit the context appears to me to be य; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.

<sup>27</sup> This word, for which Dr. Mill has read रुद्रेन भूष, is quite clear and distinct in the original.

<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>29</sup> This *akshara* might possibly be read त्रि.

<sup>30</sup> The lower portion of this *akshara* is not quite distinct.

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>33</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>34</sup> The word, here broken away, was probably either जिष्णु or हत्वा.

कारावेष्मनि भूरयस विष्टतास्तावहि यावद्भु  
तन्मुक्त्यर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूषकवर्त्तो स्वयम् ॥ <sup>36</sup>—[19.]

श्रीमा-

- L. 18. [न्वि<sup>x</sup>]ग्रहराजीभूतवृत्तो वासवोपमः ।  
वंशलक्ष्मीर्जयश्रीय येनैते विधुरोद्भूते ॥ <sup>36</sup>—[20.]  
श्रीसिंहराजरहिता किल चिंतयंती भोतेव संप्रति विभुर्ननु को ममेति ।  
येनात्मवा(वा)हुयुगले चिरसखिवासं संघोरितेति ददता निज-

19. [रा<sup>x</sup>]व्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ <sup>37</sup>—[21.]

येन दुष्टदमनेन सर्व्वतः साधिताखिलमही स्ववा(वा)हुभिः ।  
लीलयैव वशवर्त्तिनी कृता किंकरीव निजपादयोस्तले ॥ <sup>38</sup>—[22.]  
यस्य चारु चरितं सतां सदा शृण्वतां जगति कीर्त्तितं जनैः ।  
दृष्टिजातघनरोमकं-

20. —<sup>39</sup> जायते तनुरलं सुहृद्भुः ॥ —[23.]

सुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः प्रतरलतुरगैश्चारुस्त्रैश्च शस्त्रैः  
कर्पूरैः पूगपूरैर्मलयतरुवरैर्हंसभारैरुपारैः ।  
उद्यद्गानैः समानैश्चलकुलगिरिभिर्हंसितारैः सदारै-  
र्बिभ्याजैः प्रातिर — —

21. — — भिरिति धृतैः प्राभृतैर्यः सिधेवे ॥ <sup>40</sup>—[24.]

छन्नधारावरयामो द्वितीयः शंकराणकः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
तेनेमौ हर्षना[थाय] [भ]क्त्या दत्तौ सशसनौ ॥ <sup>41</sup>—[25.]  
श्रीमद्भुवभराजेन योनुजेन विभूषितः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
लक्ष्मणेनेव काकुत्स्थो विष्णुनेव हलायुधः ॥ —[26.]

22. [सह<sup>x</sup>]राजावली चासौ शंभुभक्तिगुणोदया ।  
श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवोस्वास्त्यमाहित्यः कुलक्रमः ॥ —[27.]  
अनंतगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित श्रीत्तरेख(श्च)रः ।  
पंचार्थलाकुलाश्रये<sup>42</sup> विश्वरूपीभवद्गुरुः ॥ —[28.]  
दीक्षाजातमलध्वन्यविस्फुरन्ना-<sup>43</sup>

23. [ननि<sup>x</sup>]र्गलः ।  
प्रयस्तास्योभवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥ —[29.]  
भा[व]<sup>44</sup>रक्तो[भ]वत्तस्य शिष्यो दिनामतोज्ञटः ।  
वार्गटिकान्वयोद्भूतसद्भिप्रकुलसंभवः ॥ (॥) —[30.]  
हर्षस्यासन्नतो ग्रामः प्रसिद्धो राणपञ्जिका ।  
सांसारिककुलाश्रयस्ततो यस्य विनि[र्गमः ॥<sup>x</sup>] —[31.]

<sup>36</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>37</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>38</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>39</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23: Rathoddhātā.

<sup>40</sup> The two akṣaras here broken away, were probably

टका.

<sup>41</sup> Metre: Śragdhara.

<sup>42</sup> Metre of verses 25—32: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>43</sup> One would expect to read here पंचार्थलाकुलाश्रयी, and I believe that the akṣara ला has been altered to ल already in the original.

<sup>44</sup> Read 'अवसविस्फुरन्ना'.

<sup>45</sup> Originally वि, but apparently altered to व.

L. 24. चण्डटच्छ्रगना नंदी शिवासवस्थितिक्रमः ।

श्रीहर्षाराधने नूनं स्वयं मर्त्यमवातरत् ॥ —[32.]

आजन्म ब्र(ज)ह्मचारी दिगमलवसनः संयतात्मा तपस्वी

श्रीहर्षाराधनैकव्यसनशुभमतिस्वस्तसंसारमोहः ।

आसीद्यो लब्ध(स्व)जन्मा भवतर[बधि]यां — ७

25.

— [धी?] सुव(ब)न्धु-

स्नेहं धर्मवित्तैः सुघटितविकटं कारितं हर्षहर्म्यम् ॥ ४०—[33.]

अस्मिंश्चंद्रांकशैले गगनपथलिहोत्तुंगशृंगेप्रसिद्धं

हर्म्यं श्रीहर्षनामप्रथितपशुपतेः सहिमानो[प]मानम् ।

दृष्ट्वा सन्नोद्युक्तं व(ब)हुसुरभवनं कारितं येन

26.

— —

नासाध्यं किंचिदस्ति स्फुटमिति तपसो निःस्पृहाणां यतीनाम् ॥ —[34.]

आसीदौष्ठिकरूपो यो दीप्तपाशपतप्रतः ।

ती[ब्र]वेगतपोजातपुष्पापुष्पमलचयः ॥ ४०—[35.]

सदा शिवसमाकारस्तस्येश्वरसमद्युतेः ।

भावद्योतोभवच्छिष्यः संदीपितगु-

27.

[रुक्म<sup>x</sup>]मः ॥ —[36.]

गुरोराज्ञामयं प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठासोः शिवालयम् ।

यथाप्रारब्ध(स्व)कार्याणामंगीकृतभरोभवत् ॥ —[37.]

पुरस्तात्पर्वतस्त्राधस्तितयं येन कारितम् ।

सत्कूपो वाटिका दिव्या गोप्रपा घटितोपसैः ॥ —[38.]

सदैव वहमानेन कूपेन स्नादुवारिणा ।

वाटिकासिच-

28.

. . . . प्रपाभरणस्तथा ॥ —[39.]

सत्पुष्पैरर्चनं शक्नोः पयःपानं गवामपि ।

कार्यद्वयमिदं सारं दर्शितं पुष्पकांचिष्णम् ॥ —[40.]

दिगं व(ब)रं जटा भस्म<sup>४१</sup> तथं च विपुलं मही ।

भिन्ना वृत्तिः करः पात्रं यस्त्वैतानि परिषदः ॥ —[41.]

शिवभवनपु-

29.

— ७ [पा?]रं यदासीत्तदखिलमुपलौघैः पूरयित्वा गभीरम् ।

समतलसुखगम्यं प्रागणं तेन कांतं मनुष्यतरशिखाभिः कारितं वं(ब)धयित्वा ॥ ४०—[42.]

वीरभ[द्र]सुतः ख्यातः सूत्रधारोच्च चंडसिव<sup>४२</sup> ।

विश्वकर्मायै सर्वज्ञो वास्तुविद्या[म]-

— ७ — [५<sup>x</sup>] ४०—[43.]

[ये]न निर्मितमिदं मनोहरं शंकरस्य भवनं समंजसम् ।

<sup>४०</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Sragdharā.

<sup>४१</sup> Metre of verses 35-41: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>४२</sup> Originally भस्म, altered to भस्म.

<sup>४३</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>४०</sup> This word is perfectly clear in the impression and cannot possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both the metre and grammar.

<sup>४१</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

[स]र्वदेवमयचाकृतीरणं स्वर्गखंडमिव वेधसा खयम् ॥<sup>51</sup>—[44.]

गंगाधरवरभवने करणिकथीरुक्तसुतेन भक्तेन ।

अक्रियतेयं सुगमा प्रशस्तिरिह धीरनागेन ॥<sup>52</sup>—[45.]

यावच्छंभो ७ —

31. — ७ ७ नसुरनदीचंद्रलेखापतित्वं

यावत्क्षमीमुरारिरुसि विलसति द्योतते कौस्तुभं च ।

गायत्री याव[दा]स्ते सततमुपनता प्रेयसी ब्र[ह्म]ण्योन्ते

कैलासाकारमेतत्पतु भवनं हर्षदेवस्य तावत् ॥<sup>53</sup>—[46.]

अ . .

32. . [ह]तः शंभुः कथं कालस्य गोचरः ।

हर्षानिर्गर्णकालस्तु यथादृष्टो निव(ब)ध्यते ॥<sup>54</sup>—[47.]

संवत् १०१[३] आषाढशुदि १३ शंभोः प्रासादसिद्धिः ॥ ॐ ॥

जातेन्द्रा(व्या)नां सहस्रे त्रिगुणनवयुते सिंहराशौ गतेर्के

शुक्ला यासीत्तृ[ती]\*-

33. [या] शुभकरसहिता सीमवारेण तस्याम् ।

आदिष्टः शंभुनासौ [ध्रुव]ममलपदं दिक्षुना शुद्धसत्त्वं(च)

लब्धा(व्या)वैदेहभावं शिवभवनमभिप्रस्थितो द्युक्तोद्य ॥ ॐ ॥ (॥)<sup>55</sup>—[48.]

स्वस्ति । संवत् १०३० आषाढशुदि १५ निरुद्धं यथास्तव(व्य)शासना[नां] . .

34. . सैव लिख्यते । महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहराजः स्वभोगे तून्कूपकादादयके सिंहगोष्ठं<sup>56</sup>

तथा पट्टव(ब)हकविषये सैकलकलेशानकूपी<sup>57</sup> सरःकोटविषये कण्ठपञ्चिकाभिवं धामांशतुर-  
चंद्रांकशिखरीपरि . . . [भ\*]-

35. गवते श्रीहर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि श्रीमत्पुष्करतीर्थे स्नात्वा स्नपनार्चनविलिपनोपहारधूपदीपपर्व-

यास्तेष्वार्यमा शशांकतपनार्णवस्त्रितेर्यावच्छासनत्वेन प्रददौ । तथैतद्भाता श्रीवत्सराजः  
स्वभोगावाप्तजय[पु][रविष\*]-

36. ये कर्हमन्त्रातग्राममदाच्छासनेन । तथा श्रीविश्वहराजेन शासनदत्तग्रामद्वयसुपरिलिखित-

मास्ते । तथा श्रीसिंहराजात्मजौ श्रीचंद्रराजश्रीगोविंदराजौ स्वभोगावाप्तपट्टव(ब)हकविषये<sup>58</sup>  
दर्भकचविष[ये] . .

37. [धा]संख्येन स्वहस्तांकितशासनौ [य?] . . . [द]के पाटकद्वय<sup>59</sup>पञ्चिकाग्रामौ भक्त्या वितेरतुः ।

श्रीसिंहराजोयदुःसाध्यश्रीधंशुकः स्वहृत्पविषये स्वभुज्यमानमयूरप[द्र]ग्रामं स्वाभ्यनुमतः  
प्रदत्तवान् । . . . .

38. हिलात्मजः श्रीजयनराजः<sup>60</sup> स्वभुज्यमानकीलिकूपकग्रामं भक्त्या हर्षदेवाय शासनेन दत्तवान् । (॥)

तथा समस्तश्रीमन्मह[दे]स्या शाकंभर्या लवणकूटकं प्रति विंशोपकमेकं दत्तं । तयोत्तराप-  
थोयह्ण्डाविकानां [स] . . . .

<sup>51</sup> Metre: Rathoddhatā.

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>53</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>55</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>56</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>57</sup> The sign of *anusvara* of the last *akṣara* is doubtful.

<sup>58</sup> Originally श्रीजयनराजः, altered to श्रीजयनराजः.

L. 39. [च]ीटकं प्रति द्रक्ष्य एको दसः ।(॥) पुष्पात्मभिर्हस्तानि देवभुज्यमानक्षेत्राणि यथा । म[द्रा]-  
पुरिकायां पि[प्य]लवालिकाक्षेत्रं निम्ब(म्ब)डिका[या]मे दर्भटिकाक्षेत्रं मरुपल्लिकायां [भ्रा]-  
टक्षेत्रं [ह]र्षे लाटक्षेत्रं . . . . .

40. . . . [क]लावणपद्रे सेखकक्षेत्रं तयाक्षैव दिहलिकानं[दि]सोमके वृहदलमिति ॥  
सर्वानितान्भावितो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।  
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवन्ति [ः॥\*] <sup>60</sup>—[49.]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om !]

[Om ! Adoration to Śiva !]

(Verse 1.) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gaṇānana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2.) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is <sup>60</sup> . . . . . with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods !

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati<sup>61</sup>, the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position ; [for] the earth, resting on Śesha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky] with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4.) "A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish ; the ornament . . . . . ; a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat ; nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture ;"—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gauri, guard you !

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water ; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (*god*), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair ;—may she grant your petitions !

(6.) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals !

(7.) May the moon-crested (*god*), who in the form of the Linga has (*here*) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness ; he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (*and*) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha <sup>62</sup> stayed on (*these*) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhārata<sup>63</sup> !

(8.) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Śālinī.

<sup>61</sup> The missing portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is dreaded by the demons.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. Śiva.

<sup>63</sup> i.e. 'joy.'

<sup>64</sup> i.e. Bhāratavarsha, or India.

the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (and) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(7. 9.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (and) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you !

A hero speaks the following verse:—

(10.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11.) Since the eight-formed (*god*), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (and) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇḍu by reason of the court-yards<sup>64</sup> which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gūvaka, of the Chāhamāna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgas and the rest<sup>65</sup>; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great . . . . .

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarāja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gūvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(15.) After him came his son, the Mahārāja named Vākpatirāja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(16.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapāla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums . . . . . (?)<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word *vikāṭa* its meaning is not clear to me. *Vikāṭa* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court-yard and a female, related somehow to the Pāṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that *Vikāṭa* is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāṣṭra.

<sup>65</sup> See note 26, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

<sup>66</sup> I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original. *Trasitabha* might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants.' The word *abhiśakān* (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr. Mill's translation of the second line is: 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war-elephants.'

A hero speaks :—

(17.) Vākpātirāja's peerless son was the illustrious Simharāja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Hariśchandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18.) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (?), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19.) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavaṇa, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (*princes*) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.<sup>67</sup>

(20.) His son was the illustrious Vighraharāja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21.) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Simharāja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22.) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23.) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24.) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons; with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold; and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhatradhārā and Śamkarāṇaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabharāja, as Rāma was by Lakshmana, and as Halāyudha is by Viṣṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarūpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the *Pañchārthas*.<sup>68</sup>

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

<sup>67</sup> The following verse shows more clearly that Simharāja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Rāma (or Viṣṇu).

<sup>68</sup> This verse contains the two words *uttareśvara* and *pañchārthala*, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from *uttareśvara* which we have in *Uttareśvara-tīrtha*, the name of a Tīrtha, and *Uttareśvardhrama*, the name of a Līṅga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. *Pañchārthala* is evidently equivalent to *pāñchārthika*, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.



(*Vv. 30 and 31.*) His disciple was Bhāvarakta, also called<sup>69</sup> Allāṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brāhmans belonging to the Vārṇatīka tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rāṇapallikā, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the *Sāṃsārikas*.<sup>70</sup>

(32.) In Allāṭa surely Nandin<sup>71</sup> himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha.

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities; whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world; who as soon as he was born was a dear friend ..... of those eager to cross (*the sea of*) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people.

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (*god*) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish.

(35 and 36.) Of him, resplendent like Īśvara, the disciple was Bhāvadyota, always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (*spiritual*) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Pāśupata ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds.

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced.

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone.

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up ..... and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Śambhu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish.

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants.

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense .... which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (*work*) was Chandaśiva, the famed son of Virabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses .....

(44.) He built this delightful house of Śaṅkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> This apparently is the meaning of *dvindmataḥ*, which does not occur elsewhere.

<sup>70</sup> What the doctrine of this sect were I have not been able to find out.

<sup>71</sup> An attendant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides.

<sup>72</sup> In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr. Dean speaks of a doorway relieved by an architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.

(V. 45.) Dhīranāga, the pious son of the *karapika*<sup>73</sup> Thiruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gaṅgādhara.

(46.) As long as Śambhu owns . . . . . the river of the gods and the moon's crescent, as long as Lakshmi sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura's foe,<sup>74</sup> as long as Gāyatrī abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kai-lāsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth !

(47.) . . . . . how should Śambhu come within the range of time? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1013, on the 13th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,<sup>75</sup> and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the *yoga*) Śubha and (the *nakshatra*) Hasta, on a Monday,<sup>76</sup>—then that Allāṭa, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.<sup>77</sup>—

May it be well !

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to<sup>78</sup> the 15th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the year 1030 :—

The *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Simharāja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratīrtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harsha-deva on the hill of the moon-decorated (*god Harsha*), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, *viz.* Simhagoshṭha in the Tānakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Īśānakūpa<sup>79</sup> in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarāḥkoṭṭa *vishaya*, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (*the god*), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarāja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *vishaya* which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,<sup>80</sup> were given by deed by the illustrious Vigharāja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simharāja, the illustrious Chandrarāja and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . . . two hamlets<sup>81</sup> . . . . . in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya* (and) the Darbhakaksha *vishaya* which they had become possessed of.

<sup>73</sup> *i.e.* a writer of legal documents.

<sup>74</sup> *i.e.* Vishnu.

<sup>75</sup> *i.e.* in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.

<sup>76</sup> The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.

<sup>77</sup> I take *voidaka* as an abstract noun, derived from *voidha* 'bodiless.'

<sup>78</sup> The word of the original, so translated, is *śiraddham*, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.

<sup>79</sup> The names of these two villages form in the original a Dravida compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.

<sup>80</sup> See above, verse 25.

<sup>81</sup> Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word *pāṭaka* here differs from that of *pallikā*. On *pāṭaka* see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 136.

The illustrious Simharāja's *duśśādhyā*,<sup>82</sup> the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayūrapadra which he possessed in the *Khaṭṭakūpa viśaya*.

The illustrious Jayanarāja, the son of . . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikūpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one *viṃśopaka* on every *kūṭaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . . .<sup>83</sup> at Śākambhari.

And one *dramma* on every horse was assigned by the . . . . . of horse-dealers<sup>84</sup> from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrāpurikā a *pippalavālikā*<sup>85</sup> field, at the village of Nimbadikā a *darbhāṭikā* field, at Marupallikā a *jhāṭa* field, at Harsha a *lāṭa* field, at . . . . [ka]-lāvaṇapadra a *sekyuka* field; likewise here at . . . . .<sup>86</sup> a big plough of land.

(Verse 49.) Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

## IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLĪ.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archaeological Survey officers of the Panjāb circle at diverse places in the former *Sūba* of Dillī.

### I.—JHAJHAR (جھجھر; in inscr. No. 5 جھجھر).

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in the Rohtak District. It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dillī. The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dillī, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers. Many ruins testify its later importance. In 657 A.H. it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nuṣrat Khān (*Tab. Nās*, p. 274); in 756 Firōz Shāh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 *krōḥ* (Firishta, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the *Ain-i-Akbarī* it is registered with 128,417 *bīghas*, 1,422,451 *dāms*, *Sayūrgḥāl* 306,461 *dāms*, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghāns and Jats. In A. H. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abu'l Ma'ālī, who was set free from his confinement at

<sup>82</sup> This word apparently denotes an office. In other inscriptions we find *duśśādhyasādhanika*.

<sup>83</sup> The word here left untranslated is *dhāmaka-detyā* about the reading of which there is no doubt. *Deśī* apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Peheva inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes 'a guild;' and in that case *dhāmaka* should denote a class of traders. For *viṃśopaka* see *viṃśopaka*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 166. *Kūṭaka* probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).

<sup>84</sup> The original has *heḍāṭika* instead of *heḍāṭuka*, which occurs in the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya II, 30.

<sup>85</sup> The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.

<sup>86</sup> The words here omitted I do not understand.

Bayāna by Khān Khānān, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A.D., but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kālī Masjid, now in the house of Mardān 'Alī Shāh Bhattiān in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines<sup>1</sup>:—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له مثله في الجنة  
بنا كرد اين مسجد مجلس عالي خان اعظم بركزيه رحمان مربي جهان  
دارد خان بن مغفور مرحوم ملك الشرق علاء الدوله والدين ملك ميان افغان  
سلمه الله عن الحداثات و توج توابه بتاج الرضوان الخامس والعشرين من رمضان سنة تسع و تسعين  
وسبعماية

"The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says,—‘He who builds a mosque for Allāh, will have built for him a house like it by Allāh in Paradise.’"

"This mosque has been built by the high *Majlis*, the great Khān, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—

"Dāūd Khān, the pardoned deceased son of the Malik Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Waddīn Malik Miyān, the Afghān;—

"May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazān 799 [22nd June 1397]."

The date falls in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 304.

2. Over the *mīhrāb* of the Bāzārwallī mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
في زمانة عمدة الخلافت باسط العدل و رافت جلال الدين  
محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بناء مسجد ساخته مكرمه  
و محسنه بيكه لطباع نواب روميخان فرمايش سرکار خراج كتر  
في التاريخ السابع والعشرين ٢٧ من شهر رجب رجب قدره سنة سبعين تسعمائة ٩٧٠

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar *Bādishāh-t-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

<sup>1</sup> Here, at Strassburg, I am unable to refer to the *Tārīkh-i Badaoni*, the *Jaunpurnāma*, the *Miftāḥ attawārīkh*, Stewart's *History of Bengal* and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, *hamzas* or *tashdids*, the poetry excepted; but I have omitted the signs of the short vowels and the *jazmas* which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found, I have consulted Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To Dr. S. Landauer I am obliged for his kind assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.

reign! the erection of the honoured

"And beautiful mosque<sup>3</sup>, the lady over natures (?), has been made by the *Nawāb* Rūmī Khān, governor of the *sarkār* Khwāj Katōr<sup>3</sup> (?),

"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]."

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rūmī Khān, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the *Āin* (No. 111, p. 424), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rūmī Khān Ustād Jalabī.<sup>4</sup>

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shāh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 19", bearing the six lines:—

براه حق رحمت افیق چون داد بنا این مسجد را عزم افتاد  
 بدور شه جلال الدین اکبر که ایام بکام او مقرب باد  
 چو کس برسد بدین توان نوکشت محمد روست ابراهیم دلشاد  
 یقین او همدم است با راصلان حق که خاطر خستگان می سازد آباد  
 بتخصیص انک با قطب زمانه سر خدمت بجا می آرد استاد  
 چو مقصود جهانست بنده شاه خدایا عر او را جاوران باد  
 که نه صد بد نوزن شمس رده رینگ شهر رمضان که آنرا کرد بنیاد  
 وصل الله علی محمد  
 زما توف خراستم اتمام تاریخ ندایم جام سجده فیض ده داد

۹۷۱

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"When God the only one, put away (*my*) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

"In the time of the king Jalāl addin Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (*also*) is happy through him.

"He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.

"To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters.

"As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!

"When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazān that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muḥammad!

<sup>1</sup> *Lāqib* has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps *afūd* is to be read and *Bāga-ga* (i.e. *Bāg-i*) *afūd* synonymous with *daryā khānāra*—Bābar's *Memoirs*, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> The reading Katōr is somewhat doubtful; the word may be Ganaur or Kanaum, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known *sarkārs* of the Moghul empire. The same strange use of *farmāyish* occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.

<sup>3</sup> More famous was the homonymous *mīr dāsh* of Humāyūn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chander by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujardāt, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sulṭān Bahādur's parrot in Khāfi Khān's *Muntakhab al-lubāb*. The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persian Shāhs, a fact that Shāh Tahmāsp I. in vain attempts to deny in his *Memoirs* (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Straassburg, Trübner).

'From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me '*jā (-yā) sijda fayz da'* (Bestow a place of adoration). 976.' [Ramazān 976 began on the 17th February 1569]."

The words of the *tārīkh* give only 975. The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand. I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4. Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miyān Rāib to the south of the Bāzārwallī Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19" by 15", bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings; it is no more used for religious purposes.

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله

کرده بناء عمارت مسجد میان رائب بن پیاره

فی التاریخ عشر من شر (sic) ذی الحجه

سنه ۹۸۹ فرمایش میان دارد

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;

"And I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyān Rāib, son of Piyāra, on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,

"In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (was) Miyān Dāūd."

5. The graveyard of Miyān Rāib is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buawalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27" by 13") bears the following inscription of four lines; the lettering is very poor:—

بدری شاه اکبر کز عدالت مبارکه تاج جهان را

ساختن [؟] چون دین بهتر محیر میان رایب ابن پیاره

قصه پر نور حجر سلامت کیان [؟] همواره

سنه الفه اتنه (sic) ماه رمضان محمد درلتیاره ارتاجی [؟] .....

"In the time of Shāh Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world

"Miyān Rāib, son of Piyāra.

"The town full of light, Jajar, is the repose of all nobles;

"In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazān [began the 21st May 1591] . . . ."

The marble gravestone itself measures 3' 8" by 10½". It contains the *Kalima* and the words *qabr-i-Miyān Rāib*; round the open middle space runs the *Fātiḥa*. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved 'هرچه آمد برنت Whatsoever came has gone'.

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd as-Samad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21" by 17"), containing the following six lines:—

خوش رواجیست دین اسلامی در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین

یا الهی بباد سال هزار عدل ر انصاف استوار متین

کرد مسجد بنی اسمعیل      ابره رایب که ارست طالب دین  
 سال تاریخ از خرد جستم      خرم رهنمون هزار و عشرين  
 گوشه شیني فقير عبدالصمد      ابن مکن که قوم عباسين  
 از طفيلي محمد عربي      دين داران بروزه خلد برين

Metre : *Khafif*.

"In a good career is the faith of Islām in the time of the king Nūraddīn (Jahāngir)  
 O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

"This masjid has been built by Ism'aīl Īrah Rāib, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (*said*) to me '1020' [began 16th March 1611].

"(I), a hermit, the poor 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the 'Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muḥammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

In No. 11 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khān in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12½", are two lines, and flower arabesques:—

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله  
 تاريخ دروازه رستم خان ابن محمد خان سربني سنه ۱۰۲۹

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sarbanī (*is*) 1029' [began 8th December 1619].

"Jahāngir elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khān; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarāt. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwēz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shāhjahān. *Iqbāl. Jah.* 209, *Waq'āt-i Jah.* in Elliot's *History*, vol. VI, p. 388."

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4' 7½" by 9", is an inscription of two lines; (*not in situ*):—

بدور جهانگیر شاه جهان شد این روضه پر نور حسن شهید  
 تاریخ این روضه را کسی هزار و سی و پنج سالش کشید

Metre : *Mutaqarib*.

"In the time of Jahāngir, the king of the world, this light tomb of Ḥasan Shāhid has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhānwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4' 11" by 8½", contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are

missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

بجهدالله که در چهار کلام . . .	نهایت خوبی چهار . . .
بدر شاه نورالدین جهانگیر	که عالی تر ز شاهان جهانست
بنای کرد رستم خان محمد خان	که در زمین بمثلش بی نشانست
. . . . .	
(مرتب شد عمارت) بتاریخ دهم از ماه رجب	بس الف و پنج و سی

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"In the time of Shāh Nûraddîn Jahāngir, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khān,<sup>6</sup> son of Muḥammad Khān, has built it, who has not his like on the earth."

In the verses that follow the beauty of the mosque is described. The building was completed on the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 [the 7th April 1626].

10. Over the north-west arch of a small *burj* on the west side of the tank of Shāh Ghāzī Kamāl, a short distance north of the town, is a red sandstone, measuring 4' 11" by 8", and containing eight hemistichs, arranged in two lines:—

در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین	حوض نادر مثال کرد نشان
رای رایان رای در کمال	بهر راحت فراخ خلق جهان
سال تاریخ از خرد جستم	خرم گفت در غلر بدان
کوششینی فقیر عبدالصمد	ابن مکن که صاحب عرفان
سنه هزار سی و شش بود	

Metre: *Khafif*.

"In the time of the king Nûraddîn the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

"Of Râi Râyân Râi Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

"I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spoke to me 'Know it in *ghulâw*.'

"(I) the poor hermit 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge.

"The year was 1036" [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Kalāl Khān's masjid, half a mile outside Jhajhar towards the east near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2' 9" by 7½", sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines:—

بلطف و کرم عنایات کارساز جهان	شده مرتب و موجود این بلند مکن
بنای مسجد عالی کلال خان کرده	بدر عهد خلایق پناه شاه جهان
بسال سی و نهم یک هزار شد موجود	خدای عز و علا داردش بامن و امان

Concerning Rustam Khān, see above No. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Corrected from بنای خلایق



Metre: *Mujtass*.

"By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

"Kalâl Khân has built this high mosque in the time of Shâhjahân, the refuge of men.

"It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security."

## II.—PÂNIPAT.

Pânipat lies to the north of Dihli, as the *Akbarnâma* (II, 35) says 30, according to the *Munt. allub*. (I, 50) 40, *krôhs* distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pândavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the *débris* of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muḥammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bâbar, in his *Memoirs*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Timûr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lôdî near Pânipat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of Pânipat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sultân Muḥammad Anghulî, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Târikh-i-salâtîn-i-Afâghina*; Elliot's *History*, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zamân, conquered Hêmu on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his *Tuzaq*, speaks of Pânipat as of a place 'which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors' (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Husain Mîrzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pânipat. In A.D. 1761 Ahmad Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâthas.

The *Âin* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 *bîghas*, its revenues were 10,756,647 *dâms*, 3,540, 632 *say dâms*, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghâns, Gûjars and Ranghars. Two learned men born at Pânipat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the *Lawâih* and other excellent works (Badâunî, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (*Âin*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hâfiz Jamâl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (8' 8" by 13½") which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots:—

امر بنا هذه العماره في عهد السلطان المعظم علا الدين والدني ابراهيم المظفر

مسعود شاه سلطان و حاكم ملوك ... بركة ميرزا مظفر منصور علا دهر الدولة والدني [ان]

سعد الامرا بهلول السرب (?) . . . مرجون (?) السلطاني اعز الله ... في المنصب من سول

سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة

"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunyâ waddîn Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign . . . . . of Pargana Munk, Muzaffar Manşûr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddîn,

"(son) of the chief of the Amîrs, *Pahlawân ashsharq* . . . , the defunct, the royal—may God increase his . . . . !—in the middle of Shawwâl 643" [began the 19th February 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ûd Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Fîrôz Shâh and succeeded Bahrâm Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title *Badr addîn*, which Malik Badr addîn Şunqar-i-Rûmî (put to death in 639) had before him (*Tab. Nâş* 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuşrat Khân Şunqar-i-Şûfî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, e.g. in the *Biyyâz assalâtin*, p. 284—Malik Şunqar-i Şûfî must have been named Badr addîn, but in the reign of Maḥmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a *persona grata* than under Mas'ûd, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Muḥazzab addîn to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amîrs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâşiri* among the Shamsî Maliks, for Minhâj addîn gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Maḥmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

*Pargana Munk* has been identified by General Cunningham (*Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicæa of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the *Āin*, but it occurs once in the *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.\*

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addîn in the east of Pânîpat is a sandstone slab (2' 8½" by 19") bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached:—

باني این عمارت فیروز محمد لطف الله افغان باني یخچیر در عهد سلطان السلاطین  
سکندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان بکر باری تعالی توفیق یانت تا کنبد حظیره بندکی شیخ  
المشایخ والا زلیاء شیخ جلال الحق والشرع والدين قدس الله سره  
العزیز برادر بتاریخ درم ماه شوال سنه اربع و تسعمایه

"The builder of this edifice is Fîrôz Muḥammad Luṭfallâh, the Afghân. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlâl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alḥaq washshar' waddîn—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwâl, 904" (13th May 1499).

\* Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziyâ al Mulk is mentioned several times in the *Akbarnāma*, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the *Āin* Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farîd Bakhtî; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abû Nâşir were sent as ambassadors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became *bakshîgar* of the army sent against Bir Singh Dôv Bundôla, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The *Āin* names him only as a chief of 360.

The words *Bānt-yī in khair* in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pānpatī should be read, written بانی بتی). In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalāl addīn. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shāh Lōdī's reign.

### III.—SEWĀH.

14. In Sewāh, 4 miles south of Pānpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bāyazīd. A sandstone, measuring 13" by 9", over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines :—

بنا نموده کنبد سید بایزید شهید  
بلر ولد نیت ساکن موضع سواه  
سنه ۴ فرخ سیري

"The dome of Sayyid Bāyazīd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewāh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar."

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahāndār Shāh's reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabī'al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt. allub.* II, 737.

### IV.—SONPAT ( سرنپتہ ، سرنی پت ، سرنپت ).

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Ann* it is registered with 283,299 *bēghas*, 7,727,323 *dāms*, 775,105 *say. dāms*, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghāns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Naṣīr 'Ābidallāh ibn Aḥmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khān, son of 'Alā addīn Muḥammad Khiljī, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭūta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Naṣīr, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dihlī road, is a sandstone slab (7' 6" by 17") which bears an inscription\* of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy :—

تجدد هذه العمارة المسجد المباركة المعمورة في بركة السلطان الاعظم طلال الله في العالم عباد الدنيا والدين  
العايم بناسد الرحمن ابن المظفر نلس السلطان  
ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الصعيف مير نيك ن اي بيك مقطع سرنپت  
في التاريخ داردهم ماء مبارك رجب عظم الله حرمه سنه سبعين و ستمانه

"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, *Ghiyāth addunyā waddīn*, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

\* See the facsimile No. i on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.

I.—SONPAT INSCRIPTION OF GHIVÂS AD DÎN BALBÂN, A.H. 670.



Scale: 12-100ths.

II.—ONE SIDE OF A PILLAR AT SONPAT, A.H. 884.



Scale: 1-7th.

III.—MAHIM INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 949.



*Gulam Hussein, impress.*

Scale: 2-8ths.



Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave Mîr Beg, son of Âi Beg, the *muqî* of Sonpat. Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670" [13th February 1271].

Three other inscriptions of Balban's time are extant: the first from Barwâla, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Garhmukhtêsar in the Mîrat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dihlî*, p. 136); and the third from Sakit in sarkâr Qanauj, 684 A.H. (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1874, May, p. 104<sup>vo</sup>).

16. In a part of the graveyard of Imâm Naşîr a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences. Its dimensions are 6' 2½" by 1' 3½" by 10¼". It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls. The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome *Ta'âlîq*; round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters. As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends. That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, *viz.* the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of Buhlâl Lûdî.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzêb, and that it is the tomb of some Pir Yûsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself. The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head; it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts. Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten. This beautiful object should be protected.

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre: *Ramal*):—

کر سرا پرده قدر تو بر افلاک بود عاقبت زیر سرت زیر خشت خاک بود

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راست کن کار خود امروز که عمرت برجاست که جو لخر شودت عمر بود کار تو راست

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished."

Both sides contain two *Rubâ'is* each<sup>11</sup>:—

تاکی ز اصول دین کم رگاست کنی از مطرب سادہ نغمہ درخواست کنی  
اهنگ نوای عین کم کن که اجل چندان نکذارد که نفس راست کنی

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

<sup>10</sup> Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban, *viz.* at Kôh, or 'Aligarh, A.H. 652, and at Manglaur in tahsil Rurki, A. H. 683; see A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pages 2 and 17.—*Ed. E. I.*

<sup>11</sup> See the facsimile No. ii of the right side of this stone on the plate.

"O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready."

گر کار برسم صاحب هوش کنی      زیبا سخنان اهل دل گوش کنی  
باکس نکنی بدی و نسبت بترکس      هرچند بدی کند فراموش کنی

"If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise.

"Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it."

خوش آنکه بآئینِ مرورت کیشان      راحت رسد از روی بدلِ درویشان  
از خلقِ نکر همیشه با خلقِ خدای      نیکی کند و عرض بچوید زیشان

"Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet.

"He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them."

خواهی از صحرای فنا پیروی      در ملک بقا رسیدن و آسودن  
باید سخت بذکر کردی جو خمش      خاموشی تو بفکر باید بودن

"If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

"Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind."

On the top are inscribed the *Kalima, Qorán, Sûra II, 256*, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the Imâm Naşir, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. F. G. Delmerick gives some information in the *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwāja Khizr's tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines:—

مرتب شد عمارت دهلیز حظیره میان خواجه خضر بن دریا خان سرزانی رحمة الله علیهما یم الاتین  
الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة ثمان عشرين  
و تسعماية فی عهد السلطان العادل البازل الرائق بتأیید الرحمان ابوالمظفر ابراهیم شاه بن اسکندر شاه  
بن بهلول سلطان و سلطانه خلد لقناد<sup>22</sup>

"The portico of the tomb of Miyan Khwāja Khizr, son of Daryā Khān Shīrwānī—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th Shawwāl, 928 [7th September 1522].

"In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Iskandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"

<sup>22</sup> The second last words are uncertain.

18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 5½" by 11". It runs—

بعون الله تبارك وتعالى وفضله عمارت كنبد این حظیره بندگی میانی معظم و مکرم میانی خواجه خضر  
مرحوم مغفور بن دریا خان بن شیخ المشایخ شیخ احمد بن ملک المشایخ شیخ مندرکی درویش شیروانی  
علیهم الرحمة والغفران  
مقطع قصبه سونپت در عهد حضرت سلطان السلاطین محمد قواعد الاسلام و الدین ظل الله فی العالمین  
الرائق بتایید الرحمن [ ابو ] المظفر ابراهیم شاه بن سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد ملکه و سلطانه تمام شد  
بفرمایش لنگر خان خضر در پانزدهم ماه رجب قدره سنه ثلثین وتسعمایه

"With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miyân Khwāja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryâ Khân, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Ahmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandûki Darwêsh of Shîrwân—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

"The *muqti*' of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islâm and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khân Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930" [19th May 1524].<sup>12</sup>

19. Over the central outer arch of a small *masjid* in the *sarâi* near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21" by 13"), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house:—

یا الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله یا عامر اغفر زنوبی (sic) یا الله  
اسی حظیره علیخان برادر محمود خان افغان مقطع قصبه سونپت راسب کفایت در عهد بابر بادشاه درم ماه  
مفر سنه سبع و ثمانی و تسعمایه

"O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!

This tomb has been built by 'Alî Khân, brother of Maḥmūd Khân, the Afghân, *muqti*' of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bâbar Padishâh, on the second of the month Šafar 937' [25th September 1530].

'Alî Khân belonged to the Farmulî tribe and is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memoirs* as 'Umdat al A'yân 'Alî Khân Shaikhzâda-ya Farmulî, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his *Akbarnâma*.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imâm Naṣîr, is a sandstone slab (3' 5" by 1' 3") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:—

بعالم هیچکس زینسان بنای ندیده تا بنای روزگارست  
بدروان شهنشاهی ایمانند که در میدان مردی شهریارست

<sup>12</sup> Both inscriptions have been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 94, *et seq.* Mr. Delmerick there identifies the Khwāja Khizr with the homonymous Khân, who is several times mentioned by Firâibî.

<sup>13</sup> Corr. from نایند



جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر آن کل      که از بستن معنی یادگارست  
 جهانگیری که چون خاقان رقیصر      غلام و جاکرش مرسوم آرست  
 امیری کشته بانی این بنا را      که طرح درخت او استوارست  
 امیر کشور شوکت علی درست      که روز رزم چون اسپندیارست  
 عدالت‌پیشه چون او ندیدم      که در ملک عدالت شهریارست  
 چرخستم از خرد سالی بنایش      بگفتا نهصد و شست و چهارست

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time ;  
 "It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—  
 "Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden ;  
 "A conqueror of the world, who makes (*men*), as the emperor of China and the Caesar, his accustomed servants and slaves.  
 "An Amir was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—  
 "The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'Alī Dōst, who is like Ispandiyār on the day of battle.  
 "I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.  
 "When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 964'" [began the 4th November 1556].

'Alī Dōst Khān Bārbēgi (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'Alī, is mentioned in the *Akbar-nāma* (II, 69), 963 A.H. as one of Tardī Beg's officers in the war against Hēmd. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to Persia (I, 228). In 984 he was attached to Shihābaddīn Aḥmad Khān; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Faṭḥ Dōst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qāzizādas, in the Mahalla of the Qāzizādas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2' 6" by 10", which contains three lines :—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 خوشا تعمیر مسجد زیر افلاک      صفایی عرش جو خوش‌بوی عنبر  
 زمانی شد بشاهی جان عالم      جلال‌الدین محمد شاه اکبر  
 شده تاریخی (sic) بنا او مسلم      بامر قاضی احمد با پنج دگر  
 ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه تسع و ستین و تسعمایه

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"There is no God, etc.  
 "Well ! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—  
 "Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh.

"The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzi Aḥmad and five others (?).

"In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzizâdas mentioned in the *Akbarnâma* were all rebels, or *bad-andêsh* (*malicious men*); one being a partisan of Ma'sûm Khân; another who had the surname *khabltha-ya Mâwarannahr* (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma'âlî's command and attempting to murder Mâh Chochuk Begum, Prince Muḥammad Ḥakīm's mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mīrzâ Shâhrukh to murder Qâsim Khân.

22. Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2' 8" by 18") in five lines:—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

بعمد شهنشاه شاهجهان که اسلام را زینت و زیب داد

چنان مسجد ساخت قاضی نصر که خلق آورد سوی سجد چکاد

چو تاریخش از عقل جستم بگفت که مسجد برای خدا نرهاد

مرتب شد عمارت هذه المسجد المباركة الميمونة في التاريخ يازدهم شهر ربيع الاول سنة الف و ستين  
(Metre: *Mutaqârib*.)

'There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjahân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzi Naṣr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said 'He has newly built the mosque for God's sake'. The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabî'al awwal A. 1066" [8th January 1656].

23. In the southern wall, outside Imâm Naṣir's tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Naṣir's tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque; the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3' 8" by 4½". Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:—

عمارة هذا المسجد بنى القائد الحامل السند ابى بكر (؟) محمد بن الحسن العسولى ادام الله نوابها

فى المحرم سنة احدى وثمانين و الف و مائة

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muḥammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muḥarram of 1181."

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful; instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

#### V.—ROHTAK AND MAHIM.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin; in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of

Rāja Samanta Deva from about 920 A.D.<sup>16</sup> These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjāb, from Maḥmūd of Ghaznī till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihāb addīn Ghōrī, by Bābar, by Nādir Shāh, by the Marāṭhas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one *sarkār*, the older name of the tract of country being Hariāna. 'Abbās Khān states in his *Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī* (Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 415) that Shēr Shāh 'gave the *sarkār* of Sirhind to *masnad* 'Alī Khawās Khān as *jāgīr*, who kept in that *sarkār* his slave Malik Bhagvant at the capital Dihlī. Miān Aḥmad Khān Sarvānī was *amīr*, and 'Adil Khān and Hātim Khān *shiqdār* and *faujdār*.' If Dihlī was the capital of Malik Bhagvant's *sarkār*, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dihlī *sarkār*, and Mahim to *sarkār* Hisār Firōza. The *Ain-i Akbarī* has the following details concerning them: 'Mahim has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 *bighas*, 4,958,613 *dāms naqdī*, 84,202 *dāms sayurghāl*. The inhabitants were Tunvar Rājapāts and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot' (I, 527). 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,835 *bighas*, 8,599,270 *dāms naqdī*, 428,000 *dāms sayurghāl*. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khosrau, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobād's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahim, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak.<sup>18</sup> The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No. 33. below.

24. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Firōz Khān is now placed. It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible:—

تمام شد این بقعه شیر در... [ ؟ ] در عهد نیکر [ ؟ ] حضرت بابر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه  
ورضه بنتا [ ؟ ] مسند عالی [ ؟ ]  
فیروز خان بن مسند عالی احمد خان بن ... جمالخان مرحومین بتاریخ دهم ماه ربیع الاخر سنه اربع  
و ثلثین و تسعمائه

"This tomb ... has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bābar Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ..... the high *Masnad*

"Firōz Khān, son of the high *Masnad* Aḥmad Khān, son of ..... Jamāl Khān, both defunct, on the 10th Rabi'al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Firōz Khān is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* and in the *Akbarnāma*, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bābar after the victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Besides one *krōr* of *tankas*—(according to Bābar's *Memoirs*,—1 *krōr* 46 *lakhs* and 5,000 *tankas*, p. 384) from Jaunpūr, he received some *jāgīr* (*chīzī jāgīr*). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itāwah.

<sup>16</sup> Cunningham's *Reports Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XVI, p. 136.

<sup>18</sup> It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the *Tubaqāt-i Nāsirī*, p. 217, is not correct, as Captain Raverty states in his translation of that work, p. 693, note 7.

25. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *garhi*, or fort, of the Pathāns at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size  $16\frac{1}{2}$  by  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The *garhi* of the Pathāns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hānst :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر أمثالها ومن  
جاء بالسئنة فلا يجزى إلا مثلها وما توفيقى إلا بالله قال عليه السلام  
من بني مسجدا في الدنيا فله قصر في الجنة ٩٦٥١ ..... سنة ٩٤٥

“In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he

“Who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof.” My grace does not come through any one but God.<sup>17</sup> He (*the Prophet*), upon whom may God’s blessing be, has said :—

He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.’ 96,251 .....<sup>18</sup> A. 945’ ” [began the 30th May 1538].

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khiābān Mahalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn :—

بسم الله تعالى ورسوله بعمارت اين مسجد در عهد دولت نصير ..... محمد همايون بادشاه غازي  
خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه توفيق يافت الفقير برهان الجنة والدين  
محمد جمال ناگوري الششتي سنة خمس و اربعين و تسعمائة ٩٤٥

“With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Naṣir ..... Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādishāh-i Ghāzī—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

“Muḥammad Jamāl of Nāgôr, the Chishtī. In the year 945” [began the 30th May 1538].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humāyūn’s common title *naṣir addīn* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *naṣir* is not clear.

The Chishtīs are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishtī saints—*khwājagān-i chisht* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahānārā at Dihlī (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for November 1872, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions :—Qutb addīn Khān Chishtī, commonly known as Shaikh Khūbū (Blochmann, *Āin-Translation*, p. 496), the foster brother of Shāh Jahāngīr, in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December 1873, p. 199; Shaikh Faiz Allāh Chishtī, *ib.*, p. 200; Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shaikh Maḥmūd Chishtī, *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for April 1877, p. 94.

At Nāgôr, the birth-place of Muḥammad Jamāl of our inscription, was a Chishtī shrine.<sup>20</sup> A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubārak, the

<sup>17</sup> *Qordn*, Sūr. vi, 161 (E. H. Palmer’s translation).

<sup>18</sup> *Qordn*, Sūr. xi, 90.

<sup>19</sup> There follows a group like a rupee-sign turned upside down.

<sup>20</sup> See Cunningham’s *Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, vol. XIII, p. 51.

father of the poet Shaikh Faizî and of Abu'l Fazl, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubârak had already left Nâgôr.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokarân, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3' 2" by 2' 5") contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square در در جلال الدین محمد اکبر (in the time of Jalâl addin Muhammad Akbar)<sup>21</sup>:—

مست جان درویش سپهر مکرمت      کشته از جان بنده فرمان حق  
کرده از جان بقعه خیر الامر      شد از آن رخشا رقابل آن حق  
سوی آن مسجد هر آن کس رفته شد      عرق بحر لطف یابی (؟) ناپ حق  
زاهدی تاریخ این مسجد نوشت      گفت برکر معبد خاصان حق

*Metro: Ramal.*

"The Darwêsh Mastjân, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God ;

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity).

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)

"Zâhidî (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque ; he said, ' Say "A temple of God's favourites".' "

The letters of the *târîkh* give 966 [began 14th October 1558].

28. A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dâk Banglâ of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dihlî road, bears an inscription of three lines ; its dimensions are 17" by 16". On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost :

ساخت شمشیر خان زلف الله کنبد

بر سر قبر پیر صافی دل ما

تسعماية خمس سبعین سال است هجر [ ت ]

"Shamshêr Khân has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pîr Şâfi-Dil 'Â...975 H. is the year" [began 8th July 1567].

Shamshêr Khân was *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak, A. H. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the *Akbarnâma*. In 987 he was *Khwâjasardî* and was sent to Bihâr to quell the disturbances which had broken out there ; and to Bengal, together with Râi Purukhôt, Maulânâ Tayyib, and Shaikh Najm addin (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pâtna, Shamshêr Khân was despatched to Banâras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Râja Bîr Bar, Qâsim 'Alî Khân, and Hakîm Humâm. (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Ahmâdnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The border contains the passage from the *Qordn*, Sûra ii, 256.

<sup>22</sup> According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshêr Khân lies buried at Batâla ; I know nothing about him.

29. In the wall of the Dogawalli masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19" by 16") is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs:—

اسعد [ان لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله] . . . . .  
 ثانی . . . . . بنوین الله در عهد ملک حلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه عاری  
 . . . . . خلد الله ملکه  
 . . . . . سنه ۹۷۹

"The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalāl addīn Muḥammad Akbar *Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*,—may God perpetuate his kingdom !...anno 979" [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19" by 2½", in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—*sana* 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2' by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, *Sūra* xlvi, 1.

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4' 2½" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the *Qorān*: *Bismillāh*, *Sūra* ii, 256-59 incl., *Kalima*, *Sūra* cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhōbī Gate in the *Mahalla* of Wazīr Khān, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines:—

بعون الله تعالى ورسوله بناء ابن عمارت در عهد دولت  
 و خلافت ابوالفتح شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثاني  
 . . . . . شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملکه ناهمام خادم المرا  
 پورخان ابن سرخان سرور با تمام رسيد في غره ماه محرم سنه ۱۰۴۳

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fath Shihāb addīn Muḥammad, the second *Shāh-jirdn*" (Timūr)

"Shāhjahān Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

"Pīr Khān, son of *Sarkhān*, the *Sarwad*[*at* ?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muḥarram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khāna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamāl Khān. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

\* Elsewhere Shāhjahān is named ثاني صاحب قران a phrase which is to be interpreted *Thānī-yi Shāh-jirdn*, see Rüchert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, p. 240, note 1, and Teufel, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. XXXVIII (188), p. 253, note. Titles such as *Thānī-yi Iskandar-i-daurān* or *Thānī-yi Iskandar-i Zāl qarnain* and others occur very often.

years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطين جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه غازي  
 مقبول الرحمن جمال خان بن منصور ررضه توفيق يافت راست كنانيد جمال خان را اميد خواب كه  
 يابد من تاريخ ذي القعدة (؟) سنة الف و مائة

"In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-addîn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishâh-i-Ghâzî,

"The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khân, son of Manṣûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khân has hope that he will obtain reward. In the *Zîlq'ada* A. 1100" [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzêb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Râjpûts, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the *julâs* name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king's son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marâṭhas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan.\*

34. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pîrzâdas is a red sandstone, measuring 19" by 16", which bears an inscription of five lines:—

در عهد حضرت دولت (sic) شهنشاه عالم پناه ظهيرالدين محمد ناصر

غازي پادشاه خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنده درگاه مهري

الفقيه حقير جانيرو سنو اغا ابن شيخ سنو ساكن حصار شاهماني

بتوفيق الله تعالى توفيق يافت مسجد در قصبه مهم راس كنانيد حق تعالى

مجاوب و مستجاب كرداند بمنه و فضله بتاريخ بجم ماه ربيع الاول سنة ست و سعمائة

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahiraddîn Muḥammad Bâbar

"*Ghâzî Bâdîshâh*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

"The poor, base Janyu Sunu Âghâ, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

"Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build<sup>25</sup> the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

"Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom!—On the fifth Rabi' al awwal 936" [7th November 1529]

\* It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word is *samân* and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself.

<sup>25</sup> *Ras* or *râst kânânidan* with the meaning 'to build,' occurs several times in the inscriptions. In 19 and 33 *râst* has distinctly been engraved.

IV.—INSCRIPTION OF HUMAYUN FROM MAHIM, ROHTAK DISTRICT, OF A.H. 937







35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jāmi' Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3' 1" by 2' 2½" and consists of five lines<sup>26</sup>:—

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین مری السیرر السلطنة  
والخلافة حصرت محمد همامین بادشاه عازی حلدانله ملکه و سلطانه واعلی امره و سانه حصرت معزول  
الدارین نکه بکم سلطان سربنده الدین کردنه درگاه امیر نادکار طعاء بدوین الله تعالی  
بدوین نامب مسجد جامع قصه مهم راس کزاند الله تعالی محاب و مستجاب  
کرداند بنده وصاله و کمال کزومه بداریم هعتم ماه رحب سده سنع و دلبس و سعماده

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

"And Khalifat, his Majesty Muḥammad Humāyūn *Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

"To the palace of Baga Bēgum Sultān," the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amīr Yādgar Taghāī, by the grace of God Almighty

"Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

"Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531]."

Respecting Yādgar Taghāī the *Akbarnāma* furnishes the following information: One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamān, son of Humāyūn, anno 934 (I, 113)<sup>27</sup>; and she most probably is the Baga Bēgum Sultān of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madīna in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hājī Bēgum. Afterwards she lived at Dihlī, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dihlī (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hājī Bēgum, who with other Bēgums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamān's mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hājī Bēgum in his *Āin*-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the *Akbarnāma*, II, 243 the words *dukhtar-i-Taghāī* are to be understood 'a daughter of (Yādgar) Taghāī.'

Over the *mihrāb* in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8' 5" by 10½") is fixed which contains in two lines *Qorān*, Sūra lxii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the *mihrāb* runs the *Kalīma* and *Qorān*, Sūra, iii, 16-17 (to *al-islāmu*).

The Jāmi' mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078, by Aurangzēb's order.

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

<sup>26</sup> See the facsimile reproduction No. iv on the accompanying plate.

<sup>27</sup> The words *maqḥūl addrīn Baga Bēgum Sultān saz [d] yīda addīn* are perhaps uncertain.

<sup>28</sup> Bābar mentions in his *Memoirs* the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abu-l Wahid, p. 369. According to the *Memoirs*, Alamān's mother was a daughter of Yādgar Taghāī. For Bābar's not agreeing with the name of Alamān see p. 451 (Pavet de Courteille, tome II, p. 363).

Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather:—

در عهد دولت شهنشاه عالم پناه حضرت محمد همایون بادشاه  
خلد الله ملکه عمارت هذه المسجد توفیق یافت .....  
.... قصابان قصبة مهم راس کنانید بتاریخ ماه شعبان سنه اثني و اربعین و تسعمائة

"In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muhammad Humâyûn Bâdishâh—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom!—..... found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim. During the month of Sha'bân of the year 942" [began the 25th January 1536].

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription. A butcher's mosque is also mentioned at Nâgôr.<sup>20</sup> The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzêb's time, see inscription No. 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer *in situ*. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the Qas̄ayân<sup>21</sup> at Mahim. The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpûr, the Daulatâbâd of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4' by 11½:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انا فتحنا لك فتحاً مبيناً كشاد باد بشادي هميشه اين درگاه سخر اشهد ان لا اله الا الله  
در عهد دولت تندر كحضرت سليمانتي شير شاه حسن سر سلطان توفيق یافت ببناء اين مسجد  
و مقام دولتاباد يوسف ابن حسن سر سيد عالي دولتخان  
باميد ثواب حديث نبوي من بني مسجد بني الله تعالى له قمرًا في الجنة والجنان ابقاه  
الله تعالى في الدنيا و رقه الله تعالى علي العدل والامسان  
في الحادي والعشرين من شهر المبارك المكرم شهر رمضان سنه نهصد چهل نه برد كه ميترسانيد  
الله الكريم الشعار

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory.<sup>22</sup> May this liberal door always be opened with joy! I testify that there is no god but God.

"In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, Shêr Shâh, the son of Hasan Sûr, Yûsuf ibn Hasan Sûr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkhan, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatâbâd,

"In the hope of the reward of the prophet's saying 'He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.'

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazân of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient.'

<sup>20</sup> Cunningham's *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> See facsimile No. iii, on the plate at p. 138. *Qas̄ayân* and *qas̄ayân* occur in Hindostânî (Shakespeare); see No. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Qorân* Sûr. xlviii, 1.

It is known that Shêr Shâh built numerous mosques and *kārawānsarâls*, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sahsarâm there exist some ruins of his time at Dihlî.<sup>22</sup> If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shêr Shâh's reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A.H.)

Yûsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shêr Shâh (*Târikh-i Shêrahâhî*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwâja Quṭb addîn (*Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pirzâdas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines:—

در عهد دولت حضرت بندگان خلافت بناء سلطان  
شهابالدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد  
خلافته ابدًا توفيق يافت شيخ ناصر ابن شيخ الهداد ماهمي سنة الف و خمسين واحد

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (of God), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king

"Shihâbaddîn Muḥammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Shâhjahân, *Bâdishâh-t-Ghâzî*—may (God) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever!—Shaikh Nâsir, son of Shaikh Ilâhdâd of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641].

Khâfi Khân, in his *Muntakhab allubâb* (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamîd in the *Bâdishâh-nâma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nâsir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Shâhjahân's time.<sup>23</sup> Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Khâfi Khân citing the *Shâhjahânnâma*.<sup>24</sup> I extract the following:—His original name was Nâsir Muḥammad; he was born at Ajmîr, and lived afterwards in Gujarât. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Sayyid Rafî'addîn, son of Sayyid Ja'far, from Shîrâz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jâmi' masjid is a red sandstone (3' x 1' 11½"), bearing nine lines:—

در عهد سعادت مہد حد و مد زمين  
و زمان خديرو مکين و مکان سلطان  
السلطين ظل الله في العالمين محمد اورنگزيب

<sup>22</sup> See Garcin de Tassy: 'Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d'après le texte hindoustani de Saïyid Aḥmad Khân,' *Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, *passim*, e.g. pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No. lvii), and 428 (No. lviii).

<sup>23</sup> The printed text of 'Abd al Hamîd has Shaikh Nâsir.

<sup>24</sup> Many histories of Shâhjahân's reign are so entitled.

بہادر عالم کبیر بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ  
 و سلطانہ تعمیر مسجد جامع قصبہ مہم حسب الحکم اقدس  
 باہتمام بندہ درگاہ خواجه رحمت اللہ باتمام رسید  
 اللہ تعالیٰ مجاہد و مستجاب کرداناد بمنہ و فضلہ  
 فی التاریخ ہفدہم شہر محرم الحرام سنہ ثمان و  
 سبعین و الف ہجری و سنہ عاشر جلوس مبارک

"In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth  
 And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king  
 "Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muḥammad Aurangzēb  
 Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom  
 "And his reign!—the repairing of the Jāmi' masjid of the town of Mahim,  
 according to the holy order,  
 "Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwāja Raḥmat  
 Allāh—  
 "May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and  
 wisdom!—

"On the 17th of the month Muḥarram, the holy, A.H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the  
 tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne."

Sarbuland Khān Khwāja Raḥmat Allāh was a man of great consequence  
 under Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbuland Khān received  
 this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shāhjahān (*Maāsir al*  
*Umarā*, II, 478), i. e. 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Mu'azzam,  
 whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person.  
 A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen  
 under Shāhjahān (*Bādshāhnāma*, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size : 11 by 7 inches),  
 now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qaṣṣāyān at  
 Mahim; the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short  
 time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut:—

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم  
 در عہد دولت و زمان (?)  
 ظل سبحانی ابر الظفر  
 محیی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب  
 بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ  
 و سلطانہ مسجد را قصابان  
 جہان کبیر (?) .....

ترتیب کرد در شہر رمضان سنہ تسعین و الف

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. In the time of the reign and  
 the life of the divine shadow Abu'l Zafar, Muḥyiddīn Muḥammad Aurangzēb

Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the mosque of the butchers . . . was rebuilt. In the month of *Ramazān* 1090" [that month began the 6th October 1679].

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible; the year may perhaps have been *sab'in*. It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No. 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards.

41. An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size 17½ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khān in the *garhī* of the Pathāns in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
يا الله يا فتاح	يا محمد يا نبي الله
ابن عمارت زبهر رب كريم	بانيش درله خان والاشان
پدرش بختيار نامررى	مغفرت دستگاه دريا خان
سال اتمام را بعقل ر تميز	مسجد مقبره زخان برخوان

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

"O God! O opener!

"This edifice for the merciful God"

"His father (*was*) a celebrated Bakh-tiyār,

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment:

"O Muhammad! O apostle of God!

"Its builder (*was*) Daula Khān of ele-

vated rank;

"Daryā Khān whose sins are forgiven.

"*Masjid [ū] miqbara zi Khān* 'mosque and tomb (*are built*) by the Khān."

The letters of the *tārīkh* give 1108 [began 31st July 1696)].

42. Daula Khān, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2' 8" by 1') will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بنده درگاه رحمانی  
 درله خان محمدی مرید کیلانی دانستم که چهار یار برحق این دنیا همه فانی توفیق یافت  
 در هنگام زندگانی این مقبره ساز ساخت از لطف ربانی در عهد اورنگ زیب  
 بادشاه ظل سبحانی بتاريخ ۱۴ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه یکهزار و یکصد و چهارده هجری باهتمام استا  
 ابرولد طیب معمار

'In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khān Muhammadī Murīd of Gilān—

"I knew that the four friends (*the Khalifs*) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace

"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzêh

"Bâdishâh, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month *Ramazân*, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1703]. Through the effort of the architect *Ustâ Abû Valad Tayyib*."

The inserted *Sunnî* dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula *ashhadu an lâ ilâha illallâh*, etc.

#### VI.—KHÔKARAKÔT (کھوکرو کٹ)

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamsêr Khân, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore.<sup>50</sup> Its dimensions are 2' 2" by 1' 7½" and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindi.<sup>51</sup> The Persian text runs—

در ایام سلطنت بندگان حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی  
خلد الله ملکه ابدًا رفته فی جنات ابا شمشیر خان شقدار پرکنه رهنات عمارت  
این دروازه بنیاد نهاد فی شهر المبارکه رمضان سنه نهصد و سه و هفتاد باتمام رسید

"In the days of the empire of the slave (of God), his Majesty Jalâl addin Muḥammad Akbar Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (and) his highness in Paradise!—Abû Shamsêr Khân, the *shiqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month *Ramazân* anno 978 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words *raf'atuhu fi jannati Abû* are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamsêr Khân of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

#### VII.—BOHM.

44. The village of Bohm (برهم) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihli. In the east wall of the tomb of one Mahmûd of Bohm, a stone (3' 9½" by 9") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the *Qordân*, Sûra ii, 256, is followed by these words:—

لا تحزنن ابراهيم عزف مواساغانی فرمایش علي قاضي بهائغان

"The writer (was) Ibrâhîm, known as Muwâsakhânî, by the order of 'Alî Qâzi Bahâikhân."

#### VIII.—HISÂR FIRÔZA.<sup>52</sup>

45. From a mosque outside the Dihli gate, situate in the Sarâi Nathûâ Bhatyârâ (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>50</sup> See the facsimile No. v, at p. 149.

<sup>51</sup> The Hindi inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A.D. 1566. The date is *Saivât* 1038, *Vaisâkha* *vedi* 15, which corresponds according to Dr. Schram's approximate tables to the 20th April 1566, if the year is taken as an ended northern (*padmaimanta*) *Vikrama*-year; the 20th April was the last of *Ramazân*. Akbar, Shamsêr Khân and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindi version.

<sup>52</sup> For a short historical account of the town of Hisâr Firôza, see Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1877, April, p. 92, ff., where some of the following inscriptions have been published.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدًا لله بني الله تعالى له بيتًا في الجنة  
بعد توفيق الله الملك العلام و برکت حضرت رسالت عم  
در عهد میمون و دولت ایام افزون خدایگان ناصر جهان عادل الزمان سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع  
رايات المجاهدات و المغازی محمد همایون پادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه  
و خلافته ابد على العالمين عدله و رافته بناكره و مزین گردانید این مسجد مرغوب بعمارت خوب بمرضات  
حضرت معبود بنده امیدوار رحمت پروردگار المستعین بالله<sup>۴۰</sup> القوي الرحمان نظر قلی ابن شاه قلیخان  
المعروف نظامالدين جاتم تركمان زادالله تعالى ما اعطاه و بلغه الى ما يتمناه بحرمه<sup>۴۰</sup> [سيد] الابرار  
والاخيار مورخا في الرابع من شهر شعبان ختمه الله بالظفر و الامان سنة ۹۳۹ كاتب جرنف عبدالله يوسف احمد  
بن ركن الدين

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise.' By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophetship—on whom be peace!—

"In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorāsān, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn, *Pādishāh-i Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his reign

"And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qulī, son of Shāh Qulī Khān,

"Who is known as Nizām addīn Jānym, the Turkman—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Sha'bān—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is 'Abdallāh Yūsuf Aḥmad, son of Ruknaddīn."

46. The inscription from the Jāmi' mosque of Hiṣār consists of nine lines, and measures 1' 11" by 1' 5". The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann's readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المسجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و انه لما قام عبدالله يدعو كاد  
يكونون عليه لبدا قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجدا يبتغي به وجه الله بني الله له في الجنة مثله  
تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دولت شهنشاه اعظم والحقان المعظم مالك رقاب طوايف الامم من الهند و الترك  
و العرب و العجم السلطان الفاضل الكامل الولي والوالي والحقان العادل العلي العالي الذي رجب اطلعه  
كاطاعة الله و رسوله بحكم اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولى الامر منكم حافظ بلاد الله  
ناصر عباد الله رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازی محمد همایون پادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالى

<sup>۴۰</sup> By no means السنجي

<sup>۴۰</sup> Added by Blochmann.



ملکہ رفی بحار اللطف اجری فلک بسعی جناب سعادت فرجام زبده فضلا الانام نتیجہ (امراء العظام

امیر محمد بن

عالیجناب امارتآب مملکت پناہ نظام الدین بیک میرک بن جناب المغفور المبرور خورشیدلہ ...

بن جناب مغفرت مآب ... ... "فردرس مکانی [؟]"

شد بنای مسجدی بہر خدا اندر حصار کر رفیع القدر آمد همچو کیوان سر بلند

پس کہ عالی قدر کیوان ہیئت و مرزوق فتاد ہر کہ دید افتاد اورا طرح این مسجد پسند

چون پسند آمد تمام اہل دل [؟] تاریخ از باب . . . . رحمت کفہ اند

کاتبہ و قایلہ نظام . . . . سنہ ۹۴۲

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! [*Qorân*, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19] 'the mosques are God's.' You should not call on any one with God, and 'when God's servant stood up to pray they (*the jinns*) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.' The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God's honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

"This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sultân, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the Prophet, according to (*Qorân*, Sûra iv, 62) 'Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,' the guardian of God's countries, the helper of God's servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâ'yûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi*—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Muḥammad, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizâmaddîn Beg Mirak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushgeldi . . . . , son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven . . . . .

(Metre: *Bamal*). "A mosque has been built in Hîşâr for the sake of God, which is as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

"Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque. Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogram is . . . . .

"Its writer and composer is Nizâm . . . . . A. 942" [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Bâbar's time, an officer of Prince Humâ'yûn (Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the fort of Chanâr, then just conquered (*Akbarnâma*, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Bâbar's *Memoirs*, pp. 410 ff.) ten grandees bear the title Nizâmaddîn, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter.

<sup>41</sup> I do not think that these words are correct.

47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hisār. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1' 4" by 2':—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجداً  
يبتغي به وجه الله تعالى بني الله له بيتاً مثله في الجنة در عهد  
ميمون و دولت افزون حضرت سلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و  
الدين رافع رايات المجاهدة و المعازي محمد همايون بادشاه غاضي خلد خلافته بانيه  
بترقيق الله الصمد امير معظم امير الخ بيلك ابن امير يوسف احمد مير اخور ركان في ٩٥١

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, 'He who builds a mosque for God

"Desiring thereby God Almighty's honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.' In the auspicious time

"And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

"And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his khalifat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (*was*) the great Amīr, Amīr Ulugh Beg, son of Amīr Yūsuf Aḥmad, the master of the horse. Dated in 951" [began 25th March 1544].

48. On a dome outside Hisār, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1' 6" by 1' 10", are four lines of very bad poetry—

خوشاررؤى كنبد جرن بهشت كل رخشيت از مشك و عنبر سرشت  
زانفاس باغش معطر دماغ روان سلسبيلي ز اشجار و كشت  
دبير فلک كشته بر كرد او كه تاريخ بر كنبد آمد نوشت  
سنه ٩٧٥  
هزار آفرين بر ابلي يزید كه حكمش بنياد بنهاد خشت  
كاتب كبير

(Metre: *Mutaqārib*). "How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum; its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris.

"From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed; and a *salsabīl* (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees.

"The secretary of heaven (*Mercury*) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567].

A thousand praises are due to Bāyazīd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabīr."

49. On a mosque in the yard of 'Shēr Buhlāl's mausoleum' outside Hisār, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2' 5" square, in six lines of well-formed *Nasta'liq*:—

يديرى شرح رسول مجتبي عبدالنبي  
آنكه دیدارش دهد آئینه دلرا جلا  
پیش صحن روضه بهلول شاه افتند طرح  
مسجدى عالي كه باشد مسكن اهل دعا

بی تکلف ہاتھی زد بانک کاین مصرع نویس  
در هزار یکصد و شش یافت اتمام این بنا

Metre: *Ramāl*.

"The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,' Abd-annabi,  
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,  
"Erected, before the courtyard of Shāh Buhlūl's mausoleum,  
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.  
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistich  
"This building was completed in 1106'" [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of *Qorān*, *Sūra* V. 98.

#### IX.—BARWĀLA.

Barwāla is now the head-quarters of a *taluk*, distant 18 miles north-east of Hisār. In the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Pargana Barwāla is mentioned as belonging to *Sarkār* Hisār. Its area was 136,799 *bighas*; the revenues were 1,097,807 *dāms* (109,052 *Say*, *dāms*); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzādas, Baqqāls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5" by 8" is in very bad preservation:—

امر بنیاد هذه المسجد فی عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدین والدین جلد ملکہ  
ابوالمظفر کنعباد السلطان محمد الاول والعمر تاج الدوله والدین  
السلطانی دام اقباله فی العره [؟] من ربيع الاول سنه ثمان و ستمائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu'izzaddunya waddīn—may (*God*) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqobād, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tājaddaula waddīn . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabi' al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289].

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of Kaiqobād,<sup>42</sup> son of Bughrā Khān, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbanī Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljīs.

51. A second Barwāla inscription is of Balban's reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3" by 11 inches:—

نور [؟] الاسلام والمسلمین ابوالمظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلدالله ملکہ و سلطانه  
دام اقباله فی العسرون من شهر المبارک رمضان عمت مئامه سنه ثمان و ستمائة

"The light of Islām and of the Muslims Abul-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—  
may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazān—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282].

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No. 15.

<sup>42</sup> Another inscription of Kaiqobād, dated A.H. 686, exists in the Saddo masjid at Amrohd, Murādābād district, North-Western Provinces, (see A. Führer; l. c., page 36).—Ed. E. I.

## X.—FATHĀBĀD.

52. In the town of Fathābād is a round sandstone pillar, 10' 2" high and 6 1½" in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shāh himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bān 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh."

## XI.—HĀNSI."

53. On the Dīnī mosque, near the Sarāgyān mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

بتمن حدای علام و برکت مصطفی علیه السلام در عهد ممدی و نول همایی  
 حدانکن عالمند بادسہ اسلام راعی الانام فیروز ساد السلطان خلدانلہ ملکہ  
 و سلطانہ بندہ درگاہ ساهن سلطانی بنارنج غره دی الفصدہ سنہ سبع و سنن و سبحانہ ابن مسجد بنا کرد

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace!—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islām, the shepherd of the people, Fīrōz Shāh, the King—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Šāh(i)n, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqa'da, 767" [10th July 1366].

54. From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1' 3" by 1", evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

و مظهر کلمة [ الله ] ناصر امير المومنین

".....and who manifests the word of God," the helper of the Lord of the faithful."

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?). It consists of two lines (2' 13" by 30") and belongs to the reign of Iltimish (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdūm Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from *Qarān*, Sūra ix, 19.

\* I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathābād. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulām Husain, one of Mr. C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjāb inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zīn ud Dīn, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathābād trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did.

\* For the history of the town of Hānsi, see *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1877, 117, fig.

\* These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shāh in an inscription from A.H. 906 (see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).

## X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

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

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badāl,<sup>1</sup> in the Dinājpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription; and his translation was published in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir William Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Pandit Harachandra Chakravarti, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratāpachandra Ghosha, will be found in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess' request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5" long,—which cover a space of from 1' 8½" to 1' 10" broad by 1' 7½" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen *aksharas* at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged *aksharas* in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{7}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrāwā inscription, of which a lithograph is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, Vishṇubhadra, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Before *v* the consonant *m* has been retained, instead of being changed to *anusvāra*, in *saṃvṛita*, line 6, *bhrāntam* = *vikaṭam*, line 8, *saṃvalgitāś*, line 9, *satām* = *vismayaś*, line 10, *vāchām* = *vaidhavam*, line 20, and *tā-dṛīṣam* = *vyadhita*, line 24; and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been used in *vanśe*, lines 1 and 26, and *vanśasya*, line 21; and the dental nasal in *pānsuḥ*, line 7. We also have *-saṃśt* for *-saṃś*, line 17, and *-saṃghater* for *-saṃghater*, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of *saṃdhi* have not been observed in *vidhivat Rallā*, line 11, and *-ptān chatur*, line 13; and that the sign of *avagraha* has been exceptionally employed in *'bhidhā'bhavat*, line 17, and *'tāro'vadat*, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhman,

<sup>1</sup> See Montgomery Martin's (Buchanan Hamilton's) *Eastern India*, vol. II, page 672. [Badāl Kacheri is in the south of the Dinājpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Mangaltārī, which is on the borders of the Sagunā pargana of the Bagurā (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Damdamā station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badāl is in Long. 88° 58' E., Lat. 25° 5' N. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (Conf. Hunter's *Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii, p. 451, and vol. viii, p. 198)—J. B.]



From impression by H. H. W. Garrick.

Scale: 3-8th of original.

named Rāma Guravamiśra. But the inscription is really a *prāśasti*, or laudatory account, of Guravamiśra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pāla kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brāhmanas were counsellors or ministers.

In the race of Śāṇḍilya there was one [Vishnu?]; in his lineage was Viradeva; in his family Pāñchāla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharmapāla), 'the regent of the east' (vv. 1-2). Garga married Ichchhā, and their son was Darbhapāni, who became minister of the king Devapāla (vv. 3-7). He, again, married Śarkarādevī, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Rallādevī (v. 10); and their son was Kedāramiśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauḍa (whom I understand to be Devapāla)<sup>2</sup> is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hāṇas, Draviḍas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intimated to have consecrated the king Śūrapāla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedāramiśra married Vavvā, a lady born at Devagrāma (v. 16), and she bore to him Rāma, called Guravamiśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nārāyaṇapāla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brāhman is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as *dātaka* in the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.<sup>3</sup>

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pāla], Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śūrapāla, I readily adopt Dr. Hörnle's suggestion<sup>4</sup> that he is identical with the Vighrahapāla of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nārāyaṇapāla. But regarding the Pāla kings in general my views differ from those of Dr. Hörnle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nārāyaṇapāla were: his son Rājyapāla; his son Gopāla II.; his son Vighrahapāla II.; his son Mahipāla; his son Nayapāla; and his son Vighrahapāla III.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . .<sup>6</sup> शाण्डिल्यवर्धुभूमीरदेवस्तदन्वये ।

पाञ्चालो नाम तन्नोत्रे गर्भस्तस्मादजायत ॥<sup>7</sup> — [1.]

यत्रः पुरोदिशि पतिर्भूः दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्जित एव

2.

— उ : [1\*]

धर्मः कृतस्तद्विपस्वखिलासु दिङ्गु स्वामी मयेति विजहास ह(वृ)हस्पतिं यः ॥<sup>8</sup> — [2.]

पत्नीञ्छा नाम तस्यासीदिच्छेवान्तर्विर्वर्तिनी ।

निसर्गनिर्गलज्जिग्धा कान्तिसम्-

3.

मसो यथा ॥<sup>10</sup> — [3.]

विद्याचतुष्टयसुखासु(ब्बु)हृत्तात्तल्लभा नैसर्गिकोत्तमपदाधरितत्रिलोकः [1\*]

सुनुस्तयोः कमलयोनिरिव द्विजेशः श्रीदर्भपाणिरिति नाम निजन्दघा-

<sup>2</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, page 308, v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See *ib.*, page 307.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Part II, Appendix II; and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, pages 162—165.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विश्वः; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for श्री.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'वर्धु'.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anashṭubh).

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anashṭubh).



L. 4.

नः ॥<sup>11</sup> — [4.]

आ रेवाजनकाभतङ्गजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासङ्गते-<sup>12</sup>  
 रा गौरीपितुरोश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुण्यस्तिमितो गिरिः ।  
 मार्त्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिरा-

5.

शिवया-

क्षीत्वा यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥<sup>13</sup> — [5.]  
 माद्यन्नानागजेन्द्रस्रवदनवरतोहामदानप्रवाहो-  
 न्मृष्टक्षोणीविसर्पिप्रव(ब)ल-

6.

घनरजःसम्भृताश्रवकाश<sup>14</sup> ।

दिङ्मन्त्रायातभूभृत्परिकरविसरहाहिनीदुर्विलोक-  
 स्तस्यौ श्रीदेवपालो नृपतिरवसरापेक्षया द्वारि

7.

यस्य ॥<sup>15</sup> — [6.]

दङ्गाप्यनल्पसुदुपच्छविपीठमग्रे यस्यासनं नरपतिः सुरराजकल्पः ।  
 नानानरेन्द्रसुकुटाङ्कितपादपाशुः सिङ्गासनं<sup>16</sup> सच-

8.

कितः स्वयमाससाद ॥<sup>17</sup> — [7.]

तस्य श्रीशर्करादेव्यामन्त्रेः सोम इव द्विजः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 अभूत्सोमेश्वरः श्रीमान् परमेश्वरवत्तमः ॥<sup>18</sup> — [8.]  
 न भ्रान्तस्मिकटं<sup>19</sup>

9.

धनञ्जयतुलामारुह्य विक्रामता ।<sup>20</sup>

वित्तान्यर्थिषु वर्षता स्तुतिगिरो नोद्वर्षमाकर्षिताः ।  
 नैवोक्ता मधुरम्बु<sup>21</sup> प्रणयिनः सम्ब[लि]ताश्च श्रि-

10.

या ।<sup>21</sup>

येनैवं स्वगुणैर्जगद्दिसदृशैश्चक्रे सताम्विजयः<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> — [9.]  
 शिव इव करं शिवाया हरिरिव लक्ष्म्या गृह्णात्यमप्रेप्सुः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 अनुरूपाया विधि-

11.

वत्<sup>24</sup> रत्नादेव्याः स जगद् ॥<sup>25</sup> — [10.]

आसन्नाजिघ्रारजह(ह)लशिखशिखासुम्बि(म्बि)दिङ्मन्त्रावासी  
 दुर्वारस्कारशक्तिः स्वरसपरिणताशेषविद्या-

12.

प्रतिष्ठः ।

ताभ्यां जन्म प्रपदे विदग्धजनमनोनन्दनः स्वक्रियाभिः

श्रीमान् केदारमित्रो गुह इव विकसज्जातरूपप्रभावः ॥<sup>26</sup> ॥ — [11.]

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>12</sup> Read 'सङ्गते'.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>14</sup> Read 'संभृता'. Originally विक्रामं was engraved, but the sign for 's' is struck out.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.<sup>16</sup> Read 'पादुः सिङ्गासनं'.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Aoushtubh).<sup>19</sup> Read भ्रान्तं स्मिकटं.<sup>20</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>21</sup> Read मधुरं बडु प्रणयिनः संव<sup>0</sup>.<sup>22</sup> Read सतां विजयः.<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>24</sup> Read विधिवद्गता<sup>0</sup>.<sup>25</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>26</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.

- L. 13. सक्तर्धनसम्पीतान्<sup>27</sup> चतुर्विधापयोनिधीन् [1\*]  
जहासागस्त्यसम्पत्तिमुद्गिरिन्वा(म्वा)ल एव यः ॥<sup>28</sup> — [12.]  
उत्कोलितोत्कलकुलं हृतङ्गणगर्वं खर्वीक-  
14. तद्रविडगुर्जरनाथदर्पम् ।  
भूपोठमब्धि(म्भि)रगनाभरणम्बु(म्बु)भोज गौडेश्वरखिरमुपास्य धियं यदीयां ॥<sup>29</sup> — [13.]  
स्वयमपहृतवित्तानर्थिनी यो-  
15. तुमेने द्विषति सुहृदि चासीन्निर्व्विबेको यदात्मा ।  
भवजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीम त्रपा च ।<sup>30</sup> परिहृदितकथा(भा)यो<sup>31</sup> यः परे धान्नि रेमे ॥<sup>32</sup> — [14.]  
यस्ये-  
16. ज्यासु ह(वृ)हस्पतिप्रतिष्ठतेः श्रीशूरपालो नृपः  
साक्षादिन्द्र इव चताप्रियव(व)लो गत्वैव भूयः स्वयं ।  
नानाश्रीनिधिमेखलस्य जगतः  
17. कल्याणसङ्की<sup>33</sup> चिरं  
श्रद्धाभ्रःप्लुतमानसो नतशिरा जघ्राह पूतम्पयः ॥<sup>34</sup> — [15.]  
देवग्रामभवा<sup>35</sup> तस्य पत्नी वल्वाभिधाऽभवत् ॥ [1\*]  
चतुल्या चलया ल-  
18. क्ष्मरा सत्या चाप्य[नपत्य]या<sup>36</sup> ॥<sup>37</sup> — [16.]  
सा देवकीव तस्माद्यशोदया स्त्रीकृतम्पतिं लक्ष्म्याः ।  
गोपालप्रियकारकमसूत पुरुषोत्तमन्तनयं ॥<sup>38</sup> ॥ — [17.]  
19. जमदग्निकुलोत्पन्नः सम्पन्नचक्षुस्त्विकः [1\*]  
यः श्रीगुरवमित्राख्यो रामो राम इवापरः ॥<sup>39</sup> — [18.]  
कुशलो गुणान्विवेक्तुं विजिगीषुर्यदृप-  
20. ख व(व)हुमेने ।  
श्रीनारायणपालः प्रशस्तिरपरास्तु का तस्य ॥<sup>40</sup> — [19.]  
वाचाभ्वैभवमागमेष्वधिगमं<sup>41</sup> नीतिः परास्मिष्ठतां ।<sup>42</sup>  
वेदार्थानुगमादसी-  
21. समहसो वक्त्रस्य<sup>43</sup> सस्वन्धितां ।  
श्रासक्तिङ्गुणकोर्त्तमेषु महतान्निष्ठाततां ज्योतिषो  
यस्यानल्पमतेरमेययशसो धर्मावतारो ऽवदत् ॥<sup>44</sup> — [20.]  
22. यस्मिन्मिथः श्रीभूति वागधीशे विहाय वैराणि निसर्गजानि ।  
उभे स्थिते सख्यमिवादि(धि)गत्स्यावेकत्र लक्ष्मीश्च सरस्वती च ॥<sup>45</sup> — [21.]  
श्रास्त्रानुशील-

<sup>27</sup> Read °पोतान्<sup>27</sup>.<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>30</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>31</sup> Originally °कशयो, altered to °कशयो.<sup>32</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>33</sup> Read कल्याणसङ्की.<sup>34</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>35</sup> Originally °भव, altered to °भवा.<sup>36</sup> The lower portion of the akṣaras in brackets is damaged.<sup>37</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>38</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>39</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>40</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>41</sup> Read वाचां वैभव°.<sup>42</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>43</sup> Read वक्त्रस्य संव°.<sup>44</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>45</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

- L. 23. नगभीरगुणैर्वचोभिर्विहसभासु परवादिसदावलेपः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 उद्भासितः सपदि येन युधि द्विषाच्च निखीमविक्रमधनेन [भ]टाभिमानः ॥<sup>4</sup> — [22.]
24. [आविर्व(ब्)भू]व सहसैव फलं न यस्य यस्तादृगन्वप्रधित<sup>47</sup> कर्णसुखं किञ्चित् ।  
 यस्याप्य दानपतिमर्थिजनोन्ममेति तत्केलिदानमपि यस्य न आतु  
 25. — उ ॥ — [23.]  
 अतिलोमहर्षसेषु<sup>48</sup> [च<sup>x</sup>] कलियुगवाल्मीकिजअपियनेषु ।  
 धर्मैतिहासपर्वसु पुष्पात्मा यः नृतीर्ष्यवृत्तोत् ॥<sup>49</sup> — [24.]  
 असिन्धुप्रसृता यस्य सधुनी
26. . उ — उ [घा] ।  
 वाणी प्रसन्नगम्भीरा धिनोति च पुनाति च ॥<sup>50</sup> — [25.]  
 पितृत्वं स्वयमाख्याय पुत्रत्वमगमत्सुयं [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 व्र(त्र)ह्मेति पुरुषान् यस्य वक्त्रे<sup>51</sup> यच्च प्रपेदिरे ॥ — [26.]  
 श्रीभो-
27. — उ उ — स्वकीयवपुषो लोकीक्षणाहिनि  
 स्वाभिप्राय इवातुलोन्नतिमति स्वप्रेमव(व)न्धस्त्रिरे ।  
 स्वष्टं ग्रन्थ इवार्पिते कलिहृदि स्वभोत्र ते-
28. [न?] उ उ  
 — — — फणिनां हरेः प्रियसखस्त्राक्षीयमारोपितः ॥<sup>52</sup> — [27.]  
 भ्रात्र्वा दिगन्तमखिलं गत्वा पातालमूलमप्यस्मात् ।  
 यय इ[ह]<sup>53</sup> तस्मोत्तस्मौ ज्ञताहिगरुडच्छलादमल[म्] ॥<sup>54</sup> — [28.]
29. सूत्रधारविष्णुभद्रेण<sup>55</sup> प्रयस्ति क्षणितं<sup>56</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om!]

(Verse 1.) In Śāṇḍilya's race was . . . <sup>57</sup>, in his lineage Viradeva, in his family Pāñchāla; from him was Garga born.

(2.) As he made Dharma<sup>58</sup>, the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Brihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was Iohchhā<sup>59</sup>, like love dwelling in his heart. By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon.

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named Darbhapaṇi, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

<sup>48</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>47</sup> Read 'दुमं व्यधित'.

<sup>49</sup> The *akṣara* न was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following च, which I have added, is not in the original.

<sup>50</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>51</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>52</sup> Read व्रत्र.

<sup>53</sup> Metre: Śāṇḍilyavikṛdita.

<sup>54</sup> The *akṣara* in brackets looks like ह, altered to इ.

<sup>55</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>56</sup> The *akṣara* न was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>57</sup> One would have expected महासिद्धिर्वाचा.

<sup>58</sup> The name, here missing, probably is Viṣṇu.

<sup>59</sup> i. e. the king Dharmapāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.

<sup>60</sup> i. e. 'desire, love.'

knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.<sup>60</sup>

(V. 5.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapāla made tributary the earth as far as Revā's parent<sup>61</sup> whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gauri's father,<sup>62</sup> the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Ívara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.

(6.) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapāla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (*in such numbers*) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (*though*) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds.

(7.) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling.

(8.) To him was born, of the illustrious Śarkarādevī, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya<sup>63</sup> he displayed unlimited prowess; never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants; and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world.

(10.) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Rallādevī, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivā, and Hari of Lakshmi.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedāramisra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (*sacrificial*) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.<sup>64</sup>

(12.) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency.<sup>65</sup>

(13.) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hāṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.

(14.) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

<sup>60</sup> Darbhapāni was *chaturvidya* (or *chaturvedin*), as Brahman is *chaturmukha*; and the epithet *divyaja*, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.

<sup>61</sup> i.e. the Vindhya mountains.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. the Himālaya.

<sup>63</sup> i.e. Arjuna.

<sup>64</sup> The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedāramisra is compared to the god of war, Guha or Kārttikeya, is clear enough; but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a *Bahuvrīhi*, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of *cāmbhis*, 'kissing,' which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedāramisra, none of the ordinary meanings of *ajikṣma* ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with *amimikṣa* ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Guha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean: 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'.

<sup>65</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(V. 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Brihaspati, the illustrious prince Śūrapāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vala; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water,<sup>66</sup> his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16.) His wife was Vavvā, born at Devagrāma, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Sati.

(17.) As Devaki gave birth to Purushottama<sup>67</sup>, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakshmi's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, Rāma,<sup>68</sup> called Guravamiśra, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jāmadagnya, to whom the thriving Kshatriya order caused anxious thought.

(19.) Since the illustrious prince Nārāyaṇapāla, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20.) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmi and Sarasvatī resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor.<sup>69</sup>

(24.) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vālmīki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . , his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies.

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (*in them*) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (*in him*) had again become their offspring.

<sup>66</sup> i.e. the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth.

<sup>67</sup> i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa.

<sup>68</sup> Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamiśra.'

<sup>69</sup> In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts.

(V. 27.) He has placed Tārksya,<sup>20</sup> [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the . . . beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kali age.

(28.) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuḍa with a serpent in his mouth.

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Viṣṇubhadra.

XL.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III. ;  
DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.L.E.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch.

Ātakūr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Maṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Maṇḍya Tāluka of the Maisūr District in Maisūr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Atcoor,' in Lat. 12° 40' N., Long. 77° 8' E.;<sup>1</sup> and it is entered, as 'Atagur,' in the map given in Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Ātukūr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challēśalinga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challēśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other; the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left; they occupy a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high.—Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' 0" high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the *ppa* of *ppanneradum*, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two *akṣaras* in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

<sup>20</sup> i. e. the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu.

<sup>1</sup> The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an 'Atagur,' forty-nine miles north-east of Maisūr, and an 'Ādagur,' eleven miles north by west of Hassan.

estampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.—The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".—The language is Old-Kanarese; and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.—In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nripa*, line 1, *prithuvī*, line 2, and *krishṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in the word *bīra*, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, e.g. in *saka*, line 1, and *saktiy-āge*, line 16; and (4) the doubling of *s* after *r*, in *ār=ssagara*, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Krishṇarāja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Krishṇa III., a son of Amoghavarsha III., of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkheḍ: in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannaradēva; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chōla king or chief named Rājāditya, at a place called Takkōla.<sup>2</sup> The inscription then introduces a Gaṅga feudatory of his,<sup>3</sup> called in the body of the record Permāṇaḍi, and in the addition Bātuga,<sup>4</sup> who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Rāchamalla,<sup>5</sup> the son of Ereyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Bātuga himself who slew Rājāditya; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together: and that, in approbation of the deed, Krishṇa III. gave to Bātuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukāḍ Seventy, and the Bāgenāḍ Seventy.<sup>6</sup> The record then introduces a follower of Bātuga, named Maṇalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Valabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga granted some land to a temple of the god Challēśvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Ātukūr; a stone,—evidently the one bearing this

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Rājāditya died in battle with Krishṇa III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 79, dated the 6th April 1891); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Rājāditya was riding.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the paramount title in *dharma-mahārājādhirāja* must be taken, with the use of the name Satyavākya-Koṅṅuṇivarman, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga and Krishṇa III.

<sup>4</sup> This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Maṇalarata. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that Permāṇaḍi and Bātuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Bātuga and Maṇalarata in ll. 21-23.—When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Bātuga is distinctly called Permāṇaḍi-Būtayya in the Hebbāl inscription (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 270).

<sup>5</sup> One might perhaps expect the name of Rājamalla, rather than Rāchamalla. But the original very distinctly has *cha* in the second syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*, p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus:—"Moreover, from a subsequent addition 'engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this Gaṅga king' [*viz.* the Satyavākya-Koṅṅuṇivarman, or more specifically the Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga, of lines 5, 6, 8] 'was Rāchamalla, the son of Ereyappa; also, that he defeated a rival named Bātuga, who then proposed to Rājāditya, the Chōla prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join him in attacking Kannara Dēva. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which he was governor absorbed into the Gaṅga territories.'"—Mr. Rice's extract from the text (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct, but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and certainty.

inscription,— being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Maṇalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bātuga also granted, to Maṇalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Ātukūr Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyūr of the Belvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya *samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Kṛishṇa III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the Saumya *samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Samvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Ātakūr itself is mentioned, as Ātukūr, in the inscription proper (l. 12), and in the addition at the top of the stone (l. 22); and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l. 10) a neighbouring village named Beḷatūr, in the Kelale *nāḍ*; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkōla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Rājāditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga it mentions the town of Koḷāla and the Nandagiri mountain (l. 5). Mr. Rice (*e. g. Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxviii) has taken Koḷāla to be the same with the Kōlāhalapura of the Eastern Gaṅga records, and has identified it with "Kōlār, in the east of Maisūr." The identity of the two names, Koḷāla and Kōlāhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kōlāhala was in the Gaṅgavāḍi *vishaya* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII., p. 170). The identification of the place with Kōlār may be correct; but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point: and I notice, in the map, a small village named 'Kolala' close to Dēvarāyadurg in the Kortagiri Tālukā of the Tumkūr District, Maisūr; this seems to me to suggest that Koḷāla may possibly be the ancient name of Dēvarāyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikballāpur Tālukā of the Kōlār District, Maisūr. And finally, in the titles of Maṇalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valabhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhī in Kāṭhiāwād. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me; but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Maṇalarata, the rulers of Valabhī themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand: this is undoubtedly the well-known Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisūr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gaṅgas; towards the north it extended as far as Lakkundi, near Gadag, in Dhārwad (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bātuga; *i. e.* the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bātuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banawāsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the



first is the Belvola Three-hundred. This district is equally well-known; and its name, being derived from the Kanarese *bele*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola*, *hola*, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It included Gadag in the Dhârwâd District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 297), Annigere in Dhârwâd (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Annigere was then, A. D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakôti in Dhârwâd (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhârwâd and Hâli in Belgaum (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 47; here the name is written Belvala, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala *vishaya*), and Kukkanûr in the Nizam's Dominions (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nâgarî characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Âtakûr. The second is the Purigere Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmêshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâd District. The third is the Kisukâd Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage; and the chief town of it (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvôlal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvôlal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, near Bâdâmi. To the south it included (*id.*, p. 257) Kiru-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Kodikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rôn Tâlukâ, Dhârwâd. And the fourth is the Bâgenâd Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bâgaḍage Seventy, or Bâgaḍige *nâd*, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bâgalkôṭ in the Bijâpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place 'Bângaḍikôṭe;' the popular explanation of which is that some Nawâb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (*lit.* for bangles, *bângaḍ*). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bâgaḍage or Bâgaḍige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tâlukâ Kachêri at Bâgalkôṭ, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hêrkâl, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bâgaḍageya-kôṭe," (*śrîma[d-r]âjadhâni Bâgaḍag[e]ya-kôṭeya śrî-mâla*)-[*sthân-â*]*dhi*[*pati*] *Nilakanṭha-paṇḍitadêvaru*; lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bâgaḍage and Bâgalkôṭ. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Belvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwâd, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 3 miles west of Koppal in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat. 15° 20' N., Long. 76° 10' E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Ereyapa of this inscription is the Gaṅga king Ereyapa or Ereyapparasa, ruler of the Gaṅgavâdi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bêgûr inscription (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. I, p. 346 ff). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bêgûr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Permânâdi-Bâtuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Râchamalla, the son of Ereyapa; and Ereyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (*e.g. Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xliv, xlv), was most distinctly of the

Gaṅga lineage (see *ante*, Vol. I, p. 349). Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Bātuga by Kṛishṇa III., distinctly prove that at this period the Gaṅgas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Eṇeyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadēva of the Bēgūr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bātuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kādambas of Banawāsi and Hāṅgal; and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply.

## TEXT.

- 1 Svas[t]i Sa(sa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-sa(sa)taṅga[-eṇṭu-nūr-elpatt-eraḍa-  
neya Śau(sau)myam=emba
- 2 samvatsaram pravarttise [!\*] Svasti Amôghavarisha<sup>7</sup>dēva-śrīprithuvi<sup>8</sup>vallabha-  
paramēśvara-parama-
- 3 bhatt[ā]raka-pādapaṅkaja-bhramara[m] n[ṛi]pa-Tri[nē]tran=āne-vedeṅgam vana-  
gaja-mallam kachhegam Kri(kṛi)shṇarājām śrīmat
- 4 Kan[n]aradēva[m] . . lū(?)vajam Chōla-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu  
Takkōlado[-kādi kondu bijayam-geyyutt-i]du [!\*]
- 5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavākya-Koṅgunivarmma-dharm[m]amahārājādhirājām Koḷāla-pura-  
var-ēśvaram Nandagiri-nātham
- 6 śrīmat Permmānāḍigaḷ nanneya-Gaṅga jaya[d=u]ttaraṅga Gaṅga-G[āṅgē]ya  
Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa tan<sup>10</sup>=ālu
- 7 Svasti Sakaḷa-lōka-paritāp-āvi(?)hata-[pra]bhāv-āvatāri[ta]-Gaṅga<sup>11</sup>-pravāh-ōdāra-  
Sagara-vaiṇsa Va-
- 8 labhi-puravar-ēśvaran=udāra-Bhagīrathan=iṛiva-bedeṅgam Sa[gara]-Trinētram  
seṇase-mūgarivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(sū)drakam Bātugan-aṅkakāram śrīmat Maṇalarata[ṅg-a]nuvaradoḷ  
mechchi bēdi-kol[-endo-
- 10 de dayeya mere-voḷ(?)=emba Kāliyam daye-geyy=endu koṇḍanā nāya[m]  
Kelale-nāḍa Belatūra paḍu-
- 11 vaṇa deseya moṇḍiyol piri[dum pa]ndige viṭṭode pandiyum nāyum=oda-  
sattuvadarkke-
- 12 y=Atukūroḷ Challēśvarada munde kallaṇ=naḍisi piriya kereya kelage Malti-  
kālaṅgadoḷ=ir-kka(kkha)ṇduga-
- 13 maṇṇa[m] koṭṭar=Ā maṇṇan-okkal nāḍan=ālvom<sup>12</sup>=ūran=ālvor=i maṇṇan=  
alidon=ā nāya geyda pāpama[m] koṇḍom-

<sup>7</sup> From the inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Read *varsha*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *prithivī* or *prithvī*.

<sup>10</sup> We should expect *tann(a)*, with the double *nn*. But I

notice that Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary gives *nana* as a variant of *nanna*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *gaṅgā* or *gāṅga*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *ālvon*.

- 14 n<sup>15</sup>=â sthānaman=ā|va goravan=â kallam pñjisad=undar=appode<sup>14</sup> nāya geyda  
pāpamam koṇḍa[n] [II\*] Ōm [II\*]  
15 Urad<sup>16</sup>=idir-ānta Chōla-chaturāṅga-balaṅgalan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taḷt=iṇiv-eḍeg=ōrvvar=  
appodam=idirchchuva  
16 gaṇḍaran=āmpēv=endu poṭṭalisuva<sup>16</sup> bi(vi)raram nereye kōṇe(na)me Chōlane<sup>17</sup>  
sa(sa)ktiy-āge taḷt=iṇidudan=āve(? me) ka-  
17 nḍev=ene mechchador-ār=Ssagara-Triṇētranam || Narapati benno|=iḍdon=idir-  
āntudu vairi-samūham=illi  
18 machcharisuvvar=ellarum seraguv-āḷdapor=int-ire nendu siṅgad-ant-ire Hari  
bi(vi)ra-Lakshmi nerav-āg-ire Chō-  
19 la[na]-kōṭey-embā sindhurada śir-āgramam biriye pāyidam<sup>18</sup> kadan-aika-  
Su(śū)drakam [II\*] Ōm [II\*]

## THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magam Rāchamallanam Būtugam kādi kondu tomblatt-  
aru-sāsiramumam<sup>19</sup> āḷutt-ire [I\*] Kannaradēva[m] Chōlanam kāduvandu  
Būtugam Rājādityanam bisugeye kallan-āgi gurig-iṇidu  
21 kādi kondu Banavase-pannirchchā(? rehchhā)siramum Belvola-mūnūrum  
Purigere-mūmnūrum<sup>20</sup> Kisukāḍ-elpattum Bāgenāḍ-elpattuva(ma)m Būtugaṅge  
Kannaradēvam mechchu-goṭṭam [II\*] Būtuganum<sup>21</sup> Maṅalarata-  
22 na munde nind=iṇidudarkke mechchi Ātuk[ū]r-ppanneradum Belvolada  
Kōṭeyūrumam bāḷga[m]  
23 [me]<sup>22</sup>chchu-goṭṭam [II\*] Maṅala-mahā-śrī [II\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! The *samvatsara* named Saumya, (*which is*) the eight hundred and seventy-second (*in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:—

(Line 2).— Hail! When Kṛishṇarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,— a very bee at the water-lilies which (*were*) the feet of Amōghavarashadēva (III.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*; a very Triṇētra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (*real*) fighter (or, disputant), — having . . . . . come upon the Chōla, Rājāditya, and having fought and killed (*him*) at Takkōla, was going in triumph:—

(L. 5).— Hail! (*He who has the hereditary titles of*) the pious Mahārājādhirāja Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarman; the lord of Koḷāla, the best of towns; (*and*) the lord

<sup>15</sup> Read *koṇḍon*.

<sup>16</sup> This seems to be the reading; but \**appod=d* would be better.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Champakamālā; and in the following verse.

<sup>18</sup> The *prāsa* is wrong here; in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be *ri*, instead of *li*.

<sup>19</sup> This *me* was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

<sup>20</sup> Read *pāyidan=d*.

<sup>21</sup> Read \**dsiramam*; the copulative ending is not required here.

<sup>22</sup> Read \**mūnūrum*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *būtugam*; here, again, the copulative ending is not required.

<sup>24</sup> I cannot find the place where this syllable, *me*, stands in the original; perhaps the *akshara* was omitted altogether.

of the mountain Nandagiri,— (*viz.*) the illustrious Permāṇaḍi, the truthful Gaṅga, the arch of victory, a very Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, a very Nārāyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,—

(L. 7).— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Maṇala-rata,— who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgā through (*its*) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind ; (*who has the hereditary title of*) the lord of Valabhi, the best of towns ; who is as noble as Bhagīratha ; who is a marvel among men who pierce ; who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ; who cuts off noses when he is angry ; who is a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war ; (*and*) who is the arithmetician of Bātuga,— said “ Prefer a request ! ” Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called “ the shining river (?) of kindness,” said, “ Do (*this*) favour ! ” Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Belatūr of (the district called) Keḷale nāḍ. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Challésvara at Ātukūr, at (*the place where*) the boar and the dog killed each other,<sup>23</sup> he (Permāṇaḍi) gave<sup>24</sup> land yielding two *khaṇḍugas* (*of grain*), at the site called Maltikālaṅga below the large tank.

(L. 13).— Any cultivator (*who destroys*) that land, (*or*) the ruler of the district (*if he does so*), (*or*) any governors of the village who destroy<sup>25</sup> this land,— he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by that dog ! If the *Gorava*, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by (*that*) dog ! Ōm !

(L. 15).— Saying “ We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chōḷa, like a male buffalo *in coitu*, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (*their*) prowess ” in saying ‘ Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chōḷa which, blazing (*with wrath*), have opposed (*us*), we will resist the valiant men who confront (*us*), if (*indeed*) there be any (*to make a stand*) at the place of meeting and piercing,’— what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ? The king was at (*his*) back ; a multitude of enemies opposed (*him*) in front ; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (*in perspiration*) to the (*very*) edges of (*their*) garments ;— under these circumstances he, a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war, dripping (*with sweat*), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (*and*) the brave Lakshmī, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called “ the fortress of the Chōḷa.”<sup>27</sup> Ōm !

#### THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

(L. 20).— Hail ! When Bātuga, having fought and killed Rāchamalla, the son of the glorious Ereyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand :— At the time when Kannaradēva was warring against the Chōḷa, Bātuga treacherously,<sup>28</sup> while (*they*) were taking the air (*together*), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,

<sup>23</sup> *lit.* “ died together.”

<sup>24</sup> *lit.* “ they gave ” (*koffar*) ; the word is in apposition with *permmāṇaḍigaḷ* (l. 6).

<sup>25</sup> *lit.* “ who destroys ” (*aḷḷiḍon*) ; this sentence illustrates well the change of construction from the singular to the plural, and back again (compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 146, note 16). The words “ this land ” are rather unnecessary after the ‘ that land ’ which stands at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>26</sup> *poṭṭaḷḷiṇṇa* seems to be some derivative from *pōṭari*, ‘ a brave man ’ ; see note 16 above, regarding the *prāsa*.

<sup>27</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>28</sup> *lit.* “ as a thief.”

Rājāditya; and then Kannaradēva gave to Bātuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Beļvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukād Seventy, and the Bāgenād Seventy.

(L. 21).— Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalarata stood out in front and pierced (*his foes*), Bātuga gave (*to him*), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Ātukūr Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyūr of (*the*) Beļvola (*country*). (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

### XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at Kāritalāi, a village in the Muḍwārā Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (*Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3' North, Longitude 80° 46' East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents<sup>2</sup> of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 8' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1' broad by 1' 8" high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some *aksharas* have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1". The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nāgari of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words *yaś=cha*, in line 5, and *kim vahunā*, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the *upadhmāniya* once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripurī, especially Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmaṇarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bharadvāja there was a Brāhman, named Bhākamiśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarājadeva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dīkṣita*), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, p. 8; also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called *Pātangir* is really a name of the planet Saturna; see line 24 of the text.

From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a *pura* (or *brahmapura*, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brāhmans; and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations, made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brāhmans mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmanarāja, gave the village of Dīrghaśākhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31); while his queen, Rāhaḍā, gave the village of Chakrahradī (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śaṅka[raṇa, the king's son(?)], a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhallipāṭaka in the district of Dhavalaharā and the village Antarapāṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vaṭagartikā in the Mālā 'group of twelve,' are besides mentioned among the donations to Viṣṇu, after the founder of the temple called 'the holy *Somasāmidēva*, in the mutilated verses 35-37<sup>3</sup>. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls<sup>4</sup> which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanarāja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva and his son Lakshmanarāja, the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa, of the Bilhari inscription (*ante*, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dīrghaśākhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kāritālāi (or Kareetullae).

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . . .<sup>6</sup>

2. "मिस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कच्छाद्ददौ ।

प्र[त्य]क्षीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यर्च्यते

ग्रामान्त्रा(न्त्रा)क्षणाजातये व(व)हु[तरांस्तु]ष्टान्तरा[का] ७ — [॥<sup>8</sup>]<sup>9</sup>—[1].

3. वंशाद्वरहाजमुनेरननाङ्गणानतो<sup>10</sup> धर्म इवापरो[भू]त् ।

श्रीभाक्तमित्यः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः शश्वत्कृतार्थीकृतमार्गणौघः ॥<sup>10</sup> —[2].

कुण्डितधिवर्णो धिव[र्णो] . .<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *kṣārīśāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean 'a field sown with a *kṣārī* of grain', or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kāritālāi.

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word *deśi*, mentioned *ante*, p. 130, note 83.

<sup>5</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of *akṣaras*, which it contained, is preserved; but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.

<sup>7</sup> The last *akṣara* of the preceding line must have been नम्. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmanarāja), who must have been spoken of in the lost portion of the inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>9</sup> I should have expected to read here वंशे भरवाजमुनेरनने गुणोक्तौ.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>11</sup> The *akṣaras*, here broken away, probably were शौचः, i.e. चक्षुः.

- L. 4. सौम्यो वु(वु)धो न वु(वु)धः ।  
 अकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चित्रं ॥<sup>12</sup> —[3].  
 यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततरस्वरतापोत्तप्तगात्री धरित्री ।  
 दिगिभभुज[ग]-
5. राजानन्तकूर्मैः समूहे कलितदवथुपीडानष्टधैर्यैः कथंचित् ॥<sup>13</sup> —[4].  
 यश्च ॥  
 अचीकरत्कुत्र<sup>14</sup> न देववेश्मान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरांसि ।  
 अविव्यधत्कुत्र<sup>15</sup> न कूपवा[पी]-
6. ररूपनामवणानि कुत्र ॥<sup>16</sup> —[5].  
 अवाप्य यं श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधरं प्राण्यमिवांशमाली ।  
 प्रापोन्नतिं व्यस्तसमस्तदोषां मन्त्रिप्रधानं कुलगोत्रचारं ॥<sup>17</sup> —[6].  
 न संदिग्धे वे-
7. दे द्रवदवधिवो(वो)वा पदविधेरतर्कस्तर्केष्वप्यनवममतिस्तन्मृगतुषु ।  
 य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरणनिपुणः काव्यसरणेः<sup>18</sup> स तस्यासीत्सूनुः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति ॥<sup>19</sup> —[7].  
 पुस्ते-
8. नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमश्चरित्रे तीर्थत्रिके किमपि यः कुशलो व(व)भूव ।  
 हृदयश्चपालनपरीक्षणकर्मशास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेष्वनुपमी धुरि धीमतां च ॥<sup>20</sup> —[8].  
 एका कला भूर्भिं श[शा]-
9. कृमौलेरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः ।  
 श्रीमहसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः<sup>21</sup> कलाङ्गार्त्तयितुं कृती कः ॥<sup>22</sup> —[9].  
 मेरुः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकनिचयः पुथुत्तुषारोत्करै-  
 रङ्गती[धुर]जा-
10. वा एव हिमवान्नीदो गिरिः स्फाटिकः ।  
 अर्थिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेक्षकवो(वी)धावधिः  
 सौम्योसावुपमीयते कथमिव ज्ञातृप्रयेषासुना ॥<sup>23</sup> —[10].  
 अपा[स्तकुं]कुमं ये-
11. न नवनीतमनीयत ।  
 वपुःप्रणयितां यज्ञे वशिभिर्हुःकरं<sup>24</sup> हि किं ॥<sup>25</sup> —[11].  
 अपास्तकाश्चिधृत[मंज]रञ्जुर्मलहुगूली [ह?]त[दू?]रवासाः ।  
 अलौकि[कत्वेन][विशे]षचार्य[यो]-
12. यितां पर्वणि वेष एवः ॥<sup>26</sup> —[12].  
 अग्नीदग्नीव्निह्वर विधिवद्गन्धि होमोपयुक्ता-  
 मध्वर्यो गां सुचमपि समं क्षालयाशु सुवेण ।  
 तसैर्व्याभिर्भवतु सविधे गार्हपत्यस्य प-

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Udgiti.  
<sup>13</sup> Metre: Mālinī.  
<sup>14</sup> Originally अचीकरत्कुत्र was engraved, but the first  
 aksharas अर are struck out.  
<sup>15</sup> Originally अविव्यध°, but altered to अविव्यध°.  
<sup>16</sup> Metre: Upendravajrā.  
<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.  
<sup>18</sup> It is somewhat doubtful whether °सरणे: or °सरणि:  
 was engraved.

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.  
<sup>20</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.  
<sup>21</sup> Originally कल्याः, altered to कल्याः.  
<sup>22</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.  
<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.  
<sup>24</sup> Read वपुष्° and °हुंकरं.  
<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).  
<sup>26</sup> Metre: Upajāti.





- L. 21. त्र सुदर्श(र्षी)नः ॥<sup>40</sup> —[22].  
 ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरिक्तेवश्वमस्योत्तमाङ्गे ।  
 तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठम्<sup>41</sup>
22. [दा]ति ॥<sup>42</sup> —[23].  
 अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्धृष्टिसोदद्रथाङ्गः  
 प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेशो घटयति युगलं चक्रयोर्वीतसंख्यं<sup>43</sup> ।  
 शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्वपुटनिपतनोत्था-
23. उ — — उ [द]ण्डः  
 सायं सायं जनानां<sup>44</sup> कलयति नितरामचवर्गं समग्रं ॥<sup>45</sup> —[24].  
 नयति रथमसुखेहक्षिणेनोत्तरेण क्षरति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि ।  
 त-
24. उ<sup>46</sup> उ उ उ उ — — [मि]र्यातेप्यभिज्ञो भुवमनभिविलंघं प्राप्य सोदत्यमन्दं ॥<sup>47</sup> —[25].  
 अलङ्कारशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव ।  
 पातङ्गिरङ्ग(ङ्गि)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-
25. उ — [॥<sup>48</sup> —[26].  
 — — — उ उ — [व]राङ्गचरणचोदादुदक्षलिणं  
 पृष्ठं मे तव तत्त्व[णीडृ]तविसम्राथा शिरःसन्ततिः ।  
 मा गाङ्गमितीपसर्प्य निदधे तत्तावदेतद्भुवं  
 कूर्मस्यापि [व]-
26. — उ — उ उ उ — — — उ वाहे भवन् ॥<sup>49</sup> —[27].  
 किं व(व)हुना ॥  
 सर्व्व[प्रासा]दराजोयं नियतं प्रतिभाति नः ।  
 यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलंगनच्छत्रा(क्षत्रा)यते विधुः ॥<sup>50</sup> —[28].  
 स्थायादाकल्पमेतत्सु-
27. उ उ उ उ उ — — उ — — [रसुख्य]-  
 त्र(त्र)ङ्गाण्डाधारसूधूर्णो [दृढ]तरजगतीनिचलोभावशङ्कोः ।  
 कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्भुररिपुशरणं यावदेतच्चकास्ती-  
 त्येतच्चाशंसनं
28. — उ उ उ उ उ उ — — उ — — [क्र]रूपं ॥<sup>51</sup> —[29].  
 न्यवीविश[त्पु]रे चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसूनिव ।  
 दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्राममदानृपः ॥<sup>52</sup> —[30].  
 श्रीमक्षत्रराजो ग्रामं देवा-

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>41</sup> Read 'भूता' and 'वातपृष्ठम्'.

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>43</sup> This may have been altered to 'संख्य' in the original.

<sup>44</sup> Possibly this has been altered to 'चतानां'.

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Bragdhara.

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Bragdhara.

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

L. 29. . . . . [1\*]

. . . . . दादक्षी ग्रहे भानोः ॥<sup>53</sup> —[31].

नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्त्रीयया तस्य राहडा ।

ग्रामं चक्रहृदीमक्षी महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत् ॥<sup>53</sup> —[32].

श्रीशङ्क-

30. . . . . क्षी ।

देवाय दानश्रीष्णो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णवः परमः ॥<sup>54</sup> —[33].

धवलहरासंव(ब)हं प्रायश्चिच्छिपाटकं ग्रामं ।

भानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहणे देवा-

31. . . . . [1\*]<sup>55</sup> —[34].

. . . . . [सचेव]कं ददौ ।

तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्रं द्वादशखण्डिकं ॥<sup>56</sup> —[35].

मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगर्तिकां ।

स्वकीये शासने श्रीमान्ब[जे]

32. . . . . [1\*] —[36].

. . . . . [यतेः] ।

श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवापमिहागतः ॥ —[37].

पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः<sup>57</sup> श्रद्धामेकादशीं ददौ ।

द्वादशीमपि यात्रायाः धी-

33. . . . . [1\*] —[38].

. . . . . का तथा ।

निस्त्रमेकां घटीं गोण्यां धोडशोदितयं तथा ॥ —[39].

कषायपञ्चके देशिर्हानमध्ये न्यवेदयत् ।

सार्द्धद्वादशमं च वा(बा)हं पाद-

34. . . . . [1\*] —[40].

. . . . . ।

[वागू]लिकप्रधानस्य पर्णपञ्चाशतं ददौ । (॥) —[41].

पर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा ।

खलभिन्नाश्चतस्रस्र मण्डलं सकसं ददौ ॥ —[42].

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>54</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Udgāti.

<sup>56</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>57</sup> Metre, from here to the end, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>58</sup> All this is quite clear in the rubbing.

## XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [VIKBAMA] YEAR 1161.

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

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nagpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstri, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid.<sup>1</sup> And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W. Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattārā.<sup>3</sup> On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say. And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation. I now re-édit this inscription from excellent estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 8¼" high; and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4' 11½" long. No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single *akṣaras* and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 24, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text. The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about ⅝", in the separate line 41 about ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī of the beginning of the 12th century A. D.; they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya*<sup>4</sup> in *vāśhpāmbhalikaṇa*, in line 12. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *om om namo Bhāratyai* and the date *saṁ 1161* at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks. Except in the word *nirbhāra*, in line 18,<sup>5</sup> the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings °*shanna* for °*shaṇṇa*, in lines 6 and 10, *nistrimśa* for *nistrimśa*, in line 16, *chakshuhkarnṇam* for *chakshushkarnṇam*, in

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. I, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VII, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page 'Sanskrit No. 57,' and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen's text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Paṇḍit and brought to Bombay. To prove this in detail would be a waste of time. It will be sufficient to say that Lassen's copy furnisheth no help wherever the stone is damaged, and that its readings in these places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Paṇḍit.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for *sh*.

<sup>5</sup> But not in line 41, where we read *nirbhārau*.

line 24, *tajñair* for *tajñair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhvam* for *vidhaddhvam*, in line 41. The language is correct.<sup>6</sup> It contains several uncommon words; but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmāṇḍakhaṇḍa*, apparently denoting 'the vault of heaven' or 'the firmament,' in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13. As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31. The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass.

The inscription is a *Prasasti* or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II.) to Lakshmadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Ābū) the sage Vasishṭha, when his wonderful cow Nandini was being carried off by Viśvāmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmitra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized. The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisimha (vv. 16-19). He was succeeded by his son Siyaka (vv. 20-22); and after him came his son Muñjarāja (vv. 23-25), Muñjarāja's younger brother Sindhurāja (vv. 26-28), and Sindhurāja's son Bhojadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karna who, joined by the Karnaṭas,<sup>7</sup> had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet's account Lakshmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurī (v. 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vaṅkshu, and contains a well-known play on the word *kira*.<sup>8</sup>

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpura *maṇḍala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka instead. Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmidhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself. From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *prasasti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

<sup>6</sup> The use of *adbhava* in the first compound of verse 20, for *adbhava*, I ascribe to an error of the writer.

<sup>7</sup> As Karna is joined here with the Karnaṭas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karnaṭas in the Udaypur *Prasasti*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 235, line 20.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., above, p. 15, verse 12.

This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Paramāras of Mālava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, *ante*, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Naravarman the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in *the Transactions Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarman; and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

TEXT.<sup>9</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>10</sup> [॥\*] श्री नमो भारती ॥  
 प्रसादीदार्यमाभुर्यसमाधिसमतादयः ।  
 युवयोर्ये गुणाः सन्ति वाग्देव्यौ तेषु सन्तु नः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[1].  
 एक एव भुवनत्रयेषु स श्रीपतिर्भवतु वो विभूतये ।  
 यस्य मध्यमपदस्थितोऽप्यमी भास्करप्रभृतयश्चकासति ॥<sup>12</sup>—[2].  
 जातिं हतश्च वि[भ्राणा]<sup>13</sup> गु-  
 2. णालंकारचारवः ।  
 सरसाश्च प्रसीदन्तु सूक्तयः सूरयश्च नः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[3].  
 दुर्द्धरारिपुरभङ्गभीषणो भूरिभूतिसविशेष[वभूषणः]<sup>15</sup> ।  
 [रा]जराजकृतसत्क्रियः क्रियाद्विक्लिवंशसदृशः शिवः शिवं ॥<sup>16</sup>—[4].  
 जाता महार्णवोत्पत्ते ब्र[ह्म]ह्माण्डशक्तिसंपुटे ।  
 महेश[स्वार्चि]-  
 3. ता सुक्ता जयन्त्यश्वोजयोनयः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[5].  
 वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च मास्थानि च  
 व्याघ्रानेकपचर्मणी च वसने चाहीनं चारादि च ।  
 यज्ञति च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भयं च त-  
 दिश्याद्रूपसुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वः ॥<sup>18</sup>—[6].  
 वेखरुप्यं सम[भ्य]-  
 4. ख मीमांसाकृतिकेतवात् ।  
 स्वाभिवर्निर्मिताशेषविश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[7].

<sup>9</sup> From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Rathoddhata.

<sup>13</sup> Read विभाषा. The *akṣaras* in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words *वार्ति वस्य*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> The *akṣaras* in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Rathoddhata.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrāṇita.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

अस्ति यस्तुगिरीन्द्रगर्वगरिमा नीलाश्रसान्नस-  
 त्कान्तिप्रातविडम्बि(स्त्रि)ताम्ब(स्त्रि)रतलः श्रीमान्गोन्द्रोर्ध्व(स्त्रि)दः ।  
 यस्य व्योमतलोहिलक्ष्मिश्चिरप्राग्भारपद्माकर-  
 मेक्ष्मपद्मपरागचक्रमि-

L. 5. तरत्र(त्र)द्याण्डखण्डायते ॥<sup>20</sup>—[8].

देवैरावृतमभ्यमण्डलमिदं मर्त्यैश्च भूमण्डलं  
 कृत्वा धर्मतुलायमानवपुषो यस्मान्तयोग्यं च ।  
 ज्ञाने यावदवैतुमिच्छति विधिः किं शुचमित्येतयो-  
 र्कृद् तावदगादमर्त्यश्चिरस्तभाभूमण्डलं ॥ —[9].

क्षेमे विभिद्य जलधिप्र-

6. धि भूमिचक्रमाकाशचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि ।  
 संसारवर्त्मनि महाविषमे निषन्न(एण)भम्नोन्नतैकतटविश्वरथाक्षलक्ष्मीः ॥<sup>21</sup>—[10].

तस्मिन्वेदविदां वरः स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापयः-  
 पूरणावितकान्तकीमलतटेतिष्ठदसिष्ठो मुनिः ।  
 यस्मैतानलधूमवर्त्तियसु-

7. नां प्रीत्यै पितृर्वा(र्वा)ह्यणो  
 गङ्गासङ्गमसिद्धये समनयद्गु(द्गु)ह्याण्डखण्डं प्रति ॥<sup>22</sup>—[11].  
 विद्यामहासरिदुपात्तविवर्त्तिघोरसंसारसैकतविषक्तमसक्तमेते ।  
 यस्य त्रिलोकरयमुत्पद्यसंप्रवृत्तमुत्तारयन्ति शतशोप्युपदेशधुर्याः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[12].  
 आयातस्य कदाचन क्षितिपतेराच्छिन्दतः कौशिक-  
 स्याति-

8. व्योचितवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनीं नन्दिनीं ।  
 निर्जोता कुपितेन तेन हविषा संहर्षिताह(ह)र्षिणी  
 घोरः श्रीपरमार इत्यनुपमः सत्याभिधानोभवत् ॥<sup>24</sup>—[13].  
 राश्ववर्द्धनविशालधर्मभृत्कृत्यकेतुपृथुकोर्त्तिपार्थिवः ।  
 वर्द्धतेयमहिमांशुचन्द्रमःसंततिप्रतिज्ञतिर्यदन्वय-

9. : ॥<sup>25</sup>—[14].

वराजरामराजितोनलोद्भवः सभारतः ।  
 अहोन्द्रचन्द्रयोरिव व्यजायतायमन्वयः ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>26</sup>—[15].  
 मंत्रेष्मिन्वेरिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभाव-  
 प्रागल्भ्यौदार्यशौर्यप्रचयपरिचयप्राण्यसौराण्यसिद्धिः ।  
 नमस्त्रापालभासखलदलितलुलत्कान्तको-

10. टोरकोटि-

मुक्ताभाषिण्यचक्रखण्डितमन्त्रित्पादपोठीपकण्डः ॥<sup>27</sup>—[16].  
 सत्प्रागाविजयप्रयाणसमये यस्मैन्द्रनीलमभे-

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatā.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

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

म्यायूरातपवारणैः शुशुभिरै नष्टावकाशा दिशः ।

सर्पसक्तकरीन्द्रचक्रचरणप्राग्भारदीर्घस्त्रिरा-

रन्ध्रीद्वूतविषय(वण)शेषसविष-

L. 11.

यासावद्वहा इव ॥<sup>20</sup>—[17].

पाताले वडवासुखानलमिधात्पृष्ठीतले च स्फुर-

स्त्रीवर्णाचलकैतवाहियति च ब्र(ब्र)आण्डखण्डखलात् ।

[च]अत्काश्चनचक्रवालवलयव्याजाश्च दिक्षण्डले

यस्याद्यापि समुक्तसत्यविचलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥ —[18].

स्वर्लोकेषु च विद्विषत्स्वितिषु च व्यालिन्द्रीहेषु च

12. स्वाराजं च रिपुव्रजं च सुरजिन्नागाधिराजं च यः ।

ऐश्वर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारचमत्वेन च

न्यकुर्व्यस्य पराभवस्य समतिक्रामस्य पृष्ठीमपात् ॥ —[19].

तस्माद्देरिन्द्रपावरीधनवधूवैधव्यदुःखोद्भव-

द्वा(वा)ध्याम्भ७कणग्रान्तकोपदहनः श्रीसीयकोभूनुपः ।

13. आविर्भावितनूतनस्थितिरयं ब्र(ब्र)आण्डखण्डखला-

द्यस्याद्यापि विलोक्यते विद्य[द]धोधूमः<sup>20</sup> प्रतापानलः ॥ —[20].

अनुगगनसुदृढः खलुसुक्तोद्यया ये यदसिदलितकुप्यत्कुम्भिकुम्भस्थलेभ्यः ।

सततमपि पतन्तस्तेष्व यावन्न पृष्ठीं पृथुलतरलताराध्या-

14. तस्माद्दे- जभाजो भजन्ते ॥<sup>20</sup> —[21].

अत्याश्चर्यमदृष्टमश्रुतमिदं कक्षी समाचक्षते

को न्वेत्यतिपश्यते च तदपि प्रसूयते कौतुकात् ।

उद्धृत्यापि वसुंधरामसदृशीं लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)पि लक्ष्मीं च यः

कुर्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागात्र वैकुण्ठतां ॥ —[22].

तस्माद्दे-

15. रिवरूयिनीव(व)हुविधप्रारब्ध(व्य)[यु]वाध्वर-

प्रध्वंसैकपिनाकपाणिरजनि श्रीसुधराजो नृपः ।

प्रायः प्राहृतवान्निपपालयिषया यस्य प्रतापानली

लोकालोकमहामहोदधवल्यव्याजाश्चहीमखलं ॥ —[23].

यस्मिन्सर्पति खीलयापि ललितैः सैन्धैः समुज्ज-

16. श्रितं

वाङ्मय्यहविसारिधूलिपटलव्यासुतदिग्मखलैः ।

अत्यद्रो[न्द्र]करीन्द्र[सञ्च]यपदमेङ्गोलनोच्छृङ्खल-

प्रेङ्खलनादनिर्भररुतव्र(व्र)आण्डभाण्डोदरैः ॥ —[24].

यजिस्तु(स्त्रिं)शनिरस्तमस्तकतया लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)न्यथा दुर्लभं

देवत्वं स्वकव(व)न्यसु[ह]तमधी दृष्ट्वा भटै-

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 17-20, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>21</sup> Originally विद्यदी<sup>20</sup> was engraved, but it has been altered to विद्यदी<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>21</sup> Metre of verses 22-26, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

L 17.

वैष्टितः ।

संज्ञात्पततो विमानशिखरादाक्षिष्य कष्टे हठा-

होरा[भङ्ग]ररागिणो वरुधिरे संभूय सिद्धाङ्गनाः ॥ २५ ॥ —[25].

तस्मासीदथ पार्थिवः पृथुयशाः श्रीसिन्धुराजोनुजः

स्फूर्ज्ज्वाडवपावकस्तुट[म]हः[सौन्द]र्यशैर्यानलः ।

यः संयामयु-

18. गान्तवलिताभुजादुर्वीतदूरीक्षस-

त्कलोक्षायितमच्छलाप्रप[ट]सिनामज्जयद्भूतः ॥ —[26].

व्रजति जयिनि यत्नामित्रजातेन जज्ञे तरलतुरगवेगोद्भूतभूरेशुराजिः ।

विकटकरटिभारभ्रष्टभूषुष्ठरन्ध्रादुदित इव समन्तादन्तकालाग्निधूमः ॥<sup>32</sup>—[27].

गाभीर्यं प्रल-

19. याण्यवस्व च व(व)लं कल्यान्तवातस्व च

स्वेमानं कमठेशितुष [गुरु]तां [व(व)ल]भाण्य च ।

तेजः कालहृताशनस्य च महीयस्वं युचक्रस्य च

स्त्रीकृत्स्नेव विनिर्भितं यमविदुः प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुजः ॥ २८ ॥<sup>33</sup>—[28].

तत्तुर्भुवनैकभूषणमभूद्भूपालचूडामणि-

20. च्छायाडम्ब(म्ब)रक्षुम्बि(म्बि)तांक्रिकमलः श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।

यस्याद्या[पि] स[माश्र]यन्ति चरणौ शक्रासना[ध्या]सिनः<sup>34</sup>

आर्हाव(व)न्धविनम्रनिर्जरनटलोटीरकोटित्विषः ॥ —[29].

रटस्पटहपाटवप्रकटभजर्जरस्फूर्ज्जितस्फुरब्जमरुडम्ब(म्ब)रोडमरडिण्डिमोष्णामरा ।

स्तु-

21. टल्करटकुञ्जरप्रपदसंपतलंभमस्त्रमङ्गवन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चनू[रुच]कैः ॥<sup>35</sup>—[30].

वकुण्डः कमलासनाय चतुरास्त्राय स्वयंभूः पुनः

पञ्चास्त्राय हराय शम्भुरपि षडङ्गाय पुत्राय च ।

सनानीरपि दम्दशूकपतयेजसं सहस्रानना-

याद्यापि स्तूहय-

22. त्वमर्थ्यसमिती य[त्कोर्त्ति]मुत्कोर्त्तयन् ॥ ३१ ॥<sup>36</sup>—[31].

तस्मिन्वासव(व)न्मुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले

मम्मस्त्रामिनि तस्व व(व)न्मुदयादित्योभवद्भूपतिः ।

येनोदृत्य मङ्गावर्षवोपममिलत्कर्णाटकर्णप्र[भु]-

सुर्वीपालकदर्यितां भुवमिमां श्रीमहराजायितं ॥ —[32].

य-

23. क्षादुधतरप्रताप[पवनो]पारुडदुर्हर्षता-

सादृशोत्तरविभ्रमादभिसुखैः प्रापञ्चि यैः पञ्चता ।

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>33</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29, Śārdūlavikrīṭita. The third line of verse 28 has no caesura after the 12th syllable.<sup>34</sup> The *akṣara* in brackets looks as if originally *वा* had been engraved.<sup>35</sup> Metre, Prithvi.<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 31-37, Śārdūlavikrīṭita. Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no caesura after the 12th syllable.



मन्त्रे सोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्षप्रकर्षेण ते  
भि[त्रा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुभटाः प्रापुः परां निर्वृतिं ॥ —[33].  
एकस्यां समितौ विलोक्त्र विजयं य-

L. 24.

स्थापरस्यां सुव-

[न्स्त्री?] — — [वक्त?]तां समर्थयति दृग्जिज्ञासहस्रद्वये ।  
किंत्वानन्दनिमीलितेक्षणतया श्रौतैः सुखैर्व्यञ्जित-  
<sup>37</sup>श्चक्षुःकर्णभकर्णमप्यहिपतिः स्वीयं वपुर्विन्दति ॥ ३४ ॥ —[34].  
पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्त्रयैकतरणैः सम्यक्प्रजापालन-  
व्यापारप्र-

25.

वणः प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलक्ष्मदेवोभवत् ।

नीत्या येन मनुस्तथानुविदधे नासौ न वैवस्वतः  
सर्वत्रापि सदाप्यवर्द्धत यथा कीर्त्तिर्नैवैव स्वतः ॥ —[35].  
संभूय प्रियतां गुरुर्व्व(ब्ब)लभराडूः कूर्मराजादयः  
सद्यो नश्यत [वा द्रु]तं नमत वा प्रत्य-

26.

रिपृष्णीभुजः ।

चक्षुर्मन्त्रं पिधीयतामनिमिषाः पांसुः पुरा पूरय-  
त्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटहो यस्य स्तनच्छद्मना ॥ —[36].  
यस्मिन्सर्प[ति] वा(वा)न्वोपि विधुरैः पूर्व्वैः परित्यज्यते  
कल्याणस्य कथापि कातरतया नापेक्षते दक्षिणैः ।  
आशावन्निरस-

27.

त्फलति विकलैर्निर्धीयते पश्चिमै-

र्मन्त्रं केवलमुत्तमैर्नृपतिभिर्द्विधाप्ययोध्यास्वते ॥ —[37].  
प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिशं हरेर्जिह्वीर्षयानम्यसमानदन्तिनां ।  
यथाविग्रहीडपतेः पुरं दर[स्तथा]ग्रशङ्के सहसा पुरंदरः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[38].  
उत्साहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनि-

28.

ताजसप्रयाणक्रमे-

णाक्रम्य त्रिपुरीं रणैकरसिकान्वि[ध्वं]स्य विहेषिणः ।  
येनावास्तत विन्ध्यनिर्भरमरुत्संचारचारुक्षस-  
क्षोलीयानलतावितानवसती रेवोपकण्ठ[स्थ]लि ॥<sup>39</sup>—[39].  
जातानि जन्यश्चममार्जनानि वीजानि यत्कुञ्जरमञ्जनानि ।  
तटाचलो-

29.

ष्ठाटनतत्पराया रेवाप्रवाहोर्मिपरंपरायाः ॥<sup>40</sup>—[40].

ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्भरकराः कुम्भायमानोन्नम-  
त्कूटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविगलहानायमानाश्रयः ।  
प्रायस्तेपि विरोधिसिन्धुरधिया ददाहिनीवारणै-  
रक्ष्मीलक्ष्मदेदुरैर्व्वि(ब्ब)भिदिरे विन्ध्यस्य

<sup>37</sup> Read वक्षुः.<sup>38</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.<sup>40</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

L. 30.

पादावलाः ।(॥)<sup>41</sup>—[41].

स्कार[त्वस्का]रवारस्यगितगुह्यतटीकूटकुहाकटङ्क-

प्रायमेष्टुस्तराप्रत्वरित[ह]रिचमूचकच[ङ्]म्यमाणाः ।

येनालङ्कयन्त सेनाकरिकरटतटीहामदानाम्बु(म्बु)गन्ध-

व्याविहागस्थवन्धहपकुलपटलध्यामला विन्ध्यपादाः ॥<sup>42</sup>—[42].

ये दिक्विभुरव(व)-

31.

अथः अयमश्नीलाद्रिस[त्ता]भृतः

क्रीडाक्रीडकुटुम्ब(म्ब)का[न्ति]जलमुक्तप्र(प्र)प्राचर्याशुषः ।

यत्नेनानृपगन्धसिन्धुरमरुक्षीद्रीविह्वलीकृतै-

स्त्रैरप्यङ्गकलिङ्गकुम्भरकुलैर्युद्धा[य] व(व)होक्षलिः ॥<sup>43</sup>—[43].

देवासौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाश्विनिये यः श्रिया

32. येनेदं व(व)लिवैरिव(व)न्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्रासितं ।

येनाधारि वसुधरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दासतां

यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ तु(तु)धजनैर्व्याजसुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥ —[44].

ये कल्याणलधूममण्डलनिभाः कादम्बि(म्बि)नीविह्वयः

संवर्त्तसितान्धकारसुहृदस्तुव-

33.

द्वियद्वा(द्वा)न्धवाः ।

[व] — — — [आहव]अमनुदे पा[यो]वगाहोद्यतै-

र्यत्सामन्तमतङ्गजैरधरितास्तेष्वम्बु(म्बु)धेरुर्ध्वयः ॥ —[45].

कुम्भसंभवसोदर्ये यत्रापाचीमुपा[र्ण]ति ।

चोलादीर्क्षी[च]कै[र्भू]त्वा विन्ध्यवा(वा)न्धवतादधे ॥<sup>46</sup>—[46].

ली[ला]न्धःपुवने यदीयपुतनासामन्ध-

34.

सीमन्तिनी-

त्रोष्णि[त्रे]णि[विश्री]र्यमाचर[ग्र]नासुक्ताः पतन्ति अ याः ।

ताभिः संप्रति पप्रथेनु पृथिवीं यत्तामपवर्णपयः

पश्चाद्यापि तदेव पाञ्चानृपते[र्षी]वातवे [जा]य[ति] ॥<sup>47</sup>—[47].

स्वामिन्नेव स सेतुरन्नभवतो रामस्य यो मारुति-

प्रायोपाकृत-

35.

शैलमृद्धरचितो वर्धि[च्छु]विन्ध्यायते ।

इत्या[दृ]त्त्व कुतूहलेन कथितं तन्ने(न्ने)रवन्नाय यः

सेनाह्यस्तिकसेतुनैव विदधे ह्योपास्तरोपक्रमं ॥ —[48].

अथावभण्णोभयथा यमाशां यस्या[नचे] सप्यति सैन्यसङ्घे ।

अभूत्स्वकीयां ककुभं व्यपायाद्गो-

36.

पायितुं पागभृदध्यपाशः ॥<sup>49</sup>—[49].

मैमाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचिल्कालाग्निरास्ते कचि-

त्सन्ति कापि तिमिगिलप्रभृतयः कुद्रापि शेते हरिः ।

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikṛtita.<sup>42</sup> Metre, Śragdhārā.<sup>43</sup> Metre of verses 43-45, Śārdūlavikṛtita.<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>45</sup> Metre of verses 47 and 48, Śārdūlavikṛtita.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

एतदेति न कोपि यत्र जलधौ [त]स्वाप्य[मिधं] पय[ः]

[पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः कृतैकमुलुकैस्ते-

L. 37.

रगस्यायितं ॥<sup>47</sup>—[50].

यैः संभूय तिमिङ्गिलप्रभृतिभिः संसर्पिष्व[न्]ते

पोताधानसव(व)भुतां शिखरिणो मीनाकमुत्था अपि ।

भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्ब(म्ब)राणि दधिरै<sup>48</sup> तैरप्यशेषेभ्यु(भ्यु)धौ

यत्तेनागजराज[पीव]रकरा — — ॐ नोच्छृङ्खलैः ॥ —[51].

अथातितीक्ष्णोरिव राज-

38.

राजमन्यं तदामां प्रति यस्य यातुः ।

द्विधापि भीत्युज्झितवित्तपार्श्वभूयैः प्रतीपैर्विभयैर्व्य(म्ब)भूवे ॥<sup>49</sup>—[52].

आरामाः समरा मरावपि तदा पुत्रागपूगादिम-

हुस्मान्स्वर्जनदेवतायितजयश्रीमद्यशःपादपाः ।

यस्यासम्भुजदण्डच[ण्डि]मलसप्तोलासिलचीकृत-

क्षीणीपालक-

39.

पालमण्डलगलत्कीलालकुल्याकुलाः ॥<sup>50</sup>—[53].

खेलोत्खाततुल्यदत्तविलसद्वाहावल्लोकेहन-

क्लाम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंशूपकण्डखले ।

येनावाख्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिस्रवाकपाटव-

खाटूतुल्य[प]त्रिपञ्चरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥ —[54].

तेन व्यापुर्मण्डले सुकृति-

40.

ना यस्मै ग्रहेन्द्रग्रहे

यद्ग्रामद्वयमग्नियेण विधिना विन्यासितं श्रवया ।

तद्वाता नरवर्धदेववृषतिः पञ्चात्परीवर्त्य त-

द्ग्रामं मोखलपाटकाख्यमदिशद्देशत्रयस्वेच्छया ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>51</sup>—[55].

तेन स्वयंकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिचित्रितं ।

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेणैतद्देवागारमकार्यत ॥<sup>52</sup>—[56].

सं ११६१ ॥

41.

चौ

हंज्ञो वु(वु)धाः साधु समुत्सृज्यं कुशाधकस्यां च धियं विधज्य<sup>53</sup> ।

मध्यस्वभावं च समान्ययज्यं सुखं च नः सुक्तिबुधासुपाध्यं ॥<sup>54</sup>—[57].

वन्दनीयावुभौ सुक्तिश्रोतारौ तौ विपश्चितौ ।

यावन्तु सुव्रतः सान्द्रमानन्दालङ्घननिर्भ(र्भ)रौ ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>55</sup>—[58].

<sup>47</sup> Metre of verses 50 and 51, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>48</sup> Originally विधिरे seems to have been engraved.

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 53-55, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> Originally "हरेणैतद्" was engraved.

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>53</sup> Read विपश्.

<sup>54</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Bhārati!<sup>64</sup>

(Verse 1). O goddess of speech and divine Durgā ! Let simplicity,<sup>65</sup> force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us !

(2). May Lakshmi's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even<sup>66</sup> the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth !

(3). May good utterances, clad in *jāti* and *vṛitta* metres,<sup>67</sup> pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us ! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them !

(4). May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord<sup>68</sup> of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race,<sup>69</sup> which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings !

(5). Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords !

(6). May that form<sup>70</sup> of the husbands of Umā and Lakshmi grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious !

(7). May Vishnu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself !

(8). Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

(9). I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

<sup>64</sup> *I.e.*, the goddess of speech or eloquence.

<sup>65</sup> For the exact definitions of *prasāda*, *audhṛya*, *mādhurya*, *saṁdhi* and *saṁatā*, denoting certain qualities of style, see, e.g., *Kāvyadārśa* I, 45, 76, 51, 93, and 47. But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary sense, 'serenity of disposition,' etc.

<sup>66</sup> The *madhyama* *Vaiśṇava* *padam*, 'Vishnu's middle stride,' is the air. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Vishnu's *madhyama-pada* already is so high, his *uttama-pada* must be infinitely higher still.

<sup>67</sup> See *Indische Studien*, vol. VIII, pp. 180 and 192.

<sup>68</sup> *I.e.*, the god Kuvera.

<sup>69</sup> *I.e.*, the Paramāra family which will be eulogised in the following.

<sup>70</sup> *I.e.*, the form of Hari-Hara or Vishnu-Śiva ; see *ante*, vol. I, p. 311, note 47.

the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru!<sup>53</sup>

(V. 10). Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishṭha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunā, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12). His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

(13). Once upon a time, when the royal descendant<sup>54</sup> of Kuśika visited him and took by force the cow Nandini, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishṭha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvāmitra, the unparalleled hero, the illustrious Paramāra, rightly so named.<sup>55</sup>

(14). Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Rājyavardhana, Viśāla, Dharmabhṛit, Satyaketu, and Prithukīrti.

(15). This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Rāma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

(16). In this race there was the king Vairisimha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity and bravery; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diadems which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śeṣha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching ruddy elephants.

(18). Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

<sup>53</sup> Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals.' What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbuda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru.

<sup>54</sup> *Id.*, Viśvāmitra.

<sup>55</sup> *Viś.*, 'the slayer of enemies.' See *ante*, vol. I, p. 236, verse 6.

(V. 19). He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishnu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Siyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikunṭha.<sup>66</sup>

(23). From him was born the illustrious king Muñjarāja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Śiva did to (Daksha's) sacrifice;<sup>67</sup> and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokāloka mountains.

(24). Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

(26). After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindhurāja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

(28). In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

<sup>66</sup> Vaikunṭha, i.e., Vishnu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakshmi, and did the work of the gods; the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well-minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (*āpāna na vai kṛṇṣāntām*).

<sup>67</sup> See the first verse of the first act of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntala*, and Sir M. Monier-Williams' note on it.

(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhojadeva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud *jharjharas*,<sup>66</sup> by a multitude of shrill *ḍamaras*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his ruddy elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuṇṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhū again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods<sup>67</sup> in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.<sup>68</sup>

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.<sup>69</sup>

(34). The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, . . . . shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious Lakshmadeva, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: 'Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!'

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.<sup>70</sup>

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

<sup>66</sup> *Jharjhara* and *ḍamaras* are names of certain kinds of drums.

<sup>67</sup> *Kalyāṇkula* would also mean 'crowded with nobles.'

<sup>68</sup> *I.e.*, Vishnu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks.

<sup>69</sup> See the *Pardāra-mṛṣī*, Calcutta ed., p. 626: *Dadu imau puruṣau loka sūrya-maṇḍala-bhedinu, parivardh yagayuktas cha rano chābhimukho katoḥ*.

<sup>70</sup> I take the words *dvedhāpy ayodhādyate* to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by *ayodhādyate*, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. *Ayo*, *i.e.* *ayaḥ*, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter *ayas*, 'iron, steel,' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune.' Compare below, verses 49 and 53.

quarter,<sup>73</sup> then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

(V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripurī and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kalinga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered<sup>74</sup> by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

(44). Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth'.<sup>75</sup>

(45). The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to . . . get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

(46). When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.<sup>76</sup>

(47). The water of the Tāmraparṇī which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *I.e.*, the east.

<sup>74</sup> The word of the original would also mean 'deprived of their trunks.'

<sup>75</sup> The words translated by 'it was the holy Purushottama'

and 'the enemy Bali' would also mean 'glorious is that chief of men' and 'powerful enemies.'

<sup>76</sup> See Mr. S. P. Pandit's note on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 61.

<sup>77</sup> See *ib.*, notes on verses IV, 49 and 50.



(V. 48). Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Rāma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

(49). When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuṇa despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.<sup>78</sup>

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Maināka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timiṅgila and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.<sup>79</sup>

(51). By those same Timiṅgila and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Maināka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.<sup>80</sup>

(53). And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens, the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnāga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54). Being encamped on the banks of the Vankshu,<sup>81</sup> which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

(55). This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave<sup>82</sup> with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura *maṇḍala*. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravar-madeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapātaka, at the request of the three places.

(56). And he has ordered the illustrious Lakshmidhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

<sup>78</sup> Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuṇa the regent of the west.

<sup>79</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

<sup>80</sup> Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter.

<sup>81</sup> According to Sir M. Monier-Williams' dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges.

<sup>82</sup> The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative *gasmāi*, in reference to which the demonstrative *taismāi* would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.

The year 1161.

Om!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *kubā* grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

(58). Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

#### XIV.—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ.

BY G. BÜHLEB, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer. Nos. i—viii, x—xxi, xxiii—xxxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankālī Tīla at Mathurā during the period from November 1890 to March 1891.<sup>1</sup> No. ix comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No. xxii is identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxviii with Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kāman or Kādambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka's edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhūti's inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śuṅgas (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 138). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in *āsa* from *a*-stems, instead of *assa*, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.<sup>2</sup> It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial *a* of *āntevāsi*, which is also found in *āntevāsinī*, No. iv, finds an analogy in the curious *paryāntam*, which occurs twice in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*, I. 3, 9, 23 and I. 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p. v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound *pāsādotoranam* is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythic period, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sānchi Stūpa, No. i, see *ante*, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankālī Tīla, (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankālī Tīla. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's article *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 145.

vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śoḍāsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurā. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's lion-pillar, where Śoḍāsa is called the son of Rajula.<sup>3</sup> Though the precise date assigned to Śoḍāsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B.C., before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śoḍāsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahārāja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No. ii is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No. iii, mentions also a Mahākshatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No. ii, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No. x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahākshatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kushanas reigned there. The *māṅgala* of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed *ya*, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary *ya*, the *da*, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the *ta*. The *va* has a very curious shape in the word *Śivayāśā*, No. v, l. 2a, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No. iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No. ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gotiputra Īdrapāla or Īdrapālita with Gotiputra, "the black cobra for the Śakas and the Poṭhayaś" mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurā.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Samvat 4 to Samvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, *bhavatu*, No. xiii, *astu*, No. xviii, and *nirvartayati*, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have *śiṣhyasya ganisya*

<sup>3</sup> *Academy* of April 25th, 1891, p. 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion-pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, I, too, read *Rajulasa putra Śoḍasa chhatrava*. But I do not feel quite certain that *Rajula* and *Rajubula* are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.

*Nandiye*, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form *Haganamdia* in No. ix of the collection in vol. I, and shows that masculine *i*-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No. xxix, which shows *ganisya uggahiniya*, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note *asma* or *asmi kshuṇe*, "at that moment," in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, *paṇa* "fifty" in No. xvii and *dvāpanā* "fifty-two" in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahārāṣṭrī *bāvanna* and the *bāvan* or *bāvaṇ* of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles *māhārāja rājātiraja*, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, e.g., No. xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balatrāta and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Samvat 50, and the teacher Jeshṭhasthi, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like *Mahalo*, has to be read Mihilo, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In *pratimā* No. xxix, the *ā*-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the "anyhow-style" of the Indian writers and masons. In No. xxix of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of *ta* in the word *arahantāna*, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped *ta* of *Navahastisya* is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for *na* in *bhrātrinaṃ* (l. 3). The looped form of *ta* is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siriyāṇa Sātakani.\* But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the *va* which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like *ma*. It is quite distinct in the word *vadhuye*, No. xxxii, l. 1, likewise in *viḥāre*, No. xlii, and in *Huvishkasya*, No. xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, *siddha*, discussed in the remark on No. xxvii, in note 2 on No. xxxvi, and note 2 on No. xlii. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase *bahavo[to] vachaka cha gaṇino oka*, "of the great preacher and *gaṇin*," No. xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, *ante*, vol. I, p. 375. Another amusing instance of the

\* *Arch. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. IV, plate lv, No. 22; compare also No. 20.

utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No. xxxiv, *Navahastisya dhītā, grahasenasya vadhu ... Sivasenasya..... bhrātrinaṃ mātū jāyāye*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *i*, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D., and that No. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. V, p. 59ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvānlāl's paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rājataranginī* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkar-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stūpa existed in Mathurā, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *i. e.*, was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachchhaliya *kula* (No. xiii) and of the Vidyādhari *Śākhā* (No. xxxix) for the Koṭṭiya or Koṭika *gana*, as well as those of the Nāṭika, or perhaps Nāḍika *kula* (No. xxviii) of the Aryyabhyista or perhaps Aryyanyista *kula* and of the Sa[mkāsiyā] *Śākhā* (No. xxxvi) for the Vārāṇa *gana*. The schools connected with the Koṭṭiya *gana* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpasūtra*. The Nāṭika or Nāḍika *kula* may be considered to correspond to the Māliḥja *kula* of the *Sthavirāvalī*, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Aryya-Aniyasa(to)* and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of Ārya-Kaniyasa, another equivalent for which, *Aryya-Kaniyasika*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

#### No. I.<sup>6</sup>

समनस माहरखितास चातिवासिस वक्षियुवस सावकास उत्तरदासक[र]स पासादोतीरजं [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>6</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

“An ornamental arch for the temple’ (*the gift*) of the lay-hearer Utaradāsaka

<sup>5</sup> Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2"–8".

<sup>6</sup> According to the impression the reading सावकास is perhaps possible. Possibly उत्तरदासक is to be read.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.

(*Uttaradāsaka*),<sup>9</sup> son of the Vachhī (*Vātsī mother and*) disciple<sup>9</sup> of the ascetic Māharakhita (*Māgharakshita*)."

No. II<sup>10</sup>.

- L. 1. नम षरहतो वर्धमानस ।<sup>11</sup>  
 2. स्व[1]मिस महचक्षपस ग्रीडासस सवत्सरे ४० (?) २ हेमंतमासे २ दिवसे ८ हरितिपुत्रस पालस  
 भयाये समसाविकाये<sup>12</sup>  
 3. कोहिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आयवती प्रतिष्ठापिता  
 माय—[म]—  
 4. आर्यवती षरहतपुत्राये [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Āyavatī (*Āryavatī*), was set up by Amohini (*Amohini*), the Koochi (*Kautsi*), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (*and*) wife of Pāla, son of a Hariti (*Haritī* or *Hārītī mother*), together with her sons Pālaghosha, Poṭhaghosha (*Proshṭhaghosha and*) Dhana-ghosha . . . the Āryavatī (*is*) for the worship of the Arhat."

No. III<sup>13</sup>.

- L. 1. सिद्धम् । नमोस्वर्हन्नाः<sup>14</sup>  
 2. महाराजमहाक्षत्रपस — —<sup>15</sup>

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! . . . Mahārāja, Mahākshatrapa-Ma . . .

No. IV<sup>16</sup>.

- L. 1. भदतजयसेनस्य चातिवासिनीये  
 2. धामघोषाये दानो पासादो [॥\*]

TRANSLATION.

"A temple, the gift of Dhāmaghoshā (*Dharmaghoshā*), the female disciple<sup>17</sup> of the venerable Jayasena."

<sup>9</sup> Compare the Buddhist name *Uttarasena*. *Uttara* probably stands *śālmāsa* for *Uttaraphālguni* or *Uttarabhadra-padā*.

<sup>10</sup> Regarding the form *अतिवासि* see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Māharakhita was the spiritual director of *Uttaradāsaka*; for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on a slab measuring 3' 2" by 3' 8" and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants one of whom is holding up a parasol.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *नमो*, as the ends of the upper strokes of *म* are somewhat thickened.

<sup>13</sup> The first figure of the date may possibly be 70. The *Annvāra* of *कुम्हार* is not certain. Read *समसाविकाये*.

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the top of a small statue cut out of the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.

<sup>15</sup> The second vowel of *नमो* is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to *नमो* the appearance of *नमो*: —

<sup>16</sup> The last syllable may have been *मो* —

<sup>17</sup> Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torana, measuring 1' 2" by 8".

<sup>18</sup> I suppose *चातिवासिनी* means here, like *अतिवासि* in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhāmaghoshā's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic.

No. V<sup>18</sup>.

- L. 1a. नमो अरहतानं फगुयस<sup>19</sup>  
 2a. नतकस भयाये शिवयशा-  
 3a. — — ि — ि — — ि — काये  
 1b. आयागपटो कारितो  
 2b. अरहतपुजाये [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayaśā (*Śivayaśas*), wife of the dancer Phaguyaśa (*Phalguyaśas*), . . . . . a tablet of homage (*āyāgapāṭa*)<sup>20</sup> was caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats."

No. VI.<sup>21</sup>

भगवा नेमसी भग — —

## TRANSLATION.

"The divine Nemesa (*Naigamesha*), divine . . . . ."<sup>22</sup>

No. VII.<sup>23</sup>

- L. 1. य — च  
 2. — र[क्तव]स्त्र च यो मनो  
 3. —[यतनं घनस्य महतः  
 4. — — [चेप्य]क्षयं [न] किं<sup>24</sup>

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Praśasti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No. VIII.<sup>25</sup>

नमो अरहतो महाविरस । माथुरक — — लवाडस [सा] —  
 भयाये — — व — नीताये [आयागपटो] [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*). A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāṭa* the gift) of . . . itā, wife of . . lavāḍa (?), an inhabitant of Mathurā."

<sup>18</sup> Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2' 4" by 1' 9", and bearing the representation of a stūpa with rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's slab, *Actes du sixième Congrès, Int. Or.*, pt. III, sect. ii, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> Possibly फगुयस, but I believe the apparent i-stroke to be accidental.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the meaning of आयागपटो, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 396.

<sup>21</sup> Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2' by 10", and bearing the representation of a large seated figure with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap.

<sup>22</sup> The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurā.

<sup>23</sup> Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1' by 8".

<sup>24</sup> The bracketed letter looks almost like *ki*, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that the apparent i-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anuvāsa of किं is doubtful.

<sup>25</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an *āyāgapāṭa*), measuring 2' 10" by 2' 10".

No. IX.<sup>26</sup>L. 1. मा चरहतपुजा [ये]<sup>27</sup>2. गोतीपुत्रस ईद्रपा[स] — —<sup>28</sup>

TRANSLATION.

An image of . . . . . for the worship of the Arhats . . . . of Īdrapāla (*Īdrapāla*),<sup>29</sup> the son of the Gotī (*Gauptī mother*).

No. X.<sup>30</sup>

— ये जीवनादाये — —

TRANSLATION.

“Of Jīvanādā (*Jīvanandā*).” . . . .

No. XI.<sup>31</sup>A. सिंह स ४ वि १ दि २० वारणातो गणातो अर्यहाडकियातो कुसतो वज्रमरित[ी शा] — —<sup>32</sup>B. पुष्यमित्रस्य शिशिनि सयिसिहाये शिशिनि सिंहमित्रस्य सदचरि — — —<sup>33</sup>C. दाति सहा ग्रहचेटेन ग्रहदासेन — —<sup>34</sup>

TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the year 4, the first (*month* of) summer, the day 20,— . . . of . . . . the female convert<sup>35</sup> (*sādhachari*) of Sihamitra (*Simhamitra*), the female pupil of Sathisihā (*Shashṭisimhā*), the female pupil of Puśyamitra . . . out of the Vārana *gaṇa*, out of the Arya-Hātṭakiya (*Ārya-Hātṭakiya*) *kula*, out of the Vajjanagari (*Vārjanagari*) *śākhā* . . . . the gift . . . . , together with Graha-cheṭa (*and*) Grahadāsa.”

No. XII.<sup>36</sup>

— — — स्व व ५ म ४ दि ५ कोटिया — — — — —

त[ी] शाखात [ी] वाचकस्य अर्थ — —

TRANSLATION.

“In the year 5 of . . . . , in the fourth (*month of*) summer, on the fifth day,— . . . . of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Aryya . . . . (*Ārya* . . . .) out of the Koṭṭiya (*gaṇa*) . . . . . , out of the . . . . *śākhā* . . . .

<sup>26</sup> This inscription belongs to Dr. Führer's collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1' 6" by 1' 2".

<sup>27</sup> Restore *pratimā*.

<sup>28</sup> As the right half of the *la* has been lost, the name is not certain. It may have been *Īdrapālita*.

<sup>29</sup> Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.

<sup>30</sup> Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.

<sup>31</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 1" by 1' 7".

<sup>32</sup> The *i*-stroke of *siddham* has been lost; the Anusvara is not certain. The *i*-stroke of *aryahātṭakiyāto* is faintly visible on the impression. Below the *ja* of *vajjanagari* a letter, probably another *ja*, has been lost. Restore *śākhāto*, but more syllables have probably been lost.

<sup>33</sup> At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word *nirvartanā*.

<sup>34</sup> The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end, the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.

<sup>35</sup> This translation is, of course, merely tentative; the Sanskrit equivalent is *sādhachari*.

<sup>36</sup> Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 0".



No. XIII.<sup>37</sup>

- A. स १० द ष्ट ४ दि ३ [अस्मा पु] — [य] — — [या]तो गण[तो] — — — —<sup>38</sup>  
 B. संभोगातो वच्छलियातो कुलातो गणि — — — — —<sup>39</sup>  
 D. 1. — — — वासि जयस्य — तु मासिगिये (?) दानं सर्वत[?]भ[द्र] — — — —<sup>40</sup>  
 2. — [सर्वस]वा[न] सुखाय भवतु ।<sup>41</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the third day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a fourfold [*image*], the gift of M āsig i(?), (mother of) J a y a . . . . . [*at the request*] of . . . . . a g a n i out of the [K oṭṭi] y a g a n a . . . . ., out of the . . . . . s a m b h o g a, out of V a c c h h a l i y a (V āts a l i y a) k u l a. May it be for the welfare of all beings !"

No. XIV.<sup>42</sup>

- A. — — — ष १० [द] व २ दि १० १<sup>43</sup>  
 B. धितु मि[तगि]रिये भगवती अरिष्टेमिस्स [वेवर्त] ? — — —<sup>44</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the second (*month of*) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [the gift] of M i t a - Ś i r i (? M i t r a ś r i), the daughter of . . . . .  
 a . . . of divine A r i ś ṭ a ṇ e m i (A r i ś ṭ a ṇ e m i) . . . . ."

No. XV.<sup>45</sup>

- A. स १० १ व १ दि १० अस्मा पुणे  
 B. 1. — — यातो गणतो [अ]र्यवेरितो ग्राहतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वड[तो] । कुटुम्बि-  
 णिये [अ]ह<sup>46</sup>  
 2. — — — — [अर्य] — दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्स धितु देवि लस्स । मिरिये दाणं ।<sup>47</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1' by 8". The section C. has been cut away.

<sup>38</sup> Read *aryā*. The restoration *koffiyāto* is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the Sāmbhoga has been lost.

<sup>39</sup> Indistinct remnants of *aya* are visible after *gani*. The lost piece C must have contained the name of the Gani and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect.

<sup>40</sup> The impressions point to *mātu*. For *māsiṅgiye* it is possible to read *māsiṅgiye* or *masēṅgiye*, but none of these forms, admits of an explanation. May it be *Mosiniye* for *Moshiniye*? See below No. xxxvii. Restore *sarvutobhadrikā pratimā*.

<sup>41</sup> Read *sarvatasūdanā*.

<sup>42</sup> Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2' by 10".

<sup>43</sup> Perhaps *varaha* is to be restored.

<sup>44</sup> The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.

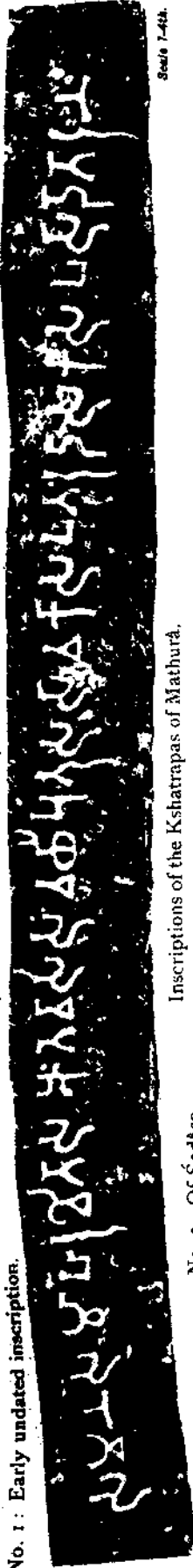
<sup>45</sup> Incised on base of small squatted Jina, 2' by 1' 1".

<sup>46</sup> Restore *koffiyāto gāṇto*; *vahato* (= *brihato*). Before *kuṭumbiṅgiye* the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of B 2. the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line.

<sup>47</sup> Probably *ganiya* is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between *arya* and *dāsa* the restoration *goddāsa* seems certain. The name occurs in the *Kaṭpasūtra* (p. 79 ed. Jacobi). After *devilasya* stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:—  
 बौद्धिवादी [न]वातो अर्यवेरितो ग्राहतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वड[तो] (?) [अ]ह [अ]र्य [तो] दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्स धितु देवि लस्स ।  
 कुटुम्बिणिये अहमिरिये दाणं ।

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES) : NOS. I-VII.

No. 1: Early undated inscription.



Scale 1-4th.

No. 2: Of Śodāsa.

Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathurā.



Scale: 3-10th.

No. 3: Of unnamed Kshatrapa.



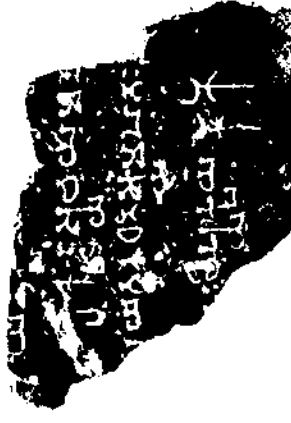
Scale: Half the original.

Archaic Inscriptions: No. 4.



Scale: 3-10th.

No. 7: Archaic.



Scale 1-4th.

No 5: Archaic.



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 6: Archaic.



Scale: 1-3rd.

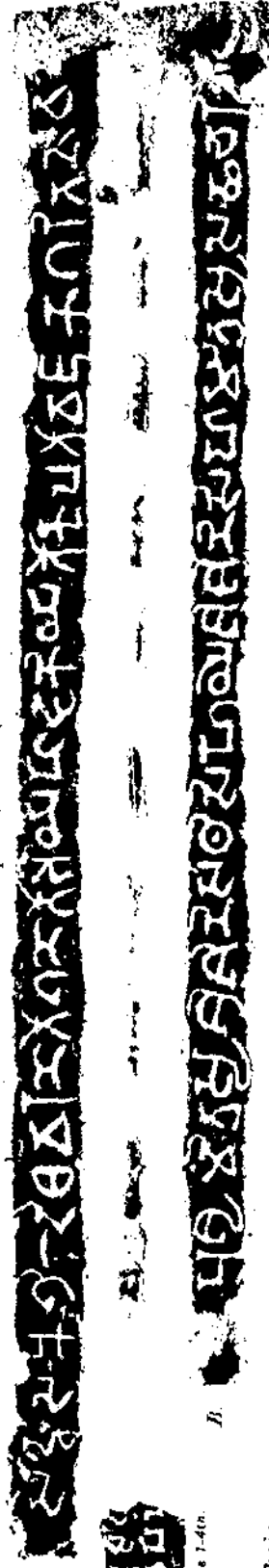
No. 8. Archaic.

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): NOS. VIII-XV.



Scale: 1-10ths.

No. 11: Dated Inscription, Sam. 4.



No. 9. Archaic.



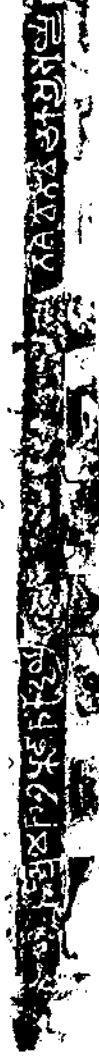
Scale 1-4th.

No. 10: Archaic.



Scale 1-4th.

No. 12 Dated Sam. 5.



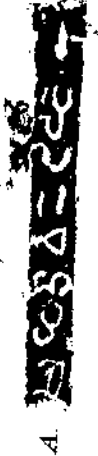
Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 13: Dated Sam. 18, grishma



Scale: Half the original.

No. 14 Dated Sam. 18, varsha.



A.



B.

Scale: Half the original.

No. 15: Dated Sam. 31.



A.



B.

A. Führer, Ph. D. impress.

Scale: 1-3rd.



## TRANSLATION.

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (*was dedicated*) the gift of the worker in metal<sup>66</sup> Goṭṭika, the Śūra,<sup>67</sup> the son of Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Divita, (*who is*) the convert of the *gaṇi* Aryya-Maṅguhasti (*and*) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghastuhasti out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Verā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, the Sthānikiya *kula* (*and*) the Śrīgriha *sambhoga*. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX<sup>68</sup>.

- L. 1. सिद्ध स ६० २ व २ दि ५ एतस्य पुवय वाचकस्य आयककुहस्थ[स]<sup>69</sup>  
 2. वारणगणियस शिषो ग्रहबलो आतपिको तस निवर्तना

"Success! the year 62, the second (*month of the*) rainy season, the day 5, on that (*date, specified as*) above, the pupil of the preacher Āya-Karkuhastha (*Arya-Karkaṣa-gharshita*)<sup>70</sup> of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa*, was the ātapika Grahabala, at his request . . . . .

No. XX.<sup>71</sup>

- A. 1. सं ७० ८ र्ष ४ दि २० एतस्यां पुर्वीयं कोट्टिये गणे वहरायां शाखायां — —<sup>72</sup>  
 2. को अयहृषहस्ति अरहतो यन्दि[आ]वर्तस प्रतिमं निर्वर्तयति ।<sup>73</sup>  
 B. — — — भार्यये आविकाये [दिनाये] दानं प्रतिमा वोढे युपे देवनिर्मिते प्र — — —<sup>74</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 79, the fourth (*month of the*) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (*date, specified as*) above, Āya-Vṛiddhahasti (*Arya-Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* (*and*) in the Vairā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nāndiāvarta (*Nāndyāvarta*)<sup>75</sup> . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . , was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

No. XXI<sup>76</sup>.

- L. 1. स ८० १ व १ दि ६ एतस्य पुवाय [अ]यिकाजीवाये अंते-  
 2. वासिकिनिये दताये निवतना । [य]हशिरिये — — —

<sup>68</sup> Compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 391, No. xxi.

<sup>69</sup> I take Śūra, as the name of the family or the clan.

<sup>70</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the lower part has been destroyed.

<sup>71</sup> On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.

<sup>72</sup> The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re-edited in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>73</sup> Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8"; the right portion is missing.

<sup>74</sup> I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent *ra*-stroke above *va* may be accidental. Possibly *koliya* to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables *vācha* have certainly been lost, because the syllable *ko* in l. 2 stands exactly under *saṃ* and l. 2 is, therefore, complete.

<sup>75</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of *ā* by a stroke going upwards.

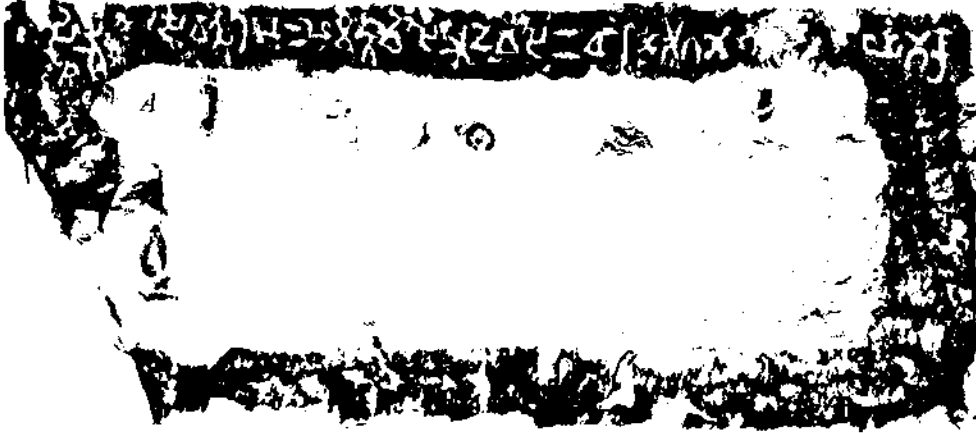
<sup>76</sup> It is possible to read also *vofve*, which, however, is as unsatisfactory as *vodve*. Perhaps *voddhe*, i.e. *vṛiddhe* "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide *pratimāvo dve* and to take this in the sense of *pratime dve* (two images)? This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only *one* statue is mentioned. Restore *pratishṭhāpitā*. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dinā's husband, as a small remnant of a *aya* is still visible on the impression.

<sup>77</sup> The Arhat Nāndyāvarta, i.e., he whose mark is the *Nāndyāvarta* symbol, is Ara, the eighteenth Tirthankara.

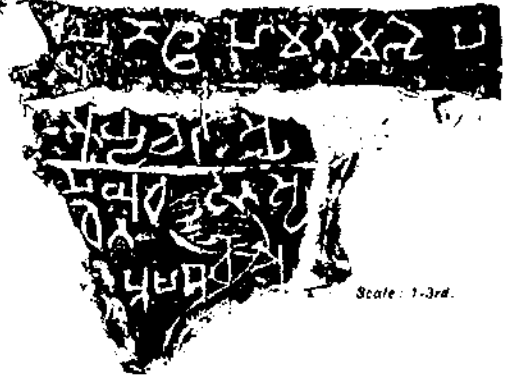
<sup>78</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2' 5" by 1' 10", lower part destroyed.

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): Nos. XVI-XIX.

No. 16: Dated Sam. 32.



No. 17: Dated Sam. 50.

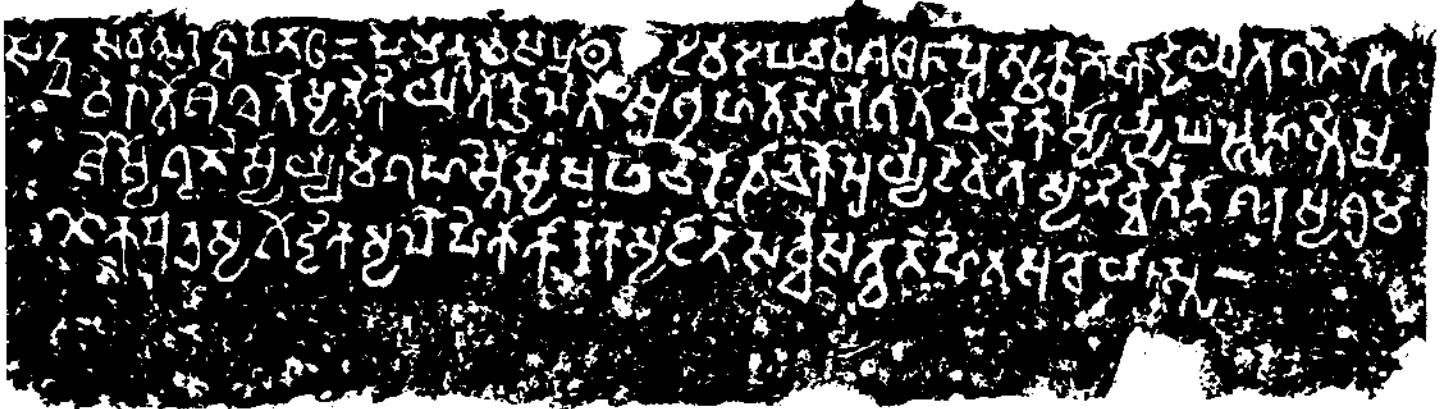


Scale: 1-3rd.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 18: Dated Sam. 52.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 19: Dated Sam. 62.




A. Führer, Ph. D., impress.

Scale: 3-10ths.

No. 20 Inscription dated Sam. 79.  
MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): NOS. XX-XXVI.

A 

No. 25: Huvishka.  


Scale: 1-3rd.

B 

Scale: 3-10ths

No. 26: Hushka.

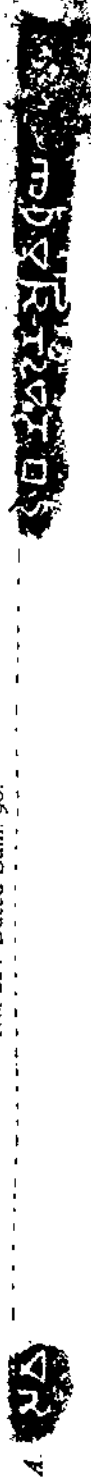


No. 21: Dated Sam. 81.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 22: Dated Sam. 90.

A 

B 

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 23: Dated Sam. 93.

A 

B 

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 24: Dated Sam. 98.



Scale: 1-3rd.

A. Führer, Ph. D., impress

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 81, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the sixth day—on that (*date as specified*) above at the request of Datā, the female pupil<sup>69</sup> of Ayikā-Jivā (*Āyikā-Jivā*)—Grahāsiri (*Grahāsiri*) . . . . .

## No. XXII.

- L. 1. सव [८० व] — — — — — टुबनिए दिनस्य वधूय  
 2. को — — तो ग[ण]तो प — व[ह] — [क]तो कुलातो मभमातो शाखा[तो] — —  
 सनिकय भतिबलाए—मिनि

This inscription is Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III, pl. xv). It seems to have suffered since the time when the first facsimile was prepared. The date, which I have given according to Sir A. Cunningham, has disappeared, and several letters at the end of line 2 have become indistinct. Its chief value consists in the mention of the *Majhamā śākhā* and the *Pa-vaha-ka kula*, which latter I have formerly identified with the *Praśnavāhanaka* or *Paṇhavāhanaya kula* of the Jaina tradition. Dr. Führer's impression shows pretty clearly that the first letter is *pa*, which is not equally certain according to Sir A. Cunningham's facsimile. It also makes it probable that the third letter of the name is not *ku*, but *ha*. The name of the *gana* was without a doubt Koṭṭiya, as the first syllable *ko* is tolerably distinct.

No. XXIII.<sup>70</sup>

- A. नमो अर्हतो महाविरस्य सं ८० ३ [व] — — —  
 B. 1. शिष्यस्य ग[णि]स्य [न]न्दिने [नि]र्वर्त्तना देवस्य हिरण्यकस्य धितु — — — — —<sup>1</sup>  
 2. — — — ि — [भ] — वतो वर्त्तमानप्रतिमा प्रति — — — — —<sup>2</sup> — पुजा[ये] [॥]<sup>72</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*)! The year 93, the . . . . (*month of*) the rainy season . . . . . at the request of the *gaṇi* Nandi (*Nandi*) pupil of . . . . . an image of divine Varddhamāna was set up by . . . . ., the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship [*of the Arhat*]."

No. XXIV.<sup>73</sup>

स ८० ८ हे १ दि ५ अस्म क्षुणे क[ॐ]दियात [ॐ] गणातो उचनग — — —<sup>74</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

The year 98, the first (*month of*) winter, the fifth day, at that moment,—out of the Koṭṭiya *gana*, the Uchanagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) [*śākhā*] . . . . .

<sup>69</sup> *Antevāsikini*, as well as *ayikā*, are properly diminutives. Compare *parajitika*, which is common in the Buddhist inscriptions.

<sup>70</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 8" by 2' 2".

<sup>71</sup> Regarding the form *nandiye*, which is indisputable, see above, the Introduction.

<sup>72</sup> Restore *bhagavato* and further on *prati-kṣhāpitē arhato* or *arhata*.

<sup>73</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina 1' 10" by 2' 4".

<sup>74</sup> Restore *uchanagarito śākhāto*.



No. XXV.<sup>75</sup>— — — [व]पुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य स — — —<sup>76</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“In the year . . . . . of . . . Devaputra Huvishka . . . . .”

No. XXVI.<sup>77</sup>

- |   |                 |               |
|---|-----------------|---------------|
| A. 1. एकुनती [श]  | B. 1. अ[र]ह[तो] | C. 1. — — —   |
| 2. वा — —   | 2. — [ह]रवल     | 2. प्रतिस — — |
| D. 1. स्व म — र — स्व देव[पु]त्रस्य[हु]वस्य — — — <sup>78</sup> |                 |               |
| 2. [वा]सि[क] नगदतस्य शिषो मि[ग क] — — १ स — —                   |                 |               |

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha, (*Hushka* or *Huvishka*), and of a monk named Nagadata (*Nāgadatto*). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group *sdha*, an abbreviation of *sidham*, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word *ekunatīsa*, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII.<sup>79</sup>

- L. 1. सिद्धम् महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य — — — — —  
 2. ओहनन्दिस्स शिष्येण से — न — — — — —<sup>80</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (*Oghanandin*)” . . . . .<sup>81</sup>

No. XXVIII.<sup>82</sup>

- A. — — भगवतो उसभस वारणे गणे नाडिके कुले — — — — — खा [य] — —<sup>83</sup>  
 B. दुक्स वायकस सिसिनिण सादिताण नि — — —<sup>84</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“[Adoration] to divine Usabha [*Rishabha*]! At the request of Sādītā, female

<sup>75</sup> Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3' 6" by 2' 6".

<sup>76</sup> Restore *devoputrasya* and *sahvatsare*.

<sup>77</sup> Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 1".

<sup>78</sup> The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain: *hukshasya* looks, because the first letter is blurred, like *puksha-sya*. But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.

<sup>79</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 6" by 2' 1".

<sup>80</sup> Restore *senena* according to C. No. 10 (republished *ante*, vol. I, p. 396, No. xxx), where *Sena*, pupil of *Ohanandi*, is mentioned. The last *na* is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of *Ohanandi*'s name is unmistakable and that the reading *Deha*<sup>81</sup> is impossible.

<sup>81</sup> As the other inscription is dated Sam. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.

<sup>82</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 8".

<sup>83</sup> Restore *namo* before *bhagavato*. Possibly *nāḍike* or *nāḍike* to be read. Restore *sākāyām*

<sup>84</sup> Restore *sārvartanā*.

pupil of . . . dhuka, a preacher<sup>86</sup> in the Vāraṇa *gaṇa*, Nāḍika *kula* and . . . .  
śākhā . . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>86</sup>

स्थ[र]निकिये कुले गनिस्स उग्गहिनीय शिषो वाचको घोषको आर्हतो<sup>87</sup> पर्वस्व प्रतिमा —

TRANSLATION.

. . . "The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,<sup>88</sup> a *gaṇi* (*gaṇin*) in the Sthānikiya (*kiya*) *kula*; an image of the Arhat Parśva (*Pārśva*)."

No. XXX.<sup>89</sup>

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं सिहकस वानिकस पुत्रेण कोशिकपुत्रेण<sup>90</sup>

2. सिहनादिकेन आयागपाटो प्रतिथापितो अरहंतपुजाये [॥<sup>91</sup>]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāṭa*) was set up by Sihanādika (*Simhanādika*? *nandika*?), son of the Vānika<sup>91</sup> Sihaka (*Simhaka*) and son of a Kośiki (*Kauśiki* mother), for the worship of the Arhats."

No. XXXI.<sup>92</sup>

नमो अरहंताना शिवघो[षक]स भरि[या] — — — ना — — — ना — —

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . ."

No. XXXII.<sup>93</sup>

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं [मल] — एस धितु भद्रयसस वधुये भद्रनदिह भयाये<sup>94</sup>

2. अ[चला]ये आ[या]गपाटो प्रतिथापितो अरहंतपुजाये [॥<sup>95</sup>]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāṭa*) was set up by Achalā (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter-in-law of Bhadrayaśa (*Bhadrayaśas*), and wife of Bhadranadi (*Bhadranandin*), for the worship of the Arhats."

<sup>86</sup> *Vāyaka* is the Jaina-Prakrit form for *vāchaka*.

<sup>87</sup> Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off.

<sup>88</sup> Read *arhato*.

<sup>89</sup> The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit *udgrahinī*. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title *gaṇi*, which is given to males alone.

<sup>90</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina.

<sup>91</sup> *Ārahanta* is a mistake for *arahaṃta* and *āyāgapāṭa* may be a mistake for *pāṭa*, but, as the Sanskrit has *pāṭa* and *pāṭa*, the form *pāṭa* is not impossible.

<sup>92</sup> This might be a corruption or misspelling for *vāṇijaka* or *vāṇijaka*. But, as Sihanādika receives the epithet *kośiki-putra*, I suspect that he was a Kshatriya, not the son of a merchant, and that *Vānika* is the name of his clan.

<sup>93</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 3' 1".

<sup>94</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4".

<sup>95</sup> The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be अ.

The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.

No. XXXIII.<sup>96</sup>

A. वर्धमानपटिमा वजरनद्यस्य धिता वाधिशिव — — — —

B1. — ि- स्य — कुटीविनि<sup>97</sup> दिनाये दाति बडिम[सि] ये — — — —

2. — — — — — — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

"An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dinā (*Dattā*), daughter of Vajaranadya (*Vajranandin*), [daughter-in-law]<sup>98</sup> of Vādhiśiva (*Vṛiddhiśiva*?) house-wife of . . . .  
i; Baḍimasi's (?) . . . . .

No. XXXIV.<sup>99</sup>L. 1. उचेनगरितो गृह्यतो अर्यबलस्रतस्य शिसिणि अर्यबल — — — —<sup>100</sup>2. अर्यबलस्रतस्य शिथो अर्यसन्धिस्य परिग्रहे नवहस्तिस्स धिता गृहसेनस्य वधु — — — —<sup>1</sup>3. गिवसेनस्य देवसेनस्य शिवदेवस्य च भ्रात्रिनं मातु जायये प्रतीमा प्र — — — — —<sup>2</sup>

4. [मा]नस्य सर्वसत्त्वानं हितसुखय ॥

## TRANSLATION.

"For the acceptance<sup>3</sup> of Aryya-Sandhi (*Ārya-Sandhi*), pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Ārya-Balatrāta*) [and of ?] Aryya-Bahma, . . (*Ārya-Brahma* . .), the female pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Ārya-Balatrāta*) out of the Uchenagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) śākhā, Jāyā, daughter of Navahastī (*°hastin*), daughter-in-law of Grahasena . . . ., mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, has set up an image of [Vardha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. XXXV.<sup>4</sup>

A. तिये निर्वर्तना

B. 1. तो गृह्यतो शिरिकतो संभोक्तो अर्य

2. ि-धराये निवतना शिवद[त] —<sup>5</sup>

3. — — लनस्य मतु ह[स्ति] — — —

## Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words *nirvartanā* and *nivatana* is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

<sup>96</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1' 11" by 1' 6".<sup>97</sup> The *ba* of *kuṭībini* is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.<sup>98</sup> The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.<sup>99</sup> Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".<sup>100</sup> Read शाखातो. Restore अर्यबलदासिये or 'निवाये.

<sup>1</sup> The apparent *ā*-stroke after the *la* of *Balattrata* is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent *ra*-stroke above the *va* of *Navahastisya*. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is *parigrahe*, not *parigraha*, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably *bhaṇā* or *bhaṇyā*, preceded by a male name in the genitive.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Śivasenasya*. Restore *pratishṭhāpitā vardha*.

<sup>3</sup> *Parigrahe* 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetics named exhorted Jāyā to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them; for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them.

<sup>4</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinās, measuring 2' by 8"; sections C and D being cut away.

<sup>5</sup> At the beginning पणदिधराये i.e. प्रज्ञदिधराया: has probably to be restored; compare below No. XXXVI.

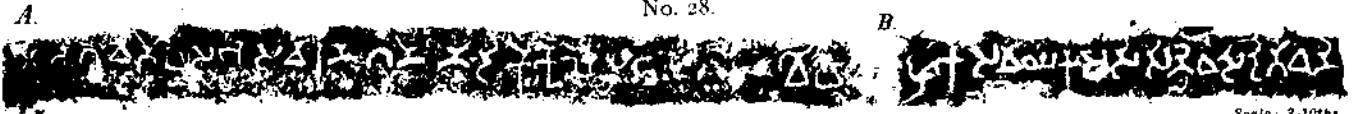
MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): NOS. XXVII-XXXIV.

No. 27.



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 28.



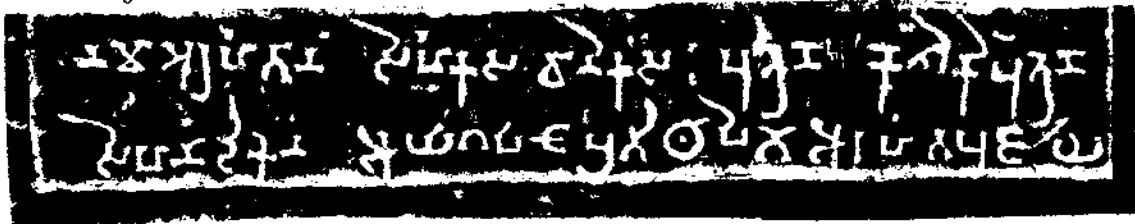
Scale: 3-10ths.

No. 29.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 30.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 31.



Scale 1-4th.

No. 32.



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 33.

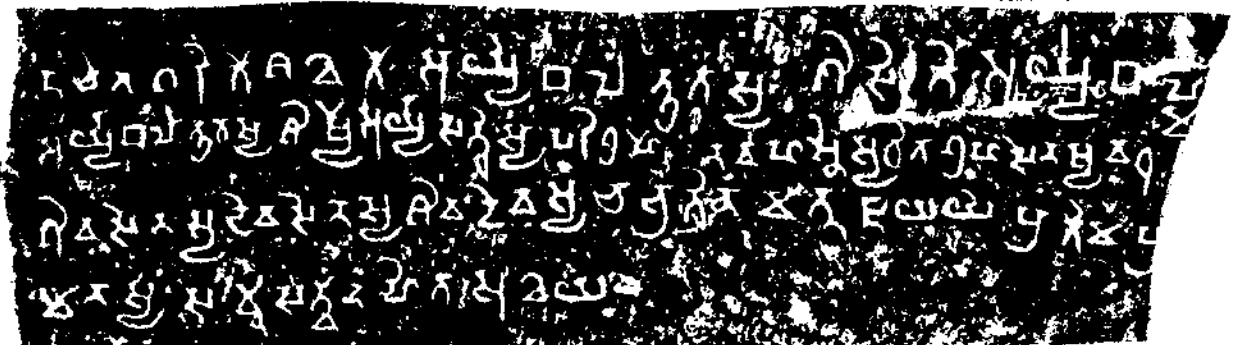


B



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 34.

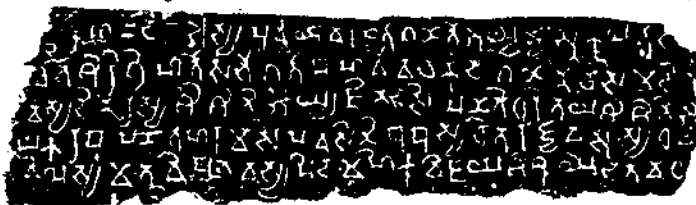


Scale: 3-10ths.



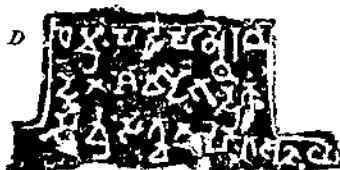
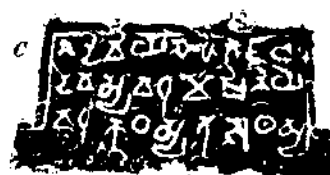
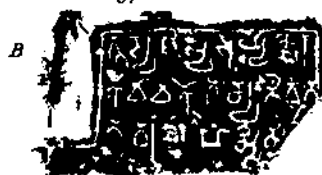
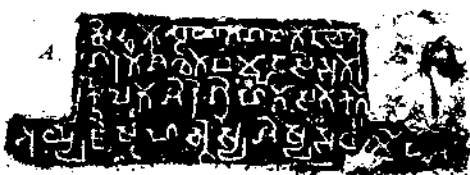
Scale: Half the original.

No. 36.



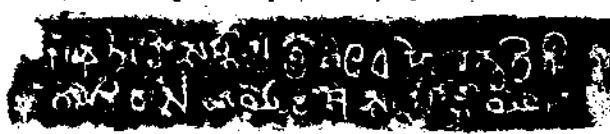
Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 37.



Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 38: Inscription of Gupta period, S. 57.



Scale: Half the original.

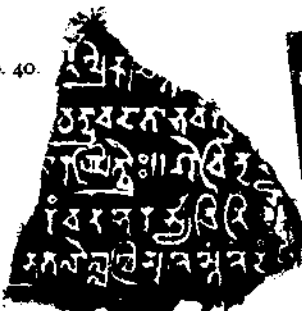
No. 39: Inscription of Kumāragupta, S. 113.



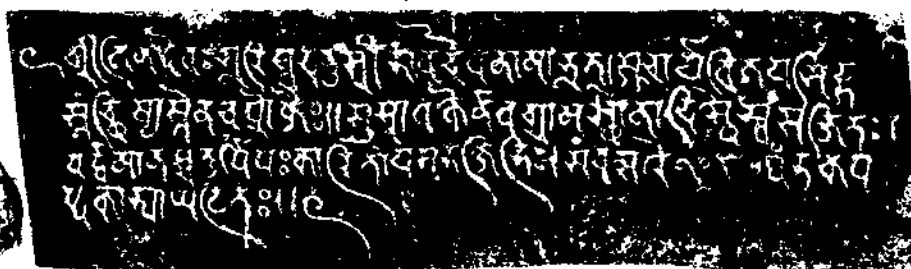
Scale: 3-10th.

No. 41: S. 1080.

No. 40.

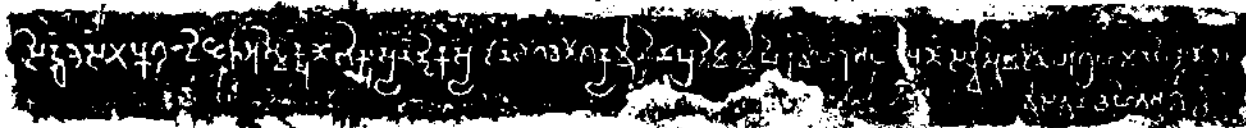


Scale: 1-3rd.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 42: Buddhist Inscription from Kāman, Sam. 74.



A. Führer. Ph. D., impress.

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. XXXVI.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. — — ५० (?) हे २ दि १ अस्स पुर्व्वय वरणतो गणतो अय्यभ्यस्तकुलतो [स] — — —<sup>7</sup>  
 2. — खतो शिरिभिहृतो सभोगतो बह्वो वचक च गणिनी च समदि[अ]—<sup>8</sup>  
 3. — वस्य दिनरस्य शिशिनि अय्यजिनदसिपणतिधरितय शिशिनिअ — —<sup>9</sup>  
 4. घकरवपणतिहरमसोपवसिनि बुबुस्य धित रण्यवसुस्यधर्म — —<sup>10</sup>  
 5. [द]विलस्य मत्तु विण्णु[भ]वस्य पिदमहिक् विजयशिरिये दन वध — —<sup>11</sup>  
 6. — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

" . . . 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (*date, specified as*) above, [*an image of*] Vadha[māna] (*Vardhamāna*), the gift of Vijayaśiri (*Vijayaśiri*), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rajyavasū (*Rājyavasū*), mother of *Devila* and) paternal grandmother of Vishṇubhava, who fasted for a month<sup>12</sup> (*and*) obeys the command<sup>13</sup> of A[yya] . . . ghakaraba (?) (*who is*) the female pupil, obeying the command<sup>14</sup> of Ayya-Jinadasi (*Ārya-Jinadāsi*), (*who was*) the female pupil of Samadi . . . va Dinara, the great (?) preacher and *gaṇi* out of the Varāṇa (*Vārāṇa*) *gaṇa*, the Ayyabhyista (?) *kula*, the Sa[mkāsiyā] *śākhā*, and the Śirigriha (*Śrīgriha*) *sambhoga* . . . . ."

No. XXXVII.<sup>15</sup>

- A 1. सिद्ध को[टि]यतो गणतो उचेन-  
 2. गरितो शखतो बन्हादासिअतो<sup>16</sup>  
 3. कुलतो शिरिभिहृतो संभोकतो  
 4. अय्यजेष्टहस्तिस्स शिखो अ[र्य्यमि]हि[लो]  
 B 1. तस्य शिख[ी] अर्य्यसेर<sup>17</sup>  
 2. [को]वाचको तस्य निर्वत-  
 3. न वर[ण]हस्ति[स्य]<sup>18</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1' 4".

<sup>7</sup> The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading *ayyabhyistakulato*. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for *nyi*. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as in *sidha* for *sidha* (see No. xxvi), the first four syllables might be a kind of tachygraphic representation of *ayyadhiyasato* and correspond to *āryakaniyasataḥ*. This *kula* of the Varāṇa *gaṇa* is mentioned in No. 23, *ante*, vol. I, p. 392. The *śākhā* was probably *Sāmkāsiyā*, see *Kalpasūtra*, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi).

<sup>8</sup> Restore *sakhato* i.e. *śākhāto*; read *sambhogato* and *bahato*; the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *ayya*.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *dharmapatni*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *devilasya*. Restore *vadhamanapratimā* or perhaps *paṭima*, as the inscription does not mark the *d*-stroke. The last three syllables no doubt stood in line 6, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.

<sup>12</sup> A pious queen, who fasted for a month, is mentioned in the large Nārāgbāt inscription, *Arch. Sur. Rep. W. I.* vol. v., p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> *Paṇatidhārīta* corresponds with Sanskrit *dhāritaprajñapti*.

<sup>14</sup> *Paṇatihara* i.e. in Sanskrit *prajñaptidhārā*.

<sup>15</sup> Incised on base of a large quadruple image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9".

<sup>16</sup> Read *bahma*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *tarya*.

<sup>18</sup> *Nirvatana* is, no doubt, meant for *nirvartana*.

C 1. [च] देविय च धित जय-

2. देवस्य वधु मोषिनिये

3. वधु कुठस्य कसुथस्य

D 1. धम्मप[ति]ह स्थिरए<sup>19</sup>

2. दन शवदीभद्रिक<sup>20</sup>

3. सर्वसत्वन हितसुखये<sup>21</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jeṣṭhahasti (*Jyeshthahastin*) out of the Kottiya gaṇa, the Uchenagari (*Uchchānagari*) Śākhā, (and) the Bamhadāsia (*Brahmadāsika-kula*) (was) Aryya-Mihila (*Arya-Mihira*); his pupil (was) the preacher (*vācaka*) Arya-Ksheraka (*Arya-Kshairaka* ?); at his request a fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Varanahasti (*ḥastin*) and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (and) daughter-in-law of Moshinī (and) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

#### No. XXXVIII.<sup>22</sup>

संवत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाश ५० ७ हेमन्तव्रति —<sup>23</sup>

— तसे [दि]वसे त्रयोदशे च—पूर्वायां —<sup>24</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (date specified as) above . . . . .

#### No. XXXIX.<sup>25</sup>

L. 1. सिद्धम् । परमभट्टारकमाहारराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यसं [१०० १०]

३ क — — — क्षमा — — [दि]— स २० अस्यां पू[र्वायां]कोटिया गणा-<sup>26</sup>

2. द्विधाधरी[तो] शाखातो दतिलाचाय्यप्रज्ञपिताये शामाट्याये भट्टिभवस्य धीतु पद्ममित्रपा-  
लि[त]प्रा[ता]रिकस्य कुटुम्बिनीये प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ।<sup>27</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 113, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day [of the winter-month] Kārttika]—on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Śāmadhyā (*Śyāmadhyā*), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (and) house-wife of the ferry-

<sup>19</sup> *Dhamrapatiha* seems to be a misspelling of *dhamrapatiye* with *dhamra* for *dharma*. Compare the forms of the Girnār version of Aśoka's rock-edicts *ārabhiṭṭā* for *ārabhiṭṭā*, *tiṣṭanti* for *tiṣṭanti*, and so forth.

<sup>20</sup> Meant for *dānaṃ sarvatobhadrikā* viz. *pratimā*.

<sup>21</sup> Meant for *sarvasatāna hitasukhāye*. The spelling *sarva* for *sarva* is not uncommon in bad MSS.

<sup>22</sup> This is Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.

<sup>23</sup> Read *hemanta*; restore *tritiya* or *tritiye*.

<sup>24</sup> Restore *māse* and *asyām*.

<sup>25</sup> Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7".

<sup>26</sup> Read *maḥārāja*; restore *kārttikahemantamāsasya divase*.

<sup>27</sup> Read *detiḥāryya*.—Possibly *prābhārikasya* is to be read.

man (?) Grahamitttrapālita,<sup>28</sup> who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Datilāchāryya (*Dattilāchāryya*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gana* (and) the Vidyādhari Śākhā."

No. XL.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. —प्रीक[रच त]<sup>30</sup>  
 2. चन्द्रावदाता भवतु  
 3. तारयिषोः ॥ गोविन्दस्य  
 4. रं वडभेरस्या विनि —  
 5. भ्रतलोक्षेष्टि सुनेस्तेनेदं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical *Prasasti*, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says:—"By him this . . . of the sage, which touches the sky." It is evident that a word like *गङ्गम्* or *चायतनम्* has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

No. XLI.<sup>31</sup>

- L. 1. ओ श्रीजिनदेवः सूरिस्तदनु श्रीभावदेवनामामृत ।  
 आचार्यविजयसिङ्ग-  
 2. स्तम्भिष्वस्तेन च प्रोक्षेः ॥ [१३<sup>x</sup>]<sup>32</sup>  
 सुसायकैर्नवशामस्थानादिस्थै स्वसन्निभः ।  
 3. वर्षमानसतुर्विधः कारितोयं समन्तिभिः । [१२<sup>x</sup>]<sup>33</sup>  
 संवत्सरै १०८० थंभकप-  
 4. पकाभ्यां घटितः ॥ ओ<sup>34</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

"Om! The illustrious Jinadeva (*was*) a Sūri; after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhāvadeva. His pupil (*is*) the *Āchārya* Vijayasīṅga (*Vijaya-simha*). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in Navagrāma, Sthāna and other (*towns*), caused to be made, full of devotion, (*and*) in accordance with their means, this fourfold Vardhamāna; it was fashioned in the [*Vikrama*] year<sup>35</sup> 1080 by Thāmbhaka and Pappaka. Om!"

<sup>28</sup> The translation of *prāṭhika* by "ferryman" seems to be justified by the use of *pratī*, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."

<sup>29</sup> Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.

<sup>30</sup> Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.

<sup>31</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>32</sup> Read ओ. Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 9. Read *-vijayasimha*.

<sup>33</sup> Read *subhāka*; *sthaiḥ*, *svasaktitāḥ*.

<sup>34</sup> Read संवत्सरै

<sup>35</sup> It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the Vikrama Samvat, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1022-24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud's expedition against Mathurā (A.H. 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 466ff.). Probably the Jaina temples of the Kankālī Tīlā escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.



No. XLII.<sup>36</sup>

- L. 1. सिद्धं । सं ७० ४ मृ १ दि १० ५ अस्मि क्षुणे भिक्षुस्य नन्दिकस्य दानं भगवतो यक्षमुनिना  
प्रतिमा मिहिरविहारे अ[चार्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादीनां परिग्रहे मातृपितृणां स.<sup>37</sup>  
2. र्वस[त]णा च हितसुखार्थं ।<sup>38</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! The year 74, the first (*month of*) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śakyamuni (*Śākyamuni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi, (*Sarvāstivādin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures."

XV.—SAMGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA  
BHILLAMA II.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 922.

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

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Samgamner, in the Samgamner Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuḍa as seal.<sup>1</sup> Each plate measures about  $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by  $13\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few *akṣaras*, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ " on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgarī alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Samskrit, but the names of the Brāhmanas, men-

<sup>1</sup> Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman.

<sup>2</sup> The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 387. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 5), because I misread the preceding sign as *śā*. The latter is, as I now recognise, *śāḥ*, the abbreviation for *śāḥa*, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection as *śāḥi* and as *śāḥa* in No. xxvi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as 40. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has *śāḥā*, which has to be restored in any case. The long *rī*-vowel in *pīṭṭipāṭh* is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.

<sup>3</sup> The third sign of *sarvasatvānā* is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not *tā*. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

I owe this information to Mr. Cousens

tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (*Keṭavainpādhyāyena* for *Keṣavopādhyāyena*, in line 114, *Nāraṇaiupādhyāya* for *Nārāyaṇopādhyāya*, in line 66, *Vidyādharaīāya* for *Vidyādharaīya*, and *Śrīdharaiupādhyāya* for *Śrīdharopādhyāya*, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *khaśrevādhā*, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression *khaśrāvādhā* of the Śiyāḍṇī inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165; and to the title or *biruda sellaviḍega*, which does not look like Sanskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namaḥ Śivāya* and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant, beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses,<sup>2</sup> in lines 55-61, 89-98, 102-106, and 109-110; and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, e.g., in *Śivāya*, l. 1, *śaḥ*, l. 6, *viśāḥ*, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *śamsāra*, l. 60, and *śakala*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *Atri*, l. 10, and *trigrāmi*, l. 84, and *ri* in the place of *ṛi* in the word *riṣayaḥ*, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single *akṣaras* and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out; and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanṭa* Bhīllama II., and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yādava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words 'om, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhīllama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhīllama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambhu, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yādava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marīchi, Atri, Indu, Purūravas, Āyus, Naghusha, and Yayāti. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before.<sup>3</sup> The first historical prince spoken of is Seṇachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (*maṇḍala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhāḍi[yappa]<sup>4</sup> (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhīllama I. (lines 28-33).<sup>5</sup> And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Rājān or Rāja, called elsewhere Śrīrāja or Rājagi.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription resembles in this the Kalas-Budrūkh grant of Bhīllama III., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, in addition to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhīllama III., the Bassein grant of Seṇachandra II., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 75-77.

<sup>4</sup> See note 40, below.

<sup>5</sup> Bhīllama provided the god Somanātha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.

From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhīllama III. and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II., Śrīrāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhīllama II., who married Lakshmi or Lachchhiavvā, a lady born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family.<sup>6</sup> The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Rājan or Rāja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddiyavvā,<sup>7</sup> a daughter of the great prince (*mahānripa*), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muñja,<sup>8</sup> and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgabhīma; while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindinagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lakshmi incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called *Vijayābharaṇanātha*; but there is no indication as to who erected this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhīllama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory *prastāvi* should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhīllama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakshmi, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakshmi or Lachchhiavvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhīllama, the donor of this grant; and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47, which, or the god worshipped in which, was named *Vijayābharaṇanātha*, was founded either by Bhīllama himself one of whose titles or *birudas*, as we learn from line 51, was *Vijayābharaṇa*, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words *svend-rāti* in line 40, recording that Voddiyavvā bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhīllama, and another, after the word *-mahasaḥ* in line 45, stating that Bhīllama or his wife Lakshmi erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhīllama II. who defeated the great prince Muñja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgabhīma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muñja and Raṇaraṅgabhīma, and who was the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, to whom Bhīllama's father Vandiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhīllama II.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Bassein grant Lachchhiavvā was the daughter of Jhañjharāja.

<sup>7</sup> This lady built a Śiva-temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

<sup>8</sup> See note 52, below.

lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vākpatirāja-Muñja of Málava,<sup>9</sup> and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhillama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Ranaranga-bhīma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhillama was acting, was an adversary of Vākpatirāja-Muñja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Chálukya Tailapa,<sup>10</sup> by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A. D. 973-997; we know him to have also been called Âhavamalla; and Ranaranga-bhīma is little less than a synonym of Âhavamalla.—Bhillama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., and, such being the case, the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa,<sup>11</sup> for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A. D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yādavas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Chálukyas, which took place in A. D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Chálukyas.—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prākṛit equivalent of the Samskrit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Rāshtrakūṭa kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Kṛishṇarāja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Kṛishṇa's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga.<sup>12</sup> The description of Dhorappa as *mahānripa* would thus, I believe, be well accounted for.—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., the rise of the Yādava family and the date of Seunachandra (or his predecessor Dṛidhaprahāra) can hardly be put earlier than A. D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhillama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brāhmins who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-86) which contains this information is clear enough; but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhillamarāja is described in lines 48-52 as a *mahāsāmanta* or great feudatory who had obtained the five *mahāśabda*, the supreme lord of the city of Dvāravattī, . . . born in Vishnu's family, eager to worship Śiva, . . . and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as *Arāti-nishādana*, 'the destroyer of enemies,' *Samgrāma-Rāma*, *Kandukāchārya*, *Sellaviḍega*, and

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pp. 226-227.

<sup>10</sup> See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, *ib.* pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, *ib.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that Bhillama III. married 'Hāmmā, the daughter of Juyasimha and sister of Âhavamalla, the Chálukya emperor.' See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, *ib.*, p. 78.

*Vijayabharana*. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has already pointed out that,<sup>13</sup> since Vishnu Krishna is represented in the *Purāṇas* to have belonged to the Yādava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishṇuvamśodbhava*, and that, as Krishna and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara*, 'the supreme lords of Dvāravatī, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or *virudas* of Bhīllama, the term *Samgrāma-Rāma* is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākḥ plates. *Kandukāchārya* apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and *Sellavidēga* seems to be a Prākṛit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title *Vijayabharana* has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem<sup>14</sup> that they lived at Sindinagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhīllama, and which has been identified<sup>15</sup> with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmanas, some students of the *Rigveda* or *Sāmaveda*, and others members of the Kāṇva or Mādhyandina śākhās of the Vājasaneyin branch of the *Yajurveda*, or of the Maitrāyaṇīya śākhā of the black *Yajurveda*. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaundinya, Bhāradvāja, or Kausika gotras. And one (in line 72) is described as *rājadauvārika*, 'the king's doorkeeper.'

To these Brāhmanas Bhīllama gave<sup>16</sup> (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunonḍhikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātulingī, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunonḍhī and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Saṃgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhali, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no names similar to Arjunonḍhikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālunḡi river of the Saṃgamner Sub-Division of the Aḥmadnagar District, which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Saṃgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Saṃgamner of the Aḥmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhaliḡrāma would be the village of Chikhali on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimvagrāma the village of Javlekardak, which is about 2½ miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Velhāle (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mālunḡi river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted "wādis" not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhīllamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Bhādrapada of the year Śarvarin, on the occasion of a solar

<sup>13</sup> See *ib.*, p. 85; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.

<sup>14</sup> I am not sure about this, for after the word *Sri-Sindinagar-antakpāti* one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sindinagara.

<sup>15</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 118.

<sup>16</sup> In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is *śāhīddasaprakṛitṛyopetam* in line 80. I can only compare with it *śāhīddasaprakṛiti* in line 14 of the inscription published in the *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.

eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Arunā<sup>17</sup> (and Godāvari) at Nāsik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this *śāsana-paṭṭa*, Keśava-upādhyāya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Śārvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2; but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon *tithi* of either the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Bhādrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

TEXT.<sup>18</sup>

## First plate.

- L. 1. श्रीं [नमः] सि(शि)वाय । स्वस्ति शकनृपका[ला]तीतसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु द्वाविंश-
2. [त्य]धिकेष्टकतोपि संवत्सराः ८२२ ॥ त्रयमपि<sup>19</sup> भुवनानामीषदुष्मे-
3. [ष]मात्राद्यभवति लयशेषं यन्निमेषादुपैति [i<sup>x</sup>] अतिशयि-
4. तचरित्री योगिनामप्यगम्यः स इह जयतु देवः<sup>20</sup> चारुच-
5. [न्द्राङ्ग]मौलिः ॥ १ ॥ भुव[न<sup>x</sup>]भवनहेतुः दुष्कृताभ्योधिसेतुः विद्वितम-<sup>21</sup>
6. दनमायः पार्ष्वतीप्राणनाथः ॥ (1) निहतमरुदरोस(श)ः पातु भिन्न-
7. ममोशः ।<sup>22</sup> करतलकृतशूलः सर्वदा चन्द्रचलः ॥ युगस्यादौ<sup>23</sup>
8. श[म्भु ?]भुवनमसृजन्नमूर्तिस्त्रिधा सुररिपुविरिचप्रभवतः ॥ (1)
9. वि[रि]चिः संभूतः सकलमरुतां योनिरमलो मरीचिर्या(र्य)स्त्री-
10. [रि]भ्रमति भुवने कुन्दविशदा । ३ ।<sup>24</sup> भृ(त्रि)नामाभवत्तस्मात्सुख-
11. त्यपरायणः । तत्सुरिन्दुराख्यातो जगदानन्दमन्दिरम(म्) । ४ ।
12. "ततोभवत्त्रिर्भूलसौमवग्रजो विशालभूपासगुणालयं हि
13. यः [i<sup>x</sup>]पुरुषा भूपतिरर्द्धमासनं सदा सुरेन्द्रस्व व(व)भाज लीलया
14. । ६ ।<sup>25</sup> "भूदायुस्तस्मात्पतिरर्द्धमन्यचरितो वृथाक्लान्तारा-
15. तिप्रणतचरणभोजयुगलः [i<sup>x</sup>] ततो जातो यास्मिन्पुष्ट-<sup>26</sup>
16. पतिर्लोक[स्व]नमिवाङ्गिलेख स्वस्या[ख्या ?]<sup>27</sup> स्वभुजविजयी चन्द्रफलके । ७ ।
17. अजनि<sup>28</sup> नक्षत्रभूपाङ्गमिपालो ययातिस्त्रिदशमहितकी-
18. र्तिर्वरिलक्ष्मीर्विलासः<sup>29</sup> [i<sup>x</sup>] किमिव<sup>30</sup> गुणगणोसौ व[रुण]ते<sup>31</sup> त-
19. स्व सान्ध्याजगदवननिमित्तं यादवानां प्रसूतिः ॥ ८ ॥ अ-

<sup>17</sup> See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI (Nāsik), p. 524: 'Aruna tirth is where the Aruna joins the Godāvari near Ram's Pool'.

<sup>18</sup> From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr. H. Cousens.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>20</sup> Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of *śamāhi* have not been observed.

<sup>21</sup> The *akṣara* न was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between न् and चि.

<sup>22</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śikharinī. In the first half of the verse five syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though

their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Vainśasiha.

<sup>26</sup> From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>28</sup> Read यस्मात्.

<sup>29</sup> The two *akṣaras* स्मा[ख्या?] were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>31</sup> I believe the reading intended to be "लोतिनीरलक्ष्मीविलासः", although this would offend against the metre.

<sup>32</sup> Here I would propose reading किमिव नृपगणोसौ वरुणते तस्य यस्मात्.

<sup>33</sup> The *akṣara* in brackets, as engraved, is वरुण.

- L. 20. भवदिह ययातेः सञ्जनानन्दकारी यदुत्पत्तिरयोषाक्रा-  
 21. तदाय(या)दचक्रः [1<sup>x</sup>] सकलविषु(बु)धहृद्वैर्वन्दितोसौ सुरारिर्ज-  
 22. गदवननिमित्तं यस्य वंशे प्रसूतः ॥ ८ ॥ <sup>35</sup>एतस्माद्यदु-  
 23. शतः<sup>35</sup> समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिर्भूपालः<sup>36</sup> कलिकाल-  
 24. कल्म[ष<sup>x</sup>]लवैर्वालोक्तो भूतले । श्यातः सउषचन्द्र एव स-  
 25. हसा नाम्ना निजमाह्वय<sup>37</sup> यो लोकं निजमल्लं च समदा-  
 26. रातीभकण्ठीरवः । १० । प्रख्यातोसौ<sup>38</sup> सङ्गुर्यो विसा(शा)लः  
 27. संधामोद्यद्दुर्हमारातिकालः । <sup>39</sup>जातःस्तस्मादष्टमीचन्द्र-  
 28. भालः सनु [1<sup>x</sup>] श्रीमाश्वडिख्यो<sup>40</sup> नृपालः ॥ ११ ॥ <sup>41</sup>तदनु विषु(बु)धह-

Second plate; first side.

29. [म्हान]न्दसन्दोहसीमा समदमदन — — [मानि]नीमानचौरः [1<sup>x</sup>] चसमस ७ ७ —  
 30. — योरिकालानलोभूतत इह ७ ७ [रि]न्दो भूतले भिन्नमाख्यः ॥ १२ ॥  
 31. [ननु] किमिह कथीनां तस्य वण्ण्यं हि न स्यात्कुमुदविस(श)दकीर्त्तभू-  
 32. [तले]द्यापि यस्य । रुचिरकनकभासोज्जामिनोमाववन्ध<sup>42</sup> प्रति-  
 33. दिनमिह देवः पट्टिकां [सी]मनायः<sup>43</sup> ॥ १३ ॥ <sup>44</sup>तस्माज्जातः सुतो रा[जा] रा-  
 34. जा राजीवलोचनः [1<sup>x</sup>] राजीव राजते योत्र प्रजानन्दकरः सदा ॥ १४ ॥ तस्मा-<sup>45</sup>  
 35. इन्दिगभूपतिः समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिः यः सौभाग्यमहोदधि-  
 36. मृगदृशां कन्दर्पदण्डोद्धतः । राजा दीर्घभुजइय[1<sup>x</sup>] दृगुलसहस्र-  
 37. लः संगरे ।<sup>46</sup> क्रूरारिप्रमदेभदर्यदलनः श्रीलक्ष्णराजानुमः ॥ १५ ॥  
 38. श्रीधो[र]प्यमहानृपस्य दुहिता श्रीवीर्य[व्या]भिधा<sup>47</sup> शंभोः सै(शै)ल-  
 39. सुतेव कैटभरिपोः<sup>48</sup> लक्ष्मीरिव<sup>49</sup> प्रेयसी [1<sup>x</sup>] यस्यासोत्सुदा[व]दातयशसः स्तुपायमा[नं] यया  
 40. [ना]मावेक्षरमीशवेश<sup>50</sup> विहितं कैलासलीलाहरम्<sup>51</sup> ॥ [स्ते]<sup>52</sup>नारातिकरालकालर[च]ना-  
 चण्डा[सि]-  
 41. दण्डेन यो हत्वा मुञ्जमहानृपप्रणयिनी<sup>53</sup> संधामरंगांगणे [1<sup>x</sup>]लक्ष्मीमस्तु(म्ह)धिमेखलावल-  
 42. यित[स्मा]वर्त्तिनोभ्रापयद्भूपश्रीरणरंगभीमभवने साक्षात्कुलक्षीव्रतम् ॥ १६ ॥ चधि-<sup>54</sup>  
 43. छानं सिन्दीन[ग]रसर्परखर्भवदिदं<sup>55</sup> सदा मूर्त्ता लक्ष्मीर्वसतिभवने यस्य सुदिता ।  
 44. मनः स(श)भोः पादास्तु(स्व)रुद्रमुले ध्याननियतं यदोर्व्ये भूपाचरितमभव<sup>56</sup> चा[र ?]-  
 45. महसः ॥ १७ ॥ <sup>57</sup>हिसगिरिसि(शि)खरसदृशमिह राजति सुरपुरवर्त्तसन्निभं<sup>58</sup> हतपुर[म]-

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>36</sup> Originally °जती, but altered to °जतः.

<sup>37</sup> Originally °मणिः सू°, but altered to °मणिम्.

<sup>38</sup> Read °जययो; this correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>40</sup> Read जातक°.

<sup>41</sup> The intended reading most probably is चाडियन्पी.

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Śālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>43</sup> Read °ववन्ध.

<sup>44</sup> The akṣhara in brackets is गी rather than लो.

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next two verses.

<sup>47</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>48</sup> The akṣhara in brackets looks very much like घा.

<sup>49</sup> Read °रिषीर्जो.

<sup>50</sup> The consonant of the first akṣhara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be त; the following akṣharas are quite clear.

<sup>51</sup> Originally °हर was engraved.

<sup>52</sup> Of this akṣhara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole akṣhara might possibly be read ये.

<sup>53</sup> Read सुह°.

<sup>54</sup> Metre, Śikharipi.

<sup>55</sup> Read सिन्दीनगरमपरख°.

<sup>56</sup> Read °भवन्ना°.

<sup>57</sup> This passage, from here to the end of line 47, looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres.

<sup>58</sup> Read °सन्निभं.

- L. 46. धननियतकौलासगिरिस्तुहम्[श]मसम्प्रभम्<sup>65</sup> ॥ पुंजितयश्च इवेन्दुकुन्द[द्यु]-  
 47. ति भूतलतिलकसुन्दरं विजयाभरणनाथाभिधमभिनवगिरि[श]मन्दिरम् ॥  
 48. समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द[म्]महामासन्तहारवतीपुरपरमेस्वरैकाग्रंशुचिनिव[ब]-  
 49. धिरितदिगन्तरालविजयतूर्यारवसंज्ञासितजितरिपुसमूहविष्णुवंशोद्भ-  
 50. वभवचरणाराधनैकतत्परमनस्त्रिनीमानोन्मूलनकन्दर्पदर्पोद्भताराति-  
 51. निषदनसंभामरामकंदुकाचार्यसेनविडेगविजयाभरणेत्यादिसमस्तरा-<sup>66</sup>  
 52. जावलीविराजितश्रीमन्निसमराजा<sup>67</sup> ॥ अन्तःशून्यः कदलीगर्भवदसारः  
 53. संसारः । व्याधिजराभरणसाधारणं शरीरं । प्रव[ब]लपवनकम्पितनलि-<sup>68</sup>  
 54. नीदलगततुषारतरले च धनायुषी यौवनं च । तथा च । कृतव्रतहापर-  
 55. युगेभ्यो अत्यर्थं<sup>69</sup> दानफलं ।<sup>70</sup> कलौ युगे पुनः<sup>71</sup> शंसति । न<sup>72</sup> तथा सफला विद्या  
 56. न तथा सफलं धनं [।<sup>73</sup> यथा तु सुनयः प्राङ्मुहानमेकं कलौ युगे ।(॥) अग्नेरपत्यं<sup>74</sup>  
 57. प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वःषवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लो[क<sup>75</sup>]त्रयं तेन भवेत्प्रदत्तं य[ः]  
 58. कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात्(त्) ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति<sup>76</sup> पितरः प्रवल्भ[ल]न्ति पिताम-  
 59. हाः [।<sup>77</sup> भूमिदोष्मत्कुले जातः स नः समारयिष्यति ।(॥) भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सु-  
 60. तीर्थेषु सुपर्वणि । अमाधापारशं(सं)सारसागरीत्तारणं<sup>78</sup> भवेत्(त्) ॥ धवलाभ्यातप-  
 61. [त्राणि] दन्तिनचि[ब] मदोदताः । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गं पुरन्दरः<sup>79</sup> ॥ इ-  
 62. [ति] पराशरवत्सकुलो(त्सा)ङ्गिरसगौतममनुयाज्ञवल्क्यमुनिवचनान्वय[धा]-  
 63. [र्यं] मया [दृ]ढतरविरक्तबुद्ध्या<sup>80</sup> मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च त्रेयोर्धिना हि मया<sup>81</sup> [त्रा(त्रा)]-  
 64. [ह्यणा ?]नां आ[मी] दत्तः । श्रीसिन्धीनगरात्पाति । वाजिकाखला(शा)खिने<sup>82</sup> गौत-  
 65. मगोत्राय — —

*Second plate ; second side.*

66. — होपाध्याय<sup>83</sup> नारणैउपाध्यायसु[ताय] तथा वाजिकाखलाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोत्राय [विद्या ?]-  
 67. [धो]रैआय श्रीधरैउपाध्यायसुताय तथा व[ब]हृचशाखाय भरहाजगोत्राय म[हल ?]-  
 68. [पै]आय वि[ह ?]पेयसुताय तथा वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोत्रा(त्रा)य [महल ?]-  
 69. पैआय इन्दुपैयसुताय तथा व[ब]हृचशाखाय देवपैयाय अन्नपैयसुताय तथा [क ?]-  
 70. [दो ?]गमभाकरदीक्षिताय तथा मित्रायणीवच्छपैयः<sup>84</sup> तथा अन्ध्रपुण्यपैयः  
 71. [त]था माध्यंदिन[गु]हिसपैयः तथा च्छन्दोगमलः<sup>85</sup> सोमैयसुतः तथा माध्यं-  
 72. दिनमहलपैयः तथा व[ब]हृचराजदौवारिकमहलपैयः तथा व[ब]हृचसंम[लः]  
 73. तथा करहाटवप्पलः तथा वाजिकाखलनिस्त्रैयः तथा व[ब]हृचनेवपैयः तथा  
 74. व[ब]हृचशाखा[य<sup>86</sup>]कौशिकगोत्राय विक्रपैयाय श्रीधरैसुताय तथा

<sup>65</sup> Read 'मंसम्प्रभम्'.

<sup>66</sup> The *akshara* चा of कंदुकाचार्य was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>67</sup> Read 'राजा'. Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>68</sup> The *akshara* व of पवन was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>69</sup> Read 'त्यर्थ'.

<sup>70</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original.

<sup>71</sup> Instead of पुनः one would have expected सुनयः.

<sup>72</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>73</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>74</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>75</sup> The *akshara* रो was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>76</sup> Read 'स्वर्गः पुरन्दर'.

<sup>77</sup> Read 'कुशा'.

<sup>78</sup> This word is unnecessarily repeated here.

<sup>79</sup> Originally साखिनि was engraved; see below, line 75.

<sup>80</sup> One would expect 'आयाय'.

<sup>81</sup> Read 'मेवायसीय'.

<sup>82</sup> The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty.



- L. 75. [धी?]पलाय कौशिकगोत्राय व(व)हृचसास्त्रि<sup>76</sup> । ताया व(व)हृचशास्त्रा-  
 76. य अणलैषाय तथा व(व)हृचशास्त्राय दन्तपैषाय कालपेसुताय  
 77. तथा पौषदेवः अलपेसुताय । एवममीषां द्विजानां पितृपै-  
 78. तामहीपार्जित<sup>77</sup> मातुलिङ्गीतसमावासितं अर्जुनोष्टि-  
 79. कायामं तथा लघुअर्जुनोष्टीयामलघुवल्गुलवेद्राम-  
 80. [ह]याभ्यंतरं सहस्रमालाकुलं चा(च)तुःशीमापर्यन्तं साष्टा-  
 81. दशप्रकृत्योपेतं वापीकूपतडागारामसहितं सतृणका[ष्ट]-  
 82. पाषाणोपेतं अ(स)कलसमस्तोपेतं [1<sup>x</sup>] ग्रामस्थावाटाः<sup>78</sup> लिख्यन्ते [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 83. पूर्वतः संगमनगरं दक्षिणतः चिखलीग्रामः पश्चिम-  
 84. तः जम्बुलिनिम्बग्रामः उत्तरतः वल्गुलवेद्रतृ(त्रि)ग्रामी [1<sup>x</sup>] एवं चा(च)-  
 85. तुरावाटविशुद्धं सर्वाभ्यन्तरसिध्दा<sup>79</sup> पुत्रपौत्रादिसंतत्योपे-  
 86. तानां चंद्रार्कं यावत्प्रतिपालनीयं । एवमन्वयजां वंभूनांमपि<sup>80</sup>  
 87. [भुञ्जानानां भो]जयतां<sup>81</sup> कृषतां कर्षापयताम्वा<sup>82</sup> यथेष्टं प्रतिदिशतां प्रति-  
 88. देशयतां [1<sup>x</sup>] केनापि स्वयेवाधा<sup>83</sup> न करणीया । उक्तं च मुनिभिः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 89. यानीह<sup>84</sup> दत्तानि पुरा नेरेन्दैर्हानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 90. निर्माणास्त्वमालाप्रतिमानि तानि ।<sup>85</sup> को नाम साधुः पुनराद-  
 91. दोत ।(॥) व(व)हृभिर्व्यसुधा<sup>86</sup> भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-  
 92. भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 93. फलं ।(॥) सद्यो दानं निरायासं सायासं तस्य पाल-  
 94. नम् ॥(॥)

*Third plate.*

95. एवं हि रिषयः<sup>87</sup> प्राहुः दानाच्छेयोनपालनम् ॥ दत्त्वा<sup>88</sup> भू[मिं] भाविनः  
 96. पार्थिवेन्द्राः भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सा-  
 97. मान्द्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-  
 98. यो भवद्भिः ।(॥) इत्यर्थितोपि यः कलिकालवस(शा)ज्ञोभा-  
 99. मिभूतो यः<sup>89</sup> पूर्वदानमपहरिष्यति ।<sup>90</sup> स पंचम-  
 100. हापातकैरुपपातकैर्युतो रौरवादिषु नरकेषु  
 101. पच्यमानो दुष्कृतमनुभविष्यति<sup>91</sup> । तथा च ।<sup>92</sup> व्यासभट्टार-  
 102. कः प्राह । स्वदत्तां<sup>93</sup> परदत्ताम्वा<sup>94</sup> यो हरेत वसुन्धराम(म्) [1<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>76</sup> Read °वास्त्रिने तथा.

<sup>77</sup> Read °नहीपा°.

<sup>78</sup> Read °वाटा.

<sup>79</sup> Read °अन्तरसिध्दा.

<sup>80</sup> Read °जानां वंभूनामपि.

<sup>81</sup> Originally only सुसुयतां was engraved; but three or four *aksharas* were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text.

<sup>82</sup> Read °तां वा.

<sup>83</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>84</sup> The second *akshara* might also be read चे, but compare चचावावा, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165.

<sup>85</sup> Metre, Upajāti. Read नरे°.

<sup>86</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>87</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse

<sup>88</sup> Read अययः प्राहुर्वा°.

<sup>89</sup> Metre, Śālinī. Read दत्त्वा, °वेन्द्रा, and याचते.

<sup>90</sup> This word is superfluous.

<sup>91</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>92</sup> The *akshara* नु was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>93</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>94</sup> Read °दत्तां वा.

- L. 103. स विद्यायां कर्मभूत्वा कर्मभिः सह पश्यते ।(॥) विन्ध्याटवी-  
 104. अतोयासु शुक्लकोटरवासिनः । महाहयो हि जायन्ते  
 105. भूमिदानापहारकाः ।(॥) तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजिसेधयतेन च [1\*]  
 106. गवां कोटिप्रदानेन(न) भूमिहर्त्ता न शुद्ध्यति ।(॥) इति महर्षिवचना-  
 107. न्यवधार्य<sup>१</sup> आगन्तुकराजभिः धर्मलोपभयेन प्रतिपालनीयम् [1\*]  
 108. महंस(श)जाः<sup>२</sup> परमहोपतिर्वंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूयाः [1\*]  
 109. ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिमं समग्रं तेषां मया विरचितोऽञ्जलि-  
 110. रेष मूर्ध्नि<sup>३</sup> ॥ ॐ ॥ सा(शा)र्व्वरीसंवत्सरीयभाद्रपदामावास्या-  
 111. याम् ।<sup>१</sup> श्रीनासिकीयग्रन्थासवै(वे)द्यमहातीर्थे ।<sup>२</sup> परम-  
 112. ब्रह्म(तो)पवासनियमयुक्तेन श्री(श्री)भिक्षमराजेन सूर्यग्रहणे धा-  
 113. मोयं प्रदत्तः ॥ लिख(खि)तमिदं शासनपटं स्थाननियमेन  
 114. राजनियमेन च ॥<sup>३</sup> मया केशवैडपाध्यायेनेति ॥ यद-<sup>४</sup>  
 115. चरं परिभ्रष्टं मात्ताहोने च यद्भवेत्(त्) । चां(च)तुमर्ह्य विद्वांसः क-  
 116. ख न खलते मनः ॥ यदज्ञोनाचरेमधिकम्वा<sup>५</sup> तत्सर्व्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥

## XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 991.

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

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 478, Vāghli,<sup>1</sup> a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khāndes District, has three temples, an old temple of Mādhādevī, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mānbhāva<sup>2</sup> sect. "The Mānbhāva temple, built in Hemādpanṭi style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a *linga*, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskrit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mānbhāva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 6" broad by 1' 1½" high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

\* Metre, Vasantatilakā.

\* Really शृङ्ग is engraved.

\* Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

\* Read चरमपिक्क वा.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 38, spelt "Baugley," in

the *Postal Directory* "Waghli," in Long. 75° 10' E., Lat. 20° 31' N.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 122; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 335; and Dr. Burgess' *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 123, 320.

partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *tṛitaya*, line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Gaṇapati; after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1-12; and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pāda of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, i.e., the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāshṭra; and verse 3 states that here, in Surāshṭra, there is the city of Valabhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhman citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4-13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:—

1. The illustrious Kikaṭa, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhīma (v. 6).
4. Sarvaśūra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindarāja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sādhrvasika (v. 9).
7. The prince Jhañjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Devahastin (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
10. From him, the prince Padmākara (v. 13).

B.—This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3' 3" broad by 1' 8" high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandākrāntā metre, must have commenced about 13" from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pāda of a Vasantatilakā verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13", and, moreover, the *aksharas* preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-

lakā verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of A. For what we can read at the commencement of line 1 of B, is—

. . . *prayachchhamī=Lakshmyās=chalatva-vadanīyam=a* . . . . .

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse:—

पद्माकरो नरपतिः प्रव(व)भूय तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरवीरनेकीः ।

दानानि योभ्युदयधर्मा[रतः?] प्रयच्छन्मयासत्त्ववदनीयम्[पाचकार ॥ ?]

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2; verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 6, and verse 18 in line 7; verse 19 probably ended towards the end of line 8; verse 20 ends in line 10, verse 21 in line 11, and verse 22 in line 12; verse 23 must have ended in line 13; verse 24 ends in line 14, and verse 25 in line 15; and the end of verse 26 must have coincided with the end of line 16, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses 4-13 of the inscription A, each of the verses 14-24 gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmākara, spoken of in verse 13. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmākara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses 14 and 15, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned:—

13. Vappaiya (*Vappaiya-nāmā sa nareka āsit*, in verse 16).

14. Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (*Vappaiyasya sutas-tato=vanitale*, in verse 17).

15. Vālaparāja (*tasmād=Vālaparāja ity=abhihito bhūpāla-chūdāmaṇiḥ samjojñe*, in verse 18).

16. Sādhasika (*rājā Sādhasikas=tataḥ param=abhūt*, in verse 19).

17. Śāntirāja (*śrī-Śāntirāja iti bhūmipatir=vvabhāva*, in verse 20).

18. Pravarasūkara (? *Śānti-ātmanah sakala-bhūpa-guṇair=upetaḥ śrīmān=abhūt-Pravarasū[ka]ra-nāmadheyaḥ*, in verse 21).

19. Bhāileka (*tasmād=abhūt=prachura-śatru-gaṇa-pramātī śrī-Bhāileka-nripatir-jugati prasiddhah*, in verse 22).

20. Bhimarāja (*śrī-Bhimarāja-nripatis=tu Śiva-prasādāt*, in verse 23).

21. Govinda (*Govinda-bhūpatir=iti*, in verse 24).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 2½" broad by 1' 10½" high. With the exception of a few *aksharas*, lines 1-16 are well preserved; but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and 1". The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *vimikṛita*, line 3, and *tridiva*, line 8; and the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhāmānya*, both denoted by the ordinary sign for *sh*, are employed in *anvitaḥ kīrtti*, line 8, *sevadhiḥ padma*-, line 5, and *tanuḥ puṇya*-, line 7.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the

continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 21-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (*narapati*, *nripati*, *bhūmipāla*) Govinda or Govindarāja, who in verse 27 is styled *Mauryakula-pradīpa*, 'the light of the Maurya family,' and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 21 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a *sattra*, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the *mahāmaṇḍala-nātha*, the illustrious king Seuṇa.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Āshāḍha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Saṃgami and Madhuvāṭikā, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the *amānta* scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A.D. 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India; and the king Seuṇa is the Devagiri Yādava Seuṇachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-samvat 991<sup>3</sup>.—The villages of Saṃgami and Madhuvāṭikā I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarāja's donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand; but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 4-5); that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his *sattra*, he gave four fields which are described as *Vagalūkamatabhūmi*, *Vakhulīkshetra*, *Vanakūlakabhūmi* and *Paṭayakshinīcāṭa*, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12); and that he besides granted sixteen *nivartanas* of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the *rājñī* Nāyakī (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over, and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069, of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yādava king Seuṇachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarāja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

<sup>3</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrāvana-śudi 14 of Śaka 991 expired (= Saumya) corresponds to the 4th August, A.D. 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION A.<sup>6</sup>

- I. 1. [श्रीः?] उ - - - - - कसि[त]र[त्न]मरीचि - - [ता]: । चरण-  
युग्मसरोरुहरेणवो गणपतेर्विजयाय भवंतु वः ॥ ७ ॥ आदावव्यक्तमासीत्तदनु कमल[जस्त?]-
2. स्फुटः कश्यपोभू — — — — [तद्]नु मनुरभूत्स्फुटात्यर्थवन्धः । विख्यातः सर्वलोकोब्ध-  
मलनृपगुणै[र]न्वितः<sup>9</sup> कीर्तिधर्मैश्चांशात्भूमिमपालाक्षकलगुणनिधेर्द्यौर्व्यंशो]
3. व(ब)भूव ॥ १ ॥ आसीत्कीलास[ञ्च] रविचिर[श]सि(शि)सुधाशुभ्रगंगाप्रवाहे दिव्यारामोपभीगात-  
रसुरनिकरोद्धृष्टकाम्यप्रलापे । सोमः सोमार्द्रभूषः सकलसुरनुतः [का ?]-
4. म[चित्तप्रदी?]यः सर्वेषां लौकिकानामशुभविक्षतये स्रोतशीर्षः सुराङ्गम् ॥ २ ॥ तस्मिँ<sup>10</sup> देशेस्त्रि  
स्थायी विवु(वु)धसुरवराकीर्णादेवालयाद्या मौर्याणां राजधानी बलिभिरिति -
5. — म[ण्डन] मण्डलानां । यस्याभिः शेषविद्यामुनिशितम[त]यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा ब्र(ब्र)ह्मतुल्याः  
पौरा धर्मार्थकामतृ(त्रि)तयफलभुजः सन्ति<sup>11</sup> मोर्यप्रसादात् ॥ ३ ॥ <sup>12</sup>खड्गप्रहारदृढपाटि[त?]-
6. [कुम्भिकुम्भसु?]<sup>13</sup> ता[फ]लप्रकरतारकितां दिनार्हे । रात्रिं चकार रुचि[र] रुचिरप्रतापः श्रीको-  
कटः प्रवरमौर्यकुलप्रसृतः ॥ ४ ॥ अतीतकस्तदनु<sup>14</sup> यस्य पराक्रमाग्निदंद्व[मा?]-
7. उ - - - - [म]ग्नाः । गंगाजलेष्वाभिलषन्ति ननु प्रपातं शैत्याभिलाषिण इव  
दिषतां समूहाः ॥ ५ ॥ भीमो<sup>15</sup> भीमपराक्रमस्तदनु यो दृष्ट्वा व(ब)लं विहिषा<sup>16</sup> सद्यो वैरि -
8. — — — — स्व[मे] स्थि[त] — — [न] । कालचेपकरं रिपुव्रजमिव क्रोधा-  
न्वितः स[त्व]रः [स्व]ष्टारं क्षतमंस्तुती रणरसात्प[क्षी]न्नमं प्रार्थय[त्] ॥ ६ ॥ [श्री?]केषु<sup>17</sup> वा-  
जिगजप[त्ति] - - -
9. उ नेषु — — — — सत्सु । शौर्यं करोति सकलोरिषु तस्य सौ(श्री)-  
र्यं सर्वेष्विति प्रगदितः स हि सर्वस्व(शूर)रः ॥ ७ ॥ गोविन्दराज इति च प्रथितः पृथिव्यामा-  
सीन्नप-

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

- L. 10. स्तदनु यस्य ७ — ७ — — । गोविंदवत्सपदि चिंतितमा[त्र]सिद्धास्तेनेति नाम स दधी धरि-  
तार्थमुच्चैः ॥ ८ ॥ राजा<sup>18</sup>साध्वसिकः<sup>19</sup> ततः परमभूयः<sup>20</sup>आ[द्र]णे युध्य तस्तस्यासौ रिपुदंति— ७—  
11. ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — । साधुः साधुरयं तवासिरमरैः स्वस्थैरिति स्ना(स्ना)घित  
शत्रून्साध्वसिनः करोति यदि वा तेनेतिनामा नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ भंभाभिधाननृपतिः<sup>21</sup>प्रथितो  
धरित्रयां — — —  
12. ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — । संग्रामभूषभिसुखो रभसात्प्रधावन्धर्तुं न शक्य इति  
नाम व(व)भार सार्थ ॥ १० ॥ श्रीदेवहस्तीति<sup>22</sup> ततः क्षितोशो जज्ञे धरामंडलशीतरश्मिः ।  
सम[स्तलो] — — —  
13. ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — ॥ ११ ॥ श्रीमान्मंजनरेश्वरः<sup>23</sup>  
समभवत्तस्मान्नृपग्रामणीर्यः सौभाग्यसुधासरित्वरिहृदो [रू]पावधौ[त]स्मरः । [दुर्वा]रप्र-  
मदाविलो ७ ७ —  
14. ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — सुहृन्म[त्र]वत्  
॥ १२ ॥ पद्माकरो<sup>24</sup> नरपतिः<sup>25</sup> प्रव(व)भूव तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनेकैः । दानानि  
योभ्यदयधर्म-

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C,<sup>26</sup>

- L. 1. [गो]दानभूमितिल[दान]हिरण्यवेश्मवस्त्रावरत्नवरधान्यधनादि सर्वम् ।  
संपूज्य यः प्रवरविप्रगणं प्रहर्षात्<sup>27</sup> शशहृदावसलमौर्यकुलप्रदोपः ॥ २७ ॥<sup>28</sup>  
यस्मिन्प्रशासति म[हो]  
2. महनीयकीर्त्तौ पंग्वधदोनविकला न जना व(व)भूवुः ।  
शश्वन्महोत्सवपरंपरया जनानां धर्मार्थकामफलसिद्धिरखंडिताभूत् ॥ ३८<sup>29</sup> ॥  
यः प्रीणयत्यमृतगंधसुगंधमालाधूपाक्ष[त]-  
3. प्रचुरदोपविचित्रभक्ष्यैः ।  
देवग्रहहृदिजगुरुन्मृ(न्मि)तृगोग्निमुख्यान्गोविंदराजनृपतिः स सुखी सदा स्तात् ॥ २८ ॥  
कर्पूरकुंकुमधनाधिपकर्मिण कस्तूरिकाजलविमिश्र(मि)[त]-  
4. चंदनेन ।  
आदौ विलिप्य शिवविप्रगुरुनुदारः पश्चादिलेपनविधिं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥ ३० ॥  
यः पांथसार्थगुणिविप्रभुजिक्रियार्थं दीनान्मृद्वविकलस्य च तृप्तिहेतोः ।  
सर्व<sup>30</sup> [च]-  
5. कार नृपतिर्व्व(र्व्वे)हुविद्यशिष्यैर्व्विद्याविनोदनिरतैः परितोतिपूर्ण ॥ ३१ ॥  
यज्ञपैरप्यशक्यं प्रवरवसुमतीदेशभोगाधिरुदै-  
र्विष्णुस्य यस्य तुच्छो धनदधनमृतः से(शे)वधि७पद्मनामा ।  
अत्यु[च]

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>19</sup> Read °कस्तः.<sup>20</sup> Read °यश्च°.<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>22</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>24</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>25</sup> This sign of visarga was originally omitted.<sup>26</sup> From an impression taken by Mr. Cousens.<sup>27</sup> Read °वर्ष्ण°.<sup>28</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā ; and of the four next verses.<sup>29</sup> Read २८.<sup>30</sup> Read सर्व.

- L. 6. दिव्य[भू]षं सुरसदनसमं मंदिरं चंद्रमौलिः  
कोन्यो गोविंदराजाक्षरपतिरमलो मर्त्यलोके चकार ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>31</sup>  
व(वृ)ह्मज्ञानाभ्युत्तांतर्निभृतवरसरोराजहंसोमलांगो<sup>32</sup>  
राजश्रीचारुकास्तादयिततर[त]-
7. तु७पुण्यहृत्तस्य<sup>33</sup> मूलं ।  
धात्रा सृष्टोयमेको जगति नरपतिः सज्जनानन्दकारो  
शैवध्यानासिभिन्नस्वहृदयजतमोहतिगोविन्दराजः ॥ ३३ ॥  
[अ]<sup>34</sup>तर्मीनावताराद्यभिनवतनुभिर्विष्णुरुपैरुपे-
8. तं  
चक्रे सिद्धेशनाथावसथमतिमहत्सर्वभोगोपपन्नं ।  
सर्वेषां पार्थिवानां तृ(त्रि)दिवपतिपुरारोहनिश्रेणिभूतं  
गोविन्दो भूमिपालस्त्वमलनृपगुणैरन्वितक्लीर्त्तिकामः ॥ ३४ ॥  
वापीं च-
9. कार सुविमलोपलगाढव(व)डसोपानप[ङ्क्ति]सुरवेश्मनिविष्टदेवां ।  
शश्वल्लोर्मिव(व)[हु]म[भ]जलप्रवाहसंज्ञापिताभिःपनामचनाशदक्षाम् ॥ ३५ ॥<sup>35</sup>  
रूपनंदांकतुल्ये तु ८८१
10. शककालस्य भूपती [।<sup>36</sup>]  
सौम्यसंवत्सराषाढरविग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १ ॥<sup>37</sup>  
महामंडलनाथस्तु श्रीमान्सेउणभूपतिः ।  
सिद्धेश्वराय प्रददौ ग्रामद्वयमुदारधीः ॥ २ ॥  
निजेन राजभोगेन संग[र्मी]<sup>37</sup>
11. म[धु]वाटिकाम् ॥ ३ ॥  
गोविंदराजोपि ददौ ग्रा[म]यो[र्मा]न्य[भो]गकं ।  
मेलकं देवपूजार्थं घ्राणकं दीपसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥  
पाटकं गीतनृत्यार्थं विलासिणिसमन्वितं<sup>38</sup> ।  
तृष्कालं<sup>39</sup> देवभोगार्थं गच्छकानां च भूमि — [॥ ५ ॥<sup>40</sup>]
12. विप्राणां भोजनायार्थं सत्र(त्र)सुद्दिश्य शश्वतं ।  
विद्याभ्यासरतानां च<sup>41</sup> छात्रा(त्रा)णां भोजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥  
क्षेत्राणि यानि भूपालो ददौ तानि लिखाम्यतः ।  
वगलूकमस्तभूमे[ः]<sup>41</sup> पूर्वसीमा तु भूमि —

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Śraṅgharā; and of the two next verses.

<sup>32</sup> The *akshara* व was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>33</sup> The *akshara* च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>34</sup> I am doubtful about this *akshara*, and the intended reading may possibly be प्रति सी<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śioka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following twelve verses.

<sup>37</sup> Of this *akshara* only the sign of *anusvāra* is doubtful.

<sup>38</sup> The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विलासिनी (?)

<sup>39</sup> I do not understand this, nor the following गच्छकानां; तृष्कालं may have been put for दिक्कालं.

<sup>40</sup> This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>41</sup> Originally भूमिस्तु was engraved, but the *akshara* स्तु has been struck out.



L. 13.

[॥] ३ ॥

दक्षिणे [दे]वलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे [जानि]नस्तथा ।

उत्तरे कारकग्राममाघाटा<sup>४०</sup> खलु [नो] मताः ॥ ८ ॥

वसुलीक्षेत्रसीमास्तु पूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमाः ।

मार्गकंमतसिद्धेशभूमयस्तुत्तरो वहः ॥ [८ ॥<sup>४१</sup>]

14. वनकूटकभूमेऽथ नदी पूर्वोत्तरोत्तरीः ।

दक्षिणे च वहः सीमा पश्चिमे ग्रामभूरपि ॥ १० ॥

व[ट]यक्षिणिवाटे तु पूर्वा कार्पटिकस्तु भूः ।

दक्षिणे देवलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे गोपद्योर्वधिः ॥ [११ ॥<sup>४२</sup>]

उत्तरे वटकू-

15. पी च भाघाटा[ः]परिकीर्तिताः ॥ [१२ ॥<sup>४३</sup>]

षोडशीव ददौ राजा मिथ्याव्याख्यानकारिणे ।

निवर्त्तनानि भूमिस्तु पुण्याव्याख्यानकारिणे ॥ [१३ ॥<sup>४४</sup>]

चत्वारिंशद्विचारवाक्यद्वयभूतोविन्दनामा [४]-

16.

प-

स्तद्राज्ञी किल नायकी भवभयाङ्गता सदा या चरे ।

ताभ्यां शंकरमंदिरं सुहृच्चिरं निष्ठाया मिस्तारिता<sup>४५</sup>कीर्त्तिर्द्वयशः कुलं च विमलं प्रद्योतितं चात्मनः ॥ [१४ ॥<sup>४६</sup>]

ये पालय-

17. न्त पृथिवीपतिदानमेतत्ते प्राप्नुवन्त्यमरलोकसमस्तभोगान् ।

राज्यं च [३]ख ७ ७ - ७ ७ - ७ - - - ७ [हस्ति]तुरगाव्यव(व)लैरुपिताः ॥ <sup>४७</sup>[१५ ॥<sup>४८</sup>]

ये लोपयन्ति नृपदा-

18.

[न]म - ७ लोभा[त्ते प्राप्नुवन्ति]<sup>४९</sup> . . . . .XVII.—KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF  
HARIBRAHMADEVA.THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1470<sup>1</sup>.

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

This inscription is on a polished stone, which is fitted into the wall of a small temple at Khalari, a village about 45 miles<sup>2</sup> east of the town of Râypur in the Central Provinces. It contains sixteen lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1' 11½" broad by 11½" high. The writing is well preserved throughout, and the reading is no-

<sup>40</sup> Read "ग्राम भाघाटा".

<sup>41</sup> The *akshara* वा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>42</sup> Metro, Śārdūlavikṛdita.

<sup>43</sup> Metro, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>44</sup> From here, up to the end of the line, the writing is so seriously damaged that only a few *aksharas*, which yield no

connected sense, are at all legible. There can be no doubt that this was the concluding line of this inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly for 1471.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. VII, p. 156; according to the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 243, Khalari is only about thirteen miles from Râypur.

where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgari of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory *om śrī-Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter *b* is, as usually, written by the sign for *v*; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a *praśasti*, was composed by Miśra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadāsa of the Vāstavya<sup>1</sup> family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) by the shoemaker (*mochī*) Devapāla, a son of Śivadāsa and grandson of Jasau (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khalvāṭikā (v. 7), i. e., the modern Khalāri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words ‘om, adoration to Gaṇapati’ and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nārāyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (*rājadhāni*) Khalvāṭikā is represented to have been when the inscription was composed :—

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Simhaṇa, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoṇṅadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years' cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rohiṇi. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents :—

For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Māgha-śudi 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;

for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A.D. 1414;

for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rohiṇi from 13 h. 8 m., or, by the *Garga-siddhānta*, from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, or, by the *Brahma-siddhānta*, from about sunrise. This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the *Sūrya-siddhānta* rule without *Māja* lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D. 1415.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, Index of vol. I, under *Vāstavya*.

Of the reign of the prince Haribrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1458, which was found at Râypur and is now in the Nâgpur Museum<sup>4</sup>, and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 26, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Hatakeśvara (Śiva) by the *Nāyaka* Hājirājadeva, the prince is described as *Mahārājā*, *dhirāja*, and called Rāyabrahmadeva, Harirāyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Simha and Rāmachandra, instead of Simhaṇa and Rāmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek<sup>5</sup> in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं [॥<sup>x</sup>] श्रीगणपतये नमः । (॥)  
सकलदुरितहर्त्ताऽभीष्टसिद्धिप्रकर्त्ता निगमसमुपगीतः शेषयज्ञोपवीतः ।  
ललितमधुकरालीसे-
2. चिता' गंडपालीतटभुवि गणराजः पातु वो विघ्नराजः ॥ १ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
वेदानाराध्य वेधाः पठति भगवतीं यामनायस्तचित्तः  
श्रीकंठस्थापि नादैरपहरति मनः
3. पार्वती किन्नरीभिः ।  
हारा नारायणस्थोरसि रहसि रणत्कंका यङ्गजाः स्युः  
सद्यः सत्काव्यसिद्धौ स्फुरतु कविमुखांभीरुहे भारती सा ॥ २ ॥<sup>9</sup>  
व(ब्र)ह्माद-
4. यो द(दि)विषदः श्रुतिवाक्यदृष्ट्या ध्यायति यं पुरुषमात्मविदोप्यमूर्त्तं ।  
पापानि यत्स्मरणतो विलयं प्रयाति नारायणः स्फुरतु चेतसि सर्वदा वः । (॥) ३ ॥<sup>10</sup>  
अहिह-<sup>11</sup>
5. यन्मृगवंशे शंभुभक्तोऽवतीर्णः कलशुतिरिति शाखां प्राप्य तीव्र(ब्र)प्रतापः ।  
निजभुजगुरुदर्पाद्योऽरिदुर्गाख्यजैषोद्वेषभुवि दश चाष्टौ सिंहणचोष्णिपालः ॥
6. ४ ॥<sup>12</sup>  
अभवदवनिपालस्तत्पुत्रो रामदेवः समरशिरसि धीरो येन भोषिगदेवः ।  
मणिरिव फणिवंशस्याऽहृतः कोपदृष्ट्या तरुणतरुणितेजःपंजरजगतापः ॥ ५ ॥
7. तत्पुत्रः शत्रुहंता जगति विजयते चंद्रचूडस्य भक्तः  
श्यामः कामाभिरामो मनसि सृग्दृशसुइष्टानां कृतांतः ।  
सर्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदमरतरुर्वाक्यतिः पंडिता-

<sup>4</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'वित्ती'

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Bragdhara. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuribranch of the Haihaya family there was the prince Simhaṇa, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Haihayas are called by the writer Ahibayas, and the Kalachuris Kalachutis, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mālinī.

- L. 8. . ना  
 गौतमज्ञानां द्वितीयो भरत इव नृपः श्रीहरिर्ब्रह्मदेवः ॥ ६ ॥<sup>13</sup>  
 तद्राजधानी नगरो गरिष्ठा खल्वाटिका राजति वाटिकाभिः ।  
 सुरालया यत्र हिमालयाभा विभाति
9. नृगैरतिशुभ्रतुंगैः ॥ ७ ॥<sup>14</sup>  
 भूदेवा यत्र वेदाध्ययनमतु रताः स्वस्तिमंतो वसन्ति  
 श्रीमंतः श्रीविलासैरमरपरिवृतं राजराजं वसंतः ।  
 कामिन्यः कामदेवं त्रिपुरहर-
10. दृशा दग्धसुष्मीवयंत्यः  
 प्रीत्यहोर्मूलकांत्वा क्षितमधुरगिरा भूलताडव(व)रेण ॥ ८ ॥<sup>15</sup>  
 मोची तत्रेदुरोचीरुचिरतरयशाः कर्मनिर्माणादक्षः  
 सीजन्या-
11. दशजन्माऽनुचर इव जसौनामधेयस्य पीत्रः ।  
 भानाधर्माभिलाषी गुणनिधिशिवदासाऽभिधानस्य पुत्रः  
 श्रीमन्नारायणस्य स्मरणविमलघो राजते
12. देवपालः ॥ ९ ॥  
 नारायणस्त्रायतनं स्वशक्त्या भक्त्या महत्या सह मंडपेन ।  
 निर्मापितं तेन परत्र चात्र तस्मै हरिर्यच्छतु वाञ्छि(द्धि)तार्थं ॥ १० ॥<sup>16</sup>  
 हरिचरणसरोजध्यान-
13. पीयूषसिंधुप्रसरदलघुवेलास्फालकेलीरसेन ।  
 सरसकविजनानां निर्मितेयं प्रशस्तिर्मीनसि रसविधात्री मित्रदामोदरेण ॥ ११ ॥  
 वहति जगति गंगा याव-
14. दादित्यपुत्रा स्फुरति वियति तारामंडलाऽखंडलेन<sup>17</sup> ।  
 तरणिरमरसङ्घच्छद्मना तावदेवा जयतु जयतु मोचीदेवपालस्य कीर्तिः ॥ १२ ॥  
 श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनैषा
15. प्रशस्तिरमलाक्षरा ।  
 लिखिता रामदासेन पंडिताधीश्वरेण च ॥ १३ ॥<sup>18</sup>  
 स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १४७० वर्षे साके १३३४ षष्ठ्याब्दयोर्मध्ये<sup>19</sup> भवनामसंवत्सरे माघसुदि ८
16. शनिवासरे रोहिणीनक्षत्रे [॥<sup>x</sup>] शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतः ॥ स्वधाररत्नदेवेन [॥<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.<sup>14</sup> Metre, Upajāti.<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdharā.<sup>16</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 11 and 12, Mālinī.<sup>18</sup> The word *akṣandala* is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain-bow'.<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>20</sup> Read षष्ठ्याब्दस्य 'in the sixty-years' cycle.'

XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA  
VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

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

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,<sup>1</sup> in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' *Indian Atlas*, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 5½' E., Lat. 25° 43½' N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwálor; and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, *ib.*, plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 3½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty *aksharas* in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other *aksharas* which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ⅝". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, and, excepting the introductory *om om namo vitarāgāya* and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a *prāśasti* (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakīrti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarāja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tilhaṇa (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter *ḥ* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-51) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tīrthakāras Rishabhasvāmin, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahāvīra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (*śrūta-devatā*) 'famous in the world under the name of Paṅkajavāsini.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXV, part I, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.

The poet's account of the *Mahārājādhīrāja* Vikramasimha (lines 10-32) is as follows:—

“There was, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.<sup>3</sup>

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves.

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters,<sup>4</sup> and which in splendour rivalled the moon's crescent, . . . . . having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun's orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapāla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasimha, ‘the lion of valour,’ rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

<sup>3</sup> Arjuna being the name of one of the Pāṇḍava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words *Pāṇḍu*, *Bhīmasena* (the second son of Pāṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and *Dhanvin* (an epithet of Arjuna).

<sup>4</sup> The words of the original would also mean ‘possessed of many uncut bow-strings which supported crowds of arrows able to conquer the circuit of the quarters’.

all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters.

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men.

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chaḍobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this :—

In the Kachchhapaghâta family there was—

1. Yuvarâja. His son was—
2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyâdharadeva, slew in battle Râjyapâla. His son was—
3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—
4. Vijayapâla; and his son again—
5. Vikramasimha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shewn in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 361 (No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D. 1088.<sup>5</sup>

Of the Kachchhapaghâta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription<sup>6</sup> of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmaṇa, Vajradâman, Mangalarâja, Kirtirâja, Mûladeva, Devapâla, Padmapâla, and Mahipâla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription<sup>7</sup> of Virasimhadeva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Virasimhadeva, Śaradasimhadeva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasimhadeva. As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

<sup>5</sup> The date is one of those in which the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.

<sup>6</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See *Journal, Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 543, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 313.

inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghâta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwâlior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradâman of the Gwâlior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1034,<sup>8</sup> defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwâlior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapâla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapâla to be identical with the *mipati* Vijayâdhirâja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byânâ, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapâla<sup>9</sup>; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byânâ inscription of Vijayâdhirâja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapâla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapâla (Vijayâdhirâja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramâra Bhojadeva of Mâlava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964=Vikrama 1099.<sup>10</sup>

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyâdharadeva, the illustrious Râjyapâla; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyâdharadeva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapâladeva.<sup>11</sup> Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhaṅgadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055,<sup>12</sup> and Vijayapâladeva was succeeded by Devavarmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107.<sup>13</sup> Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080,<sup>14</sup> which shows that his successor Vidyâdharadeva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghâta Arjuna. As to Râjyapâla, I think it highly probable that he is the Râjyapâla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochanapâla in the Jhûsi (or Allahâbâd) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 34; and I now believe that the three kings Vijayapâladeva, Râjyapâladeva and Trilochanapâladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyâdhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyâkubja (or Kanauj)<sup>15</sup>, and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghâta chiefs, and that the prince of

<sup>8</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 393.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 8.

There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Maṅgalarâja, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byânâ (*ib.* p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghâta Maṅgalarâja of the Gwâlior inscription, the successor of Vajradâman.

<sup>10</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, p. 196.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 124 and 139.

<sup>13</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

<sup>14</sup> See also *ante*, vol. I, p. 219.



Kanauj destroyed by him was the very Rājyapāla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhūsi copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kanauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Arjuna's father Yuvarāja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last verse translated above told us that to Vikramasimha belonged the town of Chaḍobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade; and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jaina traders Rishī and Dāhaḍa, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of *śreshṭhins*<sup>15</sup> in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomatī, and grandsons of the *śreshṭhin* Jāsūka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lāṭavāgaṭa *gaṇa*, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhūṣaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhasenasūri. From him sprang the Guru Śāntishēṇa who, in a *sabhā* held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakīrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Sādhu Dāhaḍa whose genealogy has already been given, Kūkeka, Sūrpaṭa, Devadhara, Mahīchandra, and Lakshmaṇa; but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *vinśopaka* on each *gonī* (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four *gonīs* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil<sup>16</sup> for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahāchakra and Rajakadraha anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned; and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.

<sup>15</sup> See Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kolpasūtra*, p. 107: *śreshṭhināḥ śrīdevatādhyākṣita-sauvarṇapattā-bhūṣhitottamāṅgāḥ*.

<sup>16</sup> The original has the compound *kara-ghoṭikā-dvayam*, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.

Text.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>18</sup> ॥ [श्री] न[मो] वीतरागाय ॥ श्री<sup>19</sup> — — द्रि — ट — उ — उ टना[द्यत्वा]दपोठं लुठन्-  
[दा]रसगमं[द]गुंज[द]लि[म]निष्ठूतसाराविणम् । [त]-  
2. [त्वा] — उ — उ वद[च]: उ रसु — — — [तां] सं उ ि — ० हे[ग]मिवाकरोत् ऋषभस्वामी  
श्रिये स्तात्सता[म्] ॥ वि(वि)भ्रा-  
3. [णो] गुण[सं]ह[ति] हततमस्तापो निजज्योतिषा [यु]क्तात्मापि जगति संगतजय[श्च]क्रे सरा-  
गाणि यः । उन्माद्यन्-  
4. कर[ध्व]जोर्जितगजयासोऽसत्केसरी संसारोद्यगदच्छिदेस्तु स मम श्रीसां(शां)तिनाथो जिनः ॥  
जा[श्च] सखदखंडित-<sup>20</sup>  
5. अयमपि क्षीणाखिलोपक्ष[यं] साक्षादीक्षितमक्षिभिर्दधदपि प्रौढं कलंकं तथा । चिह्नत्वाद्यदु-  
पांतमाप्य सततं [जात]-  
6. [स्तथा?]नंदकचंद्रः सर्वजनस्य पातु विपदश्चंद्रप्रभोर्हन्त नः ॥ सो(शो)कानोकहसंकुलं रतितृण-  
श्रेणि प्रणश्य[द्भ्रम]-  
7. — — [त्वा]ध्वगपूगमुद्रतमहामिष्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिमृगोपघातकृतधीर्ध्यानाग्निना  
भस्मसाद्भावं कर्म-  
8. वनं निनाय जयतात्सीयं जिनः सन्ततिः ॥ <sup>21</sup>प्रसाधितार्थगुर्भण्यपंकजाकर[भा]स्करः । अंतस्तामो-  
पहो वोस्तु गो-  
9. तमो मुनिसत्तमः ॥ <sup>22</sup>श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसद्वदनारविंदमुद्रच्छदच्छतरवी(वी)धसमृद्धगंधम् ।  
अध्यास्य या जगति पंकजवासिनी-  
10. ति स्था[ति] जगाम जयतु सु(सु)तदेवता सा ॥ <sup>23</sup>आसीत्कच्छपघातवंशतिलकस्त्रीलोक्यनि-  
र्यद्यश्चःपांडुश्रीयुवराजसुनर-  
11. समद्युग्नीमसेनानुगः । ओमा[न]र्जुनभूपतिः<sup>24</sup> पतिरपामध्याप यत्तुल्यतां नो गांभीर्यगुणेन  
निर्जितजग[द्भ]न्वी धनु-  
12. र्विद्यया ॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कांठास्थिच्छिदनेकवारणनिवहैर्हत्वा  
महत्याहवे ।  
13. <sup>25</sup>[डिंडीरा]वलिचंद्रमंडल[मि]लम्बुक्ताकलापोज्ज(ज्ज)लैस्त्रीलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योजसभा-  
पूरयत् ॥ <sup>26</sup>यस्य  
14. प्रस्थानकालोत्थितजलधिरवाकारवादितशब्दा(ब्दा) वेगान्निर्गच्छदद्रिप्रतिमगजघटाकोटिघंठार-  
वाश्च । संस-  
15. र्पतः समंतादहमहमिकया पूरयंतो विरेमुनी रोदोरंभभागं गिरिविवरगुह्यद्यत्तिध्वानमित्राः ॥  
<sup>27</sup>दिकच-  
16. क्राक्रमयो[ग्य]मार्गणगणाधाराननेकान् गुणान्च्छिन्नाननिशं दधद्भिषुकलासंस्पर्द्धमानद्युतो न ।  
[च]नु-

<sup>17</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr Burgess.

<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next three verses.

<sup>20</sup> Read ऋद°.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>24</sup> The akshara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>25</sup> The aksharas in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

- L. 17. [च्छि]न्नघनुर्यु<sup>39</sup> विजयिनोप्याजी विजित्यो[र्जि]तं जातोऽस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामभ्यमान-  
स्तृणम् ॥ यस्यात्त्व[ङ्गुत]-  
18. वाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु प्रावीक्ष्यं प्रविकल्पितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा । च्छत्रालो<sup>40</sup>-  
कनमात्रजात-  
19. भयतो दृष्टारिभंगप्रदस्यास्य स्थाङ्गणवर्णने त्रिभुव[ने] को लब्ध(श्च)वर्णः प्रभुः ॥ <sup>40</sup>तुरगस्वरसुरा-  
ग्रीत्स्वात[धात्री]-  
20. समुत्थं स्थगयदह्निमरस्त्रे(श्चे)र्मंडलं यमयाणे । प्रचुरतररजोन्याशेषतेजस्वितेजोहृतिमचिरत  
21. एवा[शं]सतीवानिवारम् ॥ शरदस्तमयूषप्रैस्त्रदंशप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्त्तिव्यासदिवचक्रवालः ।  
अजनि विजय-  
22. पालः श्रीमतोऽस्मात्तद्दीपः शमितसकलधात्रीमंडलक्षेत्रलेस(श)ः ॥ <sup>41</sup>भयं यच्छत्रूणां त्रिदशतक्षणी-  
त्रीक्षितरणे  
23. क्रमेणाशेषाणां व्यतरदसदध्यात्मनि सदा । सतोप्यंशस्मादादव[नि]वल्लयस्याधिकमतो वु(बु)धा-  
नामाश्चर्यं व्यतनुत  
24. नरेन्द्रो हृदि च यः ॥ <sup>42</sup>तस्माद्विक्र[म]कारिविक्रमभरप्रारंभनिर्भेदितप्रोक्तुंगाखिलवैरिवारणघटो-  
द्यन्मा[स]कुं-  
25. भव्यलः । श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्थनामा समं सर्व्वासा(शा)प्रसरद्विभासुरयशःस्फारस्फुर-  
त्केसरः ॥  
26. वा(वा)लस्यापि विलोक्य यस्य परिधाकारं भुजं दक्षिणं क्षीणाशेषपराजयस्थितिधिया वीरश्रिया  
संश्रितम् । सर्व्वांगेष्व-  
27. वशूहनाग्रमहंकारादहंपूर्विका<sup>43</sup> राज्यश्रीरक्त[ता]धिगस्य<sup>44</sup>विमुखी सर्व्वाङ्गपुंवर्गतः ॥ <sup>45</sup>अत्यंतो-  
हृत्सविद्विद्विद्वि-  
28. रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचक्रे विष्वक्प्रकाशं सकलजगदमंदावकाशं दधाने । निःपर्यायं<sup>46</sup>  
दिगास्यप्रसरदुह-  
29. क[राकां]तधात्रीधरेन्द्रे यस्मिन्नाज्जासु(श)मालिन्यहह सति वृषैर्वैषकोन्मीशुमाली ॥ <sup>47</sup>यद्दिग्ये  
वरतुरंगसुरायसं-  
30. गच्छुस्त्रावनीवल्लयज्यरजोभिसर्पत् । विद्वेषिणां पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्यवस्तूत्करं प्रलयकालमि-  
वादिदे-  
31. श ॥ तस्य क्षितीश्वरवरस्य पुरं समस्ति विस्तीर्णशोभमभितोपि चडोभसंज्ञम् । प्राप्तेप्सितक्रय-  
समग्रदिगागतांगि-  
32. व्यावर्ण्यमानविपणिव्यवहारसारम् ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>48</sup>आसीच्छायसपूर्वनिर्गतवर्णश्वंशव(ब)राभीशु-  
मान्<sup>49</sup> जासुकः प्रक[टाक्षता]-  
33. यंनिकरः श्रेष्ठी<sup>50</sup> प्रभाधिष्ठितः । सम्यग्दृष्टिरभीष्टजैन[च]रणहंकार्चने यो ददौ पात्रौघाय [चतु]-  
र्विधं [त्रि]विबु(बु)-

<sup>39</sup> The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the *akshara* खं may have been altered.

<sup>40</sup> Read कक्षा°.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>43</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>44</sup> Originally "पूर्विका" was engraved.

<sup>45</sup> Read "धिकसः".

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.

<sup>47</sup> Read निथयार्थः.

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>50</sup> Read "माक्षायकः".

<sup>51</sup> Perhaps altered to श्रेष्ठप्रभा°.

- L. 34. धो दानं युतः अथवा ॥ <sup>41</sup> श्रीमज्जिने[श्वर]पदां(बु)रुहद्विरेफो विस्फारकीर्त्ति[ध]वलीकृतदिग्वि-  
भागः । पुत्रोस्य वैभव-  
35. पदं जयदेवनामा सीमायमानचरितोजनि सज्जनानाम् ॥ <sup>42</sup> रूपेण सी(शी)लेन कुलेन सर्वस्त्रीणां  
गुणैरप्यपरेः  
36. शिरसु । पदं दधानास्य व(ब)भूव भार्या यशोमतीति प्रथिता पृथिव्याम् ॥ <sup>43</sup> तस्यामजीजनदसा-  
वृषिदाहडाख्यौ पुत्रौ पवि-  
37. द्रवसुराजितचारुमूर्त्ती । प्राच्यामिवाकस(श)शिनौ समयः समस्तसंपत्तसाधकजनव्यवहारहे-  
[तु] ॥ <sup>44</sup> प्रोन्माद्यत्कला-  
38. रिक्कुंजरशिरोनिर्हारणोद्ययशोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियान्नोन्मार्गगामी च यः । सोदादिकम-  
सिंहभूप-  
39. तिरतिप्रोतो यकाभ्यां युगश्रेष्ठः श्रेष्ठिपदं पुरेत् परमे<sup>45</sup> प्राकारसौधापणे ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>46</sup> आसीद्विशु-  
तरवी(बो)धचरितदृ-  
40. ष्टिनिःशेषशु(स्)रिनतमस्तकधारि[ता]श्चः । श्रीलाटवागटगणोद्धतरोहणाद्रिमाणिक्यभूतच-  
रितो गुरुदेवसे-  
41. नः ॥ <sup>47</sup> सिद्धांतो द्विविधोप्यवाधितधिया येन प्रमाणध्व[नि]यंघेषु प्रभयः श्रियामवगतो हस्तस्थ-  
मुक्तोपमः ।  
42. जातः श्रीकुलभूषणोखिलवियदासोगणग्रामणीः सम्यग्दर्शनशुद्धवी(बो)धचरणालंकारधारी  
ततः ॥ <sup>48</sup> रत्नत्रया[भ]रण-  
43. धारणजातशोभस्तस्मादजायत स दुर्लभसेनसूरिः । सर्वं श्रुतं समधिगम्य सहैव सम्यगात्मस्वरू-  
पनिरतोभवद्विह-  
44. [धी]र्यः ॥ <sup>49</sup> आस्थानाधिपतौ तु(बु)धा[दवि]गुणे श्रीभोजदेवे नृपे सम्येष्वं(ब)रसेनपंडितशिरो-  
रत्नादिषूय्यशदान् । योने-  
45. कान्<sup>50</sup> शतसो व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिनः शास्त्रांभोनिर्धिपारगोभवदतः श्रीशान्तिषेणो  
गुरुः ॥ <sup>51</sup> गुरुचर-  
46. णसरोजाराधनावामपुण्यप्रभवदमलवु(बु)द्धिः शुद्धरत्नत्रयोन्मात् । अजनि विजयकीर्त्तिः सूक्तारत्नाव-  
47. कीर्णा ज[लधि]भुवमिवैतां यः प्रस(श)स्ति व्यधत् ॥ <sup>52</sup> तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूतं धर्मोपदे-  
शमधिकाधिगत-  
48. प्रवो(बो)धाः । लक्ष्म्याश्च वं(ब)धुसुहृदां च समागमस्य मत्वायुषश्च वपुषश्च विनश्वरत्वं ॥ <sup>53</sup> प्रार-  
था(आ)धर्मकांतारविदाहः  
49. साधुदाहडः । सद्विवेकश्च [कू]केकः सूर्यतः सुकृते पटुः ॥ तथा देवधरः शुद्धः<sup>54</sup> धर्मकर्मधुरंधरः ।  
च[द्रा]लिखि-  
50. तनाकश्च महीचंद्रः शुभार्जनात् ॥ गुणिनः क्षणनाशिश्चोक्तादानविचक्षणाः । अन्येपि आवकाः  
केचिद-

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>42</sup> Metre, Upajāti.<sup>43</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>45</sup> Read परमप्राकार°.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>48</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>50</sup> Read °काञ्चतथो.<sup>51</sup> Metre, Mālini.<sup>52</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>53</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three verses.<sup>54</sup> Read शुद्धी.

- L. 51. कर्ते[धन]पावकाः ॥ किंच लक्षणसंज्ञोभू—हृदेवस्य मातुलः । गोष्ठिको जिनभक्तश्च सर्वशास्त्र-  
 52. विचक्षणः ॥ <sup>56</sup>शृंगाग्रोत्तिष्ठितां(ब)रं वरसुधासांद्रद्रवापांडुरं सार्धं श्रीजिनमंदिरं त्रिजगदान-  
 दप्रदं सु-  
 53. दरम् । संभूयेदमकारयन्गुरुशिरःसंचारिकेत्वं(ब)रप्रांतेनोच्छलतेव वायुविहतेर्यामादिश[त्यश्व-]  
 54. ताम् ॥ ॐ ॥ अर्थैतस्य जिनेश्वरमंदिरस्य निष्पादनपूजनसंस्काराय कालान्तरस्फुटिततुटित-  
 प्रतीका-  
 55. रार्थं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहः स्वपुण्यरासे(शे)रप्रतिहतप्रसरं परमोपचयं चेतसि  
 [नि]धाय  
 56. गोष्ठीं प्रति विंशोपकं गोधूमगोष्ठीचतुष्टयवापयोग्यक्षेत्रं च महा[चक्र]ग्रामभूमौ रजकद्रहपू-  
 57. र्वादिगुणभावाटिकां वापीसमन्वितां <sup>56</sup>प्रदीपमुनिजनशरीराभ्यंजनार्थं करघटिकाद्वयं च दत्त-  
 वान् । तच्चाचं-  
 58. द्वाकं महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन ॥ <sup>56</sup>व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा<sup>57</sup> भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-  
 दिभिः । यस्य य-  
 59. स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति स्मृतिवचनाद्विजमपि श्रेयः प्रयोजनं मन्यमानैः  
 सकलैरपि  
 60. भाविभिर्भूमिपालैः प्रतिपालनीयमिति ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>58</sup>लिलेखीदयराजो यां प्रस(श)स्तिं शुद्धधीरि-  
 माम् । उत्कीर्णवा-  
 61. न् <sup>59</sup>शिलाकूटस्तीर्णस्तां सदक्षराम् ॥ संवत् ११४५ भाद्रपदसुदि ३ सोमदिने ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

## XIX.—PABHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY A. FÜHRER, PH.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosā stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnā, in tahsil Manjhānpur, 32 miles south-west of Allahābād, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhāsa.<sup>1</sup> The classical hill of Prabhāsa, which is the only rock in the Antardvī, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamnā rivers, is 3 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosām Khirāj, the ancient Kausāmbī, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosām Inām and Pālī,<sup>2</sup> which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave, in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nāga described thus by Hsüen Tsiang<sup>3</sup> in his account of Kausāmbī:—"To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 *li* (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. Having subdued

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>56</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>57</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>58</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>59</sup> Read "वाञ्छिता".<sup>1</sup> The Prabhāsa mentioned in the Mau Chandella inscription of Madanavarman, *ante*. vol. I, p. 197 & 204, most probably is the modern Pabhosā on the Jamnā, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in Sorath.<sup>2</sup> A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 6 inches, of Mahārāja Lakṣmānā, dated (Gupta)-Śaṃvat 156, was found in this village in May 1891.<sup>3</sup> Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 237.

this dragon, Tathāgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."<sup>4</sup> Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kauśāmbī, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosām. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nāga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnā while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nāga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divālī festival.<sup>5</sup> Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nāga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2' 2" by 1' 9", has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2' 3" are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1' 5" and the other of 1' 7". The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1' 3" above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8' 6" on the right in length, by 7' 4" in width and 3' 3" in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1' 8" in

<sup>4</sup> Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopāla, Beal, *l.c.*, vol. I, page cvii.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.

breadth, and 1' 2" in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

## No. I.

*On the rock outside the cave.*

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14" by 10½". Each letter is on an average 1·3" long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn<sup>6</sup> of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kauśāmbī, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2. बहसतिमित्रस
3. मातुलेन गोपालीया<sup>8</sup>
4. वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा]<sup>9</sup>
5. आसादसेनेन लेन
6. कारितं [उदाकस]<sup>10</sup> दस-
7. मे सवहरे कश्यपीयानं अरहं-
8. [ता]नं — — — — — [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"By Âsâdhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī (*i.e. the Vaihidora-princess*), and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimittra (*Bṛihaspatimitra*), son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . of the Kaśāpīya Arhats (*i.e. either the Buddhists of the Kāśyapiya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna who was a Kāśyapa by gotra*<sup>11</sup>) . . . ."

## No. II.

*Inside the cave.*

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32" by 12". On an average each letter is 1·6" long and 3·6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

<sup>6</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Facsimile No. I.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly गोपालिया. The genitive गोपालीया is construed with the crude form वैहिदरी which stands in the sense

of a genitive, compare, *e.g.* शिवच्छेदनं सवृषस्य (Âpastamba); न लीयः प्रातिपदिकानस्य (Pāṇini).

<sup>9</sup> Afterwards erased.

<sup>10</sup> All letters doubtful.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. 1,--ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.







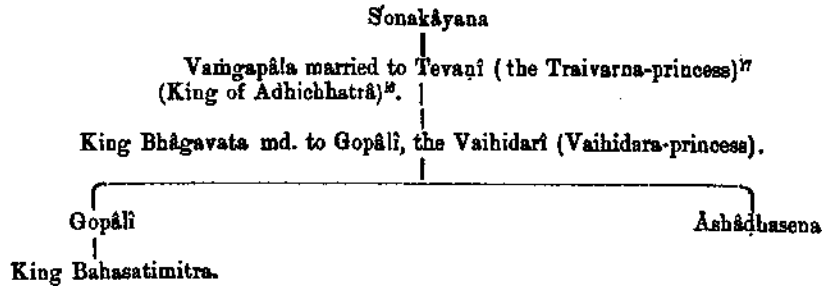
TEXT.<sup>12</sup>

- L. 1. अधिहवाया राजो शोनाकायनपुत्रस्य वरग<sup>13</sup>पालस्य  
 2. पुत्रस्य राजो<sup>14</sup> तेवशीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण  
 3. वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Āshādhasena, son of the Vaihidari (*i.e.* *Vaihidara*—*princess*, and) son of king Bhāgavata, son of the Tevaṇī (*i.e.* *Traivarna-princess*, and) son of king Vamgapāla, son of Śonakāyana (Śaunakāyana) of Adhichhatrā."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śunga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrā,<sup>15</sup> the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pāñchāla, here furnished to us:—



Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśāmbī, as the latter place is close to Prabhāsa, and as many of his coins<sup>16</sup> have been found at Kauśāmbī.

## No. III.

*In the modern Dharmśālā.*

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone, and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśālā in the village of Pabhosa. It records the consecration

<sup>12</sup> See Facsimile No. II.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly वरग<sup>०</sup> or वरग<sup>०</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Possibly राजो.

<sup>15</sup> The modern Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. I, pp. 255—265, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p.p. 28—29. The same form Adhichhatrā, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivamśa*, and *Pāṇini*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Rāmnagar.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the 'Αδισαδρα of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, l. 53.

<sup>17</sup> The epithets Traivarna and Vaihidari are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurāṇik lists. Compare e. g. कैकेयी "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कौसल्या "the queen of the Kosala-family." Compare also the epithet Tevapika, or Traivarpika occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I, p. 394 and 397.

See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 73, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatimitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśāmbī in 1887, and six at Adhichhatrā (Rāmnagar) in 1891.

of an image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrsha, in Samvat 1881, by Śādhu<sup>19</sup> Śrī Hīrālāl of Allahābād, on the top of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the city of Kauśāmbī. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosām and Pabhosā were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśāmbī and Prabhāsa

TEXT.<sup>20</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिते मार्गशीर्षशुक्लपक्षां शुक्रवास-
2. रे काष्ठासंघे मायुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्याम्बाये
3. भट्टारकश्रीजगन्नीर्तिस्तत्पदे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी-
4. र्तिजितदाम्बाये अग्रोतकाम्बाये गीयलगोत्रे प्रयागन-
5. गरवास्तव्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमल्लस्तदनुजफेदम-
6. ल्लस्त्युपसाधुश्रीमेहरचंदस्तद्भ्रातासुमिरचंद-
7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्त्युपसाधुश्रीजी-
8. रालालेन कौशांबीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-
9. पद्मप्रभविनदीसाक्षानकल्याणकक्षेत्रे श्रीजिन-
10. विंवप्रतिष्ठा कारिता चंगरेजवहादुरराज्ये सु[शु]भं [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

“(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the town of Kauśāmbī, by Śādhu Śrī Hīrālāl, son of Śādhu Śrī Mānikya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Śādhu Śrī Mehar (*i.e.*, Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Śādhu Śrī Rāyaji Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayāga (Allahābād), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka<sup>21</sup> family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhaṭṭāraka* the illustrious Lalitakirttijit, in the line of *bhaṭṭāraka* the illustrious Jagatkirtti, the descendant of Lohāchārya, in the Pushkara *gana*, the Mathurā *gachchha*, and the Kāshṭhāsamgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrsha, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!”

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminātha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pārśvanātha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

<sup>19</sup> *i.e.* banker and merchant.

<sup>20</sup> See facsimile No. III.

<sup>21</sup> The modern *Agarwālā Banīyās*, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

संवत् १८८१ मिनेमा गमि षष्ठे कषा श्रावणे शुक्ल वास  
 रेकाद्यां संघे माणुरगधे पुष्करगणै लोह्वाचार्य म्नाये  
 महाकक्षी जगत्कीर्तिसत्पट्टेन द्वारकश्रीललितकी  
 र्तिजिह्वाब्जाये श्रोतकान्दये गोयल गोत्रे प्रयागन  
 ग रवास्तव्यसाकक्षी रायजी मल्लसदनुजकैरुम  
 ल्लस्तमुनसाकक्षी भैरवंदस्तज्ञाता समरुवंद  
 सदनुनसाकक्षी माणिक्यवंदस्तमुनसाकक्षी इ  
 रालालेन कौशं वीनगरवाह्यप्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री  
 पद्मप्रभजिनदीप्ताब्जानकस्याणकयेत्रे श्रीजित  
 विचप्रतिष्ठाकारिता अगरेजवराडरय्ये सुभ



## XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF ASOKA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Asoka the following materials have been used :—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.<sup>1</sup>

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia (Lauria-Ararāj)*, *Mathia (Lauria-Navandgarh)* and *Rāmpūrvā*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the *Dehli-Mirat* and *Allahabad* versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the *Allahabad* version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the *Dehli-Sivalik* and *Allahabad* versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the *Radhia* and *Mathia* texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the *Rāmpūrvā* version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 54ff. According to the account<sup>2</sup> of Mr. Garrick, the *Rāmpūrvā* Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the *Rāmpūrvā* version agrees exactly with those of *Radhia* and *Mathia*, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two *Dehli* versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

<sup>1</sup> These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.

be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudānēpi* into *cha khu dāne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *isyā kālanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome ii, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Rājanīti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Śāstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñānamārga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts, where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 381.

literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakkuddne-pi-me bahuvidhe dinne*, *kālanena-va-hakam mā palibhasayisanti*, *nātikā-va-kāni nijhapayisanti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Samhitās* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

## EDICT I.

## Dehli-Sivalik.

## Dehli-Mirat.

## Allahabad.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lāja-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Devānam piye Piyadasi lāja
bevaṁ-āhā [:] saḍuvisati* [1]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	hevaṁ āhā [:] saḍuvisativasābhi-
vasa abhisitena-me iyaṁ-dham-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sitena me iyaṁ dhammalipi likhā-
malipi likhāpitā[:][2] hidatapā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pitā[:] hidatapālate dusaṁpatipād-
late dusaṁpatipādāye aṁnata-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(a)y(e)[1] aṁnata agāya dham-
agāyā-dhammakāmatāyā[3] agā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	makāmatāya agāya palikhāya
ya-palikhāyā agāya-susūsāyā age-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	agāya susūsāyā aḡena bhayena
na-bhayenā[4] aḡena-usāhenā[.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[aḡe]na usāhena[.] Esa chu kho
Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiyā[5]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	mama anusathiyā [2] dhammā-
dhammāpekkhā dhammakāmatā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pekkhā dhammakāmatā cha suve
chā suve-suve-vaḍhitā vaḍhisati-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā[.]
chevā-[6] Pulisā-pi-cha-me ukasā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā
chā gevayā-chā majhimā-chā anu-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	cha majhimā cha anuvihīyanti
vidhiyanti [7] saṁpatipādāyaṁ-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	saṁpatipādāyaṁti cha [3] alāṁ
ti-chā alāṁ-chapalāṁ-samādapny-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	chapalāṁsamādapayitave[:] beme-
itave [:] bemevā-aṁta [8] mahā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	va aṁtamabāmātā pi [.] Esā hi
mātā-pi [.] Esā-pi <sup>6</sup> -vidhi yā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	vidhi yā iyaṁ dhammena pālanā
iyaṁ-dhammena-pālanā dham-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dhammena viḍhāne dhammen[a]
mena-vidhāne [9] dhammena-	[1]	viḍhāne dha[m]m.....								sukhiyanā dhammena guti ti chus
sukhiyasa dhammena-gotī-ti [.]	khi[ya] . . . . . [2] [.]									[4] [.]

\* The sign, read here *ḍa*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sāncbi inscriptions, e.g., in *Pāḍukulikā*, i.e., *Pāṇḍu-kulikā*. With the form *saḍuvisati* compare *duve*, *duvāla*, *kuḍumala*.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the stone may have *hi* instead of *pi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

<sup>7</sup> I give the words *ti-chu* on the strength of Dr. Fleet's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kālsi version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 L 12, in the last syllables of *anuvihīyanti* and *anuvihīyanti*.



## EDICT I.

## Radhia.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevaṃ-āha [:] saḍvīsativasābbhi-  
 sitena-me iyaṃ-dhammalipi [1]  
 likhāpita [:] hidatapālate<sup>7</sup> dusaṃ-  
 paṭipādaye amnata-agāya-dham-  
 makāmatāy[a] agāya-palikkhāya  
 [2] agāya-susūsāya aṇa-bhaye-  
 na aṇa-usāhena [:] Esa-chu-  
 kho-mama - anusathiya dhamma-  
 pekha [3] dhammakāmatā-cha  
 suve-suve-vaḍḍhita<sup>8</sup> vaḍḍhisati cheva  
 [:] Pulisā-pi-me ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majjhā-cha anuvadhī-  
 yanti [4] saṃpaṭipādayanti-cha  
 alaṃ-chapalaṃ samādapayitave  
 hemeva-aṃtamahāmātā-pi[.] Esā-  
 hi-vidhi yā-yaṃ dhammena-pāla-  
 na[5] dhammena-vidhāne dham-  
 mena-sukkhīyana dhammena goti-  
 ti [6][.]

## Mathia.

Devānam - piye Piyadasi - lāja  
 hevaṃ-āha[:] saḍvīsativasābbhi-  
 lena-me iyaṃ [1] dhammalipi  
 likhāpita [:] hidatapālate dusaṃ-  
 paṭipādaye amnata-agāya dham-  
 makāmatāya[2] agāya-palikkhāya  
 agāya-susūsāya aṇa-bhayeṇa  
 aṇa-usāhena[.] Esa-chu- kho-  
 mama [3] anusathiya dhammā-  
 pekha dhammakāmatā-cha suve-  
 suve-vaḍḍhita vaḍḍhisati-cheva [.]  
 Pulisā-pi-me[4] ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majjhā-cha anuvadhīyaṃ-  
 ti saṃpaṭipādayanti-cha alaṃ-  
 chapalaṃ-samādapayitave [5] he-  
 meva-aṃtamahāmātā-pi[.] Esā-  
 hi-vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena-pāla-  
 na-dhammena-vidhāne dhammena-  
 sukhīyana [6] dhammena-gotī-ti  
 [7.]

## Rāmpūrvā.

Devānaṃ in-piye Piyadasi-lājaja .  
 hevaṃ-āha[:] sa[du] . . .  
 . . . [1] dusaṃpaṭipādaye  
 amnata-agāya dhammakāmatāya  
 . . . [5.]  
 . . . [2] Esa-chu-  
 kho-mama anusathiya dhammā-  
 pekha dhamma . . .  
 . . . [3] gevayā-cha majhi-  
 mā-cha anuvadhīyanti saṃpaṭi-  
 pādayanti . . .  
 . . . [4] yā iyaṃ dhammena  
 pālana dhammena vidhāne dham-  
 mena s[u] . . .

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—" After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.<sup>9</sup> But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones<sup>10</sup> and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners<sup>11</sup> back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.<sup>12</sup> Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,<sup>13</sup> to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

<sup>7</sup> Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pālate*, which are found also below IV, (I. 7 (D. S.), I. 18 (T. S.), VII. 2, I. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paraloka* or *pāralaukikam*, see *Pāñchatantra*, iii, p. 54, I. 17 (Bo. edition).

<sup>8</sup> *Circumspection*, i.e., a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience*, i.e., towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear*, i.e., of sin.

<sup>9</sup> *Gevayā*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gop* or *glep*, which the *Dhātupāṭha* explains by *dānyas*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, \**gepya*-\**glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

<sup>10</sup> *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvinita*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

<sup>11</sup> The *aṃtamahāmātā*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antapālā* of the Sanskrit writers, see, e.g., *Mālavikāgnimitra*, p. 16, I. 7 (Bo. S. Ser., 2nd ed.).

<sup>12</sup> It will be best to take *hi* here *aradhāne*, i.e., in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.

## EDICT II.

## Dehli-Sivalik.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā  
[10] hevaṁ-āhā[:] dhamme-  
sādhū[.] Kiyam-chu-dhamme-  
ti[?] Apāsinave bahu-kayāne  
[11] dayā-dāne sache-sochaye[.]  
Chakhudāne-pi-me bahuvidhe-  
dimne dupada-[12] chatupadesu  
pakhivālichelesu vividhe-me-anu-  
gahe-kaṭe ā-pāna-[13] dākhināye  
amānāni-pi-cha-me-bahūni kayān-  
āni-kaṭāni[.] Etāye-me [14]  
aṭhāye iyaṁ-dhammalipi-likhā-  
pitā[:] hevaṁ-anupaṭipajamtu  
chilam-[15] thitikā-cha-hotū-ti-  
ti[.] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-sam-paṭipajisati  
se-sukaṭam-kachhati-ti-[16]

## Dehli-Mirat.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lājā-  
hev . . .[:] dhamme-sādh[u]<sup>13</sup>[.]  
Kiyam . . . . .[?] Apāsinave  
bahu-kayāne dayā dāne sache[so]-  
chaye[.] [Chakhudā]nam-  
pi-me [4] bahuvidhe-dimne dupa-  
dachatupadesu pakhivālicheale.[vi-  
vidhe-me-anu][5]gahe-kaṭe ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amānāni-pi-cha-me  
bahū[ni . yānāni][6] kaṭāni[.]  
Etāye-me-aṭhāye iyaṁ-dhamma-  
lipi-li[khāpitā] . . [7] anupaṭipa-  
jamtu chilam[thiti]tikā<sup>14</sup> - cha-  
hotū-ti[ti][.] Ye-cha-he . . . . .  
[8] sati se-sukaṭam-ka[ehha]tā-  
[ti][.9]

## Allahabad.

Devānam piye Piyadasi lājā  
hevaṁ-āhā[:] dhamme sādhū[:]  
Kiyam chu dhamme ti[?] Apāsin-  
ave babu kayāne dayā dāne  
sache sochaye[.] Chakhudāne pi  
me[5] bahuvidhe dimne dupada-  
chatupadesu<sup>15</sup> pakhivālichelesu  
vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pā-  
nadākhināye<sup>16</sup> amānāni pi cha me  
bahuni kayānāni kaṭāni[.6] Etāye  
me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhammalipi  
likhāpitā[:] hevaṁ anupaṭipa-  
jamtu chilāthitika cha hotū ti[.]  
Ye cha hevaṁ sam-paṭipajisati se  
sukaṭam kachhatīti[.7]

## EDICT II.

## Radhia.

Devānam piye Piyadasi lāja  
hevaṁ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.]  
Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[?] Apā-  
sinave bahu-kayāne daya dāne  
sache[7] socheye-ti[.] Chakhu-  
dāne-pi-me-bahuvidhe-dimne du-  
padachatupadesu pakhivālichelesu  
vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe[8] ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amānāni-pi-cha-me  
bahūni-kayānāni-kaṭāni[.] Etāye-  
me-aṭhāye iyaṁ-dhammalipi likhā-  
pita[:] hevaṁ[9] anupaṭipajamtu  
chilamthitika-cha-hotū-ti[.] Ye-  
cha-hevaṁ-sam-paṭipajisati se-su-  
kaṭam-kachhati-ti[.10]

## Mathia.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṁ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.]  
Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[.] Apāsi-  
nave bahu-kayāne[8] daya dāne  
sache socheye-ti[.] Chakhudāne-  
pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne dupada-  
chatupadesu pakhi-[9] vālichelesu  
vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amānāni-pi-cha-me  
bahūni-kayānāni[10] kaṭāni[.]  
Etāye-m[e]-aṭhāye iyaṁ-dham-  
malipi likhāpita[:] hevaṁ-anu-  
paṭipajamtu chilamthitika-cha-  
hotū-ti[.11] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-sam-  
paṭipajisati se-sukaṭam-kachhati  
[.12]

## Rāmpūrvā.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṁ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.]  
Kiyam . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .[6] bahuvidhe-dimne  
dupadachatupadesu pakhivāliche-  
lesu vivi . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .[7] . . . . .  
Etāye-me-aṭhāye iyaṁ-dhamma-  
lipi-likhāpita[:] hevaṁ a . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .[8]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—“(To fulfill) the law is meritorious. But what does (the fulfilment of) the law include? (It includes) sinlessness, many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight<sup>b</sup> I have given (to men) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

<sup>13</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *sādhū* is not certain.

<sup>14</sup> *Chilam*<sup>a</sup> looks like *child*<sup>a</sup>; possibly *thitika* to be read.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly *dupadamchatupadesu*. But the dot after *da* is probably accidental.

<sup>16</sup> *Pānadākhinā* is the Sanskrit *prānadakṣhinā*, a less commonly used variant for *abhayadakṣhinā* ‘the boon of safety.’ The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.

<sup>19</sup> Possible *vd* is to be read.



Devānam-piye Piyadusi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] saḍḍuṃ-ati . . .  
[12] janasi-āyata teṣaṃ-  
ye-abhihale-va daṇḍe-va atapati .  
[13]  
hitasukhaṃ-upadahevu anugahi-  
nevu-cha[.] Sukhiyanadu . .  
[14] ālādhahevū-ti[.]  
Lajūkā-pi-laghaṃti paṭichul-  
itave-maṃ . . .  
[15] chaghaṃti ālādhaṃitave[.]  
Athā-hi-pajaraṃ viyāṭṭe-dhātāye-





EDICT IV—*contd.*

<i>Radhia.</i>	<i>Mathia.</i>	<i>Rāmpūrvā.</i>
tu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhāti- chaghati-me-pajam-sukham-pali- haṭave-ti[18] bevaṁ-mama-la- jūka-kaṭa <sup>26</sup> jānapadasa-hitasu- khāye[;] yena-ete-abhita-asvathā- saṁtām-avimāna-kārmāni-pava- taye-vū-ti[;] Etena-me lajūkā- naṁ abhihāle-va[19] dāṁde-va- atapatiye-kaṭe[;] Ichhitaviye-hi- esa[;] kim-ti[?] viyohālasamatā- cha-siya dāṁdasamatā-cha[;] Āvā ite-pi-cha-me āvūti[;] baṁ- dhanabaddhānaṁ[20] munisā- naṁ-tīlitadāṁdānaṁ patavadhā- naṁ tiṁni-divasāni-me-yote- dīṁne[;] Nātikā-va-kāni-nijha- payisaṁti jīvitāye-tānaṁ nāsaṁ- tām-va[21] nijhapayitave dānaṁ- dāharānti-pālatikam upavāsā- va-kacchamti[;] Ichhā-hi-me[;] bevaṁ-nīludhasi-pi-kālasī pāla- tām-ālādhaṇvū-ti[22] janasa-cha- vaḍhati vividhe-dhammachalane sayame dānasamvibhāge-ti[23]	nisijitu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata- dhāti-chaghati-me-pajam su- kham-palihaṭave-ti[22] bevaṁ- mama-lajūka-kaṭa jānapadasa- hitasukhāye[;] y[e]na-ete-abhita- asvathā-saṁtām avimāna-kārmā- ni-pavataye-vū-ti[23] Etena- me-lajūkānaṁ-abhihāle-va-dāṁ- de-va atapatiye-kaṭe[;] Ichhitavi- ye-hi-esa[;] kim-ti[?]-vivyohāla- samatā-cha-siya dāṁdasamatā- cha[24] Āvā-ite-pi-cha-me-āvu- ti[;] baṁdhanabaddhānaṁ-mu- nisāna[ṁ]tīlitadāṁdānaṁ patava- dhānaṁ tiṁni-divasāni-me-yote- dīṁne[;] Nātikā-va-kāni[25] ni- jhapayisaṁti jīvitāye-tānaṁ nāsaṁtām-va-nijhapayitave dāna- am-dāharānti-pālatikam upavāsā- va-kacchamti[;] Ichhā hi-me[;] bevaṁ[26] nīludhasi-pi-kālasī pā- latām-ālādhaṇvū-ti janasa-cha vaḍhati vividhe-dhammachalane sayame dānasavibhāge-ti[27]	ni . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [16] jānapadasa-hitasukhāye yena-ete- abhita-asvathā . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [17] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kī-ti[?] vi- yohālasamatā-cha-siya . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [18] tiṁni- divasāni-me y[o]te-dīṁne[;] Nā- tikā-va-kāni nijha- . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [19] Ichhā-hi-me-bevaṁ nīludhasi-pi-kālasī pālatām . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [20]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajūkas*<sup>26</sup> are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments<sup>27</sup>—Why? In order that the *Lajūkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,<sup>28</sup>—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajūkas* are eager to serve me<sup>29</sup>. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajūkas* may strive to gain my favour.<sup>30</sup> For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajūkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajūkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business<sup>31</sup> and

<sup>26</sup> It is possible to read *lajūka-kaṭe*. But the seeming e-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

<sup>27</sup> Though *vijohāla*, in Sanskrit *vyavahāra*, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *abhihāra* by "awarding honours" makes advisable.



equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death." Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts'. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment<sup>22</sup> may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajūka* or *rājūka* (Gir-nār) in the *Kalpasūtra*, where *rajjū* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajūka*, i.e. *lajjūka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabīr*) or *Kāyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *āyatā*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratiṣṭhīlāh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajūkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajūkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*teshām yo' bhihāro vā daṇḍo vā [tatra] mayā [teshām] svatantratā kṛitā*, and I take *ātmapatyam* [*svatantratā*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *ādhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihāra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jātakas*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid.* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihāram* by *pūjam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktena*, i. e. *dharmayuktyā*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' i.e.

<sup>21</sup> In the interpretation of *asa ite* (Dh. A.) and *asa ite* (M. B.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *yāśad itaḥ*, and I take *āśutī* with M. Senart as equivalent to *dyuktiḥ*. *Tilīta* or *tilīta* has here the same sense as *tīrita* Manu, IX, 238.

<sup>22</sup> *Nirudhāsi pi kālasi*, literally *nirudhāsi pi kālasi*, may be taken in the sense of *niradhakāsi pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g., *withyādhāraṇa* and *andādhāraṇa* *chinṇapāṇāse* for *andādhāraṇapāṇāse*, *Jdt.* i, p. 300.

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dharmayutam janam* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *amā*, 'the free borderers.'

(d) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghamti* for *laghamti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghamti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghamti*' does not exist. *Laghamti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *ranghamte* 'they hasten', i.e. 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *pañchal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichar*, because in Pali the preposition *pañ* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina *Mahārāṣṭrī*, *pañiyar*, i.e. literally *pratichar*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*, glossary *sub voce* '*pañiyariya*.'

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhamdamnāni* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *chhamda* and *ājñā*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhamdam jānanīti chhamdajñā*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisāni*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *mam* must be understood and is the object of *pañchalīsamti*, as of the preceding *pañchalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *pañvedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rājanīti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *kāni*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajūkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajūkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajūkas. *Kāni* thus refers both to the Lajūkas and the provincials. With the phrase *mam-ālādhayitave* compare *lājālādhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauḷi). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagk* by the Hindī *chāh-nā*, I would add that *chāh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisamti* and *nijhapayitā* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyāi* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyāsanā* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nātikāvākāni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nātikā-va-kāni*, i.e. *jñātaya eva kāmāchit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitā*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitā*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitāya*. And the contraction of the syllable *āya* does occur in Pali, e. g., in



EDICT V—*contd.**Dehli-Sivalik.*

kā-chā sūkali-chā gabbini-va-pā-  
yamînā-va avadh[i]y. p. take<sup>33</sup> [8]  
pi-cha-kāni āsamāsike[.] Vadhi-  
kukūṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] tuse-sajī-  
ve[9] no-jhāpetaviye[.] dāve-  
anathāye-vā vibisāye-vā no-jhā-  
petaviye[.]10 jīvena-jīve no-pu-  
sitaviye[.] Tisu-chātummāsīsu  
tisāya-pumnamāsīyam[11] tim-  
ni-divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃna-  
dasam paṭipadāye dhuvāye-chā  
[12] anuposatham machhe-ava-  
dhiye no-pi-viketaviye[.] Etā-  
ni-yeva-divasāni[13] nāgava-  
nasi kevaṭabbhogasi yāni-amnāni-  
pi jīvanikāyāni[14] no-hamṭaviy-  
āni[.] Athamāpakhāye chāvud-  
asāye paṃnadāsāye  
tisāye [15] punāvasune tisū-  
chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye [16] ajake  
edake sūkale e-vā-pi-amne nīla-  
khiyati no-nīlakhitaviye [17]  
Tisāye punāvasune chātummā-  
siye chātummāsīpakhāye asvasā  
gonasā[18] lakhane no-kaṭaviye[.]  
Yāva-saḍuvisativasa abhisiteṇa-  
me etāye[19] a[m]talikāye paṃ-  
navisati baṃdhanaṃokhāni kaṭā-  
ni [20]

*Dehli-Mirat.*

[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kā-  
ni [1] . . . ke [.] [Vadhi]ku-  
kūṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] Tuse-sa[jī-  
ve] [2] . . . [taviye] [.] dāve  
ana[ṭb]āye-vā<sup>34</sup> vibisāye-vā no[3]  
[jhāpetaviye] [.] jīvena jīve no-  
pusitaviye[.] Tisu chātummāsi-  
su<sup>35</sup> [4] tisāya[m] pumnamā[si]  
yam timni-divasāni chāvudasaṃ  
paṃnadāsam [5] paṭipadā. dhu-  
vāye-cha anuposatham mach-  
he-avadhiye no-pi [6] viket-  
aviye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni nā-  
gavanasi kevaṭabbhogasi [7] [yā].  
[a]. [ui]-pi-jīvanikāyāni<sup>36</sup> no-[ha]  
mṭaviyāni<sup>37</sup> [8] Atham(ā)<sup>38</sup> . . . ye  
chāvudasaṃ paṃnadāsāye  
tisāye[9] punāvasune tisū  
chātummāsīsu sudivasāye g[o]ne  
[10] [no-nī] la[khi]taviye ajake  
edake sūkale e-vā-pi[11]am[ne  
nīlakhi]yati [no]-nīlakhitaviye  
[.] Tisāye punāvasune[12] chā-  
tummāsiye chātu[m]mā[si]pakhā-  
ye asvasā gonasā lakhane[13] no-  
viye[.] Yāva-saḍuvisati[va]sa  
abhisiteṇa-me etāye[14] aṃtalikā.  
ye paṃnavi[sa]tiṭbaṃdhanamokh-  
āni kaṭāni[15]

*Allahabad.*

. . . . .  
[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kā-  
ni [1] . . . ke [.] [Vadhi]ku-  
kūṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] Tuse-sa[jī-  
ve] [2] . . . [taviye] [.] dāve  
ana[ṭb]āye-vā<sup>34</sup> vibisāye-vā no[3]  
[jhāpetaviye] [.] jīvena jīve no-  
pusitaviye[.] Tisu chātummāsi-  
su<sup>35</sup> [4] tisāya[m] pumnamā[si]  
yam timni-divasāni chāvudasaṃ  
paṃnadāsam [5] paṭipadā. dhu-  
vāye-cha anuposatham mach-  
he-avadhiye no-pi [6] viket-  
aviye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni nā-  
gavanasi kevaṭabbhogasi [7] [yā].  
[a]. [ui]-pi-jīvanikāyāni<sup>36</sup> no-[ha]  
mṭaviyāni<sup>37</sup> [8] Atham(ā)<sup>38</sup> . . . ye  
chāvudasaṃ paṃnadāsāye  
tisāye[9] punāvasune tisū  
chātummāsīsu sudivasāye g[o]ne  
[10] [no-nī] la[khi]taviye ajake  
edake sūkale e-vā-pi[11]am[ne  
nīlakhi]yati [no]-nīlakhitaviye  
[.] Tisāye punāvasune[12] chā-  
tummāsiye chātu[m]mā[si]pakhā-  
ye asvasā gonasā lakhane[13] no-  
viye[.] Yāva-saḍuvisati[va]sa  
abhisiteṇa-me etāye[14] aṃtalikā.  
ye paṃnavi[sa]tiṭbaṃdhanamokh-  
āni kaṭāni[15]

*Radhia, North Side.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
hevaṃ-āha [.] saḍuvisativasābhi-  
sitasa-me imāni-pi-jātāni avadhy-  
āni [1] kaṭāni [.] se-yatha suke  
sālika alune chakavāke haṃse  
naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatāka [2]  
ambākapilika duḍi anāthikama-  
chhe vedaveyake gaṃgāpupūṭake  
saṃkujamachhe kaphataseyake  
[3] paṃnasase simale saṃdake  
okapiṃḍe palasate setakapote gā-

*Mathia.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
hevaṃ-āha [.] saḍuvisativasābhi-  
sitasa-me imāni-pi [1] jātāni ava-  
dhyāni-kaṭāni [.] se-yathā<sup>39</sup> [16]  
suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse  
[2] naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatāka  
ambākapilika duḍi anāthikama-  
chhe vedaveyake [3] gaṃgāpu-  
pūṭake saṃkujamachhe kaphata-  
seyake paṃnasase simale saṃdake  
okapiṃḍe [4] palasate setaka-

<sup>33</sup> It is, of course, possible to read *avadhāy*. But the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was no doubt *avadhāy*, as the sense and the variants of the other versions require.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *anathāye*.

<sup>35</sup> Read *chātummāsīsu*.

<sup>36</sup> This might be read *nīkāyāni*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw.

<sup>37</sup> This looks like *hamṭaviyāni*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>38</sup> The quantity of the third vowel of *aṭham* is not certain.

<sup>39</sup> The *ā*-stroke of *yathā* is not certain.

makapote save chatupade[4] ye-  
paṭipogaṃ-no-eti<sup>39</sup> na-cha-khādi-  
yati [.] Ajakā-nāni edakā-cha  
sūkali-cha gabhinī-va pāyaminā-  
va[5] avadhya potake-cha-kāni  
āsaṃmāsike [.] Vadhikukūṭe no-  
kaṭaviye [.] tuse-sajīve no jhā-  
payitaviye[.] dāve [6] anāṭhāye-  
va vihisāye-va no jhāpayitaviye  
[.] jīvena jīve no-pusitaviye [.]  
Tīsu-chātummāsīsu tīsyam [7]  
pūṇnamāsīyam timni divasāni  
chāvudasaṃ-paṇṇaḍasaṃ paṭi-  
padaṃ dhuvāye-cha anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhya no pi [8] viketa-  
viye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni nā-  
gavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yāni-am-  
nāni-pi-jīvanikāyāni[9] no-ham-  
taviyāni[.] Aṭhamipakhāye chā-  
vudasaṃ-paṇṇaḍasaṃ  
tisāye punāvasune tīsu-chā-  
tummāsīsu[10] sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sū-  
kale e-vā-pi-amne nīlakhiyati no-  
nīlakhitaviye[.]12 Tisāye punā-  
vasune chātummāsīye chātummā-  
sipakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane-  
no-kaṭaviye[.]12 Yāva-saḍvīsa-  
tivasābhīsitasā-me etāye amṭali-  
kāye paṇṇavisati bāṇḍhana-  
mokhāni kaṭāni[.]13

pote gāmakapote save-chatupade  
ye-paṭibhogaṃ-no-eti na-cha khā-  
diyati [5] Ajakā-nāni edakā-cha  
sūkali-cha gabhinī-va pāyaminā-  
va avadhya potake-cha-kāni [6]  
āsaṃmāsike [.] Vadhikukūṭe no-  
kaṭaviye [.] tuse-sajīve-no-jhā-  
payitaviye [.] Dāve-anāṭhāye-va  
[7] vihisāye-va no-jhāpayitavi-  
ye [.] jīvena-jīve no-pusitaviye [.]  
Tīsu-chātummāsīsu tīsyam [8]  
pūṇnamāsīyam timni—divasāni  
chāvudasaṃ-paṇṇaḍasaṃ paṭi-  
padaṃ dhuvāye-cha-anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhya [9] no-pi-vike-  
taviye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni  
nāgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yāni-  
amnāni-pi[10] jīvanikāyāni no-  
hamtaviyāni[.] Aṭhamipakhāye  
chāvudasaṃ-paṇṇaḍasaṃ  
tisāye punāvasune[11] tīsu-chā-  
tummāsīsu sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sū-  
kale e-vā-pi-amne[2] nīlakhiyati  
no-nīlakhitaviye [.] Tisāye-pu-  
nāvasune chātummāsīye chātum-  
māsipakhāye asvasa gonasa[13]  
lakhane-no-kaṭaviye [.] Yāva-sa-  
ḍvīsativasābhīsitasā-me etāye  
amṭalikāye paṇṇavisati[14]  
bāṇḍhanamokhāni kaṭāni .15 ]

## EDICT V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures," viz. parrots, starlings,<sup>b</sup> *alunas*, Brāhmanī ducks, swans,<sup>c</sup> *nandimukhas*,<sup>40</sup> *gelāṭas*, *jatukas*,<sup>41</sup> *ambāka-pilikās*,<sup>42</sup> terrapins,<sup>e</sup> boneless fish,<sup>f</sup> *vedarecyakas*, *gaṃgāpuputakas*, *sankuja*-fish,<sup>g</sup> tortoises, porcupines,<sup>h</sup> *paṇṇasasas*,<sup>i</sup> *śṛimaras*,<sup>j</sup> bulls set free,(?) *okapiṇḍas*,<sup>k</sup> rhinoceros,<sup>l</sup> grey doves,<sup>m</sup> village-pigeons,<sup>42</sup> and all quadrupeds, which are not used<sup>n</sup> nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (*i.e.*) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (*i.e.*) some (*of them*) which are less than six months old<sup>o</sup>. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;<sup>p</sup> forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (*living beings*);<sup>q</sup> living creatures must not be fed with living creatures". At the (*full moon of each*) of the three seasons and at the full

<sup>39</sup> Read *paṭibhogaṃ*.

<sup>40</sup> According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the *Nandimukha* is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhāṣa-prakāśa*.

<sup>41</sup> *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthāla* or *vāyada*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kāṭkaris. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, *e.g.*, Gautama, xvii, 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Gāmakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day.\* On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.<sup>4</sup> On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight,<sup>5</sup> on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,<sup>6</sup> on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals<sup>43</sup> bulls shall not be castrated,<sup>7</sup> nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,<sup>8</sup> the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.<sup>9</sup> Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners.<sup>4</sup>

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti, jātam* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *jāti* and be translated by "animals of the following kinds." But, as the neuter *jāta* means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: "Of even the following creatures."

(b) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "*maina*." I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sārikā* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marāṭhī Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *hānsas* in the palace at Kolhāpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of *ambākapilikā* or *ambākapilika* with *ambu*, 'water,' and translates "water-ants(?)." As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation 'mother-ant,' or 'queen-ant,' is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read *°kapilikā*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pīpilikā*.

(e) As *duḥi* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (h).

(f) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable.

(g) M. Senart's suggestion that *sankuḥa* is identical with Sanskrit *śaṅkuchi* 'a skate,' seems very probable.

<sup>43</sup> The translation of *sudīvasa* by 'festival' is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *suhana divasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divāli, Dāsra, and the like may be meant.

(h) *Sāyaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—e.g., Āpastamba, *Dh. Śū.* i, 17, 37, Baudhāyana, *Dh. Śū.* i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śū.* xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, *Dh. Śū.* xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaṭa*, i.e., according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamaṭha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of *parṇamṛiga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *parṇasase* i.e. *parṇasāśaḥ* may mean 'a hare, i.e. a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghāṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(j) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *śṛimara*. Vāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛīdaya Śū.* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahāmṛiga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jātakamālā* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *śṛimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bārāsing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahāvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapiṇḍā* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *bilālamūsikagodhāmungusā*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mongooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke* i.e. *oke piṇḍo yeshām te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' i.e. 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mongooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, viz. of the *godhā*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (h) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(l) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pāli Miscellany*, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (h). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrāddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(m) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullā*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that *paṭibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(o) *Ajakánāni* must be separated into *ajakā nāni*. *Nāni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajā edikāścha sūkaryāścha tā garbhīṇyo dhayantyo vā avadhyaḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *piyamānā* for *pāyamānā* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *piyamānā* is against the Pali idiom. *Pāyati*, not *piyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *minamina* occurs more frequently for *māna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *mini-mina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

*Potakās cha* [*api cha*, D. S., D. M.] *kechit* [*te cha kathambhūtāḥ*] *āṣaṇmāsikāḥ* [*avadhya iti śeshah*]. The plural *kāni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *āṣaṇmāsika* from *āṣaṇmāsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *ākālīka*, the adjective belonging to *ākālam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, e.g., Gautama, *Dh. Śā.*, xviii, 31.

(p) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) *Pihisāye*, 'to injure living beings' very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(r) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(s) *Chātummāsī*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī* is taught in Vārttika 7 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṃjñāyām an.* "To *chaturmāsa*," "a period of four months", (is added) the affix *a*, which causes Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import." Patañjali adds: "*chaturshu māseshu bhavā chāturmāsī paurṇamāsī*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *chāturmāsī*,'" and the *Kāśikā*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Āshāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna are meant.<sup>45</sup> More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* makes on *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Komudiyā chātummāsiniyā* "on the full-moon (night or *tithi*) of Kārttika (which is) *chātummāsini*." It says:—*chātummāsiniyā ti chātummāsinyā sā hi chatuppannā māsāṇaṃ pariyosānabhūtā chātummāsī idha pana chātummāsiniṭi vuchchati*. "*Chātummāsiniyā* is equivalent to *chātummāsinyā*. For that (full-

<sup>45</sup> This must be understood from Vārttika 6: *chaturmāsaṇ nyo yajña tatra bhavḥ*. See the *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

<sup>46</sup> Compare also Haradatta on Āpastamba. *Dharma Sūtra*, I, 10, 1.



moon of *Kārttika*) is the end of four months (and is) hence (called) *chātumāsī*, but here *chātumāsīni*.<sup>46</sup> It thus appears that the real meaning of *chātumāsī-chātumāsīni* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.<sup>47</sup> Each of them was called a *Chaturmāsam* or *Chāturmāsyam*.<sup>48</sup> Both the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sūtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmins it was the cause of the celebration of the *Chāturmāsya*<sup>49</sup> sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.<sup>50</sup> With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vassa*, over four months, see *Mahāvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Chāturmāsa*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff. and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Śoḍāsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhīras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. W. I.*, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grīṣmāḥ-gimhā*, 'summer,' *varṣhāḥ-vasā*, 'the rains,' *hemantāḥ-hemantā* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gri* or *gri*, *va* and *he*. In the inscriptions from Mathurā and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurā inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gri*, (i.e. *grīṣmamāse*)

<sup>46</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent *chāturmāsīni* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vārttika 5 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

<sup>48</sup> *Chāturmāsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *trāismāsyam*, *chāturvāryam*, *chāturdātryam* and so forth, see Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kāśikā*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchāturmāsam* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchāturmāsam* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchāturmāsam* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *chāturmāsyam*, in Pali *chāturmāsam*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmāsam*.

<sup>49</sup> The word *chāturmāsyā* is according to Vārttika 6 on Pāṇini v. 1, 96, derived from *chaturmāsam* by the affix *ya*, causing Vṛddhi, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

<sup>50</sup> See Mann, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopses to my translation. Mann says that they are to be offered *ritvante*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ritvantāsu rātrishu* for *chāturmāseṣu*. Baudhāyana has *ritumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sūtras and Brāhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v.d. Nakshatra*, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4; Mathurā inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamāse*) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, *varshamāse* 4; Mathurā inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamāse chaturthi* 4, ibidem No. 8, *hemantamāse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mṛgeśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurā it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumāragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kā[rttikahema]ntamās[e] divase 20, “on the 20th day of the winter month of Kārttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarātī villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śāstras* speak only of the *unhālo* (*ushnā-kāla*) *varsād nā dehādā* or *chomāsūm* and *shṭyālo*. The Marāṭhas know only *unhālā*, *pāvasālā* (*prāvṛṣh* and *kāla*) and *himvālā* (*himakāla*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,<sup>51</sup> *dhūpkāl*, *barkhakāl* and *sttkāl* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Brāhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sūtras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phālguna, other *Śrauta Sūtras* with the month of Chaitra.<sup>52</sup> The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

I	II
Grishmāh .	{ Chaitra.
{ Chaitra.	{ Vaiśākha.
{ Vaiśākha.	{ Jyāishṭha.
{ Jyāishṭha.	{ Āshāḍha.
Varshāh .	{ Śrāvaṇa.
{ Āshāḍha.	{ Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada.
{ Śrāvaṇa.	{ Āsvina.
{ Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada.	{ Kārttika.
{ Āsvina or Āsvayuja.	
Hemantāh .	{ Mārgaśīrsha.
{ Kārttika.	{ Pausha.
{ Mārgaśīrsha.	{ Māgha.
{ Pausha or Taisa.	{ Phālguna.
{ Māgha.	

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yūki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that “according to the holy doctrine of Tathāgata the year is divided into three seasons,” the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phālguna. For they prescribe for the *vassa*, the retreat during the rainy season, an “earlier” period, beginning with “the day after the full moon in Āshāḍha,”

<sup>51</sup> Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1063; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwend feste*, p. 26f.

<sup>52</sup> See A. Weber: *op. cit.*, p. 329f.

and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Āshāḍha," i.e. with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudī chātumāsini*, "the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends".<sup>53</sup> Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Digha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kārttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three Chātummāsīs." They may be either those of Phālguna, Āshāḍha and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvaṇa and Mārgaśīrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausa, December—January. The forms *tisyaṃ* (R) and *tisiyaṃ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisā*, which has been formed from *tishya* without Vṛiddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tisāyaṃ* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisā*, i.e. *tissā* (*tishyā*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyā-pūrṇamāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhruvāye* which stands before *anuposatham* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvāya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposatham* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, viz. :—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisha or Pausa, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sūtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharmasāstras*<sup>54</sup> a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

<sup>53</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Chātumāsini* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumaṅgala Vildāsi*, see above, p. 261.

<sup>54</sup> See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.<sup>55</sup> According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasūtras* and metrical *Smṛitis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night<sup>56</sup> and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amārti*,<sup>57</sup> Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Chāturmāsī* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmins, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Chāturmāsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays<sup>58</sup> on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhist *Sumaṅgala Vildsini*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *upariprāsāḍavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kārttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakshatra by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dīpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kārttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phālguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmins on Kārttika and Āshāḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarāyana, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṃkrānti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(d) The term *nāgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Chāḍḍatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyuthā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam paviseyya, so passeya nāgavane mahantam hatthipadam dīghato cha āyatam tiriyaṇ cha vitthataṃ, etc.* "Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

<sup>55</sup> Vishnu, lxii, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

<sup>56</sup> Manu, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

<sup>57</sup> Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Śāstrinājaya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jīṇahama Sūri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hīravijaya Sūri.

<sup>58</sup> Manu, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.

the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*.<sup>55</sup> The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhātithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kevaṭabhoga* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nāgavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhōg*, as the modern phrase is.

(u) M. Senart's explanation of *athamīpakhāye* by "*pakṣaśyāṣṭamyām* on the eighth of (each) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Āchārāṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamīpakkheṇa* "on the tenth of the fortnight." The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, e. g. the Deśi *valayabāhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśīkośa*, VII, 52) for *bāhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *vārabāṇa*, 'a protection against arrows, i. e. 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(v) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *punya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Brihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(w) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nīlakhiyati* by *nīlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśi word<sup>56</sup> *nelachchho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(x) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sūtras*, *chātummāsīpakṣa*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmāsī pūrṇimā*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kātyāyana uses *māghīpakṣa* for the dark half of Māgha, and Lātyāyana *phālgunīpakṣa* for the bright half of Phālguna.<sup>57</sup> If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(y) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brāhmins considered the new-moon day of Phālguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, III, 10.)

<sup>55</sup> See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*.

<sup>56</sup> See Hemachandra *Deśīkośa*, iv, 44, and *Pāyilachchhī*, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

<sup>57</sup> See the *Petersburg Dictionary* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Bd. II, p. 327.

(2) It is not necessary to depart with M. Senart from the natural sense of the passage and to assume that Piyadasi restricted his order to certain classes of criminals. For, it must not be forgotten that long terms of imprisonment were not in favour with the authors of the ancient criminal codes of India. For serious crimes they mostly prescribe capital punishment, mutilation and banishment; for lighter offences fines and whipping. In Piyadasi's times the prisons, therefore, did probably not contain many prisoners condemned to long terms for serious crimes. I may add that the liberation of all prisoners, as an act of royal clemency, seems quite natural to Hindus. Only a few years ago I remember reading a rather sarcastic paragraph in the *Bombay Gazette Summary* on a princeling in Bengal, I think, who on the birth of a son decreed a general jail delivery in his fortunately not very extensive dominions; compare also *Jdtakas*, vol. V, p. 235, l. 25.

### EDICT VI.

*Dehli-Sivalik.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja-he-  
vam-ahā[:] duvādasa[1] vasa-  
abhisitena-me dhammalipi-likhā-  
pitā lokasā[2] hitasukkhāye[:] se-  
taṃ-apahaṭṭa taṃ-taṃ-dhamma-  
vadhi-pāpovā[3] . Hevaṃ-lokasā  
hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekkhāmi atha-  
iyam[4] nātisu hevaṃ-patīyāsam-  
nesu hevaṃ-apakaṭṭhesu[5] ki-  
mam-kāṇi-sukhaṃ avahāmi-ti  
tatha-cha-vidahāmi[.] . Hemeva  
[6] savanikāyesu paṭivekkhāmi[.]  
Savapāsāṇḍā-pi-me-pūjita[7] vi-  
vadhāya-pūjāyā[.] E-chu-iyam-  
atunā pachūpagamane[8] se-me-  
mokyhamate[.] Saduvīsativasa  
abhisitena-me[9] iyam-dhamma-  
lipi likhāpitā[10]

*Radhia.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasī-lāja  
 hevaṃ-āha[:] duvādasavasābhi-  
 sitena-me dharmmalipi likhāpita  
 lokasa[14] hitasukhāye[:] se-  
 tam-apahṣṭa tam-tam dharmma-  
 vaḍhi-pāpova[.]<sup>69</sup> Hevaṃ-lokasa-  
 hitasukhe-ti paṭivekhāmi[15]  
 athā-iyam-nātisū hevaṃ-patyā-  
 samnesū hevaṃ-apakāṭhesū[,]  
 kinnam-kāni -sukham-āvahāmi  
 ti tathā-cha-vidahāmi.[16] Hem-  
 eva-savanikāyesū-paṭivekhāmi [.]  
 Savapāsāmdā pi-me-pūjita vivi-  
 dhāya-pūjāya[.] E-cha-iyam-  
 atau-pachūpagamaṇe 17 se-me-  
 mukhyanute[.] Saḍḍvī-tati va-  
 sābhisitena-me iyaṃ-dharmmalipi  
 khāpita.[18]

***Dehli-Mirat.***

Missing.

*Allahabad.*

[27] . . . Piyadaś lā-  
.  
. . . i pā-  
.[.] Hevaṃ . [28]  
hitasukhe-ti-patīvekhāmi atha  
.[tisu]  
[sa] hevaṃ apaka-  
.[:] kimam  
  
dā[hā]mi.[.] Hevaṁmeva sava  
yeṣu patīvekhāmi.[29] Sa-  
vapāsanda pi-me-pūjita vividhā-  
ya pūjāyā.[.] Echniyamatana  
paḥupaḡamaṇe se me mukhya-  
mūte.[]  
  
lipi likhāpitā-ti-[30]

*Mathia.*

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevaṃ-āha[:] duvādasavasābhi-  
 sitena-me dharmmalipi-likhāpita  
 lokasa [16(1)] hitasukhāye[:]  
 se-taṃ-apahata taṃ-taṃ-dharm-  
 mavaḍhi-pāpova[.] Hevaṃ lo-  
 kasa[17(2)] hitasukhe-ti paṭive-  
 khāmi atthā-iyam-nātisū hevaṃ-  
 patyāsāmesu hevaṃ-apakāṭhesu  
 [18(3)] kimmaṃ-kāni-sukhaṃ  
 āvahaṃ-ti tathā-cha-vidahaṃ  
 [.] Hem-eva savanikāyesu pa-  
 ṭivekhāmi [19(4)] Savapāsaṃ-  
 dā-pi-me-pūjita vividdhāya-pūjāya  
 [.] E-cha-iyam atana pachū-  
 pagamaṃ [20(5)] se-me-mo-  
 khyamute[.] Saḍvūṣati-vaśā-  
 bhisitena-m iyaṃ-dharmmalipi  
 likhāpita [21(6)]

<sup>44</sup> The stroke which makes *pâpova* look like *pipova* is clearly due to an accidental scratch.

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twelve years,\* I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).<sup>†</sup> (*Saying unto myself*) “the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*),” I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;—why so? “In order that I may lead some of them to happiness.” In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate. I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.<sup>‡</sup> But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) ‘the approach through one’s own free will.’ After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) *Dhammalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, “when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order,” and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, “king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years.” The earlier part of Piyadasi’s spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

- (1) After the conquest of Kalinga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).
- (2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).
- (3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhamma* or Sacred Law, i.e. those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).
- (4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the *Dhammamahāmātas* or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(b) *Apahatā* (D. S.) or *apahata* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahṛitya* or *apahṛitvā*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*<sup>§</sup> (*Jāṭaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvā*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahṛi* in the sense of ‘to avoid, to give up,’ which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Tam*, the object of *apahata*, stands for *idam*, and denotes ‘that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.’ The whole sentence down to *pāpovā* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

\* Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

† The verse runs as follows :—*Sakkappam etam paṭiladdha pāpam ahehāhītam kamma karosi luddam.*

krit as follows:—*Saḥ[loka ityarthāḥ] tad [kriyamāṇam adharmam ityarthāḥ] apahritya [parihṛityetyarthāḥ] tāṃ tāṃ dharmavṛddhim prāpnuyāt.*

(c) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhammamahāmātas. By "those who are near," Piyadasi probably means his Lājukas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. "Those who are far," *apakaṭṭha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhamma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(d) M. Senart has recognised that *kimam* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kimti*. As R. M. read plainly *kimam*, I would suggest that *kimam* too stands for *kimam*, and is a contraction of *kimva*, i.e. *kimiva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(e) *Nikāya*, 'body corporate,' refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikāyā* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikāyā* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(f.) *Pachchāpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean 'the return to,' but may also be taken as 'the approach towards.' The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi's recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—"They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines."

*Dehli-Sivalik Pillar.*

EDICT VII, 1.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā[:]ye-atikaṃtam [11]  
amātaṃ lājāne husu[.]hevaṃ ichhisu[:]katham-jane[12]  
dhammavadhiyā vadheyā[?] No-chu-jane anulupāyā dhammavadhiyā[13]  
vadhihā[.] Etam devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ-āhā[:] esa-me[14]  
huthā[.] atikaṃtam-cha amātaṃ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne katham-jane[15]  
anulupāyā dhammavadhiyā vadheyā-ti[:] no-cha-jane anulupāyā[16]  
dhammavadhiyā vadhihā[:] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyā<sup>66</sup>[17]  
kina-su jane anulupāyā dhammavadhiyā vadheyā-ti[:] kina-su-kāni [18]  
abhyumnāmayeham dhammavadhiyā-ti[?] Etam-devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ [19]  
āhā[:] esa-me huthā[.] dhammasāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini[20]  
anus[ā]sāmi<sup>66</sup>[:] etam-jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyumnāmisati[21]

<sup>66</sup> The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyā* stands above the line.

<sup>66</sup> This might be read *anusāsāmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *ā*-stroke to be accidental. *Anusāsāmi* is also used by Asoka elsewhere, e.g. Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]



## EDICT VII, 2.

dhammavādhiyā-cha bādham vādhisati[.] Etāye-me aṭhāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni  
 dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni yath[ā me pul]isā-pi<sup>67</sup> bahunē<sup>68</sup> janasi āyatā ete  
 paliyovadisanti-pi pavithalisanti-pi[.] Laj[ū]kā-pi<sup>69</sup> bahukesu pānasatasahasasu āyatā  
 tepi-me ānapitā[.] hevaṃ-cha hevaṃ-cha paliyovadātha [1]  
 janam dhammayu[ta]m<sup>70</sup>[.] [D]e[v]ānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ-āhā[.] etam-eva-me anu-  
 vekhamāne dhammatharabhāni-kāṭāni[.] dhammanahāmātā-kāṭā[.] dhamma[s]ā[van]e<sup>71</sup>-  
 kate[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevaṃ āhā[.] magesu-pi-me nigohāni lopāpitāni[.]  
 chhāyopagāni hosanti pasumunisānam[.] ambāvadikyā lopāpitā[.] adhak[o]s[i]kyāni-  
 pi-me-udupānāni[2]  
 khānāpāpitāni[.] nimsidhiyā-cha<sup>72</sup> kālāpitā[.] āpānāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpitāni  
 paṭibhogāye pasumunisānam[.] La[huke chu]<sup>73</sup> esā paṭibhoge nāma<sup>74</sup> [.] Vividhāyā-  
 hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi-pi lājhi mamayā-cha sukhayite loke[.] Imam-chu dhammā-  
 nupaṭipatī anupaṭipajantu-ti[.] etadathā-me[3]  
 esa-kate[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā[.] dhammamahāmātā-pi-me t[e]-bahuvi-  
 dhesu<sup>75</sup> aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭā-se pavajitanam-cheva gihithānam-cha[.] sava-  
 [pāsam]desu-pi-cha<sup>76</sup> viyāpaṭā-se[.] Saṃghaṭhasi-pi-me kate ime viyāpaṭā hohanti-ti  
 [.] hemeva bābhanesu Ajivikesu-pi-me kate[4]  
 ime viyāpaṭā hohanti-ti[.] Nigamṭhesu-pi-me kate ime viyāpaṭā hohanti [.] nānā-  
 pāsamdesu-pi-me kate ime viyāpaṭā hohanti-ti [.] Paṭivisiṭham paṭivisiṭham tesu-tesu  
 te-[t]e [ma]hāmātā[.] Dhammamahāmātā-chu-me etesu-cheva viyā[pa]ṭā savesu-cha  
 amnesu pāsamdesu[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevaṃ āhā[5]  
 ete-cha amne-cha bahukā mukhā dānavisagasi viyāpaṭā-se mama-cheva devinam-cha[.]  
 savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena<sup>77</sup> tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi-  
 [pādayamti] hida-cheva disāsu-cha[.] Dālakānam-pi-cha-me kate amnānam-cha deviku-  
 mālānam ime dānavisagesu viyāpaṭā hohanti-ti[6]  
 dhammāpadānathāye dhammānupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭipati-cha  
 yā-iyam dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[ve]-cha lokasa hevaṃ vādhisati-ti[.]

<sup>67</sup> Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha* . . . i and the left-hand curve of *ad*, while the right half of *ad* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulīkā-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

<sup>68</sup> *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *punāvāsune* above,—v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

<sup>69</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *lajākā* is not certain.

<sup>70</sup> The last syllable of *dhammayutam* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

<sup>71</sup> The restoration has been made correctly by M. Searat. The rubbing shows the *d*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

<sup>72</sup> The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhammayu* and *tam* in l. 2, has here made necessary the division *nimsi dhiyā* (not *dhiyā*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

<sup>73</sup> The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kho esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kālsī), *lahukā vu kho sū piti*, and below, l. 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhammaniyame*.

<sup>74</sup> The *ad* of *nāma* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

<sup>75</sup> Though the *la* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimile, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *vīyāpaṭā* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

<sup>76</sup> The restoration has been given correctly by M. Searat.

Devānam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lāḥā hevām-āhā[:] yāni-hi-kāni-chi mamiyā sādhaṇāni kaṭāni  
tam-loke anupatīpaṇne tam-cha anuvīdhiyanti[:]tena vadhita-cha[7]

vadhisaṇti-cha mātāpitisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayomahālakānam anupaṭṭipatiyā  
bābhanasamanesu kapaṇavalākesu āva dāsabhaṭakesu saṃpaṭṭipatiyā[.] Devānam-piy[e  
Pi]yadasi lāḥā hevām-āhā[:] munisānam-chu yā-iyam dhammavaḍhi vadhita duvehi-  
yeva ākālehi dhammaniyamena-cha nijhatiyā-cha[.8]

Tata-chu lahu-se dhammaniyame[.] nijhatiyā-va bhuye[.] Dhammaniyame-chu-kho  
esa ye-me iyaṃ-kaṭe imāni-cha imāni<sup>77</sup> jātāni avadhiyāni[.] amāni-pi-chu bahu[kāni]  
dhammaniyamāni yāni-me kaṭāni[.] Nijhatiyā-va-chu bhuye munisānam dhammavaḍhi  
vadhita avihimsāye bhutānam[9]

anālambhāye pānānam [.] Se-etaye aṭhāye iyaṃ kaṭe [ , ] putāpapotike chaṇḍa-  
masuliyike hotu-ti [ , ] tathā-cha anupaṭṭipajamtu-ti [ . ] Hevām-hi anupaṭṭipajamtaṃ  
hidata[pāla]te āladhe hoti [ . ] Satavisativasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalibhi likhāpā-  
pitā-ti [ . ] Etam devānam-piye āhā : ] iyaṃ [10]

dhammalibhi ata atthi silāthambhāni-vā silāphalakāni-vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-  
ṭhitike siyā [11].

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, 'Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,'<sup>1</sup> But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

Concerning this<sup>2</sup> (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (*thought*) came to me, 'On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law !' On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey ? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law ? By what means may I raise up<sup>3</sup> some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law ?"

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (*thought*) came to me "Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,<sup>4</sup> and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law." For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *lajākas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me, "Instruct (*my*) loyal people<sup>5</sup> in this way and in that."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Having regard to this same matter,<sup>6</sup> I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law."

<sup>77</sup> Read *imāni cha*, as the sense requires.

<sup>78</sup> *Etam-eva-me anuvakkhamāne* (i.e., *anuvakkhamānam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *avijitāni hi vijinamare*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that *anuvakkhamāne* (i.e. *anuvakkhamānena*) was what Asoka really wrote.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens.<sup>79</sup> I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*<sup>80</sup> and I have ordered rest-houses<sup>81</sup> to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations<sup>82</sup> to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Samgha<sup>83</sup>; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ājivikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamīthas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

Both these and many other chief officials<sup>84</sup> are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment<sup>85</sup> both here (*in Pāṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes<sup>86</sup> in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus<sup>87</sup> grow among men."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation". But, among these two<sup>88</sup> the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

<sup>79</sup> Regarding the short *a* of *vaḍḍikā* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *ambḍaḍḍikā* may stand for *ambḍaḍḍikā*. Regarding the long *a* of *ambḍa*, see below, note 20.

<sup>80</sup> *Mukhā* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, m, a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict.*, sub voce), or it stands for *mukkhā* and corresponds to *mukhyā* 'chiefs,' i.e. 'officials of high rank.'

<sup>81</sup> *Thau*, i.e. in the manner desired by the king.

<sup>82</sup> *Tata*, i.e. *tata*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-cā* is equivalent to *tagatu*.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;<sup>3</sup> but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign\*, as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*) :—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *katham* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *kāni* has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etam* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atra*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(c) *Abhyumnāmayeham* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the *Rāmāyaṇa* under b). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(d) *Abhyunnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyunnammissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnamati*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) *Lajūka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *ayata* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(f) *Paliyovadātha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(g) *Aṭṭhakosikyaṇi* corresponds to a Sanskrit *ardhakrośikyaṇi*. The *krośa* or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 *Itasas*, or half a *gavyūti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Suttanī kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come too close to each other.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Pillar Edict V.

(h) *Nimsiḍhiyā* no doubt stands for *nisiḍhiyā*, just like the Pali *mahiṃsa* for *māhīsa*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyā*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *vāśhanishidiyāye*. Both *nimsiḍhiyā* and *nishidiyā* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyā*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishīd*. The lingual *ḍha* of *nimsiḍhiyā* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishīdyā*. The Jains use closely allied words *nīṣṭhi*, *nishīḍhi* and *nisiḍhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Nimsiḍhiyā* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharmārtham* by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadāta, the pious son-in-law of the Śatrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.* vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(i) *Āpāna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapā*.

(j) *Samgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Ājivikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishṇava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigamṭhas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take *paṭivisiṭham paṭivisiṭham*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativīśham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Dict.* sub voce). *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhūmikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tuthāyatanāni*, i.e. *tushṭyāyatanāni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭi* [*pādayanti*] is self-evident.

(l) *Devikumāla* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' i.e. of such a lady who has the title *devī*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, i.e. his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(m) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nīḥali* as a derivative from the causative of *nidhyāi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nīdīdhyaśanā* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(n) In *putāpapotike* the nominative of the plural *putā* takes the place of the stem just as in *ambā-vadīkyā*, above l. 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jāt.* iv, 184, 18, *sakkābhariyam*, 'the wife of a friend.'

## XXI.—THE MAHĀBAN PRĀSASTĪ OF SAMVAT 1207.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurā Prāśasti of the Reign of Vijayapāla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapāla, because he had obtained lately from Mahāban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahāban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile<sup>1</sup> of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurā Prāśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahāban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *ḍāl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahāban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahāban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments<sup>2</sup> from the railway-workmen at Mathurā.

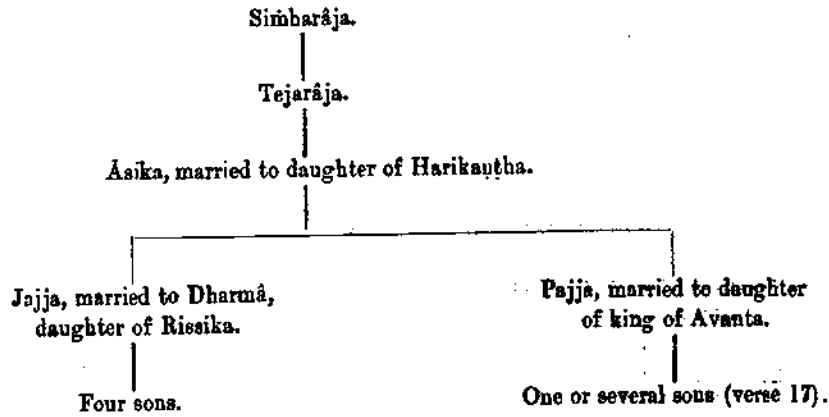
I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahāban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapāla, not Vijayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvamśi dynasty of Bayānā-Śrīpathā (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, pl. x.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *paramēvara-śrī-Silādityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.

Mahābān shows the name of Ajayapāla's successor Haripāla and the date Samvat 1227. The pedigree of the Rājput who built the temple now stands as follows:—



## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री [ग]णपतये नमः ।  
 दिग्गता वः कौरवकु — — —  
 — यासि दंतो हिरदाननस्य [1]  
 विजित्य विष्णुमिव — — शंके (?)  
 सुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [११]
- L. 2. [श्री]रेः कञ्जलकातिरखेसिलता मूले नि — — कर-  
 त्वालिदीव समुद्रता सरभसं या सप्तुनीस्वर्गया ।  
 यत्रा[न्त]र्जलमानुषीव कमला डिङ्गीरपिङ्गी-
- L. 3. पमः  
 कञ्जुर्विस्मितमस्वरं क[मलिनी]किञ्जल्कपुंजायते ॥ [२]  
 स वोवतु ज — — सः सकलदेवदर्पादनः  
 महानर[क]मर्ह[नः] प्रचुरधीरसंतर्ह-
- L. 4. नः [1]  
 समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः  
 धृतामरमहाभरः तृ[य]वदुद्धृतकाधरः ॥ [३]  
 इति प्रथममेव ॥  
 शाखा[स]न्ततिसन्निवृत्त-
- L. 5. कनप्रोद्गमदिग्गमङ्गलः  
 ब्राधः पा. न्य ममात्रयो द्विजकुलेः संनिव्यमानोधिकः

\* Read गणपतये. On Dr. Führer's impression the e-stroke above the *ta* has almost disappeared.

\* Restore कौरवकुलाभः ययासि.

\* Restore चिरं वः.

\* Read किञ्जल्कपुंजायते.

\* Read 'दृष्ट' इति; — भूषाकरः; — महाभरतः; — Restore जगद्गुरुः.

MAHABAN PRASASTI OF SAMVAT 1207.

[illegible]





श्रीश्रीमन्महामहोदयः बहुतरप[स्यात]पर्वक्रमः

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः

L. 6. वतः चितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [8]

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः चितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [8]

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः चितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [8]

L. 7. तत्राभूत्सलिकासकल्मषमघोप्रचालनैकत्रयः

मानसः कृतिवर्णमौलितिलकः श्रीसिंहराजाद्वयः ॥ [५]<sup>१</sup>

दानेन सत्त्वोर्ध्वमयेन विद्या

भावेन भ-

L. 8. त्रिः समया च शक्तिः [1]

सत्येन सत्त्वोर्ध्वमयेन विद्या

रत्नसंज्ञकः कतिना च वेन [॥५॥]<sup>२</sup>

तस्मात्तुल्यमये नयेनतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाद्वयः

सत्त्वोर्ध्वमयेन विद्या

L. 9. यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी विवेकाकरः ।

यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी विवेकाकरः ।

मौल्यसंज्ञकः कतिना च वेन [॥५॥]<sup>३</sup>

L. 10. तस्मात्तुल्यमये नयेनतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाद्वयः

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः चितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [8]

विद्यासंज्ञकः कतिना च वेन [॥५॥]<sup>४</sup>

L. 11. — — — — रोषसिन्धुमलधोर्ध्वैरः सत्त्वं संमतः ॥ [८]

यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी विवेकाकरः ।

मौल्यसंज्ञकः कतिना च वेन [॥५॥]<sup>५</sup>

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः

L. 12. रोषसिन्धुमलधोर्ध्वैरः सत्त्वं संमतः ॥ [८]

यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी विवेकाकरः ।

मौल्यसंज्ञकः कतिना च वेन [॥५॥]<sup>६</sup>

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः

L. 13. रयेनेव श्री[स्वायासुदारधोः ॥ [१०]

यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी विवेकाकरः ।

मौल्यसंज्ञकः कतिना च वेन [॥५॥]<sup>७</sup>

श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः

<sup>१</sup> According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः, but Führer's gives plainly 'अर्थ'

<sup>२</sup> Restore यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी

<sup>३</sup> The second पादो and the second ॥ of विवेकाकरः stand below the line.

<sup>४</sup> The last पादो stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः

<sup>५</sup> Read श्रीश्रीमन्महोदयः — Restore यच्चिर्गुणसुषमाङ्गी

- L. 14. लो दिवि गणयितुं कोङ्कुलीभिः समर्थः  
तस्य स्तोतुं सकल[म]थ वा कः प्रगल्भः गुणीर्च [॥११]  
चंद्रः कथंचित्समवाप्य हृदि  
पक्षं किलैकं विम-
- L. 15. लं करोति [1]  
जज्जः पुनर्भूतलपार्व — —  
हावेव पक्षौ विमलौ विधत्ते ॥ [१२]<sup>18</sup>  
सङ्गः साधुभिरेव कीपशमने शक्तिश्च धर्मो मतिः  
दानेभ्यासविधिः प-
- L. 16. रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरुणां न[तिः 1]  
— — श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाङ्घ्रियुगले गोष्ठी समं पंडितैः  
जज्जस्यासिकसंभवस्य सुमतेः किं किं न लीकोत्तरं ॥ [१३]<sup>14</sup>  
का-
- L. 17. यः परोपकृतिभिः सुकृतो ७ — ७  
— दिर्भुरारिचरणस्मरणेन चेतः [1]  
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवाञ्छितपूरणेन  
सत्येन वागपि च येन कृता कृता-
- L. 18. र्था ॥ [१४]<sup>15</sup>  
श्रीमान्निस्सिकनामधेयविदितो राजन्यवंशोद्गतः  
तस्यासावुपयेमिवानुद्धितरं धर्माभिधानां सती ।  
शोलाचारविभूषणां शुभगुणां भर्तृव -
- L. 19. तां सस्यतां  
तस्यां [पुत्र]चतुष्टयं समभवद्धर्मोपपन्नं ततः ॥ [१५]  
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिनां वरिष्ठः  
ख्यातः सुरद्विजगुरुचित्तभक्तियुक्तः [1]  
गाभीर्य-
- L. 20. सत्यनयदान[विवे]कबुद्धिः  
श्रीश्रासिकात्मजमुनिर्मलपञ्जनामा ॥ × [१६]  
अवन्तराजतनयां भार्यासुदवहसती ।  
तस्यां स जनयामास × × × × ७ — ७ ७ ॥ × [१७]<sup>16</sup>  
संसारं हरिभक्तिसारमखिलं विज्ञाय गोष्ठीजनैः  
सार्द्धं धर्मधुरां चिरा-
- L. 21. य वहता जज्जेन निर्मापितं ।  
विष्णोर्हर्म्यमनस्यशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्रं वह-

<sup>18</sup> The reading of the stone seems to have been पार्थमेन्दुः.

<sup>14</sup> Restore भक्तिः श्रीपुरुषो.

<sup>15</sup> Restore सुकृतोद्ययेन बुद्धिर्.

<sup>16</sup> Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.

क्षुभीगानिललोलितध्वजपटं शुभ्राभमभ्रंलिहं ॥ [१८]  
सौवःसैन्ध-

L. 22. वमम्बकान्तकजटाजूटाटवीनाटक-

क्रोडादुर्ललितस्थितिस्त्रिरतरं यावत्पवित्रं पयः [1]

सम्प्रोक्षी सुचिरं फणीश्वरफणारत्नांकुराणां चि-

L. 23. ि-

— — — — — तद्विहास्तु मन्दिरमिदं लक्ष्मीपतेः शाश्वतं ॥ [१९]

अत्र गोष्ठोलताबामानि ॥

सुत्तिकात्मजधम्नीह रामस्त्रिलहस्य नन्दनः ।

पेशचित्तक-

L. 24. — — — — — णो वस्त्रिकात्मजः ॥ [२०]

मंगपुत्री नारदश्च जासिको माहवागजः ।

ढोलसूनुर्वसंतश्च कलस्यात्मजधन्तुकः ॥ [२१]

सोभरात्मा महीपालः

L. 25. × × × × — — — नः ।

फुल्लोरी सङ्गसंभूतः देधरो माधवात्मजः ॥ [२२]

सोढलो रामपालस्य सेल्हणो राजिकोद्भवः ।

एते गोष्ठीं समागम्य पुत्रपौत्रादि-

L. 26. — [रि]काः ॥ [२३]

[अथा]तो लिख्यते हस्तिर्देवदेवस्य चक्रिणः ।

संप्रदत्ता नरेन्द्रेण पुरवासिजने[न च] ॥ [२४]

ह्वं गृहे धीययः षट् वाटिका देवहेतवे ।

गोष्ठी-

L. 27. [प्र]सूतिरक्षस्य मानोभानरसादिका ॥ [२५]

यन्त्रे यन्त्रे पत्नी [आह्वा] चा[तुश] पुष्पमालिकात् ।

मापकाश्च चतुर्थीसो यः क[चि]न्मापको भवेत् [२६]

यः कश्चित् ह-

L. 28. रते हस्तिं न ददाति च मानवः ।

स गच्छेन्नर[कं] घोरं यावदाभूतसंभवः ॥ [२७]<sup>17</sup>

अस्याः [प्र]शस्तेः कर्त्तारौ बुधौ पालकुलहरी ।

[च]तस्रं सर्वविबुधैर्न्यूनान्यूनं विचार-

L. 29. तः ॥ [२८]

संवत् १२०७ कार्ति — पौर्णमास्यां महाराजाधिराज — —

जयपालदेवविजयराज्ये उत्कीर्णा सोमलसूत[धारे]ण ॥

<sup>17</sup> Restore चित्तिर्यावत्तावदि°.

<sup>18</sup> चातुश can, of course, not be correct. Read चतुर्थी ही.

<sup>19</sup> The last word is probably meant for यावदाभूतसंभवं.

## XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

BY PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Śāba of Dihlī, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdīds*, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

## 1.—BHĀGALPŪR.

The history of Bhāgalpūr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maḥmūd Shāh ibn Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpūr, is of value, because it shows that Bhāgalpūr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqī kingdom, as did also Bihār (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnāma*, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahāngīr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rānī Bibī in Mānda Roga Maḥalla, Bhāgalpūr; it is no longer *in situ*; the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجد في الدنيا بني الله له قصر في الجنة في زمن ملك العادل محمود  
شاه السلطان بنا كرهه اين مسجد خانم معظم خورشيد خان سر نوبت غير محليان في العاشر من جماد الاول سنة  
خمس مائة وثمانماية

## TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maḥmūd Shāh the honoured Khān Khurshēd Khān, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumādī'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshēd Khān, whose title *sar-i naubat-i ghair-maḥallīān* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII, p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargāh* called the Maskan-i Barāri or Makhdūm Shāh's Dargāh in Champanāgar near Bhāgal-

<sup>1</sup> See facsimile No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The same form occurs, e.g., in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 108, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.

NO. 1. BHAGALPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 850.



NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.



*From J. D. Beglar's impressions.*

*Scale: 1-5th of original.*



pūr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 ابرئير صديق | عمر فاروق | عثمان رضي | علي كرم الله  
 رضي الله عليه | رضي الله عليه | الله عليه | وجهه  
 جرن اضعف عباد الله خواجه احمد سمرقندي حسب الحكم نواب قدسي القاب شاهزاده عالميان شاه پروريز  
 جهانكير بخدمت فوجداري سرکار منكير آمده بود به بنای عمارت این روضه منوره توفيق يانت سنه ۱۰۳۲ هزار  
 سي و دو

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God.

Abû Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmân—may God be pleased with him! 'Alî—may God dignify his face!'

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwâja Ahmâd of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawâb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shâh Parwêz, son of Jahângîr, had entered the service as Faujdâr of Sarkâr Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].'

Shâh Parwêz was the second son of the emperor Shâh Jahângîr. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Şafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H he gave Bengal<sup>1</sup> in *jâgîr* to Mahâbat Khân, after having defeated in battle Shâh Jahân (*Iqbâlnâma-î Jahângîrî*, p. 239), whereas Bihâr, to which sarkâr Mungir belonged (*Âin-î-Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own *tiyâl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann.

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسی افسوس بملک بقا  
 رخت سفر بست زفانی سراى  
 از سر اندوه بگو سال فوت  
 روح مجسم ز جهان رفت رای

Metre,—*Sarî*':

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andâh*, i.e. the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *tarikh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

<sup>1</sup> The four caliphs.

<sup>2</sup> In Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, for Bihâr read Bengal.



The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خوش تحفیر یافت	بر لبش این دیر هم از سعی او تعمیر یافت
خواستم تاریخ هجر ( ۹ ) عسوی ( <i>etc.</i> ) سازم بیان	تا برد بر لوح سنگ از سالی تعمیرش نشان
ناکهان هاتف ز زری شادمانی لفظ برد	بعد لفظ دیده اندر مصرع هشتم فرزد
آنکشان در کوش خاطر زده سروشی بس عجب	دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب

#### TRANSLATION.

*Metre, — Ramal :*

By (order of) Ziyā-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word 'Būd' after the word 'Dīdah' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *tārīkh* which runs therefore 'Dīdah būd kam' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*būd*)—i.e.—1208-9H.

Ziyā-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhāgalpūr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shāhjangī (Shāhbāz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhāgalpūr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Faṣlī. As a memorial of that fact a Hindūstānī inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghāt, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.<sup>5</sup>

#### II.—HAZRAT PAṆDUAH.

The following inscriptions from Paṇduah belong to the *Ādīna* (i.e. Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, son of Shams-addin Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Paṇduah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorān*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> There is another rubbing of a Hindūstānī inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *tdidu* and a *sa' dī tanyār*.

5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

امر ببناء العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في آيا [ م ] الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين  
العرب والعجم الوائق بتأييد الرحمن ابرالمجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى  
يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رجب سنة ست [ ر ] سبعين وسبعماية

TRANSLATION.

‘The edifice of this Jāmi’ Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu’l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, the king, son of Ilyās Shāh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).’

There are some mistakes in Blochmann’s readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw’s *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyām*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt*; besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sādis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *va* (and) before *sab’in* or to read the *va* standing before *sab’miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Ādīna mosque was finished; the *Riyās* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jāmi’ Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that ‘gigantic barn,’ as General Cunningham calls the Ādīna mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).<sup>6</sup>

6. Over the doorway of the king’s platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bādshāh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrab*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorān*, Sūr. xxxiii, 56, and Sūr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin’s *Journal of a Route from Rājmahāl to Gaur*, A. D. 1810, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorān*, on the northern, the combined verses<sup>7</sup> Sūr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sūr. ix, 20, 21.

<sup>6</sup> I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (inscr. of the *rauza* of Muhammad Sharif of Balkh in Dihli,—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> The exordial phrase is— ‘قال الله تعالى عن قائل رجل من متكلم’ (“God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator”).

Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xlii) Sûr. i, 216, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fātiha*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muḥammad twice, besides the *Katima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

### III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2' 1" by 1' 2" in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد  
في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر  
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باركشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان اعظم  
مرجاه خان اتابك ذات اعلى بتاريخ هردهم ماه مبارك رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانماية

### TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,\* Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (17th November 1480).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panḍuah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

\* *هردهم*.

\* This reiteration occurs also on coins.

8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 8")—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا يَعْزِمُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْهُمُ الْإِيمَانُ بِاللَّهِ وَالدِّينِ الْأَخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ  
وَاتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ وَقَالَ الْفَتِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى  
مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ مِثْلَهُ وَعِمَارَةُ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْجَامِعِ  
فِي عَهْدِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِينَ سَيِّدِ السَّادَاتِ مَنبَعِ السَّعَادَاتِ أَرْحَمِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ مُعَالِي كَلِمَاتِ الْحَقِّ  
وَالْحَسَنَاتِ الْمُرِيدِ بِتَأْيِيدِ الدِّينِ الْمَجَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِ الرَّحْمَنِ خَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ بِالْحُجَّةِ وَالْبَرْهَانِ غَوْثِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ  
عَلَاءِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ  
أَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ حُسَيْنُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَسُلْطَانُهُ بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ خَالصًا مُخْلِصًا  
مُتْرَكًا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْوَلِيَّ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ الْمُخَاطَبُ بِخُطَابِ مَجْلِسِ الْمَجَالِسِ مَجْلِسِ مَنْصُورِ نَصْرَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى  
فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَتَارِيخُهُ الْمَيِّمُونَ فِي الرَّابِعِ عَشَرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمَذَارِبِ رَجَبِ رَجَبِ قَدْرِهِ سَنَ [ ٨٠٠ ... ٨٠٠ ... ٨٠٠ ... ]

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorân*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Walî Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i mansûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . .

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsitâna* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Firôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1' 4")—

بَنَى هَذَا الْبَابَ الْحَصَنَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَعْظُمِ الْمَكْرُمِ عَلَاءِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ أَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ حُسَيْنُ شَاهِ  
السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ سَيِّدِ أَشْرَفِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَسُلْطَانُهُ فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ عَشَرَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ

TRANSLATION.

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,

the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).<sup>10</sup>

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6' 5" by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, etc., and in three circles the words *Yá rahmán, yá Alláh, yá rahím* are inscribed; the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in., and contains *Qorán*, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6").—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه الصفة المطهرة التي فيها حجر فيه اثر قدم رسول  
صلى الله عليه وسلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر نصرته شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان  
بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنة سبع و ثلثين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nâsiraddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Riyâz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasûl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *âsitâna*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله باني هذا الباب خانبهان في التاريخ غرة من ذوالحجة سنة سبعين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).<sup>12</sup>

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orîsâ (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lôdî Khân, *amîr al umarâ* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badaunî*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânân (*Ma'âsir*, I, 649).

<sup>10</sup> This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 88, No. 19.

<sup>11</sup> There is no reason for Blochmann's *sic*, who has read faultily.

<sup>12</sup> Published in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis'* is not legible on my rubbing.

13. From the Jāmi' masjid in the Fīrōzpūr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1' 4" by 2 in.), which contains *Qorān*, Sūr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis*]lī' l' hīmārī).

IV.—MAHDĪPŪR (VILLAGE).<sup>13</sup>

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdīpūr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4' 4" by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر اقام الصلوة واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله  
فنعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين  
وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى  
مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة  
بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن  
محمد شاه السلطان  
وقد بنا السيد الاعظم سيد دستور بن سيد راحت بالحسنة ثمر جعله سر كنبد مولانا برخورداد ابن خانمعظم  
باسم حسان فى شهر المبارک رمضان سنة احدى و تسعين و دمانه

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorān* Sūr ix, 18).  
God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," etc. (*Qorān*, Sūr. lxxii, 18).  
The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing! has said "He who builds a mosque," etc.

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalāl addunyā wad-dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shāh, the king, son of Mahmūd Shāh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastūr, son of Sayyid Rāhat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulānā Barkurdār, son of the exalted Khān Taj Khān. In the blessed month of Ramazān of the year 891' (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shāh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhākā, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhāmraī, north of Dhākā, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampūr, Dhākā District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunārgāon, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sātganw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5' 7" by 4 in.), one line—

جلال الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره  
وشانه بسعي خان الاعظم و خاتان المعظم الراضى بالملك المذاهب خانمعظم دولتهان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه  
فى سنة اربع ...

<sup>13</sup> See facsimile No 2.

## TRANSLATION.

'Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shâh, the king, son of Mah-mûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficent Lord, the exalted Khân Daulat Khân, the wazîr of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)!<sup>14</sup> In the year . . . . .'

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1' 5" by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معطم طهر حان بن ملك ...  
... سر نوب ... در شهر ربيع الحر [?] فى الرابع سنة ...

## TRANSLATION.

[Alâ-]addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabi' al âkbar, in the year . . . . .'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

## V.—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÊRPÛR).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shêrpûr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4' 7" by 2' 4" by 3") bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Badishahi masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

یا مظهر العجايب  
مانده روز دوسنده ۲۴ ماه ذوالحجہ سنہ ۹۸۹  
یا سعادت نواب میرزا مراد خان مسجد اعمار کرد دروم روز  
سہ سنہ ۲۶ ذہر حال فرار مسجد مناد فقیر عبد الصمد در کلوتر  
سروام از هوا مرود آمدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض  
کردند کہ از مکہ مبارکہ نام رس ولادہ دارم برای ما و اصحاب ما درس  
مسجد آسانہ حکم خواهند فرمود فقیر کف جزا نہ اما مسجد  
نور منادا از مردم زمانہ ہر ہفا نرسد کعدہ ہرکہ دندہ

<sup>14</sup> In the Qurân, *qabala* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.



TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (19th January 1582), the Nawâb Mirzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqîr* 'Abdaşşamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction<sup>15</sup> they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqîr* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (*Akbarnâma*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'sûm Khân Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabûtar* (*hamâm*)-i *haram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

<sup>15</sup> This form is not so rare as Rückert indicates, *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser*, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also 'bimubârûkbad ishtighâldâsht',—*Ma'âsir al Umurâ*, vol. I, p. 121.



The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bādishāhī masjid, 18 lines (size 2' 3" by 1' 5").—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ر ... ... بالخير  
 قال صدر جهان بن میان جدر بن یازید بن داود  
 بنی مسجدا فی بلد شیرپور بمقام التوکل علی الله الغفور  
 بحین شاه جهان جهانگیر مشهور سنه الف واثنی و اربعون بالشکرة  
 قال الله تعالی و من یتوکل علی الله بنی مسجد فی دور شاه جهان  
 فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره و سوبه (sic) بنگاله معظم خان  
 قد جعل الله لكل شی قدرا  
 قال النبی صلی الله علیه وسلم من بنی مسجد فی الدنیا بنی له الله تعالی سبعین  
 قسرا فی الاخرة سنه الف و اثنی و اربعین الله کان فی کل مسلمین

#### TRANSLATION.

\* In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! . . . . .

Şadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxx, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the Şâba of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khân in the year 1042. Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.

Şadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Şadr (*Şadr-i Jahân*) as Şadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângîr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up poetry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muḥammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Riyâz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Ashâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. allubâb*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islâm Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allâhâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription

is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûreha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shêrpûr Mîraja). The *Ain-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmâshâhî, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dâms*. Its fort Salimnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—BIHÂR.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnauli appointed by the Dihli sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtiyâr Khiljî, *viz.*, from A. H. 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihli Governor of Sunârgâon, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihli empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A. H. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihli. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭâ Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بنی ہد المسجد فی بونہ السلطان الاعظم سمس الدین والدین ابی المظفر منور شاه السلطان ونام امارہ  
خاندان الرومان المخاطب لجامحان  
ادام اللہ ظلہما العبد الوافع باللہ ولکرمہ الراعی احقر الخلاف ہرام بن حاجی ناب اللہ علیہ رغبہ  
لوالدہ فی العرو من رحمت سنہ خمس و عسره سنعمانہ

TRANSLATION.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultân Shams addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khâqân of the age, known as Hâtim Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrâm, son of Hâjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (1st October 1315).

Hâtim Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup.*). He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription<sup>16</sup> (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1' 10"—

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم  
شد بتحدید عمارہ اس دروازہ عالی عالم اراعی راین طاب ربیع ملک سالی  
درانام خلافت حلیفہ جهاننہ اسماعیل نازکہ خداناکان سلاطین

<sup>16</sup> See facsimile No. 3.

کهنان فرمان فرمای عالمیان ذی الامن والاهل الامن وارث ملک سلیمان ابوالمجاہد محمد بن  
مقتشاه السلطان خلد خلافتہ و سلطانہ فی الغرہ من السہر المبارک رمضان سنہ [ ] انی و بلدن و سیمانہ

## TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalifa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abu'l Mujâhid Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (27th May, 1332).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 3' 1" by 1' 2" two lines—

بعد دولت شاه جهان کیر	۱۷ کی بادا در بہار ملک نوروز
شہنشاہ جهان فرور سلطان	کی بر شاہان کینی کشت فیروز
ملک سرت ملک پیر براہیم	کی بد در دن جو ابراہیم کن توز
بمہ ذی الحجہ یکشنبہ از دھر	بدست حرن سیرہ از مہر درن سوز
ہجرت ہفصد و پنچہ سہ تاریخ	مسافر شد ملک در جنب ان روز
خداوند با فضل خویش بر وی	کبی اسان حساب اخرین روز

## TRANSLATION.

Metre : *Hazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (*days were passed*) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (20th January 1353), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!'

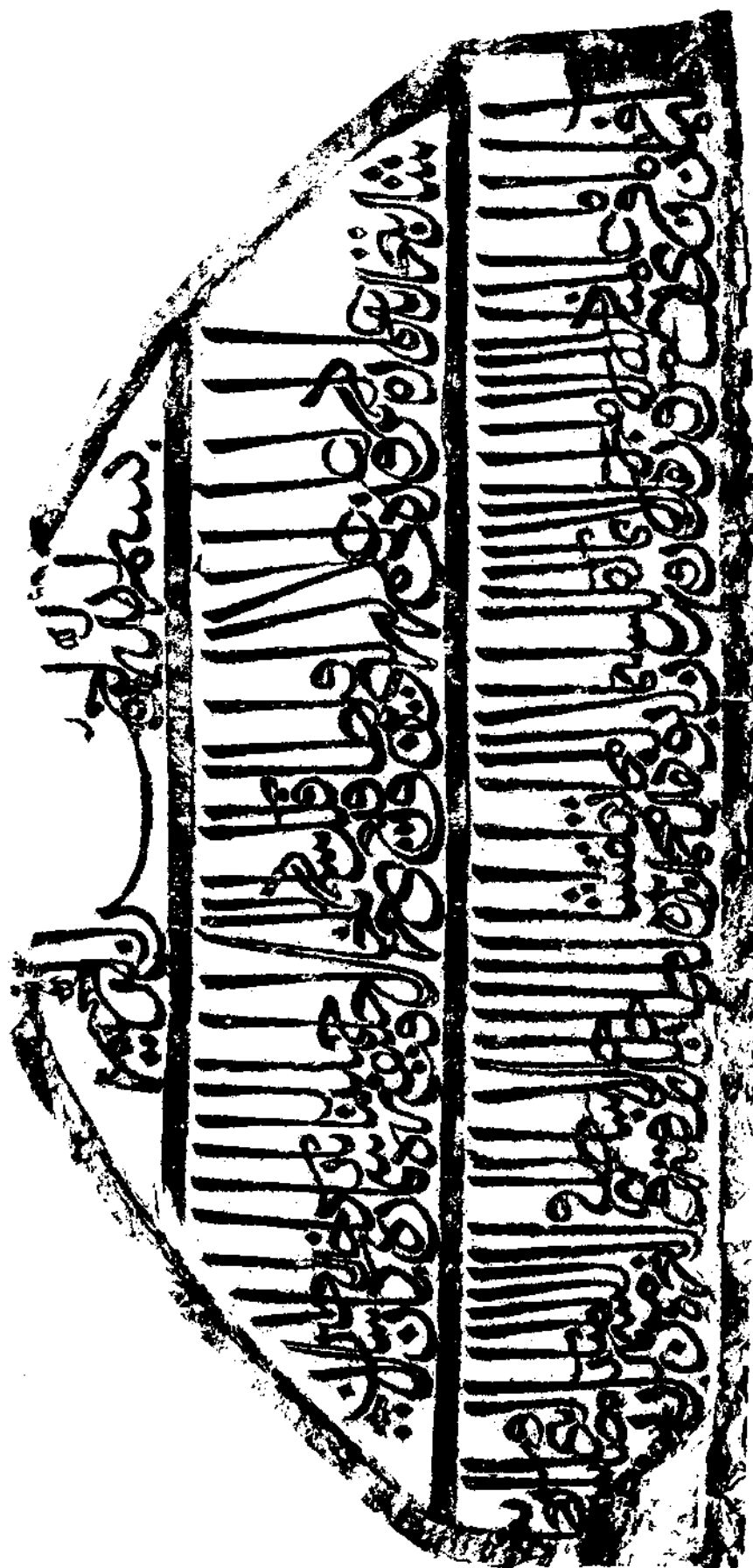
Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarâi at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1' 5" by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ نازدہم ماہ رجب رجب قدرہ سنہ ستون تسعمایۃ نازان شہید پسر حاجی اسحاق مرستعل [?]  
ہرین مقام جمعہ اربع و حوض بناء اینجا . . . . . برسد بروج جمعہ فاصحہ کن اذا لنا [س] [?]

<sup>17</sup> This archaic spelling, instead of *kik*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.

NO. 3. BIHAR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 732.



*J. Burgess, impress.*

*Scale: 1-5th of original.*



TRANSLATION.

'On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nārān Shāhid, son of Hājī Ishāq . .

On this place . . . . .<sup>18</sup>

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭā Takya on the other bank of the Adyānādī, in Bihār. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3' 5" by 1' 2" and bearing two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى	مسجدا لله بنا الله له بنا في الجنة
شد بدو نيق الهی راز طفیل مصطفی	مسجد جمعه دعهد شاه دن برور بنا
شاه محمود ابن ابراهيم شاه عادل انك	كشور ار شاهان ستاند باج نكشد بر كدا
دانی ابن مسجد ان مسند شریع هست كز	ذات ناكش قره العین نبی و مرید
سرور و صدر جهان ان سند احمل كه شد	ملك و ملك ردین و دولت را در ار السجا
كرده فرمایش بناء خیر ملك الشرف كان	مقطع دارد درین خطه نصیر ابن بها
ابن بنا شد استوار ار طاب كسری در بهار	كعبه در عظمت برعت نكست معمور علا
عمره ماه رجب بد هیصد و چهل و هفت سال	كاندین مسجد امامت شد بتایید خدا

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramāl*—

'In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says "He who builds *etc.*"

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafā (*Muhammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shāh Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazā ('*Alī*'), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti*, the David<sup>19</sup> in this district, Naṣīr, son of Bahā, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpūr*). This building in Bihār is stronger than the portico of Kistrā; it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847<sup>20</sup> (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqāma* took place in this mosque.'

The metrical Bihār inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh of Jaunpūr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihār), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihār, published by Blochmann).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

<sup>19</sup> In this inscription the letters *re* and *dāl* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *dāwar*.

<sup>20</sup> The form *hiṣad*, instead of *huṣṭṣad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

<sup>21</sup> The Maḥmūd Shāh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bedibān is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.

24. Also from the Bayley Sarāī. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1' 3"); the right side is partly broken—

..... مدار .....  
 افشار اهل سيف و کارها اعتبار [?] .....  
 دندراز تاريخ هجرت هفصد و ناسب و هفت .....  
 شمار .....  
 باز از ماه محرم فی شجر .....  
 ..... سلطان سلطانی

#### TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Bamal*—

'..... In the time of the Khānzāda.....

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?).....

The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*began the 18th September 1365*); backwards from the month of Muharram reckon.....<sup>22</sup>

#### VII.—MUNĒR.

Munēr, Māner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Fīrōz Rāī, son of Kēshū Rāj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*lithogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munēr immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krōh* distant from the river. Bābar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munēr.'

In the *Āin* (vol. I, p. 419) Munēr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dāms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dāms*. Bābar and Sikandar Shāh Lōdī are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyā, father of Shaikh Sharaf addīn (*Tārīkh-i Dāūdī* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bābar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munēr-i Shaikh Yahyā*. Shaikh Sharaf addīn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrāhīm Qiwām Farūqī has called his dictionary *Sharafnāma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munēr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danāpūr.<sup>23</sup>

25. Two lines (dimensions 1' 9" by 8 in.)—

بحمد الله در عهد شه انجب .....  
 بهین مسجد که بد بانی اول .....  
 جو حیات خطیر از .....  
 ز هجرت هفصد و هشت و نود بود .....  
 به عصمت دار بنیادش تو ای رب .....  
 عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب .....  
 جلیل الحق ز اقصاب مقرب .....  
 شه محمود سلطان مهذب

<sup>22</sup> The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

<sup>23</sup> No information is given about the places where the following three Munēr inscriptions have been found.

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalīl al Raḡa, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammād Khāṭir.....

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security, O God.'

This and the Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'adat Khān A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahān (*Malik ashsharq Khwāja-i Sarāi*), the founder of the Jaunpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karah, Audh, Sandelā, Dalamau, Bahrāich, Bihār, and Jaunpūr; the emperor Maḥmūd was confined for some years only to old Dihlī, the fortress of Sirī, and the Jāhānpanāh, while the districts of the Doāb, of Sambhal, Pānīpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khān, *viz.*, Sultān Naṣīraddīn, who had his residence at Firōz-Ābād. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amīrs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Tīmūr.

26. Three lines (size 5' 9" by 1' 4")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
رسيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جازوها وفتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها سلام عليكم طابم  
مداخلوها خالدين

كُنْتُ فِي فِكْرِ سَنَ هَذَا الْبَابِ      كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَوْلِهِ سَاكِنًا  
قَالَ بَعْلِي عَلَي طَرِيقِي الْأَمْرِ      قُلْ مَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ آمِنًا  
چون در روضه مقدس شاه      روی رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]  
سال انجامش از خرد جستم      خردم بهر این خجسته مقام  
بدعا لب كشوده ر كفتا      در دولت كشاد [ده باد درام]

TRANSLATION.

'There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qorān*, Sūr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (*God's*) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Khafīf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."



Both *tárikhs* give the year 1022 (*began the 21st February 1613*).

27. Three lines (10' 9" by 1' 3".)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله اللهم صلى على محمد وعلى آل محمد وبارك  
 سلم اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله قال الله تعالى ان  
 اول بيت وضع للناس للذى ببكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين فيه ايات بينات مقام ابراهيم ومن دخله كان  
 من الله على الناس حج البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا ومن كفر فان الله غنى عن العالمين  
 چو این عالی سرای کعبه تمثال جهان ارا بفیض صانع قادر تمامی اقتضا کرده  
 دل عاصی همی جست از خرد سال بنای او خرد گفتا جو ابراهیم بیت الله بنا کرده

#### TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muhammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorán*, Súr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: *Hazaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âsî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *tárikh* gives 1028 A.H. (*began the 19th, December 1618*).

The *tárikh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *tárikh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223): *banâ-yi Ka'ba-ya sâni nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjahân. The *tárikh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *izâfat* after *banâ* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030.

## XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

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

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it:—

“A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī, and the bull, is written *Śrī-Karṇa-deva*.<sup>1</sup> The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192 . . . . . The ancestors of Śrī-Karṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gāṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmaṇa-rāja-deva.”

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.<sup>2</sup> Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,<sup>3</sup> and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

<sup>1</sup> I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank my friend Professor Lauman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.

Māhārāshtrī Prākṛit. Excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* and the words *kim-vāpareṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrī* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *ksh* is employed instead of *khy* in *sauksha*, line 7, and *kshātam*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *ksh* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, e.g., in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyanaishit*), line 10, *dur jjaṣaḥ* (for *duryyaṣaḥ*), line 27, and *anya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *āṇṛiṇya*, line 8, and *kārunya*, line 20, and instead of *anustāra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anustāra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikalīṅga, the illustrious Karnaḍadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karnaḍadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṃhadeva in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription <sup>4</sup> of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasimhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant <sup>5</sup> of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kirtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasimhadeva's son Vijayasimhadeva in the Kumbhi copper-plate grant <sup>6</sup> of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karnaḍadeva's immediate successor Yaśaḥkarnaḍadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant <sup>7</sup> [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state <sup>8</sup> that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikalīṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Telīṅga; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

<sup>4</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṃhadeva, Jayasimhadeva and Vijayasimhadeva add *nijabhūjopārjit-āśvapati-gajapati-narupati-rājatrayādhipati*, after *Trikalīṅgādhipati*.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

<sup>6</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 119.

<sup>7</sup> See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . . .'

<sup>8</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.

rulers of Tripurī or Ratnapur mention a prince Vāmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karnadeva from his camp of victory,<sup>9</sup> located at a place the name of which looks like Svasāga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son<sup>10</sup> (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahāpramātāra*<sup>11</sup>) and others, that, having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, he has granted the village of Susi<sup>12</sup> (or Susī) to the learned Viśvarūpa,—a son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vājasaneyā śākhā, who belonged to the Kauśika gotra, and whose three *pravaras* were Audala, Devarāta and Vaiśvāmītra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. Karnadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susi to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Venī, near which Karnadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasāga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangā of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nāgpur.<sup>13</sup> The villages of Susi and Vesāla<sup>14</sup> I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January<sup>15</sup> A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Āśvina-śudi 1<sup>16</sup>) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Āśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pūrṇimānta*

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-kaṭaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *vijaya-kaṇṭaka*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gāṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya-kaṇṭaka* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the Kumbhī copper-plate, where, instead of *mahādevīm mahārājaputram*, we have *mahārājñisri(?) mahā-kamāraśrī-Ajayaśimhadeva*.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

<sup>12</sup> The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

<sup>13</sup> See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

<sup>14</sup> I hardly think that Vesāla could be the ancient Vaisālī, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

<sup>15</sup> On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 17h. 9m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>16</sup> Writing at Nāgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina; but, opening in the midst of Durgā's Festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.

scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*samvat* 793 *Phālguna-vadi* 9 *Some*,—is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karnadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.<sup>17</sup> I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karnadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*om om*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.<sup>18</sup> It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kārtavīrya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvaṇa;<sup>19</sup> and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kārtavīrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.<sup>20</sup>

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śamkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishnarāja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,<sup>21</sup> I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishna II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishna II. also bore the name Kṛishna-vallabha,<sup>22</sup> and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

<sup>17</sup> On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 34. 7m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>18</sup> The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahārājaka* Salakhanavarma-deva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadēva, above, page 19.

<sup>19</sup> See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

<sup>20</sup> This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

<sup>21</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

<sup>22</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 86. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishnarāja's father Amoghavaraha is named Śrī-vallabha; and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharāja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharāja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Kṛṣṇarāja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakūṭa is a well-known locality of Bandelkhand<sup>23</sup> which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Rāhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipāladeva of Kanauj<sup>24</sup> for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva<sup>25</sup> was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa-vallabha. Lastly, the Śaṁkaragana of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Ranavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmi was married<sup>26</sup> by Kṛṣṇa-vallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us<sup>27</sup> that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripuri, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas*; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śaṁkaragana, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>28</sup> that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Naṭṭā or Naṭṭadevi, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavalā (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bālaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,<sup>29</sup> Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, and his son again was Keyūrararsha-Yuvarājadeva, who married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavalā and Mugdhatuṅga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarājadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyūrararsha-Yuvarājadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bālaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatuṅga (Prasiddhadhavalā) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pāli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyūrararsha-Yuvarājadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva, informs us<sup>30</sup> that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

<sup>23</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

<sup>24</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

<sup>25</sup> See *ib.*, page 124.

<sup>26</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.

<sup>27</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

<sup>28</sup> *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

<sup>29</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.

<sup>30</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.

The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarājadeva's son Lakshmanarājadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śamkaraganadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kārtalāi inscription<sup>31</sup> has preserved the name of Lakshmanarāja's wife, Rāhādā; and the Bilhari inscription records<sup>32</sup> that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarāt. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarājadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva.<sup>33</sup> As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmanarāja's daughter Bonthāderi was the mother of Tailapa<sup>34</sup> who restored the Western Chālukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *prastuti*,<sup>35</sup> Yuvarāja was defeated and his capital Tripuri conquered by Vākpati-Muñja of Mālava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.<sup>36</sup>

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarājadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gāṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gāṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśahkarnadeva,<sup>37</sup> also bore the name Vikramāditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayāga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'<sup>38</sup> Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription<sup>39</sup> he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gāṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dāhāla (or Chedi) by Alberūni,<sup>40</sup> in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>41</sup> is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapāla,<sup>42</sup> who had ceased to rule<sup>43</sup> before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gāṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,<sup>44</sup> besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇāvati, and that at Kāśi or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Allānadevi<sup>45</sup> represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalīṅgas, Kīras and Hūṇas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva<sup>46</sup> makes him be waited upon by the Choḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauda, Gūrjara and Kīra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

<sup>33</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.

<sup>34</sup> See Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 41.

<sup>35</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.

<sup>36</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.

<sup>37</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>38</sup> I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon,' in which he lets Gāṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [*Seṣā*]-*va-saṁdādvita* (cf l. 33 of the copper-plate).

<sup>39</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 219, and page 222, l. 14.

<sup>40</sup> See Sachau's Translation of Alberūni's *India*, vol. I, page 202.

<sup>41</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 113.

<sup>42</sup> The copper-plate of Vijayapāla's successor Devavarmadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.

<sup>43</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>44</sup> See above, page 15.

<sup>45</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.

eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,<sup>46</sup> it is clear that Karṇa's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nāgpur *prāśasti*<sup>47</sup> Udayāditya of Mālava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karmāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions<sup>48</sup> report of Kīrtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Sanskrit play, is, that that prince defeated Karṇa, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra<sup>49</sup> eulogizes Bhīmadeva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karṇa in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhana,<sup>50</sup> who elsewhere describes Karṇa as the god of death to the lord of the Kālānjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Chālukya Somēśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karṇadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karṇa married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī<sup>51</sup> and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A.D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's name also occurs<sup>52</sup> in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripurī by Lakshmadeva of Mālava, the son and successor of Udayāditya, which probably took place during Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nāgpur *prāśasti*.<sup>53</sup> The only exploit which Yaśaḥkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godāvarī;<sup>54</sup> and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśaḥkarṇa of Champāranya.<sup>55</sup>

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription<sup>56</sup> dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasimha had already been appointed *Yutarāja*. Gayākarṇa (or Gayakarna) married<sup>57</sup> Alhaṇadevī,

<sup>46</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>47</sup> See above, page 192.

<sup>48</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 220 and 326. The Deogadh rock inscription of Kīrtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A.D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 36, No. 61.

<sup>49</sup> See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

<sup>50</sup> See *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

<sup>51</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>52</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

<sup>53</sup> See above, page 193, verse 39.

<sup>54</sup> See above, page 7, verse 23.

<sup>55</sup> See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champāranya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godāvarī river.

<sup>56</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 210.

<sup>57</sup> See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 84.



a daughter of the king Vijayasimha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Hamsapāla of the Guhila family of Mewād,—and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevi bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,<sup>58</sup> dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasimhadeva's reign three inscriptions<sup>59</sup> have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married<sup>60</sup> Gosaladevi, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasimhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,<sup>61</sup> of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasimha's son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Dāhāla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śamkaragaṇa. He married the Chandella princess Natṭā.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā.
3. His son Bālaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyūraravarsa-Yuvarājadeva I.; married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmanarājadeva; married Rāhādā. His daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of the Western Chālukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śamkaragaṇadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarājadeva II.; contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja of Mālava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gāṅgeyadeva-Vikramāditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberūnī (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapāla.
10. His son Karnadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1012. Contemporary of Bhimadeva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayāditya of Mālava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kirtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevi.
11. His son Yaśahkarnadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayākarnadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhanadevi, a daughter of Vijayasimha of Mewād and grand-daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava.
13. His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

<sup>58</sup> See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.

<sup>59</sup> See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216.

<sup>60</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 219.

<sup>61</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 104.

14. His younger brother Jayasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevi.

15. His son Vijayasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.<sup>62</sup>

## First Plate.

- L. 1. श्री<sup>63</sup> [॥<sup>\*</sup>] श्री नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥  
 निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।  
 भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्गुण(गुण)े नमः ॥<sup>64</sup>—[1].  
 यद्देवस्थितमव्य[य]<sup>65</sup> प-
2. रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिसि(शि)दंसु(सु)प्रभं ।<sup>66</sup>  
 सूर्याख्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो<sup>67</sup> यस्य स्फुरन्त्यर्धयः [॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
 सर्वज्ञान[म<sup>\*</sup>]यो व(व)भूव भगवांस्तस्मान्मनुर्मानसो  
 यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[य] [गु]-
3. णवतो स्त्रीपुत्रिमित्ता ततः ॥<sup>68</sup> —[2].  
 देवः श्रीकार्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्गुण(णं) भूतधाव्या  
 हेलोत्थितादिवि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्ते(स्ते)प्रसन्तोषितेस(श)म [॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
 दोर्दण्डा-
4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररवाप्रवाह-  
 व्याघातव्याघ्रपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववम्ब<sup>69</sup> ॥<sup>70</sup> —[3].  
 यस्य भ्रम[ङ्ग<sup>\*</sup>]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्षि[ष्ट]-
5. भावे प्रतिप<sup>71</sup>  
 आ के(कै)लास(सा)कहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खातसं(सुं)गाग्रभिन्नेः ।  
 आ च<sup>72</sup> प्राचः समुद्रात्पुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीका-  
 दाभोर्ध्वेक्षिणाञ्च [स्फु]-
6. रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्तभाजः ॥<sup>73</sup> —[4].  
 तद्वत्प्रभवा<sup>74</sup> नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याता[॥<sup>\*</sup>] क्षितौ हैहया-  
 स्तेषामनृ(नृ)यभूषण(णं) रिपुभनोविन्द्यस्तापानलः ।  
 धर्मध्यानध-

<sup>62</sup> From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

<sup>63</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>64</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahārājaka Śaikhānavaradeva*; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228.

<sup>65</sup> This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am

not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be यद्देवा स्थितः.

<sup>66</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>67</sup> The *akṣara* in brackets looks in the impression like दो.

<sup>68</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>69</sup> Read ववम्ब.—Compare *ante*, vol. I, page 263, verse 9.

<sup>70</sup> Metre of verses 3 and 4: Śragdhara.

<sup>71</sup> Read दधति नृपतयः क्षिष्टमारि प्रतिघाम् (?)

<sup>72</sup> Read च.

<sup>73</sup> Read तद्वत्.

- L. 7. नानू(नु)संधितमुखः सखत्स[तां]<sup>74</sup> सौख(ख्य)क्त-  
 खेयास(न्)र्वगुणाहितप्रभुतया श्रीमानभूकोक्तः<sup>75</sup> ॥॥<sup>76</sup> —[5].  
 सम्यक्सा(क्शा)क्तविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] धर्माय योगाय च  
 इष्टा-
8. पूर्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्वार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥॥<sup>77</sup>  
 श्रानृन्वा(न्वा)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सहस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा  
 श्रानाभ्यासवसाश्रमसुपदवीमते<sup>78</sup> च यः प्राप्तवान् ॥॥ —[6].  
 भोजे व-
9. [क्षभ]राजे<sup>79</sup> श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले ।  
 स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज<sup>x</sup>]नि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ॥॥<sup>80</sup> —[7].  
 सचिमिवेन्द्र[ः]<sup>81</sup> कमलासुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः ।  
 चन्द्रेक्षवसप्रभवा<sup>82</sup>
10. सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्जनैषित्<sup>83</sup> ॥<sup>84</sup> —[8].  
 उद्दामदर्पहिप्रतो जयसं क(कं)दर्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।  
 अजीजनत् स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-
11. मारम् ॥॥ —[9]  
 नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूज्यो(ज्यो) धवलः स राजा ।  
 वोदु<sup>85</sup> धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यान्पेन्द्रान्क[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10].  
 एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
12. सं(शं) ख(खं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता  
 भक्षार्थ(र्थं) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यकार उन्मीलितः ।  
 चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्[ह<sup>x</sup>]स्वामृतौ  
 वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेष्वयमभू[दौ]-
13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः पदं ॥<sup>86</sup> —[11].  
 किंवापरेण<sup>87</sup> ।  
 होहिन्ति एत्य व(वं)से पुरिसा एहृद्यगारवमहृद्य [।<sup>x</sup>]  
 इह हाविजण जेणं पात्तोण परिग(ग्ग)हो गहिओ ॥<sup>88</sup> —[12].  
 तत्सु(त्सू)नुः ख्यात-

<sup>74</sup> Read श्रवत्सतां.

<sup>75</sup> Read श्रीमानभूको<sup>०</sup>.—The word *कीकृतः* offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double *l* is correct.

<sup>76</sup> Metre of verses 5 and 6: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

<sup>77</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>वशान्मुसुपदवी<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Originally *क्षराजे* was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the *aksharas* *क्ष* and *रा*.

<sup>79</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>80</sup> Read *सचिमिवेन्द्रः*.

<sup>81</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>वशप्रभवां सुग्रीवां.

<sup>82</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>देवी स तु पर्जनैषीत्.

<sup>83</sup> Metre of verses 8-10: Upajāti.

<sup>84</sup> I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वोदु probably should be वोदु, and the fourth Pāda may be योऽन्यान्पेन्द्रान्करदौचकार; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

<sup>85</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>86</sup> Read किं वापरेण.

<sup>87</sup> Metre: Āryā. 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.' Professor Pischel informs me that पात्तो is given as a synonym of दिग् in Hemachandra's *Deśindramāṇī*, VI, 37.

[illegible]



- L. 14. कर्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(वर)हुर्महाका  
भूमेभ(र्म)र्ता व(व)भूव चतरिपुनृपतिर्वा(र्वा)लहर्षः सु[ज<sup>x</sup>]आ ।  
यं सङ्गतानुरागानुक्तकृतय(यु)गाचारमास(त्रि)त्य जात-  
स्व-
15. क्लान्द्योन्धोपमहं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्मात्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गः ।(॥)<sup>88</sup> —[13].  
धन्योत्र दास(श)रधिरेव रिपुईसा(शा)स्यो यस्वाभवत्किमपरं समरोक्षवाय ।  
भूमङ्ग[भ<sup>x</sup>]म्बसकलदिपतो
16. धिगक्षानात्मानमाहवरसादिति यः सुतोच<sup>89</sup> ॥<sup>90</sup> —[14].  
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज); प्रथितवा(वा)हुव(व)लो व(व)भूव ।  
दुर्योधनारिव(व)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-
17. न्वी पार्थीपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः ।(॥) —[15].  
भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्(क्षु)तिप्र[य<sup>x</sup>]यिनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मानस्तन(त्तं)  
कुर्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्धि[व<sup>x</sup>]; ॥(॥)  
विस्था-
18. तां भुवि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैर्हृद्वाहिनीं  
यः साक्षात्परमेस्व(स्व)र[<sup>x</sup>] समभवत्सम्यक्कि(क्वि)वाराधनात् ॥<sup>91</sup> —[16].  
तस्मादभूत्क्षमणराजदेवः पुण्यौ(ण्यै)र्जनाना(नां)
19. जनितव्यवस्थः ।  
आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्ममिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥<sup>92</sup> —[17].  
यः सत्यस्य निधिः क्षि(त्रि)यां च सरणिः साम्रा च धाम्ना [च<sup>x</sup>] यो  
यो दाता च दयालु-
20. रेव च पदं कीर्त्तिसु(स) नीतेसु(स) यः ।  
तस्यासीत्परमेष्ठ दूषणकण[<sup>x</sup>] कारुण्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मनः  
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सव्यस्वदानेष्वपि ॥<sup>93</sup> —[18].  
श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-
21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलकः ।  
सा(शा)सति वसुधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलिनापि ॥<sup>94</sup> —[19].  
असौ निस्तृप्तता<sup>95</sup> यत्त वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [॥<sup>x</sup>]  
रथचक्रेषु चारि-<sup>96</sup>
22. त्वं वायो[यौ] स्वच्छन्दचारिता [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>97</sup> —[20].  
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)युवराजदेवः पतिः क्षितेः क्ष[व]कुलप्रसु(स)तिः ।  
यस्यासिधाराजलधौतमु(म्ब)र्त्तिसु(सि)रं क्षिरासि(सो)च(व)पलापि लक्ष्मि<sup>98</sup>[॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>99</sup> —[21].  
अर्थि-

<sup>88</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>89</sup> Read शुषीच.<sup>90</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakā.<sup>91</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>92</sup> Metre : Upajāti.<sup>93</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>94</sup> Metre : Āryā.<sup>95</sup> Read निस्त्रिगता.<sup>96</sup> *Ariṇa*, derived from either *aris* 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'<sup>97</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>98</sup> Read लक्ष्मीः.<sup>99</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

- L. 23. सा[र्या]वधिरुवागः सेसं सुरजयावधिः<sup>100</sup> ।  
 यस(य)सा(सां) धर्मरासे(से)ख(ख) नावधिर्यस्य भूपतेः ।(॥)<sup>1</sup>—[22].  
 सासास्ततोयायत<sup>2</sup> यातकीर्तुः काकलदेवी वसुधिकायाः ।  
 ज(य)स्य<sup>3</sup>—
24. साधो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यद्यार्थस(य)व्द(व्द): ।(॥)<sup>4</sup> —[23].  
 नम<sup>5</sup> कामुकवत् कृत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः ।  
 काष्ठान् चक्षमात्र[ह]स्त्रविहितः [भ्रा]न्तरादादखवत् [1<sup>x</sup>]
25. ज्ञत्वा सा[त्र]परिच्छेदेन रहित सम्यक्[रे] स्थापित  
 सत्रणामखिल कुल नरपति[यिधेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)<sup>6</sup>—[24].  
 काकलनृपादवास्तसकल[का]शी[व]पद<sup>7</sup>  
 ची-
26. रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गागवदेवामत् ।  
 यस्याप्यायत केवलं रणमुखे कीर्त्तये(ये)यकोपेसरः ।<sup>8</sup>  
 स्तत्रेव प्रतिविवि[य] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[सुखं] [1<sup>x</sup>]<sup>9</sup>—[25].
27. अगुनेज्जोलोलेति<sup>10</sup> छातं यदिह दुर्जसः ।  
 लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धी[तं] दिव्यमादाय तदपुः ॥<sup>11</sup> —[26].  
 स्थात[:<sup>x</sup>] सत्यतया स धर्मतनयः<sup>12</sup> त्यागेन वि(वे)रोच-
28. निः  
 सीयेनेद्रसुर<sup>13</sup> न चैतदसवत्स[त्यं] गता[चे]तसि ।  
 एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो<sup>14</sup> समनिक गांगेयदेवे नृपे  
 [दृ]ष्ट्वा रिखित[मि]व तेर-<sup>15</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Read श्रीयै पूरजयावधि.

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>2</sup> Read श्रीनास्ततोयायत नावकीर्तुः कीकलदेवी वसुधिकायाः.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>4</sup> I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following :—

नम कामुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः  
 काष्ठान् चक्षमात्रदृष्टविहितधानं च दीर्घवत् ।  
 ज्ञत्वा साधु परिच्छेदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं  
 सत्रणामखिलं कुलं नरपतिप्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ।

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita.

<sup>6</sup> For the commencement of this line I would suggest श्रीकलान्नृपादपास्तसकलशीवीपद<sup>7</sup>; the end of the line I am unable to restore.

<sup>7</sup> Read °नक्षियदेवीमवत्.

<sup>8</sup> Read °सरसायैव प्रतिविविधं पुनरभूद<sup>9</sup>; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita.

<sup>10</sup> Read अगुणितोयशीलेति स्थातं यदिह दुर्जसः ।

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Read °तनयस्यानेन.

<sup>13</sup> I would suggest here सीयेनेद्रसुरी न चैतदसवत्सत्यं गता[चे]तसि, but am not sure about the last word of the line.

<sup>14</sup> Read कलो समनिक.

<sup>15</sup> I would suggest reading this line दृष्ट्वा निखितमेव वैरवितयं पूर्वं यदीक्षा नृपाः. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yundhiasthira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gaṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did.

## Second Plate.

I., 29.

वितथं पूज्ये वेद्योक्ता भृपाः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[27].

तस्यात्मजः कर्ण इवावतीर्णः कर्णः पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(धि)तप(प्र)भावः ।  
यस्याभिसे(षे)कस(य)वणा[हि]ष-

30.

द्विनष्टं प्रष्टुष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्गैः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[28].

यत्कीर्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(1)  
ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥<sup>18</sup>—[29].  
स्वयं ससु-

31.

लुजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।

कोपे(प्ते)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्प)पादपः ॥ —[30].  
स(श)क्तितमै(ये)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्मात्मनः

32.

स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित् ।

आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दे)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥<sup>19</sup>—[31].  
तवे(दे)वं गुणगणालंकृत-

33.

स(श)रीरः [स्वसा]ग<sup>20</sup>समावासितश्चैमद्विजयकय<sup>21</sup>त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-  
(स्व)रन्वीवाम[दे]वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा-

34.

रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रतृ(द्वि)कलिंम्या(गा)धिपतिश्चैमत्कर्ण-  
देव[ः]कुस(श)ली महादेवीं महाराजपु[त्रं]<sup>22</sup>महामं-

35.

त्रि[णो] महामात्या<sup>23</sup>महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-  
णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महामामन्तो

36.

महाप्रमातारो महास्व(स्व)साधनिको महा[भा]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष<sup>24</sup>एतानन्यासु(च)  
कीर्तिताकीर्तितासु<sup>25</sup>यथाई मानयति वो(वी)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-

37.

म[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [हृपाथा]<sup>26</sup>कासि[भूम्य]<sup>27</sup>स्त[र्ग]त[सु]सिधामः सात्र(स्व)मधूकः  
सगर्तस्वलज्जलीवरः सर्वाकरस्व[नि]<sup>28</sup>प्रभृतिसमुत्प-

38.

त्तिसमेतसु(च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्तः<sup>29</sup>वेसालक्षमविनिर्म्मताय कोसिकगोत्राय<sup>30</sup>चौद-  
लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्र<sup>31</sup>

39.

प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्त्राय<sup>32</sup>महप्रनम्ने वा[म]ननम्ने नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्चैविस्व-  
(स्व)रूपाय<sup>33</sup>इहैव पितुः श्री-

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>18</sup> Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>19</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>20</sup> Of the word preceding समावासित only the third akshara (स) is quite clear; the first aksharas might perhaps be read स, and the second या.<sup>21</sup> Read "विजयकटकापरम".<sup>22</sup> The akshara in brackets may have been altered to वाप्.<sup>23</sup> What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महामाता : महासन्धिविग्रहिका, etc. Com-pare, e.g., the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapāladēva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31.<sup>24</sup> I suspect that one or more aksharas are omitted in this word.<sup>25</sup> Read "कीर्तिताय".<sup>26</sup> The aksharas in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Suni was situated.<sup>27</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>28</sup> Read श्रीविग्रह.<sup>29</sup> Read चौदलदेवरात्रवैश्वामित्र.



- L. 40. मन्नाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे<sup>30</sup>स्नाहे फाल्गुनव(व)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नेसु(ख)रवासरे वेस्वां  
स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देवं<sup>31</sup>त्रिलोचन-  
41. मस(श)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(च)र[प्र<sup>x</sup>]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यमासमस(श)-  
वृ(ह)या स्ना(श्रा)हं विधायोभयभोगेन<sup>32</sup>सासत्वेन<sup>33</sup>यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमत्क-  
42. एणदेवपादा[<sup>x</sup>] मुसीग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्ममादिस(शं)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-  
(तां) यथा ग्रामोय<sup>34</sup>घ्राभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा  
43. भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासोत्पत्ति<sup>35</sup>प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्त्रोपनय्या<sup>36</sup>इति  
तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न  
44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥<sup>37</sup>  
सर्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनो राजपुत्राभू(भू)यो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।  
सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा(णां) काले का-  
45. ले पालनीयो भवन्तिः ।(॥)<sup>38</sup>—[32].  
व(व)हुभिव(वे)मुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।  
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)<sup>39</sup>—[33].  
अस्मिन्वन्ने<sup>40</sup>हि[ग्नो?]  
46. पि यस्मा(श्चा)न्यो नृपतिभवेत् ।  
तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].  
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्दैर्दानानि धर्मार्ययस(श)स्कराणि ।  
47. नृमाख्यवान्तप्रतिमानि<sup>41</sup>तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददोत ॥<sup>42</sup>—[35].  
अस्त्र(श्व)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजसु(सु)यसहतेन<sup>43</sup>च [1<sup>x</sup>]  
गवां का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-  
48. र्त्ता न सु(श)ध्यति ।(॥)<sup>44</sup>—[36].  
सुवर्णमेक(कं) गामे[कां] भूमेरप्येकमहुल(लं) ।  
हरत्न[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसङ्गव<sup>45</sup>॥—[37].  
संवत् ७८३ फाल्गुनवदि ८ सोमे [॥<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>30</sup> Read संवत्सरयाहे.<sup>31</sup> Read देवदेवं.<sup>32</sup> This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *aksharas*, especially म and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °योदकसर्गेण.<sup>33</sup> Read शासनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः.<sup>34</sup> Read °यस्यग्रामः.<sup>35</sup> I would suggest reading °दायाकरोत्पत्ति°.<sup>36</sup> Read °नेतव्या.<sup>37</sup> Compare the Kumbhi copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXI, page 120,—अस चाख्यर्चना दातुमर्हति यथा.<sup>38</sup> Metre: Śālini.<sup>39</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>40</sup> Read अस्मिन्वन्ने षिटीवी (r).<sup>41</sup> Read निर्माख्य.<sup>42</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>43</sup> Read °यसहतेन.<sup>44</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>45</sup> Read °हृतसङ्गवम्.

## XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURĀ.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankālī Tilā at Mathurā (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, reliefs, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stūpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Āyāgapāṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurā inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Āyāgapāṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,<sup>1</sup> which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2' 8". At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Trisūlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinās are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurā (see, *e.g.*, Dr. Bhagvānlāl's ancient slab,<sup>2</sup> where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stūpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pārśva, whose mark is Śeṣha. In an article in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

<sup>1</sup> This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

<sup>2</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 142.

pointed out that on another slab Śeṣha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Trisūlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, *e.g.*, Cunningham's *Bharhut Stūpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotus, which the Bauddhas usually<sup>3</sup> place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Trisūla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhā at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Trisūla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Trisūlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Svastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junāgadh, called Bāwā Pyārā's Maṭh (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, *e.g.*, on those of the ruined city of Ghumli<sup>4</sup> (Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Trisūla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a *Stūpa*, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyādhara*s). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

<sup>3</sup> An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also Dr. Bhagvānlāl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Or.* tome III, part 2, p. 137. The *Vishnu Smṛiti* XLIII, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Maṅgalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapāṇḍita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakva*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus we read *Mah. I*, 109, 13—14.

भोषेय धर्मतो राजन्मर्तः परिरक्षिते[तः] ।

बभूव रमणीयं चैत्यपुष्पताडितः ॥

स देशः . . . . .

“That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts.”

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvānlāl (*op. cit.*, p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tīrthamkaras.\* The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Āryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mārga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmans, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Āyāgapāṭas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, viz., that a portion of which has been given in fig. 4 of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.<sup>6</sup> A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr. No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

\* The fact that each Tīrthamkara has his *Chaityavriksha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhānaśāhī*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rien). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Āśvaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 708ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, pp. 195f.

rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Āyāgapāṭas*?

From all these specimens it appears that an *Āyāgapāṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Āyāgapāṭas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists<sup>7</sup> nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhapāṭa*, i.e., *ūrdhvapāṭa*, (see, e.g., Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshthipāṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante*, pp. 34f.), *chaturvimsalitīrthamkarapāṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure *A* bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavā Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminātha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminātha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavā Nemeso* "divine Nemese," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemese with Indra's divine commander of the foot troops Hariṇegamesi, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.<sup>8</sup> The reading *Nemese* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Nemināthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Krishna tried to obtain for Satyabhāmā a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text<sup>10</sup> runs as follows :—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाकृतदया ताम्यन्ती ज्ञाघयापि च ।  
भामा कोपयति गत्वा शिष्ये जर्जरमङ्गके ॥ ८ ॥  
तत्रायतश्च कंसारिर्व्याजहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the word *āyaga*, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *āyāga*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

<sup>8</sup> A Buddhist *āyāgapāṭa* was excavated by me in January 1862 at the ancient site of Adhichhatrā (Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihāra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trifūlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.F.

<sup>9</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegamesi, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpavṛta*.

<sup>10</sup> The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 259 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvānlāl Kevaldās' store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften*, *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XCIX, p. 563ff).

MATHURA SCULPTURES.



8.



b) Obverse of doorstep.



c) Reverse of doorstep.



केनापमानितासि त्वं येनैव[य] शु[शु]भ्रु ताम्यसि ॥ ८ ॥  
 भाम्यूचे नास्त्व[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नसंनिभः ।  
 न चेन्मे भविता सनुर्मरिष्यामि तदा पु[पु]वम् ॥ १० ॥  
 कृष्णत[णस्त]दाग्रहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]शं नैगमेषिणम् ।  
 उद्दिष्टाष्टमन[भ]क्तेन पौषधं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥  
 आदिर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।  
 कृष्णोप्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवस्तुतम् ॥ १२ ॥  
 नैगमेष्यवदय[य]स्त्वां पुचेच्छां ते भजस्व ताम् ।  
 त्वममुं हारमामोष्य ततो भावीप्सितः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥  
 अर्पयित्वा पु[पु]तं हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।  
 वासुक्कं वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै मुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great lack of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhāmā went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kāṁsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly : 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted ?'

(10) Bhāmā answered : 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Kṛishṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him : 'What can I do for thee?' Kṛishṇa answered : 'Give to Bhāmā a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied : 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vāsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyā."

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegameśī, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasūtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the body of the Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to the womb of the Kshatriyāni Trisālā. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegameśī means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasūtra* suggests, "the Negameśī of Hari," i.e., "Negameśī, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negameśī-Naigameshī and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one



ending in *in*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,<sup>11</sup> which in the *Grihya Sūtras* and the medical *Samhitās* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,<sup>12</sup> particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *lena* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Müller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the *Naigamesha* or *Nejamesha* of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease<sup>13</sup> and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging *Naigamesha-Naigameshin* of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, *Naigameya*, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of *Naigamesha*. This *Naigameya* is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god *Skanda*, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, quoted in the Dictionary, *sub voce naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhāgavakra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the *Nemeso* of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.<sup>14</sup> Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of *Naigamesha-Naigameshin*, the Brahmans substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'<sup>15</sup> and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound *Harinegamesi*, seemingly connected with *harina*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that *Naigameshin*'s position as *Indra*'s general offers another point of contact with *Naigameya*, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with *Skanda*, the field marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, *Nemesa-Naigameshin*'s divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of *Krishna*), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a *Chauri*, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhatra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. *Nemesa*'s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,<sup>16</sup> and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga*—

<sup>11</sup> See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Harinegamesi* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böhtlingk, *sub voce Harinaigameshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kaipasūtra*.

<sup>12</sup> For a representation of *Naigamesha*, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

<sup>13</sup> See, in addition to the passages quoted in the *Dictionaries* from the *Sūtrata Samhitā*, and the *Ashīdāgahīdaya*, *Uttarasthāna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

<sup>14</sup> *Āpastamba, Dh. Śā.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brāhmana evince the strongest sexual desires."

<sup>15</sup> I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhāgvanīāl's slab from Mathurā.

śā "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tirthamkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavā* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears earrings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sārī*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthamkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandā and Trisālā. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasūtra*,<sup>17</sup> is briefly this,—“When Indra became aware that Mahāvira had taken the form of an embryo in the Brāhmaṇi Devanandā's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Harinegamesī, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahāvira from the body of Devanandā to Trisālā, a lady of the Jñātrī family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Harinegamesī then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kuṇḍagrāma, took Mahāvira from Devanandā, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Trisālā's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahāvira in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandā and placed Trisālā's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out.”

As our slab represents Naigameshi-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,—who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription “divine” . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahāvira, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Trisālā, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

<sup>17</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223 ff.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurâ, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshinis of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpāsūtra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Trisālā and No. 3 Devanandā, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Trisālā seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpāsūtra*, where Negamesī is said to have taken Mahāvira in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two reliefs on plate II, B and C, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkāli mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. I of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, A, represents the worship of a Stūpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kinnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (P). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stūpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stūpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stūpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals<sup>19</sup> are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayā and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archæology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a 'syce,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pālanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi reliefs.<sup>20</sup> Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Torana*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikās*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

<sup>18</sup> Compare also *ibidem*, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

<sup>19</sup> See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, plate xxxvii, and Dr. Haernle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. I, p. 86ff.

<sup>20</sup> Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1, etc.

open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.<sup>22</sup> In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a *Stûpa* and by two platforms of stone (*pāṭhikā*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (*Pādukās*?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (*shighram*) very similar to that on plate *II*, *C*., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Hamsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the *Hamsa* is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist *Stûpas*, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity *Suriyâbha* to the *Ambasâlavana Chaitya* mention them

<sup>22</sup> On the *Amarâvatî Stûpa*, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a *Makara's* tongue.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

*Epigraphia Indica, vol. II.*



a) Obverse of Torana.



b) Reverse of Torana.







MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES



distinctly as requisites of worship.<sup>23</sup> Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.<sup>24</sup> Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stûpas,<sup>25</sup> where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyâdharas, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tirthankaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyâdharas, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Torana must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tirthankaras, to their Stûpas and temples.

Plate iv reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions :<sup>26</sup>—

“The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as above*, Aya-Vṛidhahasti, a preacher in the Kottīya gāṇa and the Vairâ śākhā gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandīāvarta (*Ara*) . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . . was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods.”

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Trisūla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarāvati Stûpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śāṅkhas*,<sup>27</sup> which lean against the basis. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurâ sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

<sup>23</sup> See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Rāyapasenijja Sutta*, *Acte du Vième Cong. Int. Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 500 and *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate<sup>1</sup>, Fig. 1-2.

<sup>26</sup> *Ante*, vol. II, pp. 196f.

<sup>27</sup> The *Śāṅkhas* have probably been added *maṅgalārtham*.

Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *rāshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, i.e., rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakram pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' i.e., 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahābhārata* where they occur. It is said of Bhishma, *Mah. I.*, 109, 14 :—

भीष्मेण विहितं राष्ट्रे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhishma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah. XII.*, 356, 2 :—

यत्र पूर्वमिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।

नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तत्र नागाह्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nāga, lies on the bank of the Gomati in the Naimisha forest, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahābhārata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharma-chakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmins, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kāṅkāli Tila teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic *motives* and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archaeology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archaeological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stūpas or Vihāras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barabar and Nâgarjuni belonged to the Vaishnava Ājivikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Lepas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stūpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

## XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhattiprolu Stūpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows:—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *ā, â, u, o* and the consonants, *k, kh, chh, ñ, t, th, n, l, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *magesu* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ç*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pāsanda* (Kālsi version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in *ambāvadikā*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l. 3. The dental media, *d*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanāgarī. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.*:—

(a) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chha, dha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

<sup>1</sup> See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palaeographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 521, and in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VI. p. 145.

similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *ḍa* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghavá*, i.e., *Vyāghrapād* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghaña*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Chāṅga* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Rikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(b) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rājā*, Girnār Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, minus the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majūsa*, i.e., *mañjūśā*.

(c) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samana* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramaṇa*, *Māho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Māgha*, etc.

(d) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍāla* or *Audāra*, *Gilāṇo* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glāna*, *Gosālakānam* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośālakānām*, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kālsī version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B), in the genitive plural *tesham* (VI), i.e., *teshām*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *ḷ*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *ḷa* of a Sanchī inscription. It occurs in the word *phāḷiga*<sup>2</sup> (I, A), i.e., *sphāḷika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

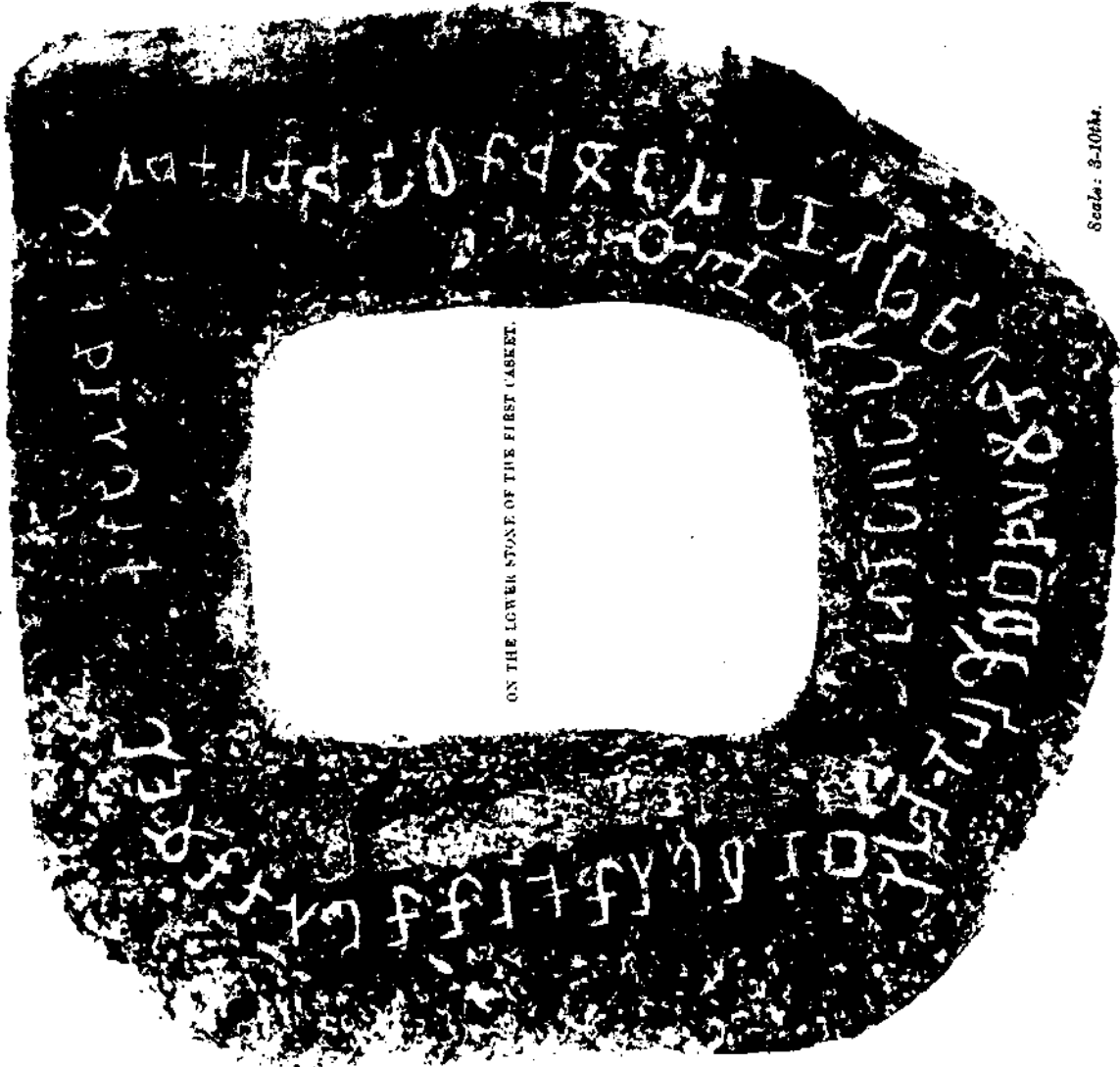
(a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *ā* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvāra was considered equivalent to *aṁ*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mātrikās*, or the alphabets.

(b) The long *ā* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamā*, VIII. 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *nigohāni*, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ni* and *ñi* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *n*, according to the analogy of *na* and *ñā*.

(7) The initial vowels *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* and the consonants *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.



Scale: 8-10ths.

ON THE CRYSTAL.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Full size.

A. R. S. fecit.

# BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.



*A. Rangaswami.*

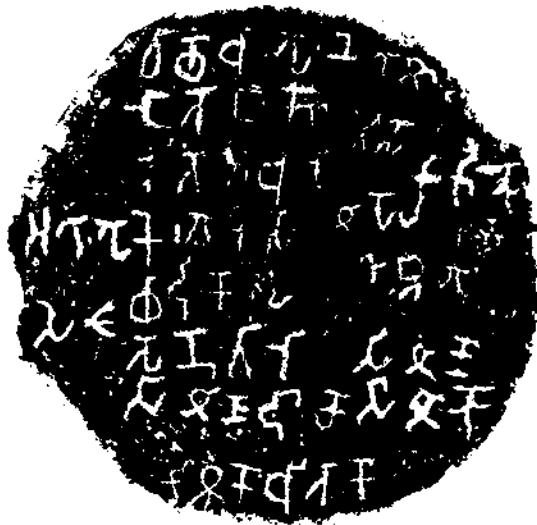
ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



*Scale: 3-10ths.*

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.



ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX  
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.

*A. Rao, fecit.*

*Scale: 3-10ths.*



ALPHABET OF THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

[illegible]

ON THE CRYSTAL. { X + 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 103

The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in *°deśānam* (l. 3) and in *dānam* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Samaṇudeśānam* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *goṭhīs* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāt, Hathigumphā and Bharahut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, *may* mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pāṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pāṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for

good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhattiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *dha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhattiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *śh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *śh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhattiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

#### TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

##### I.<sup>2</sup>

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramā[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha]<sup>3</sup> mainasam-nanati  
phāligashamugam<sup>1</sup> cha Budhasarirānam nikhetu [H].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [H].

<sup>1</sup> Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

<sup>2</sup> Looks like *Sicāka* as the lower curve of the *śha* has not been formed properly.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *phāligam snamugam*.

## TRANSLATION.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Siva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*<sup>5</sup>)

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

## II.

Utarō Pigahaputo kāñiṭho<sup>6</sup> [¶]

## TRANSLATION.

"Utarā (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*<sup>7</sup>).

## III.

- |    |    |                                 |
|----|----|---------------------------------|
| L. | 1  | Gōṭhi                           |
|    | 2  | Hiraṇavaghavā                   |
|    | 3  | V[u]gāḷako K[ā]ḷaho             |
|    | 4  | Visako Thorasisi                |
|    | 5  | Samāṇo Odalo                    |
|    | 6  | Apaka . Shamudo                 |
|    | 7  | Anuga[h]o Kuro                  |
|    | 8  | Satugho Potako [P]oto Āḷinakā   |
|    | 9  | V[a]ruṇo Piga[la]ko Koshako     |
|    | 10 | Suto Pāpo Kabherakh[o] [Gāle]ko |
|    | 11 | Samāṇa[d]āsho Bharado           |
|    | 12 | Oḍalo Thoratiso Tiso            |
|    | 13 | Gilāṇo Jambho                   |
|    | 14 | Puḍara (?) [B]ūbo               |
|    | 15 | Gālavata . . . (?) Janako       |
|    | 16 | Gosālakānam Kūro                |
|    | 17 | Uposhathaputo Utaro             |
|    | 18 | Kārahaputo [¶]                  |

## TRANSLATION.

"The Committee (*consists of*) :—

Hiraṇavaghavā (*Hiranyavyāghrapād*) Vugāḷaka (*Udgāraka*), Kāḷaha, Visaka (*Viśvaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulaśirshi*), Samāṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Āḷinaka (*Ālīnaka*?), Varuṇa, Pigaḷaka (*Piṅgāḷaka*), Koshaka (*Kauśika*?), Suta, Pāpa, (Kabherakha?) (*Kuberaka*?), Gāleka (?), Samāṇa[d]āsha (*Śramaṇadāśa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Oḍala (*Audāra*?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilāṇa (*Glāna*), Jambha, . . . . Būba . . . . Janaka, of the Gosālakas (*Gosālaka*), Kūra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Kāraha.

<sup>5</sup> The genitive *sarīrdnam* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be meant for *kāñiṭho*.

<sup>7</sup> For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *paḍapati*, Sanskrit *prajāpati* and the inscriptional *bhagapati*, for *bhagavato*, *pijita* for *viṣita*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.

IV.<sup>9</sup>

Sama[nadā]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirāni mahiyānukammā . . . .

*Remark.*

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.<sup>10</sup>

- L. 1 Goṭhisamaṇo Kubo [1]  
 2 Hiraṇakāragāmaṇiputo Būbo [1]

## TRANSLATION.

"Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."

"Būba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakāra (*Hiranyakāra*)."

VI.<sup>11</sup>

Shaga[th]inigamaṇaputānam rājapāmukhā<sup>12</sup>[1] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako rājā  
 Shhagoṭhiyā pāmukho [1] tesham amnam maj [ū-]s[am] phāligashamugo cha  
 pāsānashamugo cha [1].

## TRANSLATION.

"By the sons of the Shāgaṭhi *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shīha (*Simha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone."

VII.<sup>13</sup>

Samaṇo Chagha[nā]puto Utaro Āramutara . . [1]

## TRANSLATION.

"Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), the son of Chaghañā (? *Jaghanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*)

. . . .

VIII.<sup>14</sup>

- L. 1 Negamā  
 2 Vachho Chagho  
 3 Jeto Jambho Tiso  
 4 Reto Achino Shabhiko  
 5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho  
 6 Seṭo Chbadiko Okhabūlo  
 7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo  
 8 Samaṇadāsho Sāmako  
 9 Kāmuko Chitako [1]

<sup>9</sup> Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.

<sup>10</sup> Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc. Possibly *Kūbo* is to be read.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pāmukhānam*.

<sup>13</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.

## TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (*are*):—

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Ohagha (*Chāṅga* ?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jambha, Tisa (*Tishyo*), Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achīrṇa* ?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Kēsa*), Māha (*Māgha*), Seṭa (*Śvairā* ?), Chhadika (*Chhandika* ?), Okhabūla, Soṇutara (*Suvarṇottara*), Samāṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Samāṇadāsha (*Śramaṇadāsa*), Sāmaka (*Śyāmaka*), Kāmuka, Chitaka (*Chitraka*).

IX.<sup>15</sup>

Arahadinānaṃ goṭhiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [l] tena kama yena Kubirako rājā am[k]i [n]

## TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*, was given) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done."

X.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1 Mātugāmasa [Nam]dapurāhi<sup>17</sup>  
 2 Suvanāmāha  
 3 Śamaṇudeśānaṃ cha<sup>18</sup>  
 4 Gilāṇakerasa<sup>19</sup> ayasaka  
 5 [Sa]ṭhiya<sup>20</sup>  
 6 gohiyā a-ga dānaṃ<sup>21</sup> [n]

## TRANSLATION.

"An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śramaṇeras from Suvanāmāha, in the *Ayasakasāhi gohi* of *Gilāṇakera* (?)."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamaṇudeśānaṃ* and secondly by *dānaṃ*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dānaṃ* is mutilated and those from *gilāṇakerasa* down to *gohiyā*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

<sup>15</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

<sup>16</sup> Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

<sup>17</sup> The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

<sup>18</sup> The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

<sup>19</sup> There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read "*kerasa*", which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

<sup>20</sup> The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

<sup>21</sup> There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *dyāga*. The *da* of *dānaṃ* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.

## XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Māl's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.<sup>1</sup> Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅗". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgari which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinājpur plate of Mahāpāla and in the Āmgāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,<sup>2</sup> which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson<sup>3</sup> palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla.<sup>4</sup> In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvāra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

<sup>1</sup> I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayā District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Māl's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

<sup>2</sup> See Bendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Cowell and Eggeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358.

*v* and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgādhara 'bhūt* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śāka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kaśyapād*, line 6, and *prasrayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śūribhir*, line 29. Instead of *anuvāra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vanśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mittra*, lines 7 and 24, *amittra*, line 21, *maittrī*, line 27, and *ātapattra*, line 31; and *bh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyam* (for *abbhriyam*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrīmatśankara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyatta*, line 18, *samvāsāya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vitātāra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nisprabhārdham* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girā* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *ātman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirī* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śāka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śūlapāni, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *prastāvi*,<sup>5</sup> or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śākadvīpiya Brāhmans.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishnu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (i.e. the dawn personified as the chariotcer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmans are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

<sup>5</sup> According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādhara composed two *prastāvis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

<sup>6</sup> See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Kṛṣṇadāsa.



Śāmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jāmbavatī). According to our author the first of these Maga Brāhmins was Bhāradvāja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dāmodara, Chakrapāṇi, who, compared as he is to Vālmiki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varnamāna of the Māna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihāra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,<sup>7</sup> piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kālidāsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaṇḍī<sup>8</sup>] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgādhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahīdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgādhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Māna prince, the king Rudramāna (verse 24); that he married Pāsāladevī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagā (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Māna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varnamāna and Rudramāna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgādhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgādhara himself, Chakrapāṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarnāmrīta*,<sup>9</sup> an anthology compiled by Śrīdharaśāsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brāhmins mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brāhmins lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarnāmrīta* also was compiled there,<sup>10</sup> I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrīdharaśāsa with Gaṅgādhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, viz. his great-grandfather Dāmodara, his grandfather Chakrapāṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahīdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgādhara himself the *Saduktikarnāmrīta* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

<sup>7</sup> See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushotta*, which was situated near the sea.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarnāmrīta* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengali poets. The compiler's father, Daṭṭaśāsa, lived under Lakshmanasena.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the *Saduktikarnāmrīta* contains two verses,<sup>11</sup> of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahidhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgādhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrīmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapādāh, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;

Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;

Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;

Gaṅgādhara, Mahidhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

#### TEXT.<sup>12</sup>

L. 1. श्री<sup>13</sup>[॥<sup>x</sup>] श्री नमः सरस्वती ॥

एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-

मन्थत्त न्रियमुदहृत्यतिलचुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।

वक्षःसन्मुखसन्भृतस्तनतटीसङ्कोपसर्प्यत्सुखं

निद्रा[णी] ॥<sup>14</sup>

2. द[यां] दधातु दयितामाञ्जिष्य विष्णुधरः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[1].

देवो जीयात्तिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः

शाकदीपस्य दुग्धाब्जु(ब्जु)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।

वङ्गस्तत्र<sup>16</sup>दिजानां भूमिलिखिततनोर्भा(र्भा)स्वतः स्वाङ्ग — —<sup>17</sup>

3. शाब्जो<sup>18</sup>यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥<sup>19</sup>—[2].

तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं

बु(बु)द्ध्या व्यापृत एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीणया ।

भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्व)भूव भुवनोद्धारामिपातौ<sup>20</sup>तपः

4. यस्य सुखे मगदिजमहावंशावतन्त्रोपमः<sup>21</sup> ॥<sup>22</sup>—[3].

गोत्रस्य तस्य शतशाखमभूदभूतपूर्वस्तपोभिरथ सुप्रसरैर्यशोभिः ।

यत्रापरे प[र]मतत्रविदो नवव्यविद्यावदात्मतयः पतयो दिजानां ॥<sup>23</sup>—[4].

कालिना ॥ ॥ —

<sup>11</sup> The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are : *Kailāsa ro paśupati*; *Śilam śatayati*; *Tasyā nāma mayā*; *Yat kāṇḍam gaganadrūmasya*; *Ārūḍhāntarayauvanasya*; *Agro vitatya charaṇau*; *Āchchhidya Lakṣmīm*; *Iyam sâ Kāliadī*; *Naikam janma tavaiva*; *Vandiyosau vidhir eva*; *Līlottānaśayopi*; and *Kāntāreshu karāvalambī*.

<sup>12</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> The *akṣara*, here broken away, was probably न.

<sup>15</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>16</sup> Read वङ्गस्तत्र.

<sup>17</sup> The *akṣaras*, here broken away, were probably सुतः.

<sup>18</sup> Read शाब्जो for शाब्जो.

<sup>19</sup> Metre : Śaṅkharā.

<sup>20</sup> This is what was originally engraved; but the vowel of the *akṣara* मि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be °रावपातौ.

<sup>21</sup> Read °तन्त्रोपमः.

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

<sup>23</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

- L. 5. विलुप्तविलसद्विधाधने धन्विनां  
वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिर्भवहामोदरस्यात्मजः ।  
यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विश्वस्थिति-  
<sup>24</sup>र्व्यङ्ग्या ७ ७ — चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणियामणीः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[5].  
पतिस्त्रिरा पृथु . . . <sup>26</sup>
6. लीर्त्तिर्गिरि[मास्य]दं ।  
दिक्कलं यदि नाकूटा तद्भ्रमत्यन्यथा कथं ॥<sup>27</sup>—[6].  
जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरौ  
मारीचादिव कस्य(श्च)पादुपचितां धर्तुं कुले सत्कियां ।  
आयांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजस्या [ययी]-
7. विद्या[चा]रश्चित्रशीलविलसत्कीर्त्ती पवित्रं जगत् ॥<sup>28</sup>—[7].  
मुख्यत्वेन सतां यशोभिरस्थिलोद्गीतैः स्वकर्णश्रुतैः  
सन्निधौपगमेन तैरतिभूतैर्भोगैरयत्रोप[गैः] ।  
आह्वोरत्र ययोनैरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रसन्न(श्च)यै-
8. श्यामानि द्विषदाननानि विदधे शुभ्रोप्यदभ्यो गुणः ॥ —[8].  
तौ भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेरणा परस्परमनोहराभिरासीतौ ।  
सौहार्दद्वयचरितेषु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न स्खलितमाप कलिः कदाचित् ॥<sup>29</sup>—[9].
9. आनीतौ निजराज्यमुत्सलयितुं यज्ञात् प्रतीतात्मना  
सम्वासाय<sup>30</sup>नरेण्डरेण शिविरो<sup>31</sup>श्रीवर्चमानेन तौ ।  
तस्याज्ञामवलम्ब्य(श्च)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं  
काचित् कीटिमनुत्तरां गुणध्रुवः कीर्त्तिर्विभूतेरपि ॥<sup>32</sup>—[10].  
आ
10. सि[स्त्रोर्म]णनीयगौरवगुणैर्नकेन [सि]क्वेनयो-  
स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्नहीयसि नृहे प्रापि प्रतीक्षरता ।  
अन्येनापि पुनर्नृह[ल]कधुरा<sup>33</sup>व्यस्तेति<sup>34</sup>विस्तारिणा-  
वेतौ सन्मन्यैर्व्य(ब्ध)भूवलुरिह प्रज्ञैर्विभ्रान्तमिहौ ॥ —[11].  
मत्वा श्री-
11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वद्योद्वयः प्रतिष्ठापदं  
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।  
सर्वस्वस्विततार<sup>35</sup>तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोन्नासितै-  
स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥ —[12].  
सात[त्या]-

<sup>24</sup> Read व्यङ्ग्या. The next three *aksharas* are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>26</sup> The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably तरा य-

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>28</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> Read संवासाय.

<sup>31</sup> One would have expected the neuter शिविरं.

<sup>32</sup> Metre of verses 10—12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>33</sup> The *akshara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like क.

<sup>34</sup> This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be 'परावर्ति'.

<sup>35</sup> Read सर्वस्वं पितृस्तम.

- L. 12. चित्यकृत्या[हु]तिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलिस्त्रिकाक्षं  
 श्वस्ताभिर्यस्य रौवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।  
 एनः स्वेनोज्ज्वलार त्रिजगति विदितादाश्रया[श्व]लदोषा-  
 दिहं धूमच्छलेनीज्ज्वलरुचिरचिराभिज्ञुतं हो-
13. मवङ्गिः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[13].  
 श्वेताहं तं श्रयति [पितृभी]त्यात्मनो [निष्प्र(यु)भार्ध]<sup>39</sup>  
 धत्तेनस्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिसुश्रुततर्कम् ।  
 यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रथयति विभोः कर्तुरित्यद्भुतश्री-  
 र्शान्तिं लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसीन्धर्मकीर्तिः ॥<sup>40</sup>—[14].  
 यस्य श्रीमग-
14. धेस्वरौ [नयवशा]कीतिप्रयोगार्[ख]ल-  
 प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरनुस्वि(स्व)तमतिर्यासाभिधानं व्यधात् ।  
 राखास्थानसरःसरोरुहमिति खैरं पुरः आश्रतां  
 गीतो नूतनकाशिदास इति यः कालेषु वीतालिकैः ॥<sup>41</sup>—[15].  
 यः सम्मन्त्रिषु चा-
15. तुरीपरि[च]यैर्वावस्थतिः प्रस्तुत-  
 प्रज्ञासर्गविरिचिबुधचरि[ते]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।  
 सद्भावप्रभवो गभीरिमष्टहं र[ज]त्रयीताचिको<sup>42</sup>  
 भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकलासम्दर्भगर्भेश्वरः<sup>43</sup> ॥—[16].  
 खेरापारपरोपका-<sup>44</sup>
16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-  
 व्याहारैर्जनतासुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुहः ।  
 धीरेयः सुधियां सुधानिधिकाशमीलेः सदाराधन-  
 ध्याने जगन्निजं निनाय सुजनः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].  
 पत्नी तस्य मनोरथस्य ज-
17. तिनचारित्र्यासु[द्रा]पदं  
 [चौ]कीलेजनैश्चशुभसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मना<sup>45</sup> ।  
 मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मबन्धनीव जग[तां] वन्द्या कृतीनां धुरि<sup>46</sup>  
 श्रीमत्पुङ्गव<sup>47</sup>[आ?]वि[रं]कुर[यि]तुं सत्पुण्यवीणा[न्य]भूय ॥ —[18].  
 [ना]पत्यं चिरम्भापहृद्यं कुचितं तेनैव तौ दं-

<sup>38</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>39</sup> This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

<sup>40</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.

<sup>41</sup> Metre of verses 15—19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>42</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets, in the original, is श rather than च.

<sup>43</sup> Read "शर्मन्मन्त्रे".

<sup>44</sup> The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to खेरीपा°

<sup>45</sup> The first *akṣhara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either चौ or चौ. Originally सचिव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.

<sup>46</sup> I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akṣhara* आ another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

<sup>47</sup> Read श्रीमत्पुङ्गव°.

L. 18.

पती

- सम्यक्तावपि<sup>46</sup> नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।  
 मामाराधयतन्मधेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वा  
 गत्वेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].  
 सुप्रीतयोर्धर्म(र्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-  
 19. रिखनुशासनेन ।  
 स्माराधितस्वरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥<sup>47</sup>—[20].  
 गङ्गाधराख्यः स ततो जितात्मा यः प्रीयवादिस्त्वजनीनवृत्तः ।  
 विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-  
 20. न ॥<sup>48</sup>—[21].  
 अभवदनुजो महीधर इति पुत्रौ श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।  
 आश्रीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुङ्गवोत्तमौ दधरथास्तु ॥<sup>49</sup>—[22].  
 सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[नः] शिखाभिरुक्तासिताः  
 सज्ज्योतिर्मातयो निरुक्तविशदाम्बुन्दोवि-  
 21. धौ साधवः ।  
 [स्थ]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्यु]धीशील[ना]-<sup>50</sup>  
 हेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः सखेव भुवने ते वि(वि)भ्रति आतरः ॥<sup>51</sup>—[23].  
 तदन्तरे माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूभुजा ।  
 स्मनेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवह(व)लादमिता-  
 22. स्तु(स्तु)निधेः समुद्भूत ॥<sup>52</sup>—[24].  
 पाणि[र्दानचयः प्रभीच]लह[री] वक्त्राय यस्य स्वयं  
 मर्यादास्थितिमाश्रय एव जगतां जीवातवसेल्लताः ।  
 तत्त्वं कल्पलताश्चहीन्द्रकमठी सा चित्रभानुहयी  
 पद्मेन्द्र<sup>53</sup>निधयोऽसामिति विधेर्हिक् प्रक्ति-  
 23. यागौरवं ॥<sup>54</sup>—[25].  
 सुखं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं क्रा[न्तौ ?] गि[री]णां ल[घु]  
 व्याप्तुं व्योम पृथुस्त्रिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वमि भ्रान्तिषु ।  
 श्रीराक्षी[न्दु]सुधादिषु<sup>55</sup>प्रभवति व्र(व्र)क्षाण्डगर्भ(र्भ)ह[हि]-  
 र्बिर्यात्वस्ति यथेत्य[मी]स्वरगुणैरित्यद्भुतं<sup>56</sup>यद्यश-  
 24. : ॥ —[26].  
 युवे व(व)क्षोस्वरिपुमटचेणि[सिद्ध]ः सदा यो  
 व(व)स्तुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।  
 त्रेयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्रं  
 पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥<sup>57</sup>—[27].  
 आचाराभ-

<sup>46</sup> Read संयक्तावपि.<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>48</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>49</sup> Metre: Giti.<sup>50</sup> Originally वि was engraved, instead of धी.<sup>51</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrāṇṭita.<sup>52</sup> Metre: Vamśastha.<sup>53</sup> Read पद्मेन्द्रो.<sup>54</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śārdūlavikrāṇṭita.<sup>55</sup> Read श्रीराक्षी°.<sup>56</sup> Read यथेष्ट°(P).<sup>57</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.

- L. 25. रत्नः सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरक्षापणः  
 प्रागल्भीरमणः प्रशान्तकरणः काव्यस्वपारायणः ।  
 यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य सुख्यो विधि-  
 र्हीरत्वेनवधिर्विधूतवितयव्याधिर्विधां सेवधिः ॥<sup>59</sup>—[28].
26. गौ-  
 उराजसुहृदो जयपाणेराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।  
 आत्मजामुदवहृत्सुभगायाः पेशलां स किञ्च पासलदेवोम् ॥<sup>60</sup>—[29].  
 आक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन् हीनाङ्गना  
 रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न गणितास्ता
27. गोत्रभित्सङ्ख्याः ।  
 चन्द्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरिकं वपुर्वि(र्वि)भूतो-  
 स्तथायः शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्हाम्यत्यमत्यादृतम् ॥<sup>61</sup>—[30].  
 सन्तोषार्जवधैर्यसंयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिचमा-  
 मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमन्मन-
28. सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।  
 दधद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्मर्यमायामद-  
 द्वेषैर्थादिनिन्दनस्य चरिते यस्यात्र साक्षी जनः ॥ —[31].  
 तेनात्र दुःशमसीम सहस्रकृत्वः कृत्य स्वभर्तुर्वचितोन्नतये समाप्य ।
29. भावा(वा)[ल्य]यौवन[मञ्जु]प्रतिरोधि व(व)भुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥<sup>62</sup>—[32]  
 [य]स्याहैतशते<sup>63</sup>स्वयंविरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वममः  
 स त्र(त्र)होपनिषत्कथास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विरुद्धोयवा ।  
 भाव्यः शु(सु)रिभिरेव<sup>64</sup>चित्रकवि-
30. तायास सुतो दुस्करे<sup>65</sup>  
 भारत्याः कुरुतेपराजिगुणप्रस्तावनां केन सः ॥<sup>66</sup>—[33].  
 धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विद्वत्वरतरप्रासादसद्भादिक.<sup>67</sup>  
 व्यक्ताकारकदस्य(स्व)मन्व(स्व)रमनु स्तेनोद्वल्यव्यभि(म्भि)यं ।  
 स्थित्वा तत्क्षणतो विपन्नमपुनर्वर्भा(धर्भा)वा-
31. द्यधेदं तथा  
 मत्वेव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्मधर्मादरः ॥ —[34].  
 पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना  
 कीर्त्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयता शुभातपन्नं जगत् ।  
 कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

<sup>59</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>60</sup> Metre: Svāgātā.<sup>61</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन इव<sup>62</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>63</sup> Originally तस्या<sup>63</sup> was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य.<sup>64</sup> Originally मूर<sup>64</sup> was engraved, but the sign for ः has been added afterwards.<sup>65</sup> Read दुश्करे.<sup>66</sup> Metre of verses 33-35: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>67</sup> The second akṣara of this line originally was clearly त्वा, but it seems to have been altered to त्वा.

L. 32.

सच्छायाभूतामभसां

यस्मिन्नग्निमिषाद्यशस्तदमलं मूर्त्तन्नरीनृत्यते ॥—[35].

स्वकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।

शुभ्राम्ब(म्ब)रपरीधानं जगत्तेनात्र कारितं ॥<sup>67</sup>—[36].

आकाशः पवनः कृशानुरुदकं धात्रीति लोकत-

23.

यो-

मूर्त्या ब्र(ब्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् ।

नेत्रश्रोत्रमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-

दुन्निद्रां सुदमान्तरेषु<sup>68</sup> कुरुतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥<sup>69</sup>—[37].

क शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः

कवी-

34.

नां पयानस्तदिह ननु केषामनुगमः ।

स्वपूर्त्ते त्वेस्मिन् मुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुणः

प्रशस्तौ प्राशस्त्यं वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥<sup>70</sup>—[38].

नन्देन्द्रियाभेन्दुसमे शकाब्दे(न्दे) रुद्रात्मजसोदरस्य नसा ।

इमां शि-

35.

लाशिल्पिवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुच्चखान ॥<sup>71</sup>—[39].शाक १०५८ [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatī !

(Verse 1.) May the supporter<sup>72</sup> of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !— who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,<sup>73</sup> whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmanas are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,<sup>74</sup> whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts<sup>75</sup> familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

<sup>67</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>68</sup> Read °नन्तरेष.<sup>69</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>70</sup> i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.<sup>71</sup> The story told in the *Purāṇas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa* III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.<sup>72</sup> In connection with *vijāpita* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.<sup>73</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.<sup>74</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>75</sup> i.e., Viṣṇu.

sage Bhāradvāja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . like a garland of the great race of the Maga twice-born.

(V. 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . , were headed by Chakrapāṇi, the son of Dāmōdara. Like Vālmiki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,<sup>76</sup> how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapāṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varṇamāna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Māna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratīhāra*,<sup>77</sup> while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha<sup>78</sup> went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,<sup>79</sup> eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

<sup>76</sup> The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapāṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

<sup>77</sup> Literally 'door-keeper.'

<sup>78</sup> The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

<sup>79</sup> The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *utādra* and *dāra* are in no way connected with each other.



times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(V. 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.<sup>90</sup>

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyāsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kālidāsa.

(16.) He was a Vāchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,<sup>91</sup> was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devaśarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudī] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatī in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śamkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents<sup>92</sup> who had well worshipped the destroyer<sup>93</sup> of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgādhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

<sup>90</sup> Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yam* instead of *tam*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

<sup>91</sup> I am not certain what *ratnatrayā* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddha*, *dharma* and *saṃgha*, with Jains *śamyagdarśana*, *śamyagjñāna* and *śamyakcāritra*.

<sup>92</sup> The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

<sup>93</sup> i.e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(V. 22.) After him came another son, named Mahidhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Puru-shottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Śikshās*, well acquainted with the *Jyotiṣa*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedāṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,<sup>88</sup> of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgādhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgādhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgādhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsāladevi, a daughter of Jayapāni who bore the title of *ādhikārika*,<sup>89</sup> a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgādhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa,

<sup>88</sup> Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.

<sup>89</sup> i.e., 'a superintendent of affairs.'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(V. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitasāla* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.<sup>86</sup> Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgādhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in *Gaṅgādhara's* words.<sup>87</sup>

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

<sup>86</sup> Instead of the Abl. case *apṇarbhāvat* I should have expected the Dat. case.

<sup>87</sup> Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of *Gaṅgādhara's* words.'

## XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

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The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' broad by 1' 2½" high. With the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾". The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphaṣa inscription of Âdityasena,<sup>1</sup> and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphaṣa inscription,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parâkkramair=yaḥ*, line 1, *aparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryaṇa*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphaṣa inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmanīya* (which however is really like the sign for *śh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal is used in *siṅha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *aṅśuka*, line 5, and *nistriṅśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasmins̄chit*, line 2, *bhānsi* and *yaśānsi*, line 5, and even in *pr̥tin=surendrā*, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (e.g., in *parâkkramakramapadâkkrāntatrilokī*,<sup>3</sup> in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrī Âdisiṅha*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anustāra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chaknuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achikarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prārābhī*, in line 6, *avalagaka* and *avalagana*, in

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII.<sup>2</sup> See *ib.*, p. 202.

line 7, *vyutthānika* (derived from *vyutthāna* as *vijñānika* is from *vijñāna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Ādisimha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*pallī*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśālmali, Chhīṅgalā, and Nabhūtishanḍaka.<sup>3</sup> Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna, and Ajitamāna<sup>4</sup>—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśālmali (verses 4—5). While they were there, the king Ādisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,<sup>5</sup> and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagaka* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamāna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śrīpattā*) on him, but also, at Udayamāna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśālmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamāna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *rājā*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17—19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhūtishanḍaka and Chhīṅgalā (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved<sup>6</sup> to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśālmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamāna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;<sup>7</sup> nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmalipti (Tāmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyā, is the modern Tamlûk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

<sup>3</sup> So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhūtishanḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhūtishanḍaka*.

<sup>4</sup> These names are given below.

<sup>5</sup> The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *prārabdhī-khelana*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionaries *prārabdhī* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody'; and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasastra*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kaufumbika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> See Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpasastra*, quoted above, the word *śrīpattā* is explained by *Śrīdevatādhyaite-sauvarṇapattā-bhūṣitottamāṅgaḥ*; what the king gave to Udayamāna was apparently such a *śrīpattā*.

<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

<sup>9</sup> The names of Udayamāna and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Varnamāna* and *Rudramāna* in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rûpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.<sup>10</sup>

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

[सौ<sup>12</sup>]

श्रीराक्षदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्ष भोगी[न्दफ]शामखिख<sup>13</sup> ।

ई[र्षाङ्ग]ला कर[तले]न हरे७प्रहा[र]सुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [त्रि]ये वः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[1].

व(ब)भूव पूर्वमगधाधिराजः श्रीपादिसिद्धोरिगजै[क]सिद्धः<sup>15</sup>

पराक्रमैर्य७प्रथितोद्वितीयः

2.

श्रीमन्[रास]न्व इव द्वितीयः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[2].

अस्वाभ[म]रशालमन्वाञ्जिहलाय[ान्त]येव च ।

नभूतीष[ण्ड]के चापि व(ब)भूवाधिपति७पुरा ॥<sup>17</sup>—[3].

अथ कस्मिन्मि[त्त]मये<sup>18</sup> वणिजो भ्रातरस्त्रयः ।

तामलिसि[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्वम्वचिञ्चया<sup>19</sup> ॥ —[4].

भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्मवाचासं यियासवः ॥(1)

3.

प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरश्चक्रुरिह स्थितिं ॥ —[5].

सुवर्णमणिमाखिखसुक्ताप्रभृति र्द्वर्जनं ।

विस्तपस्यदेवासीदपर्यन्तसुपाजितं ॥ —[6].

सर्वभूताभ्यास्यत्सदयादाक्षिखशालिनः ।

सष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकत्रयः क्षितिसुपागताः ॥ —[7].

केलासः कठिनः कलङ्क-

4.

मलिनचन्द्रस्तुषाराचलः

प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यफलत्येव हि ।

तारक्ष्यच्च समान्विता शुक्वतो हारा इति प्रायशो

येषामन्न व(ब)भूव निर्मलगुणैः शोखस्य नैवीयमा ॥<sup>20</sup>—[8].

दातृत्वेन समो व(ब)भूव न पुरा कश्चोपि येषामसौ

शौर्येषापि जगज्जिगीषुरगमत्<sup>21</sup>

5.

नेवाङ्गुनस्तुखतां

ये चासङ्गपराक्रममपदाक्रान्तमिलोकीतला

वीरानाहवमूर्धसु प्रव(ब)लिन७पङ्कनिवोच्चिचिपुः ॥ —[9].

दिङ्नाम(मि)नीतनुविलेपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यत्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्गुलानि<sup>22</sup>

अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुषारभान्ति<sup>23</sup> सर्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यथा[न्ति] येषां ॥<sup>24</sup>—[10].

विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

<sup>10</sup> See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.

<sup>11</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>13</sup> The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*; but the third Pāda of the verse is as if the metre were *Vasantatilakā*.—Compare Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitdvali*, verse 41.

<sup>15</sup> Observe the hiatus in 'श्रीपादि'; and read 'सिद्धे' and 'सिद्धः'.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 3-7: *Śloka* (Anushtubh).

<sup>18</sup> Read 'कस्मिन्'.

<sup>19</sup> Read 'पूर्व'.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>21</sup> Read 'अमर्दय'.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'विकटाङ्गुलानि'.

<sup>23</sup> Read 'भान्ति' and 'यथा'.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11: *Vasantatilakā*.

L. 6.

अपि न [अयाश्वा] नन्वाः सुदूरमथ चोन्नतिमूर्तिभाजः<sup>35</sup>निखिङ्गनिष्ठुरकराः<sup>36</sup> [क]पयाकुलाश्च ये चार्थिकस्ततरवः शिवशौरिभक्ताः ॥ —[11].स श्रीमानादिसिङ्घो<sup>37</sup> कदाचिदटवीमिमां ।प्रारब्धो(ब्धो)खेलनोद्युक्तः<sup>38</sup>प्रविवेशावनीश्वरः ॥<sup>39</sup>—[12].

आदिदेश

7. समाह्वय स पक्षीम्रितयाञ्जनं ।

यूयमद्यावलग्नकमलमभ्य<sup>40</sup> ददताश्रिति ॥ —[13].अस्त्यस्त्यस्त्यमाकर्ण्य<sup>41</sup> [तूष्ण]स्व(स्व)लपरिग्रहः<sup>42</sup> ॥(1)

वणिजां भ्रातरं ज्येष्ठमुदयमानमुपागमत् ॥ —[14].

राज्ञीवलग्नगार्थाय तमभ्यर्थ्य प्रयत्नतः ।

प्रेषयामास तन्मोपि<sup>43</sup> वल्लभोभूत्सङ्गीपतेः ॥ —[15].

8. अक्षरैरङ्गोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(व)श्चमधिगम्य ततः क्लृप्तेन ।

श्रीआदिसिङ्घनृपतिमपरिवो(वो)ध्य<sup>44</sup>[ते]न [स]न्मानितो<sup>45</sup>भ्रमरशास्त्रमलिपल्लिलोकः॥<sup>46</sup>[16].तुष्टास्तती भ्रमरशास्त्रमलिवासिनस्ते भूयस्तमागतमुपेत्य जनाः<sup>47</sup>प्रणम्य ।

राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पल्लिमेतामित्या-

9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तसुचैः ॥ —[17].

एवमाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते

तस्मै राज्यपदन्ददुः क्षितिधृताप्याश्चापि[ता]स्तत्कृते ।

सोऽस्मिन्निष्क्रमस्वखण्डितारिसुभटत्रेणिः श्रुतार्थश्चिरं

राज्यनिर्जितसर्वपल्लिरकरोन्नाज्जोदयास्थो नृपः ॥<sup>48</sup> —[18].

यस्य त्यागनयान्वयोऽस्तिगुणपामाधिपत्यार्जितां

10. कीर्तिचन्द्रकरावदातसुभगमद्यापि सोऽस्मिन्निष्क्रिताः ।

गैह्रासोनसुराङ्गनाजनकतप्रीतिभुरेन्द्रालय-<sup>49</sup>

प्रान्तप्रोत्थितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिङ्घस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].

आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।

पक्षीहवेपि राज्ञार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज सः ॥<sup>50</sup>—[20].श्रीमाच्छीघ्रीतमानास्थः<sup>51</sup> प्रस्थातो [न]भूति-<sup>52</sup><sup>35</sup> Read श्रीवत्सु°.<sup>36</sup> Read निखिङ्ग°.<sup>37</sup> Read श्रीङ्घो°.<sup>38</sup> Metre of verses 12-15: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>39</sup> Originally °अब्धो was engraved, but it has been altered to °अभ्य.<sup>40</sup> Read °अक्षमा°.<sup>41</sup> Of the akṣharas in brackets the upper portion is broken away.<sup>42</sup> Read ई श्रीदि or तन्मोपि.<sup>43</sup> Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिङ्घ°.<sup>44</sup> Read संमानितो.<sup>45</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantatilakā.<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>47</sup> Read °प्रीति सुरे°.<sup>48</sup> Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>49</sup> Read श्रीमाच्छी°.<sup>50</sup> The akṣhara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

L. 11.

षण्के ।

वश्याभ्योदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमधीकरत् ॥ —[21].

प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपङ्कशितामित्रमण्डलः ।

अभूदजितमानोपि षष्ठ्यङ्गलायां महीपतिः ॥ —[22].

पत्युर्भूमरशात्मस्याष्टिङ्गला[न?]भूतिषण्कौ<sup>41</sup> ।

वश्यौ व(ब)भूवतुः पूर्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रमं ॥ —[23].

आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुषं गोप्त-

12.

क्रमोयश्चहा-

नस्याकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्ष ते पूर्वजाः ।

अस्यहोस्रभवात्कदाचिदनाहुत्यानिकं<sup>42</sup> स्वादिदंसप्तसौहृदयमित्यवेत्य चखदुःप्रायश्चवर्णाभिमान् ॥<sup>43</sup>—[24].यावत्प्राप्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्याप्तिलोकोच्छयं<sup>44</sup>

चक्रं चक्रधरो वि(ब)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्भवानीपतिः ।

13. यावत्सौकमिष्टचयाकुलमिलञ्चिस्तालसञ्चाम्भू-

र्गोत्स्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25].

## XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KĀMARŪPA.

By ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamanli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, *viz.* the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.<sup>1</sup>

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Gaṇeśa. The plates measure 9½" broad by 7" high, and weigh together

<sup>41</sup> Here again the *akṣara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

<sup>42</sup> This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to "चिद्व न यु"; and I believe the intended reading to be "चिद्वपि न यु".

<sup>43</sup> Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> I am not sure whether the word रेष of this line should be altered to शेष.

<sup>1</sup> All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.



2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Kṛṣṇadvârikâ Temple inscription at Gayâ (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanâgarî which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of ञ, ञ, ञ. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śântipâṭaka and Mandarâ situated in the *vishaya* of Bâḍâ, in the *bhukti* of Prâggyotisha, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrîdhara, the son of Yudhishṭhira and Pâi his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvâmitra, in the village of Bhâva in Vârendri. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratâpadevî his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Vishnu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Râmapâla and Vighrapâla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumârapâla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

*Sûryavamśi Pâlas.*

- I. Vighrapâla.
- II. Râmapâla (son of I).
- III. Kumârapâla (son of II).

*Mantrins.*

- 1. Yogadeva.
- 2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
- 3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pâlas than is given in the above table. Vighrapâla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Râmapâla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Râmapâla conquered (or regained?) Mithilâ, and killed a certain raja Bhîma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumârapâla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vaṅga (but see note 81); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kāmarūpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahārājādhirāja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Hamsākoñchī, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *prāśasti* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *rājaguru* Murāri and Padmā his wife. The *śāsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmādhikārin*. It was engraved by Karna-bhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *ni*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śāsanam*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulī* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanāman* of Śrīdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulī* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahīpāla from 1066 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapāla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pāla kings from Gopāla I. to Vīgrahapāla III., based on the Āṃgāchhī plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Āṃgāchhī and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vīgrahapāla, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pāla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahīpāla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vīgrahapāla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vīgrahapāla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.<sup>2</sup> Nayapāla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapāla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pāla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapāla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasamkrānti* fell (1) on *ekādaśī* and (2) on *dvādaśī* in Vaiśākha (*kṛishṇa-paksha*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekādaśī* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvādaśī* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumārapāla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Āṃgāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.

whether Kumārapāla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapāla or not, we are not at liberty to count the years of Kumārapāla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapāla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumārapāla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pālas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pālas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pālas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhāmi (Mithilā) by Rāmapāla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pāla line. And thus, too, the Pāla culmination under Kumārapāla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pālas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pāla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

#### TEXT.

##### Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [ 1. ] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानस्तथाः कुम्भः संसारबीजरक्षायाः । ह-

रिदस्तर-

[ 2. ] मितमूर्तिः क्रीडापीठो हरिष्यति<sup>१</sup> ॥<sup>२</sup> (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य जातवान् पूर्व<sup>३</sup> । विग्रहपा-

[ 3. ] लो नृपतिः सत्त्वाकारद्विसिद्धः<sup>४</sup> ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योग- देव इति ख्यातः

[ 4. ] स्फुरद्दीर्घविक्रमः ॥<sup>५</sup> (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपौडस्य<sup>६</sup> नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुला- न्विशो-

[ 5. ] तकिरणः साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक् । तेने देन जगद्ये जनकभूलाभादथावदशः सोलीना- यकभीम-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'मूर्तिः' and 'हरिष्यति'

<sup>२</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyārjā.

<sup>३</sup> Read जातवान् पूर्वम्.

<sup>४</sup> Read सत्त्वाकारदि

<sup>५</sup> Metre: Śloka. (Pathyāvakra.)

<sup>६</sup> Read तस्योज्ज्वल

- L. [ 6.] रावचवघासुवार्णवोन्नघनात्<sup>9</sup> ॥<sup>10</sup> (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिवः पुराभवबोधिवे इति तत्त्वबोधभूः।  
विश्वगेव वि-
- [ 7.] दितोऽनुतैर्भुषैरुक्तात्मसदृशः क्षितावयं<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup> (5). अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्मद्विकीर्त्तिवि-  
त्रान्तिः
- [ 8.] वित्रान्तिः<sup>13</sup> । आसीदसीमकान्तिः सन्तोषस्याकृतिः पत्युः ॥<sup>14</sup> (6). अभूदसुखान्तनयोऽस्य  
विश्रुतः श्रीवे-
- [ 9.] श्रीवैद्यदेवः<sup>15</sup> परया त्रिया युतः । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिशरीररोद<sup>16</sup> पद्माङ्कुराभः शिवभूधरो-
- [ 10.] भवत् ॥<sup>17</sup> (7). दैवश्रेष्ठे च तर्ककेषु च अनुद्दिष्टस्य दिष्टिभूतेरन्वयप्रभृतीर्णमटित्वरिमटैरन्वु-
- [ 11.] च समूर्च्छितं । किञ्चित्त्रिजबन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोन्नतहर्षाब्जभिः पारस्वप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभू-  
द्दिनि-
- [ 12.] व्योपणं<sup>18</sup> ॥<sup>19</sup> (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रस्य सचिवः साध्याज्यलक्ष्मीशुभः प्रस्थातस्य कुमारपाल-  
नृपते-
- [ 13.] क्षितानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटककृतप्रासादकण्ठीरवप्रासनासवशादपैथति
- [ 14.] विधोन्मिन्वाङ्कुरपी<sup>20</sup> स्रगः ॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरीरजतिगमभानुः<sup>21</sup> प्रसरयशोऽन्वुधिरैव वैद्य-  
देवः । स-
- [ 15.] हजवदान्तयैव चम्पकेयः सुजनमनःकुसुदेवु शीतरश्मिः<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> (10). यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गसङ्गरजये  
नीवाट-
- [ 16.] शीहीरवत्तस्तैर्दिकरिभिश्च<sup>24</sup> यत्र चलितं चेन्नास्ति तद्व्यभूः । किञ्चित्पातुक्केनिपातपत-  
नप्रोत्थर्पितैः
- Plate II, A.
- [ 17.] श्रीकरीराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्वानिष्कलङ्कः शशी ॥<sup>25</sup> (11). गौडेशस्य कुमारपाल-  
नृपते-
- [ 18.] शोर्वीर्यथेजस्तैः<sup>26</sup> त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्पतेः । सत्ताङ्गचित्तिपाधिपत्व-  
मभितः
- [ 19.] संक्षिप्तयशुधोः प्राणेश्योप्यतिबन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणीः ॥ (12). एतादृशे<sup>27</sup> हरि-  
हरिभुवि स-
- [ 20.] रक्तस्य श्रीतिम्यदेव<sup>28</sup> नृपतेर्विकृतिं निशम्य । गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव  
उरुकीर्त्ति-
- [ 21.] रयं निमुक्तः ॥<sup>29</sup> (13). क्षणमिव शिरस्यादायात्रां प्रभोकरतेजसः । कतिपयदिनैहत्वा<sup>30</sup> जिष्णुः  
प्रयाणमसौ

<sup>9</sup> Read 'सा' 'वृद्धघनात्'  
<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.  
<sup>11</sup> Read तस्य° विषयेव 'तावयम्'  
<sup>12</sup> Metre: Rathoddhata.  
<sup>13</sup> Read वरुणैर्भुषैर्विविधानिः.  
<sup>14</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.  
<sup>15</sup> Read श्रीवैद्यदेवः.  
<sup>16</sup> Read 'शरीररोदरे'. The रे is supplied from a *truti*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for 9.  
<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti of Vamśastha and Indravamśa.  
<sup>18</sup> Read अनुद्दिष्ट, i.e. "of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva).  
समूर्च्छितम् 'निर्वापचम्'

<sup>19</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.  
<sup>20</sup> Read विधोन्मिन्वा°  
<sup>21</sup> Read 'शरीर°'  
<sup>22</sup> Read शीतरश्मिः.  
<sup>23</sup> Metre: P.  
<sup>24</sup> Read 'वकीर्त्ति°'  
<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.  
<sup>26</sup> Read 'नृपतेर्दोर्वीर्य°'  
<sup>27</sup> Read एतादृशी.  
<sup>28</sup> This might be read तिङ्ग.  
<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.  
<sup>30</sup> Read 'दिनैहत्वा and द्रुतम्. One would expect प्रयाणं कृत्वा

L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिप्रतिं जित्वा युगे बभूव महीपतिविजयभुजपरिषदः<sup>21</sup> साचाहिवसतिवि-  
क्रमः ॥ (14).<sup>22</sup> ए-

[23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाससमये पांशुत्करैः स्वच्छिन्नप्राये व्योमतले कंसतिकगवै-

[24.] सन्धोऽङ्घ्रियानयमः । किञ्चाच्चिद्वयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियास्वयमः सुचामा नय-

[25.] नानिमोक्षणकरं कर्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥<sup>23</sup> (15) दोहृष्कारविजे<sup>24</sup> इविर्भुजि भटत्रातेत्यनेरिधिते

[26.] संप्रामाध्यरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रीलसत्प्रीफलेः ।<sup>25</sup> कृत्वा होमविधिं परद्वितिभु-

[27.] जा दत्ताय<sup>26</sup> पूर्णाहुतिं सन्धोदधययो<sup>27</sup> मङ्गलसमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुत्समर-  
मध्यात्<sup>28</sup> सङ्गजातो-

[28.] त्यतः परसुभटशिरोभिर्व्योम कीर्त्तय निरीक्ष । भटिति पिसरराहुव्यहधीविभ्यदकैः स्व-

[29.] वचमपि रजोभिः प्रोक्षयन्<sup>29</sup> खं सुगोप ॥<sup>30</sup> (17). चन्द्रस्वीकृतभूमंहीप्रसरणं सत्वप्रधानाशयः  
पा-

[30.] चत्रीमहितः स्फुरद्भसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः त्रियः कुलसदृशं स्वाम्नास्वित-

[31.] श्रीपतिः स्वादेवं सदृशोऽन्युचेर्यदि अलाधारोऽयवा संघितः<sup>31</sup> ॥<sup>32</sup> (18). ज्ञानैर्गोपतिरुजितै-  
हिनपतिः

[32.] सत्वीरवैः श्रीपतिरैर्यैरनुपतिहनेहनपतिहानैः<sup>33</sup> स चम्यापतिः । किञ्चितेपि गिरीपमान-  
विषयाः

Plate II, B.

[33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्न्नादं तुम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्वैर्गुणानां<sup>34</sup> गवैः ॥<sup>35</sup> (19) यस्य श्रीवृध-  
देव इत्यनुजभूः

[34.] श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्ततदसोमनिर्मलगुणैर्धर्मैश्चिरीलक्षिभूः<sup>36</sup> । दानैः श्रीमनपद्मवैहज<sup>37</sup>-

[35.] कुलप्रोतिप्रदानैरपि । स्यातः कस्यमरुदप्रतिकृतिहोर्वीर्यवृन्नायसाः<sup>38</sup> ॥ (20). अयाभ-

[36.] वत कौपिकसङ्ग्रहो सुनिसुनीन्द्रसुख्यो<sup>39</sup> निजगीचपूरुषः । पयोजजन्मास्वचयभमममात्

[37.] यदास्वपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्थितं<sup>40</sup> ॥<sup>41</sup> (21). एतद्वसे महति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजाति-  
र्भावयामे

[38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनीये वरेन्द्रां अस्तामन्यभुजगणसमाख्याममाख्यानमावायवाजोऽ-

[39.] पि स्फुटति निश्चितः किञ्चिद्धानां प्रपद्यः<sup>42</sup> ॥<sup>43</sup> (22). अस्व विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-

[40.] स्वमवसुधीश्वरः<sup>44</sup> । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रीनियत्यविलसद्यशोनिधिः<sup>45</sup> (23). पार्श्व-

[41.] ति चर्मपद्मी धीरवरस्थास्व चित्तविभ्रान्तिः । असीदसीमकान्तिः श्रीलौदायश्रीया<sup>46</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Read महीपतिविजं.

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

<sup>23</sup> Metre of verses 15 and 16: Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita.

<sup>24</sup> Read दोहृष्कारं.

<sup>25</sup> Read "असन्धीकयैः

<sup>26</sup> Read दत्ताय

<sup>27</sup> Read सन्धोदधययो.

<sup>28</sup> Read "सञ्जान्

<sup>29</sup> Read "विरोनिर्वाणं श्रीमन्वयम्

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>31</sup> Read सवीरवरचं सत्वं सचचित्तः

<sup>32</sup> Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20: Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita.

<sup>33</sup> Read "इतिर्गोपतिः श्रीपतिर्गोपि रजोपतिर्गोपनिधिनैः.

<sup>34</sup> Read वयः; and सर्वैर्गुणैः.

<sup>35</sup> Read "असदृशोम" "वर्धयित्रीवर्ध"

<sup>36</sup> The var. lect. सरफसपद्मवैः (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate; and श्रीमन् is cut out in the text.

<sup>37</sup> Read कस्यमरुदप्रतिकृतिहोर्वीर्यवृन्नायसाः । गुणा<sup>38</sup> is cut out in the body of the plate, and चक्षुष्य (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.

<sup>38</sup> Read "भवत् कौपिक" "सुनिम्"

<sup>39</sup> Read "अनपन्नात् and स्थितम्.

<sup>40</sup> Metre: Vairāṇḍita.

<sup>41</sup> Read एतद्वसे . . . प्रादुरासीत् . . . प्रविसरयसाः

. . . वरेन्द्रां । आस्तामन्यं. निश्चितं.

<sup>42</sup> Metre: Māndūkāntā.

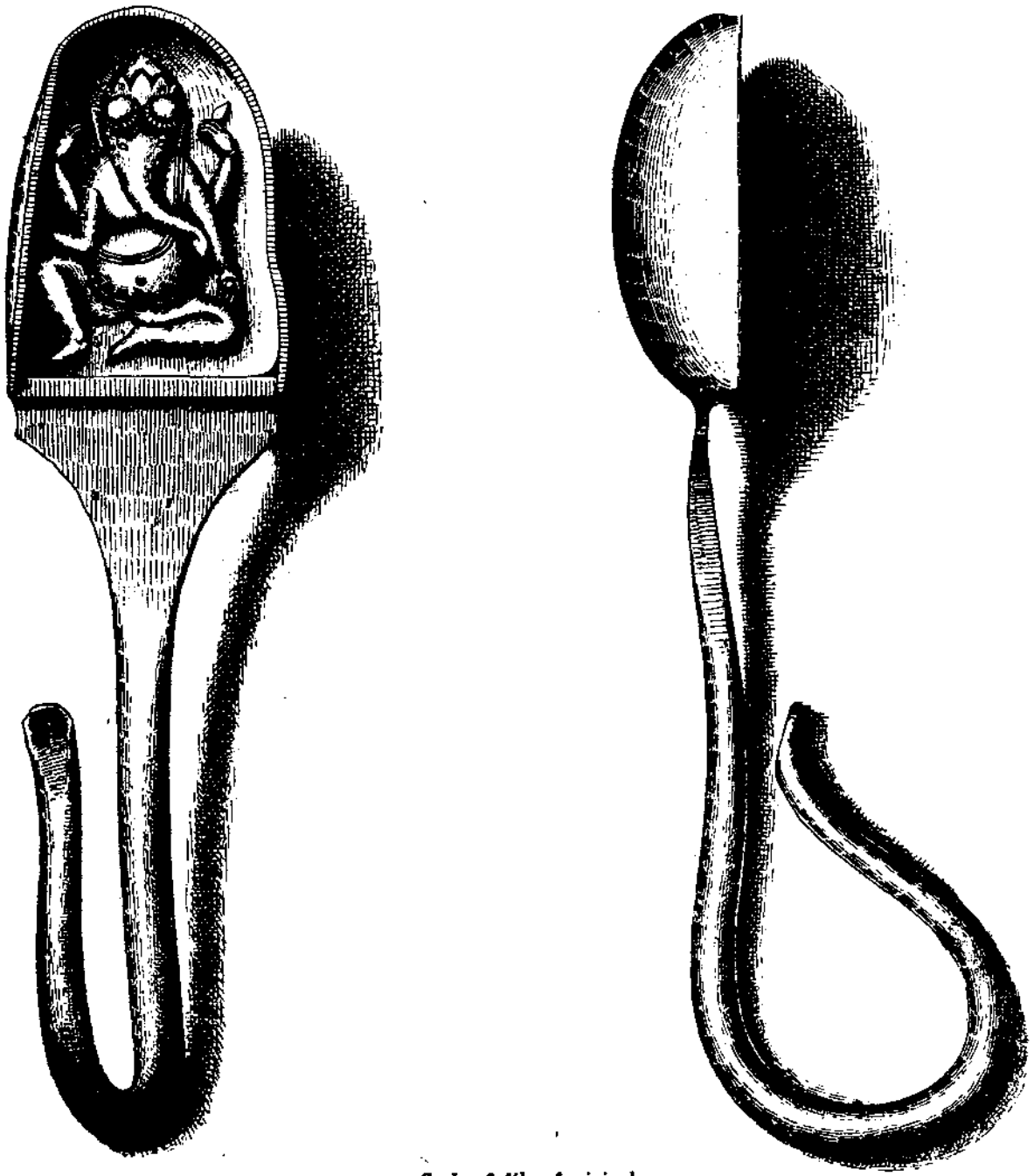
<sup>43</sup> "अवसुधीश्वरः" is faulty metre.

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Rāṭhoddhātā.

<sup>45</sup> Read "वारीह" . . . श्रीलौदायश्रीया.

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.



*Scale: 3-4ths of original.*

१ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

- L. [42.] वसतिः ॥<sup>60</sup> (24). पूर्वपूर्वजनुजन्मकर्मपाकदभूतुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीसपूज्यः<sup>61</sup> श्रीश्रीध-  
[43.] रः परः ॥<sup>62</sup> (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानासयाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां<sup>63</sup> करणाद्भूते-  
कचरणात् सख्यो-  
[44.] त्तः शोचियः ॥ प्रातःकृत्तमयाचितोपवसनैर्येन स्वयं गुग्गुलीराकर्षाद्वरदः कृतोच हि कलौ  
शी-  
[45.] सोमनाथः<sup>64</sup> प्रभुः ॥<sup>65</sup> (26). कर्मब्रह्मविदां मुख्यः सर्वाकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्वेडु<sup>66</sup>  
वागीश इव वि-  
[46.] श्रुतः ॥<sup>67</sup> (27). एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद्देवदेवजीतीश्वरः । वैशाखे विश्वत्याक्ष<sup>68</sup> स्वर्गायं हरि-  
वासरे ॥0॥ (28).  
[47.] स्वस्ति चंसाकोक्षीसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात<sup>69</sup> । परममाहेश्वरः परमवैष्णवः महा-  
राजाधि-  
[48.] राजः । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान<sup>70</sup> वैद्यदेवदेवः कुशली । श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषभुक्ती ।  
कामरू-

## Plate III, A.

- [49.] पमण्डले । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-  
वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-  
[50.] यिक्तकादिजनपदान कर्षकाश्च यथात्याग मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु  
भवतां । एतत् इयं  
[51.] चतुःश्रीमावच्छिन्नं । परिबोधशुद्धं चट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं । भूच्छिद्रश्च अकिञ्चित्कर-  
शास्त्रं<sup>71</sup> । चतुर्थान्द  
[52.] सं वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीगृधरशर्मणे<sup>72</sup> चतुःशतिकं शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभिः  
तदेतस्मिन्<sup>73</sup>  
[53.] विधेया भवेतेति । सं ४ सूर्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-  
कीभूय चट्टसीमा-  
[54.] स्मिनयुक्तः ॥ पूर्वदिशस्तावत् दिग्दाण्डधरमादाय यावत् पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-  
नदिशः शिङ्गिन्नाध-  
[55.] रशीमालेङ्गवडाभीग्ये कंसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥  
[56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभीग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयरातिपोला उणैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-  
[57.] व्यदिस पिपासुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा अम्भडाचौबोल । वुडिपोखिरिपूर्वधरकुलाचापडि च-  
[58.] टवलपुराणधर्मासि पश्चिमायावत् पश्चिमदिशःशीमा किञ्चिद्वरकित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो ध-

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.<sup>61</sup> Read पूर्वपूर्वजनुजन्मकर्मपाकदभूतुतः । द्विजाधीसपूज्यः<sup>62</sup> Metre: Pathyāvakra.<sup>63</sup> Read तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां<sup>64</sup> Read सर्वशिरः श्रीश्रीधः । प्रातःकृत्तमः । श्रीसोमनाथः<sup>65</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>66</sup> Read "निधिः । श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्वेडु<sup>67</sup> Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pathyāvakra.<sup>68</sup> Read "विदां" विदुषत्याक्ष.<sup>69</sup> Read "श्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात्<sup>70</sup> Read श्रीमान्.<sup>71</sup> Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate:—वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीयवा-  
प्रधानप्रतिवासिचट्टभट्टविसयिक्तकादिजनपदान् कर्षकाश्च यथात्यागं  
मानयति बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवताम् । एतद्वचं  
चतुःश्रीमावच्छिन्नं परिबोधशुद्धं चट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं भूच्छिद्रश्च  
अकिञ्चित्करशास्त्रं.<sup>72</sup> Read श्रीगृधरः With the परिबोध of the text (l. 3)  
compare the Pāli form पाखिबोध = hindrance.<sup>73</sup> Read तदेतस्मिन्.



- L. [59.] आलिमादाय नैपोयङ्गारयो विवादभूमेर्वावर्द्धमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-  
चम्पकः श्रीमा वे-  
[60.] सवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिशः कुम्भकारभोग्गवहिः श्रीमा कोण्टोहाडादुभवोल्यावत  
हेलाववासुद्धमा-  
[61.] दाय दिघ्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिशः सीमा । एवं अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुश्च-  
पङ्क्त्याः ॥ सन्तिपाट-  
[62.] कसन्नन्तु मन्दराग्रामसंयुत । वडाविसयसम्बद्धं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात् ॥<sup>70</sup> (29). सम्वायोपाय-  
संयुक्तं करोप-  
[63.] स्करवज्जितं । यावच्चन्द्राकसभोग्यं यावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलस्रलखिलारण्यवाट-  
गोवाटसंयुत<sup>71</sup> ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-  
[64.] स करिस्सति स्वयमिदं यः कारयिस्सत्यसौ पुत्रादिचयमभ्युदीक्ष्य निरये कल्याणतरं स्वास्सति ।  
यः आघरः परिपा-

## Plate III, B.

- [65.] स्वति सुतैस्वितैः स वडिस्सते स्वलोकां परिभुज्य यास्सति चिराद्विष्णोर्वरेण्यं पदं<sup>72</sup> ॥ (31).  
यावज्जास्करहिमकर-  
[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधायाः । तावद्विलसत् नृपतेः कीर्तिः<sup>73</sup> श्रीवैद्यदेवस्व<sup>74</sup> ॥ (32). इमां  
राजगुरोः पुत्रः श्रीसुरारिर्दि-  
[67.] जन्मनः पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्तिं श्रीमनोरथः<sup>75</sup> ॥ (33). देवोयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्धि-  
दोव्विभ्रमः शम्भुहिम्न-  
[68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवोष्ठीसद्ययः श्रीधरः । एतस्मै सुदितो हिजातिपतये धर्माधिकाराधिपतयो-  
गोनन्दनकोवि-  
[69.] दैकवचसा प्रादादिदं सामन<sup>76</sup> ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनानस्यबुद्धिना । ताम्रं  
विनयनस्मेण निर्मितं  
[70.] साधुकर्माणा<sup>77</sup> ॥ (35). एतादृशे सुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-  
न्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा  
[71.] पण्यते पितृभिस्सह ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकम्वा भूमेरप्यर्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाह-  
[72.] तसंज्ञवं ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा क-  
[73.] लं<sup>78</sup> ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vāsudeva! Hail!

*Verse.* (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (i.e. is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vighrahapāla, perfect in every accomplishment.

<sup>70</sup> Read °अष्ट° संयुतम् °विषय° निश्चयात्.

<sup>71</sup> Read सम्वायो° वज्जितम् यावच्चन्द्राकसंभोग्यं °फलम्° संयुक्तम्

<sup>72</sup> Read कोष्ठे करिस्सति कारयिस्सति परिपाकयिस्सति  
सुतेर्दि° वर्ज्यते स्वर्णक पदम् ॥ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>73</sup> Read भूधरपदोधि° असत् कीर्तिः

<sup>74</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.

<sup>75</sup> Read प्रसस्तिं. Metre: Pathyāvakra.

<sup>76</sup> Read श्रीवि° लघवाः सामनम्. Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>77</sup> Metre: Pathyāvakra.

<sup>78</sup> Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामेकां स्वर्णमेकां वा °अङ्गुलम्°  
संज्ञवं पदम् ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 ४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 ६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 ८ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 १० ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 १२ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 १४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी  
 १६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रुत्वा मातुः सखी

[illegible]

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(3.) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathāvat*), Rāmapāla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,<sup>79</sup> (as Rāma gained Janakabhū, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sītā); and by killing king Bhīma,<sup>80</sup> as Rāma killed Rāvaṇa; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Rāma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Rāmapāla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratāpadevī, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumārapāla, who was the son of the king Rāma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champakā (*i.e.* Karmā); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vaṅga,<sup>81</sup> if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumārapāla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vrihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

<sup>79</sup> *i.e.* Mithilā. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

<sup>80</sup> I cannot identify the name.

<sup>81</sup> *Anuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." For *Nauvāta* see Dr. Hultzsch, — *Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309.

(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (*viz. Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,<sup>22</sup> to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *arani*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pūrṇāhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Rāhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jalādhāra*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala = jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jāladhāra*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laṅghita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Rāma*)—(*for in other points the comparison holds, thus—*) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Maināka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahādharma*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pātra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmi, and he of wealth (*śrī*); Vishṇu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vrihaspati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishṇu as regards his good actions, and Varuṇa as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champā (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc. Vrihaspati etc.*) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*gīṛā*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother<sup>23</sup> was Budhadēva, who, resembling the younger brother of Rāma (*viz. Lakshmaṇa*) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

<sup>22</sup> It is his *karman* = (*prārabha*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

<sup>23</sup> *Anujabhūḥ* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*anujā bhūḥ (utpattiḥ) yasya* so *anujabhūḥ*.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।  
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।  
ॐ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ।

॥



(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatī rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brāhmā.

(22.) In his great *vaṁśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhāva,<sup>84</sup> in Varendrī appeared Bharata, a Brāhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhisṭhira, chief of Brāhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śāstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pāi of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrīdhara, honoured among Brāhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tīrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdhara was chief among learned Brāhmaṇas. Through Śrīdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (*i.e.* the *Karma-kāṇḍa* and the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrīdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vrihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrīdhara, at the Vishuvatī (*samkrānti*) in Vaiśākha on Ekādaśī, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].<sup>85</sup>

(29.) As determined by the *bhūmichchhidra* rule, the village Santipātaka<sup>86</sup> is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Baḍā-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kriyā*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishṇu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

<sup>84</sup> *Sāmogre* I take equal to *Ugrasasane*, the commoner *bahuvrīhi*.

<sup>85</sup> The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side *B*) after *harivāsare*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitīyapātakaśya caturddatapāṅktidā*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction.

<sup>86</sup> Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains *pātaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XVIII, p. 135) which I follow above. Santi would thus be the name of the *pātaka* adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the *vishaya* Baḍā; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be *Sānti*; [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of *Sānti* is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *santipātakasevīkṣam* an adjective to *Śāmanap* in verse 28: (observe also *idam* in verse 31).



(33.) Manoratha, son of the brāhmaṇa *rajaḡuru* Murāri, and Padmā, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrīdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śāsana to that brāhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmādhikārin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Hamsākoṇchī, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Viṣṇu, the *Mahārājāddhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śānti-Baḍā and Mandarā possessed by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa, in the *viśaya* of Baḍā, in the *maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa in the *bhukti* of Prāggyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrīdhara Śarmā (surnamed) Guggulī in ? ? . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśākha by the movement of the sun.<sup>87</sup>

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karpabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis<sup>88</sup>:—

## XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

By ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>—Dated Samvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basāhi grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.<sup>2</sup> The plate is 1' 6" long by 11" broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basāhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śaṃkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nāgarī characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhūva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms. In line 22 I

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 349.

<sup>88</sup> Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

<sup>89</sup> The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslated.

<sup>1</sup> As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> See Rājendraśāla Mitra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1865) for the Basāhi plates.

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basāhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahīyala-sutah*:—conf. *Mahīala-sutah* or *Mahīāla-sutah* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basāhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,<sup>8</sup> viz. Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kārttika, 1162 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishṇupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithā (?), in the Jīāvatī-pattalā in the Pañchāla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 12—13. The donee, Vilhākāya Dīkshita, who came originally from Sāvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravāsa and grandson of Nāgānanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula gotra with the three *pravaras* of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvāmītra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यज्ञीयमान . . . दग्ध (व) धविमतिव्यापारे तुल्यदण्डप्रसूति . . .

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadāsa, who also composed the Basāhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *prathara* Gautama, the *purohita* Jāgūka, the *mahattaka* Vālhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basāhi plate) and the Queen-mother Rālhadevi.

#### TEXT.

##### Front.

- Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाद्यं सर्वदेवानां दामोदरमुपास्यहे । त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्त्रोऽत्र  
क्रोडात्तःख्यं वक्षिष्यमी ॥ (1).<sup>4</sup> वंसे गाङ्गडवालाख्ये वभूव विजयी नृपः ॥<sup>5</sup>
- [2.] महोदयस्तुतः श्रीमन्नलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ (2).<sup>6</sup> याते श्रीमोजभूये विमुधवरवधूनेचसीमाति-  
थित्वं श्रीकस्त्रे कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे आत्सये जायमाने ।
- [3.] भर्तारं यं धरित्री विदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता जाता विखस्य पूर्व्यं समभवदिह स  
आपतिचंद्रदेवः<sup>7</sup> (3).<sup>8</sup> ॥ तस्मादभूद्रिषदिलापतिदन्तिसिंहः श्रीपीपति-  
[4.] मंदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त वभुशः समरप्रवन्धाः सन्नर्तितप्रहृतशयुक्त्वन्धवन्धाः<sup>9</sup> ॥  
(4).<sup>11</sup> तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृंदवंधपादारविंदयुगलो ज्य-  
[5.] क्षितप्रतापः । श्रीपीपतीन्द्रतिलकी रिपुरगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र<sup>12</sup> इति विभुतनामकीर्त्तिः (5).<sup>13</sup> ॥  
तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्सरीयैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणविषमेषो म-

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—  
“For V. 1162 expired:—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105; the full moon *śukla* commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 0h. 9m. after mean sunrise of the following day.”

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>6</sup> Read वंसे . . . वपः

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>8</sup> Read विभुष.

<sup>9</sup> Read चन्द्रदेवः

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Bragdhara.

<sup>11</sup> Read वधूः. “प्रवन्धा . कवचवन्धाः

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>13</sup> Read “हन्धवन्धपादारविन्द” रिपुरगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- L. [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्मते ॥ (6).<sup>14</sup> संवत्सहस्रैके द्विषष्टुत्तरशताभ्यधिके कार्तिकशैर्षमास्ये भौमे  
दिने ऽहेपि संवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भौमे<sup>15</sup> अद्येह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-  
[7.] विजयकटने सकलकल्मषक्षयकारिण्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधानं मंत्रदेवशक्तिमनुष्य-  
भूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भट्टारकं संपूज्य । भगवन्तं महेश्व-  
[8.] रं समभ्यर्च्य । विष्णाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य । मंत्रपूतं सुतवहं हुत्वा । पंचालदेये जीष्वा-  
वतीपत्तलायां उसियागामे समस्तविषयसार्धवर्तिसमस्त-  
[9.] महत्तमजनपदान्शोभयति समाप्नापयति ॥<sup>16</sup> यथा ग्रामोयं मया स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचर-  
पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्भधूकः सगर्तोषरपाषाणः स-  
[10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकरः सदशापराधदण्डः साक्षाशपातालः स्वसीमाचतुराघाटविशुद्धान्तः  
पूर्वदत्तदेवप्राज्ञवर्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।  
[11.] लवतरलतरं प्राणिना जीवितं<sup>17</sup> विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्षाग्रविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य ।  
जलबुहुदाकारं यौवनं परिभ्राय । कदलीदण्डव-  
[12.] त् संसारमसारतरं<sup>18</sup> समाकलय्य ॥ सावित्र्यदेशनिर्गताय वाजरुनेयसाखीसुगाय वंधुलगोत्राय  
वंधुल अथमर्षणविष्णामित्रिप्रवराय<sup>19</sup> ॥  
[13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरासपुत्राय यंजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभास्कर-  
राय<sup>20</sup> दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । अष्टाविशुद्धमनसा  
[14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमन्नोविदचंद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्तिक्या निमित्ते सम्यगाज्याख्ये  
ब्राह्मणार्या मातापिचोरात्मनश्च यशःपुष्पवि-  
[15.] वृष्टये चंद्रार्कैर्दिक्षितिपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः<sup>21</sup> ॥ मत्वा यहीयमान-  
भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिव्यथाकेरे तुरु-  
[16.] ष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्वादायान् तत् सर्वमस्मीं निसेदनीय<sup>22</sup> ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभूतो मम कुले  
किं वा परस्मिन्पुरस्त्रोषामिध मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-  
[17.] सत् कियत् दूर्व्यामात्रमपि स्वधम्भनिरता दत्त सदा पात्यता वायुर्वात्यति तस्यति प्रतपन्  
शुत्व सुनीना वचः<sup>23</sup> ॥ (7).<sup>24</sup> अत्राय पौराणिकाः  
[18.] श्लोकाः ॥ भूमि<sup>25</sup> यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं  
स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8).<sup>26</sup> योर्धितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददार्त्तार्थ-  
[19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्गं नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9). वहुर्दिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सम-  
रादिभिः । यस्य सत्यं यदा सुगिस्तम्य तस्य वदा  
[20.] फलं<sup>27</sup> ॥ (10). यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेदीनानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवत्तनति  
मानि<sup>28</sup> तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).<sup>29</sup> अस्मत्कुलं पर-

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> Read °पौर्षमासां and १५ instead of ५.

<sup>16</sup> Read ब्रह्मायां मन्त्रदेवशक्तिमनुष्यभूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा . . .  
महीभूतः . . . मन्त्रपूतं हुतवहं पंचालं °ग्रामे °पाशवर्णि °पदान् समोषं ;  
remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation.

<sup>17</sup> Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after जल ; and  
read प्राणिना जीवितं.

<sup>18</sup> Read बुहुदां °सारतरं.

<sup>19</sup> Read °ब्राह्मणमाय वंधुलवधमर्षं

<sup>20</sup> Read °ब्राह्मणम् यंजुर्वेदं

<sup>21</sup> Read श्रीमद्दीविन्दवन्दुदेवेन . . . सम्यगाज्याय . . .  
ब्राह्मणार्याय . . . °रात्मनं . . . चन्द्रार्कैर्दिक्षितिपव-

नारकराणि . . . ब्राह्मणीकृत्य.

<sup>22</sup> Read °सर्वादायान् °निसेदनीयम्

<sup>23</sup> Read परस्मिन्पुरस्त्रोषामिध मयाजलिर्विरचितं नादेयमस्मान्  
कियत् । . . स्वधम्भं °दत्तं . पात्यतां वत्सति . शुला सुनीनां

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>25</sup> Read भूमिं

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the two following

verses.

<sup>27</sup> Read वहुभिर्वं . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिकाश्च तस्य वदा

फलम् ।

<sup>28</sup> Read निर्मात्यवत्तनतिमानि तानि

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

- L. [21.] सुदारसुदारहरिर्नैव दानमिदमथ । शुभादनीयं । लक्ष्मास्तुल्यलिलमुद्बुद्धचंचलाया  
दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ज<sup>30</sup> (12).<sup>31</sup> वंशभदासनं  
[22.] क्वच वराक्षा वरवारक्षाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि मसं \* \* पुरंदर<sup>32</sup> ॥ (13).<sup>33</sup> स्वदत्तां पर-  
दत्तां वा यो दरेत वमंधरा । स विद्यायां कृमिर्दूला<sup>34</sup> पितृभिः स-  
[23.] ह मज्जति ॥ (14). प्रतीहारगौनमशक<sup>35</sup> जागूकश्च पुरोहितः । जगनी राल्लदेवी च वाल्ल-  
श्च मज्जतः ॥ (15). एतेषां संसृतिं प्राप्य सम्यग्निश्चित-

Reverse.

- [24.] वानिदम् । नाम्ना विजयदासाख्यः शासनं राजसंमतम् (16).

No. II.—Dated Samvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3½" in length by 1' ¼" in breadth, and weighs 5lbs. 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal; and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapāla grant (see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, p. 11): verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchandra (*ibid.*, p. 130).

L. 13.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevi-pura in the Rāna pattalā (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured).

Ll. 16, 17.—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, viz. Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Āśvina, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 9th October 1139 A.D.<sup>36</sup>

19, 20. The donee was the *purohita* Jāgū Śarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant.

#### TEXT.

- L. [1.] स्वस्ति । अकुण्डलकण्ठैककुण्डलकपोतलुठल्लरः । संरक्ष<sup>37</sup> सुरतारक्षे स श्रियः  
श्रेयसेक्षु वः ॥ (1).<sup>38</sup> चासीदसीतयुतिवंसजातस्त्रापासमाला-  
[2.] सु<sup>39</sup> दिवङ्गतासु । साक्षादिवक्षानिव<sup>40</sup> भरिधात्रा नाम्ना यशोविषह इत्युदारः ॥ (2).<sup>41</sup>  
तस्मत्तो भूक्ष्मीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभश्चिज्जै । धेनापारम-  
[3.] कूपारपार<sup>42</sup> व्यापारितं यशः ॥ (3).<sup>43</sup> तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तदिधन्यश्चलो  
विध्वस्तीक्ष्णतधीरबोधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ॥ धेनो-

<sup>30</sup> Read 'सुदारहरिर्नैव दानमिदमथुदीदनीयम् । लक्ष्मास्तुल्यलिलमुद्बुद्धचंचलाया  
दिलक्षितमुद्बुद्धचंचलाया . . . परिपालनम् ।

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Vasantatilaka.

<sup>32</sup> Read वंशं भद्रासनं क्वच वराक्षा वरवारक्षाः । फलं सुरः  
पुरन्दरः ।

<sup>33</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the three following  
verses.

<sup>34</sup> Read वरेव वसुधाम् । स विद्यायां कृमिर्दूला.

<sup>35</sup> Read प्रतीहारगौनमथ

<sup>36</sup> Dr. Kielhorn again kindly notes,— "The year is the

northern expired year; the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h. 21 m.  
after mean sunrise."

<sup>37</sup> Read चकुण्ठो संरक्षः .

<sup>38</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>39</sup> Read चासीदसीत<sup>39</sup> वंशं.

<sup>40</sup> Read साक्षादि

<sup>41</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>42</sup> Read 'पारि

<sup>43</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

- L. [4.] दारतरप्रतापसमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमहाधिपुराधिरायमसमन्दोर्विक्रमेणाजितं<sup>44</sup> ॥ (4).<sup>45</sup>  
तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्थानी-
- [5.] यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसन्दता द्विजैश्च येनाङ्किता वसुमती  
सतशस्तुलाभिः<sup>46</sup> ॥ (5).<sup>47</sup> तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति द्वितीयोऽप्यु-
- [6.] डामणिर्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्द्रः । यस्याभिषेककलसीलसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजः  
पटलं धरित्रयाः ॥ (6) यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणस-
- [7.] मये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैलन्याद्यत्कुम्भपदक्रमासमभरभ्रस्थन्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालु-  
गलितः स्थानासृगुङ्गासितः<sup>48</sup> शेषः पेषवभा-
- [8.] दिव<sup>49</sup> क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ (7).<sup>50</sup> तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवस्त्रिवधावस्त्रव-  
रायगजो नरेन्द्रः । सान्द्रासृतद्रवमुचाम्यभवो न-
- [9.] वां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुरासेः<sup>51</sup> ॥ (8).<sup>52</sup> न कथमप्यलभन्त रत्नसमान्स्त्रिस्तु-  
दिस्तु गजानन्य वज्रिणः । ककुभि वध्वसुरभ्रमुवक्ष्यमप्रति-
- [10.] भटा<sup>53</sup> इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ (9).<sup>54</sup> सोऽयं समस्त राजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः स च परमभट्टारक-  
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजो-
- [11.] पार्जितश्रीकान्तकुम्भाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
परममाहेश्वर श्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यात-
- [12.] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजक्याधिय-  
तिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमद्वी-
- [13.] विन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ॥ रानपत्तलायां<sup>55</sup> । जनकदेविपुरधामनिवासिनो निखिलजनयदा-  
नुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुराजमन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- [14.] तप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाक-  
रस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषान् समा-
- [15.] ज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः  
सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सगर्तो-
- [16.] धरः समभूकाम्बवनवाटिकाविटपतृण्यतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोऽर्द्धाक्षतुराघाटविसृष्टः ससो-  
मापर्यन्तः संवत् ११८६ आश्विनसुदि १५ सो-
- [17.] मदिने<sup>56</sup> श्रीमहाराणस्यां राहुयस्तचन्द्रमसि गङ्गायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूत-  
पितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-
- [18.] मुण्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिसकलसेधरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्वीसुदेवस्य पूजास्त्रिधाय<sup>57</sup>  
प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा माता-
- [19.] पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यश्रीभिवृद्धयेऽस्माभिर्गोकर्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वम् वधुलगोत्राय  
वधुल । अघमर्षण । विश्वामित्रप्रवराय दीक्षितपु-

<sup>44</sup> Read नृपः । प्रतापशमिता<sup>0</sup> गाधिपुराधिराजमसमं<sup>0</sup> तम्

<sup>45</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>46</sup> Read 'तुल्यमभि' . . अतश्च

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā, and in the next verse.

<sup>48</sup> Read 'सलितस्या'

<sup>49</sup> Read according to Kielhorn शेषः शेषवशादिच and see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

<sup>50</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>51</sup> This verse is found in Len. Coll. grant of Jayachchhan-

dra: see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII., p. 129; and read 'नारु' . 'वस्या' . नवराज्य' प्रमरी 'राशे:

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>53</sup> Read 'चमाम्' ति' वसु'

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Drutavilambita.

<sup>55</sup> रान' doubtful.

<sup>56</sup> Read सोऽर्द्धाक्ष' विभुसः पाणिन'

<sup>57</sup> Read 'शस्त्रम्' . . पूजां विधाय

- L. [20.] रासपौत्राय दीक्षितवीर्यापुत्राय दीक्षितपुरोहितत्रीजागूसर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय आदन्द्रार्कं यावत्  
शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त<sup>58</sup> मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभो-
- [21.] गकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसमस्तादायान आह्वाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ \*<sup>59</sup> ॥  
भवन्ति चाहः । श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं
- [22.] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (10).<sup>60</sup> संखं भद्रासनं च्छत्र  
वरास्त्रा<sup>61</sup> यरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्परन्दर ॥ (11). सर्वानेता-
- [23.] न भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राद् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्यं धर्मसेतुनृपाणा<sup>62</sup> काले  
काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ (12).<sup>63</sup> बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त्वा राज-
- [24.] मिः सगरादिभिः ब्रह्म यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलीम् ॥ (13).<sup>64</sup> सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां  
भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं हरत्वरकमाप्नोति यावदाङ्गतसंज्ञ-
- [25.] वं<sup>65</sup> ॥ (14) तडागानां सहस्रेण अस्त्रमेधयतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न  
सुष्यति<sup>66</sup> ॥ (15). स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तास्वा यो हरति वसुधरां<sup>67</sup> । स विद्यायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा  
पितृ-
- [26.] मिः मह मज्जति ॥ (16).

## XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

DATED SAMVAT 158.

BY A. FÜHRER, PH.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pālī,<sup>1</sup> close to Kosām, the ancient Kauśāmbī, the chief town of the Karārī pargana in the Mānjhanpur tahsīl of the Allahābād district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahābād, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7½" by 6½". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ¼"; they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Samskrit, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

<sup>58</sup> Read °तलीदकपुर्वम् . . . °पुरवासपौत्राय °शर्मणे . आदन्द्रार्कं . प्रदत्तः । . and remove unnecessary signs of punctuation.

<sup>59</sup> Read °दायानाहा°—The asterisk is represented in the plate by a character like ॥ (cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII., p. 12).

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh), and in the following verse.

<sup>61</sup> Read ब्रह्म . . . वरास्त्रा ।

<sup>62</sup> Read °नृपाणां

<sup>63</sup> Metre: Śālinī.

<sup>64</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh), and in the three following verses.

<sup>65</sup> Read °ङ्गुलम् । °संज्ञम्

<sup>66</sup> Read चक्षुः . . . दृश्यति

<sup>67</sup> Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा . . . वसुधराम्

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. II, page 240

to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice: (1) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *māddhyandināya*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *pitr̥r*, line 4, and in *gottrāya*, line 5; (3) the doubling of *n*, *g*, *th*, *bh*, *v*, and *sh* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *paur̥ṇamāsyām*, line 15; in *svargge*, line 13; in *ar̥ithe*, line 8; in *vidheyair̥ bh̥bhavitavyam*, line 7, and *krimir̥ bh̥bhutvā*, line 10; in *parvatikā*, line 2, and *bahubhir̥ vvasudhā*, line 11; in *varshsha*<sup>2</sup>, line 12; (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra* in *samvatsara*, line 15; (5) the use of *v* for *b* in *kuṭumvinah*, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about 2½" by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right; below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend *śrī-mahārāja-lakṣmaṇasya*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is 37½ *tolas*, and of the ring and seal 27½ *tolas*; total 65 *tolas*.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyāishṭha. There is no indication as to the era; but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however, not be calculated as the week-day, *nakṣatra*, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, of an *agrāhāra* in the village Phelā-parvatikā,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pāli,—to the Brāhmaṇa Revatisvāmin of the Kautsagotra. The *dūtaka* is the Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

#### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

##### Obverse.

- L. [1.] श्री स्वास्ति जयपुरात्परममाहेस्वरः श्रीमहाराज-
- [2.] सत्पुत्रः कुयली फेलापर्वतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मणादी-
- [3.] प्रतिवासिकुटुम्बिनः समान्नापयति विदितं वोस्तु व-
- [4.] शेष ग्रामी मया मातापित्रीराजन्य पुण्याभिहृदये
- [5.] कौत्ससगोत्राय राजसमेयिसब्रह्मचारिणे माहान्दिनाय
- [6.] ब्राह्मणरेवतिस्वामिनेषाहारीतिहृदस्तदुक्त्याभिर-
- [7.] स्वाम्नायवणविधेयैर्भूवितथ्यं समुचिताय प्रत्यायाः
- [8.] मेयडिरण्यादयो देयाः[॥]अपि चास्मिन्मर्त्ये व्यासक्तताः
- [9.] श्लोका भवन्ति[॥]सदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां [॥]
- [10.] स विद्यायां क्षमिर्भुत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति [॥]

<sup>2</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>3</sup> Read *\*bh̥bhavitavyam*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh, and the following two verses.

<sup>5</sup> Read *\*bh̥bhutvā*.

GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

[illegible][illegible]





## Reverse.

- L. [11.] बहुभिर्बहुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1] यस्य यस्य  
 [12.] यदा भूमिस्सस्य तस्य तदा फलं [1] षट्तिं वर्षसह-  
 [13.] साधि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदिः [1] चाण्डेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्देव  
 [14.] नरके वसेत् [1] दूतकचाच श्रीमहाराजनरवाहनदत्तः  
 [15.] संवत्सरयतेष्टपंचाशदुत्तरे ज्येष्ठमासे पौर्ण-  
 [16.] मास्यां लिखितं बलदेवेनेति १५८ [1]

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Māheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelā-parvvatikā:—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrāhāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Revatisvāmin, of the Kautsagotra, a student of the Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina (*śākha*). You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyāsa:—"He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!" The *dūtaka* (*is*) the illustrious Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyāishṭha, 158.

XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SÂNCĪHĪ.<sup>1</sup>

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputana and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stûpas of SâncĪhĪ, *recté* in Sanskrit Kâkaṇâḍa or in Prakrit Kâkaṇâva (see I, No. 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stûpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered;<sup>2</sup> the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham's 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,<sup>3</sup> the latest of which shows the Nāgarī of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stûpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nāgarī inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word *devānam*, nor can the word *piya* have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either *yaṁ* or *yām*. The *ya* is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvāra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly *bha*, and the syllable probably was *bhe*. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260), the letters *mag*, but *mage*, and after it quite distinctly *kaṭe*. This new reading removes the possibility that the Saṁgha of Magadha can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, "a road has been made." The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct *khu*, and after two indistinct signs the syllable *bhi*. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel *i* appears and immediately after it *nam*. Then comes an indistinct sign and next *ti*. Thus, we obtain—*.khu . . bhi . . inam . ti*. It is almost certain that the reading was *bhikkhunam vā bhikkhunīnam vā ti*, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *ante*, p. 87.<sup>2</sup> In his letter Dr. Führer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a fragment of a *stambha* or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in

some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.

<sup>3</sup> About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.

of the edict (ll. 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Saṃgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters *ta pa* are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters *ka* or *ke*, *ye*, as well as the word *saṃghaṃ*, I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambi edict on the Allahābād Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Allahābād.

TRANSCRIPT.

Sānchi.

. . . . . saṃghaṃ  
 bhokhati bhikhu-va bhikhu-ni vā .  
 [pi chā]o—(2) dātā—ni [d]-usāui . naṃ dhāpa  
                   yitu                   anāpe-  
 sa . v . s . y . y .

. . . y[am] bh[e?] . . . mage kaṭe [7]  
 khu[naṃ vā] bhi . . inaṃ [vā] ti [ . ] . ta pa [6]  
 . [ . ikhi(?)taṃ] . m. . ri (?) . [ke ?] ye  
 saṃghaṃ [5] bhokhati bhiku vā bhikhuni vā odātā-  
 ni du[s . ] . i sanam . . . yitu anā . [3]  
 sasi v[i]s . petaviy . [ . ] Ichhā hi me kim- [2]  
 ti saṃghasa mage chilathitike siyā ti [1]

## TRANSLATION.

“A road was made both for the monks and the nuns<sup>4</sup> . . . the community<sup>5</sup> will dine, both monk and nun, (*and*), causing white cloth to be put down (*for them*), you will order it to be spread; for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (*of the Buddhist monks*) may endure for a long time.”

It is now evident that the road (*mage*) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or “terrace for circumambulation”<sup>6</sup> which surrounds the Stūpa (see *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stūpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos. 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes;

(2) Two,—II, No. 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word *dānam*, in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones;

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, *da* has frequently (see, *e.g.*, I, Nos. 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there *ja*, too, is irregular. In *Ujjeniyā* (No. 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Gīrnār version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In *Rājuka* (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word *pajāvatī*, *ja* looks

<sup>4</sup> The word *ti* indicates that the sentence is at an end.

<sup>5</sup> I am inclined to take *saṃghaṃ* as a neuter nominative with the *lingavyatya*-ya, so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text

has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.

<sup>6</sup> Usually called *Pradakṣiṇā* by the Brahmans and *Bhṛmṭī* (*Bhramantī*) by the Jains.

almost like *ṭā*. In *Yakkhadāsīyā* (I, No. 194) the letter *sa* has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels *ā* and *e* often slant upwards, as in the Kālsī version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel *i* very commonly consists, as in the Gīrnār version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, e.g., I, Nos. 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel *ā* is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of *ma* in the word *Māhisatiya*, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel *i* occupies a similar position in *Sirimilāyā* (I, No. 355).

The unusual *cha*, with a little tail, known from Mr. Rea's Bhaṭṭiprolu Stūpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A *la*, intermediate between the form of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stūpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name *Vāḍī-rahana*, a vicarious form for *Vāḍīvahana* in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of *la* north of the Narmadā before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like *ka*, the angular *gha* and a peculiar short *da*, with a shallow curve, but has no *serifs* or nail-heads;

(2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos. 288, 334, 377;

(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237; II, Nos. 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to *ka* and *ra*, while the third offers an almost circular *ba* and the looped *ta*, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stūpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pāli of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavati; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vāḍīvahana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Nava-gāma and of Ejāvati; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No. 366 one by the family of Ajitiguta. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No. 59) another *sulātika* or teacher of the Sūtras, a *thera* (I, No. 266), and, it would seem, a *tāpasa* or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhamḍuka, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kana and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations

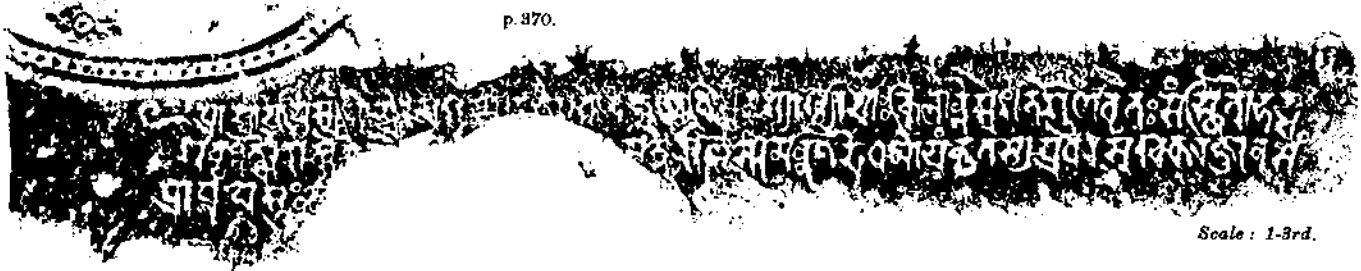
SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS.

ON MEDIEVAL IMAGES. p. 369.



Scale: 2-5ths.

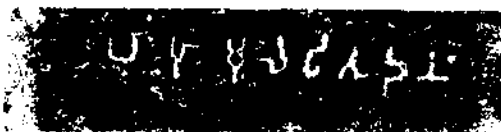
p. 370.



Scale: 1-3rd.

St. I, 377.—p. 396.

St. I, 301.—p. 388.

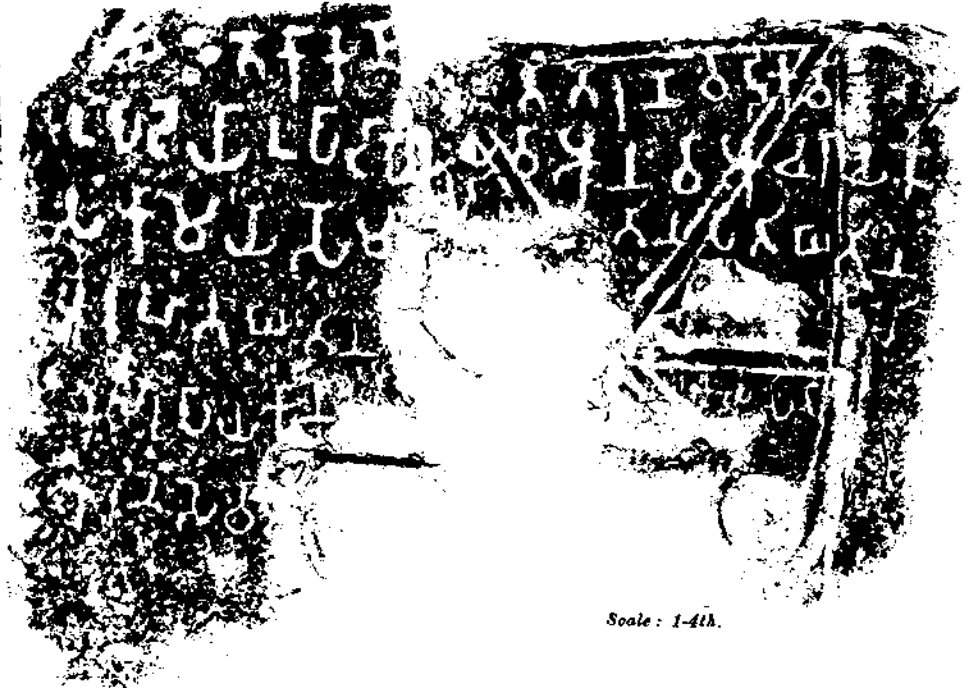


Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 358.



Scale: 1-5th.



Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 378.—p. 396.



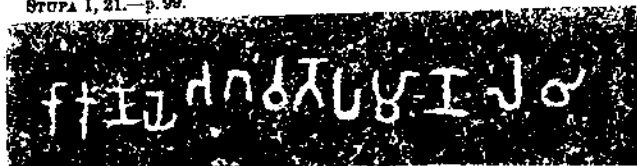
A. Führer: imp.

Scale: 1-6th.

# SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS.

*Epigraphia Indica, vol. 2.*

STUPA I, 21.—p. 99.



J. Burgess, impress

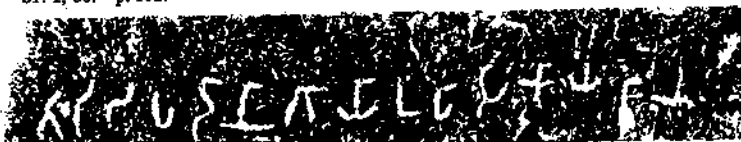
Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 230.—p. 331.



Scale: 1-4th.

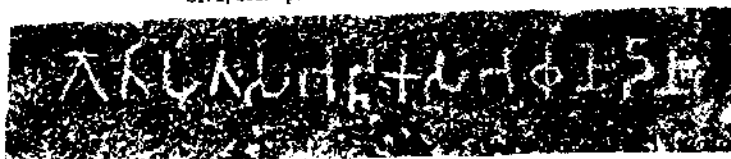
St. I, 60.—p. 102.



A. Fuhrer, impress

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 256.—p. 384.



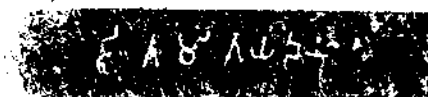
Scale: 1-5th.

St. II, 1.—p. 110.



Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 257.



Scale: 1-5th.

ASOKA FRAGMENT

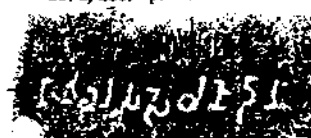
p. 367.



A. Fuhrer, impress

Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 235.—p. 337.



Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 233.



Scale: 1-5th.

now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Saṃgha, see, *e.g.*, I, No. 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name. Thus, I, No. 140, records the gift of "Nāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamda-digāma," and No. 167 that "of the mother of the Sheth." Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a *sotika*, i.e., *sautrika*, "weaver," in I, No. 195; *vaḍaki*, i.e., probably *vardhakin*, "carpenter" in No. 311, and a *rajuka* in No. 229. The term *rajuka* or *rājuka* is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the *Kalpasūtra* of the Jains, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form *rajjuya*, and is explained to mean 'a clerk or accountant,' what is now called in India a *karkun*.<sup>7</sup> The word is an abbreviation of *rajjugāhaka*, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. *Rājalipikara* "a royal scribe" (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from *lekhaka* (I, No. 143), which latter means "a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist." Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the *Nakshatras*, and a few like *Ajarānī*, i.e., *Ajirā* or *Durgā*, indicating the existence of Paurāṇik worship.

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times. It would seem that the inhabitants of Arāpāna, Bhogavadhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara Navagāma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stūpas, the lion's share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikā, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihāra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [mahārāja] rājātīrāja [deva]putra Shāhi Vāsushka. The name Vāsushka is new. But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vāsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Huvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vāsushka with Vāsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 78 certainly falls within Vāsudeva's reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:—

L. 1. . . . . sya \* rājātīrājasya . . putrasya<sup>9</sup> Shāh[i] Vāsushkasya<sup>10</sup>  
saṃ [70]<sup>11</sup> 8 he l [di 5] [e]tasy[ām] [p]u[rv]v[āyām] bhagava—

<sup>7</sup> See my notes on the Pillar Edict IV, and the Rock Edict III, *infra*, and my article in the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Zeitschrift*, vol. XLVII, p. 466.

<sup>8</sup> Restore, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, *Mahārāja*, or perhaps *Siddham mahārājasya*.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *devaputrasya*.

<sup>10</sup> I read this sign first as 20; Sir A. Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70. I agree to this, as the Mathurā Inscri. No. XX (*Epigr. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)





No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिनस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagadina (*Nagadatta* or *Nāgadatta*), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सोवदेवाय [प]रिजय अग्निदेवा[य च दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Soṇadevā (*Suvarṇadevā*),<sup>19</sup> Parijā (?), and Agidevā (*Agnidevā*).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभगाय सभगिनिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Subhagā and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 21 (?).

पुसगिरिनी नाव[ग]मकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagāma (*Navagrāma*).

No. 132 = C. 26.

ओद[र]तिकाये भिक्षुनि वेदिसिकया<sup>20</sup> दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Odātikā (*Avadātikā*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

यसोपालस दानं भद[त]कड़ि[य स] (?) [॥\*]

(The gift) of Yasopāla (*Yaśahpāla*), pupil of the venerable Kaḍa (?).

No. 134 = C. 28.

माहम[र]गिन्हा सीहगिरिनी दन [॥\*]

The gift of Sihagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi.<sup>21</sup>

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसस चहटियस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pusa (*Pushya*) the Chahaṭiya<sup>22</sup> monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[ग]हपतिनी बुधिलस दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Buddhila (*Buddhila*).

No. 137 = C. 37.

अय[र]हिलस साफिनेयकस<sup>23</sup> मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sāphineyaka.

<sup>19</sup> *Suvarṇa*, i.e. the Gandharva of that name.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the note to II, No. 33.

<sup>21</sup> See *ante*, No. 77.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly "inhabitant of Chahaṭa."

<sup>23</sup> This might be read साफिनेयकस, but below (in No. 161), the *फि* is distinct.

No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिसारखि-

L. 2. तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Disārakhita<sup>24</sup> (*Disārakhita*) from Navagāmaka (*Navagrāma*).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोठदेवाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Poṭhadevā (*Proṣṭhadevā*).No. 140 = C. 45 (?)<sup>25</sup>.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिया नागाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nāgā, the wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिय पुसाय दानं [॥]

The gift of Pusā (*Pushyā*), wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigāma.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंदडिगामा वडस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vadhā (*Vridhā*) from Kamdaḍigrāma.

No. 143 = C. 48.

मुलगिरिनी दानं लेखकस [॥\*]

The gift of Mulagiri (*Mūlagiri*), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

उजैनिय — — — —

From Ujjain . . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

यखदिनस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Yakhadina (*Yakshadatta*), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

उजैनिया उपासिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain.

No. 147 = C. 53.

नावगामिकाना उपासिकाना दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagāma (*grāma*).<sup>24</sup> The deities meant here are the *dīsāś*, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon.<sup>25</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line. Hence this may be a different one.

No. 148 = C. 55.

उजेनिया रो[ह]णिय दानं [॥\*]<sup>26</sup>The gift of Rohaṇī (*Rohiṇī*) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

उजेनिया धमगिरिनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*<sup>27</sup>) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

उजेनिया सोनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sona (*Suvarṇa*) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

उजेनिया तापसियानं [ह]सानजाय<sup>27</sup> दानं [॥]

The gift of Najā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

उजेया तापसियना इसिमितस दानं [॥\*]<sup>28</sup>The gift of Isimita (*Rishimitra*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

उजेनिया मुलदतये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Muladatā (*Mūladattā*) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

उजेनिय बलकय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balakā from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

[उजे]निया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वयुदतय दानं [॥]

The gift of Vayudatā (*Vāyudattā*), wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

उजेनिय उपेददतस भगिनिय हिमदताये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Himadatā (*Himadattā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

[उजे]निया उपेददतस भगिनिय बुधायै दानं [॥\*]<sup>29</sup>The gift of Budhā (*Buddhā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.<sup>26</sup> The reverse shows clearly that the apparent u-stroke under ॥ is due to an accidental scratch.<sup>27</sup> The little horizontal stroke, denoting the ॥ is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.

Read उजेनिया.

Possibly बुधायै to be read.

No. 158 = C. 65.

उजेनिया काडिये भिङ्गनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Kāḍi (*Kāṇḍī*), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

उजेनिया छेतमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Chheta (*Kshetra*), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

उजेनिया तापसियना सिंहदतये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Simhadatā<sup>30</sup> (*°dattā*) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

उजेनिया सफिनेयकाना इसिकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isika (*Rishika*) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

कुरघर इसिमितय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isimita (*Rishimitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

उजेनिया वा[सु]लाया दानं [॥\*]<sup>31</sup>

The gift of Vāsulā (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

कुरघरा नरय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Narā<sup>32</sup> from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

कुरघरा नगमितया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga°* or *Nāgamitrā*), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

अस्वदेवाय समिकस मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Aśvadevā<sup>33</sup> (*Aśvadevā*), mother of Samika (*Stāmika*).

No. 167 = C. 85.

सेथिनो मतु कनिय[सि]ये<sup>34</sup>— —(The gift) of Kaniyasī (*Kaniyasī*), the mother of the Sheth.<sup>30</sup> In this and similar compounds *Simha* may possibly stand for नरसिंह, shortened *bhāmāvat*.<sup>31</sup> Possibly विपुलाय to be read.<sup>32</sup> i.e. probably *Naradattā*.<sup>33</sup> In this and similar compounds अस्व probably stands *bhāmāvat* for अश्वयुज-<sup>34</sup> The vowel of सि is indistinct.

No. 168 = C. 88.

वसुलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 169 = C. 89.

ईददतस पाविडकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Īdadata (*Indradatta*), inhabitant of Paviḍa.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजरस सेधिभातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Kujara (*Kuñjara*), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[सि]दताय सकदिन पजाव—

L. 2. —य दानं [॥\*]<sup>26</sup>

The gift of Isidatā (*Rishidattā*), wife of Sakadina (*Sakradatta*).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भदगुतस सानुकगामीनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bhadaguta (*Bhadrugupta*), inhabitant of Sānukagāma (*grāma*).

No. 173 = C. 98.

धरकिना सातिलस दानं [॥\*<sup>27</sup>]

The gift of Sātīla (*Sāntīla* or *Svātīla*)<sup>27</sup> from Dharakinā (*Erakina* or *Erān*).

No. 174 = C. 106.

स[घा]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saghā (*Samghā*).

No. 175 = C. 118.<sup>28</sup>

वाघुमता काचा— —

(*The gift of*) Kāchā . . . . . from Vāghumatu.

No. 176 = C. 119—21.

L. 1. समिकस वानिकस

L. 2. पुतस चस सिरिपालस

L. 3. दानं ३ [॥\*]

Three (*rails*)<sup>29</sup>, the gift of Samik a (*Svāmika*), the trader, and of his son Siripāla (*Śripāla*).

<sup>26</sup> Restore इसिदताय and पजावतिय.

<sup>27</sup> Probably धरकिना to be read.

<sup>28</sup> Diminutive from *Sāntideva*, *Sāntivarman*, or *Svātīdatta*.

<sup>29</sup> As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.

<sup>30</sup> As Sir A. Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 252) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, which probably were given by the two persons named.

No. 177 = C. 122.

भादतराजुकस [दा]ना [॥\*]

The gift of Bhādata-Rājuka (the venerable *Rājuka*)

No. 178 = C. 123.

विसाखस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Visākha (*Viśākha*).

No. 179 = C. 130.

नंदस कुररती— —

(The gift) of Nānda from Kurara.

No. 180 = C. 132.

मधुव[ना] इ[सि]दतये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidattā*) from Madhuvana

No. 181 = C. 133.

[इ]सिदताये भिक्षुनिये कुररिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidattā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 182 = C. 134.

धमपालस कीथुकपदियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamapāla (*Dharmapāla*), inhabitant of Kuthukapada.

No. 183 = C. 147.

नंदिनागारिकय इसिदिनाये भिक्षुनिये [॥\*]<sup>41</sup>(The gift) of the nun Isidinā (*Rishidattā*), inhabitant of Nandīnagara.

No. 184 = C. 151.

धयधनकस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka.

No. 185 = C. 157.

धनगिरिगी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhanagiri.

No. 186 = C. 159.

L. 1. बलिकाये भिक्षुनिया मडलाहिक-

L. 2. टिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Balikā, inhabitant of Maḍalachhikata.

<sup>40</sup> Or *Kothukapada*, i.e. either *Kunthuka* or *Kiothukapada* or *padra*.<sup>41</sup> Read नंदिनागरिक<sup>40</sup>

No. 187 = C. 163.<sup>42</sup>

L. 1. भडिकियस

संघिलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Samghila, a pupil of Bhadika.<sup>43</sup>

No. 188 = C. 164.

अरहतपालितस भि— — — [॥\*]

(The gift) of the monk Arahatapālita (*Arhatpālita*).

No. 189 = C. 165.<sup>44</sup>

L. 1. अरहकस परि-

L. 2. पनकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahaka (*Arhaka*), the Paripanaka.<sup>45</sup>

No. 190 = C. 166.

धम्मगिरिकमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (*Dharmagiri*).

No. 191 = C. 168.

सिधधस वि— — —

. . . . . of Sidhatha (*Siddhārtha*) . . . . .

No. 192 = C. 169.

इसिदासिये नादिनागरिकाये भिङ्गनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidāsī (*Rishidāsi*), inhabitant of Nāmdinagara.

No. 193 = C. 170.

नंदिनगरा दुपसहभिङ्गनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Dupasahā (*Dushprasahā* ?) from Nāmdinagara.

No. 194 = C. 171.

यखदासिया दानं [भिङ्गनिये] [॥\*]

The gift of Yakhadāsī (*Yakshadāsi*), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172.

दत्तकलिवतस दानं [॥\*]<sup>46</sup>

The gift of Datakalivata (?)

<sup>42</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different.

<sup>43</sup> Compare No. 306.

<sup>44</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.

<sup>45</sup> This possibly means an inhabitant of *Paripona*, i.e., *Pariparna* or *Paripāna* ?

<sup>46</sup> The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.



No. 196 = C. 174.<sup>47</sup>

- L. 1. दमकस सोति-  
 L. 2. कस कुसुकापितु  
 L. 3. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.<sup>48</sup>

- L. 1. इसिपालीतस च  
 L. 2. समणस च दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isipālita (*Rishipālita*) and of Samana (*Śramaṇa*).

No. 198 = C. 186.

॥ वीरस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Vira.

No. 199 = C. 187=88.

- L. 1. यखिय भिखुनिया वाळीव =  
 L. 2. ॥ हनिकाया दानं ॥

The gift of the nun Yakhī (*Yakshī*), inhabitant of Vālivahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसकेहि दंतकारेहि रुपकमं कतं [॥\*]

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving.

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुरराय नागपायस अछावडे सेयिस पुतस च संघस [दा]नं [॥\*]<sup>49</sup>The gift of Nāgapiya (*°priya*) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhāvāḍa, and of (*his*) son Saṁgha.No. 202.<sup>50</sup>

अछावाटा चिरातिमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Chirātī (*Kirātī*) from Achhāvāṭa (? *Ma°*).

No. 203.

अज[रा]निय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ajarānī (*Ajird*).

No. 204.

[अ]ठकनगरस गगं[द]तस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Gagāṁdata (*Gaṅgadatta*), the monk, inhabitant of Athakanagara.

<sup>47</sup> There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.

<sup>48</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.

<sup>49</sup> Read कुररिय नागपियस.

<sup>50</sup> As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.

No. 205.<sup>51</sup>

अप — यह दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

अपा[का]निया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Apākāni.

No. 207.

अयकनस भिक्षुनी दानं अयभंडुकियस [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhaṇḍuka.<sup>52</sup>

No. 208.

अयजे[त]स भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (*Jayanta*).

No. 209.

L. 1. अयफगुनस साधिविहारिनी

L. 2. खेमकस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Khemaka (*Kshemaka*), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (*Phalguna*).

No. 210.

अरपना असाडस दा[नं]व — —

The gift of Asāḍa (*Aśhādha*) . . . from Arapana.

No. 211.

अरपना यदा — — —

From Arapana . . . . .

No. 212.

[अ]रपानिया सिहय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), inhabitant of Arapāna.

No. 213.

असगुतस दानं [॥ ]

The gift of Asaguta (*Āsvagupta*).

No. 214.

असभये उज्जेनिकाये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Asabhā, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215.

[अ]स्ववतिय गामस — —

(The gift) of the village of Asvavati (*Āsvavati*).<sup>51</sup> Incised on the procession path.<sup>52</sup> See *ante*, p. 98, No. 16, and below No. 258.

No. 216.

L. 1. इसिदसिणे नादिनागरिकाये भिक्षु[निये]

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>53</sup>The gift of Isidasī (*Rishiddasī*), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. इसिनदनस दानं [॥\*]

L. 2. [पु]जवढनियस [॥\*]

The gift of Isinadana (*Rishinandana*), inhabitant of Puñavadhana (*Punyavardhana*).

No. 218.

इसिरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakhita*).

No. 219.

उजेनिये अस्वरखिताये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Asvarakhitā (*Āsvarakhitā*) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

उजेनाया उपसिकाये सिरिकाये दानं [॥\*]<sup>54</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikā (*Śrikā*) from Ujjain.No. 221.<sup>55</sup>

उजेनिया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वा[यु]दताय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vāyudatā, wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [\*उ]जेनिय कलुरप-

L. 2. तस बुमुस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bumu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.

No. 223.

L. 1. उजेनिया तापसिया-

L. 2. नं — — — धम

L. 3. [दता]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamadatā (*Dharmadattā*) . . . of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[उ\*]जेनिया धमयसाया मत्तु भिक्षुनिया दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasā (*Dharmayaśas*) from Ujjain.<sup>53</sup> This is identical in words with No. 192 (C. 169), which however is in one line.<sup>54</sup> Read उजेनिया.<sup>55</sup> This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 185 (C. 62).

No. 225.

L. 1. उजेनिया बलिकाया

L. 2. मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Balikā from Ujjain.

No. 226.

उजेनिये मितये भिक्षु — — — —

(The gift) of the nun Mitā (*Mitrā*) in Ujjain.

No. 227.

उजेनिया वसुलय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulā from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उजेनिया संघदत्तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghadatta (°*datta*) from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उजेनिया सुलासस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sulāsa from Ujjain.

No. 230.

उतरस रजुकस दानं [॥\*]<sup>80</sup>The gift of Utara (*Uttara*), the *Rajuka*.

No. 231.

एजावतिय उ[पा]सिकाना — —

(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejāvatī.

No. 232.

एजावतिया वाहिलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vāhila from Ejāvatī.

No. 233.

कटकजु[य]कस [ई\*]ददेवस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Idadeva (*Indradeva*), inhabitant of Katakāñu.

No. 234.

कटकजुया अरहस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Katakāñu.

No. 235.

कटकजुया ध — — —

From Katakāñu . . . . .

<sup>80</sup> See facsimile on the plate.

No. 236.

कंदडिगामा सेथि — —

From Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*), of the Sheth . . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेठिनो

L. 2. पद्मावतिया देवभागाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भिक्षुनो

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Kāṇa.

No. 239.<sup>67</sup>

कुरघरा घोसकास दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ghosaka (*Ghoshaka*) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुरघरा नगमिताय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga* or *Nāgamitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]र घरिय स[र ति]सिरिय

L. 2. — सुनि — — — —<sup>68</sup>(The gift) of the nun Sātisiri (*Sāntisiri* or *Svātisiri*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुररातो अरहगुत्तस

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) from Kurara.No. 243.<sup>69</sup>

L. 1. कुररातो अरह[गु]त्तस

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

No. 244.

L. 1. कुरराय अक्कावतिय

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]<sup>70</sup>The gift of the nun Achhāvati (*Rikshavati*) in Kurara.<sup>67</sup> There are two illegible lines above that given here.<sup>68</sup> Restore भिक्षुनिय दानं.<sup>69</sup> The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs.<sup>70</sup> It is not impossible that the कुरराय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुररिय.

No. 245.

कुरराय ढागादिनाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>१</sup>

The gift of Nāgādinā (*Nāgadattā*) in Kurara.

No. 246.

कुरराय धमकास दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*) in Kurara.

No. 247.

कुरराय वल — — — —

No. 248.

L. 1. कुरराय सघारक्षिताया<sup>२</sup>

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Saghārahita (*Samgharakshita*) in Kurara.

No. 249.

कुररिय अरहगुता [य दा]—

The gift of Arahagutā (*Arhadguptā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[रि]य [अर]हदिनाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahadinā (*Arhaddattā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]ररियस सघा — — — —

No. 252.

L. 1. गढाय भिक्षुन-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gaḍā (*Gaṇḍā*?).

No. 253.

गड[र]या भिक्षुनिया वेदिसिकाया दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gaḍā (*Gaṇḍā*?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

. . गिरिकस पञ्चावतिया—लिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . tī, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

गौतमिये इसिनिका — — — —<sup>३</sup>

(The gift) of Isinikā (*Rishikā*), the Gōtami (*Gautamī*).

<sup>१</sup> Read ढाग.

<sup>२</sup> Read सघर.

<sup>३</sup> There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.

No. 256.

गीतिपुत्रस भद्रकस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]<sup>64</sup>The gift of the monk Bhadraka, son of the Goti (*Gauptī* mother).No. 257.<sup>65</sup>

जितमितय दानं [॥]

The gift of Jitamitā (*Jitāmitra*).No. 258.<sup>66</sup>

ज्योत्नकस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnakā*).

No. 259.

ताकारापदा संघरक्षितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃgharakhita (*°rakshita*) from Takārāpada.

No. 260.

तापसस गोनंदकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the ascetic Gonamdaka.

No. 261.

तिरिडपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [द]ानं [॥\*]

The gift of the female lay worshipper Nāgā from Tiridapada.

No. 262.

तिसस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Tisa (*Tishya*).

No. 263.

तुंडस फुजाकप[लि]यस दानं [॥\*]<sup>67</sup>The gift of Tuḍa (*Tuṇḍa*), inhabitant of Phujākapalli (?).No. 264.<sup>68</sup>

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Gahapati* Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>69</sup>

No. 265.

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस भातु [जा]याय ध[जा]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhañā (*Dhanyā*), wife of the brother of the *gahapati* Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>70</sup><sup>64</sup> This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (*ante*, p. 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.<sup>65</sup> See facsimile.<sup>66</sup> Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, *ante*, p. 105.<sup>67</sup> The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.<sup>68</sup> Identical in words with No. 23, *ante*, p. 99.<sup>69</sup> *Tumbavana* occurs in Hemachandra's *Parīśiṣṭa Parva*, (see Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p. 71).

No. 266.

थेरस अयनागस भिक्षुनी उज्जैनिकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the *Thera*, the venerable Nāga, a monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

L. 1. दत्ताये भिक्षुनिया म — — किटिकाये<sup>70</sup>

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Datā (*Dattā*), inhabitant of [Madālachhī]ikaṭa.

No. 268.

देवरखितस मोरजहकटियस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Devarakhita (*°rakshita*), inhabitant of Morajahakaṭa.

No. 269.

धनगिरिनो [चडि]पियस<sup>71</sup> च भिक्षुनं दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chāḍipiya (*Chundīpriya*?).

No. 270.

L. 1. धमकस वेज्जजक-

L. 2. स दन [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

धमगिरिनो च धमसेनस च दानं [॥\*]

The gift both of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*°) and of Dhamasena (*Dharma*°).

No. 272.

धमदिनावे दान [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamadinā (*Dharmadattā*).

No. 273.

L. 1. धम्मपालस

L. 2. म[हि]पालस<sup>72</sup> दान [॥\*]

The gift of Dhammapāla (*Dharma*° and) of Mahipāla.

No. 274.

L. 1. धमरखितस

L. 2. — रकरकस दान [॥\*]

The Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of —rakara(?).

No. 275.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.

<sup>70</sup> Restore मडलहिकटिकाये

<sup>71</sup> This may also be intended for चडिपियस or चडि

<sup>72</sup> The second vowel has been obliterated.



No. 276.

L. 1. धसु — — —

L. 2. कुलस द[न ॥\*]<sup>73</sup>The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (*Dharmottara*).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर अचल—

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय द[न ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Achalâ from Nadinagara (*Nandî*°).

No. 278.

L. 1. नदिनगरा अम[ग य]

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Amagâ (*Amatâ*, i.e., *Amṛitâ* ?) from Namdinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. नदिनगर[र] उत्तरदत्तय

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>74</sup>The gift of Utaradatâ (*Uttaradattâ*) from Namdinagara.

No. 280.

नदिनगर [उत्तर]मितय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Utaramitâ (*Uttaramitrâ*) from Namdinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [न]दिनगर उपास-

L. 2. [कस] यमदस दन [॥\*]<sup>75</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Yamada[ta] (*°datta*) from Namdinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. नदिनगर रोहणदेव-

L. 2. य [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohanadevâ (*Rohinîdevâ*) from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 283.

न[हु]तरय दनं वे[दि]सिकय भिक्षुनिया

The gift of Namdutarâ (? *Nandottarâ*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदत्तस सघरखितस च कोरघरानं

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>76</sup>The gift of Nâgadata (*°datta*) and Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.<sup>73</sup> Probably धसुतरस to be restored.<sup>74</sup> Above the first syllable stands another न.<sup>75</sup> Read यमदत्तस<sup>76</sup> This inscription has to be read from below, see *ante*, p. 107, No. 93.

No. 285.<sup>77</sup>

ना[गिल]स शेठिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Sheth Nágila*.

No. 286.

नाटिय भिक्षुनिय [को]रघरिय द[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the nun *Náti*, inhabitant of *Kuraghara*.

No. 287

नादिनगर काबोज -

स भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk *Káboja* (*Kámboja*) from *Nádinagara* (*Nandi*<sup>o</sup>).

No. 288.<sup>78</sup>

L. 1. पंथकस भिक्षुनो उ[भे]यका — —

L. 2. बूधपालीतस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk *Panthaka* (*Pánthaka*) . . . . (and) of the monk *Bûdhapálita* (*Buddhapálita*).

No. 289.

[पा]तिठानस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Pâtithâna*.

No. 290.

पुरुविडा दिसागिरिपुतानं द[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the sons of *Disâgiri*<sup>79</sup> (*Disâgiri*) from *Puruviḍa*.

No. 291.

पुसकस दन [॥\*]

The gift of *Pusaka* (*Pushyaka*).

No. 292.

पुसदतस नवगमकियस दन [॥\*]

The gift of *Pusadata* (*Pushyadatta*), inhabitant of *Navagâma* (*grâma*).

No. 293.

पेमुतिकाय सुपठामाये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun *Supaṭhâmâ* (*Suprasthâmâ* ?), inhabitant of *Pemuta*.

No. 294.

[पो\*]खरातो रसिदताय लेवस पजावतिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Isidatâ* (*Rishidattâ*), the wife of *Leva* from *Pokhara* (*Pushkara*).

<sup>77</sup> See facsimile.

<sup>78</sup> Given among the facsimiles

<sup>79</sup> See above, note 24 to No. 138.

No. 295.

पोखरातो इसिदताय दानं — — — — —  
The gift of Isidatā from Pokhara . . . . .

No. 296.

[\*पो]खरातो तुडाया तुडस च दानं ले — — — — —  
The gift of Tudā and Tuda (*Tuṇḍa*) . . . from Pokhara.

No. 297.

पोखरा संघ[खि]स<sup>१०</sup> दानं [\*]  
The gift of Saṃgha[ra]khi[ta] from Pokhara.

No. 298.

पोडविष्कस इसिदिनस दानं [\*]  
The gift of Isidina (*Rishidatta*), inhabitant of Poḍavijha.<sup>११</sup>

No. 299.

बधकस भिक्षुनो को[डि]जिलकस — —  
(*The gift*) of the monk Badhaka (*Taddhaka*),<sup>१२</sup> inhabitant of Koḍijila.

No. 300.

L. 1. बलदताया चुड[फ]  
L. 2. खगिरियाय दानं [\*]  
The gift of Baladatā (*dattā*), inhabitant of Chuḍaphalagiri (*Kshudra*°).

No. 301.

[बो]हु सुलपितु<sup>१३</sup> दानं [\*]  
The gift of Bohu (*Bhoddhri* ?), the father of Mula (*Mūla*).

No. 302.

बुधरखितस [दानं] [\*]  
The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 303.

बुधरखितस [भिक्षुनो अ]य भंडुकियस दानं [\*]  
The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*pupil*) of the venerable Bhaṇḍuka.

No. 304.

L. 1. बुधरखताय भिक्षु —  
L. 2. यदानं [\*]  
The gift of the nun Budharakhatā (*Buddharakshita*).

<sup>१०</sup> Read संघरक्षितस.

<sup>११</sup> Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound पुराडविष्वा.

<sup>१२</sup> This may be a misspelling for बधक or बधक.

<sup>१३</sup> Perhaps meant for लुलपित. See the facsimile.

No. 305.

बोधिदानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भडिकस भिक्षुनी

L. 2. कुरवरा-

L. 3. स दानं [॥\*]<sup>64</sup>

The gift of the monk Bhadika, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 307.

भड — — — सुनी कुरवरास दानं [॥\*]<sup>65</sup>

The gift of [the monk] Bhad[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भदुनी पद्मावतिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the wife of Bhadu (*Bhandu*).

No. 309.

[भो] धानिका धन्याय — —

(The gift) of Dhañikā (*Dhanyakā*) from Bhogavadhana (*\*vardhana*).

No. 310.

मच्छवटा नादिनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nādinī (*Nandini*) from Machhavata (*Matsyavarā*).

No. 311.

मनोरमस वडकिनी श्री — — —

(The gift) of the carpenter<sup>66</sup> Manorama . . . . .

No. 312.

महानामन

Of Mahānāman.

No. 313.

महासतिष अरिहदताये दानं [॥\*]<sup>67</sup>

The gift of Arihadatā (*Arhaddattā*) from Māhasati (*Māhishmatī*).

No. 314.

महिषतिय जि — — — स दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ji . . . . from Māhishmatī (*Māhishmatī*).

<sup>64</sup> Probably कुरवरास to be read.

<sup>65</sup> Restore भडिकस भिक्षुनी.

<sup>66</sup> I take *vadakino* to stand for *vaddhakino*, just as we have in No. 210 *Asāḍasa* for *Asāḍha*.

<sup>67</sup> Meant for महिषतिय; the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent महिषतिय.

No. 315.

मितसिरिया दानं भिक्षुनिया कौरविया [॥\*]

The gift of Mitasiri (*Mitrasiri*), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.

यक्षिय भिक्षुनिये वेदिसा दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakhi*) from Vedisa.

No. 317.

रतिनय<sup>०</sup> माहिंसतिय दानं [॥\*]The gift of Ratina from Mahisati (*Mahishmati*).

No. 318.

L. 1. रेविलस नंदिनगरकस<sup>०</sup>

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Rebila,<sup>०</sup> inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 319.

L. 1. रेवतिमिताय बलक-

L. 2. स पञ्चावति[या दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Revatimita (*Revatimitra*), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.

L. 1. वजिनिय भिक्षुनिया

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Vajini (*Vajini*).

Nos. 321-22.

L. 1. वरदतस दानं

L. 2. भगिनिया वरसेनाय

L. 3. दानं

The gift of Varadata (*datta*); the gift of (*his*) sister Varasena.

No. 323.

L. 1. वरदतस पञ्चावतिय

L. 2. इसलय<sup>०</sup> दानं [॥\*]The gift of Isala (*Rishila*), wife of Varadata (*Varadatta*).<sup>०</sup> Meant for रतिनिय, diminutive from रति or रत्न.<sup>०</sup> Probably meant for नंदिनगरकसः.<sup>०</sup> This probably stands for Rebhila, like Asda (No. 210) for Asdha.<sup>०</sup> Meant for रसिकाय.

No. 324.

L. 1. वरदत्तस पत्नवतया

L. 2. रोहाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohā, wife of Varadata (<sup>o</sup>*datta*).

No. 325.

वरुणस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Varuṇa.

No. 326.

L. 1. [व]सुमिताय भि-

L. 2. हुनिय [दानं]

L. 3. उज्जेनिकय

The gift of Vasumitā (<sup>o</sup>*mitrā*), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 328.

वाडीवहनातो ओडकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Oḍaka (*Arḍraka*) from Vāḍivahana.

No. 329.

वासवये नंदिनगरा भिहुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vāsavā, a nun from Nāmdinagara.

No. 330.

L. 1. [वि]तिरिण्हिय भुत-

L. 2. रक्षितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhūtārakshita*) from Vitiriṇṇahā(?).

No. 331.

L. 1. वितिरिण्हिय महि-

L. 2. रक्षितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Mahirakhita (*Mahīrakshita*) from Vitirinahī(?).

No. 332.

L. 1. विपुलाय कापासिगा—

L. 2. मत्तु भिच्छुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vipulā, a nun from Kāpāsīgāma (<sup>o</sup>*grāma*).

No. 333.

विरोहकट वरिनिये [सि]भाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sijhâ (*Saikhâ*), a house-wife from Virôhakatara.

No. 334.

विसाखरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Visâkharakhita (*Visâkharakshita*).

No. 335.

विसखरखितस भिक्कुने दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (*Visâkharakshita*).

No. 336.

वीरसेनाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Virasenâ.

No. 337.

वी[राये] भिक्कुनिया तीववनिकाय दानं

The gift of Virâ(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No. 338.

वेदिसा अरहतरखित — दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahatarakhita (*Arâdarakshita*) from Vedisa.

No. 339.

वेदस<sup>२</sup> दतस कलवडस दानं [॥\*]

No. 340.

वेदिस दतस कलवडस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Data (*Datta*) Kalavada from Vedisa.

No. 341.

वेदिसा मोहिकाये भिक्कुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 342.

सकरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sakarakhita (*Sakrarakshita*).

No. 343.

संघरखिताय कोरमिकाय भिक्कुनिया [दानं] [॥\*]

The gift of Sangharakhitâ (*arakshita*), a nun of Kurumâ.<sup>२</sup> Meant for वेदिसा.

No. 344.

संघायि — — — — —  
Of Saṃghā.

No. 345.

संघायदासकमातु दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Saṃghā, mother of Dāsaka.

No. 346.

सतिगुप्तस दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Satiguta (*Saktigupta* or *Svātigupta*).

No. 347.

L. 1. समणस भिक्कुने अयुत्तरस अतेवसिने  
L. 2. दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of the monk Samaṇa (*Sramana*), pupil of the venerable Utara (*Uttara*).

No. 348.

समिकस अयनगस अतेवसिने दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of Samika (*Svāmika*), pupil of the venerable Naga (*Nāga*).

No. 349.

L. 1. समिकस वनि[क]स  
L. 2. पुतस च सी[हदे]व-  
L. 3. स [द]नं [॥\*]  
The gift of the trader Samika (*Svāmika*) and of (his) son Sihadeva (*Simha*°).

No. 350.

समिकया भिक्कुनि-  
L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of the nun Samikā (*Svāmikā*).

No. 351.

सामिकाय भिक्कुनिया दानं  
The gift of the nun Sāmikā (*Svāmikā*).

No. 352.

[सा\*]मिदतस भिक्कुने दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of the monk [SA]midatta (*Svāmidatta*).

No. 353.

सिरिदिनाय भिक्कुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [॥\*]  
The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Śrīdattā*) of Nandinagara.



No. 354.

सिरिभागसं संकु — — —

Of Siribhāga (*Śribhāga*) . . . . .

No. 355.

सिरिमिताया नादिना[ग]रिकाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Sirimitā (*Śrimitrā*) of Nandinagara.

No. 356.

सरिया भिक्षुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Siri (*Śrī*).

No. 357.

सिवतिये

Of Sivati.

No. 358.

सिहय<sup>85</sup>Of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 359.

L. 1. सिहाय देवदताय

L. 2. च दानं [कु]रघरा भिक्षु-

L. 3. निनं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*) and Devadatā (*°dattā*), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.

सिहाय समातिकय वज्जिनिकय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), *Samātikā*<sup>86</sup> (*Samāptikā* ?) (and) Vajinikā (*Vajrinikā*).

No. 361.

सुबाहितस पजाव[तिय]<sup>85</sup> — — —

Of the wife of Subāhita . . . . .

No. 362.

L. 1. सुरियय बुधदेवय पेमतिक-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Suriya (*Sūryā* and) Budhadevā (*Buddha*<sup>87</sup>) of Pemata.

<sup>85</sup> Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right hand looks like a large *m*. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>86</sup> Possibly *samātikāya* may stand for *samāptikāya* and be intended to indicate that *Vajinika* was the mother of *Sihā*. If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.

<sup>87</sup> Compare No. 48, *ante*, p. 102.

No. 363.

L. 1. सुरियाय भिक्षु-

L. 2. गिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Suriya (*Sūryā*).

No. 364.

L. 1. सेतपथियस

L. 2. योनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Yona (*Yavana*), inhabitant of Setapatha (*Śveta*<sup>66</sup>).

No. 365.

L. 1. हालाय दक्षिणाञ्चि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Hālā, the Southern (?).<sup>66</sup>

No. 366.

— — — कस अजितिगुतकुलस — —<sup>67</sup>

No. 367.

[स]ककख अखदे[वाय\*] — —

No. 368.

लेवस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369.

— — — [सतिनी] [?] कुररस दानं [॥\*]

No. 370.

— — — नागिलस दानं [॥\*]

No. 371.

L. 1. — — — तय एजावति[य]

L. 2. पू — न

No. 372.

— — डस दान सपजावतिकस [॥\*]

No. 373.

— — — स कुयुपदकस [दानं]? [॥\*]

No. 374.

L. 1. — — — रा संघपालि[ताव\*]

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दा[नं] [॥\*]

<sup>66</sup> The explanation of दक्षिणाञ्चि by दाक्षिणाञ्चि is, of course, merely tentative.<sup>67</sup> On the analogy of Gujarāṭī *Vikramājī* for *Vikramāditya*, *Ajītiguta* may stand for *Aditigupta*.

No. 375.

L. 2. — — — य सुभगाय पुसाय नागदत्तस सचरखितस कोरव[रका][नी?]

L. 1. दानं [॥\*]<sup>98</sup>

The gift of . . . Subhagâ, Pusâ (*Pushyâ*) Nâgadatta (*datta*) Sagharakhita (*Sangharakhita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.

— — — — उत्तराय द — — —

No. 377.<sup>99</sup>

L. 1. [यो] इतो काकणा — तो तोरव वा वेदिक वा

L. 2. उपादेया उपादा — — या वा आनं वा (vâ) आचरियकु —

L. 3. संकामेय सो स — — — तिन पितिषा — न

L. 4. चरखितधातिन — — — — — [म सो]

L. 5. [कम] उपायकान — — — — [स पापा]

L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâ[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred<sup>1</sup> to another temple of the teacher [shall incur the guilt] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . . .

No. 378.<sup>2</sup>

यमो ऋ प[चा]नगरियकारकान [न]त गह्ये यो इतो काकणावाती से[ल]कमे उपादेय\*

[उपा]दापेय वा

अनं वा आचरियकुलं संकामेया तस से पातका भवेत् [॥]

A pillar (*the gift*) of the workmen, inhabitants of Parnchânagara (?) . . . . . on him, who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fail (*the guilt*) of those mortal sins.

TOPIC II.

No. 22 = C. 1.

नागिलस दानं अयस अंतेवासिनी [॥\*]

The gift of Nâgila, the pupil of Aya (*Arya*).

No. 23 = C. 2.

धम्मरखितस सेभस कु — —

. . . of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakhita*), the pupil.

<sup>98</sup> The inscriptions must be read from below.

<sup>99</sup> Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 183. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restore l. 1 काकणावाती; l. 2 उपादापेया आचरियकुल, l. 3 आताचातिन पितिधातिन. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>1</sup> This explanation, which requires संकामेया to be taken in the sense of संकामेया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacobi. With आचरियकुल in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare दीपकुल.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 195, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.

No. 24 = C. 7.

सघमितस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Saghāmīta (*Saṅghamitra*).

No. 25 = C. 8.

बुधपालितस सेठिनो पङ्कुलिकियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sheth Budhapālita (*Buddha*), inhabitant of Paṇḍulikā (*Pāṇḍu-kulikā*).<sup>3</sup>

No. 26 = C. 15.

L. 1. वलाय कोररिये भिखु-

L. 2. निवे दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Valā, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.

L. 1. बलकस अयस अरहगुप्तस सासा-

दकस अतेवासिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsāda.

No. 28 = C. 21.

मुलाया दान यमो गडाय अतेवासिनिया [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of Mulā (*Mūlā*), the pupil of Gaḍā.

No. 29 = C. 22.

L. 1. सघरखिताया मातु — — कडिकाया \*

L. 2. इसिदासिया भिखुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidāsī (*Rishidāsī*), inhabitant of — — kāḍa, mother of Sagharakhitā (*Saṅgharakshitā*).

No. 30 = C. 23.

अयस बुधरखितस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Budharakhita (*Buddharakṣita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 31 = C. 26.

सिदकडा टिकिसस दानं [॥\*]<sup>4</sup>

The gift of Tikisa (?) from Sidakāḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.

— य सिदकाडिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . . i, inhabitant of Sidakāḍa.

<sup>3</sup> See ante, p. 110, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *gā* stands in l. 2 after दान.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *ga* and *ka* look rather modern, the *da* is of the Andhra type.

No. 33 = C. 28.

बुधपालिता सिदकडियाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>6</sup>The gift of Budhapâlîtâ (*Buddha*°), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 34 = C. 29.

सदकडियाय गोलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Golâ (*Godâvarî*), inhabitant of Sadakaḍa (*Sidakaḍa*).

No. 35 = C. 31.

बुधगुताय सिदकडिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Budhagutâ (*Buddhaguptâ*), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 36 = C. 34.

अरहकस भिक्कुनो भाणकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Arahaka (*Arhat*), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.

नागरखितस भिक्कुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Nâgarakhita (*°rakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 39 = C. 40.

L. 1. सघरखितस भिक्कुनो दानं कीरर-

L. 2. स [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), an inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 40 = C. 43.

ओडिय भिखुनिय थमो दानं [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi.

No. 41.

अयस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Aya (*Ārya*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 42.

असदेवाय भिखुनिय द[र]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Asadevâ (*Āśvadevâ*).

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above, I, No. 132.

No. 43.

L. 1. आजनाव आवासि-

L. 2. कस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Âvāsika from Âjanāva.

No. 44.

इसिदतय भिक्षुनिय दन [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidatta*).

No. 45.

इंददतस उपसकस दन [॥\*]<sup>7</sup>

The gift of the layman Îdadata (*Indradatta*).

No. 46.

गंधारस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]<sup>8</sup>

The gift of the monk Gamdhāra.

No. 47.

गोतमिया भिक्षुनिया दनां [॥\*]<sup>9</sup>

The gift of the nun Gotamī (*Gautamī*).

No. 48.

चिरतिय भिक्षुनिय दयं [॥\*]<sup>10</sup>

The gift of the nun Chiratī (*Kīrātī*).

No. 49.

चु[व]मोरगिरिनो गामस द[र]न [॥\*]<sup>11</sup>

The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (?)

No. 50.

दानं मोरयहिकटियस [॥\*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

No. 51.

L. 1. धम्मरसिरिय उपसिक्-

L. 2. य दन [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamarasiri (*Dharmaśrī* ?),<sup>12</sup> a lay worshipper.

<sup>7</sup> The letters are somewhat blurred.

<sup>8</sup> The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.

<sup>9</sup> The *u*-stroke of *ks* is very faint, and there is also an *ā*-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.

<sup>10</sup> Read दानं

<sup>11</sup> The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that चुममोरगिरिनो is intended.

<sup>12</sup> This is probably intended for धम्मरसिरिय; compare धम्मपत्ति in the Mathurā inscriptions,—*ante*, p. 210, No. 37.

No. 52.

[ध]मसेनस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>13</sup>The gift of the monk *Dhamasena* (*Dharma*°).

No. 53.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. असदवय भिक्षुय दन [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>The gift of the nun *Asadava* (*Asvadevā*), from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*°).

No. 54.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. — मिमितय भिक्षुनय दन [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>The gift of the nun . . . *imitā* from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*°).

No. 55.

न[दु]कस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>The gift of the monk *Namduka*.

No. 56.

पलस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>The gift of the monk *Pala* (*Pāla*°).

No. 57.

L. 1. ब[ध]कस कुररस भिक्षु—

L. 2. दन [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>The gift of the *Badhaka* (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of *Kurara*.

No. 58.

बु[ध]गु[त]स उदुवरघरियस [दा]न [॥\*]

The gift of *Budhaguta* (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of *Udubaraghara* (*Udumbaragriha*°).

No. 59.

बुधरखितकस सुतातिकस अर[पा]नकस दान [॥\*]

The gift of *Budharakhitaka* (*Buddharakshitaka*), the *Sutātika* (*Sautrāntika*) inhabitant of *Arapāna*.<sup>13</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.<sup>14</sup> Meant for असदवय भिक्षुनिय.<sup>15</sup> Restore इमिमितय.<sup>16</sup> Possibly नदकस, but compare above, No. 16.<sup>17</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been द.<sup>18</sup> The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for *Balaka*,—see above,

No. 60.

बुधरखित [कु]— —<sup>19</sup>

No. 61.

L. 1. बुधरखित<sup>ग</sup> भिक्षुनि[य]

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakshitā*).

No. 62.

बुधरखितस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 63.

बोधिया भू— —

(The gift) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]णभूतिनो भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Bharanabhūti (?) (*Bharanbhuti*).

No. 65.

भिक्षुनिकाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>20</sup>The gift of Bhichhunika (*the little nun* ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस उदुबरघरियस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohanika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 67.

विपुलस भि[खु]नो [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस रोहणिपदियस

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Visaka (*Viśvaka*), inhabitant of Rohanipada.

No. 69.

सघय मातु सफिनेयिकाय[॥\*]

(The gift) of the Sāphineyikā, mother of Saghā (*Saṅghā*).<sup>19</sup> The व is made circular, the ण has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurā inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.<sup>20</sup> All the lines of the letters are double.



No. 70.

सोणसिरिय भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Soṇasiri (*Suvarṇasiri*).

No. 71.

— — — तय सगिरियिकाय घम — — [सक]सय दानं [॥\*]

No. 72.

L. 1. — — — — रस भिक्षुनी मातु कोडुय

L. 2. — — — — या दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Koḍu, mother of the monk . . . ra, . . .

No. 73.

L. 1. — [म]र[खि]ताय<sup>21</sup> — — — —

L. 2. दा[नं] कोर[मि]काय [पते]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā.

No. 74.

— — — — षस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk . . . ṇa.

No. 75.

— — — — णनय स — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — य भिक्षुनिय

L. 2. — — [को]र रिय [॥\*]

(The gift) of the nun . . . inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

— — — — भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

No. 78.

— — — तथा धवदेवय दन [॥\*]

The gift of . . . tā, Dhavadevā (*Dharmadevā*).<sup>21</sup> Restore दसरिखियाय.

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<sup>22</sup> This index includes also the names given on that appended to the former paper. The new impressions made it necessary to alter a number of words and to exclude some.

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<sup>22</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression.

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<sup>24</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, —compare *ante* (Note).

<sup>25</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of *Hama*°(?).

<sup>26</sup> According to Dr. Führer's new impression it is possible to read *Soyasa*.

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 Budhā I, 157.  
 Chirātī I, 202.  
 Devabhāgā I, 237.  
 Dhamadatā I, 223.  
 Dhamadinā I, 272.  
 Dhamarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76, 275.  
 Dhamarasiri II, 56.  
 Dhamatā[datā] I, 102.  
 Dha[ñā] I, 265.  
 Dhañikā I, 309.  
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 Himadatā I, 156.  
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 Isimitā I, 162.  
 Isinikā I, 255.  
 Isirakhitā I, 64.  
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 Parijā (?) I, 129.  
 Patolā (?) II, C. 28.  
 Poṭhadevā I, 139.  
 Pusā I, 141, 375.  
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 Revā I, 121.  
 Robā I, 324.  
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 Rohanī I, 148.  
 Saghā I, 174; II, 69.  
 Sagharakhitā II, 29.  
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 Sāmīdarā[tā] I, C. 176.  
 Samikā I, 46, 118.  
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 Sihā I, 212, 358, 360; II, 18.  
 Sijhā I, 333.  
 Sindhadatā I, 160.  
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 Subhagā I, 130, 375.  
 Suriyā I, 362.  
 Tāpasī I, 39.  
 Tuḍā I, 296.  
 Utarā I, 376.  
 Utaradatā I, 279.  
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Vayudatā I, 155,—*see* Vāyu.<sup>o</sup>  
 Vajinikā I, 360.  
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 Vesamanadatā I, 22.  
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 Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.  
 Ājanāva II, 43.  
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 Arapana I, 210-11.  
 Arapāna I, 59, 72, 89.  
 Arapānaka (adj.) II, 59.  
 Arapāniya (adj.) I, 212.  
 Asvavatī I, 91, 215.  
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 Bodakara, I, 108.  
 Bhādanakatiya (adj.) I, 120.  
 Bhasikāda I, C. 156.  
 Bhogavadhana I, 45.  
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 Katakāñuyaka (adj.) I, 97, 233.  
 Katakāñu I, 41, 234-35.  
 Katakareyaka I, C. 100.  
 Kekateyaka (n. pr.) I, 1, 3.  
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 26, 39 76.  
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 Kuraghariya (adj.) I, 241.  
 Kuragharaka I, 375.  
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 Kurara, . f . i (adj.) I, 39, 181, 249-50, 369;  
 II, 37.  
 Kurariya (adj.) I, 201, 258.  
 Kuthupadaka I, 373.  
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 Maḍalachbikatika or 'lāchhi<sup>o</sup> (adj.) I, 78, 79,  
 80, 186, 267 (?).  
 Madhuvana I, 61, 180.  
 Madhuvanaka . f . ikā I, 15, 76, 110, 126,  
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 Māhamoragi I, 77, 134.  
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 Māhisatī I, 313-14, 317.  
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 Morayshikatiya (adj.) II, 50.  
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 Nadinagara I, 6, 277, 282, II, 53-54.  
 Nadinagaraka, Nāndi<sup>o</sup>, Nādi<sup>o</sup>.  
 Nādinagarika f . ikā, (adj.) I, 82, 105, 119,  
 183, 192, 216, 318, 353, 355; II, 15.  
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 ka f . ikā (adj.) I, 46, 55, 131, 147.  
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 Pāvīdaka I, 169.  
 Pematikā (adj.) I, 362.  
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 Poravijhaka<sup>u</sup> I, 107,—*see* Podavijhaka.  
 Prātiṭhāna (n. pr.) I, 12, 70.

<sup>u</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of *Poravikāika*. It is confirmed by the form *Podavijhaka* in No. 298.

- Puṇavaḍhaniya (adj.) I, 102, 217.  
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 Sānukagāmina (adj.) I, 172.  
 Sāsādaka (adj.) I, 18; II, 27.  
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 Ujenika (adj.) I, 121, 214, 266, 326.  
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 Vādivahanika (adj.) I, 101.  
 Vādyā° (adj.) II, C. 24.  
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 Verohahata (adj.) I, 81.  
 Virohakaḍa I, 333.  
 Vitirinaḥā I, 330.  
 Vitirinaḥī, I, 331.

## XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

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

Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewād, which are at Chitorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. Of the earliest<sup>1</sup> of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1381—I have already given an account<sup>2</sup> in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, p. 80, from a rubbing of Mr. Garrick's that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokālji.<sup>3</sup> It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 8" high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, 5½" square, enclosing a circle which is about 3½" in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other *aksharas* are engraved, three of which clearly give the name *Mokala*. The writing of the inscription is generally

<sup>1</sup> A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, plate xxv.

<sup>2</sup> In Dr. Führer's impressions the name of the 14th prince, *Amraprasāda*, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription,

and I do not think that it would be worth while re-publishing the text of it.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 106, and plate xxxiii.

well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen *aksharas*, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Saṁskṛit, and, excepting the introductory words *Om Om namah Śivāya* and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Saṁskṛit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakūṭa (the modern Chitorgadh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa<sup>4</sup>) by the prince Mokala of Medapāṭa (or Mewād). After the words "Om, Om, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajāśya (Gaṇeśa), Ekalinga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Śiva's consort Pārvatī) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila.<sup>5</sup> In that family was born the lord of Medapāṭa Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammīra (*Hammīra-vīra*, *Hammīra-deva*; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (*Kshetra-mahīpati*, *Kshetra-kshītīśa*; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasimha (*Lakshasimha-nripati*, *Laksha-kshītīśa*; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayā from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (*i.e.* the Muhammadans). And Lakshasimha's son was Mokala (*Mokala-kshmāpati*, *Mokalendra*; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas<sup>6</sup> (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvārakā' (*i.e.* the god Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakūṭa, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the *Prasasti* closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding *Prasasti* was written<sup>7</sup> (*i.e.* composed) by Ekanātha, a son of Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, of the Daśapura clan;<sup>8</sup> that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vijala; and that the inscription was written on the stone by Visala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Visa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Visala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

<sup>4</sup> The text, in verse 72, actually has *Samidevaiśaḥ*, which must be altered to either *Samiddheśaḥ* or *Samādhīśaḥ*. *Samādhīśa* occurs, as a name of Śiva, in line 53 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgadh and Mount Ābū; and *Samiddheśvara* I find in another Chitorgadh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.

<sup>5</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 346.

<sup>6</sup> Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Āngas, Kāmārūpas, Vaṅgas, Nishādas, Chīnas, and Turushkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been

put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

<sup>7</sup> The original has *alikkhat*, which must here mean 'composed,' because the writer's name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.

<sup>8</sup> *Daśapura-jñāti* occurs again in the Nāgarī inscription of Mokala's grandson Rājamalla; *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* vol. LVI, part I, p. 82, v. 25. On the town Daśapura see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79, note 2.



Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, *i.e.* on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, *i.e.* Phālguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), *i.e.* 1485, under the *nakshatra* of Aryaman, *i.e.* Pūrvā-phalgunī, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghata, *i.e.* Kumbha. Here the statements that the sun (on Phālguna-vadi 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (*i.e.* in the Jovian year Rākshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system); and accordingly the true equivalent for Phālguna-vadi 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 18h. 29m. after mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pūrvā-phalgunī, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.—The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* vol. I, p. 286. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Peroja, who could only have been the Sultān Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala's predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*<sup>10</sup> and in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 257.

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

श्री<sup>12</sup> ॥ श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

सिद्धार्थमिरसुंदरीकरवलत्सिंदूरधाराहण-

श्रीगंडखलमंडलीयुगलसहानां वृषो ज्व(ज्ज)लः ॥(1)

संध्याभ्रच्छ्रुतिताग्रसातुनिपतन्नाकापगौघद्वयः

स्वर्णोर्वीर्भदिव प्रयच्छतु शिवं देवो गजास्थो व्ययं ॥ १ ॥<sup>13</sup>

वेदा वागिति शिष्टतामुपगतो यः कर्मणासीत्ति-

<sup>10</sup> The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492; see Peterson's *Third Report*, Appendix, p. 203.

<sup>11</sup> The names given by Tod are Ursi, Hamir, Khaitsi,

Lakha Rana, and Mokul. *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 267-277.

<sup>12</sup> From an impression, prepared by Dr. Führer.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 1—4: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

L. 2.

ता

साक्षी तत्पतिभूः पुनर्भवति सन्निवार्यसंदर्शनः ।  
 जालैवेषु<sup>14</sup> विनमरेषु सकलं दाता विविक्तः फलं  
 देवः स्वस्तिकरः परः स सततं स्तादेकलिंगाभिधः ॥ २ ॥  
 भूमीभूत्वयमे[धि]तस्थितिरियं गुर्वी नगा बंधवो  
 विध्योमस्तचरित्वतो न चकितः प्रास्थापयद्वाङ्मणान्<sup>15</sup> ।  
 कन्धा भान्यतमा महोत्सवविधा-

3.

विलेकमंत्रोक्तितो

यामानीनयदर्चनाय गिरिजा विंध्यालया सावतात् ॥ ३ ॥  
 कालिंदीतटकुंजवधवसतिः सेयं प्रिया राधिका  
 अर्त्तव्यं ननु रुक्मिणी न भवती हुं चारुहासिन्यसि ।  
 युक्तं ना[सि] कलावती सुविदितं त्वं सत्वभामेन्यथा  
 नोक्तासीति विनिष्कृतोक्तमुदितज्ञेयोच्युतः पातु वः ॥ ४ ॥  
 स्मारन्यायोन्यवायो गुहिलनरपतेर-

4.

स्ति जाग्रत्प्रशस्ति-

व्यंस्तीभूतांतरायो वसतिरिह युगे धर्म्यकर्मादयस्य ।  
 श्रमश्चागामुरागे(ग)स्तिरविमलनिधौ भूरिभोगोनभागा<sup>16</sup>  
 भूयो नूनां विधत्ते सपदि शतमखी<sup>17</sup> यत्र संभूय शक्रः ॥ ५ ॥<sup>18</sup>  
 वाक्सेतोरेचलमतिर्दिशि दिशि प्रख्यातमानोदति-  
 निर्यंस्तिनवाहिनीपरिवृतो नानाधर्मैकाकरः ।  
 पत्यक्तचित्तिविग्रहो मुनिकथागीतादिगोत्रस्थिति-  
 र्विध्यो बं-

5.

धुरबधुतां वितनुते यस्थोपपन्नश्चियः ।[॥] ६ ॥<sup>19</sup>

वंशे तत्तारिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरजनि च्छदनचललक्ष्मी-  
 वीक्षादक्षोद्युत्स्माबहुलजरजनिध्वंसभास्त्रभस्तिः ।  
 विंध्यावध्यप्रदेशस्फुरदमलखनिव्यक्तवक्राकरत्व-  
 स्तारत्रीमेदपाटक्षितिब(व)लयवलहुभपायोदचंद्रः<sup>20</sup> ॥ ७ ॥<sup>21</sup>  
 नरपतिररिसिंहः श्रमश्चास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरणर-

6.

एकपर्णो विश्वविख्यातवर्णः ॥ (1)

स्फुरदमलगुणौघः पुण्यगण्योदनामा नयविनयविवेकोद्यानपुंस्कोक्किलः सन् ॥ ८ ॥<sup>22</sup>  
 विभ्यस्त्रिहृपदादमुथ सकरी नूनं मघीनो यतो  
 वाजी सत्र(स)हविस्तताध्वरभुव<sup>23</sup> नोष्टैः श्रवा गच्छति ।  
 आहृतः कथमेव<sup>24</sup> वाहनमृते देवायणीर्ज्वलहा

<sup>14</sup> Read जलैवेषु.<sup>15</sup> I should have expected प्रस्थापयन्मा.<sup>16</sup> The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.<sup>17</sup> Read शतमखी.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Bragdhara.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.<sup>20</sup> पाथोद 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of पाथोधि 'ocean.' Originally 'हुरपा' was engraved.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Bragdhara.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>23</sup> Originally 'सतीध्वर' was engraved.<sup>24</sup> Read कथमेव.

मेघं बाह्वनमातनोदयमतः सद्योमधूमीद्वयं ॥ ८ ॥<sup>25</sup>  
कीर्तिः कौतुकिनी दिगंतमगमत्कर्पू-

L. 7.

रघूरोज्ज्वला

खेलंती निजवासिताभ्रमवशादालिंगिता दिग्गजैः ।  
क्षीराभोनिधिगाहनं तु विधिना कृत्वादरादुत्थिता  
ब्रह्मादीननुयोक्तुमुत्तमगुणस्यास्य प्रगल्भा दिवं ॥ १० ॥  
विशिष्टजनसंगतौ व्यतरदेकलक्ष्यं<sup>26</sup> यतस्ततोधिकतरं यथोलभत भोजभूमीपतिः ।  
अयं कथमदःसमः कविभिरुच्यते वाददाद्विशेषविधिनाम्बहं<sup>27</sup> विविधलक्ष्मभोजानपि<sup>28</sup> ॥ ११ ॥  
निर्व्रीडो न महेष्ट-

8.

रोन कठिनो नाचेतनचिंतितं

दातानेकगवीश्वरः परिवृढो नो भारती दुर्भगा ।  
सेनानीर्न विपक्षसंगतिरतो नोच्चैःश्रवा वा हयो  
नारामः कतिचित्तरुः कथमदः पुर्याः स धुर्या दिवः<sup>30</sup> ॥ १२ ॥<sup>31</sup>  
शूरः सृष्टतवागनूनविभ[वी] वंशावतंसः सुत-  
स्तस्य न्यकृतरत्नसानुगरिमा हस्मीरवीरो जयी ।  
विस्थातः स्मररूपजित्स्वरवपुर्लक्ष्मीनिवासाच्युतो  
वाग्देवीचतुराननो रिपु-

9.

कुलप्रोषोषरूपो महान् ॥ १३ ॥

हस्मीरः किल वेभवोचितविधिर्दित्सुः सहस्रं गवा-  
मित्याकर्ण्य सहस्रगू रविशचीनाथौ भयं जग्मतुः ।  
शश्वत्तद्रहसि स्थितान्धुररिपोः श्रुत्वा सहस्रं पुन-  
र्धनूनां समुपागतावतिसुदा तद्दानमेवेक्षितुं ॥ १४ ॥  
कर्णादीनतिशय दिग्जयविधावादाय दिग्मंडली-  
दंडं दूरमपास्य कालमसक्तहाता स्वयं दक्षिणां ।  
इत्याकर्ण्य

10.

जनश्रुतीः परिभवं स्वं शंकमानोतक-

दृष्टुं न क्षमते प्रजा मनुनये यस्मिन्मही शासति ॥ १५ ॥  
प्रासादमासादितशतकुंभकुंभं वसदेवमचोकरयः ।  
अचोखनत्सागरकल्पमल्पेतरत्नरसूतवनीभिरिहं ॥ १६ ॥<sup>32</sup>  
संध्यामध्यामभूमौ सद्विदमसिलता संगता पंचशाखे  
सच्छाये श्यामलांगी क्षतजजलवलत्पुष्टिरिष्टप्रचारा ।  
चित्तं सृते विकोशा कुसुम-

11.

मतिमहत्कीर्त्तनीयं दिगंते

धा[स्त्रा]स्त्राता नितान्तं दलयति नियतं वारणांगे पतन्ती<sup>33</sup> ॥ १७ ॥<sup>34</sup><sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 9 and 10: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>26</sup> This may have been altered to 'लक्ष'.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps altered to 'वाददद्वि' ; read 'योददद्वि' (?)<sup>28</sup> The meaning of this is not clear to me.<sup>29</sup> Metre: Prithvī.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the original has 'दिवः'. Read 'पुर्या दिवः' (?)<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 12-15: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>32</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>33</sup> Read 'स्त्राता' (?) and 'पतन्ती'.<sup>34</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

हस्मीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो वाक्पाधुरीतर्जितकीकिरीः ॥(1)  
 धराधवालंकरणैकहीरस्तत्तदनीभूषितसिंधुतीरः ॥१८[॥\*]<sup>35</sup>  
 एतत्पाणी कपाणी द्विषदसुपवनाहारतीर्थं दधाना  
 कालाकारोगीव स्फुरति सचकितं वीक्षिता भीतिहेतुः ॥(1)  
 ना-

- L. 12. धः काये कथंचिद्वसति बहुमता नो विभीते विपक्षा-  
 त्स्वर्गे वासं क्ष[ता]नां वितरति रमते न द्विजिह्वेन चित्रं ॥१९[॥\*]<sup>36</sup>  
 पायं पायं सुपीनः] परभटवधिरं तन्महीगर्भजाता  
 खड्गः कालः कुतोयं कथमियमपरा कीर्तिरत्युच्च(ञ्ज)लास्य ॥(1)  
 एकेनास्त्रायि नूनं रुददरिवनितानेन्रतीयेजनाढे  
 तासामुद्धर्तितेयं सृदुभुजव(ध)लयस्त्रच्छूर्णैरजस्रं ॥

13. २० [॥\*]  
 उद्यत्प्रौढप्रतापानलमुषितमहाबिंबशेषो विवक्षा-  
 न्यबाहुहामकीर्त्तिच्छुरिततरतनुः शीतरश्मित्वमेति ॥(1)  
 शंके रूपांतरं स्वं कलयति स वपुर्भेदभीती रणक्ष्मा-  
 धीरे हस्मीरवीरे धृति परसुभटान्गरे संमुखस्वान् ॥ २१ [॥\*]  
 कुर्वन्पद्मे जनुः स्वं विधिरिति विधिदग्दृष्टसृष्टाग्रदिष्टो  
 नो पंके जम्ब दोषं व्यजगणदतुलं तस्य रक्ततरस्य ॥(1)  
 भूत्वा ह-

14. श्रीरदेवक्षितिपतियशसः स्वच्छवर्णोपमेयो  
 मंता पुण्योपमानं दिशि दिशि सुचिरं सत्कवीनां मुखेषु ॥ २२ [॥\*]  
 गौरी गौरीशहासादपि रुचिररुचिर्चंदनाचंद्रतो वा  
 कांत्वा कर्णाटकांतासितदशन[च]तुष्कानुमेया सुगेया ॥(1)  
 शेषस्याशेषवेषस्फुरदमृतरुचिरासौदर्यधर्या<sup>37</sup>  
 कीर्तिर्यस्येदुमूर्तेः किल चरति दशाशंतविश्रांतयात्रा ॥ २३ [॥\*]  
 तस्मात्क्षे-

15. ब्रमहीपतिः समभवत्ख्यातो गुणांभोनिधिः  
 शौर्योदार्यमहत्व(ञ्ज)सत्व(ञ्ज)महितो<sup>38</sup> धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥(1)  
 शक्रार्द्धासनभाजि येन जनके रत्नाकरालंक्षति-  
 भूर्भुक्ता जितपूर्वराजगरिमप्राप्तप्रभाशालिना ॥ २४ [॥\*]<sup>39</sup>  
 हृदि विनिहितरामो योस्त्रविद्याभिरामो मदनसदृशमूर्तिर्विश्वविख्यातकीर्त्तिः ।  
 समरहतविपक्षो लोलया दत्तलची नयनजित-

16. सरोजः प्रक्षियाकांतभोजः ॥ २५ [॥\*]<sup>40</sup>  
 संश्रामे दंतिदंतज्वलनकणमुचि प्रोल्लसहीरयोध-  
 स्कारोन्मुक्ताशुगालीनिविडकवलितशेषकाष्ठंतराले ॥(1)

<sup>35</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 19-23: Sragdharā.

<sup>37</sup> Read 'र्यधर्या'.

<sup>38</sup> Read 'शौर्योदा'.

<sup>39</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>40</sup> Metre : Nālini.

जित्वा दुर्गं समग्रं नरपतिमहितं साधुवादस्य सम्भ-  
 कस्तंभं यीश्वरिजगधरिक्लपतगन्धेचिचङ्गमदीपः<sup>41</sup> ॥ ३३ ॥<sup>42</sup>  
 आक्रान्ता हवपुंगवेन विलसन्नासा चतुर्भिः पदैः  
 सम्यम्बीक्ष्यपाशिता

- L. 17. नवनवप्राप्तप्रकर्षोदया ॥(1)  
 प्राप्नोष्टामरनैचिकीव बहुशो रक्षाध्वनधर्माणि गौः  
 शूरे कीर्त्तिपयो धराशतमन्त्रे यस्मिन्कहीं ग्रासति ॥ २७ ॥<sup>43</sup>  
 कीर्त्तिनीरोदपूरे बहुविधविशदप्रोक्तसहीचिमाले  
 छन्धः भेतेष्व शङ्कः सुखसुखसमरे शेषमासाद्य गतोः ।  
 दृश्यते राजर्हसा दिग्दिग्दिग् न ततो मानसे लोयमा-
18. नाः  
 सीदत्पद्या विलम्बाः स्फुरति न कमलोन्नेयितापेक्षितैषां ॥ २८ ॥<sup>44</sup>  
 अस्यासिः कालरात्रिः स्फुरति किल भवन्मङ्गले वैरि- —<sup>45</sup>  
 — — [प्रो]क्षासिवेश्म प्रभवद्विभयं भूतराजोद्घातपं ॥(1)  
 पद्मोद्घोषी न चैषां भवति विचटते चक्रयो[गो] नियोगा-  
 र्त्तिर्जागर्त्ति भीतिः पतति निजपथो
19. नीक्षितः पङ्कपातः ॥ २९ ॥  
 अतः कल्पतरो किंमात्र्य भगवन्मेमाचल श्रूयतां  
 कर्तुं क्षेत्रमहीपतिः प्रयतते दानानि पुष्पाश्रयः ।  
 वत्से[हं स्व?]करे यद्वागणमुवि त्वं वत्से नित्यशः  
 क्रीडार्थं यदि [वा] ददाति हि तदा वत्सु क ईष्टे जनः ॥ ३० ॥<sup>46</sup>  
 इत्थं दानकथा मिथो विजयते चिंतामस्मिन्गर्वी-  
 मुख्या-
20. नामपि दानमास्मिन्निभसन्नामाममुष्य प्रभोः ।  
 उन्नीलच्छरदंतु(बु)जामलदलस्रच्छायताचिस्फुर-  
 ल्लोणस्यायुक्तमिन्नवैरिपरिषत्संपदिपद्वर्त्मनः ॥ ३१ ॥  
 माद्यहेतुचंचडधन्विभरविमलहीरवर्माह्वैर्यै  
 स्फूर्जन्तीदंडदंडप्रपतदिषुचयच्छब्दस्यैव्यनये ।  
 अन्ये प्राणीकण्ठे गच्छयति न यत्तं दिद्विषां पु-
21. स्वरशि-  
 धर्म्यः क्षेत्रचितीशः प्रतिभट्टपतिष्माकराजदृष्टिः<sup>47</sup> ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>48</sup>  
 मूर्च्छालं तु जडीभक्कृतिपथं संगृष्णितैकत्वचं  
 मोलंतं च मुहुर्महुः शिथिलितं यातं न[वा]सुखितं ॥(1)

<sup>41</sup> Read "हृष", and प्रदीप.

<sup>42</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>43</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29: Sragdharā.

<sup>45</sup> Here four akṣharas are broken away.

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>47</sup> Perhaps altered to "जटदृष्टिः".

<sup>48</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

दारिद्र्योपहतं विबोधयति यदुष्टाहिदृष्टं<sup>60</sup> यथा  
जाप्यं कर्त्तव्यं ध्यायितं सुविमलं यत्नाममंवा-

L. 22.

चरं ॥ ३३ ॥<sup>60</sup>

तत्सुनुः किल सच्चसिंहनृपतिः<sup>61</sup> स्थातो गुणग्रामणी-<sup>62</sup>  
रुच्यहानफलामलार्जुनयशोवल्लीमतस्तीतः ।<sup>63</sup>  
यत्तेजःशिखिनो [वि]पचवनितानेत्रांबुजातद्युतेः  
काष्ठांताक्रमणं [भ]टित्यनुदिनं नाभूद्विचाराख्यदं ॥ ३४ ॥  
रामः किं जितदूषणः सुभरती रामानु-

23.

रामाख्यदं

मदुघ्नः किमु लक्ष्मणोदयभरः सुश्रीव इवांगदः ।  
तारावक्त्रम उप्तमेन वपुषालंकारमा[या]दतो  
यो रामायणनायकैकतनुतां द्रष्टुं विधात्रा कृतः ॥ ३५ ॥  
दानादुहामसामा शरणगतजनव्राणपाषाणसीमा  
भीमासीमैकधामा शतमखपुरतो विहिषा गो-

24.

तनामा ।

चक्षामारामदामा मखसुखविलसद्गुणधूमिषसामा<sup>64</sup>  
सखस्यशेषरोमा धरणिभुरतरुर्लक्षसिंहः स धीमान् ॥ ३६ ॥<sup>65</sup>  
वैरिषीर्षीर्द्रुमस्तद्विरदमदनुदा<sup>66</sup> सिंहतः सुहसारा-  
दारादुद्गीतकीर्त्तैरभरपुरभिष[कांति]निष्पीतमूर्त्तैः ।  
दाने माने कृपाणे यशसि

25.

महसि [वा] साधुवाण्यां कृपाण्यां

वीराक्षचक्षितेशाकागति न हि परः ख्यातभक्तिः सु[भु]क्तिः ॥ ३७ ॥  
नीतिप्रोतिभुजार्जितानि [लक्ष]शी रत्नानि यत्रादयं  
दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।  
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनायत्रापि युक्ते<sup>67</sup> ध-

26.

नं

प्रौढपावनिकवृत्तीर्यसरसीजाग्रद्यशोभोरुहः ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>68</sup>  
संग्रामेषु गतागतानि विद[ध]क्ष्णं परैर्लक्षितो  
दत्ता[त्रा] लक्ष्मपि स्व[यं न] तनुते संतोषमजेक्षणः ।  
कुर्वाणः किल कानकीमपि तुलां तत्खंडविबद्धला-  
[क्ष]णं स्वां तनुमातनोदिति नृपो लक्षप्रयो-

27.

जायन<sup>69</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

दाने हेमस्तुलायां मखभुवि बहुधा शुद्धिमापादि[ता\*]नां  
माख्यज्जावनदानां कुतुकिजनभरैस्तर्किता राशयीस्थ ॥(1)

<sup>60</sup> The word यद् before दृष्टा<sup>60</sup> appears rather superfluous.

<sup>61</sup> Metre of verses 33-35: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>62</sup> Originally चक्षु<sup>62</sup> was engraved.

<sup>63</sup> One would expect दृष्टि<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Originally तद्वयसे<sup>64</sup> was engraved.

<sup>65</sup> Read °सङ्गमयो<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Sragdharā.

<sup>67</sup> Read °शुदः.

<sup>68</sup> The sign of anusvāra of सुं is very faint.

<sup>69</sup> Metre of verses 38 and 39: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>70</sup> Read °जायन.

संघा[मि] लंछितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते  
विध्वं बंधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगताः साधु हेमाद्रिपादाः ॥४०॥<sup>60</sup>

रुद्धा-

- L. 28. शेषपदां शकाधिपकरव्ययोभवज्जीवनां  
धीरोभूमचदर्जुनीमिव गयां मायाविमुक्ताशयः ।  
धर्मशास्य समस्तलोकमहितः [का]ष्ठां पराभागतो  
निः[सत्त्वी ?]कृतधर्मराजवसतेः पद्मालयासद्गनः ॥४१॥<sup>61</sup>  
मत्तुल्या [न\*]नु नाभवत्किल तुला पूर्व्वेति गर्व तुला-  
सुथ
29. क्षीणिपतेर्ध्रुवं कृतवती गर्वासदृष्टिः पुरः ।  
तस्यास्तस्य<sup>62</sup> मुदानुदां विदधता धीरेण दत्तापरा-  
सौ मानादधिकाधिकीकृतविधिस्तथो वियद्वाटका<sup>63</sup> ॥ ४२ ॥  
संख्यातुं कथमीशते कविजना दानानि नानाविधा-  
न्यस्याकृष्टसमस्तराजवसुधावित्तस्य चित्तीव्रतेः ।
30. लब्धा<sup>64</sup> नोद्विजते धनीपकगणान्दत्त्वा(च्चा) न यत्कीर्त्तये-  
त्पात्रं प्राप्य मुदान्वितसृणुतुलां<sup>65</sup> स्वर्णं समारोपयेत् ॥ ४३ ॥  
तस्य क्षावलयं नयेन नयतः संतोषमायु[ष्म]तः  
[मं]भूतः स्मरसुंदरी गुरुनतः पुत्रः सुधीर्मीकिलः ।  
शक्त्या भूयति दारुणं वितनु[ति] यत्तत्कुमारः पुरः  
सर्वज्ञोऽस्ति यतस्ततोऽवलभुवो नाथ-
31. स्तु पित्रा कृतः ॥ ४४ ॥  
प्रासादा बहुशः समुन्नतियुजः क्षीणीभुजा कारिताः  
शुद्धाभ्युदयसु राजमानकनकप्रस्फारकुंभत्रियः ।  
नागेंद्रा नु शिरसु ह्यटकघटाना[धा]य लीलत्सुधान्  
यातुं नाकमिवोत्थिता मखभुजां पीयूषपानीत्सुकाः ॥ ४५ ॥  
अंगाः संग्रामभंगाः स्मृतघनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा  
वंगा
32. गंगैकसंगा गतविरुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ।  
चीनाः संग्रामदोनाः खलदसिधनुषो भीतिशुष्कास्तृष्का  
भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति मङ्गिमनि क्षापतेर्मौकिलस्य ॥ ४६ ॥<sup>66</sup>  
सूडूः<sup>67</sup> मिंदूररेखाशतमखधनुषा राजमाना गभीरं  
कुर्वतः शब्दमुध्वे रदरुचिचपलाः स्निग्धतन्वा कचाभाः ।  
संग्रामग्रामयाता रि-

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>61</sup> Metre of verses 41-45: Śāṇḍilavikrīṇita.

<sup>62</sup> I should have expected here तस्याकिल, but am doubtful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse.

<sup>63</sup> This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent.

<sup>64</sup> Here again the exact construction of the line is not clear.

<sup>65</sup> Read °सृणुतुलां.

<sup>66</sup> Metre of verses 46-51: Sragdharā.

<sup>67</sup> Read सूडूः.

L. 38.

पुकरिजलदा<sup>68</sup> प्राप्तकालोपयोगायस्येषुव्रातभिन्नाः खलु रुचिरजलं पूरि<sup>69</sup> वर्धति सद्यः ॥ ४७ ॥अस्य प्रौढप्रयाणचरणर[ण<sup>70</sup>]कहेषमानोरुमान-<sup>70</sup>

स्फूर्जन्वर्वावर्ध[य]क्रमणभरभवहूलिधाराधकारं ।

ना[शं ने?]ता विवस्त्रानिति तु विरमतु ध्वस्तनेत्रप्रकाशः

स्नानस्नानस्ववर्णान्यदि परिचिनुते तत्स भास्य महीयः

34.

॥ ४८ ॥

वासो नाशसु भास्वत्कररुचिररुचाभासितास्वस्व वैरात्

पारावारांतरायादपि न हि गमनं दूरमस्मादकक्षत् ।

सेवाहेवाकमेवाचरत बहुमतं दत्त विसं नितान्तं

[मं]त्रोमात्यैरकारि प्रतिविमतसदो भूपतेमोकलस्व<sup>71</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥

पुष्टप्रौढारिवर्णप्रथितपुरव(व)लङ्गमधूमप्रचारे-

धूमं व(व)न्ना-

35.

उभांडोदरमतिविपुलं वीक्ष्य दक्षेभु सुस्थः ।

कीर्त्यालिपं सुधोत्यं कलयति बलवान्दिव्यधूमिकंकराभि-

<sup>72</sup>स्तारातर्हिदुर्वदक्षुरणवहुरुचा यौवरेणावृताभिः ॥ ५० ॥

नेता पातोत्तराशां यवननरपतिं कुटिताशेषसेनं

पेरोजं कीर्त्तिवल्लीकुसुमसुरमतिर्योकिरोत्तंगरस्थः ।

पक्षीशाक्रांतिवासा<sup>73</sup>

36.

कलयति कलया कीर्त्तिता यस्य हेलां<sup>74</sup>

पंचास्यस्यैव भाव्यज्जदलनरुचेर्लीलया रंकुभंगः ॥ ५१ ॥

भारुढः सविता तुलां कलयति द्राक्षीचतां कन्यया

दूरं मुक्तपरिग्रही बहुरुचा चित्रोत्तमसदस्तया ।

धोरोयं पदमुत्तमं तु विधिना प्राप्तस्तुलां गाहते

कन्याभिर्व्रियतेतमां क्षितिभुजां श्रीमोकलस्वापतिः ।(II) ५२ ॥<sup>75</sup>

37.

मानव्राणमना मनागपि मनोरन्ध्रननीतिव्रती

नो जानाति निजप्रतापमतुलं सिंहे यथा विक्रमं ।

मन्ये भास्वरहेमराशिभिषतो धाता तुलायामधा-

देतस्मादपि सीगमश्च गुरुतामद्यापि जा[ना]ति किं ॥ ५३ ॥

दृष्ट्वा हाटककीटिकूटमतुलं दानाय मानाधिकं

सद्यः शोधित[स्त्र]तैकमतयः संशेरते शान्तिकाः ।

शक्रप्रार्थित-

38.

हेमदे सुरतरौ किं किं तु चिंतामणौ

हेमाद्रौ शकलीकृते किमु तुलाशब्दस्तु संकेतितः ॥ ५४ ॥

<sup>68</sup> Read 'जलदा'.<sup>69</sup> Read 'भूरि'.<sup>70</sup> Read 'कृष्णमाशौ'.<sup>71</sup> Read 'भूपतेमो'.<sup>72</sup> Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense

is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be तारावर्हि.

<sup>73</sup> This is not quite clear in the original.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps altered to 'हेला'.<sup>75</sup> Metre of verses 52-54: Śāṇḍilyavikrīḍita.



दीव्यतद्दीरतुंगसरतुरमवरप्रातजातोऽवात-<sup>76</sup>

क्षुभ्यत्तच्छीत्यरेणुक्षतनयनसजाव्यमक्षताः खरायोः ।  
मंदायते गतेऽस्मास्त इव घनिता वैरिणां सहिनानां  
यामाञ्जानति<sup>77</sup> दीर्घानवितथविक्रदे भोक्तेन्द्रे रण्यस्त्रे ॥५५॥<sup>78</sup>  
को वा नो

- L. 39. वेद विद्वांश्चरमयुगकलावेकपादेव धर्मः  
खञ्जद्वष्टावलंबः किल चरतु कथं पीनपंके जनेस्मिन् ।  
सौर्यं सहंशयष्टिं वहिरवहिरयो शुद्धसारोपपन्नं  
प्राप्य श्रीभोक्तेन्द्रे प्रविशति विपुलां मंडलीं पंडितानां ॥५६॥  
नूनं द्यूतविधावधास्यखभुजाभीशः सुमेधं पणं  
गण्यस्तत्र मनस्विनां व्यजयत श्रीभोक्तेन्द्रेऽपतिः ॥(१)  
तादृ-

40. चाः क[य\*]मन्यथावनितले हेन्नासमी<sup>79</sup> राशयो  
नैषां दानविधावमुष्य च मनःपीडाकलापि क्वचित् ॥५७॥<sup>80</sup>  
वक्त्रावक्त्राय सर्पिःपतननवक्चौ भूमधूमायमाने<sup>81</sup>  
दूनां—म[चि\*]पंतौ कथमुपकुर्वते यागभागी मघोनः ।  
पुण्येनास्यैव जाने दिनमधिरयते सत्कराणां सहस्रं  
विभ्रत्सद्योस्ततद्रः खगयति विधिना योयम-

41. एषां सहस्रं ॥५८॥<sup>82</sup>  
आरुक्कामलमंडलोक्तं तुलां यः पुष्करद्योतनं  
पुष्यश्रीः स कथं तथा प्रथमती गच्छी न तेजस्विनां ॥ (१)  
निःपंका<sup>83</sup> करलालिता वसुमती सद्राजहंसा यती  
वं(बं)धूनामुदयस्ततस्तदुदये स्वात्संपदामीचिती ॥५९॥<sup>84</sup>  
पारावारस्य वेलातटनिकटमनु प्राप्तशैलाधिवासा  
शत्रुश्रेणी समग्रा नि-

42. वसति सततं भीतभीता नितान्तं ।  
जेतुं यात्रादसीया यदि भवति तदा वाजिराजीश्वराय-  
द्व्यस्त्राधूलिधारा स्थलयति जलधिं पारयानाय तस्य ॥६०॥<sup>85</sup>  
आसाद्यातिथिमाश्रयं त्रिजगतां श्रीहार्कानायक  
प्रासादं रचितीपचारमकरोद्भूमीपतिर्भोक्तेः ॥(१)  
देवेनांबुजबांधवेन चकितं यो वीक्षितः शंकया  
विंध्याद्रेर्गि-

<sup>76</sup> The word तुंगत् is apparently used here in the sense of लंघनम्.

<sup>77</sup> Read यामाञ्जान्ति.

<sup>78</sup> Metre of verses 55 and 56: Sragdharā.

<sup>79</sup> Read हेन्नासमी.

<sup>80</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>81</sup> Read °वृजिधू(P).

<sup>82</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>83</sup> Read निःपंका.

<sup>84</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>85</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

- L. 43. रिसत्तमस्य नियते<sup>97</sup> मुक्तस्य वाग्बंधनात् ॥६१॥<sup>98</sup>  
 यस्य प्रत्युक्तकर्मद्रवदखिलमहाधातुसंभारधारा-<sup>99</sup>  
 पातस्मातापश्यन्नलेविलविलसन्नोललाला<sup>100</sup> फणींद्रः ।  
 व्याचष्टे स्पष्टमिष्टं ध्रुवमयमधुना भाष्यमाभाष्य शिष्यं ।  
 स श्रीभर्तुः पुरस्ताज्जयति<sup>101</sup> खगपतिर्भोर्कलेद्रस्य कीर्त्तिः<sup>102</sup> ॥६२॥<sup>103</sup>  
 सोढुं नेशः पयोधिः क्षणमपि वि-

44. रत्नं द्वारकानाथ(य)कस्य  
 प्रेम्णा पादोपमूलं स्वयमुपगतवान्यत्तडागच्छलेन ।  
 नीदन्था कुंभयोनेरतिपतिततरामंतरेणैवमिष्यन्  
 श्रापान्ते<sup>104</sup> मे विदध्यादयमिति विनयाद्विध्य<sup>105</sup> एवानयस्य ॥६३॥  
 विध्यस्त्वेकबंधुर्निजविततिभरादंधुतानीतसिंधु-  
 नीरक्रीडत्युरग्निसमभकुचतटाघातसीदत्तरंगः ।  
 सतुष्यत्तोयजंतुर्विविधनगन-<sup>106</sup>

45. दीवेगसंरोधतंतुः<sup>107</sup>  
 सन्नेतुर्नेतुरस्य स्फुरति वसुमतीसिद्धिहेतुः सुजेतुः ॥६४॥  
 अमुष्य धरणीभृतो विषयमध्यवर्त्ती महादरीवृतवपुष्टया [वि] वृतदूरगंभीरतः ।  
 स[हे]र इवापरः परमनोनगम्यांतरः<sup>108</sup> पवित्रतरकीर्त्तनो जयति चित्रकूटाचलः ॥६५॥<sup>109</sup>  
 जायतां नाम कामं कुलधरणिभृतः सप्त शृंगौघतुंगा  
 वैचित्र्या चित्रकूटं तुलयि-

46. तुमनलं तीर्थभूतप्रदेशं ।  
 मा भूवनिर्भरिण्यो<sup>110</sup> मदुदितजनुषो नोचगामानशौडः ।<sup>111</sup>  
 शृंगे यः क्षीरवारांनिधिमधिततरामुद्यदंभोजवासं ॥६६॥<sup>1</sup>  
 उद्दामग्रावनिर्यङ्गरभरकणिकाजातसेकातरेक-<sup>2</sup>  
 चिह्नच्छालप्रवालप्रभवदुहतराभोगसूनप्रसूतात् ।  
 मध्वासारादपारादुप[हृ]तजनुषो दाववक्त्रेर्निदाघे  
 विष्वग्द्रीची<sup>3</sup> वनानि प्रसभपरिभवं ने-

47. इ शैले विदंति ॥६७॥  
 एतस्मिन्सरिदस्ति निर्मलजला यस्यां निवापांजला-  
 वुन्नोलतिलजातपातकवलव्यथाः शफर्यशलाः ।  
 क्रीडासंभ्रमविस्मृताभ्युवहुशो मज्जद्भूनामहो  
 नेत्राणीव विलीपिकज्जलकणांशेतुं स्फुरति स्फुटं ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>4</sup>

Read नियतं.  
<sup>97</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.  
<sup>98</sup> Originally प्रत्युक्ति<sup>9</sup> was engraved.  
<sup>99</sup> Read 'द्रवदखिल' and 'लाडः'.  
<sup>100</sup> Read पुरं.  
<sup>101</sup> Read श्रीवे.  
<sup>102</sup> Metre of verses 62-64: Śragdharā.  
<sup>103</sup> Read श्रापान्ते.  
<sup>104</sup> Read 'विध्य'.

<sup>105</sup> Read संतुष्य<sup>10</sup>.  
<sup>106</sup> Originally 'संरोधितंतुः' was engraved.  
<sup>107</sup> Read परममान<sup>11</sup>(य).  
<sup>108</sup> Metre: Prithvi.  
<sup>109</sup> Read भूवनि<sup>12</sup>.  
<sup>110</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.  
<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 66 and 67: Śragdharā.  
<sup>2</sup> Read 'काविरैक'.  
<sup>3</sup> Read विष्वग्द्रीची.  
<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

लंका किं नाम दुर्म अलनिधिरविता<sup>6</sup> यत्र सा काल[काकाः]<sup>7</sup>  
[प्रा]वृट्का[लि] विवर्गैरपि गलितमदैर्या त्रियेतेति मा-

L. 48.

नो ।

यो धत्ते क्षीरवारानिधिसुपरि परै राजहंसैरगम्य-  
स्तदुर्गं चित्रकूटो जयति वसुमतीमंडनं भूरिभूमिः<sup>7</sup> ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
सोभाग्यैकमहौषधिर्भगवती यस्मिन्भवानी स्वयं  
आगर्शि प्रियसन्निधानवसतिः साध्वीजनानां गुरुः ॥(1)  
देवः सोपि समस्तनाक्षरभणीसंतानदामव्रज-  
प्रसूतोत्पन्नकरंदबिंदुसुरभिप्रस्फारनृत्त्यांगणः ॥ ७० ॥<sup>9</sup>  
सेवा-

49.

हेवाकदेवस्तुतहरचरितप्रोक्तसद्भावसंप-<sup>10</sup>त्तद्व्यस्त्यद्वयानोक्तसुरवसवनस्फारसौरभ्यहारि<sup>11</sup>

यहारि प्रातिभाष्यं वहति दृग्दृशां मञ्जतीनामजसं

पातिव्रत्ये समंतात्समधिकसुभगंभावुकत्वेपि शश्वत् ॥ ७१ ॥<sup>12</sup>

गिरिः कैलासो यद्दृश्यसुखभुजोष्ठासनदिमाहलसूलस्थामा प्रभवति न नायं विषदितुं ॥(1)

50. प्रदेशप्राग्भारप्र[क्त\*]तिरमणीये तद्वधुना समिद्धैः<sup>13</sup> श्रीमानिह वसति गौरोसहचरः ॥७२॥<sup>14</sup>

एकैकधावतावत्कृतिमुचितमहासर्वकर्मीणामां

कृत्वा प्रासादमाशामुखमुत्तुरमतिव्योमसीमानमस्य ।

यस्याशेषोपचारकमधनमुदितारी-<sup>15</sup>क्षीरः श्रीमोकलेंद्रो धनपुरमुचितं ग्राममायामिसोमं ॥ ७३ ॥<sup>16</sup>

अब्दे बाणाष्टवेदक्षितिपरिकलिते

51.

विक्रमभोजबंधोः

पुण्ये मासे तपस्ये सवितरि मकरं याति जीवे घटस्थ ॥(1)

पञ्चे शुक्लेतरस्मिन्सुरगुरुदिवसे चार्यमर्चे नृतोया-

तिथ्यां देवप्रतिष्ठामयमकृततरां मोकलो भूमिपालः ॥ ७४ ॥

उन्मीलद्वामयाव्रीद्यतसुरतरुणीगीतसंग्रामधामा

सुखामा यावदीष्टे त्रिदशपरपरीपालनस्यष्टमीतिः ।

पर्यायोपात्तभूनां स्फुरति दशशती शेषमूर्ध्नां च याव-

52. तावत्प्रस्फारलक्ष्मीरवतु<sup>17</sup> वसुमतीं मोकलेंद्रस्य बाहुः ॥ ७५ ॥

श्रीमद्दशपुरज्ञातिर्भट्टविष्णोस्तनूजवः ।

नाम्नैकनाथनामायमलिखत् कृतिमुख(कव)लां ॥ १ ॥<sup>18</sup><sup>6</sup> Read °रविता.<sup>7</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are damaged.<sup>8</sup> Read भूमिभूमिः(१).<sup>9</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>11</sup> Read सेवाक्षिणिक° ; originally देवाक्ष° was engraved.<sup>12</sup> Read °कृतसुखसुख°.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>14</sup> Read समिद्धैः or समाधीनः, which are both names of Śiva.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.<sup>16</sup> Six *aksharas* of this line are omitted ; the last word of the line must have been व्यतरीत्.<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 73-75: Sragdharā.<sup>18</sup> Read तावत्°.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

अनेकप्रासादैः परिवृतमतिप्रागुक्तं गिरीयप्रासादं व्यरचयदन्मैरनुचरैः ॥(1)  
मनाख्यो विख्यातः सकलगुणवान् वीजलसुतः सुतः शिल्पी जातो गुणगणयुतो वीसल  
इति ॥२॥<sup>19</sup>

अतिप्रशस्तेरलिख-

- L. 53. त् प्रशस्ति<sup>20</sup> वर्णैरवर्ण्येन वद्विःकृतैर्यः<sup>21</sup>।  
श्रीमत्समाधीयमहेश्वरस्य प्रसादतोसौ चिरजीवनोस्तु<sup>22</sup> ॥ २(३) ॥<sup>23</sup>  
वो[जलस्य] सुतः शिल्पी मनाख्यः सूत्रधारकः ।  
ब्रह्मात्मजेन वीसेन प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कृता ॥ ३(४) ॥<sup>24</sup>  
रुचिराक्षरमुत्कीर्णा प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वला ।  
लिलेख<sup>25</sup> वीसलः शिल्पी समाधीयप्रसादतः<sup>26</sup> ॥ ४(५) ॥ ॥  
संवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघसुदि [३] गुरुदिने<sup>27</sup> . . . .

### XXXIII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1207.

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

This inscription is on a slab of black marble which is preserved in the temple of Mokajji<sup>1</sup> at Chitorgadh, in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. I edit it from Dr. Führer's impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8" broad by 1' 3" high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved; but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side; and from the same cause a number of *aksharas* has also disappeared on the left side, in lines 24-28. In the midst of the writing causing a break in lines 17-23, is an ornamental drawing, about 3½" square, which encloses a circle about 3½" in diameter. Near the periphery of this circle and across the square, both vertically and horizontally, there is some writing (apparently a verse) the greater part of which is too faint to be made out. The size of the letters is between ⅛" and ¼". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Samskrit; and nearly the whole inscription is in verse. It is carefully written and engraved, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śikharipi.

<sup>20</sup> Read प्रशस्ति.

<sup>21</sup> Read वद्विःकृतैर्यः.

<sup>22</sup> Originally श्रीजीवनोस्तु was engraved.

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 4 and 5: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>25</sup> Read लिलेख.

<sup>26</sup> Read समाधीय.

<sup>27</sup> This word is engraved beneath the preceding वर्षे and

appears to have been followed by three or four other *aksharas*, which are illegible.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 408. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgadh in January 1873; Mr. H. B. W. Garrick copied several of them in 1884 (*Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. XXIII, pls. xx, xxi); and again Dr. Führer on a tour in Rājputāna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J. B.]

several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla to Mount Chitrakûṭa, the modern Chitorgadh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill.—After the words “Om! Adoration to the Omniscient,” the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛḍa, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mûlarāja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharāja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumârapâladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śākambharī (line 10) and devastated the Sapādalaksha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śālipura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakûṭa mountain; the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumârapâla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a *ghāṇaka* or ‘oil-mill’ for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27; and line 28 tells us that this *Prasasti* was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmakīrti, a pupil of Jayakīrti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance; but it shows at any rate that Kumârapâla’s well-known victory<sup>2</sup> over (Arnorāja), the ruler of the Sapādalaksha country, whose capital was Śākambharī (Sāmbhar) in Rājputāna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it.—The place Śālipura at which Kumârapâla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakûṭa, I am unable to identify.

#### Text.<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं॥ नमः सर्व्य[ज्ञ]यः॥ नमो॥ . . . [स]मार्चिर्दग्ध(ग्व)संकल्पजग्धने । शर्व्याय परम  
ज्योतिर्[हृ]स्तसंकल्पजग्धने ॥ जयतास सृडः श्रीमासृडा . . .<sup>7</sup>  
2. दनाम्बु(म्बु)जे । यस्य कण्ठच्छवी रेजे से(शे)वालखेव वज्ररी ॥ यदीयशिखरस्थितोज्जसदन-  
स्पदिव्यध्वजं समंडपमही नृणामपि विदू-  
3. रतः पश्यतां । अनेकभवसंचितं जयमियत्ति पापं द्रुतं स पातु पदपंकजानतद्वरिः समिहे  
श्वरः ॥ यत्रोक्तसत्यद्रुतकारिवाचः९ स्फुर[न्ति चि]  
4. ते विदुषां सदा तत् । सारस्वतं ज्योतिरनंतमंतर्विस्फूर्जतां मे क्षतजायवृत्ति ॥ जयंत्यज  
अ(स)पीयूषविदुनिथ्यदिनोमलाः<sup>10</sup> । कवीनां [सम

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. I. p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read “ज्ञाय.”

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) and of the next verse.

<sup>7</sup> The missing *akṣaras* are नीव.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three verses

- L. 5. कीर्त्ती(र्त्ती)नां वाञ्छितासा महीदयाः ॥ न वैरस्वस्थितिः<sup>11</sup> श्रीमान्न जलानां<sup>12</sup> समाश्रयः ।  
रत्नराशिरपूर्वोस्ति चौलुक्यानामिष्टान्वयः ॥ तद्वी-
6. दपद्यत श्रीमान्महत्सस्तेजसां निधिः । मूलराजा(ज)महीनाथो मुक्तामणिरिवीज्ज(ज्ज)-  
सः ॥ वितन्वति यत्र यत्र जेम(मं) सर्वत्र सर्वथा । प्रजा राजन्वतो नून(नं) ज-
7. ज्ञेसौ चिरकालतः ॥ तस्यान्वये<sup>13</sup> महति भूपतिषु क्रमेण यातेषु भूरिषु सुपर्वपतेर्विवासं ।  
प्रोर्णुत्य वीप्रयशसा ककुभां सुखानि श्रीसिद्धरा-
8. जनृपतिः प्रथितो व(व)भूव ॥ जयत्रिया<sup>14</sup> समाश्रितं यं विलीक्य समंततः । भ्रात्या जगति  
यत्कीर्त्तिज(र्ज)गा[हि]मरमंदिरम् ॥ तस्मिन्नमरसाग्ना-
9. जा(ज्ज) संप्राप्ते नियतेजसात्<sup>15</sup> । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्पुतापाक्रांतशात्रवः ॥ स्वतेजसाप्रसङ्गेन  
न परं येन शात्रवः । पदं भूभृष्टिरसूचैः कारि-
10. तो व(वं)धुरप्यलं ॥ आश्ना यस्य महीनाथैस्तुरग्यु(यु)धिमध्यगैः । प्रियते मूर्धभिर्बन्धे(न्धे)-  
दैवशेषेव सन्ततम् ॥ महीभृन्निकु(कुं)जेषु<sup>16</sup> शाकंभरी-
11. शः प्रियापुत्रलोके न शाकंभरीशः । अपि प्रास्तशत्रुर्भयात्कंप्रभूतः स्थितौ यस्य मत्तेभवाजि-  
प्रभूतः<sup>17</sup> ॥ सपादलक्षमामर्थ<sup>18</sup> नम्रीक-
12. तभयानकः । [ख]य[म]याश्महीनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥ सन्निवेश<sup>19</sup> सि(शि)चिरं पृथु  
तत्र त्रासितासहभूपतिचक्रम् । चित्तकू-
13. टगिरिपु[ष्क]लश्रीभां द्रष्टुमार नृपतिः कुतुकेन ॥ यदुच्चसुरसद्भाषोपरिष्ठात्पतन्मदा<sup>20</sup>  
रथं नयत्यलं मंदं मंदं भंगभयाद्रविः ॥ य-
14. लौधशिखराढकामिनीमुखसन्निधौ । वर्त्तमानो निशानाथो लक्ष्यते लक्ष्मिलेखया ॥ प्रफुल्ल-  
राजीवमनोहरानना<sup>21</sup> विवृत्तपाठीनविलोललोच-
15. — <sup>22</sup> — स[ह]गावलिरुमराजयो रथांगवच्चोरुहमंडलश्रियः ॥ परिभ्रमत्वारसहसनि-  
स्त्रनाः सविभ्रमा हारिष्टणालवा(वा)हुकाः । वृ(वृ)हजितंवा(वा)मलवारि-
16. — — <sup>23</sup> सुदे सतां यत्र सदा सरोजनाः ॥ स(सु)रभिकुसुमगंधाकृष्टमस्तालिमांलाविहित-  
मधुररावो<sup>24</sup> यत्र चाधित्यकायां । खलिततरणिभानुः सन्न-
17. — — — — — मयिषति शश्वत्कामिनः कामिनीभिः ॥ शुभे<sup>25</sup> यदने शाखिशिखांत  
राले प्रियाः क्रीडया सन्मिलीना निकामं । घने [प]-
18. — — — — — [वा] [त]नूगंधसक्तालयः सूय(च)यंति ॥ प्राप<sup>26</sup> कदापि न या  
हृदये शं सानुनयं समया हृदयेयं । यदनमेत्थ सु[सं]-
19. — — — — — [र]तरागं ॥ एवमादिगुणे<sup>27</sup> दुर्मे स्वर्गे वा भुवि [सं]-  
स्थिते । राजा जिष्णुः परप्रीत्या संचरन्निजलोल-

<sup>11</sup> Divide also, वैरस्व स्थितिः.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., also, जलानां.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next three

verses.

<sup>15</sup> Read ॐतेजसात्.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Bhujāṅgaprayāta.

<sup>17</sup> Originally मूर्धभिर् was engraved.

<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Svāgatā.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse.

<sup>21</sup> Metre: Vamśastha; and of the next verse.

<sup>22</sup> The *akṣharas*, here broken away, are probably नाः । प्रज.

<sup>23</sup> The *akṣharas*, here broken away, are probably राजयो.

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Bhujāṅgaprayāta.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Dohaka.

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of all the following verses.

- L. 20. या ॥ ति . . . . . [ता?] चर्यसंकुलम् । ददर्शानाधगंभीरस्वच्छं स्वमिव मान-  
सम् ॥ निर्मलं सलिलं यत्र पि-  
21. हितं प[ञ्चि] - ७ - । . . . . . जे नीलाब्ज(ज)राग[भू]त्रियम् ॥ विसृज्य व्योम  
पातालरसा यत्र त्रिमार्गा । लोका-  
22. न् पु[नति] . . . . . ७ - ७ - ॥ [त]स्योत्तरतटेद्राक्षीवस्वामरसमर्चितं । श्रीस-  
मिहेश्वरं देवं प्रसिद्धं  
23. जगती ७ - ॥ . . . . . ७ - ७ - ॥ ते । त्रैलोक्य[तू]र्यनादेन कलि(लि)  
निर्भर्त्ययन्निव ॥ य[त्स्व?]वस्त्राधिपत्येस्वात्पुरा भ-  
24. इतिरिक्त[मा] . . . [वो] नृपाभ्य[र्षा?] . . . ७ - ७ - ॥ तस्याः शिष्याभवत्वाध्वी  
सुव्रतप्रातभूषिता । गौरदेवीति वि[ख्या] . . . [ता?]कृतोद्यमा ॥ सु[मनो?] . .  
25. संसेव्या [मा ?] . . यविनाशिनी । दुर्गार्हि . . . . . ७ - ७ [ता] ॥  
यत्तपः पावनं वीक्ष्य पवित्रीकृतसज्जनं । सखरुः पूर्वयमि . . . . . ७ - ७ - ॥  
शिवं प्रपूज्य त[त्त्व] . .  
26. . . [म]गमत्पुङ्गुः । प्रणम्य [तावुभौ?] भक्त्या सि(यि)रसा ७ - ७ - ॥ . . . . .  
[तस्मा?]तः पूजार्थं हरपादयोः । कुमारपालदेवोदाङ्गामं श्री . ७ - ७ - ॥ <sup>28</sup> . . . स्वां  
दिश्वाराम . .  
27. . टा दक्षिणपूर्वोत्तरपश्चिमतः सरःपालो भूषादित्थ . . . . . राज . . . दीपार्थं घाश-  
कमेकं सज्जनोप्यदात् दंडनाय . . . . . मेतहानम . . .  
28. श्रीज[य]कीर्त्तिशिवेश्वर<sup>29</sup> दिगं व(व)रगणेशिना । प्रगस्त्रिरोदृशी चक्रे . . श्रीरामकीर्त्तिना ॥  
संवत् १२०७ सूत्रघा . . . . . <sup>30</sup>

## XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SŪBA OF DHILĪ.

## No. II.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *ante*, pp. 130 *seq.* I begin with Fathābād, which was there represented by the inscription from Fīrōz Shāh's famous pillar.<sup>1</sup>

## FATHĀBĀD.

1. To the left of the *mīhrāb* of what is now an 'Idgāh in the fort of Fathābād, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2' 3" by

<sup>28</sup> In the prose passage, from here up to the end of line 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many *aksharas* are broken away in each place.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>30</sup> Below this line some more *aksharas* have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. B. W. Garriek, in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXIII, p. 11, remarks that Maulawi Ziyā uddīn Khān has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there); but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.

1' 2½", of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (*Arch. Sur. India Rep.* vol. XXIII plate iii)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وإن المساجد [الله] فلا يدعوا [sic]  
 مع الله أحدا وأنه لما قام عبد الله يدعوا [أ] كان [أ] يكونون  
 عليه إبدأ قال عليه السلام [من] بني الله [sic] مسجدا يبتغى به وجه الله بني الله له في  
 الجنة مثله تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دروات شاه اعظم والخاقان المعظم  
 مالك الرقاب طرايف الامم من الهند والترك والعرب والعجم رافع رايات [أ] لمجامعات  
 والمغازي محمد همايون بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالي ملكه في بحار الطيف [sic]  
 فلكه بسع [sic] جناب سعادة فرجام زبدة فضلاء الانام نتيجة الامراء العظام امير رستم بيك بن  
 جناب المغفور المبرور المختص امير محمد علي الله تعالي محام . . . . . في الثاني: . . . . . ماه رمضان  
 سنة خمس [و] اربعين وتسعمائة كافرما فقير عبد الكريم درقد برای جراج بر مرزوم [و] تعیین کرده شد  
 طلاق است ادرا هرکه منع کند . . .

"In the name," etc. (*Qorán*, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi*,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [and guide] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amîr Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amîr Muhammad 'Alî,—God Almighty. . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramazân A. 945 (*the 22nd January, 1539*). The superintendent of the work (*was*) the poor 'Abdul-Karîm."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amîr Muhammad's mosque at Hîşâr (*ante*, p. 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathâbâd a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Alî in Arabic, in four lines, size 1' 2½" by 6¾"—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ناد عليا مظهر  
 العجايب تجده عزالك في الثواب كل  
 هم وغم سينجلي بنبوتك يا محمد بروايتك  
 يا علي يا علي يا علي تم تم تم

"In the name, etc. Invoke 'Alî, the manifestor of miracles; thou wilt find him



for thy help in adversities. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī!"

### HİŞÂR.<sup>3</sup>

3. Near the Nâgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4"), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

نقل ابن سلطان المشايخ والارباب شيخ محمد بن شيخ محمود چشتى في التاسع من شعبان سنة اثنى  
وتسعين وثمانماية

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmûd, the Chishtî,<sup>4</sup> (took place) on the 9th Sha'bân, 892 (31st July, 1487)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

يا من بدنياه اشتغل قد غرّه طول الامل الموت ياتي بغتة والقبر صندوق العمل

Metre: *Rajaz*.

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (*i.e.*, his hoped life-time) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
ولا اتما الدنيا كمنزل راكب ايام عشيا وهو في الصبح راحل

"In the name, *etc.*, there is no God but, *etc.* Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nâgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

<sup>3</sup> This formula is very popular for amulets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for November 1872, p. 169). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his *Asi-i Akbari* Translation, p. 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* (*loc. cit.*)

<sup>4</sup> Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for April 1877, pp. 94 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishtî Saints (see *ante*, p. 145) is in the *Sawâḥir ul-anwâr*, a copy of which work is in India Office library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof. C. H. Ethé in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. R. Roet. It is known that biographies of single Chishtîs are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the *Maṭlûb uṭṭalibîn*, which is restricted to the life and deeds of *Nizâm uddîn Auliya*. Compared with such books those of the princess Jahânârâi about Shaikh Mu'in uddîn and of her brother Dârâ Shukôh (*Sufîyat ul-auliyâ*) are very dilettante. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two princely authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dârâ Shukôh's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahânârâi's unassuming book. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtîs, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'in uddîn.

born at Ajôdhan,— the name for Dîpâlpûr,— too striking an accord.\* But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the *Khazînat ul-asfiyâ*, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7' 6" by 7", and 6' by 4½", respectively.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الغرة من ربيع الاول سنة سبع وعشرين وتسع مائة بانيه جنيد بن چندان

"In the name, etc. On the first Rabi'ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder of it (was) Junaid, son of Chandan."

الغرة من شهر ذي القعدة سنة احدى وثلاثين وتسع مائة بانيه جنيد بن چندان بن محمود اچودھنی

"On the first Zi'l-Qa'da, 931 (20th August, 1525). Its builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan, son of Mahmûd, of Ajôdhan."†

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2' 1½" by 6", contains, in two lines, the *Bismillâh* and the *Kalima*; two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1' 1" square, bear *Qorân*, Sûra cxii, adorned with flowers.‡

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hîşâr to Dâna Shêr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihlî-Gate, is an inscription in *stucco*; it measures 1' 2" by 1' 1½", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله . . . . .

در عهد میمن ودر لست

همایون . . . . . خلد ملکه و سلطانه

واعلى امره رشانه این

عمارت ازان والبرخان

. . . . . بن میر . . . . . بن

سلطان ملکبک در سیم [؟] ماه رمضان

. . . . . سنه ثلاث واربعمین وتسعمائة تمام شد

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humâyûn (*the king, etc.*)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wâltû Khân . . . . ., son of Mîr . . . . . son of Sultân Malik Bêg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzân, A. 943 (13th February, 1537)."

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:—

این . . . . . بادشاه . . . . . بیست هزار تنکه سیه [؟] باهتمام شیخ منیر بن قاسم [؟] اتمام شد

\* Shaikh Farîd uddîn Mas'ûd was also born at Ajôdhan,—see W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 590, p. 556.

Mr. Ghulâm Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjâb series, remarks that both have been published by Amîn Chaud in his *Settlement Report*, a work which is not to hand.

In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre-Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W. Brown,—*Journal of A. S. Beng.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 429,—“has the appearance of having been partially worked by Ferôz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface.” Cf. Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. V, p. 140 *et seq.*

" . . . . . 20,000 copper-tankas (1,000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qâsim."

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain.

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No. 5. Their sizes are 3' 1½" by 1' 9", and 3' by 1' 6", respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد میمن و دولت همایین سلطان  
الهند و الخراسان رافع رايات المجاهدات والمغازي محمد همایین  
بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته این عمارت بتاریخ ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه  
اربع و اربعین و تسعمایه تمام شد راین گنبد  
بر تردي کرجک بن میر برنطق مغل شده است  
راین جوان در لشکر گجرات شهادت یافت  
و مبلغ بانزده هزار تنکه سیاه خرچ شده است

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May its dignity be magnified!—of the year 944 (*began the 4th December, 1537*). And this cupola (*was made*) for the sake of Tardî Kuchuk, son of Mîr Baranṭaq, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 15,000 copper-tankas (750 rupees)."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد میمن و دولت همایین  
سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازي  
طهیرالدین محمد همایین بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته بتاریخ ماه  
رمضان سنه اربع و اربعین و تسعمایه این عمارت از برای [؟]  
میر عاشق محمد بن میر شاه علی شد راین  
جوان در لشکر گجرات شهادت یافت  
و مبلغ دوازده هزار تنکه سیاه خرچ شده

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, *Tahîr\* uddîn* Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazân of the year 944 (*began the 1st February, 1538*). It was made for the sake of Mîr 'Âshiq Muhammad, son of Mîr Shâh 'Alî," and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 12,000 copper-tankas (600 rupees)."

\* Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humâyûn's common *kunya* *Nasîr uddîn*; but here *Tahîr uddîn* has been engraved. *Zahîr uddîn* was Bâbar's *kunya*.

\* Here 'Alî has been engraved, but this is no name.

Both youths probably served in the Gujarāt war that ended with Bahādur Shāh's victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamān Mirzā's attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarāt being lost to Humāyūn.

7. Over the *mihṛāb* of an 'īdgāh at Dāna Sher, one mile south of Hīṣār on the old Hānsī road, is an inscription of four lines in *stucco*, measuring 1' 9" by 4½". It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

این مسجد [؟] . . . . . بک ابن بولد سروانی . . . . . سروانی [نی] بن  
ادریس سروانی . . . . . مسند عالی دولتخانه در عهد شیرشاه  
سلطان سنه تسع بع [sic] اربعین سبع . . . . . تمام شد . . . . .  
خرچ شد مبلغ درازده [؟] هزار

"This mosque of . . . Bēg, son of Pūlād Sarvānī . . . son of Idrīs Sarvānī . . . the high *Masnad* of the *Daulatkhāna*, was finished in the reign of Shēr Shāh, the king, in the year 947 (*began the 8th May, 1540*) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . . . ."

With Messrs. Ghulām Hussain and the late E. Rehatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. بع would then be for مائة 'hundred', scarcely for مع; so I read the monarch's name as Shēr Shāh, which is possible. And surely, if بع were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated *tis*', only with a shortening of the long stroke of the *sin*, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king's name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after *sab*' as *mi'at*. Besides, there are some words, especially '*in masjid*', that I cannot warrant as certain.<sup>10</sup>

#### Hānsī.

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (*ut sup.*, pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hānsī. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dīnī mosque, also *ante*, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick's list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers's collection.<sup>11</sup>

Because Hānsī was an important place in the times of the early Pathān Sultāns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

<sup>10</sup> In the *Mu'aththir ul-Umarā*, vol. I, p. 583, it is mentioned by the way that the *dārūghagī* of the *daulatkhāna* was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the *Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī*, 'Abbās Khān, son of Shaikh 'Alī, was also a Sarvānī, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythic Bāṭan (see *Āin-i Akbarī*, I, 591), likewise 'Azam Humāyūn (who lived in Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī's time, cf. *Bābar's Memoirs*, pp. 347, 392; *Akbarnāma*, vol. I, p. 108) and therefore also his son Fath Khān Khānjahān (*Bābar's Memoirs*, pp. 390, 392, *Akbarnāma*, vol. I, pp. 103, 104), and grandson Mahmūd Khān (*Bābar's Memoirs*, p. 393, *Akbarnāma*, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahādur Khān, whose tomb Bābar visited at Sogandpūr (*Memoirs*, p. 491), and others. For another Shēr Shāh inscription of the same year (at Sakit) see *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for May 1874, p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Nos. 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr. Garrick's little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.

not take into account the Dihli inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, V<sup>me</sup> série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 24, and *Jour. Asiat.*, p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, viz. of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihli inscription,—see *Jour. Asiat.* u.s. p. 240). Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A.H. became a martyr in Sultân Shihâb uddîn Ghôrî's attack upon the fort of Hânsî (see Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 13). Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates.

8. The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4' 11" by 6", serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr; it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign:—

امر ببناء هذا المسجد العبد علي بن اسفنديار في عشر ذي الحجة سنة ثلث وتسعين وخمس مائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197)."

9. The *masjid* walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3' by 1'), and mentioning the monarch's name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible:—

[ابن] المظفر محمد بن سام ناصر امير المؤمنين . . . . .

"[*Abu'l*] Muzaffar Muhammad, son of Sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful."

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3' 7½" by 11"); the lintel has not been found:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجداً في الدنيا بنا [الله له] قصر [في الجنة] . . . . .

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise....."

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihli ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, pp. 24 (A.H. 594) and 25 (A.H. 596).

Of no historical value, are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1' by 11"), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king's title [ركب والعجم]; over the northern window in the outer wall (2' 5" by 3½"), the first half of *Qorân*, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1' 7" by 6"), a fragment, *Qorân*, Sûra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four *Qutbs* or Saints (cf. Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the

enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4' 3" by 11"—

تمت القبر المستور الجليله نور الله قبرها وغفر الله لها في جنة الماري  
يا ارحم الرحمين [sic] وذلك بالتاريخ الحادي غرت ذوالقعدة سنة اثني عشرين ستملية

"Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allāh illuminate her tomb and may Allāh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (*Paradise*)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (*4th November, 1225*)."

It is curious that the word *qabr* is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-uddīn Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1' 10½" by 1' 1½"). A complement of it must be Mr. Garrick's sixth one—

كذ [لاني] ديفردرس سلطاني  
بند مسعود محمد صفهاني برد

"[Gī]lānī and to Firdaus Sultānī. He was a slave of Mas'ūd Muhammad of Isfahān."

In the wall of the mosque of the four *Qutbs* is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4" by 1'—

بتوفيق حضرت

كمال [جمال] ابن . . . . .

"By the grace of his highness Kamāl, son of....."

11. At the mosque of Bū Ālī Bakhsh in the Moghulpāra-Quarter of Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2' 6" by 6", with two lines—

هذا عمارة المسجد العبد الضعيف احمد بن محمد اسمندي  
في المنتصف ربيع الآخر سنة ثلث والعشرين وستماية

"This building (*is*) the mosque of the feeble slave (*of God*) Ahmad, son of Muhammad, of Asmand. In the middle of Rabi' II, 623 (*began the 1st April, 1226*)."

Mr. Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samarqand.

There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' ½" by 7½") containing the *Bismillāh*, with the *Kalīma*, the second (1' by 7") being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an 'Idgāh and on the left of its central arch (*mīhrāb*) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10½" by 1'), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم ربنا انزل علينا مائدة  
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر [؟] محمد بن السلطان . . . . .

"In the name, *etc.* Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, "O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [*to be to us as a festival, etc.*].—*Qorān*, Sūra v, verse 114.

Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nāsir uddin Mahmūd, second son of Altamsh of *that* name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, viz. by Blochmann in the *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XLII, p. 248, note [A.H. 652, at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathān Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same 'Idgāh another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 2' 9½" by 1'.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bū 'Alī Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1' 4" by 1' 2½":—

شاه کیهان معزالدنیا

سلطان خلد ملکه در تربت

بهلول بن مهربان الانی بر . . . . . مسموم سنه سبع وثمانین رستمایه

"The king of the world Mu'izz uddunyā,.....the Sultān,—May (God) perpetuate his reign!—in the time of.....Bahlūl, son of Mihrā (?) Bēg, Alānī... Muharram, 687 (began the 6th February, 1288)."

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kaiqobād see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hānsī is the tomb of Walāyat Shāh Sultān Shahīd. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1' 10½" by 1' 2½", in three lines, the other measuring 1' 10½" by 5½", in one line, being a portion of *Qorān*, Sūra ii, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the *Qutbs* (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3' 8" by 11":—

الملك لله

بقرینق الله تعالى بنده درگاه سبغانی ابا بکر نام جلوانی که یکی

از مریدان پیر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابوالفتح قدس الله سره العزیز است

در پایان قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق والشرع والدين طاب ثراه وجعل

الجنة مثواه ونور الله مراقده در وقت جلوس سجاده بندگی سلطان المشایخ

شیخ فرید مد الله عمره این مسجد راس کنانید هرکه درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بدعاى

اینان [?] یاد کند کاتب حرورف رضي قطب نايب قاضي هانسي . . . . .

الخامس والعشرين من ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ست وتسعين وثمانماية سنكتراش امين [?] دیرلال [?]

ناگوری

"The Kingdom belongs to God!

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abā Bakr by name, Jalwānī,<sup>12</sup> one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

<sup>12</sup> In *Bābar's Memoirs* occur also *Jalwānī*, by name Ima'āl (pp. 338, 486, 487) and Mubārak Khān (p. 491), or Rāi Husain, a partisan of Shēr Khān (vide *Akbarnāma*, vol. I, p. 164), and others. I have read *Indā* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *Idā*, as has been engraved on the stone.

Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh *Jamāl ul-haqq washshar' waddīn* (i.e. Shaikh Jamāl uddīn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farīd,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

"The writer of the words (*was*) Razā Qutb, the representative of the judge of Hānsī . . . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (3rd January, 1491). The stone-cutter (*was*) Amīn (?) Bīr Lāl of Nāgôr."

In the first line, to the left of the words "The kingdom belongs to God," in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

در عهد بادشاه زمان [؟] سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

"In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhlul Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!"

16. In the north inner wall of the Barsī gate in Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1", on which are five lines—

بناء عمارت این دروازه متین علوی با مرمت حصن حصین علانی

که مورخست سنه اثني و سبعماية در عهد سلطان السلاطين ابوالمظفر

ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و در عمل مسند عالي حميد خان

[۱] مانتخان کمال و در شقداری خواجه شيخ [؟] محمد و بفرمایش مرکل بن کمال

. . . . . في الخامس من شهر ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وعشرين و تسعمماية كاتب خانزاده نصر مفتي هانسي

"The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort," dated 702 A.H. (*began 26th August, 1302*), (*took place*) in the time of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high *Masnad* *Hamīd Khān*, son of *Amānat Khān Kamāl* and during the *shiqdārt* of *Khawāja Shaikh Muhammad*, and by order of *Muwakkal*, son of *Kamāl*...., on the 5th Zi'l Qa'da, 928 (26th September, 1522). The writer (*was*) *Khānzāda Naṣr*, the Mufti of Hānsī."

*Hamīd Khān* is known to have been governor of *Hiṣār Fīrōza*; he was defeated in battle by Prince *Humāyūn* A.H. 932 (*Akbarnāma*, vol. I, p. 94, and *Bābar's*

<sup>16</sup> As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for May 1877, p. 122, and mentioned by Mr. Garrick (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hānsī was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which most probably Muhammad Shāh had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.



*Memoirs*, p. 339, where he is styled *Hamida Khān Khāssa Khaili, shiqdār* of *Hijar Firōza*).

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shāh's fortification of the place.<sup>14</sup> Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate; a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3' 3" by 1' 6"—

بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دروازه متین در عهد [ سلطان السلاطین ]

جم نشان و سلیمان تمکین سندر زمان ابرالمظفر محمد شاه [سلطان]

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (*was*) in the time of (*the king of kings*) celebrated like Jamshēd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh*, the king...."<sup>15</sup>

17. Inside of the *mihrab* of the mosque of the Makhdūm Sāhib Ashraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hānsi, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathān period. It measures 1' 1" by 9" and consists of the *Kalima* only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½" by 6"), giving the date, "Month Šafar 989," (*began 7th March, 1581*). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Bēg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1' 9½" by 1' 7"). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:—

بعنايت  
در عهد و درت سلطان السلاطین  
ابرالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحب

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps also to the Barsi Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

<sup>15</sup> Other inscriptions of 'Alā uddīn Muhammad Shāh's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayāna), by E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihli), and by Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Rāpri), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another monarch of the Khilji tribe, viz. of Mahmūd Shāh I. of Mālwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique; at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Rehatsek did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is *Ma'āthir-i Mahmūdshāhi wa siyar-i khilāfat-pandāhi*, written in the lifetime of Mahmūd Shāh I. of Mālwa, as the author 'Alī Ibn Mahmūd ul-Kirmānī states, by Mahmūd's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully these inviting divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Mālwa. Mahmūd is related to have been always a favourer of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid *Madrasa Dām-i Bihisht*, built by Shāh Mahmūd A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the *thulth* and *muhaggaq* kinds of writing (Fol. 89). This may be a hint in cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the 'modern' Indian calligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the *Āin-i Akbari* (cf. also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, *et seq.* and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islām in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the caligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the *Jour. of As. S. B.*, vol. XL, p. 257-8, and in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*.

قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي  
 خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه  
 . . . . . اين جاء زنان شد  
 . . . . .  
 بتاريخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم  
 سنه سبع وخمسين و الف

"By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muza'ffar Shihâb uddîn* Muhammad, second lord of the conjunction, *Shâhjahân*, *Bâdishâhi Ghâzi*—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . . of this well for women . . . on the 7th of the honoured month *Sha'bân* in the year 1057 (7th September, 1647)."

The words *châh-i zanân*—"well for women," seem to be certain, so that there can be no uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the third book of the *Âin-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of the *Kotwâl*, to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Makhdûm Shâhib Ashraf's* mosque is an inscription, measuring 1' 2" by 8½", in a very bad condition; only the date *در سنه سبع ثمانين الف* 'A.H. 1087' (*began the 16th March, 1676*) and the name of the architect *بسعى معمار شريف* 'by the effort of the architect Sharif' are legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzêb Âlamgir.

20. There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hânsî, that for want of any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, *e.g.* a portion of the so-called throne-verse (*Qordn*, Sura ii, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or a part of the well-known *hadîth* about the building of mosques, on the well in the Dâk Bangla compound (size 8" by 20", one line).

#### BHAṬINḌA.

21. Bhaṭinḍa, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr. Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort.<sup>10</sup> There is preserved a large cannon of Aurangzêb's time bearing two inscriptions:—

هر الغالب  
 در عهد ابرالظفر محسى الدين محمد  
 اورنگ زيب بهادر عالم گير  
 بادشاه عازى توپ اورنگ شاهي  
 مرتب شد سنه يک هزار و هفتاد و سه هجري  
 باهتمام مرید نوری باخلاص  
 معتمد خان فی سنه ۱۰ جلوس  
 مبارک ولا

<sup>10</sup> Bhaṭinḍa is mentioned in the *Âin-i Akbarî* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I, 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 146.

"He (God) is the conqueror! In the time of *Abu'l Zafar Muhyi'ddîn Muhammad Aurangzêb Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr, Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*, the *Aurangshâh*-cannon was set up in A.H. 1073 (*began the 16th August, 1662*). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject *Mu'tamid Khan*, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

در عمل متبراداس دلازمی

..... ترب .....

در قلعه گوالیار مرتب شد

"During the office of *Mathurâdâs Dilârâmjî*..... the cannon has been placed in the fort of *Gwâliâr*."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at *Gwâliâr*, where *Mu'tamid Khân* was commandant from the 24th *Jumâdî I*, 1071.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards it was brought to *Bhatînda*.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—*Shâhjahân's gun Jahânkushâ* by name, see *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A.H. 1186 (*began 4th April, 1772*),—see *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for November 1872, p. 169.<sup>18</sup>

#### ROHTAK.<sup>19</sup>

22. Over the *mihrab* of the *Âdina* mosque in the town of *Rohtak* are two lines, size 4' 6" by 1' 2"; the letters partly are very much damaged:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 ملک حاکم علی الدین والدین . . . سلاطین جهان  
 ناصر نجات ابروالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه . . . اس مسجد مرموز و بر حاکم اهل امان  
 عمارت فرمود بنابر عمره ماه رمضان سال هفتصد و شصت از هجری بود

"Through the grace of the sublime God.....  
*Alâ uddunyâ waddîn*,.....of the kings of the world,.....*Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and.....place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st *Ramazân* A.H. 708 (*12th February, 1309*)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of *Rohtak*, near the *Dihli* Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3' 0½" by 8½", the right end of which is missing:—

بادشاه غازي سلطان السلاطين غياث الدنيا والدين سكندر زمان ابروالمظفر تغلق شاه السلطان  
 [خ] دایگانى محمد على سلطانى غره ماه مبارك رمضان عم برکاته سال بر هفتصد و بیست و چهار

"(In the time) of the *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*, the king of kings, *Ghiyâth uddunyâ waddîn*, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Tughluq Shâh* (*this mosque has been*

<sup>17</sup> See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the *Ma'athir-i 'Âlamgîrî* in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for August 1874, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the Moghuls, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (E. J. Brill, Leiden).

<sup>19</sup> See *E. I.*, vol. II, pp. 143 *et seq.*

built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muḥammad 'Alī Sultānī. On the first of the blessed month Ramazān,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (22nd August, 1324)."

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shāh's reign (see Blochmann, *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 157; A.H. 722, at Mahōbā).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bābar's time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1' 10" by 1' 1") outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

بسم [الله الرحمن الرحيم] . . . .

. . . . این مسجد . . . . در عهد . . . . حضرت ظهیرالدین محمد بابر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه

. . . . . رمضان . . . . . ثلثین رتسمایه . . . . .

"This mosque.....in the time of.....His Majesty *Zahīr uddīn Muḥammad Bābar*, *Bādīshāh-i Ghāzī*.....Ramazān.....93."

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

### XXXV.—SRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRASASTI.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER AND VAJESHANKAR G. OZHA.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his *Travels in Western India*, p. 513 f. and by Mr. Postans in the *Journal Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 16 f. According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somnāthpātan near Verāval on a pillar near the Qāzī's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, "with the assistance of a learned Jain priest," by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Rāmdatt Krishnadatt Purāṇī. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjāshankar Sāmaljī, which Mr. V. G. Ozha forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,<sup>1</sup> a Gujarātī translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

<sup>1</sup> This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing. All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature V. G. O.—[G. B.]

lines have been half or entirely effaced,<sup>2</sup> the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription.

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the *anusvāras* have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a *mātrā* is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that *va* does duty for *ba* and *va*, and that the groups like *jy*, *tva*, *dya* are invariably spelt *jy*, *tva*, and *dya*. In verse 45 we have the curious word *Gārjarātrāḥ* corresponding to the modern *Gujarāt*. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like *Suratrāṇa* out of *Sultan* and *Garjanaka* out of *Ghaznav*. *Gujarāt* itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix *āt*, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows :—

(1) A *maṅgala*, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdhara, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Samvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśiva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57.

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date.

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mūlarāja I. to Bhīmadeva II. with the exception of Bhīmadeva I., whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pāda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II. built a *Someśvaramandapa*, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrākula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gōtra was that of Śāndilya, and that its home was Nagara, i.e. Vāḍnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Ūyābhata (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Mūla, i.e. Mūlarāja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Inura's breast. Possibly this may mean that Ūyābhata was Mūlarāja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

<sup>2</sup> Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—[G. B.]

refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaves, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-fountains and halls (verses 9-10). King Ohâmuṇḍa continued to show them favour and bestowed "the village of Kanheśvara on the great councillor (*mahāmantrin*) Mādhava," "his father's friend" (verse 12). The line of the Vastrākulas was continued further through the offspring of Ūyābhaṭṭa's second son, Lūla. The latter had a son, called Bhābha or also Lūla(?) (verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhīmadeva I. Bhābha-Lūla begat Śobha, "the dear friend of him who was called Jayasīma" (verse 25). His son Valla became an official (*sachiva*) under Kumārapāla (verse 25) and married Rohiṇī. "She bore to him Śrīdhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms" (verse 26), and "was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhīma," i.e. of Bhīmadeva II. (verse 27). The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements. Verse 40 inform us that Śrīdhara was much married and had three wives, Sāvitrī, Lakshmi and Saubhāgyadevī. According to verse 42: "He quickly made again stable by the power of his *mantra* (i.e. his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [impetuous] war elephants of Mālvā resembling a forest of dark Tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A.D. 1216 effected the *bhanga* of Gujarāt, and that he was governor of Devapattana. The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that "Śrīdhara the pride of the fort" made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammīra, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth."

"Heroic Hammīra" is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujarāt during Bhīmadeva's reign. How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of *Prasastis*. Verse 44 informs us that Śrīdhara built in Somnāthpātan two temples, at Rohiṇisvāmin, sacred to Vishṇu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla. The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents. The date Vikrama Samvat 1273, Vaiśākha śudī 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi's Tables (*ante*, volume I, p. 403, ff.) to Friday, April 22, A.D. 1216.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. — — — शिवाय ॥

मनीमन्यादिभूयंततत्त्वमासावसंबनं ।

उपास्यहे परं तत्त्वं पंचल्लोककारणं ॥ १ [H\*]

वियदायुर्वर्जिर्लसवनिर्दिर्दिनकर-

विदाधारवेति त्रिभुवनमिदं यन्मयमभूत् ।

स वः ज्यो देवा-

\* Or, possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."

\* Restore श्री नमः शिवाय । Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

- L. 2. — — — — रनाथः सुरनदीं  
 सरूपां विभ्राणः शिरसि गिरिजाशेषविषयः ॥ २ [॥\*]<sup>१</sup>  
 पुष्पातु स्फुरदभ्रविभ्रमभृतः कृष्णस्य वक्षस्यल-  
 प्रंखलौस्तुभकांतिभिः कवचिता लक्ष्मीकटाक्षावलिः ।  
 या संभोगभरालसा तनुत-
- „ 3. — — जन्यविन्यासभू-  
 दारिद्र्यद्रुमदावपावकशिखाकारानिशं वः श्रियं ॥ ३ [॥\*]<sup>२</sup>  
 श्रीसोमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भूमेरिवोर्द्वागुलिरत्र भाति ।  
 अनन्यसाधारणशोभनेतत्पुरं पुरारिरिति सूचयंती ॥ ४ [॥\*]<sup>३</sup>  
 मञ्जीवदनपंकजं भुवन-
- „ 4. — — भूषाविधि-  
 निर्धिः सकलसंपदां त्रिपुरवैरिणः सम्यतं ।  
 तदेतदतिदुःसहजयविनाशसिद्धौ पुरा  
 शशांकरचितं पुरं जयति वारिधेः सन्निधौ ॥ ५ [॥\*]<sup>४</sup>  
 अस्ति स्वस्तिमदंबुजासननिभैरध्यासितं यज्वभि-  
 र्धूमध्यामलिता-
- „ 5. — सांवरतलं स्थानं त्रयीकेलिभूः ।  
 अभ्यर्थं द्विजपुंगवाक्षगरमित्यर्चेदुचूडामणिः ।  
 प्रादादष्टकुलान्वयापरचतुःषष्ठ्यस्तुष्टौ च यत् ॥ ६ [॥\*]<sup>५</sup>  
 शांडिल्याख्योदयवंशाप्रकेतुर्गीतं स्थातं नाम वस्त्राकुलं यत् ।  
 ऊया-
- „ 6. — हा देवयुस्तत्र जप्ते दैवज्ञत्वं यस्य सान्वयमासीत् ॥ ७ [॥\*]<sup>६</sup>  
 यदीयाशीर्वादैरभरपतिकार्ष्ण्यजनकं  
 भुनक्ति आयत्तं निहतस्त्रिषु राज्यं चिरतरं ।  
 निहत्य आपालानणहिलपुरे मूलनृपतिः  
 प्रभुत्वं तत्पुत्रेष्वक्तं सुकृतार्थव्यवसितं ॥ ८ [॥\*]<sup>७</sup>  
 गंगाप्रवाह-
- „ 7. प्रतिमा बभूवुस्तस्यात्मजा माधवललभाभाः ।  
 ते मूलराजिन पुरस्कृताश्च भगीरथेनैव यशोऽवतसाः ॥ ९ [॥\*]<sup>८</sup>  
 वापीकूपतडागकुट्टिममठप्रासादसत्रालयान्  
 सौवर्णध्वजतोरणापणपुरग्रामप्रपामंडपान् ।  
 कीर्त्तिश्रीसुकृतप्रदाक्षरप-

<sup>१</sup> Metre Śikharinī.— Restore देयाप्परमसुर°.—[V. G. O.]  
 छेप-विषया erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore तनुवटे सौजव°.—  
 [V. G. O.]

<sup>३</sup> Metre, Upajāti.— Read °वोर्द्वागुलि°.

<sup>४</sup> Metre, Prithvī.— Restore भुवनवाह°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>५</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore °ध्यामलितान्ता°.—  
 Dele stop after °वक्षस्यः

<sup>६</sup> Metre, Śālinī.— Restore ऊयाभरी;—ऊया(व, य erroneously  
 —[V. G. O.]

<sup>७</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>८</sup> Metre, Upajāti.— Dele Avagraha in यशोऽवतसाः

L. 8.

तः श्रीमूलराजस्त्रिभि-

स्त्रैरधासनिभैर्व्यधापयदयं चौलुक्कचूडामणिः ॥ १० [॥\*]<sup>13</sup>

यथावासु तुरंगमोहुरसुरसुखचमामंडल-

चोदच्छब्ददिगंतमंवरमभूदेकातपद्माकृति ।

भाषाकुंजरकर्णकोटरतटीरप्यु-

,, 9.

चगंडोपला-

न्निंदानः पटहृद्वनिः क्षितिधरत्रेणीषु वन्नाम च ॥ ११ [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>

तस्मिन्भूभुजि नाकनायकसभामध्यासिते भूपतिः

प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालशैलकुलियचामुंडराजो ऽभवत्

प्रीत्या ग्रामवरं ददौ निजपितुर्मिता-

,, 10.

य कन्देच्छरं

यः श्रीमाधवनामधेयकृतिने तस्मै मङ्गलसंक्षिप्ते ॥ १२ [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>

यस्त्रोत्तुंगतुरंगतांडवभवः पांशूत्तरः सैनिकः

स्वःसीमासु मरुत्तणाभयमहावप्रकारोभवत् ।

शक्रेणासुर — ि कप्रयमनं दृष्टातिगुष्टा-

,, 11.

लना

निःशंकं निदधे शचीकुचतटे चेतस्त्रिरेण भुवं ॥ १३ [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>

तस्यात्मजस्तदनु दुर्लभराजनामा

यस्त्वारिराजमकरध्वजशंकराख्या ।

पृथ्वीं वभार परिपंथि — — — — —

— — — — — क्षितभद्रपीठः ॥ १४ [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>

तदनु तदनु-

,, 12.

जोभूदक्षभो भूर्भुवःस्व-

क्षितयपठितकीर्तिर्मूर्तिमहिम्नमयी ।

यदरिनुपपुरेषु स्थूलक्लाफलांका

सृगपतिपदपंक्तिर्लक्ष्यते चत्वरेषु ॥ १५ [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>

चोणीचक्रैकशक्रे — — — — —

— — प्रेक्ष्यतापप्रतिहतनि-

,, 13.

खिलारातिराजन्यसैन्यः ।

तस्मिन् देवांगमानाबिविडतरपरोरंभभावि क्षितीये

कर्णः कीर्त्त्याभियातिभुवमभृत भुजे भोगिभृत्सुरैश्च ॥ १६ [॥\*]<sup>19</sup>

तस्मिन् — — — — —

— — — — — रभूजयसिंहदेवः ।

यस्य चपाक-

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °वरपतिः.—[V. G. O.]<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °चुचु.—[V. G. O.]

क्षीतरं erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—कन्देच्छरं erroneously.—[V. G. O.]<sup>16</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—चक्रैकशक्रे.—[V. G. O.]

श्रीहृत् to be read.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—परिपंथिभिरःक्षितीटरमभृतिभिरुत श्रीचितं [V. G. O.], which is against the metre.<sup>18</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—Read °चुचुताफलांका.—[V. G. O.]<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śragūharā.—V. G. O. reads after °चक्रै [युव — — — — चन्द्रकान्ति — — से ।]. Read °चक्रैश्च.—[V. G. O.]. The same corrects erroneously चक्रैर्नित्या°.



- L. 14. रक्तप्रतिमलमूर्तिः  
 श्रीसिर्जगत् नरिर्नसिं नटांगनेव ॥ १७ [॥\*]<sup>20</sup>  
 पाथीकृत्य जयत्रियं क्षितिभुजामये समधां मही-  
 मेकच्छत्रपरिच्छदां विदधता वीरेण वि-रितः ।  
 येनारातिनृपा- — — — — — ठठाभिर्द्युशं  
 संधुष्य हृभि-
- „ 15. तौर्वसनिभससुत्वेपः प्रतापानलः ॥ १८ [॥\*]<sup>21</sup>  
 तस्मिन्पुंद्रवमनुप्रवृत्ते त्रैलोक्यरक्षाक्षमविक्रमांकः ॥  
 लोकंष्टयैरात्मगुणैरलंघ्यः कुमारपालः प्रवभूव भूपः ॥ १९ ॥\*]<sup>22</sup>  
 यदरि — — — — — स-त-  
 प्रसृमरपटुकी-
- „ 16. लालोढदिकः प्रतापः ।  
 जययति घनफेनस्फारकलोललोलं  
 चलनिधिलमद्याप्युत्पतिष्णु प्रकामं ॥ २० [॥\*]<sup>23</sup>  
 आखंडलप्राङ्गणिके च तस्मिन् भुवं वभाराजयदेव — — ।  
 — — — — — तदप्रकांडानुवाप यो
- „ 17. नैगमधर्महृत्तान् ॥ २१ [२१\*]<sup>24</sup>  
 यत्सङ्गधाराजलममनानानानुपेद्रविक्रांतियशःप्रशस्तिः ।  
 वभ्राज तत्पुष्करमालिकेय श्रीमूलराजस्तदनूदियाय ॥ २२ [ \* ]<sup>25</sup>  
 [तस्मानुजम्भा अयति क्षितीशः] श्रीभीमदेवः प्रथितप्रतापः ।  
 अ-
- „ 18. कारि सीमेश्वरमंडपोयं येनाऽत्र मेघध्वनिनामधेयः ॥ २३ [॥\*]<sup>26</sup>  
 लूलात्मजः समजनिष्ट विशिष्टमान्यो  
 भाभाख्यया सुभटभीमनृपस्य मित्रं [ । ]  
 लूला — — — वजीवन — — — —  
 — — — — — पतिसभार्थवपूष्णचंद्रः ॥
- „ 19. २४ [॥\*]<sup>27</sup>  
 तस्याभवहुवनमंडलमंडनाय  
 शोभाभिधः प्रियसुहृज्जयसिंहनाम्नः ।  
 यस्यात्मजः सचिवतामधिगम्य वल्लः  
 स[भ्रान]यां सुचिरमास कुमारपालं ॥ २५ [ ॥\*]<sup>28</sup>  
 अथोप — — — — — छिणी-  
 सुमामिवेशः कम-

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā. — V. G. O. reads after तस्मिन्-  
 [सङ्गधाराजलममनानानानुपेद्रविक्रांतियशःप्रशस्तिः]; read अपाकरकर.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita. — V. G. O. reads विष्ठा(सा)  
 रितः. स्या — — — र-वि — — —

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—यदरिपुत्रेण व्याघ्रविनासनात्.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—राजयदेवभूपः । सङ्गधाराजलममनानानुपेद्रविक्रांतियशःप्रशस्तिः.—  
 [V. G. O.]

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—The first Pāda is very indistinct.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—लूला[स्य]या तु भवजीवनपूष्णचंद्रः  
 श्रीभीमभूपः.—[V. G. O.] The same corrects लूलात्मजः to  
 सुलात्मजः ।

<sup>28</sup> Metre, first three Pādas Vasantatilakā. सुचिर stands at  
 the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.

L. 20.

सामिवाचुतः।

अवायतास्वां कुलकीरवाकर-

प्रवोधकः श्रीधरनामचंद्रमाः २६ [॥ \*]<sup>२०</sup>

क्षीरोदपूरपरिपांडुरपुष्पकीर्ति-

नीरोगमिष सुख — — समातनीति ।

— — — — — नमस्तस्मिन् ।

श्रीभीमभू-

„ 21.

पतिनियोगिजनैकमायः २७ [॥ \*]<sup>२१</sup>

आशीःपरंपरा सेयमूयाभङ्गश्च तायते [१]

चौलुक्ववस्त्राकुलयोराकल्पं प्रीतिरचता ॥ २८ [॥ \*]<sup>२२</sup>

कात्वा चंद्रति तेजसा — — — — —

— — सानपदात्मजत्वखि-

„ 22.

लसंपस्था धमाध्ययति ।

[वृत्त्या] सागरति प्रभावविधिना नित्यं विरंचत्यसौ

कीर्त्त्या रामति रूपसंदरतया कंदर्पति श्रीधरः ॥ २९ [॥ \*]<sup>२३</sup>

निःसीमसं — — — — —

— — — — — गुह्यभिर्निबधः ।

सौकन्यनी-

„ 23.

रनिधिरुन्नतसत्वसीमा

आगर्त्ति चास्व हृदये पुरुषः पुराणः ॥ ३० [॥ \*]<sup>२४</sup>

श्रीधरोपि न वै कुठः सर्वज्ञोपि न नास्तिवित् ।

ईश्वरोपि न कामारिणि — — — — — [॥ ३१ ॥ \*]<sup>२५</sup>

त[वानिशं विबुध]पादपकामधेनु-

सुख्याःस-

„ 24.

मस्तजनवांछितदा भवंतु ।

जित्वप्य सत्यभयदानवशंपदत्व-

विश्वैरवक्त्रविनयप्रसुखा विशेषाः ॥ ३२ [॥ \*]<sup>२६</sup>

अंबालस्तुहिनायते [पिकततिः श्रीराजहंसायते]

[कासिंदी] — — दायते हरगलः क्षीरोदवेला-

„ 25.

यते ।

शौरिः सीरधरायते ऽ जंगगिरिः प्रालेयशीलायते

यत्कीर्त्त्या सुपयस्यते क्षितिगवी राष्ट्रः प्रयांकायते ॥ ३३ [॥ \*]<sup>२७</sup>

निर्माळ्य [चंद्रदेवो] — — — — —

क्षीरोदः पादशीचास-

<sup>२०</sup> Metre, Varīśāsthā.—अशीपदेने द्विधा च रीतिर्द्वी.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२१</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—पुरुषायुषमा<sup>२०</sup>,—धृवाक्षराजपरि-  
नतमंज्ञं.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२२</sup> Metre, Anushtubh, सेवमयापूरुषवायते (मयापूरुष-  
द्वयते).—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२३</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—गुह्यीपानपदा<sup>२०</sup>.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२४</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—निःसीमसंपदुदयेकनिधानधेनुप-  
कल्पनामजनतागुह्यं.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२५</sup> Metre, Anushtubh.—रिद्वीपि न च इवज्ञा.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>२६</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>२७</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—कविंदी नवदायते.—[V. G. O.]

L. 26.

तमचलपतिर्देहसंवाहपंकः ।

उच्छिष्टं पांचजन्यं सुरसरिदमखलेदतीयोदयञ्चो-

रित्वेवं यस्य कीर्त्तं सयमकृतं नृतिं सोम — — — [३४\*]<sup>37</sup>

— — — — — सीं त्रिखोकीमालोक्त

„ 27.

संकीर्णनिवासमस्ताः [ \* ]

वेधा विलस्य स्तुतिमाततान तवास्ति नाम्ना सदृशीति नूनं ॥ ३५ [ \* ]<sup>38</sup>

असौ वीरो दान्तः सुचरितपरिचंदसुभगः

— — — — — परिचवगिरां कोपि सुकृती [ 1 ]

अमुं पूर्वे ज-

„ 28.

अन्यखिलगुणविस्तारमधुरं

मुनाव खच्छंदं विमलमिव वासमीकिरसकृत् ॥ ३६ [ \* ]<sup>39</sup>

यदीयगुणवर्णनमवचकौतुकोच्छेदया ।

— — — — — गमा ।

मनः किमिव रज्ज्वते-

„ 29.

नुचितवन्दिभिर्वेधस-

स्तदस्य कविमानिभिर्न च चरित्रसुखीतते ॥ ३७ [ \* ]<sup>40</sup>

दिग्दंतावलकर्षतालविलसत्तत्सुभरंगांमचे

यत्कोत्तिर्चंदमस्य — — — — — नृत्नति [ 1\* ]

रोदकंदरपूरय-

„ 30.

प्रचयिनी निःशंकमाकंभरि-

भिर्दंती तमसां कुलं कलमलप्रध्वंसवतीत्यवा ॥ ३८ [ \* ]<sup>41</sup>

लोकालोकाववासा जलनिधिसलिलासिक्त[मुक्ता वचंती]

[शंभोर्मूर्त्ति]वलविन्यखिलगुणमयी-

„ 31.

रंकुरैः कीर्त्तिवल्ली

यस्य प्रालियभासुप्रविकचकुसुमोदारतारापरागै-

र्दिक्कजं व्यापयंती जयति फणिततिप्रांशमूला जगत्वा ॥ ३९ [ \* ]<sup>42</sup>

— — — — — सावित्रीलक्ष्मीसौभाग्यदेव्याख्याः [ 1\* ]

„ 32.

इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाख्येया यद्दीशस्य शक्तयः ॥ ४० [ \* ]<sup>43</sup>

ताभिर्भुवनवंध्याभिः संध्याभिरिव वासरः [ 1 ]

[चोधरः शोभते शम्भुलोकव्याधेकदीपकः ॥ ४१]

— — — [मासवतमाल]वनायमान-

सेनागज-

„ 33.

प्रकरभंगुरितां भुवं यः [ 1\* ]

[भू]यः स्मिरां सपदि मंत्रवलीन कृत्वा

<sup>37</sup> Metre, Bragdhara.—चन्द्रदीपी रूपतिरचितः सेतुबंधः प्रवाही  
—[V. G. O.]; कीर्त्तः — — — सीमगात्री 5 तिरच— [V. G. O.]

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Upejati.—(चरवीर्णागायु) चरवी (चि) त्रिखोकी  
मात्री.—[V. G. O.] Read रितचः—

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Siharipi.

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Pithri.— — — सनच— — वाही — — खरता

— मिदमान्.—[V. G. O.] Read "सुखीवरी."

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita.—"जय(वारवनिहासकृत्परा).—  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Bragdhara.

<sup>43</sup> Metre, Anushtubh (मल पद्यासु) चाविर्वा.—[V. G. O.]

श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मशतया ॥ ४२ [॥\*]⁴⁴

प्रलयजलधिवेलोल्लोलकल्लोललोल

— — — — — संपिष्टशैलं [ 1 × ]

दलितधरणि-

L. 34. चक्रं वीरहंभीरचक्रं

वज्रतृणमकरोद्यः श्रीधरो दुर्मदप्यः ॥ ४३ [॥\*]⁴⁵

मातुः कैवल्यहेतोर्भूरिपुभवनं रोहिणीस्त्रामिनाम्ना

— — — — — केशवाद्यः [॥\*]⁴⁶

नाम्ना ता-

„ 35. तस्य तद्विष्टवभवनमपि — — — — —

[धाम] श्रीमच्छिवस्य प्रतिष्ठितदुरितं कारितं भूरिशोभं ॥ ४४ [॥\*]⁴⁷

वक्त्रो दीवारिकोभूद — — — — —

— — — गूर्जरात्मा निजनिपुण-

„ 36. गुणैः सुनुना — — — — — [॥\*]⁴⁸

[येने[ह] श्रीधरीयो ह]रनगरपदे योजितस्तस्य नाम्ना

प्रासादः श्रीधरेणाप्ययमवनिजयः कारितः — — — — — [४५॥\*]⁴⁹

— — — — — धनस्तोमाश्चमत्कारिणः

„ 37. किंचिच्छीनूपनायिकाभिरभित — — — — — [ 1 × ]

गीर्वाणाधिपचा[पसा]दरमहारत्नस्फुरज्योतिषा -

मैते मेरुमहीधर — — — — — [॥४६॥\*]⁵⁰

— — — मा—द्विजवृद्धिभाजः

„ 38. समानदीर्घाः सगुणाः — — — — — [॥\*]⁵¹

— — — — — माहेश्वरव्याकरणोपमाणाः ॥ ४७ [॥\*]⁵²

— — — — — [॥\*]⁵³

— — — — — वैशेषिका इव ॥

„ 39. चित्तवृत्ति — — — — — [ 1 \* ] ॥४८ [ ॥ \* ]⁵⁴

— — — — — सुनयो यथा ४७ [ ॥ \* ]⁵⁵

वि — — — — — गर्गः

सततविहित-

„ 40. धूपीकृतधा — — — — — [ 1 \* ]

— — — — — देते ॥ ५० [ ॥ \* ]⁵⁶

— — — — — [कथान्त्रयाय मठं वि — — — — — [ 1 ]

— — — — — चेतः ॥ ५१ [ ॥ \* ]⁵⁷

अथ क-

⁴⁴ Metre, Vasantatilakā.—उत्तानमात्मनः.—[V. G. O.]  
Probably उत्तान to be read. "भंगुरितायुदं यः सूर्यः स्थिरा(रं)  
erroneously—[V. G. O.]

⁴⁵ Metre, Mālinī.—चरचपरचमात्रापातसंपिष्ट—[V. G. O.]

⁴⁶ Metre, Śrāghdhārā.—नृप—  
नमिती मंदिरं के—[V. G. O.]—“नवि — — — — — जयास्त्रं  
[V. G. O.]

⁴⁷ Metre, Śrāghdhārā.—मूर्धरिगिरि — — — — —  
— — दाक्षता गुह—[V. G. O.]—“गुहः Om—[V. G. O.]  
सुनुनायाधिमस्य कारितः प्रकरज.—[V. G. O.]

⁴⁸ Metre, Śārdhāvikrīḍita “पञ्चतधनं; तः—कौशिक्यांतरा  
“महीधरः शशिहमाकार — — — — — [V. G. O.]

⁴⁹ Metre, Upajāti.—विजोपमीभूषिणः; तारका माहेश्वर  
—[V. G. O.]

⁵⁰ Metre, Anuṣṭubh.—Beginning of first line, चासीदयाः  
केपिसुचं वेष्ट—[V. G. O.]

⁵¹ Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

⁵² Metre, Mālinī. विमवा; अथर्गाः चारात्.—[V. G. O.]

⁵³ Metre, Triṣṭubh.—एषा सुविहाय कथान्त्रयाय मठं विहाय  
सपदेन यत्ना —[V. G. O.]

- L. 41. यमवि देवादागतः — — — —  
 — — — — — श्रीधरिण [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — जलधि — — — — — [ ॥ ५२ ॥ \* ]<sup>54</sup>  
 — — — — — भूपालकुलसङ्ग-
- „ 42. ङः [ १ \* ]  
 जीमूतवाहन — — — — — [ ॥ ५३ ॥ \* ]<sup>55</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — — पावनो यतिपति-
- „ 43. यस्याङ्घ्रिपूजाविधिः  
 — — — — — ॥ ५४ [ १ \* ]<sup>56</sup>  
 श्री — — — — दूरे प्रसरपरिणते — — — — —  
 — — — — — क्षणिकमतमहाव्याल-
- „ 44. संरंभसिन्धुः [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [तदादिर्विमलशिवसुनि]र्माननीयो [मवेदुः] ॥ ५५ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>57</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — च पादप-
- „ 45. झी [ १ \* ]  
 चंगीकता — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ ॥ ५६ ॥ \* ]<sup>58</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 [निःशेषपाषंडिभृणालवंडः]  
 [भक्त्यास्य तुष्टः प्रतिपन्नदर्पः]  
 [प्रशस्तिमेतामयसुहृद्वार] ॥ ५७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>59</sup>  
 याव-
- „ 46. द्विण्योरसि — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १ \* ]  
 [यावद्वाणी विहरतिवि] — — — — —  
 ता — — — — — ॥ [५७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>60</sup>  
 [एते] — — — — वेन प्रासादाः
- „ 47. सुत्रिताःशुभाः ।  
 लिखिं — — — — — [ ॥ ६० ॥ \* ]  
 श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपसंवत् १२७३ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ४ शुक्ले [निःपा]दितमिति शिवमस्तु ॥ छ ॥  
 मंगलं महाश्रीः॥

<sup>54</sup> गतः (श्रीनिवासी); प्रविष्टपतितत यः एङितमन्—(third pāda); निवज्यधि—[V. G. O.] Metre, Mālini.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Anushtubh.—

<sup>56</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita. — — — — — दधिपरि

— — — सचिवः सुधीः सचिवा — — — क्रवीजित  
 —[V. G. O.]

<sup>57</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.— दक्षद्वरे; चरितमन्.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>58</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā ?—वीरसचपादपदी—[V. G. O.]

<sup>59</sup> Metre, Upajāti. At the end of pāda 1 प्रभूत—[V. G. O.]

<sup>60</sup> Mandākrāntā विहरति विधुर्भक्तपितातराङ्गता — — —  
 वलयमखिलं गङ्गयती यमस्य—[V. G. O.]

XXXVI.—ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR,  
SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ, KĀLSĪ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used :—

(1) *Girnar*, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess during the working season 1887-1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

(2) *Shāhbāzgarhī*, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,<sup>1</sup> and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888. Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly.

(3) *Mansehra*, an estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in March 1887,<sup>2</sup> as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results.

(4) *Kālsī*, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relief and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes.

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the *Kālsī* version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as *ā*-strokes, Anusvāras and the like. In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense. The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation. Thus, in Edict V, l. 14, the position of the syllables *deśam-pi hāpesati*, proves that we have to transliterate *deśam api hāpayishyati*, not *deśam apihāpayishyati*. Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together. Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of *Shāhbāzgarhī* version. Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain's squeeze B. of the *Mansehra* version. It is now perfectly certain that the *Mansehra* version is most closely related in its wording to that of *Kālsī*.

<sup>1</sup> This was used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 128ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also used for my German articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 274, and XLIV, p. 702ff.

The new facsimiles of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the palaeography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial *a*, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kālsī inscription (see, *e.g.*, Ed. XIII. 2, l. 15 *pāpotā me a*). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī *a* of Western India. Andhra forms are found in *ka*, which has the dagger-like form, (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. IV, l. 11, *putā-cha kaṁ*); in *chha*, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (*e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14, *kachhatī*) in *ja*, which is angular (*e.g.*, Gīrnār Edict IX, l. 1, *rājā*); in *ḍa*, which is round in *atapāṣāṇḍe*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line; in *ta*, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Gīrnār and in the Kālsī inscriptions; in *va*, which is triangular in the superscribed *vijaye* Kālsī Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) *ā*-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*, (2) *e*-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern *mātrās* (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIII 1, l. 39, *śatabhāge*, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*); and (3) a looped *o* in *no hutapuluvā*, (Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anusvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, *e.g.*, the first of *dhammāṁ*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 33, *dhammamahāmātā*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (*e.g.*, in the third syllable of *sālavadhī*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34, and in the second syllable of *śatabhāge*, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are *serifs*. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoshthī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.<sup>3</sup>

## TRANSCRIPTS.

## EDICT I.

## Gīrnār.

fyāṁ dhammalipī devānaṁ priyena [1] Priyadasinā  
rāṇā lekḥapitā [2] idha na kiṁ-[2]chi jivāṁ  
ārabhitā prajūhitayvaṁ [3] na cha samājo  
katayvo[.] Babukāṁ hi dosāṁ [4] samājamhi pasati

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

[A]ya[ṁ]<sup>4</sup> dhramadipi devana priasa  
raṇo likhapitu[.] hida no kichi jive  
ara[bhi]t.<sup>5</sup> prayuhotave<sup>6</sup> no pi cha samaja  
kaṭa[va]<sup>7</sup>[.] [Ba]huka hi dosam sama. sa

<sup>3</sup> For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff, and 276 ff, where some remarks on the Kharoshthī *lips* have been published.

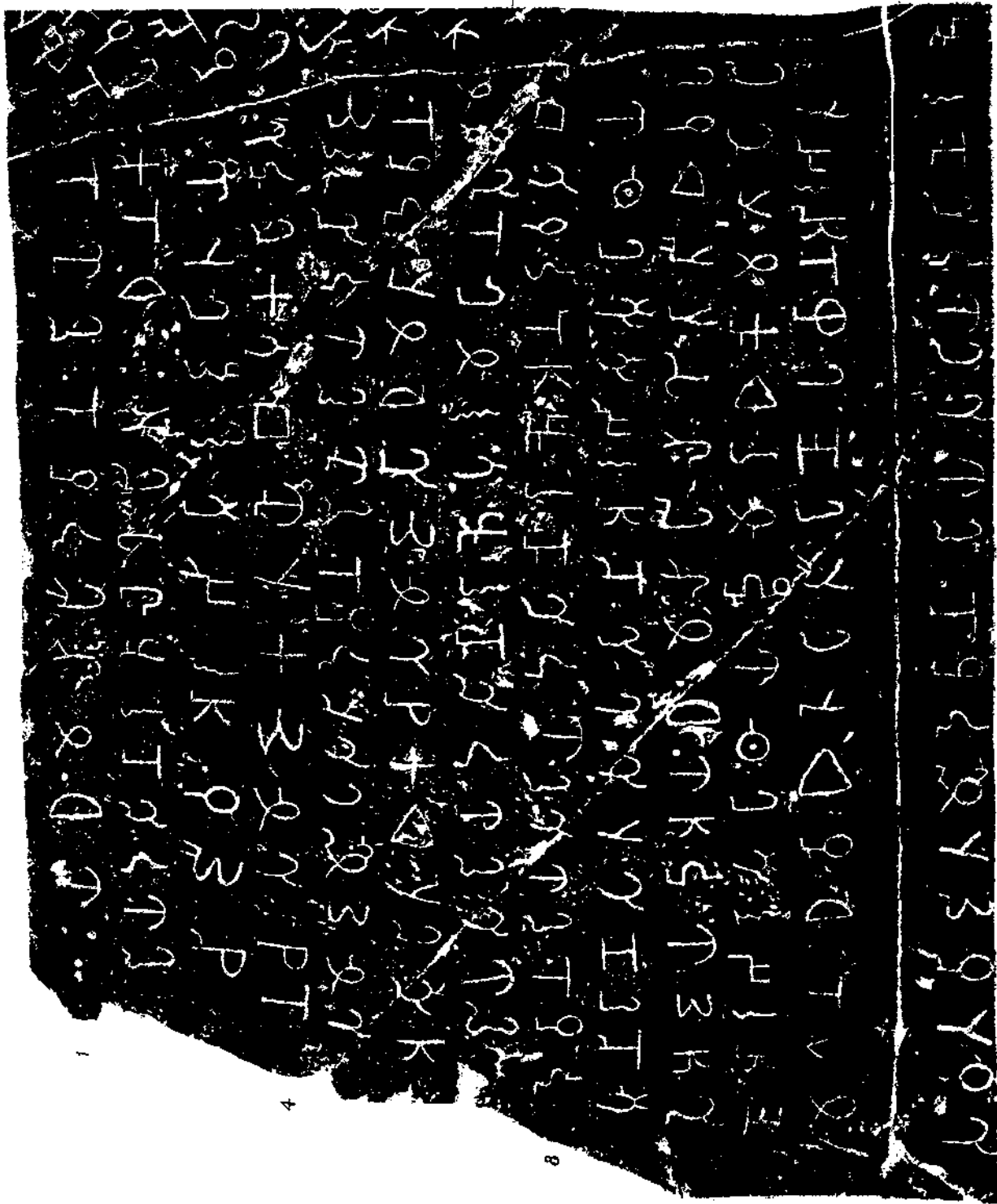
<sup>4</sup> The Anusvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

<sup>5</sup> Read *arabhitu*; the last vowel has been lost.

<sup>6</sup> The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read *ye* is not correct.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *kraṭava*.

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: No. I.







## Girnar.

devānaṃ priyo Priyadasi rājā[.6] Asti  
pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumatā devānaṃ [6] priyasa  
Priyadasino rāño[.] Purā mahānasamhi<sup>10</sup>[7] devānaṃ  
priyasa Priyadasino rāño anudivasam ba-[8]hūni  
prāṇasatasahasrāni ārabhisu  
sūpāthāya[.9] Se aja yadā ayaṃ  
dhammalipi<sup>14</sup> likhitā ti eva prā-[10]nā<sup>15</sup> ārabhare  
sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago[.] So pi [11]  
mago na dhuvo<sup>16</sup>[.] Ete pi tri prāṇā pacchā  
na ārabhisare<sup>17</sup>[.12]

## Mansehra.

Ay[i]<sup>18</sup> dhramadipi [de]vana [pri]yena [Pri]yadra-  
[śi]na<sup>19</sup> ra, na . ikhapita[.] hida no kichi jiv[e]  
arabhi[t.] pra[yu]-[1] [ho]taviye no pi cha  
sama[ja] kaṭaviya[.] Bahuka hi [dosha  
samajasa<sup>20</sup> deva]naṃ priye Pri[yadrasī] rāja  
.kha. [.] Asti pi chu[2] [e]katiya samaja  
sa[dhu]ma[ta] devana priyasa [Pri]yadrasī[ne]<sup>24</sup>  
rajine[.] Pura maha[nasa]si [devana] pri. sa  
Pri . . śisa rā-[3]jine anudiva . bahuni prāṇasa-  
[tasa]hasrani . a[ra].isu supa[th]raye[.] Se[i. ni]<sup>25</sup>  
. . ayi dhrama[dipi li]khita ta[da] ti[ni]  
ye. prāṇani a . bhi. ti du[v]e 2 maju-[4]ra  
eke l m[r]ige[.]<sup>27</sup> Se[pi]chu[m]rige<sup>28</sup> no dhruvaṃ [.]  
[Etani] pi chu [tini] prāṇani pacha no arabhi . . [.]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

devana priy[o] Priadrasī raya d.khati<sup>8</sup>[.] Asti  
pi cha ekatie<sup>9</sup> samaye srestamati devana priasa  
Priadrasīsa rāño[.] Pura mahanasasi devanaṃ  
priasa Priadrasīsa rāño anudivaso bahuni  
pra[nāsatasa]bas[r]ani<sup>11</sup> a[rabb]i[yisu] su-  
[paṭhay]e<sup>12</sup>[.] So ida[n]i yada a[ya]<sup>13</sup> [2]  
dhramadipi likhita tada tra[yo] vo prāṇa  
hamśamti majura duvi 2 mrugo 1 [.] so pi  
mrugo no dhruvaṃ[.] Eta pi prāṇatrayo pacha  
na arabhiśamti [.]

## Kālsī.

Iyaṃ dhammalipi devānaṃ-piyenā Piyada-  
sin[ā] lekh[it]ā [.] hidā nā-kichhi<sup>20</sup> jive  
ālabhi[tu] pajohitaviya [1] no-pi-cha  
samāje kaṭaviya [.] Bahuk[ā]-hi<sup>21</sup> dosā  
samājas[ā]<sup>22</sup> devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi lājā  
dakhati [.] Athi-pi-cha ekatiyā sa[m]ājā  
sādh[u]matā devānaṃ-piyasā Piyadasis[ā]  
lājine [2] Pule-mahānasasi devānaṃ-piyasā  
Piyadasisā lājine anudivasam bahuni  
pānasahasāni ālabhiyisu supāthāy[e.] Se-idāni  
yadā [iya]ṃ dhammalipi lekhitā tadā timni<sup>23</sup>  
yevā pānāni ālabhi[ya]mti [3] duve majulā  
eke mige[.] Se-pi-cha mige no-dhuve [.]  
Etāni-pi-cha<sup>24</sup> tini pānāni no-ālabhiyisamti[.]

## EDICT II.

## Girnar.

Sarvata vijitanhi devānaṃ priyasa Priya-  
dasino<sup>30</sup> rāño[1] evamapi prachamtesu yathā  
Chodā Pādā Satiyaputa Ketalaputa  
ā Tambā- [2] paṇḍi Amtiyakako Yonarājā ye vā  
pi tasa Amtiyakasa sāmipam<sup>31</sup> [3]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Savratra vijite devanaṃ priyasa Priyadrasīsa  
ye cha [a]mā<sup>31</sup> yatha [Cho]da [3]  
Paṇḍiya Satiyaputa Keralaputra  
Tambapamni Amtiyokon nama Yonaraja ye chu  
amāe tasa Amtiyakasa samamta[ra]jano

<sup>8</sup> The top of the letter *da* has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was *dekhati* or *dakhati*.

<sup>9</sup> The obverse seems to show *ekatie*, while the very thin *e*-stroke is visible on the reverse.

<sup>10</sup> The *sa* has a *serif* which makes it look like *se*. At the end of the line a second *mā* has been scratched in.

<sup>11</sup> The second *ra*-stroke is not certain.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *supaṭhaye*.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly *ayam*.

<sup>14</sup> The long *i* is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.

<sup>15</sup> Owing to an abrasion the second *d*-stroke is somewhat abnormal.

<sup>16</sup> Possibly *dāru* is to be read.

<sup>17</sup> It is possible to read *arabhisamre*, as there are two deep holes after *sa*. But both are probably accidental.

<sup>18</sup> The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent *i*-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been *ayo*.

<sup>19</sup> Only the right half of the *sa* of *Priyadrasīna* is visible on the reverse.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly *na* or *no* to be read.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly *bahuka* to be read.

<sup>22</sup> *Dosha samajasa* is very indistinct.

<sup>23</sup> *Samdjasā* is more probable than *samdjasi*.

<sup>24</sup> The last syllable of *Priyadrasīna* is not certain; it may have been *sa*.

<sup>25</sup> *I. nī*, i.e. *idāni* is uncertain; the reading may be *a. n.* i.e. *adāna*.

<sup>26</sup> The *Anuvāra* is at least probable.

<sup>27</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *mrige* is not quite certain.

<sup>28</sup> The *ma* has besides the *i*-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the nonsensical form *mraige*. The left one has probably been added by mistake.

<sup>29</sup> *Etāni-pi-cha* is distinct on the reverse of the impression.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *Piyadasino* is to be read.

<sup>31</sup> Only the lower part of the first sign of *amā* has been preserved.

<sup>32</sup> The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is *panā*.

*Girnar.*

rājāno sarvatra devānam priyasa Priyadasino  
 rāño dve chikichha katā [4] manusachikichhā  
 cha pasuchikichhā cha [.] Ośudhāni cha  
 yāni manusopagāni cha<sup>34</sup> [5] pasopagāni cha  
 yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha  
 ropāpitāni cha<sup>35</sup> [6] mūlāni cha phalāni cha  
 yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha  
 ropāpitāni cha<sup>36</sup> [7] Pānthesā kṛpā cha  
 khānāpitā vracchā cha ropāpitā paribhogāya  
 pasumanusānam [8]

*Mansehra.*

Satra . . . jitasi devana priya[sa Pri-  
 ya]draśisa rajine ye cha amta a[tha] [5] [Cho-  
 dā] Pa[m]diya<sup>37</sup> Satiya[putr.] Keralaputr[e]  
 . bapañi . . . tiyo[ke] nama<sup>38</sup> Yona . .  
 ye cha . . . sa . . . . . samamta  
 raja . . . vatra . . . . . priyasa  
 Priya[dra]śisa rajine [6] duve 2 chikisa  
 kaṭa manusachi[kisa cha] pasuchikisa cha [.]  
 Osha[dbi]ni manu . . ka[ni cha] pa . .  
 ka[ni cha ya]tra yatra na . . . vatra  
 harapi[ta cha] ropapi[ta cha] [7] [Eva]me-  
 va mulani cha phalani cha atra atra  
 nasti . . . tra harapita cha ro[papi]ta  
 cha [.] Ma[geshu] ru[chha] . . . pita-  
 [ku] . . . . . tani [pa]tibhogaye  
 pasum[a]nusana<sup>39</sup> [8]

*Skāhbāzgarh.*

savratra<sup>37</sup> devanam priyasa Priyadrasisa raño  
 duvi 2[chiki]sa ki[tra] manusa[chiki]sa .  
 pasu[chiki]sa cha [4] [Oshudh]ani<sup>38</sup>  
 manusopakani cha pa[so]pakani cha  
 yatra yatra nasti savatra har[o]pita<sup>39</sup> cha  
 vuta. cha kupa cha khanapita pratibhogaye  
 pasu-manusanam [.]

*Kāśī.*

Savatā<sup>37</sup> vijitasi devanam-piyas[ā] Pi-  
 yadasi[sā] lājine ye-cha-amtā athā Cho-  
 dā Pam[di]yā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo<sup>38</sup>  
 Tamabapamni [4] [Am]tiyoge-nāma Yonalājā  
 ye-chā amne tasā [Am]tiyogasā samamta  
 lājāno savatā<sup>39</sup> devanam-pi[ya]sā  
 Pi-yadasisā lājine duve chikisakā<sup>40</sup>  
 kaṭa manusachikisā-chā pasuchikisā-chā [.]  
 Osadhān[i] manusopagāni-chā pasopa-  
 gānicha a[ta]tā nathi [5] savatā  
 hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-chā [E]vame-  
 vā mulāni-chā phalāni-chā ata[tā]  
 nathi savatā hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-  
 chā [.] Magesu lukhāni lopitāni udu-  
 pānāni-chā<sup>41</sup> khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye  
 pasumunisānam [.]

## EDICT III.

*Girnar.*

Devānam priyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha [.] dbāda-  
 savāsābhisitena mayā idam ānāpitam [1] sarvata  
 vijite mama yutā cha rājāke cha pradesike cha  
 parnehasu parnehasu vāsesu anusanam [2]  
 yānam niyātu etāyeva athāya imāya  
 dharmānusastiya yathā añā- [3] ya pi karmāya [.]  
 sādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūṣā mitāsānstutafā-  
 tīnam<sup>42</sup> bāmbhāna- [4] samānānam sādhu

*Shāhbāzgarh.*

Devanam priyo Priyadrasī raja aba ti [.] [bada]-  
 yavashabhisitena<sup>43</sup> . . . . . sava. [5]  
 vijite yuta . . . . . rajuko pradesik [e]  
 pa[m]cha]shu pa[m]cha]shu 5 vash [e]shu anusan-  
 yanam nik[r]amatu<sup>44</sup> etisa vo karaṇa imisa  
 dhramanusasti yatha<sup>45</sup> añāye pi kramaye [.]  
 sadhu matapitushu susrusha mit[r]asānst[u]tañā-  
 [ti]kanam bramāna[śra]maṇa[nam] sa. pra. . .

<sup>37</sup> Possibly *savratra* to be read, as there is a hook above the *ta*, which, however, looks very abnormal.

<sup>38</sup> At the end of each of the lines 5, 6 and 7 the word *cha* has been inserted as a correction.

<sup>39</sup> The first and the third signs of *oshudhāni* are uncertain; likewise the vowel of the second.

<sup>40</sup> *Haropita* is the apparent reading, but the *o*-stroke may be accidental. The reading *harapita* has, in any case, to be restored.

<sup>41</sup> *Savatā*, not *savata*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>42</sup> The reverse of the new impression makes the two *la* exceedingly probable. It confirms also the curious nominatives in *o*.

<sup>43</sup> The Anuvāsa is doubtful.

<sup>44</sup> The first sign of *nama* has erroneously an upstroke to the right of the lower end.

<sup>45</sup> *Chikisakā* is the distinct reading of the new impression (facsimile *ki*), which also shows that no other sign, but a hole, exists between *ka* and *kaṭa*.

<sup>46</sup> *Chā*, not *chā*, is the plain reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly *pasumunisana*.

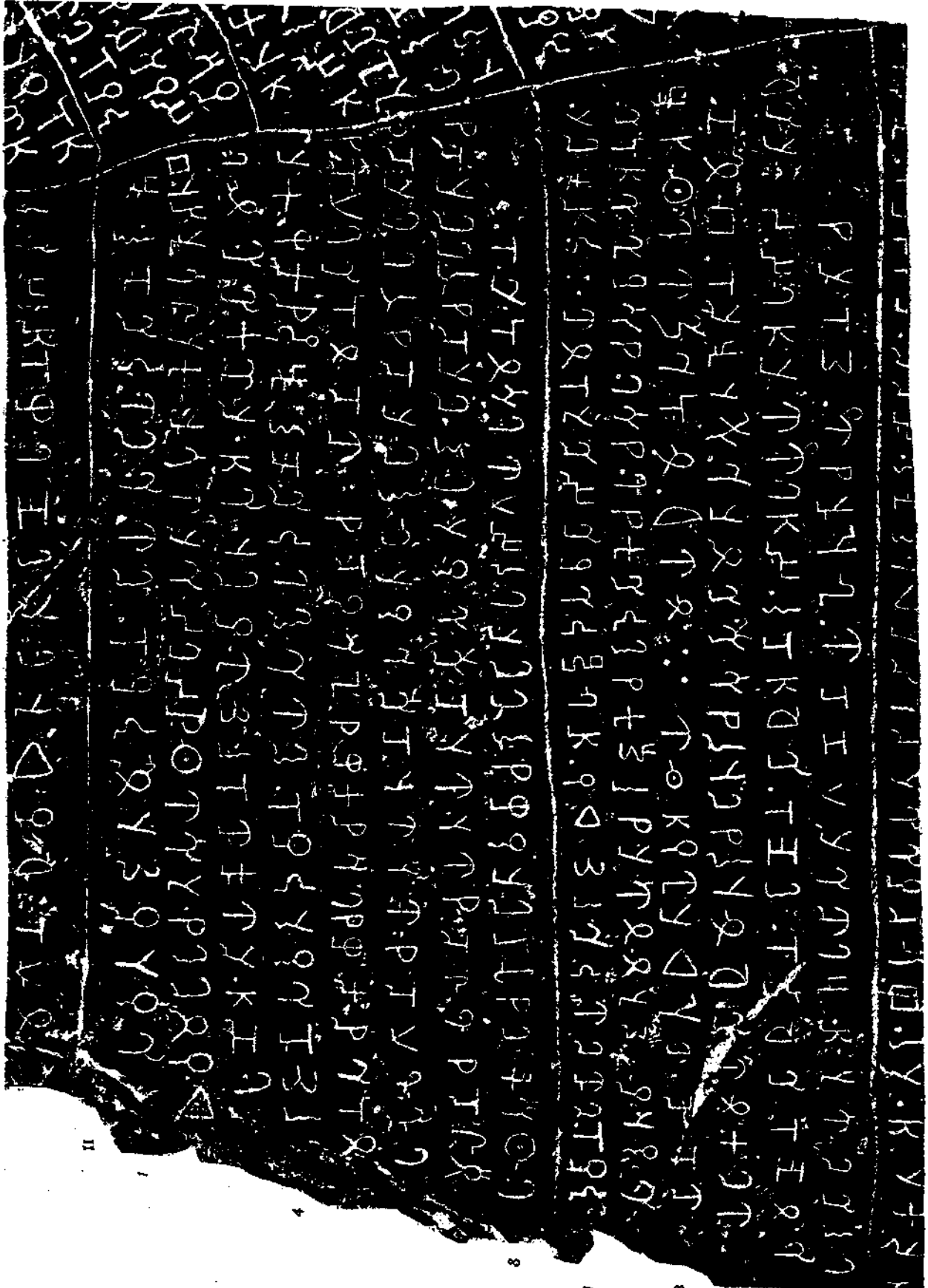
<sup>48</sup> The first two signs of *badaya*<sup>49</sup> are indistinct, but the reading *badaya*<sup>49</sup> seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was *badata*<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *sikramata* is not certain.

<sup>50</sup> The *tha* is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent.

<sup>51</sup> Read *mītra*<sup>51</sup>. An *d*-stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned *ra*-stroke.

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: Nos. II AND III.



Scale : 1:25x

J. BURGESS, DELT.



*Girnar.*

dānam prāpānam sādhu anārambho  
apavyayatā apabbhāmdatā sādhu[.5] Parisā pi  
yute ānāpayisati gānanāyam hetuto cha  
vyamjanato cha[.6]

*Mansehra.*

[De]vana priye [P]riyadasi raja eva aba [:]  
duva[da]śavashabbisitena<sup>51</sup> me ayam  
[a]nāpayi[t]e [:] savratra vijitasi [me]. ta rajū.  
[pra]desike . chashu paṁ[chasbu] 5 vasheshu [9]  
anusamyānam nikrama[m]tu,<sup>52</sup> etaye<sup>53</sup> vaṁ athraye  
imaye dharmānusastīye ya . aṁ apaye pi  
kramane [:] sa . matapi . shu  
suśru[sha][mi]trasamstuta-[10] śatikanam cha<sup>54</sup>  
bra[ma]ṇasamanānam sādhu dane prapana  
a . rabhe sādhu apa[va]yata<sup>55</sup> apabbhāda[ta]  
sādhu[.] Parisa pi cha yutani gānanasi  
[ana]payisati hetu[te] cha viya . [11] nate cha[.]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

[6] apavayata apabbha[m]data<sup>56</sup> sādhu[.] Pari[pi]<sup>57</sup>  
yuta[ni] ga[n]nāsi apapēsanti hetuto cha  
vaṇanato cha[.]

*Kāśī.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā [he]vaṁ<sup>58</sup>.āhā [: 6]  
duvādasavasābbisitena-me iyaṁ  
ānāpayite[:] savatā vijitasi mama yutā lajuke  
pādesike paṁchasa paṁchasa vasesu  
anus[a]yānam,<sup>59</sup> nikhamaritu etāye-vā athāye  
imāy[e],<sup>60</sup> dharmmanusathiyā<sup>61</sup> yathā amnāye-pi  
karmāye [:] sādhu [7] mātapiṭisu<sup>62</sup>  
sususā<sup>63</sup> mitasamthutanātikyānam-chā  
bambhanasamanānam-chā sādhu dāne<sup>64</sup> pānānam  
anālambh[e] sādhu apaviyātā<sup>65</sup> apabbhāmdatā  
sādhu [.] . Palisā-pi-cha yutā[ni] gānanasi  
anāpayisanti hetuvatā-chā viyamjanat[e]-cha[.]

## EDICT IV.

*Girnar.*

Atikātam amtarām bahūni vāsasatāni vadhito eva  
prāpānambho vihiṁsā cha bhūtānam nātisu [1] asā-  
pratipati brāhmaṇasamanānam asāpratī-  
pati<sup>66</sup>[.] Ta aja devānam priyasa Priyadasino<sup>67</sup>  
rāño [2] dharmacharaṇena bherighoso aho  
dharmaghoso vimānadasaṇā cha hastidasapā cha [3]  
agikhamdhāni cha aṇāni cha diyvāni rūpāni  
dasayitpā janarū[.] Yārise bahūhi vāsasatehi [4]  
na bhūtapruve tārise aja vadhite devānam priyasa  
Priyadasino rāño dharmānusastīyā anāram-[5]  
bho prāpānam avihisā<sup>68</sup> bhūtānam nātīnam  
sāmpatīpati brāhmaṇasamanānam  
sāmpatīpati mātari pitari [6] sususā thairā-  
susrusā[.] Esa aṇe cha bahuvide dharmā-

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Atikratam amtarām bahūni vāśasatani vadhito vo  
praparambho vihiṣa cha bhutanam natinam [asa]m-  
pa[ti]pati<sup>69</sup> śramaṇab[r]amaṇanam [asāmpatī]-  
pati<sup>70</sup>[.] [So aja devanam] priyasa [Pri]ya[drāsīsa  
raño] [7] dharmacharaṇena bherig[h]osha aho  
dharmaghosha vimananam draśanam [ha]stino  
jotikamdhani aṇāni cha divani<sup>71</sup> rūpani  
drāsāyitn<sup>72</sup>janasa[.] Yadiśa[m]<sup>73</sup>bahūhi vāśasatehi  
na bhutapruve tādise aja vadhite devanam priyasa  
Priyadrasīsa raño dharmmanusastīya<sup>74</sup> anaram-  
[bho] p[ra]ṇanam avihisa bhutanam natinam  
sa[m]pratīpati bramaṇa-[8] śramaṇanam  
sāmpatīpati mātapiṭushu [vudhanam]  
suśrusa[.] E[ta]aṇam cha bahuvide[m]dhrama-

<sup>51</sup> The Anusvāra is not certain.

<sup>52</sup> Read *parisha pi*.

<sup>53</sup> *Āhā*, not *āha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> The third letter of *duva[da]śa*<sup>50</sup> is not certain and may have been *da* or an abnormal *ra*. Perhaps *śabhisitena* to be read.

<sup>55</sup> Possibly *anusamyānam* to be read.

<sup>56</sup> Possibly *imāya* to be read.

<sup>57</sup> The Anusvāra is very probable, but not absolutely certain.

<sup>58</sup> The second sign is abnormal and might be read *tra*.

<sup>59</sup> Read *dharmmanusathiyā*.

<sup>60</sup> The last syllable of *mātapiṭisu* is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>61</sup> *Sususa* alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression.

<sup>62</sup> *Cha* ought to stand, not before, but after *bramaṇasamanānam*.

<sup>63</sup> *Dāne*, not *dānem*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>64</sup> The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in favour of *āhā*, not of *āi*.

<sup>65</sup> The vowel of the third syllable is not certain.

<sup>66</sup> Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct; the fourth looks like *śā*.

<sup>67</sup> The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed words and syllables with exception of the vowel of *so*, of the word *aja* and of the last vowel of *raño*.

<sup>68</sup> The syllable *pa* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>69</sup> The syllable *da* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>70</sup> The syllable *hi* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>71</sup> To the right of the lower end of *da* appears a curve, and the letter is probably the fore-runner of the later *da*, which looks like *tra*.

<sup>72</sup> The reading *drāsāyitn* is not impossible, but a combination of the *ra*-stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable.

<sup>73</sup> The Anusvāra is not certain.

<sup>74</sup> The form *dharmma*<sup>70</sup>, which occurs also below Ed. X l. 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern *dhrama*<sup>70</sup> and the Māgadhī *dharmma*<sup>70</sup>.

## Girndr.

charaṇe vadbite vadhayisati cheva devānaṃ  
priyo [7] Priyadasi rājā dharma[cha]raṇaṃ idaṃ[.]  
Putrā cha potrā cha prapotrā cha devānaṃ  
priyasa Priyadasino rāṇo [8] vadhayisanti idaṃ  
dharmacharaṇaṃ āva samvatakr[ā]. [.] Dhammamhi  
silamhi tistamto dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti [9]  
Esa hi seṣe kamma ya dham-  
manusāsanaṃ [.] Dhammacharaṇe pi  
na bhavati asilasa [.] Ta imamhi athamhi [10] vadhi  
cha bhini cha sadhu[.] Etāya athāya idaṃ lekhaṇi-  
taṃ [.] imasa aṭṭasa vadhi yujamtu hini cha<sup>72</sup> [11]  
mā lochetayvā[.] Dhādasavāsābhisitena  
devānaṃ priyena Priyadasinā rāṇā idaṃ  
lekhaṇitaṃ[.12].

## Mansehra.

Atikr[a]taṃ<sup>72</sup> a[r]ta[raṃ]<sup>73</sup> bahuni vashaśaṇi  
vadbite vaṃ pranaṇa[m]bb[e] vi[h]i[sa]<sup>74</sup> cha bhu-  
tanam ūtina asapa[t]ipati śramaṇabramāṇaṇaṃ  
asampa[t]ipati[.12] Se aja devana priyasa  
Priyadrasine raṇe dhrama[cha]raṇaṇa bherighoshe  
aho dhramagoshe<sup>75</sup> vimanadrasana hastine agikam-  
dhani aṇa[ni] cha divani rupani draṣeti  
janasa [13] [A]disē bahuhi [va]sha[śatehi] na bu[ta]-  
pruve tadise [aja]vadbite [de]vana priyasa  
Priyadrasine rajine dhramanusāsiya anavabhe  
pranaṇaṃ avihisa bbutana ūtina [14] sampaṭipati  
ba[maṇasāramāṇa[n]a] sampaṭipati matupitushu  
suśru[sha] vudhrana suśruśa[.] Eṣhe aṇe cha ba-  
huvide dhramacharaṇe vadhrate[.] Vadhrayisati yeva  
devana priye[15] Priyadrasī raja dhramacharaṇa  
ima[.] Putra pi cha ku natara cha prapatika  
devanaṃ priyasa Priyadrasine rajine  
pavadhayisanti dhramacharaṇa imaṃ ava-  
kapam dhrame śile [cha] [16]  
[ti]stitu [dhramam] anusāsisa[r]m[.]<sup>76</sup> [.] Eṣhe hi  
sre[ṭh]e aṇi dhramanu[śa]śana[.]  
Dhramacharaṇe<sup>77</sup> pi cha na hoti asilasa[.] Se

## Shdhbāzgarhī.

charaṇaṃ vadbitaṃ vadhisati chayo devanaṃ  
priyasa Priyadrasīsa rāṇo dhramacharaṇo im. [.]  
Putra pi cha ku natara cha prapatika cha devanaṃ  
priyasa Priyadrasīsa rāṇo vadhe[śamti]  
ma[cha]raṇaṃ imaṃ avakapaṃ dhra[me]  
śi[le] cha<sup>78</sup> [9] tistiti dhramaṃ anusāsisaṃti [.]  
Eta b[ī] ere[ṭh]a[m] k[r]a[m] ya[r]m<sup>74</sup> dhra-  
[ma]n[u]śasanaṃ [.] [Dhrama]charaṇaṃ pi cha  
na bhoti asilasa [.] So imisa athasa vadhi  
ahini cha sadhu[.] Etaye aṭṭhaye ima[r]m dipi-  
sta [.] imisa aṭṭhaya vadhi yujamtu. hini cha  
ma loche[sh]u [1.] Ba[daya]vasa[bhi]sitena<sup>75</sup>  
devanaṃ priyena Priyadrasīsa rāṇa [id]am. naṃ<sup>76</sup>  
dipa[pi]taṃ [.]

## Kālsī.

Atikamtaṃ antalaṃ bahuni vasaśatāni va[dhi]-  
ta-vā pānālambe vihiśā-chā bbutanaṃ  
nātinam<sup>80</sup> sampaṭipati samanabambhanānaṃ  
asampaṭipati[.] Se-aja devanaṃ-piyasā Piyadasine  
lājine dharmachalanenā bbelighose aho dharmag-  
hose vimanadasana<sup>81</sup> [9] [ha]thini agikamdhāni  
amāni-chā divyāni lupāni dasayitu  
janasa[.] Adis[e] bahuhi vasa[sa]tehi nā-huta-  
puluve tadise aja vadhte devanaṃ-piyasā  
Piyadasine lājine dharmmanusathiye<sup>82</sup> anālambe  
pānānaṃ avihisā bbutanaṃ nāti[sa]<sup>83</sup> [10] sampaṭi-  
patibambhana[sa] manānaṃ sampaṭipati mātāpitru  
sususā[.] Esha-chā<sup>84</sup> amne-chā bahuvide  
dharmachala[n]e vadhte vadhiyisati-chevā  
devanaṃ-piye Piyadasi lājā<sup>85</sup> imaṃ dharmachala-  
naṃ [.] Putā-cha-kam<sup>86</sup> natāle-chā pau[āti]kyā-  
chā devanaṃ-piyasā Piyadasine lājine[11]  
[pa]vadhayisanti<sup>87</sup>-chev[a]<sup>88</sup> dharmachalanam  
i[ma]m avakapaṃ dharmasi silasi-chā  
[chi]ṭhi[tu]<sup>89</sup> dharmam anusāsisaṃti[.] Eṣe-bi  
seṭhe kammam<sup>91</sup> am-dharmmanusāsanaṃ[.]  
Dharmachalane-pi-chā no-hoti asilasa[.] Se-

<sup>72</sup> It is impossible to read *chā*.

<sup>73</sup> The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very indistinct.

<sup>74</sup> The Anuvāras of this and of the two preceding words are uncertain.

<sup>75</sup> The second and third letters are not distinct; the fourth may have been *va*.

<sup>76</sup> The first omitted sign looks somewhat like *cha*, *no* or *di*, but I am unable to find a suitable word. The Dhauī version has in the same place two illegible signs.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly *atikramtaṃ*.

<sup>78</sup> The two Anuvāras are not certain.

<sup>79</sup> The third sign of *vihiśa* is not quite distinct and the reading *vihiśa* not absolutely impossible.

<sup>80</sup> Possibly *nātinā* to be read, but the abnormal shape of the apparent *ā*-stroke points to its original form, an Anuvāra joined with the *na* by an exfoliation of the rock.

<sup>81</sup> Read *vimāna lasanā*.

<sup>82</sup> The unaspirated *ga* is very distinct.

<sup>83</sup> Read *dharmmanusathiye*.

<sup>84</sup> The new impression seems to offer *nātinu*, instead of *nātinam*.

<sup>85</sup> *Esha-chā*, not *eshe-chā*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>86</sup> *Lājā* looks exactly like *lājā*.

<sup>87</sup> *Kam*, not *ka...*, is the distinct reading of the new impression.

<sup>88</sup> The additional *pa* is badly mutilated, but certain; compare also the Mansehra version.

<sup>89</sup> *Cheva*, not *eva*, seems to be the reading of the impression.

<sup>90</sup> The first badly mutilated syllable may have been *chā*; the second is, according to the reverse of the impression, distinctly *ṭhi*, not *ṭhā*; the third seems to be *tu*. Compare the reading of the Mansehra version.

<sup>91</sup> *Kammam* is now more probable than *ome*.

<sup>92</sup> The Anuvāra is doubtful.

<sup>93</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and similar to a *na*.

## Manshira.

imasa athrasa vadh[r]i ahini cha sadhu[.]  
 Etaye[17] athraye i[ma]h li[khi]te[.] e[ta]sa [a].  
 sa vadhra<sup>24</sup> yujamtu hini cha ma anu[lo]chayisu<sup>25</sup>[.]  
 Duvadaśavashabhisitena devana priyena  
 Priyadrasina rajina iyam<sup>27</sup> likhapite [.]18]

## Kālat.

imasa athasa vadhi ahini-cha sadhu[.]  
 Etāye athāye i[ya]m likhite[.]12]imasa a[th]asa  
 vadhi yujamtu hini-cha mā-alochayisu[.]  
 Duvādasavasaśbbhisenā devānam-piyenā  
 Piyadasi<sup>26</sup> lājina lekhitam[.]

## EDICT V.

## Girnār.

Devānam priyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha[.]  
 kalāpam dukaram[.] ye<sup>2</sup> a . . .<sup>3</sup> kalāpasa<sup>4</sup>  
 so dukaram karoti [.]1] Ta mayā bahu kalāpam  
 katham[.] Ta mama putā cha potā cha param  
 cha tena ya me apsam āva samvatakapa  
 anuvatisare tathā [2] so sukaram  
 kāsati[.] Yo tu eta desam pi hāpesati so  
 dukaram kāsati[.] Sukaram hi pāpam[.]  
 Atikātam amtarām [3] na bhūtapurvam<sup>5</sup> dharmamā-  
 mahāmātā nāma[.] Ta mayā traidasavasaśbbhisit. na  
 dharmamamahāmātā katā[.] Te savapāsam-  
 desu vyāpatā dhāmadhistānāya<sup>14</sup> [4] . . . . .  
 . . . . . dhammayutasa  
 cha Yona-Kambo . Gamdhārānam Ristika-Petecikā-  
 nam ye vā pi amhe aparātā[.] Bhatamayesu va [5] .  
 . . . . . [s.] klāya  
 dhammayutānam apatigodhāya vyāpatā te[.]  
 Bamdhanabadhasa<sup>17</sup> patividhānāya [6] . . . . .  
 . . . . . [pra]jākatā-  
 bhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te [.] Pātalipute  
 cha bāhiresu cha [7] . . . . .  
 . . . . . e vā pi<sup>22</sup> me ahe nātika  
 sarvata vyāpatā te[.] Yo ayam dhammanisrito  
 ti va [8] . . . . .  
 . . . . . e  
 dhammahāmātā[.] Etāya<sup>27</sup> athāya ayam dham-  
 malipi likhitā [9] . . . . .

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devana priyo Priyadasi<sup>1</sup> raya evam āha ti [.]  
 ka[lapam] . ukaram[.] Yo a . . [ro] ka[la]nasa  
 so dukaram karoti[.] So maya bahu kalam<sup>6</sup>  
 kitam[.] Tam ma[ha] putra cha natara cha param  
 cha t. .<sup>2</sup> [ya] me apacha [a] chhamti avaka-  
 pam tatham ye an.vatisamti<sup>7</sup> te suk[r]am  
 kashamti[.] Yo chu sto . [kam pi hapesati]<sup>8</sup> so  
 [du]karam kashati[.] Papam hi sukaram[.] So  
 atik[ram]tam amtarām na [bhu]tapruva dhama-  
 mahamatra nama[.] So[tidasavasa]bbhisitena<sup>10</sup>[11]  
 maya dhramamahamatra kit[r]a<sup>11</sup>[.] Te savrap[r]-  
 ashamdeshu<sup>12</sup> vapat[a]<sup>13</sup> dhramadhithanaye [cha]  
 dhramavadihy[e] hidasukhaye cha dhramayutasa  
 Yona-Kamboya-Gamdharanam Rastikanam Pitini-  
 kanam ye va pi aparamta[.] Bhatama[ye]shu  
 bramajibheshuanatheshu v[u]dheshu<sup>14</sup> hitasukhaye  
 [dhra]may[u]tasa apalib[odhe]<sup>15</sup> vapatā [te] [.]12]  
 Bamdhanabadhasa patividhanaye apa[li]bodhaye  
 mo[ebhay]<sup>16</sup> iyam a[n]uba[dh]am<sup>17</sup> prajava kī-  
 bhikaro va mahalaka<sup>20</sup> va viyapatra[.] Ia<sup>21</sup> bahiresu  
 cha nageshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratunam  
 cha me spasunam<sup>22</sup> cha ye va pi amhe nātika  
 savatra viyaput[a][.] Y[am<sup>24</sup>]yam dhramanirite  
 ti va dhramadhithan[e]<sup>25</sup> ti va danas[a]yute<sup>26</sup> ti va  
 savatra vijite ma[ha] dhramayutasi viyapata te  
 dhramamahamatra[.] Etāye aṭhaye ay[am]  
 dhramadipi dipist[a]<sup>28</sup> [.] chiratbitika  
 bhotu tatha cha. praja<sup>29</sup> anuvatatū [.]13]

<sup>24</sup> Read *vadhri*.<sup>25</sup> Read *alochayisu*.<sup>26</sup> The reading *Piyadasi* is distinct also on the rubbing.<sup>27</sup> The form of the Anuvāra is abnormal.<sup>1</sup> The second *ra*-stroke of *Priyadasi* is abnormal.<sup>2</sup> Possibly *yo* to be restored, as there is an abrasion at the top of the *ya*.<sup>3</sup> The tails and tops of the lost letters are visible, and it is not difficult to see that the first was *dī*.<sup>4</sup> Read *kalāpasa*.<sup>5</sup> Read *kalāpam*.<sup>6</sup> Read *tena*.<sup>7</sup> Read *anuvatisamti*.<sup>8</sup> Read *exam*; *kam* and the following bracketed letters are very indistinct.<sup>9</sup> Read *bhūtapurvam* or *purvam*.<sup>10</sup> The first and second letters are doubtful. The reading *tira*<sup>2</sup> or *toda* is possible.<sup>11</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.<sup>12</sup> The second *ra*-stroke is doubtful.<sup>13</sup> Possibly *vapatra*.<sup>14</sup> Read *dhāmadhistānāya*. The single *ma* is to be read as double.<sup>15</sup> Possibly *vādheshu*.<sup>16</sup> The last sign has apparently also an Anuvāra.<sup>17</sup> The *na* has been added later as a correction.<sup>18</sup> The second sign of *mochhaye* is not quite distinct.<sup>19</sup> The last syllable of *anabadhas* stands lower than the others.<sup>20</sup> Possibly *mahalaka*.<sup>21</sup> Possibly *hīa*.<sup>22</sup> Regarding the first sign of *spasunam*, see the note to the German edition.<sup>23</sup> Restore *ye vā pi*. Before *e* there is only a vertical stroke, not a *na*.<sup>24</sup> The vowel is not certain.<sup>25</sup> The last vowel is not certain.<sup>26</sup> The third vowel is not certain.<sup>27</sup> The *ya* has been added later.<sup>28</sup> The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.<sup>29</sup> The *ra*-stroke is abnormal.



## Mansehra.

[Devanam] priye Priyadasi raja evam aha [:] kalanam dukaram [:] Ye adikare kayanasa se dukaram karoti [:] Tam maya bahu kayane kate<sup>32</sup> [:] [Tam] ma[a]<sup>33</sup> putra [cha] [19] natate<sup>34</sup> param cha tena ye apatiye me ava.pam tatham anuva[t]isati<sup>35</sup> se sukata kashati [:] Ye chu atra desa pi hapesati se dukata kashati. [20] Papehinama supadarev[a]<sup>37</sup> [:] Se atikratam antaram na bhutapruva dharmamahamatra nama [:] Se tredasavashabbisitenā maya dharmamahamatra kate [:] Te savrapasadeshu [21] vaputa . dhramadhithanaye cha dhramavadhriya hidasukhaye cha [dha]mayutasa Yona-Kamboja-Ga[rh]dharanam Ratrakra-<sup>40</sup> Pitinikana ye va [p]i ahe aparata [:] Bhatamaye- [22] shu bramanibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hidamsu [kha]ye dhramayuta apalibodhayeviyaputa te [:] Badhanabadhasa pativi [dhana]ye apalibodhayemochhaye [cha] iyam<sup>41</sup> [23] anubadha pa ja ti va kartabbhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapata te [:] Hidam bahreshu cha nagareshu savreshu [o]rodhaneshu<sup>42</sup> bhatana cha spasuna cha [24] ye va pi ahe natike savratra viyapata [:] E iyam dhramanisiti ti va dhramadhithane ti va danasamyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhramayutasi vaputa [te] [25] dhramamahamatra [:] Etaye athraye ayi dhramadipi likhita [:] chiraṣhitika hotu tatham cha me praja anuvata [:]

## Kalsi.

Devanam-piye Piyadasi laja aha<sup>43</sup> [:] kayane dukale [:] E-adik[al]e<sup>44</sup> ka [ya] nasā se-dukalam kaleti [:] Se-mamayā bahu kayane kate [:] T[ā-ma]-ma [pu]tā-chā natāle- [chā] [13] palam- [chā] te [hi] ye- apatiye-me āvakapam tathā anuvāṣamti se-sukataṁ kachhamti [:] E-chu betā desam-pi [hā]pa- [y] isamti<sup>45</sup> se-dukataṁ kachhati [:] Pāpe-bi-nāma supadālaye [:] Se-atikamtaṁ antaram no-buta-puluvā dharmamahāmātā-nāma [:] T[e]dasavasā-bhisitenā mama [yā] dharmamahāmātā [ka]tā [:] Te-savapāsandesu viyā [pa]tā [14] dharmādhi-thānāye-chā dharmavaḍhiyā hi [da]sukhāye-chā<sup>46</sup> dhammayutasā Yona-Kamboja-Garudhā [lā]nam<sup>47</sup> e-vā-pi amne apalamtā [:] Bhatamayesu bramanibhesu anathesu vudhesu hidasukhāye dhammayutāye apalibodhāye viyāpatā-te [:] Badhanabadhasā patividhānāye apalibodhāye mokhāye-chā eyam anubadha [dham] pajāva-ti-vā [15] [katābhikā] le-ti-vā mahalake-ti-vā viyāpatā-te [:] Hidā bahilesu-chā na [ga]lesu savesu [o]lo-dhanesu bhātinam-cha [a]-ne<sup>48</sup> bhaginindā<sup>49</sup> e-vā-pi amne nātikyē savatā viyāpatā [:] E-iyam dharmmanisite-ti-vā danasamyute-ti-vā savatā vijitasi mamā dhammayutasi viyāpatā-te dharmamahāmātā [:] Etāye aṭhāye<sup>45</sup> [16] [i]yam dharmmalipi lekhitā [:] chilathitikyā hotu [ta]thā-cha [a]-me pa [jā] anuvata [m]tu [:]

## EDICT VI.

## Girnār.

Devānam pri<sup>46</sup> . . si rājā evam āha [:] atikratam antaram [1] na bhūtapurva sava . la<sup>49</sup> atakamme va pativedanā vā [:] Ta mayā evam katam [2] save kāle bhujamānasa

## Shāhbāzagrhi.

Devanam priyo Priyad[ra]si<sup>47</sup> raya eva [m] shu ti [:] atik[ra]tam<sup>48</sup> antaram na [bhuta]pruvam savram kalam athakramam va pativedana va [:] Tam maya evam katam [:] savram kalam asamana-

<sup>32</sup> The new impression gives distinctly *adā* for *dhā*.

<sup>33</sup> The reverse of the impression gives *adikale*, which is supported by the reading of Mansehra *adikare*.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *kapi* to be read.

<sup>35</sup> Only the foot of the second sign of *maa* has been preserved.

<sup>36</sup> Possibly *natari* to be read.

<sup>37</sup> Possibly *anuvāṣati* to be read.

<sup>38</sup> The impression has the *Anuvāra* distinctly, which must probably be deleted.

<sup>39</sup> There is a stroke, above *va* which, however, seems not to be a real *e*-stroke, but an accidental scratch.

<sup>40</sup> The impression seems to offer *hida*<sup>40</sup>, with a badly blurred *da* instead of *hita*<sup>40</sup>, and *chā* instead of *vā*.

<sup>41</sup> The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between *yutasa* and *Yona*.

<sup>42</sup> Read *Rastika*, the second letter has not been written completely.

<sup>43</sup> *Cha* is much defaced and looks like *che* or *je*; the *Anuvāra* of *iyam* is not certain.

<sup>44</sup> The first letter is much disfigured by several scratches and looks nearly like a deformed *cha*.

<sup>45</sup> The impression offers distinctly *ne* (i.e. *naḥ*) instead *na*, and according to the reverse *cha* is more probable than *cha*.

<sup>46</sup> *Bhaginindā* is more probable than *nam*.

<sup>47</sup> The lingual of *aṭhāye* is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression.

<sup>48</sup> Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct.

<sup>49</sup> Possibly *Priyadasi*, but see the notes to the German edition.

<sup>50</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

<sup>51</sup> The tops of *rva*, *va* and *la* are gone. Restore *rva* *savam kalam*.

[illegible]



## Girnār.

me orodhanamhi gabbhāgāramhi vachamhi va [8] vini-  
tambhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā<sup>60</sup> sṭitā athe  
me janasa [4] paṭivedetha iti [.] Sarvatra cha janasa  
athe karomi [.] Ya cha kiñchi mukhato [5] āñapayāmi  
svayam dāpakam vā śrāvapakam vā ya vā puna  
mahāmātresu [6] ābhāyika<sup>61</sup> āropitam bhavati tāya  
athāya vivādo nijhatī va samto parisāyam [7]

ānamtarām paṭivedetayvam<sup>62</sup> me sarvatra sarve kāle [.]  
Evam mayā āñapitam [.] Nāsti hi  
me toso [8] ustānamhi athasamīranāya va [.] Kata-  
yvamate hi me sarvalokahitam [9] Tasa cha puna  
esa mūle ustānam cha athasamīranā cha [.] Nāsti  
hi karimatarām [10] sarvalokahitapā [.] Ya cha  
kiñchi parākramāmi aham [.] kiñti [?] bhūtanām  
ānamtarām gaccheyam [11] idha cha nāni sukhāpayā-  
mi paratrā cha svagam ārādhamāntu [.] Ta etāya  
athāya [12] ayam dhammalipi lekḥāpitā [.] kiñti [?]  
chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha  
prapotrā cha [13] anuvatarām<sup>64</sup> savalokahitāya [.]  
Dukaram tu idam aṣṭa agena pārākramena [14]

## Manshira.

Devana[m] priye Priyadasi raja eva[m]<sup>65</sup> aha [:]  
atikramtam amtarām [26] u[o]<sup>67</sup> hutapuluve savam kala  
athrak[rama]<sup>68</sup> va paṭivedana va [.] Ta maya evam  
kitam [:] savrakalam aṣṭasa me  
orodhane grabhagarasi vracaspi<sup>71</sup> vinitaspi uyanaspi  
savatra pa[t]i[veda]ka athra janasa [27] paṭivedetu  
me savatra cha janasa athra karomi aham [.]  
Yam pi kiñchi mukhati apapemi aham dapakam  
va śravakam va yam va puna mahamatreli

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

sa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vracaspi vinitaspi  
uyanaspi<sup>71</sup> savatra paṭivedaka aṭham janasa  
paṭ[r]ivedetu me savatra cha janasa aṭhā karomi [.]  
Yam pi [cha] kiñchi mukhato anapayami  
[aṭham da]pakam va śravakam va yam va pana<sup>72</sup>  
mahamatranam v[o]<sup>73</sup> achayika a . pitam<sup>74</sup> bhoti  
taye aṭhaye vivade va ni[jha]ti<sup>75</sup> va samtam parishaye  
anamtariyena paṭivedetavo me [14] savatra<sup>76</sup> cha  
aṭham janasa karomi a[ṭham] [.] Yam cha ki  
[chi]<sup>77</sup> mukhato anapemi aṭham dapakam va śra-  
vaka va ya va pana mahamatranam achayikam  
aropitam bhoti taye aṭhaye vivade samtam nijhati<sup>78</sup>  
va parishaye anamtariyena paṭivedetavo  
me savatra sav[r]am kalam [.]  
Evam anapitam maya [.] Nasti hi me toso uṭha-  
nasi aṭhasamīranaye cha [.] Katavamatam hi me  
sav[r]alokahitam [.] Tasa cha mulam et[ra]  
uthanam aṭhasamīranā cha [.] Na[sti] hi  
kramatarām [15] s[r]avalokahite[na]<sup>79</sup> [.] Yam cha  
kiñchi parakramami [.] kiti [?] bhutanam  
anapiyam vracheyam ia cha [sha] sukhayami  
paratra cha spagam<sup>83</sup> aradhetu [.] Etaye aṭhaye  
ayi dhrama<sup>83</sup> dipista [.] chirathitika bhotu  
tatha cha me putra nataro parakramamtu  
savalokahitaye [.] [D]ukara[m] tu[kho] imam  
amnatra agre<sup>85</sup> parakramena [16]

## Kāleśī.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā heva[m]-āhā [:]  
atikramtam amtalām no-bhutapuluve savam kalam  
aṭhakam-me-vā<sup>86</sup> [pat] ivedanā-vā [.] Se-ma[ma]yā  
heva[m] kate [:] savam kalam adam[a]nasā-me<sup>87</sup> [18]  
olodhanasi gabbhāgāsi vachasi vini[tasi] uyānasi  
savatā paṭivedakā aṭham janasā [paṭi]vedemtu  
me<sup>78</sup> [.] Savatā<sup>73</sup> janasā aṭham kachhāmi hakam [.]  
Yam pi chā [kiñchi mukha]te āna[payā]mi ha-  
kam<sup>74</sup> dā[pakam]-vā [śravakam vā] ye-vā-punā

<sup>60</sup> Below *ṣṭ* stands a w-stroke.

<sup>61</sup> The final sign is probably intended for *spi*; —see the notes to the German edition of the Manshira text.

<sup>62</sup> Possibly *puna* to be read.

<sup>63</sup> Possibly *ābhāyikam* or *āke* to be restored, as there are two large abrasions on both sides of the *ka*.

<sup>64</sup> The vowel of *vo* is very indistinct.

<sup>65</sup> Complete *aropitam*.

<sup>66</sup> The *jha* is indistinct.

<sup>67</sup> The passage from *savatra* down to *parisha* has been repeated by mistake.

<sup>68</sup> It looks, as if another sign had stood between *kī* and *chā*.

<sup>69</sup> A remnant of *va* below the *ya* is visible.

<sup>70</sup> The stroke indicating the aspiration of *jha* is indistinct.

<sup>71</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *svava* is not quite certain.

<sup>72</sup> The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in *orodhanaspi*, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for *spa*.

<sup>73</sup> Possibly *ayo* to be read; read *dhramadipi*.

<sup>74</sup> Read *anuvataram*.

<sup>75</sup> Read *agrena*.

<sup>76</sup> The Anusvāras of *devānam* and *evam* are not quite distinct.

<sup>77</sup> The vowel is doubtful.

<sup>78</sup> Possibly *kachha* to be read.

<sup>79</sup> The lingual in *aṭha* is more probable than the dental.

<sup>80</sup> The new impression shows a tolerably distinct *me* at the end of line 17, and only scratches at the beginning of line 18. In the third syllable of *adamanasā* a short *a* is more probable than *mā*.

<sup>81</sup> The last sign of this word and the next two show the abnormal form, which probably stands for *spi*.

<sup>82</sup> No letters seem to have been lost between *me* and *savatā*.

<sup>83</sup> At least one syllable, probably *cha*, has been lost after *savatā*.

<sup>84</sup> *Hakam*, not *sakam*, is the reading of the new impression.

## Mansehra.

achayike aropita hoti [28] taye athraye vivade nijhat  
va samta parishaye a[nam]taliyena pativeditaviye  
me savratra savra kala[.] Eva[ri] anapita maya[.]  
Nasti hi me toshe u[thanas]i athrasamtirayaye  
cha[29] Kataviyamate hi me savralokahite[.]  
Tasa chu [puva] eshe mule utthane athrasatirana cha[.]  
Nasti hi kramatara savralokahitena[.] Yam cha  
[ki]chi para[kra]mami aham[.] kiti [?] bhuta-  
nam [30] ananiyam yeham in cha sha sukhayami  
paratra cha spagram<sup>81</sup> aradhetu ti[.] Se etaye athraye  
iyam dhramadipi likhita [.] chirathitikaṁ hotu tatham  
cha me putra [nata]re para[k]ramamte<sup>80</sup>  
savra-[31] lokahitaye[.] Dukare chu kbo anatra  
agreus parakramena[.]

## Kalsi.

mahamatehi [18] atiyayike [a, pitam] hoti tayethaye  
vivade nijhati-vā<sup>76</sup> samtam palisaye anantaliyenā  
pati . . . viye me savatā savam kalam hevam  
anapayite mamayā[.] Nathi-hi-me dose-va utthanasā  
athasamtilanāye[.] chā[.] Kaṭ[a] viyamute<sup>76</sup> hi-me  
savallakahite[.] Tasā-punā<sup>77</sup> es[e]-mule utthane [19]  
athasamtilanā[.] chā[.] Nathi-hi kammatālā sava-  
[loka] hitenā[.] Yam-cha-kichi palakamāmi bakam  
[.] kiti [?] bhutanam [a] naniyam yeham hida-cha-  
kāni sukhayāmi palata-chā<sup>78</sup> svagam ālādhayitu<sup>79</sup>[.]  
Se-etāyethaye iyam dhamalipi lekhitā[.] Chila-  
thitikyā hotu tathā cha me putadāle palakamātu  
savallakahitā[ye] [20] Dukale-ch[a]<sup>81</sup> iyam anata  
agenā palakamenā[.]

## EDICT VII.

## Girnār.

Devānam piyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati  
save pāsamḍā vaseyu[.] Save te  
sayamaṁ cha [1] bhāvasudhiṁ cha ichhati[.] Jano tu  
uchāvachachhamdo uchāvacharāgo[.] Te sarvam  
va kāsanti ekadesam va kasanti[2] Vipule<sup>82</sup> tu  
pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāvasudhitā va  
katamātā va dādhabbhitā cha niche bādham [3]

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devānam piyo Priyāsī<sup>82</sup> raja savatra ichhati  
savre [1] prashamḍa vaseyu[.] Savre hi te  
sayama bhavasudhi cha ichhamti[2] Jano chu  
uchavuchachhamdo uchavucharago[.] Te savram  
va ekadesam va [3] pi kashanti[.] Vipule  
pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-[4] sudhi  
kiṭanata diḍhabhatita niche padham [5]

## Mansehra.

Deva[na priye] Priyadasi raja savratra ichhati  
savra pashadā vaseyu[.] Savre hi te sayama  
bhavasudhi [cha] [32] ichhamti[.] Jane chu  
uchavuchachade uchavucharage[.] Te savram  
ekadesam va pi kashati[.] Vipule pi chu  
dane yasa nasti sayame bhavasuti  
kiṭanata driḍhabhatita<sup>83</sup> cha [33] niche bādham[.]

## Kalsi.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā [sa] vatā [i] chhati[.]  
sav[a pā] samḍa vas[e] vu[.]<sup>84</sup> Save-hi-te sayamaṁ  
bhāvasudhi-chā<sup>86</sup> ichhamti[.] Jane-chu  
uchāvuchachhamde<sup>86</sup> uchāvuchalāgo[.] Te-savam  
ekadesam-pi kachhamti[.] Vipule-pi-chu  
dāu[am]<sup>87</sup> asā nathi [21] sayame bhāvasudhi[i]  
kiṭanātā<sup>88</sup> diḍhabhatitā-chā niche-bādham[.]

## EDICT VIII.

## Girnār.

Atikātam amtarām rājāno vihāra-  
yātām nāyasu[.] Eta magayvā añāni  
cha etārisani[1]<sup>81</sup> abhīramakāni abumisu[.] So

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Atikratnam<sup>80</sup> amtarām devānam priya vihara-  
yatra nama nikramishu[.] Atra mrugaya añāni  
cha [h]edīsani a[bhi]ramani abhavasū<sup>82</sup> [.] So

<sup>75</sup> *Nijhati*, not *nikati*, is the distinct reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>76</sup> The absence of the Anusvara and the reading *imute* are certain from the reverse of the impression.

<sup>77</sup> *Tasā* is more probable than *tasa*.

<sup>78</sup> *Palata*, not *palatā*, is distinct.

<sup>79</sup> Read *ālādhayamtu*.

<sup>80</sup> Read *parakramamtu*.

<sup>81</sup> Possibly *chu*.

<sup>82</sup> The initial *sa* is again abnormal and the sign must be read *spa*.

<sup>83</sup> Read *Priyadasi*.

<sup>84</sup> The apparent second *u*-stroke which makes the word look like *vipule* is, to judge from the impression, an accidental scratch.

<sup>85</sup> The short final of [pā]samḍa seems certain, as there is

no stroke or abrasion to the right of the *ḍa*.

<sup>86</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is distinct.

<sup>87</sup> The impression shows everywhere distinctly *uchāvucha*, not *uchāvacha*.

<sup>88</sup> *Dānam* is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than *dāne*.

<sup>89</sup> According to the impression the reading is *kiṭandā*, for which *kiṭanātā* must be read.

<sup>90</sup> One of the *ra*-strokes in *driḍhra* is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably *diḍhra*, i.e. *driḍha*.

<sup>91</sup> This stands for *atikratnam* just like *savra* for *sarva*.

<sup>92</sup> Read *etārisani*.

<sup>93</sup> The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading *abhuvasu* is perhaps possible.

## Girnar.

devānaṃ piyo Piyadasi rājā dasavasābhisito.  
saṃto ayāya sambodhiṃ<sup>24</sup> [2] Tenesā dhamma-  
yātā[.] Etayaṃ<sup>25</sup> hoti bāmbhanasamanānaṃ  
dasane cha dāne cha thairānaṃ dasane cha [8]  
hiraṇṇapātividhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa<sup>26</sup>  
dasanaṃ dhammānusastī cha dhammapāripucchā  
cha[4.] Tatopaya esā bhuya rati bhavati devānaṃ  
piyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhāge amhe [5.]

## Mansehra.

Atikratam aṃtaram devana priya viharayatra  
nama nikramishu[.] I[ha]<sup>27</sup> mrigaviya aṇani  
cha edisani abhiramani husu[.]  
Se devana priye Priyadasi [34] raja<sup>28</sup> dasavashabhi-  
site saṃtam nikrami saṃbodhi[.] Tenad[am]<sup>29</sup>  
dhammayatra[.] Atra iya hoti[.] samana-  
bramaṇa draśane dane cha vadhrana draśane  
[cha] hiraṇṇapātividha[ne]<sup>31</sup> cha [35] janapadasa  
janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhramapari-  
pucchha cha[.] Tatopaya esse bhuye rati ho[ti]  
devana Priyasa Priyadasi [36] rajine bhag[e]<sup>32</sup>  
ane [37]

## Girnar.

Devānaṃ piyo Piyadasi rājā evaṃ āha [:] nsti  
jano uchāvacham maṃgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā [1]  
āvāvavāhesu vā putalābhesu vā pravāsammi vā [.]  
Etamhi cha aṇambi cha jano uchāvacham  
maṃgalaṃ karote [2] Eta tu mahidāyo bahukam  
cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha niratham  
cha maṃgalaṃ karote[.] Ta katayvameva tu  
maṃgalaṃ[.] Apaphalam tu kho [3] etarisaṃ<sup>33</sup>  
maṃgalaṃ[.] Ayam tu mahāphale maṃgale  
ya dhammamamāgale[.] Tata dāsabhatakamhi samya-  
pratipati gurūnaṃ apachiti s[ā]dhu [4] pānesu  
sayamo sādhu bāmbhanasamanānaṃ sādhu dānaṃ[.]  
Eta cha aṇa cha etārisaṃ dhammamamāgalaṃ nāma[.]

<sup>23</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>24</sup> The impression makes the second Anusvāra very probable.

<sup>25</sup> *Etayaṃ* stands for *Eta iyaṃ*. According to the analogy *yename* for *yeṇa ime*, etc.;—see E. Müller: *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 60.

<sup>26</sup> The Anusvāra is doubtful.

<sup>27</sup> Possibly *tenadra* to be read.

<sup>28</sup> Read *janasa*.

<sup>29</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *esse* to be read.

<sup>31</sup> The upper part of the *i*-stroke is very faint.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly *ia* is to be read.

<sup>33</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>34</sup> The impression shows no Anusvāra.

<sup>35</sup> This looks like *rajam*.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

devānaṃ piyo Priyadasi<sup>36</sup> raja dasavashabhisito  
satonikramisabodhi[m]<sup>37</sup> [.] Tenad[am]<sup>38</sup> dhamma-  
yatra[.] Atra iyaṃ hoti [.] sramanabramāṇaṃ  
draśane danaṃ vu[dha]naṃ draśane<sup>39</sup>  
[h]i [ra]ṇa pātividha[ne] cha [jana]pada sa janasa  
draśanaṃ dhramanuśasti dhramapa[ri]pucchha  
cha[.] Tatopayaṃ esha<sup>40</sup> bhuye rati hoti devānaṃ  
piyasa Priyadasi rāṇo bhag[i<sup>41</sup> a]mūi [17.]

## Kālsī.

Atikratam aṃtaram devānaṃ-piyā vibhālayātaraṃ.  
nāma nikhamishu[.] Hidā migaviyā aṇāni-  
chā<sup>42</sup> bodhisā<sup>43</sup> abhilāmaṇi<sup>44</sup> husu<sup>45</sup>[.]  
Devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi lājā dasavasābhi-  
site saṃtam<sup>46</sup> nikami[th]lā<sup>47</sup> sambodhi [22] Tenatā  
dhammayātā[.] [He]tā iyaṃ hoti samana-  
bāmbhanānaṃ dasane-chā dāne-cha vudhānaṃ  
dasane-cha hiraṇṇapātividhāne-chā jānapadasā  
janasā<sup>48</sup> dasane dhammanusasthi-chā<sup>49</sup> dhamapali-  
pucchā-cha<sup>50</sup> [.] Tatopaya esse bhuye lāti hoti  
devānaṃ-piyasā Piyadasi lājine bhāge  
amhe [23]

## EDICT IX.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devānaṃ piyo Piyadasi raya evaṃ āha ti [:]  
jano uchāvacham maṃgalaṃ karoti ābadhe  
avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase[.]  
Etaye aṇaye [cha] edisiy<sup>51</sup>. ja[n]o [ba]<sup>52</sup>  
maṃgalaṃ karoti[.] Atra tu striyaka balu  
cha bahuvidham cha putika[m]<sup>53</sup> cha nirathriyam  
cha maṃgalaṃ ka[ro]tne<sup>54</sup> [.] So kaṭavo [cha kh]o  
maṃgala[.] Apaphalam tu kbo etam[.]  
Imam [tu] kho mahāphala ye mamamāga-  
la[m]<sup>55</sup> [18] [A]tra ima [:] dāsabhatakassa samma-  
pratipati garuṇa apachiti prapaṇam  
samyama sramanabramāṇa dana[.]  
Etam aṇam cha dhramamamāgalaṃ nama[.]

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *tenadra* is to be read.

<sup>8</sup> The obverse of the impression seems to give *sate*, but the reverse shows *saṃtam* to be the right reading.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly *nikhamithā* to be read.

<sup>10</sup> The impression shows no *cha* after *janasā*, only superficial scratches.

<sup>11</sup> Read *hiraṇṇapātividhane*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *dhammānusasthi*.

<sup>13</sup> There is no Anusvāra in *dhamapalipucchā*.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly the reading may have been *bhagi*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *edisīye*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *bahu*; only the lower half of the first letter has been preserved; the second has been omitted.

<sup>17</sup> *Karotne* stands for *karonte*.

<sup>18</sup> For *stāriam*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *dhramamamāgalaṃ*.

## Girndr.

Ta vatayvarṇ pitā va [5] putena vā bhātrā vā  
svāmikena vā [6] idam sādhu idam katayvarṇ maṅgalam  
āva tasa aṭhasa nistānāya [7] Asti cha pi vutām [6]  
Sādhu

danam<sup>22</sup> iti [7] Na tu etārisam asti dānam va anagaho<sup>23</sup>  
va yārisam dhammadānam va dhammānugaho va [7]  
Ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena vā [7] nātikena<sup>24</sup>  
va sahāyana<sup>25</sup> va ovāditayvarṇ tamhi tamhi pakarane [7]  
idam kacham idam sādha<sup>26</sup> iti iminā sakam<sup>27</sup> [8] sva-  
gam ārādhetu iti [7] Ki cha iminā katayvatarām  
yathā svagāradhi [9]

## Mansehra.

Devana piye Priyadasi raja evam aha [7] jane uchā-  
vucham<sup>28</sup> ma]gala[m] karoti [1] abadh[a]si avā-  
[ha]si vivahasi prajopadaye pravāsapi<sup>29</sup> [7] Etaye  
añaye cha [edi]śa[ye] ja]ne [2] bahu maṅgalam  
ka]roti [7] A[tra] tu balika janika bahu cha  
bahuvih[a] cha khud[a] cha nirathriya cha  
magala[m] karoti [7] Se ka . vi . cha kho [3]  
[ma]gale [7] Apaphale chu kho e[she] [7] Iyam  
chu kho mahāphale y[e] dhramamagale [7] Atra  
iyam [7] dasabhaṭakasi samyapaṭipati guru[na  
apa]chiti [4] prañana sa[ya]me śramaṇabramāṇa-  
na [dane] [7] Eshe ane cha ediśe dhrama-  
magale nama [7] Se vataviy[e] pit[u]na<sup>30</sup> pi putrena  
pi bhatuna pi spamikena [5] mitrasamstute[na  
a[va] paṭivesiyena pi [7] iyam sadhu iy[am]<sup>31</sup>  
kaṭaviye magale ava tasa aṭhasa nivu[t]iya [7]

<sup>22</sup> The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed. VI in *oro. dhanaspi* and so forth, and is probably meant for *spa*.

<sup>23</sup> The last sign is the same as in *oro dhanaspi* and so forth,

<sup>24</sup> Read *dānam*.

<sup>25</sup> Probably a mistake for *anugaho*.

<sup>26</sup> The *ra*-stroke is not quite certain.

<sup>27</sup> The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct, and one might possibly read *nivuteyeti*.

<sup>28</sup> The last vowel is not quite certain.

<sup>29</sup> The two signs of this word stand the one above the other.

<sup>30</sup> Read *nātikena*.

<sup>31</sup> Read *sahāyena*.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>33</sup> Possibly *ia* to be read.

<sup>34</sup> Read *sādhu*.

<sup>35</sup> The Anuvāra of *sakam* is at least very probable.

<sup>36</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>37</sup> Read *dhramamagale*.

<sup>38</sup> The Anuvāra is uncertain.

<sup>39</sup> The Anuvāra is uncertain.

<sup>40</sup> Thus distinct in B, instead of *pravāsasi*.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

So vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratava pi  
[spa]mikena<sup>40</sup> pi mi[tra]samstutena ava prati-  
veśiyena [7] imam sadhu imam kaṭavo [ma]ṅgalam  
yava tasa aṭhasa nivutīya [7] Nivutāspi<sup>41</sup> va pana  
[19] imam ke[sha] [2] Ye hi et[ra]ke<sup>42</sup> magale  
sa[m]śayike tam [7] Siya vo tam aṭham  
niv[a]ṭey[a] ti [7] siya pana iṭlakach[e]<sup>43</sup>  
vo tithe [7] Iya<sup>44</sup> puna dhramamagalam  
akalikam [7] Yadi p[u]na<sup>45</sup> tam aṭham na  
nivāte [h]ia<sup>46</sup> [7] [a]tha paratra anantam puṇam  
prasavati [7] Hamche p[u]na<sup>47</sup> [a]tham  
nivāte ti tato ubhayasa ladham bhoti  
ibachaso aṭho paratra cha anantam puṇam prasavati  
teva dhramamagale<sup>48</sup> [20]

## Kālet.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā āhā [7] jane uchā-  
vucham<sup>49</sup> maṅgalam [ka]letī [7] Ābādhasi avā-  
hasi vivāhasi pajopadāye<sup>50</sup> pavāsasi etāye anūnā-  
ye-chā ediśāye jane bahu magalam  
kaletī [7] Heta-chu abakajani[yo]<sup>51</sup> bahu-chā  
bahuviham-chā khudā<sup>52</sup>-chā nilathiyām-chā<sup>53</sup>  
magalam kalamti<sup>54</sup> [24] Se-kaṭavi-cheva-kho<sup>55</sup>  
maṅgale [7] Apaphale-vu-kho es[e] Iyam  
chu-kho mahāphale ye-dhammagale [7] He[tā]<sup>56</sup>  
iyam dāsabhaṭakasi samyapaṭipāti-gulunā<sup>57</sup>  
apachiti pā . ānam sayame samanabamānānam  
dāne [7] Ese amne-chā heḍise tam-dhamma-  
magale-nāmā<sup>58</sup> [7] Se-vataviye pitinā-pi putena-  
pi<sup>59</sup> bhātinā-pi suvāmiken[ā]-pi mitasamthutenā  
āva-paṭivesiyenā-pi [25] iyam sādhu iyam  
kaṭaviye [ma]gale āva-tasā aṭhasā nivutīyā<sup>60</sup> [7]

<sup>39</sup> The *vu* in the third syllable is distinct.

<sup>40</sup> The lower stroke is nearly straight and *pajopadāye* a possible reading, but see the Mansehra version.

<sup>41</sup> The first and last syllables of *editāye* are very indistinct.

<sup>42</sup> This is the reading of the reverse, distinct except in the last syllable.

<sup>43</sup> *Khudā*, not *khudam*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>44</sup> Read *nilathiyā* or *ḡyam*.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly *bahuvihā* to be read.

<sup>46</sup> Possibly *khudā* to be read.

<sup>47</sup> The Anuvāra is uncertain.

<sup>48</sup> *Kalamti*, not *kaletī*, is distinct.

<sup>49</sup> Read *kaṭaviye*.

<sup>50</sup> The existence of this word is certain, the quantity of the last syllable doubtful.

<sup>51</sup> *Gulunā* not *ḡnam*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>52</sup> *Nāmā*, not *nāma*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>53</sup> *Putena*, not *putenā*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> Possibly *pitinā* to be read.

<sup>55</sup> The *ya* has besides the Anuvāra an apparent *e*-stroke, which must be accidental.

<sup>56</sup> The third syllable of *nivutīyā* is superficially damaged. The reverse leaves no doubt regarding the reading.

*Mansehra.*

Nivutasi va puna ima k[e]sh[a]miti [?] E hi  
[a]trake<sup>58</sup> ma . . [6] śasayike<sup>59</sup> se[.] [Si]ya  
[va] ta[m] athraṃ nivateya[.] siya pana no  
i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha]<sup>60</sup> vase[.] Iyaṃ puna dhrama-  
magal[e] akalike[.] Hache pi taṃ athraṃ na  
nivaṭ[e] ti [hida] [a . paratra . . . [7]  
an[am]taṃ puṇaṃ<sup>64</sup> prasavati[.] Hache [puna  
taṃ a]ra nivaṭe ti hida tato ubhayasa [va  
la]dhe [bo]ti hida cha se athre paratra cha  
ana[m]ta[m]<sup>70</sup> puṇaṃ prasa[va]ti teṇa  
dhramagalena<sup>71</sup>[.8]

*Kālsī.*

Imaṃ ka[tha]m-iti [?] E-l  
ivale<sup>67</sup> magale saṃsayikye-se [hoti]<sup>68</sup>[.]  
Siyā-va-taṃ aṭhaṃ<sup>61</sup> nivateyā siyā-punā-no  
hidaloṭike-cha-va-e[.] Iyaṃ-punā dharmamagale  
akālikye[.] Haṃche-pi taṃ-athraṃ no-niṭe-ti  
hida aṭhaṃ<sup>63</sup> palata anantaṃ-punā pavasati<sup>66</sup>[.]  
Haṃche-punā-taṃ aṭhaṃ nivate-ti hida<sup>69</sup> tato<sup>67</sup>  
ubhaye<sup>68</sup>[.26] [la]dhe hoti hida-cha<sup>69</sup> se-aṭhe  
palatā-cha anantaṃ-puṇaṃ pasavati  
teṇā dharmamagalenā[.]

## EDICT X.

*Girnār.*

Devānaṃ priyo Priyadasi rājā<sup>72</sup> yaso va kiti va na  
mahāthāvahā māṇate ānata tadātpano dighāya cha  
me jano [i] dharmasusurū<sup>73</sup> susurātām dharmā-  
vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyātām[.] Etakāya devānaṃ piyo  
Priyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va icchati[.2]  
Yaṃ tu kiṃchi parākamate devānaṃ Priya-  
dasi<sup>70</sup> rājā ta savāṃ parātrikāya [;] kiṃti [?]  
sakale appariśrave asa[.] Esa tu pariśrave ya  
apūṇaṃ<sup>77</sup>[.3] Dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ ebhūḍakena  
va jāvena usatena va ānatra agena parākamena<sup>79</sup>  
savāṃ parichajitpā[.] Eta tu kho usatena  
dukaraṃ [4]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devana priye Priyadasi raya yaso va kiṭri va no  
mahathavaha maṇati ānatra yo pi  
yaso kiṭri va icchati tadattaye<sup>74</sup> ayatiya cha [jan]e  
dhamasuśrasha<sup>75</sup> suśrushatu me ti dharmāvu-  
taṃ cha anuvi[dhiyatu] [.] Etakaye devanaṃ priye  
Priyadasi raya yaso va kiṭri va [21] [ichha]ti[.]  
Yaṃ tu kiṭri parakramati devanaṃ priyo Priya-  
dasi raya taṃ savraṃ paratrikaye va [;] kiṭi [?]  
sa[kale]<sup>78</sup> aparīśrave siya ti[.] Eshe tu pariśrave  
yaṃ apūṇaṃ[.] Dukaraṃ t[u] kho eshe khudra-  
kena vagrena usatena va ānatra agrena parakramena  
savāṃ paritijitu[.] Etaṃ chu usate<sup>80</sup>  
. . . . . [22].

*Mansehra.*

. . . [8] priye Pri . draśi raja yaso va kiṭi va  
n[a] mahathravaham maṇati anatra yaṃ pi ya[so  
va] kiṭi va icchati tadattaye<sup>83</sup> ayatiy[a]<sup>84</sup> cha jāne  
dhramasuśrasha su . [sha]tu me ti

*Kālsī.*

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadashā<sup>81</sup> lājā yasho-vā kiti-vā  
no-mahathāvā<sup>82</sup> maṇati anata yaṃ-pi yaso-  
vā kiti-vā icchati tadatvāye ayatiye-cha jāne  
dharmasusushā susushātu-me-ti<sup>85</sup>

<sup>57</sup> This may be read *ichale*.<sup>58</sup> Possibly *etrake* or *etake* according to B., which also shows the *ma*.<sup>59</sup> This is plain in B.<sup>60</sup> The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.<sup>61</sup> The lingual of *aṭhaṃ* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences.<sup>62</sup> This may also be read *ihache loki cha* or *ihachalokike*.<sup>63</sup> Read *nivaṭe-ti* and *atka*.<sup>64</sup> Thus according to B.<sup>65</sup> Read *pasavati*, as suggested by M. Senart.<sup>66</sup> *Hida*, not *hidā*, is the distinct reading of the impression.<sup>67</sup> *Tato*, not *tatā*, is the reading of the impression, though the *e*-stroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī.)<sup>68</sup> *Ubhaye* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *naṃ* or *nām*. I would conjecture *ubhayesaṃ* in accordance with the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī versions.<sup>69</sup> *Hida*, not *hidā*, is the reading of the impression.<sup>70</sup> The two Anusvāras are probable, but not certain.<sup>71</sup> Read *dhramamagalena*.<sup>72</sup> The syllable *de* has been inserted between *si* and *rd* and the syllable *vā* between *rd* and *jā*.<sup>73</sup> The apparent Anusvāra after *su* is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.<sup>74</sup> Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.<sup>75</sup> Read *dhramasuśrasha*.<sup>76</sup> Restore *priyo* before *Priyadasi*.<sup>77</sup> The Anusvāra is faintly visible on the impression.<sup>78</sup> The *ka* has been added as a correction.<sup>79</sup> Possibly *parākramena* to be read, as the top of the *ka* is slightly bent towards the right.<sup>80</sup> The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised.<sup>81</sup> Read *Piyadasi*.<sup>82</sup> Possibly *mahathāvahā* to be restored.<sup>83</sup> It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.<sup>84</sup> Possibly *ayatiye* is to be read.<sup>85</sup> A Vedic imperative.



## Mansehra.

. . . [9] [tam] a[nu]vidhiyatu ti[.] Etakaye devana priye Priyadra[śi] raja yaśo va kiṭi va ichhati[.] [E tu] kiehi parakrama . i devana priye Priya[dra]śi [raja tam] savraṁ para[trikaye va] [.] [kiti] [?] . . . [10] [a]papaṛisave siya ti ti<sup>91</sup>[.] Eshe tu parisave e[apu]ṇa[m] [.] Dukaraṁ chu [kho] eshe khudakena va vagre[na usa]ṭena va a[ṇa]tra a[gre]na parakramena savraṁ pariti . tu[.] E . [tu kho] usaṭena va duka[ra] [.]

## Kālsī.

dhammavataṁ-vā anuvīdhiyatu-ti[.] Etakāye devānaṁ piye Piyadasi[27] lājā yaśo-vā<sup>90</sup> kiti-vā ichha<sup>97</sup>[.] Am-chā-kiehi-lakamati<sup>98</sup> devānaṁ-piye Piyadashi<sup>99</sup> lājā<sup>90</sup> ta shavaṁ pālatikyāye-vā [.] kiti [?] Sakale apapālāshave shiyā-ti-ti<sup>99</sup>[.] Eshe-chu-palisave<sup>93</sup> e-apumue[.] Dukale-chu-kho eshe khudakena-vā vāgena ushūṭena-vā<sup>94</sup> anat[ā]<sup>95</sup> agenā palakamenā shavaṁ palitiditu[.] He[ta]-chu-kho [28] ushaṭena-vā dukale[.]

## EDICT XI.

## Girnar.

Devānaṁ priyo Piyadasi rājā evaṁ āha [.] nāsti etārisaṁ dānaṁ yārisaṁ dhammadānaṁ dhammasaṁstavo vā dhammasaṁvibhāgo vā dhamma-saṁbadho va [.] 1 Tata idaṁ bhavati dāsabhatakaṁbi samyapratipati mātari pitari sādhu susrusā mita-sastutaṇāṭikānaṁ bāmaṇasaṁanānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ [2] prāṇānaṁ anāraṁbho sādhu[.] Eta vatayvaṁ pitā va putrena va bhātā va mitasastutaṇāṭikena va āva paṭivesi-yehi [.] idaṁ sādhu idaṁ katayvaṁ[3] So tathā<sup>97</sup> karu ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha anantaṁ<sup>98</sup> puṇṇaṁ bhavati tena dhammadānena[4]

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyadasi raya evaṁ āha ti [.] nāsti edisāṁ danam yadisāṁ dhramaṇanaṁ dhramasaṁstave dhramasaṁvibhago [dhra]ma-saṁbadho[.] Tatra etaṁ [.] dāsabhatakanam sammapratipati matapitushu suśrusa mitra-saṁstutaṇāṭikānaṁ śramaṇabramāṇaṁ [23] danam prāṇaṁ anaraṁbho [.] Etaṁ vatavo pituna<sup>90</sup> pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [sa]mikenā pi mitrasaṁstutena ava prativēsi-yena [.] [i]maṁ sādhu imaṁ kaṭavo [.] So tatha karaṁtaṁ iloka[m]<sup>99</sup> cha aradheti paratra cha anataṁ puṇaṁ prasavati [24] [te]na dhrama-dānena [25]

## Mansehra.

. . . [pri]ye Priyadasi raja evaṁ āha [.] nāsti . diśe dane adīśe dhramadane dhramasa . ve dhra]masa[m]vibhage<sup>95</sup> dhrama . . dhe [I.] Tatra eshe [.] dāsa[bha]ṭa . sa sa[mya]saṁpatipati<sup>96</sup> matapitushu . . . [12] saṁstutaṇāṭika-na śramaṇabramāṇa dane prāṇa ana-rambhe[.] Eshe vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi spami . . pi mitrasaṁstutena ava paṭivesiyena . [13] iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [.] Se ta[tha] karaṁtaṁ hida . ka cha<sup>10</sup> aradhe . i . ratra cha a . tam puṇaṁ prasavati . . [dhra]madānena [14]

## Kālsī.

Devānaṁ-piye Piyadashi lājā hevaṁ hā<sup>1</sup> [.] nāthi heḍiśhe dāne [ā]diśam<sup>2</sup> dhammadāne dhammasaṁvibhage<sup>3</sup> dhammasaṁbadhe<sup>4</sup> [.] Tat[a] eshe [.] dāsabhatakaṁbi | shamyāpatipati māṭapitushu | shushushā | mitasaṁstutana[ti]kyānaṁ samanaṁbhanānaṁ dāne [29] prāṇaṁ anā-lambhe [.] Eshe vataviye pitinā-pi pute-pi<sup>7</sup> bhātinā-pi [sh]avāmikeyena-pi<sup>8</sup> mitasaṁstutana<sup>9</sup> avā paṭivesiyenā [.] iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [.] Śe tathā kalamā hidalokikyē cha karaṁ āladhe hoti palata-cha ananta<sup>11</sup> puṇṇa prasavati tenā dhammadānena [.]

<sup>90</sup> Yaśo, not yaso, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>97</sup> Read ichhati.

<sup>98</sup> Read palakamati.

<sup>99</sup> Piyadashi, not 'si, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>90</sup> Read lājā.

<sup>91</sup> Siya ti ti is also the reading of the Kālsī version. It stands for itīti, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.

<sup>92</sup> Read apapālāshave; shiyā, not siyā, is the reading.

<sup>93</sup> Eshe, not ese, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.

<sup>94</sup> The u-stroke is distinct.

<sup>95</sup> A short final is more probable than a long one.

<sup>96</sup> This looks like pitāna, with two u-strokes.

<sup>97</sup> The two apparent ā-strokes after ta are due to fissures in the rock.

<sup>98</sup> Probably anantaṁ.

<sup>99</sup> This may possibly be hialoka.

<sup>1</sup> Read āhā.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly adisham to be read.

<sup>3</sup> Dhammasaṁvibhage, not 'vibhage, is the distinct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The impression shows no Anuvāra in 'badhe.

<sup>5</sup> The Anuvāra is uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly samma<sup>o</sup> is to be read.

<sup>7</sup> Read putenā-pi.

<sup>8</sup> Read shavāmikeyenā.

<sup>9</sup> Read mitasaṁstutena; the ta stands below the line. There is no pi after this word.

<sup>10</sup> Possible a sign (ku?) may have stood between cha and aradhe.

<sup>11</sup> Possibly anata to be read.

## EDICT XII.

## Girnar.

Devānaṃ piye Piyadasi rājā savapāsamaṃdāni  
cha<sup>11</sup> pavajitāni<sup>12</sup> cha gharastāni<sup>13</sup> cha pūjayati  
dānena cha vividhāya cha pūjāya pūjayati ne [1]  
Na tu tathā dānaṃ va pūjā va devānaṃ piyo  
maññate yathā kiti[?] sāravaḍhi<sup>14</sup> asa savapāsama-  
dānaṃ [2] Sāravaḍhi<sup>15</sup> tu bahuvīdhā [2] Tasa tasa<sup>16</sup>  
tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachigutī [3] kintī [?] ātpa-  
pāsamaṃdapūjā va parapāsamaṃdagarahā<sup>17</sup> va no bhava  
apakaraṇaṃhi lobhukā va asa [3] tamhi tamhi  
prakaraṇe [3] Pūjetayā<sup>18</sup> tu eva parapāsamaṃdā tena  
tana<sup>19</sup> prakaraṇena [3] Evaṃ karuṃ ātpapāsamaṃdānaṃ  
cha vadhayati parapāsamaṃdasa cha  
upakaroti [4] Tadamññatā karoto ātpapāsamaṃdānaṃ  
cha chhapati parapāsamaṃdasa cha pi apakaroti [3]  
Yo hi kochi ātpapāsamaṃdānaṃ pūjayati parapāsamaṃdānaṃ  
vā garabati [5] savam ātpapāsamaṃdabhatiya [3]  
kintī [?] ātpapāsamaṃdānaṃ dipayema iti so cha  
puna tatha karāto<sup>20</sup> ātpapāsamaṃdānaṃ  
bādhatarānaṃ upahanāti [3] Ta samavāyo  
eva sādhu [3] kintī [?] aṇṇamaññasa dhammaṃ  
sruṇāru cha sususera cha [3] Evaṃ hi devānaṃ  
piyasa icchā [3] kintī<sup>21</sup> [?] savapāsamaṃdā bahuśrutā  
cha asu kalāṇāgamā cha asu [7] Ye cha tatra  
tate<sup>22</sup> prasamaṇā tehi vatayvaṃ [3] devānaṃ piyo  
no tathā dānaṃ va pūjā va maññate yathā kintī[?]  
sāravaḍhi asa savapāsamaṃdānaṃ bahukā<sup>23</sup>  
cha [3] Etāya [8] athā vyāpatā dhammamamahamātā  
cha ithihakkhamamahamātā cha vachabhūmika cha añe  
cha<sup>24</sup> nikāyā [3] Ayam<sup>25</sup> cha etasa phala ya ātpapāsama-  
davaḍhi cha hoti dhammasa cha dipanā [9]

## Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadasi raja savra prasha-  
dani pravrajitani gabathani cha pujeti danena  
vividhaya<sup>26</sup> cha pujaya [3] No [chu] tatha  
dana va puja va [1] devanaṃ priye mañati  
atha kiti [?] salavaḍhi siya savrapashadana ti [3]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Devanaṃ priyo Priyadasi raya savra prashamḍani  
pravrajita<sup>27</sup> graha[ṭha]ni cha pujeti  
danena vividhaye cha pujaye [3]  
No chu tatha dana[m] va puja va [1] devanaṃ priyo  
mañati yatha kiti[?] salavaḍhi siya savraprasham-  
dāna[m] [3] Salav[a]ḍhi tu bahuvīdhā [3] Tasa  
tu iyo mula yaṃ vachaguti [3] kiti[?] ata-  
prashamḍapuja va parapashamḍagarana<sup>28</sup> va no  
siya aprakaranaṃ [3] labuka va siya tasi tasi  
prakara[n]e [3] Pujetaviya va chu paraprasham- [3]  
[ḍa] tena tena [a]karena<sup>29</sup> [3] Evaṃ kara[m]tanir  
[a]taprashamḍam vadheti paraprashamḍasa pi cha  
upakaroti [3] Tada aññatā ka[rata] cha ataprasham-  
ḍam [4] chhapati paraprashamḍasa cha apakaroti [3]  
Yo hi k[?]chi ataprashadānaṃ pujeti paraprash[a]ḍa  
garabati savre ataprashadabhatiya va [3]  
kiti [?] 5 ataprashamḍam dipayami ti [3] so cha  
puna tatha karantaṃ so cha puna tatha karataṃ<sup>30</sup>  
bādhatarānaṃ upahanāti ataprashadānaṃ [3] So sayamo  
vo sādhu [3] kiti[?] aññamaññasa dharmo [3]  
sruṇeyu cha suśrusheyyu cha ti [3] Evaṃ hi devanaṃ  
piyasa icchā [3] kiti[?] savraprashamḍa bahuśruta  
cha kala[ṇa]gama cha siyasu [3] Ye cha tatra  
tatra [7] prasana tesham vatavo [3] devanaṃ priyo  
na tatha danam va puja va mañati yatha kiti[?]  
salavaḍhi siya ti savraprashadānaṃ bahuka cha [3]  
Etaye a . . [3] vapaṭa [dura]mama[ha]matra  
i[stribhi]yachhamamahamatra vachabhūmika añe  
cha nikaye [3] Imaṃ cha etisa phalaṃ yaṃ ataprasha-  
davaḍhi [bhoti] [9] dharmasa cha dipana [10]

## Kālsi.

Devāna-piye-Piyadasi [30] lājā bhavā pāsham-  
dani<sup>31</sup> pavajitāni gabathāni vā pujeti-dānena-  
vividhena<sup>32</sup>-cha-[pujā]ye [3] No-chu-tathā<sup>33</sup>  
dāne-vā pujā-vā devānaṃ-piye manati athā  
kita<sup>34</sup> [?] Sālavaḍhi siyā-ti savapāsamaṃdānaṃ<sup>35</sup> [3]

<sup>11</sup> Dele *cha*.<sup>12</sup> Possibly *pravajitāni* to be read.<sup>13</sup> Possibly *gharastāni* to be read.<sup>14</sup> *Pravrajita*, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before *grahastāni*.<sup>15</sup> The apparent *d*-stroke after *ra* is probably an accidental scratch or a *serif*.<sup>16</sup> The first *ta* and the second *sa* of *tasa tasa* have been obliterated, as the sense requires.<sup>17</sup> The syllable *sam* has been added as a correction.<sup>18</sup> Read *\*garaha*.<sup>19</sup> Probably a mistake for *pujetayad*.<sup>20</sup> Read *tena tena*.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Burgess' new *facsimile* shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading. My former reading *prakara-**nena* is impossible; so is M. Senart's *pakarena*.<sup>22</sup> Read *karoto*.<sup>23</sup> Dele the repeated words.<sup>24</sup> The syllable *ti* has been inverted as a correction.<sup>25</sup> Possibly the reading was *tatra tatra*.<sup>26</sup> Read *bahuka*.<sup>27</sup> The word *cha* has been added as a correction.<sup>28</sup> The letter *a* has been added as a correction.<sup>29</sup> Only the right half of the *anusvara* is distinct.<sup>30</sup> Read *pāshamḍani*.<sup>31</sup> Meant for *vividhaye*.<sup>32</sup> Possibly *vividhaya* to be read.<sup>33</sup> *Chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.<sup>34</sup> Possibly *kiti* to be restored.<sup>35</sup> *Nam* stands, as a correction, above the line.

## Monsehra.

Salavrudhi<sup>30</sup> tu bahuvidha[.] Tasa chu iyañ mule  
am vachaguti [2] kiti [?] ataprashada-  
puja va parapashadagaraha va no siya  
apakarānāsi[.] lahuka va siya tasi [ta]si pakarānāsi[.]  
Pujetaviya va chu paraprashada tena tena [8]  
akarēna[.] Evar karatam atmapashada<sup>31</sup> badham  
vadhiyati parapashadāsa pi cha upakaroti[.]  
Tadāñatham karatam atmapashada cha chhanati  
parapashadāsa pi cha[4] apakaroti[.] Ye hi kechi  
atmapashada pujeti parapashada va garahati[.]  
savre atmapashadabhatiya va [2] kiti [?]  
atmapashada dipay[a]ma<sup>40</sup> ti[.] . . . puna tatha  
karatam [5] badhamtaram upa[na]ti<sup>41</sup> atma-  
pashada[.] Se samavaye v[a] sadhu [2] kiti [?]  
anamañasa dhramam śruṇey[u] cha sūrusheyu  
cha ti[.] E[v]am hi devana[m] priyasa icchha [2]  
kiti[?] savrapashada bahuśruta cha [6] kayapagama  
cha haveyu ti[.] E cha tatra tatra prasana  
tehi vataviye [2] devana priye n[ota]tha dana[m] va  
pujam va mañati atha kiti [?] salavudhi siya  
savrapashada[na][7] [bahu]ka cha[.] Etaye athraye  
vapuṭa dhramamahamatra istri[ḥ]achhamaha-  
matra<sup>44</sup> vracnabhumika aṇe cha nikaya[.] Iyañ  
cha etisa phale [8] yañ atmapashadavadhi cha bhoti  
dhramasa cha dipana[.]

## Kālsī.

Śalavudhi-nā bahuvidhā<sup>30</sup> [.] Tasa-chu iyañ-mule  
[a]-vachaguti [2] kiti [?] ta atapāśamde  
pujā<sup>31</sup> palapāśamda-galabā-va<sup>32</sup> no śayā<sup>33</sup> [31]  
apakalanāsi lahakā-vā<sup>34</sup> śiyā tasi-tasi-pakalanāsi<sup>35</sup>  
[.] Pujetaviya chu palapāśadā tena-tena  
akālana<sup>36</sup>[.] Hevañ kalata atapaśadā bādham  
vadhiyati palapāśada-pi-vā upakaleti[.]  
Tadā-amnathā<sup>38</sup> kalata atapaśada-cha chhanati  
palapāśada pi-vā apakaleti[.] Ye-hi kechha  
atapāśada punati<sup>39</sup> [32] palapāśada-vā [ga]la[.] hatī  
shave atapāśam[da] bhatiyā-vā [2] kiti [?]  
Atapāśamda dipayema she-cha-puñā tathā  
kalantam bādhatale upahanti atapa-  
śamdashī [2] Samavāye-va śādhū [2] kiti [?]  
amnamanashādhammam[shuneyu-cha]shushusheyu  
chā-ti [2] Hevañ-bi devānam-piyashā-icchā[2]  
kiti[?] Savapāśamda bahuśrutā-chā kayānāgā  
cha<sup>42</sup> huveyu-ti [2] E-va-tata-tatā [pashamna] te-  
[hi] vataviye [2] devāñ-piye-no-tathā dānam-vā  
pujā-vā mamnati athā-kiti [2] śālavudhi śiyā  
shavapāśamdatim<sup>43</sup> bahuśrutā-chā [2] Etayāthāye  
viyāpaṭa dharmamahāmātā itthidhiyakhamabā-  
mātā vachabhumikyā[.] ane-vā-nikā[yā] [34] Iyañ  
cha-etishā phale yañ atapaśamdavadhi-chā hoti  
dhamasha-chā-dipana[.]

## EDICT XIII.

## Girnār.

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . dbe satasahasra-  
mātram tatā batam bahutāvatakam matam[.]  
Tatā pachhā adhanā<sup>46</sup> ladhesu Kalinḡgesu  
tīvo dharmavāy[o] [1] . . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . vadho va maraṇam va apavāho va janasa[.]  
Ta[m]bādham vedanamataṁ cha g[u]rumataṁ  
cha devā[na]m [sa] [2] . . . . .

## Shahbāzgarhī.

A[stava]sha<sup>46</sup> abhisita[sa]de]vana priasa Priadra-  
si[sa] raño Ka[liga] vijita[.] [Diyadha]matre  
[prapaśatasa]hasre yetato apavudhe satasahasra-  
[ma]tre tatra hate bahu[tavatake] muṭe[.] [1]  
Tato [pa]chha adhuna ladhesu [Kalinḡgeshu]  
tīvre dhrama[pa]lanam<sup>47</sup> dhrama[ka]mata dhra-  
manuśasti cha devana pri[ya]sa[.] So asti anuso-  
chan[am] devana priyasa vijinit[un]<sup>48</sup> [Ka]linḡga-  
[ni] [2] Avijitam hi [vi]jīuaman[i] ye]tatra  
vadhi[o]<sup>49</sup> va [ma]raṇam va apava[ho] va jana-  
sa[.] Tam bādham vedaniyamataṁ gurumataṁ  
cha devaṇam priyasa[.] Imañ pi chu<sup>50</sup> tato

<sup>30</sup> Read *tu* for *nd*. *Vi* stands above the line. In the next sentence *chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>31</sup> Regarding the third sign of this word see the note to the German edition.

<sup>32</sup> Thus corrected by the scribe from *ta apāśamde-vā puja*; *dele* first *ta* and change *de* to *da*.

<sup>33</sup> Thus corrected by the scribe from *vā tā nā anagalaḥ* *nd*.

<sup>34</sup> Read *siyā*.

<sup>35</sup> Read *lahukā*.

<sup>36</sup> The *sa* of the first *tasi* is imperfect.

<sup>37</sup> Read *śādhū*.

<sup>38</sup> It is, of course, possible to read here and in the sequel instead of *atma*, *atra* or *atta*.

<sup>39</sup> *Dā* stands above the line.

<sup>40</sup> Read *pujēti*.

<sup>41</sup> Possibly *dipayema* to be read, if it may be assumed that the *e*-stroke can stand at the top of *ya*.

<sup>42</sup> The *na* is a little indistinct and seems to be a correction as it has been put quite close to the following letter.

<sup>43</sup> Read *kayānāgā*.

<sup>44</sup> Read *śhavapāśamdatim*.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly *istrijachhā* to be read; at all events the stroke denoting the aspiration is very faint and short.

<sup>46</sup> *Śa* is probable according to B.

<sup>47</sup> Read *adhūnā*.

<sup>48</sup> The last three letters are not recognisable in B.

<sup>49</sup> Possibly *vijinitī* in B.

<sup>50</sup> Thus B. instead of *vadhe*.

<sup>51</sup> Thus B. for *ima pi cha*.

*Girnār.*

sā mātāpitari susu[m]sā  
gurusus[ś]sā mitasamistutasahāyañātikesu dāsa[bha]  
[3]  
[h]āyañātikā vyasanam  
prāpupati[.] Tatra so pi tesam upaghāto  
hoti[.] Paṭibhāgo chesā sa[va] [sān.]  
[4] [mh]i yatra  
nāsti manusānam ekataramhi pāsam[da]mhi na nāma  
prasā[d]o[.] Yāvatako jan . tadā [5]  
na ya sakam  
chhamitave[.]. Yā cha pi aṭaviyo devānam  
priyasa piṇṇe pāti [6]<sup>68</sup>  
savabhūtānam  
abhatim cha sayanam cha samacheram cha mādamam  
cha [7]  
Yonarājā param cha tena chatpāro  
rājāno Turamāyo cha Amtekinā<sup>90</sup> cha Magā cha [8]  
mdha-P[1] rimdesu savata  
devānam piyasa dhammānusaṭṭim anuvatare[.]  
Yata pi dūti<sup>91</sup> [9]  
vijayo savathā puna vijayo pītiraso  
so[.] Ladhā sā pīti hoti dhammavijayamhi [10]  
m vijayam mā vijetayvam mañā<sup>93</sup>[.]  
sarasake eva vijaye chhāti[m] cha [11]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

gurutata. ram [deva]nam priyasa[.] Tatra h[3]  
[3] vasaṁti bramāṇa va śramaṇa va arhṇe va  
prashamda gra[ha]tha va yesu vibhita<sup>51</sup> esha agru-  
bhu[ti]<sup>52</sup> sūśrūṣa matapitūshu sūśrūṣa guru-  
nam sūśrūṣa [mitra]samstutasabaya-[4] ſati-  
keṣhu [da]śa[ha][ta]kanam sammapratipati-  
dihā[bbatita][.] Tesham tatra bhoti apagra-  
tho va vudho va abhīratana va nikramaṇam[.]  
Yesh. va pi samvibhitanam [ne]ho aviprahino  
e[te]sha [mi]trasamstutasabayaṇatika vasana  
[5] prapūṇati[.] Tatra tam pi tesha vo apagra-  
tho bhoti[.] Pratibhagatā cha etam savraṁ  
manuṣanam<sup>53</sup> gurumatam cha devanam priya-  
sa[.] Nasti cha ekataraspi<sup>54</sup> pi<sup>55</sup> prashamdaṣpi  
na nama<sup>56</sup> prasado[.] So yamatro [jano]tada Kalige  
hato cha mut[o] cha apavudh[o]cha[ra]to [6] śa-  
tabhage<sup>57</sup> va sahasrabhagam va aja gurumatam  
vo devanam priyasa[.] Yo pi cha apakareya ti  
chhamitaviyamate vo devanam priyasa yaṁ śako  
chhamanaye[.] Ya pi cha aṭavi devanam  
priyasa [vi]jite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunij[h]ape  
ti[.] anutape pi cha p[r]abhavē devanam priyasa[.]  
Vuchati tesha[.] kiti[?] avatrapeyu na cha hamṇe-  
yasu[.] Ichhati bi devanam priyo savrabhūṭana  
achhati samyamam samachariyam rabhasiye[.]  
Eshe cha mu[kha]mūte<sup>58</sup> vijaye devanam priyasa  
yo dhramavijayo[.] so cha puna ladho devanam  
priyasa iba cha sa[vre]shu cha amteshu [8] a  
shashu pi yojanaśa[te]shu yatra Amtiyoko nama  
Yonaraja param cha tena Amtiyokena chature 4  
rajani Turamaye nama Antikini nama Maka  
nama Alikasudaro nama[.] nicha Choḍa Pamda  
ava Tambapanniya evameva Hidaraja[.] Visha-  
Vajri-Yona-Kamboyeshu Nabhake Na[bhi]tina [9]  
Bhoja-Pitioikeshu Amdhra-Puli[de]shu savatra  
devanam priyasa dhramanuṣasti anuvāṇanti[.]  
Yatra pi devanam priyasa duta na vrachanti te pi  
śru[tu] devanam priyasa dhramavutām vidhenam  
dhramanuṣasti dhramam [au]vudhīyamti anu-  
vidhīyisanti cha[.] Yo [cha] ladhe etakena bhoti  
savatra vijayo sa[vatra] puna [10] vijayo pritiraso  
so[.] Ladha [bhoti] priti dhramavijayaspi[.]<sup>59</sup> La-  
huka tu kho sa priti[.] Paratrikameva mabaphala  
meṇati devanam priyo[.] Etaye cha ābhava ayo  
dhamadipi [di]pista[.] kiti[?] putra papetra me  
asu namam vijayam na vijetavi[ya]m māñishu [.]  
ka. y.<sup>60</sup> vijaye [chham]ti cha lahudam[da].

<sup>21</sup> Possibly *vihitam* according to B.

<sup>62</sup> This is probably according to B., instead of °*bhuti*.

52 Thus both A. and B.

“ Thus B. plainly for *skatare*.

" Looks like *pri.*

<sup>10</sup> Thus plainly B., instead of *prashamḍe juna nama*.

47 Thus both A. and B., instead of \**bhago*.

<sup>50</sup> Read *hoti*. With *piṣṭe* for *viṣṭe* compare Pali

1 *paiāpatī* for *prajāvatī*.

<sup>59</sup> Possibly *mukhyamute* according to B.

<sup>80</sup> Possibly *Amitekini* to be read.

<sup>61</sup> Read *āṣṭā*.

<sup>62</sup> Thus B. plainly for *°vijayasi*.

53 Read *mañamtu*.

<sup>64</sup> Not legible with certainty in D., where the first syllable looks like *spra*.



*Kāśī.*

[ateshu a shashu [p]i yojanashateshu at[a]<sup>74</sup> Atiyoge  
nāma Yona- . . . palam chā tenā [6]  
Antiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne<sup>75</sup> Tula-  
maye nāma Amtekine<sup>76</sup> n[ā]ma Makā nā-[7] ma  
Alikyashudale nāma[,] nicham Choḍa-Pamḍiyā avarā  
Tambaparniyoāhevameva hevamevā<sup>77</sup> [8] [Hi]dalājā[.]  
Viśa-Vaji-Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhake<sup>78</sup> Nābhapa-  
mishu Bhoja-Pitinikye[shu][9] Adha-P.[a]deshu  
shavatā devānam pi[ya]shā dhammānushathī anu-  
vanti[.] Y[a]ta<sup>80</sup> pi dutā [10] devānam piyasa<sup>81</sup> no  
yanti te pi sutu devānam piyama<sup>81</sup> [dham]mavutam  
vidhanam [11] dhammānusathī dhammānushathī anuvidhi-  
yanti anuvidhiyanti chā[.] Ye se [la]dhe [12]  
etakenā hoti savatā [vija]ye<sup>82</sup> pitilase se[.] Gadā  
sā hoti piti piti dhammavijaya-[13]shi[.] Lahukā vu  
khasā piti[.] Pālanitikiyameve<sup>83</sup> mahaphalā maranam[ti]  
devanam pine<sup>84</sup> [14] Etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-  
lipi likhitā[.] kiti[?] putā pāpotā me a . . .<sup>85</sup> [15] navam  
vijaya ma vijayantaviya manishu[.] Shay[akashi  
no<sup>86</sup> vijayashi kharanti chā labu-[16] dāmadatā chā loche-  
tu tameva chā vijayam manatu ye dhammavijaye[.]  
She hidalokikyapalalo-[17] kiye<sup>87</sup>[.] Shavā cha  
nilati hotu uyāmalati[.] Shā [h]i hidaloki[k]apalalo-  
kikyā[.] 18]

*Mansehra.*

amteshu a shashu pi y . . . t . . . shu . . . yok .  
nama . na . . . [9] . . . . . . . . . .  
[Maka nama]  
Alikasu[dare] nama[ni]cham cha Choḍa-Pamḍiya  
a Tambaparniya evameva . . . raja[.]  
Viśa-Vaj[ri]-Yona-K . . . shu [Nabha]ke<sup>79</sup> [Na]-  
bhapaṁtishu . oja-Pitini . shu Amḍha-P . . . [10]  
[na priyasa] no  
y . ti te pi sruṭu devanam priyasa dhammavutam  
vidhanam dhammanusāṭi dhammanushathī anuvidhi-  
yanti anuvidhi[yisanti cha] . . . Y . . . .  
[takena] [hoti vija] . . . . . [11]  
[priye] [Etaye] ath[ra]ye iyaṁ dhama . .  
likhita [.] kiti[?] putra praputra me a . . nava .  
[12]  
[lokike] [.] Savra cha nirati  
hotu ya[s]rama[rati] [.] Sa[hi]hida[.]lokika paraloka-  
kika[.]

## EDICT XIV.

*Girnar.*

Ayam dhammalipi devānam priyena Priyadasi-  
nā rānā lekḥapitā asti eva [1] samkhiteṇa asti  
majhamena asti vistatana<sup>88</sup>[.] Na cha sar-  
vam sarvata ghaṭitam [2] Mahālake hi vijitam  
bahu cha likhitam likhāpayisam cheva [.]  
Asti cha eta kam [3] puna puna vutam tasa  
tasa athasa<sup>81</sup> mādḥuratāya [.] kimti [2] jano tathā  
pratipajetha[.] 4 Tatra ekadā asamātam likhi-  
tam asa desam va sachhāya karanam va[5]  
alochetpā lipikarāparadhena<sup>82</sup> va [6] .

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Ayo<sup>89</sup> dhamadipi devanam priyena Priśina<sup>90</sup>  
rañā dipapito asti vo samkhiteṇa asti  
yo vistriteṇa[.] Na hi savratra  
[so] savre ghaṭiti[.] Mahālake hi vijite  
bahu cha likhite likhapesami cheva[.]  
Asti cha atra puna puna [la]pitam tasa  
tasa [aṭha]sa madhuryaye [y]e[na] ja[na] tatha  
[13] pratipajeya ti[.] So siya va atra kichi asa-  
matam likhitam desam va samkhaye karaṇa va  
alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena[.] 14]

*Kāśī.*

Iyaṁ dhammalipi devānam piyenā Piyadashinā lajinā likḥapitā athi yevā sukhi-[19] tenā  
athī majhimena athi vitṭatena[.] No hi savatā save ghaṭite<sup>93</sup>[.] Mahālake hi vi-[20] jite

<sup>74</sup> The apparent e-stroke in the second syllable is accidental.

<sup>75</sup> Read *lājāne*.

<sup>76</sup> The last syllable is perfectly distinct on the reverse.

<sup>77</sup> Dele *hevameva*.

<sup>78</sup> The last vowel is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>79</sup> The older impression reads [Nabha]ke.

<sup>80</sup> The apparent d-stroke in the first syllable is accidental.

<sup>81</sup> Read *piyasa*.

<sup>82</sup> *Vijaye* stands above the line, the *vi* is triangular, the *ja* badly formed.

<sup>83</sup> Read *meva*.

<sup>84</sup> Read *manṇatī devānam piye*.

<sup>85</sup> Restore *asu*.

<sup>86</sup> Probably *shayakashakashi* *yo* (i.e. [e] *vo* for *eva*) to be read.

<sup>87</sup> Probably *°kitye* to be read.

<sup>88</sup> *Ayo* according to B.

<sup>89</sup> Read *vistatena*.

<sup>90</sup> Read *Priyadrasina*.

<sup>91</sup> The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction.

<sup>92</sup> Probably a mistake for *lipikarāparādḥena*.

<sup>93</sup> The syllable *fi* stands above the line.

*Kāśī.*

bāhu cha likhite lekhaṇeṣāmi cheva nityam [...] Athi chā beta punaripuna lapi-[21] te tashā  
 tashā athashā madbuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā [...] She shiyā<sup>21</sup> ata kichhi a-[22]samati  
 likhite dīchā vā shamkheye kālanam vā alochayitu lipikalapalādhena vā [23]

TRANSLATION OF THE SHĀHBAZGARHĪ VERSION.<sup>1</sup>

## EDICT I.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods:—No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to *prepare* curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain *daily*, two (2) peacocks *and* one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will no *longer* be slaughtered.

## EDICT II.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as *among those nations and princes* that are *his* neighbours, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tambapāṇṇi, the Yona king, called Amtiyoka as well as *among those* who are the vassal-kings of that Amtiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) *kinds of* hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by *the king's* order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.<sup>3</sup>

## EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—*When I had been* anointed twelve years [this *following* order was given by me]:—“Everywhere in my empire both my loyal Rajukas<sup>4</sup> and vassals shall go forth, on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

<sup>21</sup> *Shi* stands above the line.

<sup>1</sup> The subjoined translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, *Arch. Survey, South Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 121ff. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 172f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The Choḍas are the Cholas of Kāñchi; the Pāṇḍiyas are the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats; the Keralaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabar. Tambapāṇṇi, or Tāurapāṇṇi, is Ceylon, the Yonas are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Amtiyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

<sup>3</sup> Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhauli version).

<sup>4</sup> *Rajuka*, in Pāli *rajjuka*, literally, “rope-holder,” means “Revenue Settlement officer;”—see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLVII, p. 466f.

is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying) :—Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father [meritorious is the liberality] towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmins and ascetics; [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox men. Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all schools* will inculcate *what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit."

## EDICT IV.

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, *during which* the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives *and* the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmins have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums,<sup>5</sup> or rather the sound of the law, *has been heard*, while the sight of cars of the gods,<sup>6</sup> elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin's preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmins, the obedience towards parents, *the obedience* towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow *still more*. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, *and* will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, *viz!* the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not *possible* for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, *viz. that* they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this *edict* has been written. This *edict* has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

## EDICT V.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—Good *works* are difficult of performance. He who is the originator<sup>7</sup> of good *works* does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. *If* then, my sons and my grandsons and those *among* my descendants who *may come* after them until the end of time, will thus follow *my example*, they will do *what is* meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these *virtuous acts* will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, *and* the *officials* called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of *my*

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Jātaka*, iv, 269-76 : *dhammabherin chardāpesi*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Fa Hian's account (Beal, p. 106) of religious processions at Patnā.

<sup>7</sup> The word *adikara*—*ādīkara* has been completely preserved in the Mausehra and Kāśī versions alone.



loyal *subjects*, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhāras, Rastikas, Pitinikas,\* and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaiśyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of *unjust* imprisonment and of *unjust* corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, *considering that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he is aged.* Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with *pious* gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, *viz.* that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

## EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—A long period has elapsed, *during which* formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made *the following arrangement, that* the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by *word of mouth* to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing *matter* is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of *any caste or sect*, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with my exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion<sup>9</sup> and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than *to secure* the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt *which I owe* to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult *to carry out* without the utmost exertion.

## EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men *possess* various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of *what they profess*. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man,<sup>10</sup> to whom even great liberality is impossible.

\* The Rastikas I identify with the Rishikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas, or Pitenikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.

<sup>9</sup> Compare *Mahābhārata*, XII. 66, 14 and 38, 14, where *atthāna* "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.

<sup>10</sup> The form *nichā* in the Gīrnār version instead of *nichā*, may be explained as a contraction of *nichāya* i.e. *nichāya*; compare Pillar Edict iv, note on *nichāpayitā*.

## EDICT VIII.

A long period has elapsed, *during which* the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours.<sup>11</sup> On such *occasions* the chase and other similar amusements used to be *pursued*. Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth *in search* after true knowledge. Owing to this *event*, religious tours *have become a regular institution here in my empire*. On that *occasion* the following happens, *viz.* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. *It is thus that, in exchange for past pleasures, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which these virtuous actions procure.*

## EDICT IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,<sup>12</sup> on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such *times* the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of the Sacred Law*, produces, indeed, great results.<sup>13</sup> That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar *virtuous actions* are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak *as follows* :—“ This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired* aim is attained.” To the success of which *auspicious rites* does this refer? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the *desired* object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the *desired* object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the *desired* object both are gained; here that *desired* object, and endless merit is produced<sup>14</sup> in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

## EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame *with the view* that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this *purpose* King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the *results* for a future life. How so? *It is his wish* that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

<sup>11</sup> The word *vikārayatṛā* occurs in the sense of “pleasure-tour” in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, III, 3, and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> For the use of *śuddho* and *viedho* compare the *Ambattha Sutta* 2-1 (*Dīghanikāya*, vol. I, p. 99).

<sup>13</sup> Compare the beginning of the Jaina *Dakṣaśikṣā sūtra*, —*dhammo mahāgāṇaṃ ukkaṭṭhaṃ*, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Compare *Jātaka*, IV, 239, 9, *mahantam puññam paśādamiti*.

to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great.

## EDICT XI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, *nor anything like the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law and the connection through the law.*<sup>16</sup> This *law* includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, *and the non-destruction of living creatures. Therefore* a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, *saying* :—"This is meritorious; this ought to be done." He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law.

## EDICT XII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds. But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials *may happen* in various ways. But this is its root, *viz.* guarding one's speech—how so? "Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point." But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed *thinking* "I promote *thereby the interests of my own creed,*" however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint<sup>16</sup> alone is commendable. How so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it."<sup>17</sup> For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What?—"that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. And to those who adhere to this or that *faith* it must be said: "The Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—"that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the *Vachabhūmikas*<sup>18</sup> and other bodies of officials. And this is its result, *viz.* the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

## EDICT XIII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kaliṅga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

<sup>16</sup> Compare *Itivuttaka*, p. 98 (Windisch), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

<sup>17</sup> The reading of the other three versions *samavāya* "concord, harmony" is better than *sayama* "self-restraint," *i.e.* with respect to opponents.

<sup>18</sup> Or, possibly, [they shall obey (*it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed*).]

<sup>19</sup> As the Mansehra version offers *Vachabhūmika*, the term may mean either "Overseers of the latrines," or (*araja-bhūmika*) "Overseers of cowpens," see *Kāmarāya*, p. 290, l. 1 (Durgāprasāda).

hundred thousand were slain, *and* many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, *are found* with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a *zealous* love for the Sacred Law, a *zealous* teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered<sup>19</sup> there *happens* both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz.* obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such *men* suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, *but* whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those *unhurt ones*. All this *falls* severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And *men* have faith not merely in a single creed.<sup>20</sup>

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods *a matter* of deepest regret. Even, if *a man* does *him* an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on *the inhabitants* of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, *if he is told* that he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment *them*. Unto them it is said—what? “Let them shun *doing evil*, and they shall not be killed;” for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, *viz.* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here *in his empire* and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Am̐tiyoka *dwells*, and beyond this Am̐tiyoka, *where* the four (4) Kings  *dwell*, *viz.*, he called Turamaya, he called Am̐tikini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara<sup>21</sup> further in the south, *where* the Choḍas and Pam̐ḍas  *dwell* as far as Tambapam̐ni, likewise *where* the Hida-king  *dwells*. Among the Viśas, Vajris,<sup>22</sup> Yonas, Kamboyas, in Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Am̐dhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

<sup>19</sup> For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage *Jātaka*, III, p. 275:—*Senako nān rajjahā karento Bodhisatto Sakkoṭṭam karenti*.

<sup>20</sup> The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kāśī version, with which that of Gīrṇār seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: “And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmans and ascetics are divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone.”

<sup>21</sup> According to Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. II, p. 254 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos II., king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemaios II., king of Egypt (died 246 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (died 258 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epirus (died between 262 and 258 B.C.).

<sup>22</sup> The Viśas are probably the Bais Raiputs, the Vajris the Vrijis of Eastern India.

heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only *something* small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? “In order that my sons and grandsons *as many as* they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on *the occasion of* a conquest, only possible by the sword,” they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a *real* conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next.

#### EDICT XIV.

These religious edicts<sup>22</sup> have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, *under a form*, whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write *still more*. Certain *sentences* have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose *has that been done*? *It is with the intention* that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *specially* determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

### XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

BY PAUL HORN, Ph.D., STRASSBURG.

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* that the 19th chapter of the second book on the *Sayūrgāls* is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy *sanads* discussed here may therefore claim some interest<sup>1</sup> as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information.

The general points concerning the granting of *Sayūrgāls* being well known, I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the *sanads*, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation. They belong chiefly to the *pargana* of Batāla (spelt Batālah or Batālā, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watālah) in the Panjāb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarābād, Jalālābād, Bīāh, Chamāri, Dābhāwāla, and Patihāibatpūr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwānpūr, Faizuddīnpūr, Harpūr, Kartārpūr, Rahimābād, Rasūlpūr

<sup>22</sup> The translation gives a free rendering of the Gīrnār reading, *saravake eva*, literally “only possible by arrows.”

<sup>23</sup> The word *dāramadīpi* or *dhammalipi* has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of *Smṛiti*, *Śruti* and similar terms in Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> These *sanads* were obtained by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjāb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lucknow Museums.

and Shâhjahânpûr, belonging to the *pargana* of Batâla, or Pâdishâhpûr *alias* Kalâkhurdpûr, belonging to Patihâtpûr, or with localities in Batâla as the *masjid-i-jâmi'-i kalân* 'the large jâmi-mosque' and the *maḥalla-i-qâzî Isma'îl Muhammad* 'the quarter of judge Ism'ail Muhammad.' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bâbar, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, Aurangzêb, Shâh 'Âlam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shâh, Ahmad Shâh, and Tîmûr Shâh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qâzîs that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred *big'has*, an allowance that Badâunî (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 big'has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The *big'ha* is defined as a *jarîb-i shastgazî*, i.e. 60 *gaz* long and by 60 broad;<sup>3</sup> if fractions of *big'has* occur we find *biswas*, but no *biswânsas*. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements, in question are given on the back, written in *siyâqat*-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words *wa ghairuhu*, *wa ghairuhâ*, or seldom *wa jamâ'atuhu*, with or without the added *shurakâ-i* (for men and women), viz., *sharikahâ-i farmân*. A *farmân*, e.g., generally concerns *musammât Maulânâ Khaṭīb wa ghairuhu*, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulânâ Hâmid, Maulânâ Ahmad, and Maulânâ Ya'qûb; or it is about *musammât Daulat Khâtûn wa ghairuhâ*, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khâtûn, Bibî Aima, Bibî Fâtima, and Maryam Khâtûn, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a *mushâr ilaihi*. A *farmân* of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (*paimûdan u chak bastan*) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned. We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (*batawârikh u sanîn-i mukhtalifa*).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word *sayûrghâl* is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bâbar's time, and the Arabic *aima* seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian *madad-i-ma'âsh* is used. If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family. Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new *farmân* therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A *sanad* of Shâhjahân's reign mentions

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the *Âin-i-Akbarî*, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badâunî (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenues of a thousand *big'has*.

an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the *Śūba* of Lāhōr to part of the property of the testators in *sayūrgḥāl*-land, viz., to 58 *big'has* 8 *biswas*; in one case the number of 107 *big'has* 8 *biswas* is diminished therefore by 49 *big'has* that were again made domain lands (*khālīśa sharīfa*), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the *śadrs* and *qāzīs*—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that *sayūrgḥāls* are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called '*Institutes of Amīr Timūr*,' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305). Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batāla often by the *mudarras* of the *jāmi'*-mosque and the *muftī*. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a *yāddāsht-i wāqī'a* was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire.' This was also the common benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. '*Ālamgīr-nāma*, p. 594).

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all *sayūrgḥāl*-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (*zamīn-i uftāda-i lā'iq-i-zirā'at*) and sometimes *banjar*-land, i.e., such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I., p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these *farmānhā-i thabīl*—such were issued for conferring *sayūrgḥāls* according to the *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bābar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (i.e., 250 rupees) to Qāzī Jalāl, judge of Batāla, in A.H. 933, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words *Zahīruddīn Muhammad Bābar* and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amīr Timūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first *sayūrgḥāl*, besides the *tughra*, bear only the seals of the emperors, viz., Jahāngīr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allāh; 'Ālamgīr—a square exactly like that of Jahāngīr's, only larger; and one with the seal of prince Aurangzēb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th *Jumādī'l awwal* 1069 (30th January 1659), the *julūs* being on the 24th *Ramazān* (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words *Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādur Ghāzī thānī-i Shāhib-qirān thānī*.<sup>3</sup> These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

<sup>3</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II., p. 147, note 23.—A drawing of Aurangzēb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Roe's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (cf. *Histoire générale des voyages* Paris 1746 seq. vol. xi, p. 67.)

now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair *ta'liq*, except Bābar's one (that measures 13 by 7½ inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar's and Jahāngir's time we find the *Ilāhī* era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed.

There are also some sanads granting *sayūrgāls* sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter.<sup>4</sup> The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch's; it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about 8½ inches; the writing generally is very irregular. Sometimes the *Šadr ul-šudūr* commands the performance of an imperial *farmān* and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in 'Ālamgīr's time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahāngir and Shāh 'Ālam the seals also of the *Diwān* or of the *Khān Khānān* were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar's reign in these cases the Qāzi's seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people. If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals.

There occur as sealing *Šadr ul-šudūr*'s:

Rizawī Bukhārī, 24th year of 'Ālamgīr (who died in the same year,—conf. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. (207) and *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharif Khān, 25th year of 'Ālamgīr (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 219);

Asad Khān, 15th and 32nd years of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Āsāf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khān. He is styled *Tarkhān* in another *farmān* (16th year); and

Amjad Khān *Šadr Jahān*, 49th year of Shāh 'Ālam.

Not bearing the title of *Šadr ul-šudūr* on their seals, as also Asad Khān does not, but in that function, appear:

Siyādat Khān, 38th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, cf. *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. II, p. 495);

Amin Khān Bahādur, 47th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amīr ul-Umarā, 48th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals: that of the *Diwān* (-i *qul*) and that of the *Šadr*, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the *Diwān* is (besides *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 195, line 6 *et seq.*) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of 'Ālamgīr which bears Hāfiz Khān's seal, who in that year became *Diwān* of Lāhōr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharārāi Bēgum, younger sister of the emperor (*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mīr Khwāja Shāh, who is here exceptionally styled *Šadr*. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the *šadārat* and the *dīwān* (-i *sa'adat*) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The *šadr*'s seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the *Diwān* is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

<sup>4</sup> The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. *Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft IV, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, herausgegeben von Paul Horn und Georg Steindorff, Berlin, 1891, p. 28.) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name.



king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his *post-mortem*-title). The following *Diwāns* and *Sadr*s appear together:

Śābir 'Alī and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngīr,

Diyānat Khān and Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādīrī, 23rd year of 'Ālamgīr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal);<sup>4</sup>

'Abd Ilāhyārul-Husainī and Aslam Khānāzād, 33rd year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 1089, 21, *viz.*, 1093, 27 on the seals);

Mīr Ahmad Khān and Aslam Khānāzād, 37th year of 'Ālamgīr (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal);

Abū (?) Kāzīm and 'Abd ul-Bāqī, 44th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 32, *viz.*, 1110, 42 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh 'Ālam (with the dates 1120, *viz.*, 1119, 1 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first year' on his seal, as also in the following case);

Fazl 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyā uddīn Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhammad Śālih, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1133, *viz.*, 1134 and 1135 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid 'Azīz Khān, 10th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1139, 9 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Mīrakshāh Khān, 14th year of Muhammad Shāh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Sultān Husain Khān Mausawī, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, *viz.*, 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhyi'ddīn Mausawī, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Islāh Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mīrak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamshērbēg Khān Khānāzād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Timūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Śadr ul-śudūr). Except the farmāns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a *tughrā* has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless.

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the sanads themselves.

On some signets the possessors are styled *murīd* or *murīd-i pādīshāh*, a title introduced by Akbar.

<sup>4</sup> Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādīrī occurs as *Sadr ul-śudūr* also in the text of some sanads from 'Ālamgīr's 22nd year. The Qādīrīs were a darwesh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, *Petermann*, No. 721, (*cf.* Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 233, 2, p. 276).—Khānāzāds were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (*cf.* *Ma'dthir ul-Umūd*, vol. I, p. 797).

There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the *pargana* of Batāla, viz., 251 rupees for 100 *big'has*, 20 rupees for 5 *big'has*, 42 rupees for 15 *big'has* 17 *biswas*, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 *big'has* *banjar-land*, and 60 rupees for 20 *big'has* *zamīn-i bārānī*, the price of the *big'ha* varying therefore between 2½ and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Shāh, the rupees and the annas being specified as '*ālamgīrī*'. In Shāh 'Ālam's time once *Buhlāls* or *Dām-i 'ālamgīrī's* are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the Qāzī as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batāla were according to our sanads:—

Qāzī Arjumand in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qāzī 'Atā Ullāh, son of 'Azīm Ullāh, 1139, on the seal 1120; Qāzī Ahlīyat Ullāh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qāzī Mīr Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Walī Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qāzī Hibat Ullāh, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just Qāzī Ghulām Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Ālamgīr's 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired Ghulām Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Walī Ullāh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Walī Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Shāh Mīr Muhammad, son of Mīr Muhammad Qāim, was appointed judge of Batāla, as successor of Amānat Ullāh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Shāh's accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mīr Muhy'iddīn Khānazād, 1118, and Shams-harbég Khān Khānazād, 1161. That Jalāl was Qāzī of Batāla in A. H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, e.g., one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to Shaikh Nūr Muhammad and his companions in Patihai-batpūr, to be paid by the *fautadār* of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pādishāhpūr *alias* Kalānkhurdpūr in the *pargana* of Patihai-batpūr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the *fautakhāna*, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text\* of three *sayūrghāl-sanads*, together with their English translations:—

درینوقت میمنت عنزان فرمان والا شان واجب الاداعان صادر شد که چهل بیگنه زمین افتاده لائق زراعت خارج جمع از پرکنه چماري مضاب بصريه پنجاب در وجه مدد معاش مسماات راج بی بی و غیرها حسب القمن مقرر باشد که حاصل آنرا صرف مانتختاج نموده بدعای بقای دولت ابدطراز مراظبت نمایند باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال اراضی مزبوره را پیموده و چک بسته بتصرف آنها بازگذارند و اصلاً و مطلقاً

\* I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals.

تغییر و تبدیل بدان راه ندهند و بعثت مال رجهات و اخراجات مثل قتلغه و پیشکش و جریبانه و ضابطانه و محصلانه و مهرانه و داروغخانه و پیکار و شکار و مقدمی و قانونگری و ضبط هرساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کل مطالبات سلطانی و تکالیف دیرانی مزاحم نشوند و اندرین باب هر سال سند مجدد نطلبند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند بیست و نهم شوال سال چهارم از جلوس<sup>7</sup> الا نوشته شد<sup>8</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 *big'has* of fallow land, capable of cultivation, allodial to the *pargana* of Chamāri that belongs to the *sūba* of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee upon P. P. Rāj Bibī and companions. They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, *jāgīr*-holders and *krōrīs* having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries<sup>7</sup> should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as *qutlugha*, presents, the rates of *jarībāna*,<sup>8</sup> *zābitāna*, *muhaśśilāna*, *mahrāna*, *dārōghagāna*, for war and chase, the *muqaddimī* and *qāwāngōyī*, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered." Written on the 29th Shawwāl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (viz., of 'Ālamgīr)."

On the back the text of the *yādhāsh-t-i wāq'i'a*, dated Monday, the 13th Rabī II, of the 39th year (21st November, 1695) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Rāj Bibī's companions, viz., Nūr Bibī, Šāhib Khātūn, and Sharifa Bānū, each of them getting 10 *big'has*.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

خلد منزل

حضرت محمد شاه پادشاه غازي خلد ملکه ابداً

گماشتهای جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال پرکنه بتالا مضاف صوبه پنجاب بدانند چون بموجب فرمانعالیشان حضرت مرقوم بتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنه ۳ موزای پنجاه و نه بیگه زمین از پرکنه مذکور در رجه مدد معاش مسماة نورخاتین و غیرها شرکای فرمان و عبدالغنی و غیره ورث محمد عاقل و غیره بتجویز صدر سابق مقرر است درینرا بتصدیق ثقات بوضوح بدست که مشارالیهیم حی و قائم و اراضی مزبوره را قابض و متصرف اند و از ممر دیگر رجه معیشت ندارند بنابر آن بتصدق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت خدیو جهان خداوند زمان باعث امن و امان ظل ظلیل ایزد متعال نائب نبیل دادار بیهمال مظهر اتم پروردگار رحمت اعم آفریدگار مکن قرانین جهانداري ممد مهاد کرم گستری خلانت پناه ظل اراضی مرقومه<sup>10</sup> از محققیم بدستور سابق بشرط فیض و تصرف حسب الضمن مقرر و مسلم داشته شد می باید که زمین مسطوره را در تصرف آنها و گذاشته اصلاً و مطلقاً متعرض

<sup>7</sup> In other sanads the *Chaudhāri* (I cannot understand for what reason Blochmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his *Ain-i Akbari*-edition,—*f.v.* vol. I, p. 198, line 15, instead of putting it into the text), *Qāwāngōis*, *Muqaddams* and *Mālikis* are said to have taken part and consented to this act.

<sup>8</sup> These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'if they should have possessed something in another place (*besides the above saydarghāl*) it should not be taken notice of,' but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the contents.

<sup>10</sup> Corrected from *marqāma-rā* according to other sanads.

نشدند تا حاصلات آنرا فصل بفصل و سال بسال صرف مالمحتاج خردها ساخته بدعالي درام دولت ابدطراز مراطليت  
میںمردہ باشند و اگر در محلدیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند شرح تحریر فی التاریخ دریم شهر جمادی الاول  
سنہ ۱۸ جارس متعنی مطابق سنہ ۱۱۴۸ ہجری المقنس شد

## TRANSLATION.

"Shâh 'Âlam."<sup>11</sup>—His Majesty Muhammad Shâh-i Ghâzî, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the *Jâgîr*-holders and *Krôris* of the *pargana* of Batâla, belonging to the *sûba* of the Panjâb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bân of the third year (*i.e.*, of Shâh 'Âlam), 59 *big'has* of the land of the *pargana* stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former *Sadrs* upon P. P. Nûr Khâtûn and companions, partners of the *farmân*, and upon P. P. 'Abd ul-Ghani and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Âqil and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an alms of the blessed head of the slave (*of God*), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise<sup>12</sup> it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd *Jumâdî'l auwal* of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*i.e.*, of Muhammad Shâh), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (*the 20th September, 1735*)."

On the back the endorsement of Shâh 'Âlam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nûr Khâtûn's partners were 'Azîz Khâtûn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Âmila, Shams Khâtûn, daughter of Ilyâs, Hayât Bânû, those of 'Abdul Ghani's Jân Bibî, Sâliha Bânû, etc.

Bâbar's sanad runs—<sup>13</sup>

هو الغالب

فرمان ظہیر الدین محمد بابر غازی

درین وقت فرمان جهان مطاع واجب الاتباع شرف نفاذ یافت کہ چون موضع ملکہراکل بہروری از یرکنہ  
و تالہ کہ جمع رقمی آن مبلغ پنچہزار تنگہ سیاه است برسم سیرغال تعلق بقاضی جلال قاضی یرکنہ مذکور است

<sup>11</sup> *Khuld-mansil* was Shâh 'Âlam's post-mortem-name.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. note 9.

<sup>13</sup> This *farmân* is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jâmî Khân Ghôri at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the name of the village is quite tentative.

میداشته حال بر همانستور بدر متعلق شش سنه و بعثت مال و جهات و سایر مترجعات مزاحم و متعرض مشارالیه  
نشدند و بعضی شد و حوالی تزیید می آمد که برین موجب معر [؟] خاصه بتصریم شد و هرساله بفرمان و پیرانچه  
مجدد محتاج ندانند در زمان [؟] بقصر هما تحریر شد فی شهر ذی قعدة سنه ۹۳۳

## TRANSLATION.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror!

"*Farman* of Zahir-uddin Muhammad Bâbar-i-Ghâzi.

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharâkal, belonging to *pargana* Watâla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-*tankas* (250 *Rupees*) and which as a *Sayârghâl* has been bestowed upon Qâzi Jalâl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit-rents, *jihât* and *sâir mutawajjihât*.<sup>14</sup> On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new *farmân* or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at . . . . . in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month Zî Qa'da, 933 (*began the 30th July, 1527*)."

On the back the following words are written:—

"Order of the chief wazir of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh....."

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

## XXXVIII.—FURTHER PÂBHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr. Führer (*ante*, p. 240ff), the Pâbhosâ cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donee or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

## No. I.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Śrī-Prayagāṃ var[e ?]uttam(?)[p ?]odhaki(?)h

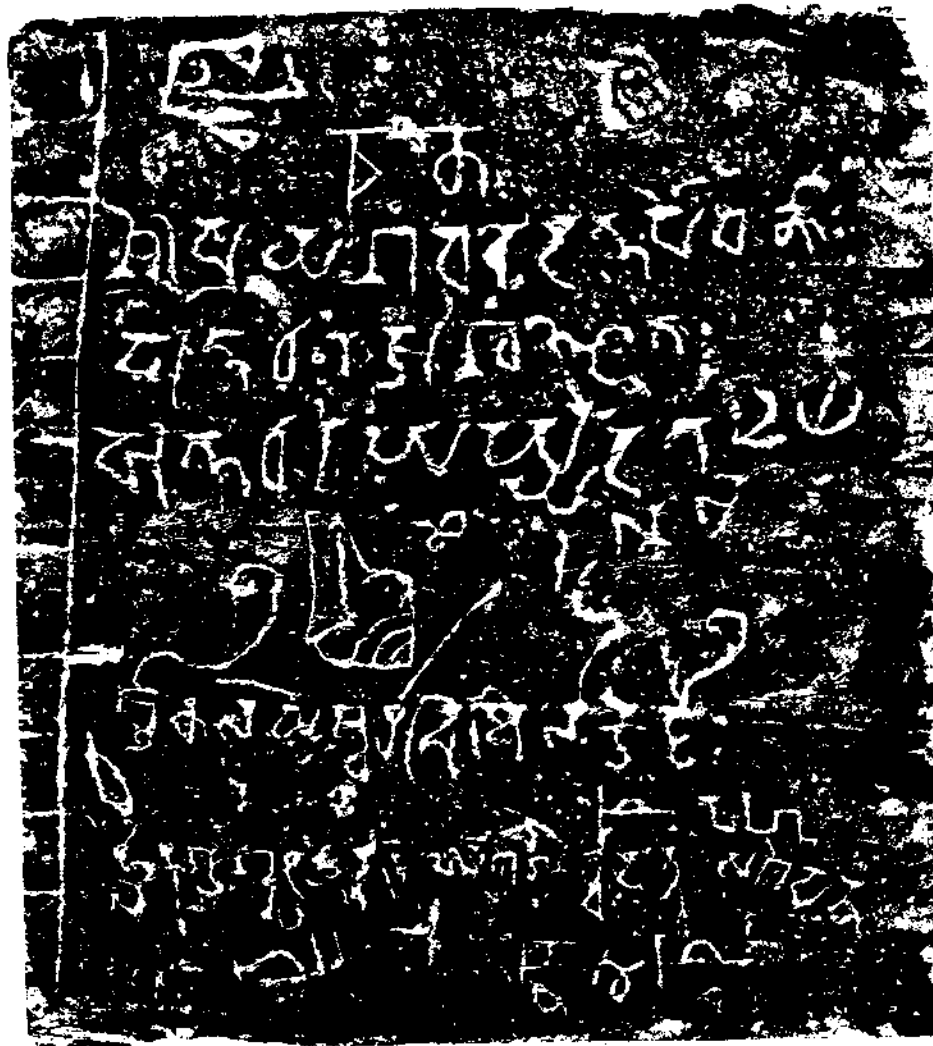
L. 2. Suttadhār[a ?] akhamṇdatah

L. 3. Suttadhār[a ?] yayyo ?[a ?] ubba, ?)daya [|| \*]

Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for *jñā*, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

<sup>14</sup> Otherwise *sâir jihât*.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS: ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.



PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.



ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE.



Scale :  $\frac{1}{4}$  of originals.

*Dr. A. Führer, impress.*

is *ka*. Below 1. 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters.

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[ā\*]ga" and (2) the mention of two *sūtradhāra* or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: *Śrī-Prayāga[ād Varaputtro Modhakī [or Podhakī], sūtradhāro' khanditah sūtradhāro Yayya ubha[yoḥ\*] deyam* || or in English "From glorious Prayāga, the unblamed mason Modhakin (or Podhakin) son of Vara, (and) the mason Yayya (*Jajja*),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

## No. II.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kalase[śe\*]śvarādiśi(?)lā kuṭṭi ||

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; *kuṭṭi* is probably a mistake for *kuṭi*, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the *Visarga*, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The *cella* (or temple) of glorious Kalāśeśvara and the rest." *Kalāśa* is the name of a *Nāga*, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous *Nāga*, (see *ante*, p. 241).

## No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: *revadatta* towards the end of the line.

## No. IV.

[Nanda]dattaprasādo lolī . . . . .

## No. V.

Deva . . . . .

## No. VI.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Om Ke[Ki\*]rape[śv]arit(?)ila(?)kedali(?)va . . . sya [ḥ\*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called *Kirapeśvari*, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

## No. VII.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Kirape[śva]riśr[i\*]ka[r\*]ttā [ḥ\*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (*the statue of*) glorious *Kirapeśvari*" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.



## No. VIII.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kṛṣṇagopirūpakarttā [n]

The second *ta* of °*karttā* looks like *va*. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Kṛṣṇa and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

## Nos. IX AND X.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasyah[ya\*] :

Kiranabhojak[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kirāṇa (i.e. *Kīraṇeśvari*).<sup>1</sup>" If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows :— "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosā cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayāga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the *Bhojaka* of Kīraṇeśvari, to the *Nāga* Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous *Nāga*.

## XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTH PRAŚASTIS.

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kāngrā district and spent some days at Kīragrāma, where he studied the Baijnāth *Prāśastis* on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says :—

"Navagrāma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nāur,<sup>1</sup> where the temple still owns 2½ *halas* of land. Nāur lies about 3 miles west from Kīragrāma and belongs to the ancient pargana of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kāngrā, Palam<sup>2</sup> was turned into Palampur.

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit prototype of Nāur would be *Navapura*, which probably was another name of *Navagrāma*.—[G. B.]

<sup>2</sup> The *Kāngrā Gazetteer* still mentions *Pālam*.

"In the bazar of Kiragrāma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the *panyasālā* mentioned in the *Prasasti* II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Āhuka dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the *maṇḍapikā*. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dāk bangalow, the Rāne family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these *Rānes*, whose descendants are still Rajput zamindārs in the parganā of Baijnāth, are identical with the *Rājānakas* of Kiragrāma.<sup>3</sup>

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol. I, of the *Epigraphia* regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kiragrām with the Rājās of Traigarta, I may mention that the Rājā of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miān clan, who lives as zamindār not far from Baijnāth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rānt, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Rājā.

"Your proposed identification of Suśarmapura with Koṭ is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Baijnāth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state.<sup>4</sup> Thus, big statues of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the *Purī*, exactly as Rāma describes them in the *Prasasti*, I. 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern; according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Rājā Samsārchand."<sup>5</sup>

#### XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRĀKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10).

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prākṛit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant. Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

<sup>3</sup> I consider the identity of the *Rāne* family with the *Rājānakas* to be very probable. *Rājānaka* is also the parent of the title *Rānd*.—[G. B.]

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 179 f.

<sup>5</sup> I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kielhorn has published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two *Prasastis* in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kielhorn's proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, *surashu nadiām apareshu kurvatām*; I. 29, *bhaktitruṣṭallobhamalena tena*; I. 37, *śāstradṛṣṭim anuritiya*; II. 2, *sa pāta vo Mahādeva* *Brahmādyā bhaktim dāhitaḥ*; and II. 9, *Kṛitārtham*. In addition, I would mention that I now translate *astrijano* in I. 13a by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as *astri* is clearly the nominative of *astriṇ*; note 64 must be altered accordingly.

to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler's transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I):—

1. 1, Read *aggithoma*. The irregular combination *thh* (for *th*) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for *th* and *thh*.

1. 3, Separate *visaye savattha*, i.e. *vishaye sarvatra* 'everywhere in our (*amham*) country.'

1. 4, Read *māḍabika* and restore it to *māḍambika*. This word, which means 'chief of a *maḍamba* district' is often found in the older Jain literature;<sup>1</sup> its base *maḍamba* occurs in the same texts and beside in some *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas*.

1. 5, Read *ārakkādhikate*, which stands for *ārakkhādhikate* and is equivalent with *ārakkhiya* 'guard' of the Jain literature; literally it means 'employed as a guard (*ārakkhā'dhikṛita*).'<sup>2</sup> As to the sign *khā*, cf. lines 27 and 38.

1. 7, Read *e* instead of *cha* and cf. the sign for *e* in lines 27, 30, 34. The word *ettha* (*atra* 'here') opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; *vitaraṃa* is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (*ānaveti*), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before *amham* (in l. 3), but after *ppayutte* (in l. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive *saṃcharan-taka-bhāḍa-manusāna*.

I would then translate the whole passage thus: . . . . . "Śivaskandavarman informs (*ānaveti*) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (*ratthikas* and *māḍambikas*), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, *vallavas*, *govallavas*, ministers, guards, captains<sup>3</sup> *tāthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service: We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *saṃcharantakas*, soldiers or other persons.<sup>3</sup>

1. 44, Read *vasudhādhipataye* (acc. pl. from *°pati*).

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the *Aupapātika sūtra*, *Paryuṣaṇkalpa* ('*Kalpasūtra*'), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The corrected reading *ārakkhādhikate* (in l. 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (*gumika*) is also a military term.

<sup>3</sup> In reply to Dr. Bühler's appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly "the Brahmins, who are the freeholders of the settlement (*koḍunka*) called Chhillareka." The gift is therefore a Brahmana *parihāra*, i.e. 'an immunity granted to Brahmins. Honorary allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, *koḍunka* is apparently a contracted form of *koḍumbaka* (Sansk. *kaṣṭumbaka*): in the same way *naigyoka* seems to me to stand for *naigyogika*, which would be a synonym of the term *ābhigyogika*—'servant'—of the Jaina literature. The term *kumāra parihāra* similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince; the Jātaka phrase adduced by Dr. Bühler means— "When, afterwards, they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity."

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, i.e. who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above-named Brahmins (by levying taxes, etc.). So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state: *Sarvadyuktakāḍṣa sarva-naigyokāḍṣa rājavalabhāḍa saṃcharantakāḍṣa cha tat-simam sarva-parihāraḥ pariharantu parihāragantā cha ayuttu sarva-parihāreṣi pariharantu parihārayan (tu cha)*, "The persons of the king's service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (described before) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption. "In face of these parallel passages, the words—*saṃcharantaka-bhāḍamanusāna... parihāram vitaraṃa*, can only have the sense which I have given them, without pretending, however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction. This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before *parihāram* are deciphered.

That *saṃcharantakas* are a nuisance to people, we learn, e.g. from the description of a model town given in the *Nemicharta*, l. 14 (on Hemachandra's *Bhavarādhavand*, v. 5): in that town no *saṃcharantakas* are allowed to stroll about (... *saṃcharantakāḍṣa itrai na tattha bhāmiṃ*...). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is *bappa* 'father': this is found in *Dasavaikālikasūtra* vii, 18,—See *Zeitsch. d. Deut. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* vol. XLVI. pp. 628.

l. 45, Read *mejātāye*, i.e. *mejātāye*. In Jaina Prākṛit *maryādā* becomes *mejā*, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prākṛit generally are changed to *era*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*.

l. 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejātāye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *tasyāḥ*; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣhyas* of the Jain literature. The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. XXIV, p. 600). Though *se* and *si* refer to all genders and numbers we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣhyas* a special plural form *siṃ* which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *tesīm* (*teshām*), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read *vādaka* for *vāṭaka* (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently *hiroga* for *hirogo* (10), *pali-bhāgo* for *patibhāgo* (12), *patibhāgo* for *patibh-* (21), *ttivas°* for *ttivās°* (36), *pilā* for *pīlā* (40), *dattā* for *datā* (48), *kada* for *kaḍa* (51), *brāhmaṇa* for *brahmaṇa*, and *lekhaka* for *lekhaka* (52).

#### SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN. (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggitthoma*, not *aggitthoma*, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with *tt̥ha* and *t̥ha*. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit *śh̥ta* or *śh̥ta* is represented occasionally by the dental *tenuis* and the *tenuis aspirata*. Thus, we have in literary works for *kroś̥tri* 'a jackal,' both *koṭṭhuka* and *koṭthuka*, or even *kutthu*, as well as forms in *t̥ha* for various past participles in *śh̥ta*. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer *sethi* and *sethi* for *śreś̥thin*; Aśoka's New Edicts both *viyutha* and *vyutha* for *vyush̥ta*. In such words the Pali *t̥ha* probably goes back to originals with *sta*, similar to those in the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Rock Edicts, where we find *sresta* for *śreś̥tha*, *dipista* (3rd pers. sing. aor. Âtm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form *adīpish̥ta*.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating *visaye savattha*, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not *māḍabika*, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read *nu*. Professor Leumann's restoration *māḍambika* "governors of Maḍambas," instead of *māḍabika* "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word *maḍamba* (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term *maḍamba*, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: *maḍambāni sarvato'rḍha yojanāt parato'vasthitagrāmāṇi*.

(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *ārahādādhikate* and *ettha* for my *āraṇādhikate* and *chatttha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Samcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for *bhāḍamanusāna* is separated from *parihāraṃ* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *saṃcharamtakabhāḍamanusāna parihāraṃ vitarāma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to Samcharantakas, etc.;" it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihāra* by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the *Jātakas* several passages where *parihāra* has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihāra*, and there is the compound *kumāra-parihāra* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pilā* (not *pilā*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) *Majātāye* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejātāye*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41).

(L. 46.) As *sim* is permissible for *tesim*, *etesim* and *esim*, according to Hemachandra *Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jainā works, I agree with him that its equivalent *si* in *cha si* should be written separate. *Si* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majātāye*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 25; vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.

## TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

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In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 403 ff.), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1. Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic); then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (*see* vol. I, Table XXV).

2. Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic. This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic; and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in *ghatikās* and *vinādīs* between the risings of both supposed suns,<sup>1</sup> for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question; *e.g.*, in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long. ☉ and 20° terr. Lat. the difference in rising is 1gh. 22v. If the trop. Long. ☉ is entered in the index to the *left*, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; if on the index to the *right*, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3. We thus find the time of rising of the *mean* sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the *true* sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun; at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign —, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises *later* than the mean one; if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises *before* the mean one; always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in *vinādīs* is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

<sup>1</sup> Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.

sign, and equal to the mean.\* As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 30° and 60° trop. Long.) takes up 8.79 *vinādīs* in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4. Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the *ayanāmsās* (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the *ayanāmsās* is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, e.g., we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the *ayanāmsās* were—

$$\begin{aligned} 16^\circ 14' 42'', \text{ viz. K.Y. 4600} &= 15^\circ 0' 0'' \\ 80 \text{ years} &= 1^\circ 12' 0'' \\ 3 \text{ ,,} &= 0^\circ 2' 42'' \\ \text{Ayanāmsā} &= \underline{16^\circ 14' 42''} \end{aligned}$$

Table XXIX serves for the *Brahma Siddhānta* and *Siddhānta Śiromaṣi*, Table XXVIII, for the other *Siddhāntas*.

5. I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables; for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables.<sup>3</sup>

*1st Example.*—Let it be proposed to calculate the true *Tithi* for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyāishṭha K.Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53' (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 vin. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta*:—

(a) We calculate the elements: Distance  $\epsilon - \odot$  etc., for the year and day in question, viz.—

	Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$	$\epsilon$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.	Corr.
4100 years . . .	69° 43' 0"	217° 8' 30"	282° 44' 16"	+ 20 gh. 5 v.
28 ,, . . .	117° 47' 3"	58° 38' 37"	... ..	— 14 gh. 43 v.
7th Jyāi. . .	66° 40' 34"	97° 16' 26"	34° 29' 46"	
	<u>254° 15' 37"</u>	<u>13° 3' 33"</u>	<u>317° 13' 52"</u>	<u>+ 6 gh. 11 v.</u>

(b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. (+ 6 gh. 11 v. — 14 v. = + 5 gh. 57 v.) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

5 gh.	= 1° 0' 57"	1° 5' 19"	4' 56"
57 v.	= 11' 35"	12' 25"	56"
5 gh. 57 v.	= + 1° 12' 32"	+ 1° 17' 44"	+ 5' 52"

(c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.—

254° 15' 37"	13° 3' 33"	317° 13' 52"
+ 1° 12' 32"	1° 17' 44"	5' 52"
<u>255° 28' 9"</u>	<u>14° 21' 17"</u>	<u>317° 19' 44"</u>

(d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

An. $\epsilon$	14° 21' ..	Eq. $\epsilon$ =	— 1° 15' 32"
An. $\odot$	317° 20' ..	Eq. $\odot$ =	— 1° 29' 12"
Sum of eq's		=	<u>— 2° 44' 44"</u>

<sup>3</sup> The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindu calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindus assume in their calculations.

<sup>4</sup> I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time.

(e) Add the sum of equations to the distance; the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, *viz.*  $255^{\circ} 28' 9'' - 2^{\circ} 44' 44'' = 252^{\circ} 43' 25''$ .

(f) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the  $\odot$ 's an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XIII.)

$$\begin{array}{r} 317^{\circ} 19' 44'' \\ - 282^{\circ} 44' 16'' \\ \hline \text{Sid. Long. } \odot = 34^{\circ} 35' 28'' \end{array}$$

(g) Find the *ayanāmkas* for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{K.Y. 4100} = 7^{\circ} 30' 0'' \\ 28 \text{ years} = 25' 12'' \\ \hline \text{K.Y. 4128} = 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \end{array}$$

(h) Add the *ayanāmkas* thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun.—

$$\begin{array}{r} 34^{\circ} 35' 28'' \\ 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \\ \hline \text{Trop. Long. } \odot = 42^{\circ} 30' 40'' \end{array}$$

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the “interval of rising” of the degree of trop. Long.  $\odot$  now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index ( $0 - 180$ ) is used, the amount is subtractive; if the index to the right ( $180^{\circ} - 360^{\circ}$ ) the amount is additive.

In this case we get, for trop. Long.  $42^{\circ}$  on the 28th parallel, — *1gh. 46v.*

(k) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive.

In the present case:  $1^{\circ}$  takes up  $8.24$  *vinādīs*, consequently  $1^{\circ} 29'$  will take up  $12v$ . The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as +  $12v$ .

(l) Add (or subtract according to the sign) the *vinādīs* in (k) to the result in (i); find the increase of Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  (found in e). The result is the true Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — *1gh. 46v. + 12v. = - 1gh. 34v.*

$$\begin{array}{r} 1gh. = 12' 11'' \\ 34v. = 6' 54'' \\ \hline - 1gh. 34v. = -19' 5'' \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{This, added to the result in (e), } viz., 252^{\circ} 43' 25'' \\ \text{52'', makes } 252^{\circ} 24' 20''. \end{array}$$

(m) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a *Tithi*. This is the case in the present example:  $252^{\circ}$  mark the end of the 21st tithi or the 6th tithi of the dark fortnight; but as we found the true distance to be  $252^{\circ} 24' 20''$ , which is more than  $4'$  above the end of the *Tithi*, *viz.*  $252^{\circ}$ , the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation.

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows:—

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc., for the sum found in (l) to the



result in (e); again, find the equations of  $\epsilon$  and  $\odot$ , as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — 1gh. 34v. :—

	Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$	$\epsilon$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.
1 gh. . . . .	0° 12' 11"	0° 13' 4"	0' 59"
34 v. . . . .	6 54	7 24	34
— 1 gh. 34 v. . . . .	19 5	20 28	+ 1 33
subtracted from . . . . .	255 28 9	14 21 17	317 19 44
makes . . . . .	255 9' 4"	14 0' 49"	317 18' 11"
An. $\epsilon$ 14° 1' eq. = — 1° 13' 49"			
An. $\odot$ 317° 18' eq. = — 1 30 8			
Sum of eq's. = — 2 43 57			
Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$ + 255 9 4			
True dist. 252° 25' 7"			

This then is the strictly accurate *true* distance  $\epsilon - \odot$ . The error in the preceding method was — 47".

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the *Hindu* value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions; for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment. I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through :—

Ex. 2.—K. Y. 4128, 4th Bhādrapada; place: Ratnagiri, 17° Lat. and time difference — 34 vin.

	$\epsilon - \odot$	$\epsilon$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.	Cor.	An.
(a) 4100 years . . . . .	69° 48' 0"	217° 8' 80'	282° 44' 16"	+ 20 gh. 54 v'	
28 . . . . .	117 47 3	58 38 37	...	— 14 43	
4th Bhādra . . . . .	96 2 4	216 11 10	124 11 9	+ 6 11	
	283 37 7	131 58 17	46 55 25	(b) + 34	
				+ 6 45	
(c) + 6 gh. . . . .	1 13 9	1 18 23	5 55		
45 v. . . . .	9 9	9 43	44		
	284 59 25	133 26 28	47 2 4	(d) eq. $\epsilon$ = — 3° 43' 44"	
(e) . . . . .	— 2 7 39			eq. $\odot$ = + 1 36 5	
	282 61 46			Sum = — 2 7 39	

(f) 407° 2' 4" (an.  $\odot$  + 360°). (g) 4128 K. Y., *ayandhāsa* as above 7° 55' 12"

— 282 44 16

124 17 48

(sid. Long.  $\odot$ )

(h) + 7 55 12

132 13 .

(trop. Long.  $\odot$ )

(i) trop. Long.  $\odot$  = 132°, on 17° Lat., Interval . = — 32 vin.

(k) Eq.  $\odot$  = + 1° 36' (1° = 10.97 vin.), time of rising . = — 18 vin.

(l) 282° 51' 46"

Sum = — 50 vin. = — 10° 9' ..... (l)

— 10 9

282 41 37 . Result.

Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgasīra. Srinagar, Lat. 34° 6', time difference — 8 vin.

(a) 4300 years . . . . .	345° 24' 0"	276° 1' 30"	282° 43' 55"	— 24 gh. 10v.
25 . . . . .	79 27 0	142 21 38	...	— 28 8
4th Mārg. . . . .	137 35 2	338 9 48	214 51 41	
	202 28 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	— 52 18
				(b) + 8
				— 52 10

(c) 52 gh. . =	10° 38' 55"	11° 19' 23"	0° 51' 15"	
10 v. . =	2 2	2 11	10	
52 gh. 10 v. =	—10 35 57	—11 21 34	—51 25	(d) eq. d = + 4° 55' 16"
	202 26 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	eq. ☉ = + 1 31 7
makes .	191 50 5	285 11 22	136 44 9	Sum = + 6° 26' 23"
Sum of eq. . +	6 26 23			
(e)	198 16 28			
(f) 496° 44' 9" (an. ☉ + 360°)		(g) 4300 <i>ayanāmsā</i> .	= 10° 30' 0"	
— 282 43 53		25 years .	= 22 30	
214 0 16 (sid. Long. ☉)		4325 K. Y. <i>ayanāmsā</i> .	= 10° 52' 30"	
(h) + 10 52 30				
224 52 46 (trop. Long. ☉)				
(i) trop. Long. ☉ = 225° on 34° Lat. Interval .			= + 1 gh. 32 v.	
(k) Eq. „ ☉ = + 1° 31' (1° = 12. 18), time of rising			= — 18	
			Sum = + 1 gh. 14 v.	
(l) 1 gh. . . . =	12' 11"			
14 v. . . . =	2 51			
+ 1 gh. 14 v. . . . =	15 2 (added to e)			
	198 16 28			
makes . . . .	198° 31' 30" Result.			

6. In §62 of my former paper I have said: "In the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi Golādhyāya*" IV, 20, Bhāskara states that the ancient astronomers<sup>4</sup> assumed that at Lankā (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhāskara's theory. If the value without Bhāskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhāskara calls the *udayāntara*. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1gh. 24v. instead of 1gh. 46v., and in (k.) we find 8·27 vin. instead of 8·23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhāskara (K. Y. 4251) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 46 ghaṭikas after mean sunrise in Lankā on the 18th Vaiśākha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniya (26° N. Lat. and + 1gh. 58 vin. time difference) ?

First add the time difference to the given Lankā time: 46gh. + 1gh. 58v. = 47gh. 58 vin. Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. ☉ on the 18th Vaiśākha: 16° 40'; add the *ayanāmsā* for K.Y. 4682, viz. 16° 15'; the sum is the trop. Long. ☉, 16° 40' + 16° 15' = 32° 55' (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop. Long. ☉ = 33'; viz. 1gh. 25v. The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; accordingly we must add the interval to mean time. 47gh. 58v. + 1gh. 25v. = 49 gh. 23 v. This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniya.

<sup>4</sup> Our text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhāskara's theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* was fixed not before the 13th century A.D. The *bija* is a still later addition.

TABLE XXVII. (PART A.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 0^\circ - 29^\circ$ ,  $360^\circ - 331^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vis.	8-58	8-51	8-48	8-37	8-29	8-21	8-15	8-07	7-99	7-92	7-84	7-76	7-68	7-60	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	359
2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	358
3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	357
4	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	356
5	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	355
6	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	354
7	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	353
8	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	352
9	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	351
10	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	350
11	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	349
12	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	348
13	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	347
14	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	346
15	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 36	345
16	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	344
17	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	343
18	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	342
19	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	341
20	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	340
21	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 50	339
22	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 51	0 53	338
23	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 53	0 55	337
24	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	336
25	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	335
26	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	334
27	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	333
28	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	332
29	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	331

## PART A,—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0	
Vis.	7-52	7-43	7-34	7-26	7-17	7-08	6-98	6-89	6-80	6-69	6-59	6-49	+072	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 1	359
2	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 1	358
3	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 2	357
4	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 3	356
5	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 4	355
6	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 4	354
7	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 5	353
8	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 6	352
9	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 7	351
10	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 7	350
11	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 8	349
12	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 9	348
13	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 10	347
14	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 10	346
15	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 11	345
16	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 56	0 12	344
17	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	0 13	343
18	0 45	0 46	0 49	0 49	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 3	0 13	342
19	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 52	0 54	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	0 14	341
20	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 57	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 10	0 15	340
21	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	0 16	339
22	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 15	1 17	0 16	338
23	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	0 17	337
24	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	0 18	336
25	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 11	1 13	1 15	1 18	1 20	1 23	1 25	1 28	0 18	335
26	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	0 19	334
27	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	0 20	333
28	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 35	1 38	0 21	332
29	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	48	0 21	331

TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES.

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TABLE XXVII. (PART B.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 20^{\circ}$ — $59^{\circ}$ ,  $330^{\circ}$ — $301^{\circ}$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
a.	9-4	9-34	9-29	9-22	9-17	9-11	9-04	8-98	8-92	8-86	8-79	8-73	8-66	8-60	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
30°	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	330°
31	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 6	1 9	1 11	1 13	329
32	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	328
33	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	327
34	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	326
35	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 19	325
36	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 20	324
37	0 47	0 49	0 52	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	323
38	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	322
39	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	1 25	321
40	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	320
41	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 21	1 24	1 27	319
42	0 50	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 26	1 29	318
43	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 27	1 30	317
44	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 32	316
45	0 52	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 30	1 33	315
46	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 31	1 35	314
47	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 32	1 36	313
48	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 37	312
49	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 35	1 39	311
50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 18	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 40	310
51	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	309
52	0 56	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	308
53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 40	1 44	307
54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	1 46	306
55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	305
56	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 44	1 49	304
57	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 26	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 50	303
58	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	1 51	302
59	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	301

PART B,—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Fin.	8-52	8-46	8-38	8-31	8-24	8-16	8-08	8-00	7-91	7-84	7-76	7-67	+0-08	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
30°	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	-0 22	330°
31	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 45	1 48	0 22	329
32	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 47	1 50	0 22	328
33	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 52	0 22	327
34	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	0 22	326
35	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	-0 22	325
36	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	1 49	1 52	1 56	1 59	0 22	324
37	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 58	2 2	0 22	323
38	1 26	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 0	2 4	0 22	322
39	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 2	2 6	0 22	321
40	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	-0 22	320
41	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	0 22	319
42	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 13	0 22	318
43	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	0 22	317
44	1 35	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 18	0 22	316
45	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	-0 22	315
46	1 38	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	0 22	314
47	1 40	1 43	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	2 25	0 22	313
48	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	2 27	0 22	312
49	1 42	1 47	1 51	1 54	1 58	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 20	2 25	2 30	0 22	311
50	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 27	2 32	-0 22	310
51	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 58	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 29	2 34	0 22	309
52	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	0 22	308
53	1 48	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 6	2 10	2 15	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	0 22	307
54	1 50	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	0 22	306
55	1 51	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 9	2 14	2 19	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 44	-0 22	305
56	1 53	1 57	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 41	2 46	0 22	304
57	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 38	2 43	2 48	0 22	303
58	1 56	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 35	2 40	2 45	2 51	0 22	302
59	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 37	2 42	2 47	2 53	0 22	301

TABLE XXVII. (PART C.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 60^{\circ} - 89^{\circ}, 300^{\circ} - 127^{\circ}$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Pin.	10-52	10-50	10-47	10-45	10-42	10-40	10-37	10-35	10-32	10-29	10-27	10-24	10-22	10-18	
Long.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	
60°	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 41	1 46	1 49	1 54	300°
61	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	299
62	0 59	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	298
63	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	297
64	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	296
65	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	295
66	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 48	1 53	294
67	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 11	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	293
68	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	292
69	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 10	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	291
70	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	290
71	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 52	289
72	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	288
73	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	287
74	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 52	286
75	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 52	285
76	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 45	1 51	284
77	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	1 45	1 51	283
78	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	282
79	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	281
80	0 50	0 54	0 59	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	280
81	0 50	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	1 44	1 50	279
82	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	278
83	0 49	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	277
84	0 48	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	276
85	0 48	0 51	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 40	1 43	1 50	275
86	0 47	0 51	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 50	274
87	0 47	0 50	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	273
88	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	272
89	0 46	0 49	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 39	1 43	1 49	271

## PART C.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Pin.	10-18	10-13	10-10	10-07	10-04	10-00	9-97	9-94	9-91	9-87	9-83	9-79	-0-75	
Long.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	Long.
60°	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 55	-0 22	300°
61	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 50	2 55	0 22	299
62	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 50	2 56	0 21	298
63	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 20	297
64	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 19	296
65	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	-0 19	295
66	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 18	294
67	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 57	0 17	293
68	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 57	0 16	292
69	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 51	2 57	0 16	291
70	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 45	2 51	2 57	-0 15	290
71	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 57	0 14	289
72	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 13	288
73	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 13	287
74	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 12	286
75	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 58	-0 11	285
76	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 59	0 10	284
77	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 59	0 10	283
78	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	0 9	282
79	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	0 8	281
80	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	-0 7	280
81	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 7	279
82	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 6	278
83	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 5	277
84	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 4	276
85	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	-0 4	275
86	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 53	3 1	0 3	274
87	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 2	273
88	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 1	272
89	1 54	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 1	271

TABLE XXVII. (PART D.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 90^\circ - 119^\circ, 270^\circ - 241^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Fin.	10-98	11-01	11-03	11-05	11-08	11-10	11-13	11-15	11-18	11-21	11-23	11-26	11-28	11-32	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
90°	0 45	0 49	0 54	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 42	1 49	270°
91	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 48	269
92	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 47	268
93	0 42	0 46	0 51	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	267
94	0 41	0 45	0 50	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 34	1 38	1 43	266
95	0 40	0 44	0 49	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	265
96	0 39	0 43	0 48	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	264
97	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 39	263
98	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 3	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	262
99	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 51	0 54	0 58	1 2	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 37	261
100	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	260
101	0 34	0 38	0 43	0 49	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 28	1 34	259
102	0 33	0 37	0 42	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 33	258
103	0 32	0 36	0 41	0 47	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	257
104	0 31	0 35	0 40	0 46	0 48	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	256
105	0 30	0 34	0 39	0 44	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	255
106	0 29	0 33	0 38	0 43	0 46	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	254
107	0 28	0 32	0 37	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	253
108	0 27	0 31	0 36	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	252
109	0 26	0 30	0 35	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 57	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 18	1 24	251
110	0 25	0 29	0 34	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 0	1 4	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	250
111	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 54	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	249
112	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 37	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	248
113	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 18	247
114	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 17	246
115	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	245
116	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 33	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 14	244
117	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 32	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	243
118	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	242
119	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 29	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 10	241

PART D,—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Fin.	11-34	11-37	11-40	11-43	11-46	11-50	11-53	11-56	11-60	11-63	11-67	11-71	-0-75	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
90°	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 0	+0 0	270°
91	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 54	3 0	0 1	269
92	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 45	2 53	2 58	0 1	268
93	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 43	2 51	2 56	0 2	267
94	1 50	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 42	2 50	2 55	0 3	266
95	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 40	2 48	2 53	+0 4	265
96	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 46	2 51	0 4	264
97	1 46	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 45	2 49	0 5	263
98	1 44	1 49	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 43	2 48	0 6	262
99	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 41	2 46	0 7	261
100	1 42	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 13	2 19	2 26	2 32	2 40	2 44	+0 7	260
101	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 38	2 43	0 8	259
102	1 39	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 29	2 37	2 41	0 9	258
103	1 38	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 35	2 39	0 10	257
104	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 33	2 38	0 10	256
105	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 31	2 36	+0 11	255
106	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 28	2 34	0 12	254
107	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	0 13	253
108	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 31	0 13	252
109	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	0 14	251
110	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	+0 15	250
111	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	0 16	249
112	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	0 16	248
113	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 22	0 17	247
114	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 20	0 18	246
115	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 18	+0 19	245
116	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	0 19	244
117	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	0 20	243
118	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	0 21	242
119	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	0 22	241

TABLE XXVII. (PART E.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 120^\circ - 149^\circ$ ;  $240^\circ - 211^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vis.	10-54	10-60	10-66	10-71	10-78	10-84	10-91	10-97	11-03	11-09	11-16	11-22	11-29	11-36	
Long.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	Long.
120°	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 29	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 4	1 9	240°
121	0 15	0 18	0 22	0 28	0 30	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 8	239
122	0 15	0 17	0 22	0 27	0 29	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 7	238
123	0 14	0 17	0 21	0 27	0 28	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 5	237
124	0 13	0 16	0 20	0 26	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 4	236
125	0 13	0 15	0 20	0 25	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	235
126	0 12	0 15	0 19	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 56	1 1	234
127	0 12	0 14	0 19	0 24	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 55	1 0	233
128	0 11	0 14	0 18	0 23	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 54	0 59	232
129	0 11	0 13	0 17	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 52	0 57	231
130	0 10	0 12	0 17	0 21	0 23	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 48	0 51	0 56	230
131	0 9	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 50	0 54	229
132	0 9	0 11	0 15	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 53	228
133	0 8	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 47	0 52	227
134	0 8	0 10	0 14	0 19	0 20	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 46	0 50	226
135	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 49	225
136	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 48	224
137	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 17	0 18	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 42	0 46	223
138	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 39	0 41	0 45	222
139	0 5	0 7	0 11	0 15	0 16	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 40	0 44	221
140	0 5	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 42	220
141	0 4	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 41	219
142	0 4	0 5	0 9	0 13	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 40	218
143	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 27	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 38	217
144	0 2	0 4	0 8	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 37	216
145	0 2	0 3	0 7	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	0 31	0 35	215
146	0 1	0 3	0 6	0 10	0 11	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	0 30	0 34	214
147	0 1	0 2	0 6	0 10	0 10	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 29	0 33	213
148	0 0	0 2	0 5	0 9	0 9	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	212
149	0 0	0 1	0 4	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	211

## PART E.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vis.	11-43	11-50	11-57	11-63	11-71	11-78	11-86	11-95	12-03	12-11	12-18	12-27	+0-03	
Long.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	g.h. v.	Long.
120°	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 4	2 10	+0 22	240°
121	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	0 22	239
122	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	0 22	238
123	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	0 22	237
124	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	0 22	236
125	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	1 54	1 59	+0 22	235
126	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 51	1 56	0 22	234
127	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	1 49	1 54	0 22	233
128	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	0 22	232
129	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	0 22	231
130	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 47	+0 22	230
131	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 45	0 22	229
132	0 57	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	0 22	228
133	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	0 22	227
134	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	0 22	226
135	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	+0 22	225
136	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	0 22	224
137	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	0 22	223
138	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 25	1 29	0 22	222
139	0 47	0 51	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	0 22	221
140	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 25	+0 22	220
141	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	0 22	219
142	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 16	1 20	0 22	218
143	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 18	0 22	217
144	0 40	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	0 22	216
145	0 39	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 13	+0 22	215
146	0 37	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 11	0 22	214
147	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	0 22	213
148	0 34	0 37	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	0 22	212
149	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	0 22	211

TABLE XXVII. (PART F.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 150^\circ - 180^\circ, 210^\circ - 180^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vis.	10-00	10-05	10-12	10-19	10-27	10-34	10-41	10-49	10-57	10-64	10-72	10-80	10-88	10-96	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long
150°	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	210°
151	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	209
152	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	208
153	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 26	207
154	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	206
155	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	205
156	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	204
157	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	0 22	203
158	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	202
159	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	201
160	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	200
161	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 18	199
162	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 17	198
163	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	197
164	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	196
165	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	195
166	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	194
167	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	193
168	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	192
169	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	191
170	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	190
171	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	189
172	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	188
173	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	187
174	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	186
175	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	185
176	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	184
177	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	183
178	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	182
179	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

## PART F.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vis.	11-04	11-13	11-21	11-30	11-39	11-48	11-57	11-66	11-76	11-87	11-97	12-07	+0-73	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long
150°	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	+0 22	210°
151	0 30	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	0 21	209
152	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	0 21	208
153	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 20	207
154	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 19	206
155	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 52	+0 18	205
156	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 18	204
157	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 17	203
158	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 16	202
159	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 16	201
160	0 21	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	+0 15	200
161	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 14	199
162	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 13	198
163	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 13	197
164	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 12	196
165	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	+0 11	195
166	0 14	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 29	0 10	194
167	0 13	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 10	193
168	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 9	192
169	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 8	191
170	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	+0 7	190
171	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 7	189
172	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 6	188
173	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 5	187
174	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 4	186
175	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	+0 4	185
176	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 3	184
177	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 2	183
178	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 1	182
179	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180



TABLE XXVIII.—*The Ayandhā for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.\**

K.Y.	Ayandhā.	Years.	Ayandhā.
3600	0° 0'	1	0° 0' 54"
3700	1 30	2	0 1 48
3800	3 0	3	0 2 42
3900	4 30	4	0 3 36
		5	0 4 30
4000	6 0	6	0 5 24
4100	7 30	7	0 6 18
4200	9 0	8	0 7 12
4300	10 30	9	0 8 6
4400	12 0	10	0 9 0
4500	13 30	20	0 18 0
4600	15 0	30	0 27 0
4700	16 30	40	0 36 0
4800	18 0	50	0 45 0
4900	19 30	60	0 54 0
		70	1 3 0
5000	21 0	80	1 12 0
...	...	90	1 21 0

TABLE XXIX.—*The Ayandhā according to the Siddhānta Siromani.*

K.Y.	Ayandhā.	Years.	Ayandhā.
3628	0° 0' 0"	1	0° 1' 0"
3700	1 11 32	2	0 2 0
3800	2 51 22	3	0 3 0
3900	4 31 12	4	0 4 0
		5	0 5 0
4000	6 11 2	6	0 5 59
4100	7 50 52	7	0 6 59
4200	9 30 42	8	0 7 59
4300	11 10 32	9	0 8 59
4400	12 50 22	10	0 9 59
4500	14 30 12	20	0 19 58
4600	16 10 2	30	0 29 57
4700	17 49 52	40	0 39 56
4800	19 29 42	50	0 49 55
4900	21 9 32	60	0 59 54
		70	1 9 53
5000	22 49 22	80	1 19 52
...	...	90	1 29 51

\* Before K.Y. 3600 the Ayandhā are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.

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## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- Page 2, line 16, and page 7, line 16.—See page 298 note 7.
- „ 7, l. 31—for Tohwan read Tolman.
- „ 10, l. 3—read inscription.
- „ 15, in note 73,—read *Śrī*.
- „ 17, l. 25—for Tohwan read Tolman.
- „ 1. 35—read *Vrahmādi*.
- „ 19, l. 5 fr. bot. for Aditya read *Āditya*.
- „ 25, ll. 1, 2—for Haradā-ajī read *Haradāsa-jī*.
- „ 13, l. 2—from bottom, for Dev 4-karapa read *Devakarapa*.
- „ 35, foot-note, prefix 2.
- „ 81, l. 27—for nayara read *nagara*.
- „ 87, l. 6—for twenty, read nearly seventy (68).
- „ „ l. 9—for hundred read hundred.
- „ „ 2nd foot-note, prefix 2.
- „ 94, l. 5—for Dhamā read *Dhamasiva*.
- „ 126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1.—As suggested by Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catal. Catalogorum* the word *Śūra* of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be translated: 'The following is a verse of *Śūra's*,' and 'This is (a verse of) *Śūra's*.'
- „ 128, l. 41—before which add of.
- „ 131, l. 18—for the pardoned deceased son of, read son of the deceased pardoned.
- „ 133, foot-note, prefix 2.
- „ 134, l. 1—for ابن الربيع read ابن إسماعيل, son of Rāib.
- „ 134, ll. 24 and 28, delete "and."
- „ 135, l. 18—for درك مل we may read درك مل i.e. Durgah Mall.
- „ 136, l. 11—from bottom, dele of before the renowned.
- „ 148, l. 13, from bottom—read اغا ابن شيخ يوسف i.e. (l. 6, from bottom) 'The poor, wretched Khān Yūsuf Āghā, son of Shaikh Yūsuf.
- „ 150, l. 20—for تندر كحضرت read بند كحضرت i.e., (l. 29) his Solomon-like majesty.
- „ 154, lines 25, 26, 27, for Bohm read *Bohar*.
- „ 157, l. 6—for غازی read غازی.
- „ 160, l. 12, dele the sign of punctuation after Asiatic.
- „ 161—prefix 2 to the first note.

- Page 162, l. 13—read दशाक्ष°.
- „ „ l. 27— „ विविदिषा°.
- „ 175, l. 29— „ रज्जुना°.
- „ „ in note 7—read been यू.
- „ 176, l. 32—read दुविष.
- „ 180, l. 28— „ vāshpāmbhaḥkapa.
- „ 185, l. 23— „ वेकुचः.
- „ „ l. 25— „ सेनानी°.
- „ 192, note 72 add:—As pointed out to me by Prof. Bühler, this verse evidently contains a reference to the towns of Kalyāṇa, Āśāvalli and Ayodhyā; but I cannot give yet an entirely satisfactory translation.
- „ 212, last foot note,—prefix 1, and add:—Dr. Fleet informs me, that these copper-plates now belong to Ganpatsingh bin Nārāyaṇsingh Patṭewālā, of Saṃgamner. He also informs me that the Garuḍa of the seal is represented as a man, squatting, with his hands joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara on his head; and that his wings are depicted in much the same way as on the Paithan and other Rāshṭrakūṭa seals.
- „ 217, note 18 add:—Dr. Fleet, after cleaning the original plates, has kindly furnished the following notes on the printed text:—In line 16 the inserted letters (compare note 99) are *syākkhā*; the *anusvāra* is omitted.—In line 29 the reading is *madana-mādyan-mānini*.—In line 30 read *iha hi narendro*.—In line 31 for [nanu] read *atha*.—In line 31 for [tale] read *bhrito*.—In line 38 the bracketed *aksharas ra and eva* are quite clear.—In line 40 read *yen=a°*.
- „ 219, l. 51—read निपुद्ग°.
- „ 223, l. 6— „ प्रवच्छद.
- „ „ l. 42— „ anvitak.
- „ 226, l. 3— „ धितः.
- „ „ l. 24— „ कमुत्तिका°.
- „ 229, l. 41— „ Śūrya-siddhānta.
- „ 230, l. 30— „ पुञ्जराज°.
- „ 238, l. 32— „ व्यावर्त्त°.
- „ 240, note 2—for Laskshmana read *Lakshmana*.
- „ 255, l. 31—for f read (f).
- „ 265, l. 10— „ Posaha read *Posatha*.
- „ 287, l. 21—for Path read *Fath*.
- „ 297, in note 2—read Lanman.

- Page 307, l. 24—read °सर्वस्व°.
- „ 334, l. 15—add the sign of *visarga* opposite the figure 8.
- „ 335, l. 4—read °इति°.
- „ „ l. 11— „ °प्रतिपत्ति°.
- „ 338, l. 31—put a comma after was.
- „ 339, l. 13—put a comma at the end of the line.
- „ 343, l. 9—*for* which read which.
- „ 345, l. 6—read सोमो°.
- „ „ l. 21— „ वैद्यसः.
- „ 361, note <sup>36</sup>—*for* Kielhern read Kielhorn.
- „ 366, note <sup>3</sup>, last line—*for* See place read See plate.
- „ 367, l. 16 (2nd col.)—*for* odâtâ- read odâtâ-[4.]
- Page 411, l. 7—read महील्लह°.
- „ „ note <sup>14</sup>— „ गालीवेवु.
- „ 412, l. 10— „ री न.
- „ „ l. 19— „ वेमवी°.
- „ 413, l. 17— „ विविद्वद्द°.
- „ „ l. 32— „ दललची.
- „ 415, l. 34— „ राययोय.
- „ 416, l. 16— „ °तनुष°.
- „ 420, l. 23— „ चटस्य.
- „ 421, l. 23—add a comma at the end of the line.
- „ 422, l. 24—read Rāmakīrti and Jayakīrti.
- „ „ l. 25 *for* a read any.



