

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. VIII (1905 - 1906)



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001
1981

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume VIII (1905-06)



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

Reprinted 1981

©
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
1981

Price : Rs. 80.00

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

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

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

VOL. VIII.—1905-06.

CALCUTTA:

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.

BOMBAY: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER
& Co.
NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.
VIENNA: A. HÖLDER & Co.
BERLIN: A. ASHER & Co.
PARIS: E. LEROUX.

CALCUTTA:
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,
8, HASTINGS STREET.

CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAGE
D. B. BHANDARKAR, M.A.:—	
No. 19. Dhulia plates of Karkarāja; Śaka-Samvat 701	182
T. BLOCH, PH.D.:—	
No. 18. Two inscriptions on Buddhist images	179
J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.:—	
No. 7. Chikmagalur inscription of Rāchamalla III., of the period A.D. 989-1005	50
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.:—	
No. 31. Śoraiikkāvūr plates of Virūpāksha; Śaka-Samvat 1308	298
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., AND G. VENKOBÄ RAO:—	
No. 13. Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman	146
HIRA LAL, B.A.:—	
No. 28. Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha; the Gupta year 199	284
PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.:—	
No. 2. Tiruvadi inscription of Ravivarman; A.D. 1313	8
" 9. Dhār prasasti of Arjunavarman: Pārijātamañjarī-nāṭikā by Madana	96
" 11. Nāgpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta I. Janamājaya	138
" 12. British Museum plates of Chārudēvi	143
" 15. Pīkura grant of Śimhavarman	159
" 16. Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu	163
" 20. Two grants of Dhruvasēna II.	188
" 22. Nausāri plates of Śrīyāsraya-Śilāditya; the year 421	229
" 23. Chendalūr plates of Kumāraviṣṇu II.	233
" 24. Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya; A.D. 673	236
PROFESSOR F. KIELHÖRN, PH.D., D. LITT., LL.D., C.I.E.:—	
Nos. 1 and 26. Dates of Chōla kings (<i>continued</i>)	1,360
No. 5. Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarmān	24
" 6. Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman; the year 72	36
" 14. Five copper-plate inscriptions of Gōvindaśandra of Kanauj	149
" 27. Dates of Pāṇḍya kings (<i>continued</i>)	274
H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.:—	
No. 10. Kārkaja inscription of Bhairava II.; Śaka-Samvat 1508	122
PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.:—	
No. 4. Śravana-Belgola inscription of Irugapa; A.D. 1423	15
" 21. Jaina inscriptions at the temple of Neminātha on Mount Ābū	200
" 80. Taxila vase inscription	296
M. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L.:—	
No. 32. Madras Museum plates of Śrīgiriśhūpāla; Śaka-Samvat 1346	306
PROFESSOR R. PISCHERL, PH.D.:—	
No. 25. Two Prākṛit poems at Dhār	241
J. RAMAYYA, B.A., B.L.:—	
No. 3. Madras Museum plates of Vēma; A.D. 1345	9

	PAGE
E. SENART :—	
No. 8. The inscriptions in the caves at Nāsik	59
V. VENKATYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR :—	
No. 29. Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman	290
G. VENKOBΑ RAO :—	
No. 33. Two Āṇaimalai inscriptions	317
J. PH. VOGEL, LIT.D. :—	
No. 17. Epigraphical discoveries at Sārnāth	166
INDEX.—By V. VENKATYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR	323
APPENDIX I.—SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NORTHERN	
INDIA. By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.	1—19
SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE FOR NORTHERN INDIA, A.D. 400—1400. By THE SAME	
to face page 20 of Appx. I.	
APPENDIX II.—SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN	
INDIA. By THE SAME	1—27
SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE FOR SOUTHERN INDIA, A.D. 400—1400. By THE SAME	
to face page 28 of Appx. II.	

LIST OF PLATES.

	PAGE
1. Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman	to face page 32
2. Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman; the year 72	" " " 44
3. Nāsik inscriptions.—Plate I.	" " " 60
4. " " " II.	" " " 74
5. " " " III.	" " " 76
6. " " " IV.	" " " 78
7. " " " V.	" " " 82
8. " " " VI.	" " " 86
9. " " " VII.	" " " 88
10. " " " VIII.	" " " 90
11. Dhār prasasti of Arjunavarman: Pārijātamañjarī-nāṭikā by Madana.— Plate I.	" " " 106
12. The same.—Plate II.	" " " 112
13. " " " III.	" " " 116
14. The Chaturmukha-Basti at Kārkaḷa	" " " 124
15. Nāgpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta I. Janamējaya	between pages 140 & 141
16. Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman	" " 144 & 145
17. Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman	" " 148 & 149
18. Pihira grant of Simhavarman	" " 160 & 161
19. Upāikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu	" " 164 & 165
20. Asoka pillar inscription at Sarnāth	to face page 168
21. Sarnāth inscriptions of Kanishka and Aśvaghōsha	" " " 176
22. Inscribed Buddhist image from Set-Mahet	" " " 181
23. Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathurā	" " " 182
24. Dhulia plates of Karkarāja; Śaka-Samvat 701	between pages 186 & 187
25. Nōgāwā plates of Dhruvasēna II.; [Gupta-]Samvat 920	" " 192 & 193
26. Mount Ābū inscription of Tējahpāla; A.D. 1230	to face page 212
27. Mount Ābū inscription of the reign of Bhīmadēva II.; A.D. 1230	" " " 222
28. Nausāri plates of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya; the year 421	" " " 233
29. Chendalūr plates of Kumāraviṣṇu II.	between pages 234 & 235
30. Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya; A.D. 673	" " 238 & 239
31. Prākṛit poems at Dhār.—Plate I.	to face page 248
32. " " " " II.	" " " 254
33. " " " " III.	" " " 260
34. Betul plates of Saṁkshobha; the Gupta year 199	between pages 286 & 287
35. The Taxila vase	to face page 296
36. Śoraikkāvūr plates of Virūpāksha; Śaka-Samvat 1208	between pages 302 & 303
37. Madras Museum plates of Śrīgiriśūpāla; Śaka-Samvat 1346	" " 312 & 313
38. Āṇaimalai inscriptions	to face page 320

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 11, last line from bottom,—for Anapôtâ-Reddi read Anapôta-Reddi.

„ 15.—Cancel footnote 1.

„ 22, note 7,—for “His enemies clenched their fists in rage” read “The palms of his enemies’ hands closed together in token of submission.”

„ 31, paragraph 2, line 7 from bottom,—for Pravarasena read Pravarasêna.

„ 58.—The date of the inscription published by Dr. Fleet on this page is intrinsically wrong, but admits of an easy and certain correction. In the date, as published, the full-moon *tithi* of Kârttika is joined with the *nakshatra* Mûla (the 19th *nakshatra*); but in Kârttika the moon is full in or near Kṛittikâ (the 3rd *nakshatra*). On the other hand, an examination of native calendars for different years shows that in the majority of cases the *nakshatra* is Mûla on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika.¹ This observation some years ago, when I first saw the text of the inscription in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Roman text, p. 95, at once convinced me that the writer of the text erroneously must have put *suddha-puṇṇameyum* (where the word *suddha* would really be superfluous) for *suddha-pañchamiyum*. The date thus would give us for calculation the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, a Monday, and the *nakshatra* Mûla; and during the period (A.D. 989-1005), to which according to Dr. Fleet the inscription must be assigned, it would be correct for Monday, the 7th October A.D. 989, and for Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992.

Monday, the 7th October 989, was entirely occupied by the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika, and on it the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. And on—

Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika ended 20 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system from 5 h. 16 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 50 m., and according to Garga for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

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

„ 59, No. 8, l. 13,—for (Pr.) read (N.).

„ 78, text line 2,—for Karabenâ- read Karabepâ-.

„ 79, l. 5,—for Karabenâ read Karabepâ.

„ 82, No. 12, text line 1,—for Dinikaputrena read Dinikapûtrena (*i.e.* °putrêṇa).

„ 101, text line 1,—for अतिलेखं read अतिलेख, and for °प्रगारिणी read °प्रगारिणी.

„ 104, note 1,—for चासुख read चासुखं.

„ 111, „ 6,—for महृष्या° read महृष्या°.

„ 115, text line 73,—for सनसक्तिं read सनर्नक्तिं.

„ 121, l. 15,—for वार read वारं.

„ 123, l. 2 from bottom,—for left side read right side.

„ 126, note 3, l. 3,—for Balagâmi read Baligâmi.

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

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

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME VIII.

No. 1.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 177.)

OF the numerous dates of Chôla kings sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya, I again publish seventeen. Among these, the most interesting — and, I may add, those which have given me most trouble — are perhaps the five dates Nos. 85-89 of Râjarâja [II.] Parakêsarivarman, which prove that this king, of whom no dates have yet been published here, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A.D. 1148. The date No. 99 reduces the time, previously found for the commencement of the reign of Râjendra-Chôla III., to the period from (approximately) the 21st March to the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 94, of Kulôttunga-Chôla III., is of the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the dates of his successor Râjarâja III. show that this king commenced to reign already between (approximately) the 23rd June and the 13th August A.D. 1216; and similarly the dates Nos. 96 and 97, of Râjarâja III., are of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, while the years of his successor Râjendra-Chôla III., as has just been stated, are counted from some time between (approximately) the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 100 belongs to a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla, who apparently commenced to reign in A.D. 1331-32.

A.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

84.— In the Šaranârâyana-Perumâl temple at Tiruvadi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû-mâdu pupara
9 kô=Pparakêšaripanna-
10 r-âna Tiribuvanachchakkaravatti[ga*]! śrī-Vikkirama-Šôladêvar-
11 kku yâṇ[du*] 7vadu Sim[ha]-nâyayṇu apara-pakshattu êkā-
12 [di(da)]šiyun=Tiruvâdiraiyum peṇṇa [V]i[y]âla-kkilamai-nâl.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladêva,— on a Thursday, which corresponded to (the day of) Ârdra and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

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

B.—RAJARAJA II.

85.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūlī.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pā maruviya [Ti]ru-mādum
 4 kō=Pparakēsaripaṇmar=ā[ṇa Tri]bbuvaṇachchakravatt[i]ga[i] śr[i]-Rājarājad[ē]vaṅku
 yāṇḍu 4āva[du] Vṛiśchika-nāyaṅgu apa[ra-pa]kshattu [sa]ptam[i]yu[m]
 [B]uda[ṇ]-[ki]lām[ai]yum [p]eṅga [P]āra[tt]u nā[ī].

"In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of king *Parakēsarivarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Rājarājadēva*,—on the day of *Pūrva-Phalguni*, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the 7th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Vṛiśchika*."

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

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

86.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Udaiyārkōyil.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pā maruviya Tiru-mādum
 8 k[ō=Ppara]kēsa-
 9 [ri]patmar=āna Tribu[va]nachchak[ka]ravattiga[i] śrī-Rāja[r]ājadēvaṅku yāṇ[ḍu]
 āṇ[va]d[ṇ] Ku-
 10 m[bha]-nāyaṅgu apara-paksha[t]tu pratham[ai]yu[m] Vi[y]āḷa-kkiḷamaiyum peṅga
 Māga[tt]u nā[ī].

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

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

87.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūlī.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī || Pā maruviya Tiru-mādum
 5 [k]ō=Pparakēsaripaṇmar=āṇa Tir[i]bbuvanachchak[ka]ravattiga[i] śrī-
 Rājarāja-

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

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

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

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

⁵ No. 623 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

- 6 dēvaṅku y[āṇ]ḍu panniraṇḍāvaḍu Mēsha-n[āya]ṇṇu apara-pakshattu navamiyum
B[uda]n-kiḷamaiyu[m p]eṇṇa Ti-
7 ruvōṇa[tta nā].

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

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

88.—In the Ēkāmraṇātha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum
2 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-
Rājārājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu paṇṇāṇḍāvaḍu Tai-māsattu pūrvva-pakshattu
Puparpūsamum chatu[r]ddasiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum=ā[ṇa] nāḷ.

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

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

89.—In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Āṅgudi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum
6 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-āṇa
7 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ
8 śrī-Rājārājadēvaṅku yā-
9 ṇḍu āṇḍāvaḍu
14 Mina-nāyaṅgu pū-
15 rvva-pakshattu saptamiyum Viyāḷa-k-
16 kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Orōṣaṇi-nū-
17 ḷ.

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

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

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

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

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

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

90.—In the Pâtâḷisvara temple at Aridvâramangalam.¹

- 1 * [cha]kkaṛavattigaḷ śrī ra³ Madurai koṇḍ-aru[!]²iya śrī-Kulô[t]tuṅga-
Śôḷadêva[r*]kku yâṇḍu lôvadu pattâvadu Ma[ga]ra-nâyargu apara-pasha(ksha)ttu
pañchamiyum Śevvâ[y*]-kkilamaiyum perṛa Uttirattâdi-nâl.

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

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

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

91.—In the Aruṇâchalêśvara temple at Tiruvannâmalai.⁴

- 1 Svasti [||*]
2 Tiribuvanavi(vî)radêvaṅku yâṇḍu 35va[du]
3 M[i]ḍuṇa-nâyargu eṭṭân=diyadiyum A[ṇu]lamum perṛa tiru-Nâ[ya]ṅgu-
kkilamai-nâl.

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

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

92.—In the Kapardîśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjuḷi.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*]
2 Tr[i]bhuvanachchakkara[va]tt[i]ga[!]² Maduraiyum I[la]-
3 mum Karuvûrum Pâ[ṇ]ḍiyāṇai muḍi-ttalai[u]-
4 n=goṇḍ-aru[li] vîrar=abhishêkamum vi-
5 jayar=abhishêkam[um] paṇṇi-ar[u]liya śrī-Tiri-
6 [b]uva[na]v[ira]dêvaṅku yâ[ṇ]ḍu mu[p]pat[t]ârâ-

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

² The beginning of the inscription is built in.

³ Cancel the syllables *śrī ra*.

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

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

- 7 vadu Mēsha-nāya[r] pū[rvva]-pakshattu
 8 tri(tri)tiyaiyum Tiṅga[-ki]lam]aiyum peṛ-
 9 ra Rōṣaṇi-nā].

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

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

93.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kaḷappāl.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachchakravattiga[!] Ma]dhuraiyum Īlamuṇ=Garuvūru[m]
 Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-ttalaikum=gonḍu [vi]rar=abhishēkamum vijai[ya]r=abhi[sh]ē-
 2 kamu[m] paṇṇiy-aruḷiya śrī-Tri[bhu]va[ṇa]viradēvaṅku yāṇḍu 37ḍu
 Vri(vri)śchika-nāya[r] pū[rvva]-pakshattu [cha]ta(tu)[r]dda[si]yun=Diṅga[-
 kki]lamaiyum[m] peṛra
 3 Kārttigai-nā].

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

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

94.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡuḷi.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī][||*] Tirib[u]vaṇachchak[k]rava[r]ttiga! Madurai[yum] Īlamum Karuvūrum
 Pāṇḍiyaṇai muḍi-ttalaikum konḍu vīrar=abhishē[ka]mmum³ vijayar=
 abhishēkamum³ paṇṇi[y-a]ruḷiya śrī-Tribuvaṇa[vīra]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 39āvadu
 Kumba-nāyaṅgu a[pa]ra-pakshattu prathamaiyum [Bu]daṅ-ki]lammaiym⁴ peṛra
 Magattu nā].

"In the 39th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

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

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

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

³ Read -abhishēkamum.

⁴ Read -ki]lamaiyum.

D.—RAJARAJA III.

95.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡu.¹

- 1 Tiribuvanaachchakkaravattiga[ī] śrī-Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvaṇ e[ḍirā]m-
āṇḍu Tul[ā-nā]yāṇḍu apara-pakshattu na[vami]yu[m] Tiñ-
2 ga[ī]-kilamai[yum] peṇṇa Pū[sattu] n[ā].

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

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

96.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [ī*] Tiribuvanaachchakkaravatt[i]ga! śrī-Irājarājadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu
32vadu Kumba-nāyāṇḍu pū[rva]-pakshattu tu[vāda]śiyum Vel[ī]-kk[i]lamai-
yum peṇṇa Puṇar[p]ūśattu nā.

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

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

97.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.³

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [ī*] T[i]ribuvanaachchakkaravatt[iga]! śr[i]-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
32vadu Mēsha-nāy[i]ṇṇu apara-pakshattu trayōdaś[i]yum Budaṅ-k[i]lamaiyum
peṇṇa Irēba(va)d[i]-nā.

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

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

E.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98.—In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Anbil.⁴

- 1 T[i]r[i]bu[n]va[n]achchakkaravatt[iga]! śr[i]-Irā[sā]ṇḍira-
Ś[ā]ladēva[r]kkku yāṇḍu 4vadu Kaṇṇ[i]-nāyāṇḍu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum
Nāy[i]ṇṇu-kkilamaiyum peṇṇa A[ni]lattu nā[ī].

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

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

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

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

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

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

99.— In the Sākshināthasvāmin temple at Avalivanallūr.¹

- 1 . . . Tiribu[va]ṇaśakkara[va]-
- 2 ttigal ār[i]-Irāśēndira-Ś[ō]-
- 3 ladēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu 22[va]ḍu
- 4 Mēla-nāyargu apara-pakshattu
- 5 de(da)sam[i]yum Budaṇ-kiḷamaiyum [p]e-
- 6 rra [Śa]dai[yattu] n[ā]l.

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

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

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

F.— TRIBHUVANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] T[r]ibhuvanavira-Śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu llāvaḍu
- 2 Chitrabhānu-varuṣhattu Siṁha-nāyargu apara-pakshattu ca-
- 3 ptamiyum Ve[l]i-kiḷamaiyum peṅga Urōṣaṇi-nā-
- 4 l.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṁha of the year Chitrabhānu."

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

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

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 176.

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

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

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

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

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

The Sanskrit portion (ll. 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Raṅganātha inscription of Ravivarman, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,¹ as far as the word *Kulaśekhara* deva. The Tamil portion (l. 3 f.) records that *Ravivarman alias Kulaśekhara* deva bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Tiruvirattāpam temple at Tiruvadigai² in the fourth year of his reign, the *Kaliyuga* year 4414 and the *Śa*[ka] year 12[3]5, on the day of Rôhini, Saturday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of *Makara*.

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

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

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī-Jayasi[m]ha ity-abhihitas-Śōmānvay-ōttamsako rāj-āsīd-īha Kēraḷēshu
vishayē nāthō Yadu-kshmābhritām || jātō-smād-Raviva[r]mma-bhūpatir-
Um[ā]dēvyām kumārās-śivād-dēhavyāpya-Śakābda-bhāji samayē dēh-iva
virō ra[sā]h ॐ [1*] Kāhayan-nitvā sō-yam kali-bala[m=iv=ār]jāti-nivaha[n]=
ja[ya*]śrīvāt kṛitvā nija-sahacharīm Pāṇḍya-tanayām || trayastrimśad-va[r]shō
yaśa i[va] yayau Kēraḷa-padam(dam) raraksha avam rāshtra[n-na]garam-iva
Kōḷambam-adh[i]pāh ॐ [2*] [Ji]tvā Saṃgrāmadhirō nripatir-adhira[pa]m(gam)
vidviśham(sham) Vira-Pāṇḍyam(ṇḍyam) kṛitv-āsau Pāṇḍya-Chōḷān-naya iva
tanum[ā]n Kēraḷēbhyō-py-adhī[n]ān || shatcha-
- 2 tvāstrimśad-abdas-taṭa-bhūvi mukutaṇ-dhārayan-Vēgavatyāḥ kṛidām simhāsana-sthās-
chiram-akṛita mahi-kīrtti-vāpi-ramābhīḥ ॐ [3*] Â Mārôr-â Malayād-â
pūrvvād-â cha pāśchimād-âcha[l]āt || Yadukula-sēkhara ēsha kshōpim
Kulaśēkharas-svayam bubhujē || ॐ [4*] ॐ Svasti śrī [||*] Chandrak[ūla-
maṅgala]pradīpa || Yādava-Nārāyaṇa || Kēraḷadēśa-puṇyaparināma || Nāmāntara-
Karpṇa || Kūpaka-[s]ārvvabhānma || Kulaśikhari-pratishṭhāpita-Garuḍaddhvaja ||
Kōḷamba-puravar-ādhiśvara [||] Śrī-Patma(dma)nābha-padakamala-paramārādhaka [||]
Pranatarāja-pratishṭhāchāryya || Vimatarāja-bandikāra || Dharmmataru-
mūlaka[nda] || Satgu(dgu)ṇ-ālakāra || [Cha]tushshashti-

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 149.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 147.

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

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

- 3 kalā-va[lla]bha || Dakṣiṇa-Bhōjarāja | Sa[m]grāmadhira || Mahārājadhira-
paramēśvara || Jayasimhadēva-nandana || Ravivarmma-mahārāja || [ḥ] Śrī
[ḥ] ḥ Śrī-Kulaśēkharadēva || ḥ [I]vaṅku yāṇḍu nālāvadu Kaliyuga-varsham
4414 idil nīngiya Śa 35¹ idaṇ mēl śellānigra Magara-
nāyaṅṇu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kki[la]m[aiyum] p[e]ṇṇa
Rōṣaṇ[i]-nāḥ Tiruvadi[g]ai uḍaiyār Tiru[vira]ṭṭāṇam-uḍaiya nāyaṇār kōyil
Vāṇa-Kaiyilāya-Ttirumalai stūpi-paryyantamāga tirumañjaṇamum paṇṇi
[pu]ṇachchārapai tirukkallum ś[āt]ti-
4 y-arul[i]ṇār Raviva[r]mma-ma[h]ārā[ja]r-āṇa perumāḥ Kulaśēgaradēvar ḥ Svasti
śrī ḥ

TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

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

No. 3.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA;

A.D. 1345.

By J. RAMAYYA, B.A., B.L.

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

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v. 2). In that caste was born Vēmaya, the founder of a family (*vaṃśa-kartā*, v. 3). To him was born the great hero Kōmaṭi-Prōla (v. 4), whose wife was Annemāmbā (v. 5). To Kōmaṭi-Prōla, Annemāmbā bore five sons:—Mācha, Vēma, Doḍḍaya, Annaya and Mallaya (v. 6). Of these Vēma ruled the earth (v. 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad *manne* chiefs,⁴ a very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēcchhas⁵ (v. 9), and bore the *biruda* Rāyachēkōluganḍa (v. 10). King Vēma restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmanas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēcchha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Rudra of the Kākati-vaṃśa (v. 12). King Vēma, surnamed Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghōḍarāya-Gaṇḍa⁶ (v. 13). Vēma's

¹ Restore Śakābdam 1235.

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

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

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

⁵ I.e. the Muḥammadans.

⁶ This person seems to have been the family *Guru* of the Redḍis. He is referred to in Śrīnātha's *Bhīmakhāṇḍam* and *Kāṭikāṇḍam* as Ghōḍarāya-Bhīmaya-Guru and Ghōḍarāya-Bhīmēśvara, respectively.

capital was the city of **Addaṅki** in the country of **Pūṅgi**, which extended from the eastern slopes of **Śrīgiri**¹ to the eastern sea² on both sides of the river **Kuṇḍi** (vv. 14 and 15). At an eclipse of the moon on **Chaitrī**³ in the **Śāka** year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons (6) and the suns (12),—in figures 1267,—in the presence of **Māṇḍūka-Sambhu**,⁴ king **Vēma** gave as an *agrahāra* to several **Brāhmapas** the village of **Ātukūru**, which was situated on the northern bank of the river **Kṛishṇā**, and which was renamed **Vēmapuram** after the donor (vv. 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account of the boundaries of **Ātukūru**,—boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the signature *Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra* (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the **Redḍi** dynasty as yet discovered. There is another inscription of **Vēma** at **Amarāvati**, also dated in the **Śāka** year 1267,⁵ but in the month of **Kārttika**. The **Śāka** year quoted in the subjoined inscription was the expired and not the current year, and the date of the grant corresponds to **Friday, the 18th March A.D. 1345**, on which date there was, according to Professor Kielhorn, "a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 43 m. to 22 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India." In the **Amarāvati** inscription the corresponding cyclic year is given as **Pārthiva**.

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

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the **Redḍi** chiefs open with **Kōmaṭi-Prōla**. This inscription gives us the name of **Prōla's** father **Vēma**, after whom his illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu *Harivaṁśam*, which was dedicated to **Vēma**, the donor of the present grant. In this book **Vēma** is called indiscriminately **Vēma**, **Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, **Prōlaya-Vēma**, or **Annama-Vēma**. The second and third names are combinations of **Vēma's** own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from his mother. From the *Harivaṁśam* we learn that **Prōla's** wife **Annamā** was the daughter of **Dodḍa**, who had three sons, viz. **Pōta**, **Chitṭa** and **Nāga**. **Chitṭa** had a son named **Nūka** who is said to have been a very dear friend of **Vēma**. He is perhaps identical with **Nallanūka**, who married **Vēma's** daughter **Vēmasāni**.⁶ From the same book we learn that **Vēma's** younger brother **Malla** took **Mōṭupalli**⁷—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to **Vēma**. The latter statement derives corroboration from the **Amarāvati** inscription already referred to, which says that **Vēma** fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of **Amarēśvara** for the eternal benefit (*punya*) of his younger brother **Malla-Redḍi**. Before taking leave of the *Harivaṁśam*, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of **Vēma**, viz. **Pōta** (afterwards called **Anapōta** or **Anavōta**) and **Kōmaṭi**. **Anavēma**, **Dodḍāmbikā** and **Vēmasāni** were apparently not yet born when the *Harivaṁśam* was composed, and **Kōmaṭi** probably died while yet a boy.

¹ Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district.

² The Bay of Bengal.

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

⁴ I.e. at the Śiva temple called **Māṇḍukēśvara**.

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

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

⁷ In the **Bāpaṭa tāluka** of the **Kistna** district.

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

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

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

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

¹ He is described as having granted to Brāhmaṇas villages on both sides of the Brahmakuṇḍi, the Krishṇā and the Gōḍāvarī, and also in the country between these rivers (*Brāhmakuṇḍi-Krishṇavayṇā-Gōḍāvarī-mahānadi-taṭadvaya-tanmadhyadīa-dait-āṅk-āgrahāra*).

² No. 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

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

Vêma was succeeded by his eldest son Anapôṭa, and he by his younger brother Anavêma. Both these kings were, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, wise and strong rulers, and they consolidated the kingdom founded by their father. In the *Velugôṭivāri Vamśāvalī*, Anapôṭanīḍu and Mādānīḍu, sons of Siṅga who was a general of Pratāparudra, claim to have defeated Anapôṭa-Redḍi at Dharapikôṭa about the Śaka year 1283, which is also the year of an inscription at Amarāvati,¹ in which Anapôṭa's minister is referred to.² I know only of two inscriptions of the time of Anavêma, both dated in Śaka 1299 (expired). One of them is at Drākshârāma in the Gôḍāvarī district,³ and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of Agastyêśvara at the junction of the Mûsi and the Krishṇā in the village of Vāḍapalli in the Miriyālagūḍem tāluka of the Nallagōṇḍa district in the Nizam's dominions. The poet Śrinātha seems to have first flourished at the court of Anavêma, in whose praise there are several verses extant.

On the demise of Anavêma, the crown passed on to Anapôṭa's son Kumāragiri, who, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the *Haravilāsam* we learn that Kumāragiri was a contemporary of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1379-1399) and of the Bahmanī king Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1397-1422). Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great annual spring-festival (*vasantôtsava*) which Kumāragiri seems to have instituted. It is interesting to note that, at this period, the Telugu country had extensive trade relations—not only with other parts of India, but also with foreign countries. For, Tippa is said to have imported camphor trees from the Panjāb; golden sprouts (*baṅgaru-molaka*) from Jālānōgi;⁴ elephants from Simhala (Ceylon); horses from Hurumañji (Ormuz or Persia); essence (*drava*) of civet (*saṅkumada*) from Gôva (Goa); pearls from Āpaga;⁵ musk from Chôṭaṅgi,⁶ and silk cloths from China. It was in the time of Kumāragiri that the kingdom was divided into two and the Eastern part with Rajahmundry as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister Kāṭaya-Vêma.⁷ This separation seems to have been effected not later than the Śaka year 1308; for we have inscriptions of Kāṭaya-Vêma issued in that year.⁸

Kumāragiri seems to have been the last of Vêma's branch of the family, and on his death the crown passed to Vêma or Peda-Kômaṭi-Vêma, grandson of Vêma's elder brother Mācha. I know of two inscriptions of Kômaṭi-Vêma, one dated in the Śaka year 1331⁹ and the other in 1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of Kistna by the Tahsildar of Guṇṭūr. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by Śrinātha, who is described as the *Vidyādhikāri* to Kômaṭi-Vêma. The *Danḍakavilī* says that Kômaṭi-Vêma was a wise prince and walked in the ways of Anavêma, and it proceeds to state that Kômaṭi-Vêma was succeeded by his younger brother Rācha-Vêma, who was the last of the dynasty. In

¹ No. 268 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² An inscription of Anapôṭa dated in the Śaka year 1281 is at Mōṭṇapalli.

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

⁴ I am not able to identify these places.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 319.

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

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

the village of Aminābād in the Sattenapalli tāluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription¹ of Rācha-Vēma, son of Vēma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santāna-Sāgara, which had been dug by his mother Sūrāmbā. We know from the Phiraṅgipuram inscription² that Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's wife Sūrāmbā had a tank excavated and called it Santāna-Sāgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kōmaṭi's successor Rācha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the *Velugōṭivāri Vamsāvali*. This book says that Mācha (who was the only brother Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma seems to have had), son of Kōmaṭi, was killed in battle by Pina-Vēdagiri or Kumāra-Vēdagiri, great-grandson of Mādāniḍu who had fought with Anapōta-Redḍi at Dharanikōṭa, and that Mācha's elder brother Vēma killed Pina-Vēdagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vēdagiri's younger brother Liṅga. When Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The *Daṇḍakavilī* says that the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows:—

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

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

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

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमत्कोमलनीलनीरजरचिर्त्तोलावराहचिरं नातिप्रौढमृणालकंद-
- 2 ऋलसहृष्टांकुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्भूति क्रमेण विगच्छत्यायोधिनीलांश-
- 3 का रागादार्द्रतनूरिव क्षणमभूदामोदिनी मेदिनी । [१*] आसीत्कोस्तु[भर]-
द्वयं-
- 4 दिततनोर्द्वयस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्वयो भगवती गंगेव पुष्पीदया ।
- 5 आकल्पस्थिरजीवना विजगतीसंतारणोद्योगिनी पर्यायेण चतुर्थ-

¹ This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Śloka metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock named Pullaribōḍu, north-east of Aminābād which adjoins Phiraṅgipuram. At the end of the verse are the words *Śrinātha-kṛti*, i.e. 'Śrinātha's composition.'

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

³ From ink-impressions.

- 6 वर्णविततिर्गाभीर्यधैर्यप्रसूः । [२*] तद्वशाब्धौ सकलजनतामेषसं-
 7 पूर्णचंद्रो जातः] कीर्ति]प्रभवसदनं वेमयो वंशकर्त्ता ॥ यस्थोदधे सुर-^१
 8 ति सततं भास्वतीव प्रतापे नासीत्कंठेष्वरिमृगदृशां चारतारा[व]क्रिन्वीः
 [॥ ३*] तेना-
 9 जनि द्विजनिकायहितावतारः*] श्रेयान्गुणैस्तनुधृतां मरुतामिवेद्रः । वी-
 10 राग्रणीर्जगति कोमटिप्रोलनामा^२ प्रत्यर्थिभूपतिभुजंगविजंगराजः । [४*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 11 प्रभोरद्रिसुतेव पंकजभुवी देवी यथा भारती विष्णोस्त्रागरसंभवेव सरितां प-
 12 त्पूर्यथा जाङ्गवी । सूर्यस्येव सुवर्चला शशभृतः पुण्या यथा रोहिणी रुढा
 13 कोमटिप्रोलयस्थ^३ सदृशी भार्यान्नेमांसा सती । [५*] उत्थाहान्निदिवीकसां
 सुरत-
 14 रुन् क्षीरोर्मिरेखा यथा पुनात्कोमटिप्रोलयाङ्गुणवती^४ सासूत पंच क्र-
 15 मात् । अग्रे माधनृपालसुनतमथ श्रीवेमपृष्ठीपतिं पश्चाद्दोडयभू-
 16 पमन्नयनृपं श्रीमन्नयन्मापतिं । [६*] सत्येन सत्वेन^५ पराक्रमेण रूपेण
 17 बुध्या^६ च विराजतस्तान् । आणाय भूयोपि भुवोवतीर्णात्नूनं जनोमन्यत
 18 पांडुपुत्रान् । [७*] अथ सकलबुधानामाश्रयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवती-
 19 र्णः कंसमर्द्दिव देवः । कलिसमयविदृष्यहस्यभूपात्रिरस्यन्वहति सकल-
 20 पृथ्वीं देमयक्षोणिपालः । [८*] दृष्टानंतरराजभूरुहमहासीतीवहा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 21 निर्भरी नैत्रीसंगतराजकैरववनीसंपूर्णचंद्रोदयः । माद्यन्नेनृपा-
 22 लतूलपवनो ज्ञेच्छाब्धिकुंभोद्भवः श्रीमान् कोमटिवेमभूपतिरसौ वीरः
 23 कथं वर्ण्यते । [९*] रणशिरसि विचित्रं रायचैकोलुगंडप्रकटरक्तपाण्डु-
 24 र्चनगात्राः क्षणेन । सपदि वियति भिंदंत्युद्धतास्तथापप्रतिक्रितिमिनिधिं
 25 प्रत्यनीकक्षितींद्राः । [१०*] नित्यं ताकृष्णदर्पसुरितकुचभरोदारभृंदा-
 26 र्गनारीहेलासंचारलीलासुभगसुरपुरप्रांगणारोहणा-
 27 य । आ विंशद्वंशजानामतिकरुणतया येन पूर्वापराणां [नित्यं]^७ दा-
 28 नातिदानव्रतसुकृतमहादाननिश्रेणिशिल्पं । [११*] श्रीमत्काकेतवशशेखरमणे-
 29 रा वीररुद्रावृपात्पापैर्ज्ञेच्छनराधिपैरपहृता विप्राग्रहाराः कलौ । सर्वे ये-
 30 न समुद्धृतास्तमनघं श्रीवेमपृष्ठीपतिं वीरं विष्णुपराक्रमं कथम-

^१ Read स्फुरति.

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

^३ Read सत्येन.

^४ Read बुध्या.

^५ Read पण.

^६ Read स्फुरितं.

^७ Read व्यक्तं ?

^८ Read श्रीमत्काकति.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 31 [हो] स्तोतुं समर्था जनाः । [१२*] श्रीपद्मवन्निनेत्रांको धन्यो वेममहो-
पतिः । श्रीघोडे-
- 32 रायगंगास्थगुरुपादाजवद्दः । [१३*] आस्ते श्रीगिरिपूर्वपादनिकटादा
पू[र्वपा]-
- 33 योनिधेर्देशः कुंडितरंगिणीसुभयत[ः*] श्रीपूंगिनामांकितः । तस्मिन् भासु-
- 34 रसौधगोपुरवतो नित्योत्सवालंकृता नंदत्यौरजना विभाति नितरामहंकिना-
- 35 मा^१ पुरी । [१४*] उद्दंडमंडलिकमंडलकालदंडोद्दंडविक्रमविनिर्जि-
- 36 तवैरिलोकः । सोयं विभर्ति नगरीं नगराजधीर[ः*] श्रीवेमभूपतिरिमां^२
- 37 जगनीब्जगंडः । [१५*] सप्तसंतानवत्यासीत्तही वेमविभोरिति । स्वर्धयेव
धृताः कीर्त्या
- 38 गर्भे लोकास्तुर्दश । [१६*] श्रीशकाब्दे कुधरर्तुभानु १२६७ गणिते
चैत्र्यां श-
- 39 शांके तमोग्रस्ते विप्रगणाय वेमनृपतिर्मांडूकशंभोः पुरः । प्राद-
- 40 त्त स्फुटमातुकूहमनघस्त्रैश्वर्यभोगाष्टकं श्रीकृष्णोत्तरकूलसंस्थम-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 41 तुलं ग्रामं महाश्रेयसे । [१७*] खनामचिह्नितं कृत्वा दत्तो वेमम[हो-
भु]जा । ये-
- 42 ष्ठी भात्यग्रहाराणां ग्रामो वेमपुराज्यः । [१८*] श्री

No. 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA;

A.D. 1422.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanarese characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr. Rice.⁴ My edition is based on excellent inked estampages⁶ received from Prof. Hultzsch.

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kūshmāṇḍinī-yakshi which is set up in the Brahmādēva-maṇḍapa in front of the Gummaṭa temple on the Vindhyaḡiri at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa. The inscription begins on the south face. Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two *chauris*, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised. Next come two lines of the

¹ Read °नाशी.² The *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line.³ Read स्फुट°.⁴ *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 82.⁵ No. 7 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891..

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

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanarese. The average height of the letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ ", but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes; compare *śrī* in ll. 1 and 3, *jā* in l. 21, *jaī* in l. 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l. 31, the sign for *anusvāra*, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D., medial *ē* is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in *ḡē* in l. 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in *dhē* in l. 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial *ai* and *ō*. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. *Tē*, e.g., shows the first form in ll. 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll. 7, 34, 77, 96, 111; *nē* the first in ll. 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll. 58, 59; *rē* the first in ll. 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll. 101, 110; *baī* the first in l. 3, the second in l. 8; *vaī* the first in ll. 6, 33, 89, the second in l. 71; *mō* the first in l. 1, the second in ll. 44, 80, 100; *yō* the first in ll. 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll. 31, 109, 110; etc.—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are *jaṅghālaka*, 'swift-footed,' in l. 17, *prakōpa*, 'incensed with passion,' in l. 33, *dhaṭ*, 'to charge,' apparently meant as the root of the noun *dhātī*, in l. 34, *prōllāsat*, 'shining,' which owes its origin merely to the metre, in l. 39, *saustava*, 'praise,' in l. 63, *vaikhari*, 'speech,' in l. 80.—As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final *t* is changed into *d* before *j* in *jagad=jayamtaḥ* (l. 9) and *-bhavad=jagati* (l. 15), but the correct *sandhi* is found in *atanōj=jainā-* (l. 20). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in *varnaḥ* (l. 44), *dharmnanēshu* (l. 59), *karnnair* (l. 66), *ākīrnṇair* (l. 68) and *-ārṇṇava-* (l. 94). Initial *i* appears as *yī* in *Yirugapa-* (ll. 12, 61, 105) and initial *ē* as *yē* in *supātra yēva* (l. 57). The *y* after *j* is dropped in *jāyān* (l. 24). *S* is written instead of *ś* in *śrayas* (l. 16). The spelling *sallāpī* (l. 86) instead of *samlāpī* is according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary* a Kanarese peculiarity. Occasionally the groups *chchh*, *ddh*, *bbh* are spelt *chhchh*, *dhdh*, *bbbh*, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

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

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

¹ Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 116.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 152.

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

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (*yati*, *yamin*) called *Paṇḍitārya*. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of *Śrutamuni* is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this *Śrutamuni* stood to *Paṇḍitārya*. The second group of verses is added to the first quite abruptly, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that *Paṇḍitārya* and *Śrutamuni* are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jaina monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa* epitaph of *Mallishēpa*,⁴ for instance, furnishes the following parallels: *Śrīpālādēva-Traividya*, *Hēmasēna-Vidyādhanaṃjaya*, *Ajitasēna-Vādibhasimha-Vādibhakaṇṭhīra*, *Śāntinātha-Kavitākānta-Kāntasānti*, *Padmanābha-Vādikōlāhala*, *Mallishēpa-Maladhārin*.

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

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that *Beluguḷa* is *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa* itself, and that the holy *Gummaṭēśvara* is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the *Vindhyagiri* to the south of the village.⁶

TEXT.⁷

South Face.

- 1 श्रीमत्परमगंभीरस्यादादामोघलाङ्कनं [१*] जी-
- 2 याज्ञैलोक्यनाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनं ॥ [१*] ॐ ॥ ॐ
- 3 श्रीबुक्करायस्य बभूव मन्त्री श्रीवैवदंडेख-
- 4 रनामधेयः । नोतियंदीया निखिलाभिनंदा नि:-

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

² Above, Vol. VII. p. 115 f.

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

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 189 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII. p. 115, note 2.

⁶ See *ibid.* p. 108 and Plate.

⁷ From inked estampages supplied by Prof. Hultsch.

- 5 शेषयामास विपक्षलोकं ॥ [२*] दानं चेत्कथयामि तु-
 6 अपदवीं गाहेत संतानको वैदग्ध्यं यदि सा वृद्धस्यति-
 7 कथा कुत्रापि संलीयते । क्षातिं चेदनपायिनीं जड-
 8 तथा सृष्टेत सर्वसहा स्तोत्रं वैचपदंडनेतुरव-
 9 नौ ग्रहं कवीनां कथं ॥ [३*] तस्मादजायंत जगद्व्ययंतः^१ पु-
 10 न्नास्यो भूषितचारुशीलाः । यैर्भूषितो-^२
 11 जायत मध्यलोको रत्नैस्त्रिभिर्जैन इवापव-
 12 र्गः ॥ [४*] ^३यिरुगपदंडनाथमथ बुक्कणमप्यनु-
 13 जो स्वमहिमसंपदा विरचयन् सुतरां प्रथि-
 14 तौ । प्रतिभट्टकामिनीपृथुपयोधरहारहरो
 15 महितगुणोभवद्वज्रगति^४ मंगपदंडपतिः ॥ [५*] दा[रि]क्ष-
 16 ण्यप्रथमास्पदं सुचरितस्यैकाग्रयस्मत्पुत्रा-^५
 17 गाधारस्ततं वदान्यपदवीसंचारजंघाल-
 18 कः [६*] धर्मोपपन्नतरुः ^६स्माकुलगृहं सौजन्यसंके-
 19 तभूः कीर्ति मंगपदंडपोयमतनो-
 20 ज्जैनागमानुव्रतः ॥ [७*] जानकीत्यभवदस्य गेहिनी
 21 चारुशीलगुणभूषणोज्ज्वला^७ । जा-
 22 नकीव तनुवृत्तमध्यमा राघवस्य रमणी-
 23 यतेजसः ॥ [८*] आस्तां तयोरस्तमितारिवर्णी पु-
 24 त्रौ पवित्रोक्तधर्ममार्गी^८ । ^९जायानभूतत्र
 25 जगद्विजेता भव्याग्रणीवैचपदंडनाथः ॥ [९*] इ-
 26 रुगपदंडाधिपतिस्तस्यावरजस्मस्त-
 27 गुणशाली । यस्य यशसंद्रिकया मीलंति दि-
 28 वाप्यरातिमुखपद्माः ॥ [१०*] वृ ॥ ब्रह्मन् भाळलि-
 29 पिं प्रमार्ज्य न चेद्ब्रह्मत्वज्ञानभवेदन्या^९
 30 कल्पय काल राजनगरीं तद्वैरिपु-
 31 ध्वोभृतां । वेतालव्रज ^{१०}वर्धयोदरततिं
 32 पानाय नव्यासृजां ^{११}युधायोध्वतशात्र-
 33 वैरिरुगपद्मापः प्रकीपोभवत् ॥ [१०*] यात्रा-

^१ Read जगद्व्ययंतः.^४ Read ^०भवजगति.^७ Read ^०णीज्ज्वला.^{१०} Read वर्धयो.^२ Read यैर्भूषितो.^३ Read ^०कायय.^६ Read व्यायान.^{११} Read युधायोध्वत.^५ Read इवमप.^८ Read यमाकुल.^९ Read ^०ज्ञानिभवे.

- 34 यां ध्वजिनीपतेरिगपक्ष्मापस्य धाटीध-
 35 टपोटीघोरखुरप्रहारततिभिः प्रो-
 36 ¹धूतधूम्रजैः [1*] रुध्वे² भानुकरेगम-

East Face.

- 37 द्विपुकरांभोजं च संकीचनं प्रापत्कीर्त्तिकुसुहती
 38 विकसनं दीप्तः प्रतापनलः³ ॥ [११*] यात्रायाभि-
 39 रुगेक्षरेण सहसा शून्यारिसौधांगणप्रो-
 40 क्षासद्विधुकांतकांतशकलैगच्छदनेभाधिपः [1*]
 41 हत्वा स्वप्रतिमां प्रतिद्विपमिति क्लृप्तैकदंत-⁴
 42 स्तदा चाहि चाहि गजाननेति बहुधा वेता-
 43 ऋवृदैः[*] स्तुतः ॥ [१२*] को धात्रा लिखितं ललाटफ-
 44 लके वर्ण⁵ प्रमार्ष्टु क्षमो वार्त्ता धूर्त्तवचो-
 45 मयीमिति वयं वार्त्तात्र मन्यामहे ।
 46 ⁶यध्वाच्याभिरुगेद्रदंडनृपती संजा-
 47 तमात्रे प्रियो नि[*]श्वोरप्यधिकश्रियाघ-
 48 टि रिपुक्षश्वोरपश्वोक्तः ॥ [१३*] यद्वाहाविरु-
 49 गेद्रदंडनृपतेर्बिम्बत्वनंताधुर⁸ शेषा-
 50 धीशफणागणे नियमितां स स्वांगनाया-
 51 क्षदा । गाढालिंगनसांद्रसंभवसुखप्रोद्भू-
 52 तरोमावलिः साहस्री रसनामधात्तव गु-
 53 णान् स्तोतुं कृता[*]त्यः फणी ॥ [१४*] आहारसंपदभया-
 54 र्पणमौषधं च शास्त्रं च तस्य समजायत
 55 नित्यदानं । हिंसानृतान्यवनिताश्चसनं स-
 56 चौर्यं मूर्च्छा च देशवशतोस्य बभू-
 57 व दूरे ॥ [१५*] दानं चास्य सुपात्र धेव⁹ करुणा
 58 दोनेषु दृष्टिर्जिने ¹⁰भक्तिर्दर्मपथे जिनेद्रय-
 59 शसामाकर्षणे¹¹ श्रुतो । जिह्वा तद्गुणकीर्त्त-
 60 नेषु वपुषः सौख्यं च तद्वंदने प्राणं तच्च-
 61 रणाजसोरभभरे सर्वं च तत्सर्वने ॥ [१६*] यि-¹²

¹ Read ०वृत्त°.

⁴ Read क्लृप्तैक°.

⁷ Read ललाटफ°.

¹⁰ Read भक्तिर्दर्म°.

² Read रुध्वे.

⁵ Read वर्ण°.

⁸ Read ०नृपते विमल°.

¹¹ Read ०कर्षणेनेषु.

³ Read दीप्ति प्रतापनलः.

⁶ Read यद्वाहा°.

⁹ Read एव.

¹² Read इ°.

- 62 रुगपदंडनाथयशसा धवले भुवने
 63 मलिनिमसौस्तवः परमधीरदृशां चिकुरे [1*]
 64 वहति च तस्य बाहुपरिधे धरणीवल-
 65 यं 'परमितरितराक्रमकथापि च
 66 तत्कुचयोः ॥ [१७*] 'कर्णैर्विष्मृतकुंडलै-
 67 रतिलकासंगैर्लला-
 68 टस्थलैराकीर्णैरल-^३
 69 कैः पयोधरतटैर-
 70 स्पृष्टसुक्तागुणैः । बिंबो-
 71 छैरपि वैरिराजसदृशस्तांबू-^४
 72 लरागोज्झितैर्यस्य स्फारतरं मू-^५
 73 तापमसकृद्वाकुर्वले^६ सर्वतः ॥ [१८*]

West Face.

- 74 यत्कीर्त्तिभिः सुरधुनीपरिलंघिनीभि धीते' चि-
 75 राय निजविंबगते कळंके । स्वच्छात्मकस्तुद्धिन-
 76 दोधितिरंगनानामव्याजमाननरुचिं कबलो-
 77 करोति ॥ [१९*] यत्पादाभरजःकणो^७ प्रसुवते
 78 भक्त्यानतानां भुवं यत्कारुण्यकटा-
 79 चकांतिलहरी प्रक्षालयत्याशयं ।
 80 मोहाहंकरणं क्षिणोति विमला यद्वै-
 81 खरीमौखरी वंद्यः कस्य न माननीयम-
 82 ह्रीमा^८ श्रीपंडितार्थी यतिः ॥ [२०*] मंदा-
 83 रद्रुममंजरीमधुभरीमंजुस्फुरन्मा-^{१०}
 84 धुरीप्रौढाहंकतिरुटिपाटवपरोपा-
 85 टीक्ष्णकाटीभटः । ^{११}नृत्यदृक्पदगत्तं-
 86 विलुठत्स्वर्णाककलीलिनीसंज्ञापो^{१२} खलु यं-
 87 डितार्थयमिनो व्याख्यानकोष्ठा-

^१ Read 'मितरितरा'.

^४ Read 'जसदृश'.

^५ Read 'नीभिर्धौते'.

^२ Read कर्णैर्वि.

^३ Read प्र.

^६ Read 'कथा'.

^७ Read 'राकीर्णैर'.

^८ Read 'कुर्वते'.

^९ Read 'महिमा'.

^{१०} At first 'मधुजरी' was engraved, but the ज has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small क has been written above it.

^{११} Read 'नृत्यदृक्'.

^{१२} Read 'संज्ञापी'.

- 88 वृळः ॥ [२१*] कारुण्यप्रथमावतारस-
 89 रणिश्रांतेर्निश्रांतं स्थिरं वैदुष्यस्य तपःफ-
 90 लं सुजनतासीभाग्यभाग्योदयः ।
 91 कंदर्पद्विरदेद्रपंचवदनः काव्याम्-
 92 तानां 'खनीर्जनाध्वंवरभास्करः श्रुत-
 93 मुनिर्जागर्ति नम्रात्तिजित् ॥ [२२*] यु-
 94 त्थागमार्चवविलोलनमंदराद्रिः' शब्दाग-
 95 भांखुरहकाननबालसूर्यः । श्रु-
 96 ध्वाशयः^३ प्रतिदिनं परमागमेन संवर्धते
 97 'श्रुतमुनीर्यतिसार्वभौमः ॥ [२३*] तत्संनिधौ
 98 वेळुगुळे जगदश्रुतीर्थे श्रीमानसावि-
 99 रगपाङ्कजदंडनाथः [१*] श्रीगुंमटेश्वर-
 100 सनातनभोगहेतोरर्थाभीक्ष्णं वेळुगु-
 101 ळाख्यमदत्त धीरः ॥ [२४*] यमकृति वत्सरे ज-
 102 यति कार्तिकमासि तिथौ सुरमय-
 103 नस्य पुष्टिसुपञ्जमुषि शीतवचो । सदुप-
 104 वनं स्तुतिर्भित्तनवीनतटाकयुतं सचिव-
 105 कुलाग्रणीरदित तीर्थंवरं सुदितः ॥ [२५*] यि-^५
 106 रगपदंडाधीश्वरविमलयशःकलम-
 107 वधनचेचं । आचंद्रतारकमिदं वे-
 108 ळुगुळतीर्थं प्रकाशतामनुलं ॥ [२६*] ॐ ॥
 109 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानात् त्रेयोनुपालनं^७ । दानात् स्वर्गम-
 110 वाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥ [२७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च
 व-
 111 सुधरां । 'वष्टिर्धर्मसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः^९ ॥ [२८*] ॐ ॥
 112 मगल^{१०} महाश्री श्री श्री श्री श्री [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

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

^१ Read खनिर्जो^०.

^४ Read 'मुनिर्यो^०.

^७ Read वष्टिं वर्षं^०.

^{१०} Read संमलं.

^२ Read 'मार्चव'.

^३ Read इ^०.

^५ Read विष्टायां.

^६ Read यथाशयः.

^८ Read दानाश्रेयो^०.

^९ Read क्रमिः.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² The three jewels (*triratna*), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a Śramaṇa who wants to attain eternal beatitude, are *jñāna* or knowledge of things as revealed in the *āgamas*, *darsana* or faith in what is taught there, and *cāritra* or *dharma*, moral discipline; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Skt. MSS.*, 1883-84, p. 100.

³ The attributes of Rāma and Sītā are applicable to **Maṅgapa** and **Jānaki** also, and *vice versā*.

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

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

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

⁷ His enemies clenched their fists in rage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² I.e. the Gaṅgā.

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

⁴ I.e. the Gaṅgā.

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

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

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

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

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

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual imprecations.]

No. 5.—TAJAGUNDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered in 1894 by Mr. B. Lewis Rice, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore.¹ From a photograph and a transcript furnished by him, a preliminary notice of it was published by the late Prof. Bühler in September 1895, in the *Academy*;² and about the same time a summary of its contents was given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 286 f., from an ink-impression lent by Mr. Rice. The inscription has now been edited by its discoverer, with a photo-lithograph and translation, in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 200 ff. I re-edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.³

According to Mr. Rice, the inscription is engraved on a pillar of very hard grey granite, which stands in front of the ruined Prapaśēśvara⁴ temple at Tāḷagunda, in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. The pedestal of the pillar "is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at the top, a little more at the base. The shaft is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high,⁵ each face being 7 inches wide, but tapering slightly towards the top." Seven faces of the shaft contain each two vertical lines of writing which commences at the bottom, while on the 8th face there is only one short line (line 15 of the text), written in the same way. "The invocation at the beginning" of the inscription (*i.e.* the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaś=Śivāya* || of line 1) "is on the pedestal, and runs up connecting with the first line." In the impressions the length of lines 1-14, disregarding the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaś=Śivāya* ||

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

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

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

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

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

of line 1, varies between 5' 11" (in line 10) and 6' 5" (in lines 1 and 2); that of line 15 is only 2' 5". The size of such *aksharas* as *ja*, *ma*, *ya*, *va* is between $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{7}{8}$ ", while the average height of *aksharas* like *a*, *ka*, *ra*, *pra*, *vya*, *jja*, *mā*, *mri* is between 2 and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription is most carefully written and engraved, and is generally in so perfect a state of preservation that nearly every syllable of it may be read with certainty.—The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet. Among Kadamba inscriptions, they seem to resemble most those of the Dēvagēri plates of the 4th year and the Hitpahebbāgilu plates of Mrigēsavarman,¹ but, as is elsewhere the case with stone-inscriptions, they exhibit a more regular and artistic style of writing than is found in the copper-plates. Of initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i* (e.g. in *itya*, l. 10), *u* (in *udavarha*, l. 5), and *ē* (e.g. in *ēvam*, l. 3); and of the consonants, all excepting *jh*, *ṭh*, *ph*, and *ḷ*, but *chh* occurs only as subscript letter (e.g. in *chchhāyā*, l. 11). Attention may perhaps be drawn here to the signs for *kh* (e.g. in *-śekharaḥ*, l. 8), *ñ* (e.g. in *bhañgur*, l. 7), *j* (e.g. in *jayatī*, l. 1), *ṅ* (e.g. in *yajñā*, l. 2, and *pañchabhira*, l. 13), *ḍ* (in *-mṛḍita*, l. 11, *-chḍā-maṇayaḥ*, l. 13, and *taḍākam*, l. 14), *ḍh* (in *-saṁrūḍha*, l. 3), *th* and *dh* (e.g. in *rividha-yajñā-vabhṛitha*, l. 2), *b* (e.g. in *brahma*, l. 4), and *l* (e.g. in *-kulam*, l. 2, and *Pallavendra*, l. 4); and to the peculiar form² of the subscript *ṇ* in *-aparārṇav*, l. 7. As regards medial vowels, it may suffice to point out the two forms of the *akshara nā*, employed e.g. in *gurunā* and *śarmmanā*, both at the commencement of line 4, and the manner in which *ā* is written in the *akshara tā*³ (of *-jatā*, l. 1). The alphabet includes the signs of the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmanīya* (e.g. in *-nīpunak-kaviḥ* and *-kuśalāḥ-prajā*, both at the end of line 9); those of final *m* (e.g. in *siddham*, l. 1, and *-maṇḍalam*, l. 2), final *t* (e.g. in *bhayāt*, l. 1, and *tat*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *yō-rin*, l. 9); and the sign of punctuation consisting of two vertical lines.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *Siddham* [||] *Namaḥ-Śivāya* || and the words in line 15, the whole is in verse. The orthography suggests the following remarks. Within a half-verse and in the words *Namaḥ-Śivāya* of line 1, the final *visarga* of a word before one of the three sibilants is *always* (altogether 19 times) assimilated to the sibilant. Before a surd guttural (*k* or *kh*) it is nine times changed to the *jihvāmālīya* and left unchanged twice, both times at the end of a Pāda (in *-līlāḥ Kākustha*, l. 10, and *-sthaḥ Kubjaḥ*, l. 14). The *jihvāmālīya* is also employed in *duḥkham*, l. 4. Before *p*—*ph* does not occur—*visarga* is changed to the *upadhmanīya* five times and left unchanged seven times (once, in *putraḥ prathīta*, l. 9, at the end of a Pāda). Before the conjuncts *sn* and *st* (but not before *sv* and *śr*) *visarga* is dropped, in *brāhmaṇai snātakai stūyamānā*, l. 13. In the words *say-iḥa* (for the ordinary *sa iḥa*) of line 13 the final *visarga* of *saḥ* has by Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 (or 18) been changed to (the ordinary or the *laghuprayatnatara*) *y*.⁴—The final *m* of a word remains unchanged, and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in the word *siddham* in line 1 and *always* at the end of a half-verse; exceptionally (and wrongly) also at the end of the odd Pādas of verse 28. Otherwise final *m* before a consonant is changed to *anuvāra* except in *āpadan-tān-dhāra-yām-āsa* (for *āpadaṁ tān dhā*), l. 6, *yan-daiva-* (for *yaṁ daiva-*), l. 13, *yam-mitram*, l. 7, *prithivim-prasaḥya*, l. 9, *tam-bhūpālī*, l. 11, *-sambhrama*, l. 12, and *taḍākam-mahat*, l. 14. In

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

² In the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarmān (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365), the Sātārā plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309), and elsewhere, the subscript *ṇ* of *rṇa* is denoted by the sign of the dental *n*. The subscript *ṇ* of the present inscription has a somewhat similar form.

³ In the colotype facsimile the upward stroke, rising from the end of the top-line of the sign for *tā*, by which *ā* is denoted, is not clearly visible. The same sign for *tā* is quite clear e.g. in the word *ghatā* in line 10 of the Aihole inscription, above, Vol. VI. p. 6.

⁴ Hémachandra gives as an example *kay-iḥa*, for the ordinary *ka iḥa*. With this we may compare *kay-iṇa* for *ka iṇa* in line 25 of the Kaṭhēm plates of Vikramāditya V., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22. In line 11 of the Bādāmi (Mahākūṭa) pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 17) I would similarly suggest *say=uttā* for *sag=uttā*.

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

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

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

¹ Since writing my paper on *ghaṭikā*, I have come across the word *ghaṭikāsāhasa*, which in line 41 of the Hallegere plates of the W. Gaṅga Śivamāra I. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. p. 108, where it is wrongly transcribed by *ghaṭikā-sahasra*) occurs as an epithet of a Brāhmaṇ. I have little doubt that this word is identical with the words *gahiyasāhasa*, *ghaiśasa*, mentioned above, Vol. VI. p. 241, note 2. In Hémachandra's *Dhātunāmā*, II. 105, to which Prof. Pischel has drawn my attention, we find *ghaṭiaghāṭā* (i.e. *ghaṭikaghāṭā* or *ghaṭikāghāṭā*), paraphrased by *gōṣṭhī*.

² In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *iva . . . tathā* is used like *yathā . . . tathā*, but passages like VII. 7, 18 ff., where this is the case, are somewhat different from the one in our text. Exactly like the *iva . . . tadvat* of the text I find *iva* (or *va*) . . . *evam* used in the Pāli Gāthās; compare e.g. *Jāt.* Vol. IV. p. 172, l. 11: *Gavaṃ va siṅgaṃ siṅgaṃ vaddhamānassa vaddhāti evaṃ mundaṇassa paṇassa dāṇassa evijānato bhayya taṇhā pipāsā cha vaddhamānassa vaddhāti*, 'as the horn grows, so thirst grows.'

³ Verse 34 gives the name of the author, who also wrote the inscription on the stone.

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

⁵ I have published a short paper on this metre in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1899, p. 182 ff. As that paper is in German, I repeat here what has been stated in it.

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

Pādas 1 and 3: $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$ (15 Mātrās);

Pādas 2 and 4: $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$ (15 Mātrās).

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

$\cup \cup - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup$ (16 Mātrās);

and $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$ (17 Mātrās).³

Examples of Pādas showing these subsidiary schemes are:—

V. 2, Pāda 3: yat-prasādas-trāyatē nityam;

V. 4, Pāda 1: atha babhūva dvija-kulam prāmśu;

V. 5, Pāda 1: vividha-yajñ-āvabhṛitha-puṇy-āmbu-;

and V. 11, Pāda 3: Kali-yugē-sminn-ahō bata kshatrāt;

V. 21, Pāda 3: Prēhar-āntām-ananyasamcharaṇa-.

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

Jitam=abbikshnam=śva Jāmbavatī- vadanāravind-ōrjīt-ālinā |
dānavāṅganā-mukhāmbhōja- lakshmi-tushārēṇa Viṣṇunā ||

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

[Ari]narēndra-mauli-vinyasta- maṇi-kirāṇa-lidha-kramāmbujah ||
Pravarasēnas-tasya putrō-bhūd- vikasannavēndīvar-ēkshana[ḥ ||]

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

Iti sur-ēyam pañcha-pañch-āhād= rasa-varṇpa-gandhaiḥ samanvitā ||
bhavati tailam nāmataś=ch-ēdam= undhram=atyarthakārmukam ||
Tailam-ētaḍ-yah surām-api vā puruṣaḥ prayujjita yatnataḥ ||
pariharamti tam gad-ānīkāny= ājau krit-āstrān=iv-ētarē ||

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The³ *Kadambas* were a Brāhmaṇ family, devoted to the study of the Vēdas and the performance of sacrificial rites; their name, the poet says, they had received from the fact that they carefully tended a *kadamba* tree which grew near their home. Now once upon a time a member of this family, named Mayūrasārman, went with his *guru* to (*Kāñchipura*), the city of the *Pallavas*, to study fully the sacred writings. The poet tells how he became exasperated there with the Kshatriya *Pallavas* and, abandoning his priestly vocation, took up the sword, ‘eager to conquer the earth.’ Mayūrasārman defeated the frontier-guards of the *Pallavas* and occupied the forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.⁴ He levied tribute from the Great Bāṇa⁵ and other kings, and caused much trouble by his raids. The *Pallava* kings of Kāñchi, finding it impossible to subdue him even when they had taken the field with a large army, and recognizing his valour and ability, then made a compact with him by which he entered their service and eventually received a territory of his own, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east (?) by the (?) *Prōhara*(?), of which he was anointed chief or king. His son was Kaṅgavarman,⁶ and

¹ I quote from the English translation.

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

³ For the details, see the translation, below.

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

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

⁶ It is significant that, while the name of the founder of the family, Mayūrasārman, ends with *sārman*, the names of nearly all his descendants (Kaṅgavarman, Kākusthavarmā, Śāntivarman, Mṛigēsavarman, Māndhātṛivarman, etc.) end with *varman*. The former is the characteristic ending of a Brāhmaṇ's name, the latter that of a Kshatriya's. In the inscriptions of the later *Kadambas* Mayūrasārman's name, too, appears as Mayūṛavarman; see my *Southern List*, No. 210.

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

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

The word *Gupta* in verse 31, which implies that Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, has been understood² to refer in all probability to the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. But beyond the fact that Samudragupta conquered many kings of Southern India, nothing has been adduced to prove this. Granted that Kubja's account cannot be due solely to poetical exaggeration, the Gupta king or kings mentioned by him might, irrespectively of other considerations, be any of the Gupta rulers down to the seventh century A.D., and the reference to them cannot in my opinion be used to establish the time of Kākusthavarman with any degree of accuracy. When the poet Bāṇa³ tells us that the lotus-feet of his great-grandfather Kuvēra were adored by many Guptas, we may infer that these Guptas were kings who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century, because we know Bāṇa himself to have lived at the beginning of the seventh. But if nothing were known regarding Bāṇa's own time, the statement would not help us in the least to fix in any definite way the time of his great-grandfather.

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

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

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

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27.

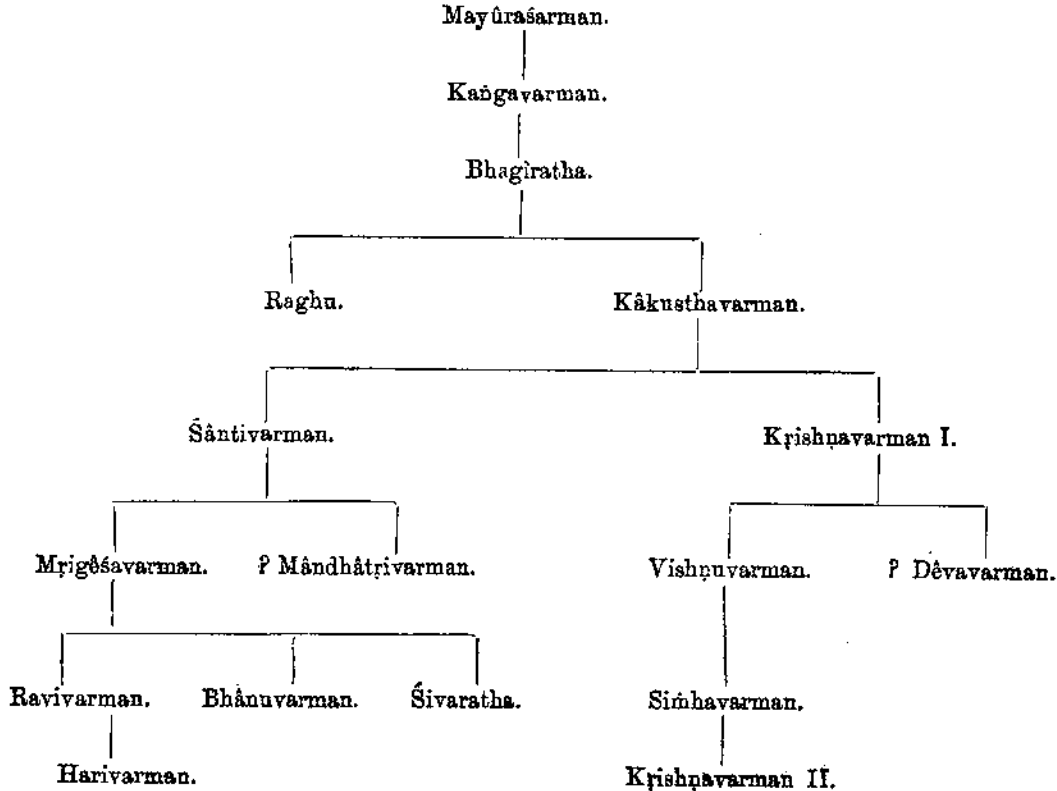
³ See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kaddambart: anśka-Guṇṭa-droṇita-pādāpāṇṭajāḥ Kuvēra-sāma*. The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Vaiśyas and Śūdras.'

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

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

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

Genealogical Table.



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

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

² I have some doubts about the genuineness of the Bīrūr plates, but see no reason to question what is stated in them regarding the degree of relationship between Viṣṇuvarman and Śāntivarman.

³ The word *jyēshṭha-pitri* is synonymous with *jyēshṭha-īdā* which in the *Vaijayanā* is explained by *pitri-jyēshṭha*, 'a father's eldest brother'; and it is actually used in this sense in the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II. Jagadēkamalla, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 17a, l. 4. I may note besides that in *Rām.* VII. 25, 28, Mālyavat, the eldest brother of Sumālī, is called the *pitā jyēshṭha* of Sumālī's daughter Kaikāśī, i.e. 'the eldest brother of the father' of Kaikāśī. (*Ibid.* verse 24 Mālyavat's granddaughter Kumbhīnāśī is called 'the sister' of Sumālī's grandson Rāvaṇa, and in verse 47 Rāvaṇa is called 'the brother' of the same Kumbhīnāśī. This shows how vaguely words denoting relationship were used already in early times in India.)

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

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

TEXT.⁶

- 1 Siddham? [||] Namaś=Śivāya || Jayati⁸ viśvadē[va]-⁹sa[m]ghāta-nichit-aikamūrttis= sanātanah Sthānu(ṇu)r-indu-raśmi-vichohhurita.¹⁰dyutimaj-jatābhāra-mandanah || [1*]
 Tam=anu bhūsurā dvija-pravarās=sāma-rg-yajur-vvēda-vādinah yat-prasādas-trāyatē nityam bhuvana-trayam pāpmanō bhayāt || [2*] Annapadam Surēndra-tulya- [va]puh=Kākusthavarmamā viśāla-dhīh bhūpatih=Kadamba-senāni-brihad-¹¹anvaya- vy[ō]ma-chandramāh
 2 || [3*] Atha babhūva dvija-kulam prāmśu vicharad-guṇēndvamśu-maṇḍalam tryārshavartma-Hāritīputram=riṣhirunkhya-Mānavya-gōtra-jam || [4*] Vividha-yajū- āvabbhitha-puṇy-āmbu-niyat-ābbishék-ādra-mūddhajam pravachan-āvagāha-nishṇātām

¹ See above, Vol. VI, p. 13.

² See *ibid.* p. 17.

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

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV, p. 196, note 4.

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

⁶ From impressions supplied by Prof. Hultsch.

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

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

⁹ The *akṣara* in brackets might perhaps be read as *ḍa* (or rather *ḍa*), but the preceding *akṣara* is clearly *ḍḍ*, not *ḍḍ*.

¹⁰ The reading *vichohhurita* is certain.

¹¹ The *akṣara* *bri* of *brihad*- has no superscript *r*.

- vidhivat=samiddh-âgni sôma-pam || [5*] Prapavapûrvva-shadvidhâddhyêya-
nânardyamân-ântarâlayam ||² akriśa-châturmmâśya-hôm-êhṭi paśu-pârvvapa-ârâddha-
paushṭikam || [6*]
- 3 Atithi-nityaśamśrit-âvasatham savanatrav-³âvandhya-naityakam griha-samîpa-dêśa-
samrûḍha-vikasat-kadamb-aika-pâdapam || [7*] Tad-upachâravat=tad=âśya tarôś-
sânâmya-sâdharmyam=asya tat pravavritê satîrtthya-viprâṇam prâchuryyatas=tad-
viśêṣhanam || [8*] Ëvam=âgatê Kadamba-kulê śrîmân=babhûva dvij-ôttamah
nâmatô Mayûraśarm-êti śruta-śîla-śouch-âdy-alamkṛitah || [9*]
- 4 Yaḥ prayâya Pallavêndra-purîm gurupâ samam Viraśarmmapâ adhijigâmsuḥ-
pravachanam nikhilam⁴ ghaṭikâm vivêś-âśu tarkkukah⁵ || [10*] Tatra
Pallav-âśvasamsthêna kalabêna tivrêna rôṣhitah Kali-yugê=sminn=ahô bata
kshatrât=paripêlavâ vipratâ yataḥ || [11*] Gura-kulâni samyag-ârâddhya
sâkham=adhity-âpi yatnataḥ brahma-siddhir=yyadi nrip-âdhinâ kim=ataḥ=param
duḥkham=ity=ataḥ || [12*]
- 5 Kuśa-samid-dṛishat-srug-âjya-charu-grahan-âdi-dakshêṇa pâninâ udvavarha⁶ dīptimach-
chhastram vijigîṣhamâṇô vasundharâm || [13*] Yô=ntapâlân=Pallavêndrânâm
sahasâ vinirjitya samyugê addhyuvâsa durggamâm=aṭavîm Śrîparvvata-dvâra-
samśritâm || [14*] Âdadê karân=Bṛihad-Bâṇa-pramukhâd=babhûn=râja-maṇḍalât
ëvam=êbhîḥ=Pallavêndrânâm bhṛikuṭi-samutpatti-kârapaiḥ || [15*]
- 6 Svapratijûâ-pâraṇ-ôthhâna-laghubhîḥ=kṛit-ârtthais=cha chêsṭitaiḥ bhûṣhanair=iv=âbabhau
balavad-yâtrâ-samutthâpanêna cha || [16*] Abhiyuyukshay=âgatêṣhu bhṛîśam
Kâñchi-narêndrêṣv=arâtîṣhu vishama-[d]êśa-prayâṇa-samvêśa-rajaniṣv=avaskanda-
bhûmîṣhu || [17*] Prâpya sênâ-sâgarâm têṣhâm prâhan=balî śyênavat=tadâ
âpadan=tân=⁸dhârayâm=âsa bhujakhadgamâttra-[vya]pâśrayaḥ || [18*]
- 7 Pallavêndrâ yaśya śaktim=imâm labdhvâ pratâp-ânvayâv=api n=âśya hânîś-
êrêyas=ity=uktâ yam=mitram=êv=âśu vavirê || [19*] Samśritas=tadâ mahîpâlân=
ârâddhya yuddhêṣhu vikkramaiḥ prâpa paṭṭabandha-sampûjâm kara-pallavaiḥ=
Pallavair=ddhṛitâm || [20*] Bhaṅgur-ôrmmi-valgitair=nṛityad-aparârṇav-⁹ambhaḥ-
kṛit-âvadhîm¹⁰Prêhar-ântâm=ananyasamcharana-samaya-sthitâm bhûmim=êva cha
|| [21*]
- 8 Vibudha-saṅgha-manli-samprîṣṭa-charanâravindash-Shadânanah yam=abhihiktavân=
anndhyâya Sênâpatîm mâtṛibhis=saha || [22*] Tasya putrah=Kaṅgavarmm-ôgra-
samar-ôddh[u]ra-prâ[m]śu-chêsṭitah prapata-sarvva-maṇḍal-ôtk[r]iṣṭa-¹¹sita-châmar-
ôddh[û]ta-sêkharah || [23*] Tat-s[u]taḥ=Kadamba-bhûmivadhû-ruchit-aikanâthô
Bhagirathah Sagara-mukhyas=s[v]ayam Kadamba-kulê¹² prach[ch]an[u]ja-jan-
[m]â jan-âdhipah || [24*]
- 9 Atha¹³ nripa-mahitasya tasya putrah prathita-yaśâ Raghu-pârththivah prithu-śrîḥ
Prithur=iva prithivîm=prasahya yô=rîn¹⁴ akṛita parâkkramatas=svava[m]śa-bhôjyâm
|| [25*] Pratibhaya-samarêṣv=arâti-śastr-ôllikbîta-mukhê=bhimukha-dvishâ[m]

¹ Originally °ddhyêyam seems to have been engraved; the akshara ddhyê is certain.

² This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

³ Perhaps the original has savanattray-.

⁴ Read nikhilam; the sign of anusvâra of lam is quite clear.

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

⁶ Originally udvavarhê seems to have been engraved.

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

⁸ Originally âpadantâmdhâ seems to have been engraved.

⁹ This word is quite clear in the original.

¹⁰ The second akshara of this word is distinctly ka, and cannot possibly be read ma.

¹¹ Read -ôtkriṣṭa-.

¹² This reading is certain.

¹³ Metre of verses 25 and 26: Pushpitâgrâ.

Read -ria=akṛita.

- praharttā śrutipatha-nipunaḥ=kaviḥ pradātā vividha-kalā-kusalaḥ=prajā-priyaś=cha || [26*]
- 10 ¹Bhrāt=śasya chāru-vapur=abda-gabhira-nādō mōksha-trivargga-patur=anvaya-vatsalaś=cha Bhāgirathir=nnarapatir=mrigarāja-lilāḥ Kākustha ity=avani-maṇḍala-ghuṣṭa-kirttiḥ || [27*] ²Jyāyōbbhis=saha vigrahō=rtthishu dayā samyak=prajā-pālanam³ dīn-ābhyuddharaṇam pradhāna-vasubhir=mukhya-dvij-ābhyarhaṇam
- 11 yasy=aitat=kula-bhūṣaṇasya nripatēḥ prajā-ōttaram bhūṣaṇam⁴ tam=bhūpāḥ=khalu mēnirē sura-sakhaṁ Kākustham=atr=āgatam || [28*] ⁵Gharmm-ākkrāntā iva mriga-gaṇā vṛiksha-r[ā*]jīm praviśya chchhāyā-sēvā-mṛidita-⁶manasō nirvṛitiḥ prāpuvanti tadvaj=jyāyō-vihata-gatayō bāndhavās=s-ānubandhāḥ prāpuś=śarmm=āvyathita-manasō yasya bhūm[im] praviśya || [29*]
- 12 ⁷Nānāvīdha-draviṇa-sāra-samuchchayēṣhu matta-dvipēndra-mada-vāsita-gōpurēṣhu sam-gīta-valgu-ninadēṣhu grihēṣhu yasya Lakshmy-aṅganā dhṛitimati suchiram cha rēmō || [30*] Gupt-ādi-pārthiva-kul-āmburuha-sthalāni snēh-ādara-praṇaya-sambhrama-kēsārāpi śṛimanty=anēka-nripa-shatpada-sēvitāni yō=bōdhayad=duhitṛi dīdhitibhir=nrip-ārkkah || [31*]
- 13 ⁸Yan=daiya-sampannam=adīna-chēshtaṁ śakti-ttray-ōpētam=ath=āsana-stham śēshair=gunaiḥ pañchabhir=apy=asāddhyās=sāmanta-chūdāmanayāḥ pranēmuh || [32*] ⁹Say=ihā bhagavatō Bhavaśy=ādi-dēvasya siddhy-ālayē siddha-gā(ga)ndharvva-rakshō-gaṇaiś=sēvitē vividha-niyama-hōma-dikshā-parair=brāh[m]aṇai snātakai stūyamānē sadā mantra-vādaiś=śubhaiḥ
- 14 sukṛitibhir=avanīśvarair=ātma-niśrēṇyasam prēpsubhis=Sātakarṇy-ādibhiś=śraddhay=ābhyarochitē¹⁰ idam=uru-salil-ōpayōg-āśrayam bhūpatiḥ=kārayām=āsa Kākusthavarmanā tadākam=¹¹ma[hat ||] [33*] ¹²Tasy=anrasasya tanaya[s]ya viśāla-kirttēḥ [pa]tṭa-ttray-ārppaṇa-virā[jita]-chāru-mūrttēḥ śrī-Sāntivarmma-nripatēr=vvara-sāsana-sthaḥ Kubjaś=eva-kāvyam=idam=aśma-talē lilēkha || [34*]
- 15 Namō bhagavatē Sthānakundūra-vāsinē Mahādēvāya [i*] Nandatu sarvva-samant-āgatō=yam=adhivāsaḥ [i*] Svasti prajābhya iti [||]

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished ! Obeisance to Śiva !

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

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

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

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

² Read -pālanam.

³ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁴ Metre of verses 30 and 31: Vasantatilakā.

Metre: A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specifically Chāṇḍavēga or Arṇava; see *Ind. Stud.* Vol. VIII, p. 409.

¹⁰ Read =ābhyarochitā.

¹¹ The reading *tadākam=ma* is certain.

¹² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹³ With verses 1-3 compare the first three verses of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II., above, Vol. VI, p. 4 and p. 7, note 15.

¹⁴ I.e. the god Śiva.

¹⁵ I.e. the Brāhmins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 29, line 5 of the text: *gṛh-āntubhir-vyāpya jagat-samastam*.

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

³ *I.e.* the six Vēdāṅgas.

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

⁵ *I.e.* Kāñchīpura.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Viz.* the attack made on him by the **Pallavas**.

² See the introductory remarks, above, p. 29.

³ With the wording of the original text I would compare *e.g.* from the *Virāṭaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*: *cjādiardā-ramayam tēsham varsham trayōdaśam*; but there the meaning is 'the remaining 13th year, to which was attached the condition that they should dwell incognito.' The sense of the passage in our inscription I take to be similar to that of *e.g.* *avanyasādanm=urām* in *Ragh.* I. 30, 'the earth, not ruled by any other king.'

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

⁵ Compare the epithet—of either the **Kadambas** generally or individual **Kadamba** kings—*Svāmi-Mahāsēna-matrigaṇa-dnudyāt-abhishikṭa* in the copper-plates, *e.g.* above, Vol. VI. p. 14, line 2 of the text, and p. 18, line 8 of the text. See also above, p. 34, note 2.

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

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

⁸ *Viz.* *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.

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

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

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

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

(V. 32.) Now to him, favoured by destiny, of no mean energy, endowed with the three powers,³ the crest-jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down (*even*) while he was sitting quiet — they who could not be subdued by the other five measures of royal policy together.⁴

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

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

Obeisance to the holy Mahâdêva⁶ who dwells at Sthânakundûra! May joy attend this place, inhabited by men come from all the neighbourhood! Blessed be the people!

No. 6.—JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN;

THE YEAR 72.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELEORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ *I.e.* Śiva.

⁶ Compare also *ibid.* Plate xix.

Captain Lang of the Kāthiāvad Political Agency.¹ A critical essay on that edition was published in 1841 by Prof. Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. IV. p. 146 ff.; and Prinsep's translation was subsequently reprinted, with part of a revised translation by Prof. H. H. Wilson,² in Mr. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 57 ff. A month after the appearance of Prinsep's edition fresh facsimiles of the original were taken by Lient. Postans, but they reached Calcutta only when Prinsep, at whose instance they were made, had already left India;³ and in July 1842 another facsimile, the joint labour of Captain (afterwards General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard and a young Brāhman, was presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and a small lithograph of it published in the Society's Journal, Vol. I. p. 148. A great advance in the reading and interpretation of the inscription was made in 1862, when, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 118 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji again published the text and a translation of it, with a large lithograph reduced from facsimiles made by Bhagvanlal Indrajī. Moreover, a revised version of Dr. Bhau Daji's work, by Prof. Eggeling, appeared in 1876, in *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., with a collotype from estampages by Dr. Burgess. Two years later Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī's own text and translation were published, under the editorship of Prof. Bühler, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. And finally,⁴ in 1890, Prof. Bühler again gave the text and a translation of part of it, in his essay *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 45 ff. and 86 ff.—Some four or five years ago Dr. Fleet most generously presented to me his excellent paper impression of the inscription and requested me to re-edit this record. In now, at last, complying with his request, I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to the labours of my predecessors. Though from the first I saw that I could add but little to the main results of their work, I have persevered in my task because I felt that, even in its more minute details, the text of this, our earliest Sanskrit inscription of importance, ought to be given in as reliable a form as possible. A careful study of the impression enables me to add that the accompanying photo-lithograph, made under Dr. Fleet's own supervision, apparently is the first facsimile of this inscription that has been prepared by purely mechanical processes.

The inscription is on the western side, near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the Aśoka edicts⁵ as well as a long inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta,⁶ about a mile to the eastward of the town of Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāvad, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Gīrnār.⁷ It contains twenty lines of varying length⁸ of well-engraved writing which covers a space of about 11' 1" broad by 5' 5" high. Of these, only the four last lines (17-20) are fully preserved, while in each of the lines 1-16, as will be seen from the facsimile, a more or less extensive part of the writing is entirely gone, through wilful damage or the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Taking the total length of the twenty lines to be about 1900", the missing portion of the writing would be about 275", or approximately one-seventh of the whole inscription. Where the surface of the rock has

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Edited in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 68.

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

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

remained intact, the writing is generally well preserved and may be read with confidence nearly throughout. The average size of such letters as *n*, *p*, *b*, *m* is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The characters according to Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 57) present an earlier form of the decidedly southern alphabet in the inscription of Skandagupta on the same rock. And this agrees with the opinion of Prof. Bühler who, in his *Ind. Palæographie*, p. 42, has described the alphabet here used as one of the precursors of the southern alphabets. Some of the more characteristic features in which this alphabet agrees with the later southern alphabets, according to Prof. Bühler, are the curves at the lower end of the vertical strokes of initial *a* and *ā* and of the consonants *k*, *ñ* and *r*, the round form of *q*,¹ the manner in which the upper part of the vertical line of *l* is turned towards the left, and the form of medial *ri* which sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the subscript *r*. Of initial vowels the inscription contains only *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *ē* (e.g. in *Asōkasya*, l. 8, *ā garbhāt*-, l. 9, *idam*, l. 1, and *ēkārṇava*-, l. 5); of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants all excepting *ñ* and *jh*, but *chh*, *ñ*, *fh* and *ph* occur only as subscript letters (e.g. in *-ōchchhṛaya*-, l. 1, *rājñō*, l. 3, *saushṭhava*-, l. 13, and *sphuṭa*-, l. 14). We have besides the so-called southern *l*, in *-pālīkatvāt*-, l. 1, *-pprandī*-, l. 2, *prandībhīr*-, l. 9 (but not in *prandīyā* in the same line), and *vyāḷa*-, l. 10. The signs for *d*, *q* and *qh* are throughout clearly distinguished as may be seen from e.g. *idam*, *taḍākam* and *drīḍha*-, in line 1. Of final consonants only *t* occurs, in *-āsīt*, l. 7. Subscript consonants, including *y*, are written by the ordinary full forms of the letters, excepting perhaps the *l* of *Pahlavēna*, l. 19, which has a somewhat cursive form. The superscript *r* stands well above the top-line of the consonants, and in syllables like *rbhā*, *rtti*, *rshē*, etc., is the bearer of those vowel-signs which are ordinarily attached to the top of a letter. Medial *ā*, *ē*, *ai* and *ō* are mostly denoted by quite horizontal lines which are generally attached to the top of the consonant sign; (see e.g. *taḍākam*, l. 1, *parijanyēna*, l. 5, *vyāmjanair*-, l. 15, and *ghōra*-, l. 7; but compare also e.g. *īā* in *taḥāḥḍālak*-, l. 6, *dhā* in *dhārapā*-, l. 13, *dē* in *śaraṇadēna*, l. 10, *mō* in *-dyāmōchchhṛaya*-, l. 1, and other instances in which the vowel-signs are not attached to the top). As regards *ā*, the chief exceptions to this are formed by *jā*—compare e.g. *[va]jātēn*-, l. 2²—, and by *mā* where (except in *°m=Anartta*-, l. 18) *ā* is denoted by a hook-shaped line at the right top of *m* (as in *mālya*-, l. 15). For *i*, *ī* and *ri* compare e.g. *nihsandhi*- and *-pālīkatvāt*-, l. 1, *śrīṣṭa-vrīṣṭind*-, l. 5, and *-āviṣṭkṛita*-, l. 11. Except in *ru*, medial *u* is denoted by a subscript curved line which is turned to the right when the consonant sign (as in *g*, *t*, *ś*) is open at the bottom or (as in *k* and *d*) ends in a single down-stroke, while otherwise it is turned to the left; compare e.g. *gu* in *gulma*-, l. 7, *tu* in *sētu*°, l. 2, *ku* in *Kukur*-, l. 11, with *su* in *Sudarśanam*, l. 1, *pu* in *putrasya*, l. 4, *mu*³ in *-abhīmukh*°, l. 10, etc. For the corresponding forms of *ū* compare *bhū* in *bhūtāyām*-, l. 5, *dū* in *°dūrayā*, l. 12, with *sthū* in *sthūla*° and *qū* in *vaidūrya*-, l. 14, etc. For *ru* and *rū* see e.g. *taru*- and *-ānurūpa*-, l. 6. As in the case of *u* and *ū*, there are three forms of medial *au*, one of which appears in the *pau*⁴ of *pautra*, l. 4, and *paura*-, ll. 16 and 18, another in the *yau* of *Yaudhēyānām*, l. 12, and *sau* of *saushṭhava*-, l. 13, and the third in the *nau* of *dhanaughēna*, l. 16, and the *mau* of *Mauryasya*, twice in line 8. The signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhāmāniya* do not occur; but the characters, in line 4, include numerical symbols for 70 and 2. A sign of punctuation, consisting in a single slanting line, is employed only at the end of the inscription.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ This word is ordinarily spelt *pranāḍī* or *pranāḍī*.— Attention may perhaps be drawn also to the spelling of *tadāka*, l. 1, and *vaidūrya*, l. 14. This last word, according to the Nāgarī MSS. of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti* on P. IV. 3, 84, would have to be spelt *vaidūrya*; but the Kāśmīr MSS. known to me derive it from *vidūra*. *Vaidūrya* also is the reading of the MSS. of Hēmacandra's grammar which I have compared. In Pāli the word is *veḷuriya*.

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

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

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

⁵ Compare, e.g., *viśat-ābhūja*, *Rām.* (Bombay ed.) III. 32, 8 (*viśatī-ābhūja*, but against the metre, III. 35, 9); *viśat-yōjana*, V. 1, 15; VI. 39, 20; *viśat*, VI. 67, 7 and 98; *chaturviśat*, IV. 42, 20.— Either *viśat*- or *viśat*- was apparently intended above, Vol. III. p. 321, l. 15.

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

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

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

² *Anyatra saṃgrāmēṣhu* has been said to be the quite correct expression for ‘except in battles,’ but whether correct or no from a theoretical point of view, it is not the customary Sanskrit expression, as may be seen from the numerous quotations under *anyatra* in the St. Petersburg dictionary. In fact, the authors of that work quote only a single passage from the *Mahābhārata* in which *anyatra* “quite exceptionally” is not construed with the ablative. The case, for all I know, may be different in Pāli; but when in Aśoka's edict VI. (Girnar, l. 14, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 455) we read *dukkaram tu idam aṇata agena parākramena*, ‘but this is difficult to do except by the utmost exertion,’ this in Sanskrit would have to be expressed by *duṣkaram tv-idam-anyatr-āgryāt-parākramāt*. And I could certainly quote many passages from the *Jātakas* in which *anātra* is construed with the ablative, while theoretically another case might have been considered more appropriate. With the passage in our inscription we may to a certain extent compare *Kām.* V. 63, 19 and 64, 32: *drishṭā na ch-ānyēna Hanūmatā* for *drishṭā na ch-ānyēna Hanūmataḥ*.

³ I must leave it to Pāli scholars to decide whether the author could have been possibly misled by the Pāli to employ *anuparishṭapūrva* for *anuparishṭa* (or *na kaddhīd=uparishṭa*). In *Jāt.* Vol. VI, p. 76, l. 15 (*tatra maṃ amachchā pucchhissanti*): ‘*api na kho te mahārdja Himavante vasantena na kiñchi avohhāriyam diṭṭhapubbantī*’ *diṭṭhapubbam* undoubtedly is equivalent to simply *diṭṭham*.

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

a piece of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Bühler¹ has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterization of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word *Sudarāna*, the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an *upamā*, the so-called *arthalāmākāras* may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of *śabdālāmākāra* which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words (as e.g. in *praharaṇa-vitarāṇa*, l. 10, *saṃagrāṇām . . . -vishayāṇām vishayāṇām*, l. 11, *avidhēyāṇām Yaudhēyāṇām*, l. 12, *-nāmnā . . . -dāmnā . . . Rudradāmnā*, l. 15, *śaktēna dāntēn=āchapalēn=āvismitēn=āryyēn=āhāryyēna*, l. 19, etc.),² and he occasionally makes use of the ornament of alliteration (as e.g. in *akṛitrīmēṇa sēṭubandhēn=ōpapaṇṇam supprativikita-ppranālī-parivāha-miḍhavidhānam*, l. 2, etc.).

The general purport of the inscription has been given above. It remains to point out briefly some details, the full discussion of which, after all that has already been written about them,³ would necessitate a careful examination of other records some of which are in course of being re-edited critically by another scholar, and lies beyond the scope of this paper. The principal figure in our inscription is (the Western Kshatrapa,) the king (and) Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman; the name of his father (the Kshatrapa Jayadāman) was given in line 4, but has disappeared; his father's father was the king (and) Mahākshatrapa, Lord Chashtana (l. 4). From an epithet in line 15 we learn that Rudradāman himself acquired or assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. Other epithets in lines 11 and 12 tell us that by his own valour he gained, and became the lord of, eastern and western Ākarāvanti,⁴ the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories; that he destroyed the Yaudhēyas; and that he twice defeated Sātakarṇi,⁵ the lord of Dakṣiṇāpātha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him.—The storm by which the lake Sudarāna was devastated is stated (in lines 4 and 5) to have taken place on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the 72nd year—according to the actual wording of the text—of Rudradāman himself; but the meaning clearly is⁶ that it took place during the reign of Rudradāman, on the given day in the 72nd year of the era used by Rudradāman (and the Western Kshatrapas generally). With other scholars I feel convinced that this is the Śaka era,⁷ and taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year, I find that the date would correspond to either the 18th October, or more probably the 16th November, A.D. 150. Accordingly, our inscription may be assumed to have been composed about A.D. 151 or 152.

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

¹ See his *Die Indischen Inschriften*, p. 61 f.

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

³ See e.g. Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 272 ff.; M. Senart, *ibid.* Vol. XXI. p. 204 ff.; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 28 f.; Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 646 f.; the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 84 ff., etc.

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

⁵ I.e. one of the Andhrabhṛitya kings; but there is a difference of opinion as to which of them is here intended.

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

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 163.

⁸ The Vaiśyas according to Varāhamihira are a people of the western division; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 102.

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

TEXT.³

- 1 Siddham [i]* Idam taḍākam⁴ Sudarśanam Gir[i]nagarād-ap[i] [d][ū?]⁵ram=
a[n?]⁶t[a]⁵ [tt]ik⁶ṣpala-vistār-āyām-
ōchobhraya-⁷nihsandhi-baddha-driḍha-⁸sarvva-pāṭikavāt-parvata-pā-
2 da-ppratisparddhi-suslish[t]a-⁹[ba][ndha?]¹⁰m [va]jātēn-ākṛitrimēṣa
sētubandhēn-ōpapaunam supprativihita-ppranāṭi-pari[v]āha-¹¹
3 mīḍhavidhānam¹² cha tri-skan[dha?]¹³ n-ādibhir-anugrahair-mahaty-
upachayē vartiatē [i]* Tad=idam rājñō mahākshatrapasya sugrihī-
4 ta-nāmnah Svāmi-Chashtanasya putra¹⁴ h putrasya rājñō mahākshatrapasya
gurubhir-abhyasta-nāmnō Rudradāmnō varshē dvisaptatitam[ē] 70 2
5 Mārggaśirsha-¹⁵bahula-prat[i]¹⁶ h¹⁷ śriṣṭa-vṛiṣṭinā parjanyēna¹⁸ ākārṇava-
bhūtāyām=iva prithivyām kṛitāyām girer=Ūrjayataḥ Suvarṇasikātā-

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

² See *Gupta Inscr.* p. 57.

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

⁴ B. has *taḍākam*, but the second syllable is undoubtedly *dā*; compare *tā* in *-taḍ-ditālak*, l. 6. The word is spelt *tadāka* also in the *Junāgaḍh* rock inscription of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 61, ll. 21 and 28.—It may be noted that Prinsep's wrong reading *taḍakam* is responsible for the word *taḍaka*, 'shore,' of our dictionaries.

⁵ I. and B. have *Girinagarā[dri-pāda-rama]*, but in his notes on I. Prof. Bühler stated that the reading *riḍri* is very improbable. In the impression, the *akṣara* which by Bhagvanlal Indraji was read *drī* seems undoubtedly to be only *da*; and the following *akṣara* cannot be read *pā*, but is most probably *pī*.

⁶ The original apparently had *mr̥ttik*.

⁷ I. has *-ōchāraya-*.

⁸ B. omits *driḍha*.

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

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

¹¹ I. and B. have *-partodham*.

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

¹³ I. and B. have *-skandham*.

¹⁴ The lacuna may be filled up thus: *putra[rya rājñah kshatrapasya sugrihita-nāmnah Svāmi-Jayadāmna]h*; but I should have expected five or six syllables more.

¹⁵ I. and B. have *Mārga*.

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

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

¹⁸ Read **nyēn=aihd*.

- 6 Palāśini-prabhṛitinām nadinām¹ atimātr-ōdvṛittair-vvōgaiḥ² sētum=[a?] . . .
 [ya]māp-³ānurūpa-pratikāram-api
 girisikhara-taru-tat-ātālak-ōpatalpa-dvāra-saraṇōchchhaya-⁴vidhvamsinā yuganidhana-
 sadri-
- 7 śa-paramaghōra-vōgēna⁵ vāyunā pramathita-salila-vikshipta-jarjjarikrit-āva[dī?] . . .
 [k]sh[i]pt-āsma-vṛiksha-gulma-latāpratānam⁶ ā nadi-[ta]-
 lā[d]-ity-udghāṭitam=āsīt [i*] Chatvāri hasta-śatāni viśad-⁷uttarāṇy-āyatēna⁸
 śtāvamy-⁹eva vistirṇēna
- 8 pañcha-saptatim¹⁰ hastān=avagādhēna bhēdēna nissṛita-sarvva-tōyam marudhamnvaka-¹¹
 lpam=atibhṛisam durd[d]a¹² [s]y=[ā]rthē Maurya-
 sya¹³ rājñāḥ¹⁴ Chāmdrag[u][pta*][s][ya*] [r]āshṭriyēna [V]aiśyēna¹⁵ Pushya-
 guptēna kārītām¹⁶ Asōkasya Mauryasya tē¹⁷ Yavanarājēna Tush[ā]sphēna¹⁸
 ādhishṭhāya
- 9 prajāibhir=ala[m]kṛita[m] tat-kārītayā cha rāj-ānurūpa-kṛita-¹⁹vidhānayā tasmi²⁰
 bhēdē dṛishṭayā prañādyā²¹ vis[tri*]ta-sēt[u] nā²²
 ā garbhāt=prabhṛitty=avihata-samud[i][ta?] [ā]jalakshmi-dh[āra]nā-guṇatas=sarvva-
 varṇair=abhiṅamya²³ rakshaṇ-ārtha²⁴ patitvā vṛitēna²⁵ ā prāp-ōchchhvasāt=
 purushavadhanivṛitti-kṛita-
- 10 satyapratijñēna²⁷ anya[t]ra saṅgrāmēshv=abhimukhāgata-sadriśa-śatru-praharapa-
 vitaranāt-āvigūṇa-ri[pu?] ta-²⁸kārunyēna
 svayamabhiṅgata-²⁹janapada-praṇipati[t?]-ā[y][u?]sha-³⁰saraṇadēna dasyu-vyāḷa-
 mṛiga-rōg-ādibhir=anuparishṭapūrvva-³¹nagara-nigama-

¹ Read *nadinām*.² I. and B. have *ryamān*.³ Read *vōgēna*, which is the reading of I. and B.⁴ Read *viśad* (for *viśaty*).⁵ I. has *vanty=ēva*.⁶ Read *marudhamnvā*, which is the reading of I. and B.⁷ I.e., probably, *durdarsanam=āsīt* 1, with two or three words introducing the following sentence.⁸ I. and B. have *Mauryasya*.⁹ Read *rājñāt*.¹⁰ The initial consonant, the lower part of which is damaged, has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraj.¹¹ Read *kārītām*.¹² For *tē* Dr. Bhanu Daji proposed *tēna*, and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraj *tat*. I would suggest *kṛitā*.¹³ I. and B. have *Tushāspheṇa*, but the sign for *ph* is distinct in two impressions of this passage. Compare also Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 195.¹⁴ B. omits *kṛita*.¹⁵ The original may possibly have *tasmiṇ*, as read by Prinsep. Read *tasmiṇ*.¹⁶ I. has *prañādyā*, and B. *prañādyā*; but *prañādyā* is quite distinct.¹⁷ This *akṣhara* has been hitherto read *nā*, but the back of the impression clearly shows that *nā* was engraved; this must be the last syllable of a noun in the instrumental case. Read *nā garbhāt*.¹⁸ The vowel *i* over *d* appears to be quite certain; of the *akṣhara* which follows upon *di* the upper part is gone, and what remains looks like the remnant of *pa* or *sha* rather than of *ta*. But I consider *samudita* to be certain; *samudaya* would be impossible.¹⁹ Read *abhiṅamya*, which is the reading of I. and B.²⁰ Read *ārtham*, which is the reading of I. and B.²¹ Read *vṛitēna*.²² Read *jñānāyatra*.²³ I. and B. have *(dhri)ta* and *dhṛita*, but the *akṣhara* preceding *ta* is quite illegible.²⁴ Over the *ta* of *gata* is a mark which might be taken for the sign of *anusvāra*.²⁵ I. and B. have *prāṇipatti-viśāsha*. I. with the sign of interrogation after *viśā*. In my opinion, the *akṣhara* read *tti* by them is undoubtedly *ti*, with, below it, an accidental scratch (which, if it were really *t*, would stand under the right, not the left, vertical line of the upper *t*). Again, what remains of the consonant of the *akṣhara* preceding *sha*, does not look at all like a remnant of *t*, but seems to be an almost fully preserved *y*.²⁶ I. and B. have *śriśṭāpāra*, but two impressions of this passage have clearly *shā*, not *shā*.

- 11 janapadānām svaviry-ārjitānām-anurakta-sarvva-prakṛitānām pūrvv-āpar-ākāravanty-
Anūpanivṛid-Ānartta-Surāshṭra-Śva[¹ra-¹[Ma]ru-[Ka]ch]ohha-[S]i[n]dhu-S[au]-
v[ī]ra-Kukur-Āparānta-Nishād-ādinām samagrānām tat-prabhāvād=[y]a . . .
[t]ha]-²kāma-vishayānā[m] vishayānām patinā³ sarvva-kshatr-
āvishkṛita-
- 12 vīrasabha-jātotsāk-⁴āvidhēyānām Yaudhēyānām prasahy-ōtsādakēna Dakshināpatha-
patēs-Sātakarnēr-dvir-api nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya⁵ sambandh-āv[i]ddūrayā⁶
anutsādanāt=prāpta-yasasā mā[d?] . . . [pta]-⁷vijayēna bhrashta-
rāja-⁸pratishṭhāpakēna yathārtha-⁹hastō-
- 13 chchbray-¹⁰ārjit-ōrjita-dharm-ānurāgēna¹¹ śabdārththa-gāndharvva-nyāy-ādyānām vidyā-
nām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-āvāpta-vipula-kirttinā turaga-gaja-
rathacharyy-āsi-charma-¹²niyuddh-ādyā . . . [ti]-para-
bala-lāghava-sanshṭhava-kriyēna¹³ ahar-ahar-ddāna-¹⁴mān-āna-
- 14 vāmāna-śīlēna sthūlalakahēna yathāvat=prāptair=bali-śulka-bhāgaḥ kanaka-¹⁵
rajata-¹⁶vajra-vaiddūrya-¹⁷ratn-ōpachaya-vishyaundamāna-kōśēna sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-
chitra-kānta-sābdasamayōdār-ālamkṛita-gadya-padya . . .
na pramāṇa-mān-ōnmāna-svara-gati-varṇa-¹⁸sāra-satv-¹⁹ādibhiḥ
- 15 parama-lakṣhaṇa-vyāmjanair-upēta-kānta-mūrttinā²⁰ svayamadbhigata-mahākshatrapa-
nāmā narēndra-kānyā-²¹svayamvar-ānēka-mālya-prāpta-dāmn[ā] mahākshatrapēna
Rudradāmnā varsha-sabasrāya gō-brāh[m]a . . .
r[t]ha)m dharmma-kirtti-²²vṛiddhy-artham cha²³ apīdayit[v]ā kara-vishṭi-
- 16 prapayakriyābhiḥ paura-jānapadam janam svasmāt=kōśā²⁴ mahatā dhan-aughēna²⁵
anatinahatā cha kālēna trig[u]ṇa-dṛiḍhatara-vistār-āyāmam sētum vidhā[ya]
[sa ?]r[v]va-ta[?]t²⁶ . . . [s]u-
darśanataram kārītam=i[t]i [i*] [A ?][s]minn=²⁷artthē²⁸
- 17 mahākshatrapa[s]ya matisachiva-karmasachivair=²⁹amātyaguna-samudyuktair=apy-
atimahatvād=³⁰bhēdasay=ānatsāha-vimukha-matibhi[h] praty[ā]khyāt-ārambhām

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

² I. omits this, and B. has *rova*; but the *akshara* is undoubtedly the same which we have in *r[t]ha* m, l. 15, only without the *anusvāra*.—B. proposed to fill up the lacuna by reading *ya[t]hāvatprāpta-dharm-drttha-kāma*; I myself would read *ya[t]hāvatprāpta-dharm-drttha-kāma*.

³ The grammatically correct form would be *patyā*.

⁴ The *t* of the syllable *tō* of this word looks as if *tā* or *tā* had been originally engraved.

⁵ Read *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya*.

⁶ I. and B. have *ācadāra[tā*]yā*, but there are clear traces of the vowel *i* above the sign for *v*. The top of the *akshara* *dū* is slightly damaged. Read *ācadāra[tā*]y=ānu*.

⁷ I. and B. have *[t]a*.

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

⁹ I. has *yathārtha*.

¹⁰ I. has *chhārya*.

¹¹ Read *ānurāgēna*.

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

¹³ Read *kriyēna-āhar*.

¹⁴ I. has *ddāna*.

¹⁵ Possibly *kānaka* may have been actually engraved.

¹⁶ B. omits *rajata*.

¹⁷ I. and B. have *vaiddūrya*, but the sign for *d* is most distinct in the impression. Besides, the sign for the *ā* of *dū* differs, as has been shown above, from the sign for *d* which is here used; compare the *dā* of *-dā[r]dīrayā*, above, l. 12.

¹⁸ I. has *-varṇa*.

¹⁹ Read *-satv*.

²⁰ I. has *-mūrtinā*.

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

²² I. has *-kirtti*.

²³ Read *ch=āpt*.

²⁴ Read *-kōśāna*.

²⁵ Read *-aughēna=ānati*.

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

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

²⁸ I. has *-artthē*.

²⁹ I. has *-karmma*.

³⁰ Read *āmahatvād*.

- 18 pūṇahsētubandha-nair[ā]śyād=hāhābhūtāsu prajāsu¹ ih=ādhishtānē paura-jānapada-
jan-ānugrah-ārtham² pārthivēna kṛtsnānām=Ānartta-Surāshtrānām³ pālan-
ārthan=⁴niyuktēna
- 19 Pahlavēna⁵ Kulaipa-putrēp=āmātyēna Suviśākhēna yathāvad=artha-dharma-⁶
vyavahāra-darśanair=anurāgam=abhivarddhayatā śaktēna dāntēn=āchapalēn=āviśmitēn=
āryyēp=āhāryyēna⁷
- 20 svadhitiśbhatā dharma-kīrtti-⁸yaśāmsi bhartur=⁹abhivarddhayāt=ānushthitam=iti |(11)

TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished !

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

(L. 3.) This same (lake)¹³— on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the
seventy-second— 72nd— year of the king, the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman whose name is
repeated by the venerable,¹⁴ the son of ¹⁵

¹ Read *prajāsu-ih=*.² I. has -*ārtham*.³ Read *śāśtrānām*, which is the reading of I. and B.⁴ I. has -*ārthan=*.⁵ I. and B. have *Pahlavēna*.⁶ I. has -*dharma*.⁷ I. and B. have *āhāryēna*.⁸ I. has -*kīrtti*.⁹ I. has *bhartur=*.¹⁰ Literally 'non-artificial.'

¹¹ The word *mīḍha* of the original text has been translated only by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji. Taking *mīḍha-vidhānam* as a separate epithet of the lake, he rendered it by 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine,' to which Prof. Bühler added the note that *mūtrārakkhā* is a common expression in Gujarātī for 'crooked.' Both scholars apparently took *mīḍha* to be synonymous with *gōmūtraka*; but this could hardly be approved of. Besides, *mīḍha-vidhānam*, as we now see, really forms part of the Bahuvrīhi compound commencing with *suprati-vihita*, and therefore either *mīḍha* by itself or *mīḍha-vidhāna* must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In my opinion *mīḍha* is identical with the Pāli *mīḍha* (e.g. in *mīḍhena litta*, *Jātaka*, Vol. III. p. 244, l. 18, *mīḍha-littam mahāpatham*, *ibid.* p. 525, l. 27, *mīḍhena tam vaddhisedmi pēti haññatu pālinā*, Vol. II. p. 211, l. 25, *mīḍaddano mīḍham adenti bālā*, Vol. VI. p. 112, l. 2), meaning 'excrements' or 'dirt, foul matter' generally; according to the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary *mīḍha* is used in this sense also in the *Lalitavistara*, e.g. in *mīḍha-giri*, 'a darghill,' Calcutta ed. p. 240, l. 4. Now since foul matter would not have been provided for the lake, that which was so provided must be denoted by *mīḍha-vidhāna*, and I feel no hesitation in explaining this word to mean 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities.' By the context *vidhāna* here as elsewhere becomes practically equivalent to *parihāra* or *pratikriyā*; on *Rām.* III. 24, 11 *andgata-vidhānam* is explained by *ajigamishitasya dvishatasya pratividhānam parihārah*, and on VII. 21, 5 *vidhāna* is similarly paraphrased by *pratikriyā*.

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

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

¹⁴ As has been pointed out by Prof. S. Lévi (*Jour. Asiatique*, 1902, p. 100), the use of *abhy-as* and the statement that Rudradāman's name was repeated by *gurus* at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages the name was like another Vēda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit. *Gurubhir=abhyasta-adman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *suprihita-adman* which will be mentioned presently.— In *gurubhir=abhyasta-adman* (for the more logical *gurubhyasta-adman*) we have one of those constructions which Indian grammarians impeach by the statement *śāpīksham=asamartham dhavati*, but after all justify by *gamakatvā=samāśaḥ*; similar constructions occur elsewhere in the text.

¹⁵ I.e. 'the son of the king, the Kshatrpa Lord Jayadāman;' see the note on the text. In inscriptions and on coins Jayadāman is called Kshatrpa, not Mahākshatrpa; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 167; *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 140; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 32; and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 645.

., (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Lord Chashtana the taking of whose name is auspicious,¹

. when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean,² by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarnasikata, Palāsini and other streams of mount Ūrjayat the dam

., though proper precautions [were taken], the water—churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter³—scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart],—with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus⁴ laid open down to the bottom of the river:—

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

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

¹ The exact meaning of *sugrihita-nāman* is well indicated by a passage in the *Harshacharita*, Bombay ed. p. 210, l. 6, which shows the result of uttering a bad man's name: *nām-āpi grihātō 'sya pāpakāriṇaḥ pāpamālīnaḥ lipyata iva mē jīrṇa*, 'as I take merely the name of this miscreant, my tongue seems soiled with a smirch of sin.' *Sugrihita-nāman* itself often occurs in the *Harshacharita*, applied to royal or noble personages, both living and deceased; compare p. 30, l. 6; p. 85, l. 13; p. 101, l. 6; p. 173, l. 3; p. 200, l. 1; p. 246, l. 20; p. 261, l. 23; and p. 278, l. 19. From inscriptions I can quote only *sugrihita-nāmadhīya* which occurs in the Bādāmi pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa, applied to Maṅgalēśa's grandfather Ranarāga, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, l. 3 of the text.

² For the notion of the earth's being converted into one ocean (*ākārṇava-bhūtāyām-iva*) compare e.g. *Rām.* V. 49, 20: *ayam hy-utsahatē kruddhaḥ kartum-ākārṇavam jagat*. I may add that nouns ending in *bhūta* like *ākārṇava-bhūta* are most common in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; I have noted *dīcharya-bhūta*, *triṇa-bh.*, *dakṣa-bh.*, *nimitta-bh.*, *nyāsa-bh.*, *ratna-bh.*, *Rāma-bh.*, *mṛita-bhūta iva* (III. 36, 23), and others.

³ My translation of *upatalpa* and *uchchhṛaya* requires some justification. Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji has translated the former by '(pieces of) the neighbouring ground,' Prof. Bühler by 'Tempelzinnen' (i.e. pinnacles of temples); and both scholars, I do not know on what authority, have rendered *uchchhṛaya* by 'pillars of victory.' To me it seems highly probable that the words *atīdīak-ōpatalpa* of our text are identical in sense (as they are closely connected in form) with *talp-āṭṭa* in *Ragh.* XVI. 11, *viśrṇa-talp-āṭṭa-tatō nivṛtīaḥ*; there *talpa* is explained to mean 'a room on the top of a house' or 'upper story,' and the same meaning I would claim for *upatalpa*. *Uchchhṛaya* in line 1 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'height,' and in line 13 in that of 'raising, lifting up, elevation.' The word also (see e.g. the commentary on *Rām.* VII. 81, 10) means 'anything which rises,' 'elevation' in the sense of 'an elevated piece of ground,' etc.; and if in the present passage we take *śaraṇōchchhṛaya* as one word, there is no reason to go beyond that strictly etymological meaning. *Śaraṇōchchhṛaya* would be 'any raised place serving as shelter,' a meaning that seems perfectly appropriate. We may compare *stambhōchchhṛaya* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 44, l. 13, used clearly in the sense of 'a raised pillar, a lofty pillar' (*uchchhṛitaḥ stambhaḥ*, as the expression is *ibid.* p. 9, l. 30).—The reader will observe the contrast between *uchchhṛaya* and the immediately following *vidhvamsin*, which two words remind one of *udaya-dhvamsa* and similar expressions found elsewhere.

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

⁵ For the play on the words—the lake Sudarśana became *durdarśana*—compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 80, l. 17.

⁶ This paragraph speaks of the original construction of the lake during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta and of improvements made under (his grandson) Aśoka. The subject of the sentence undoubtedly again was 'the lake'; 'the lake (probably for the benefit of the people) had been ordered to be made . . . ; it was adorned . . .'.⁷

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

conduits for ¹ *Asôka* the *Maurya* by the *Yavana* king *Tushâspha* while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (*and*) seen in that breach, the extensive dam

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

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

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

³ On the construction of the words *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* of the original text see above, p. 40, note 2. Here I would add two minor remarks. In the first place, it appears strange that, whereas elsewhere the end of one epithet (or phrase serving as an epithet) of Rudradâman is not joined by the rules of *samdhî* with the commencement of the following epithet—compare *pritha d prân-bhohhâdsât* in line 9, and *-kriyâna akhar-akhar* in line 13—here the rules of *samdhî* have been observed between *saṃgrāmēṣu* which belongs to the preceding, and *abhimukhâgata* with which a new epithet begins. The observance of the rules of euphony in this case is the more striking as those rules have not been observed between *anyatra* and the word preceding it with which *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* is closely connected in sense. Secondly, the way in which the author has put *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* reminds me somewhat of the Sûtra-style of literature; the words *d prân-bhohhâdsât=purushavadhanivittikrîta-satyapratijñâna* contain a rule, *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* the exception. Both together look much like, e.g., the two Sûtras of the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, III. 48 and 49, the former of which is *na rājakulam=uchchhindyât*, 'he should not extirpate a royal family,' while the latter adds *anyatrâkulina-rājakulât*, 'except an ignoble royal family.' Looked at in this way the non-observance of the rules of euphony as between *-satyapratijñâna* and *anyatra* may lose somewhat of its strangeness; the observance of them as between *saṃgrāmēṣu* and *abhimukhâgata*—I can only regard as accidental.

⁴ For the general meaning of this epithet we may compare, e.g., *nripâm taranyaḥ taran-âgatânâm* and *taran-âshindm taranam* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 69, l. 10, and p. 165, l. 7. The word *dyusha* of the text, translated by 'life,' is more or less conjectural; it is used at the end of compounds for *dyus* (see the St. Petersburg dictionary under *dyusha*). In the original I should have expected *pranipatita* to stand before *janapada*; as it is, I can only take *svayamabhiगतajānapada-pranipatita* as a Dvandva compound. For *janapada* itself compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 82, l. 14, *bhittasya yā janapadasya cha bandhur-datt*.

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

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

⁷ For *ava-ji*, 'to defeat,' the St. Petersburg dictionary quotes only passages from the *Mahâbhârata*; it occurs in the same sense in the Nâsik inscription in *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 6, *andka-samar-âpajito-satwaghasa*.

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

¹ Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 23, *anika-dhrashtardjyotsanna-rājavāṇka-pratishṭhāpana*.

² In this epithet Rudradāman has been understood to be enlogized for making religious gifts; but I have searched in vain for passages in which 'the raising of the hand' is laid stress on or even mentioned where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterizes the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is moistened by the water (poured into the hand of the donee); compare e.g. *Kādambarī*, p. 5, l. 12, *anavaratapravṛtta-dān-ārdrikṛita-karaḥ*; the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 4, *abhayōdakādāna-kīlīna-nibhaya-karasa*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 175, l. 29, *pradānasalīla-kṣhādit-āgrahastāravindah*; *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 17, note 2, etc. Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or raising the pitcher from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient; see e.g. *Jāt.* Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *rājā tussitō gandhōdakapunnāṃ suvannā-bhīmāraṇā dādya . . . setṭhissa hatṭhe udakam pātetvā*; and *Rām.* II. 118, 50, *aham tatra Rdmya pitrā . . . udyatō dātum=udyamya jalabdhājanam=uttamam*, 'there my father, having raised the excellent water-pitcher, proceeded to give me to Rāma.' But that in the latter case the raising of the water-pitcher is quite an incidental matter we see from an analogous passage in *Harshacharita*, p. 156, *Grahavarmanā kanyāṃ prārthayitum prēṣhitasya pūrvadgatasyaiva pradhāna-dūtāpūrvashasya karē sarvārājakula-samakṣam duhitridāna-jalam=apātayat*, translated by Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas: 'in the presence of the whole royal household, he poured the betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Grahavarman to sue for the princess.' Considering these and similar passages, I do not think that *hastōchchhṛaya* by itself could convey the idea of donation. In my opinion the expression perhaps finds its explanation in the precept of Manu, VIII. 2, according to which a king, when investigating cases of law, should do so seated or standing, raising his right hand (*pāṇim=udyamya dakṣiṇam*), etc. This explanation, which would make 'the raising of the hand' during legal investigations equivalent to 'the dispensation of justice' itself, may seem far-fetched, but it would fit in well with the statement that by the right raising of his hand Rudradāman earned the strong attachment of Dharma, i.e. Law or Justice personified.

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

⁴ Compare the commentary on *Vishnu-purāṇa*, III. 26: *gāndharva-vēdō Bharatamuni-praṇṭhō nṛityagītādī-vishayaḥ*. See also e.g. *Rām.* II. 2, 35: *gāndharvō cha bhuvō śrēṣṭhō bābhūva Bharat-āgrajaḥ*, where *gāndharvō* is explained by *sāṃgīta-śāstrē*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 27, and p. 81, l. 7.

⁵ Compare *Rām.* I. 18, 27: *gaja-skandhō 'śva-prishṭhō cha rathacharyāsu sammataḥ*.

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

⁷ Compare e.g. *dāna-mān-ārjava*, above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 2.

⁸ See *Halāyudha*, II. 210: *sthūlalakṣhō bahuvṛyāt*.

⁹ After 'who' we evidently have to supply something like 'is skilled in producing compositions in.' On the epithet which begins here compare Prof. Bühler's *Die Ind. Inschriften und das Alter der Ind. Kunstpoesie*, p. 53 ff., where Prof. Bühler has tried to show that the adjectives *sphuṭa* etc. of the text have reference to certain rules of the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. Agreeing with him in general, I take *sphuṭa*, *madhura* and *kānta* to indicate the qualities *prasāda*, *mādhurya* and *kānti* of Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa* (I. 45, 51 and 85); *sphuṭa*, 'clear,' would thus be what is readily understood (*prattī-subhaga*); *madhura*, 'sweet,' that which pleases by its sound and (refined) diction; and *kānta*, 'beautiful,' that which is free from exaggeration, is not too far-fetched, etc. *Śabdāsamaya* being almost synonymous with *śabdanyāya* in *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 75, I incline to connect *śabdāsamayōddāra* with Daṇḍin's *artha-*

. prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs,¹ such as (*auspicious*) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of kings' daughters;— he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to² cows and Brāhmanas for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,— without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country³ by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection⁴— by (*the expenditure of*) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length [on] all [banks]⁵ (and so) had (*this lake*) made (*even*) more beautiful to look at.⁶

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

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

¹ Compare *Rdm.* V. 33, 11, *vyañjanāni hi tē gñi lakṣaṇāni cha*; and, for various auspicious marks and signs, *ibid.* I. 1, 9 ff., II. 48, 29 ff., V. 35, 8 ff., etc.

² I.e., shortly, 'in order to benefit.' The original text may have contained something equivalent to *gō-brāhmaṇa-hitārthāya dātavya cha hitāya cha* in *Rdm.* I. 26, 5. The expression *gō-brāhmaṇa*, 'cows and Brāhmanas,' is very common; see e.g. *ibid.* III. 23, 28; 24, 21; VI. 107, 49; 117, 20, etc.; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 89, l. 9, *gō-brāhmaṇa-purogābhyaḥ sarva-prajābhyaḥ*; and above, Vol. VI. p. 20, note 1.

³ The words *paura-jānapadaṁ janam* of the text clearly are the second or fourth Pāda of an ordinary Ślōka; the same phrase we actually have e.g. in *Rdm.* II. 111, 19 and 27, *paura-jānapadō janah* in II. 2, 51, *paura-jānapadō janah* in VII. 43, 5, etc. *Paura-jānapada-jana* occurs again in line 18 of the text.

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

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

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

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

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

With *punahśatubandha-nairāsyāt* compare *kārya-nairāsyāt* in *Rdm.* V. 35, 57; with *hādhābhūtsu prajāsu*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 60, l. 17, *viśādhya[mānāḥ khalu sarvātō ja]nāḥ katham-katham kāryam=iti pravādīnāḥ*. *Hādhābhūta*, 'exclaiming *hā hā*,' like *hādhakṛita*, is well known from the *Mahābhārata* etc.

¹⁰ For the way in which *su* in *svadhitiśhātā* is prefixed to a present participle we may compare *Rdm.* II. 33, 4, *suśakyantō*; VI. 40, 18, *suchēratōḥ*; VI. 110, 9, *suparivartatō*; V. 62, 21, *suparigrīhya*; VII. 30, 86, *sumirbhartōya*; etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following places are mentioned in the record, in addition to Kiriya-Muguḷi and Piriya-Muguḷi :—

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

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

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

Urpavalli. This must be the Uppahalli at which there are inscriptions of A.D. 959 (? 958) and later dates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 38 to 48. I cannot find it in maps. Regarding the proper attribution of one of these records, Cm. 42, and the question of its actual date in A.D. 959 or 958, see page 56 below, and note 1. According to the published reading, another of them, Cm. 38, is dated (see the Kanarese text, p. 171) in the Paridhāvin *saṃvatsara* coupled with *Vikragālaṃ 1070*, which (see the transliterated text, p. 103, the translation, p. 38, and *Introd.* p. 15) is supposed to mean *Vikrama-kālaṃ 1070*, giving the Vikrama year 1070 (current), which was the Paridhāvin *saṃvatsara*, = A.D. 1012-13. But anything of that kind would of course stamp the record as a spurious one.

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Both the transliterated text, p. 104, and the Kanarese text, p. 172, give us Āshāḍha bahuja pañchami Bṛihaspativāra, and the Siddhārthīn *samvatsara*. And in the 883 *eraḍaneya* of the Kanarese text we have, no doubt, a misprint for 882 as given in the transliterated text.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ The Kanarese text (p. 4) of the Elkūru inscription presents *jayadaṅkatāra-kōviraveḍaṅgaṁ*. The transliterated text (p. 2) presents *jayad-aṅkakāra komara-veḍēgaṁ*. Such discrepancies as these are not very assuring. And, if we take this record in connection with the Hirēmagalūr inscription, mentioned as (3) on pages 53, 54 above, it remains quite possible that the first *biruda* here ought to be read *jayaduttaraṅga*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.¹

1	Om ² Svasti Nitimārgga-Koṅguṇi- ³		
2	varmma-dharmamahārājādhirā-		
3	ja Kuvaḷāla-puravar-śvara [Nanda]-		
4	giri-nātha śrīmat Rāchamallaṅge [pa]-		
5	ṭṭam-gaṭṭid-āraṇeya varshada Kārttika-mā[sa]-		
6	da suddha punṇameyu[m] Sōmavāramu[m] ⁴ Mūla-nakshatra-		
7	mum-āge Pemmanāḍigeḷ	prithuvi-rājyaṁ-ge-	
8	yy[u]ttam-ire Kiriya-Muguḷiya	Pemmāḍig[au ?]-	
9	[ṇḍa]ṅge ⁵ koṭṭa nīlpanya	ippū(nnū)ṇu Pemmāḍiyu[m]	Nīlabe-
10	yu[m] Narasiṅgayyanu[m]	Kēsavayyanu[m]	[Pa ?]ṇne-ōjaru[m]
11	[Ma ?]dhukammōjaru[m]	Benṇegēsiyu[m]	Eṇṇeyamman[un]
12	int-ivar=iḷḍu koṭṭor	i(i) ⁶ koḍaṅgeyam	baḷasidor
13	nālgāmuṇḍa-Biyaḷanu[m]	Firiya-Muguḷiya	[Ko]ma-
14	rayyanu[m] Palmāḍiya	Mendammanu[m]	Benṇeyūra Dēva-
15	[gapa ?]ṇu[m] Maḷ[tt]avūrada	Pemmāḍigāmuṇḍanu[m]	Urpavalliya
16	Chamayyanu[m] Indavūrada	Vi[ti ?]yyanu[m]	maḷgala Om

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When it was the full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika of the sixth year of the crowning of the Dharmamahārājādhirāja Nitimārga-Koṅguṇivarmaṇ, the lord of Kuvaḷāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Rāchamalla, and when it was Monday and the Mūla *nakshatra*:—

(Line 7)—While the Pemmanāḍi was ruling the earth, to Pemmāḍig[au]ṇḍa (?)⁷ of Kiriya-Muguḷi there were given two hundred—[supply probably *mattare*]—of *nīlpanya*-land.

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

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

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

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

⁵ The previously published texts both give *gaṇḍaṅge*; and the translation presents the name as Pemmāḍi-Gauḍa. The period seems rather early for the form *gaṇḍa* (see Vol. VII. above, p. 183); and we have the form *gāmuṇḍa* in lines 13 and 15. I suspect that an estampage would show that the real reading here is *gā[ma]ṇḍaṅge*, with a damaged *ma* at the end of line 8.

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

⁷ See note 5 above.

Pemmādi, and Nilabe, and Narasiṅgayya, and Késavayya, and Panne-ōja (?), and Madhukammōja (?), and Benneḡēsi, and Eṇeyamma, — these persons, being (*convened*),¹ gave (*them*).

(Line 12)— Those who have cultivated this allotment (*are*) the Nālgāmuṇḍa Biyaḷa, and Komarayya (?) of Piriya-Muguḷi, and Mendamma of Palmādi, and Dēvagaṇa (?) of Benneyūr, and Pemmādigāmuṇḍa of Maḷtavūra, and Chamayya of Urpavalli, and Viṭṭiyya (?) of Indavūra. (*May there be*) felicity ! Ōm !

NO. 8. — THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVES AT NASIK.

By E. SENART ; PARIS.

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

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

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

TEXT.

Sidha (1) raño Vāsīthiputasa (2) Siri-Puḷumayisa samvachhare (3) chhaṭhe 6 gimhapakhe (4) pachame 5 divase (5)

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 47 f.

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham (1) raño Vāsīthiputassa (2) Siri-Puḷumāvissa savicchhare (3) ekunavise 10
gimhāna (4) pakhe bitīye 2 divase terase 13 rājaraño Gotamiputassa Himavata-
Meru-
- 2 Madara-pavatasamasārassa Asika-Asaka(5)-Mūḷaka-Suraṭṭha-Kukur-Āparamita(6)-
Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvati-rājasa Vijha-Chhavata-Pārichāta(7)-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-
Macha-Siriṭṭana-Malaya-Mahida-
- 3 Setṭagiri-Chakora-pavatapatissa savarājāloka(8)maḍala(9)patigabitasāsana
divasakaraka(10)vibodhitakamalavimalasadisavadanasa tisamudatoyapitavāhanasa
patipunachadamaḍalasasirika-
- 4 piyadasanasa varavārapavikamachārtivikamasa bhujagapātibhogapīnavāta(11)-
vipuladighasuda . bhujasa (12) abhayodakadānakilīnanibhayakarasa avipanamātu-
susūsākasa (13) suvibhatativagadesakālāsa
- 5 porajanānivesasamasanukhadukhasa khatiyadapamānamadanasa (14) Saka-Yavana-
Palhava-nisūdanasa dhamopajitakaravinīyogakarasa kitāparādhe pi satujane
apānahisāruchisa dijāvarakuṭubavivadhā-
- 6 nasa Khakharātavasa(15)niravasesakarasa Sātavāhanakulayasapatithāpana(16)karasa
savamaḍalā(17)bhivādītacha . nasa vinivatitachātuvapasakarasa anekasamarāvaji-
tasatusaghasa aparājita vijayapatākasa tujanadupadhasaniya(18)-
- 7 puravarasa kulapurisaparaparāgatavipulārājāsadaśa āgamāna (19) nilayasa sapurisaṇam
asayasa Siriy . adbhīhāna upachārāna (20) pabhavasa ekakusasa ekadhanu-
dharasa ekasūrasa (21) ekabamhanasa Rāma-
- 8 Kesav-Ājuna-Bhīmasena-tulaparakamasa (22) chhanaghanusava(23)samājākārakasa
Nābhāga(24)-Nahusa-Janamejaya-Sakara-Yayāti-Rām-Ābarisa-samatejasa aparimitam
akhayam achitam abhuta (25) Pavana-Garūḷa(26)-Sidha-Yakha-Rakhasa-
Vijādharā-Bhūta-Gadhava-Chārāpa-
- 9 Chada-Divākara-Nakhata-Gaba-vichīpasamarasirasi jitaripusaghasa nāga(27)varakhadhā
gaganatalam abhivigādhāsa kulavipulasirīkarasa Siri-Sātakanisa mānya
mahādeviya (28) Gotamiya Balasiriya sachavachanadānakhamā(29)hiśā(30)-
niratāya tapadamaniya-
- 10 mopavāsataparāya rājārisivadhūsam (31) akhilam anuvīdhīyamānya kārīta
deyadhama (32) sikharasadiśe Tiraṇhupavatasikhare
vim . (33)varanivisesamahidhika lepa eta cha lepa mahādevi mahārājāmātā
mahārājap . tāmahi (34) dadāti nikāyasa Bhadāvanīyānam (35) bhikkhusaghasa
(36)
- 11 etasa cha lepasa chitāṇanimita (37) mahādeviya ayakāya sevakāmo (38) piyakāmo
cha nat (39)pathesaro (40) pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti
gāma (41) Tiraṇhupavatasa aparadakhīnapase Pisājipadakam (42)
savaṇjātābhoganirāṭhi.

REMARKS.

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

imagine what it could have been, and it is most probable, as has been admitted by the former editors, that these traces are nothing but accidental deteriorations of the stone. — (7) AS. °*Parivāta*°. — (8) The character *lo* is all but clear. — (9) AS. °*mamḍala*°. — (10) The *ka* of the second *kara*, which falls into the flaw, is very indistinct. — (11) G. and AS. °*pīnavata*°. — (12) The *ra* restored by G. and AS. cannot be doubted, though injured by the flaw. — (13) G. °*sususa*°. — (14) The top of the *na* of *dana* seems to bear a horizontal stroke, and I am inclined to think that *madanasa* was intended. — (15) AS. °*vamsa*°. — (16) AS. °*patihāpa*°; this is at least more probable, besides being more correct. — (17) AS. °*mamḍala*°. — (18) AS. °*padhasasanīya*° (a mere printer's mistake). — (19) G. °*mānaṁ*. — (20) G. °*chārānaṁ*. — (21) AS. omits *ekasūrasa* in the transcript. — (22) AS. °*parāka*°. — (23) G. °*chhanayanusa*°. — (24) AS. °*Nabhāga*°. — (25) G. °*bhutaṁ*. — (26) G. °*Garuḍa*°. — (27) G. °*naga*°; AS. °*naga*°. — (28) AS. °*deviya*. — (29) *ā* of °*khamā*° seems to me at least doubtful. — (30) G. °*himsa*°. — (31) AS. °*vadhūsadam*. — (32) AS. restores [°*Kelāsa*]°[°*vata*]°. I feel no doubt at all about this restoration which is confirmed by the still visible *e*-stroke; but it must be understood that it is entirely conjectural. — (33) G. and AS. restore *vīmā[na]*°, which is certainly right. — (34) G. °*patāma*°; AS. °*p[ī]tāma*°; the beginning of the *i*-curl of *pīta* is still visible. — (35) AS. °*niyā*°; G. and AS. °*yāna bhi*°. — (36) G. °*saṁghasa*. — (37) AS. °*chitana*°. — (38) G. °*sevākāmo*. — (39) AS. °*na[tā]* . . . °*Dakṣiṇī*°. Except the *t* which has left some traces, the passage in brackets is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one. — (40) AS. °*paṭhisaro*. — (41) AS. °*gāmaṁ*. — (42) AS. °*Pisāchi*°; the final *anusvāra* is at least doubtful.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

² See p. 47 above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The restoration *ṇa[tā Dakkhinā]paṭhisaro* is as probable as the translation of *pitupatiyo* proposed by Bühler is inadmissible. *Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period (above, Vol. III. p. 343; Vol. IV. p. 207, etc.), denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit,' which enables its author to get over the ocean of *samsāra*. The way in which the word is used in ll. 12-13 of the next inscription could lead us to fancy that it is here transformed into a proper name, attached to that cave which has been dug out by the king's grandmother. Such a name, however, would be very vague and little significant. I admit that *dharmasetu* must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as an apposition to *leṇa* either expressed or understood, to mean 'the pious foundation' of the queen. I cannot account for the curious idea of Bhagwanlal, who sees in it the personal name of some 'manager of the cave.' As to *pitupatiyo*, he transcribes it by *paṭripitrikah*. He evidently thought of the analogy of *pitripaṭāmaha*; but the two are in no way identical. It might be admitted that they are equivalent, and that *pitripitri* = 'father and (father's) father.' The insuperable difficulty lies in the reading. The stone does not bear *pitupitiyo* or *pitupetiyo*, but *pitupatiyo*. The *i*-vowel after the second *p* is decidedly excluded by the tail of the *r* in the preceding line, and no trace of an *e*-vowel can be discovered. It is *pitupatiyo* and nothing else that has to be explained. *Paṭṭi* in the Buddhist Pāli, i.e. *prāpti*, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, by a foundation (Childers, s.v.). It is probably through the intermediate meaning 'a part, participation,' that the word has come to be used in that way. Thus *pitupattiyo* or *ṭṭiko* means 'who is applying to his father the merit of his donations.' The king speaks of his father only because his father alone is dead, and he begins by alluding to his mother, proclaiming his donation to be inspired by his veneration towards her and his wish to share in her views. It is therefore just as if he had said, with an idiom more familiar to the language of inscriptions, *pitaram uddiṭṭiya*. From this case I am inclined to conclude, without

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 11 Siddha (1) Navanarasvāmī Vāsīthiputo Siri(2)-Puṣumavi ānapayati Govadhane
āmacha (8)
- 12 Sivakhadila ya amhehi (4) sava 19 gi pa 2 diva 13 Dhanakaṭasamanehi (5)
ya etha pavate (6) Tira(7) na dhavasetusa (8)
leṇasa paṭisatharape (9) . akhaya . . . (10) hetu etha Govadhanāhāre
dakhīṇamage gāmo Sudisapā (11) bhikhuhi devileṇavāsehi nikāyena
Bhaddāyanīyehi (12) patigaya (13) dato (14) etasa dānagāmasa Sudasanāna
parivatake etha Govadhanahare (15) puvamage (16)
- 13 gāma (17) Samalipada dadāma (18) etata mahāsāirakena (19) odena (20)
dhamasetusa leṇasa paṭisatharape (21) akhayanivihetu (22) gāma Samalipada (23)
bhi . uhi devileṇa yena (24) Bhaddāyanīyehi (25) patigayha (26)
oyapapehi (27) etasa oha gāmasa Samalipadassa (28) bhikhuhalaparihāra (29)
- 14 vitarāma apāssa anomassa (30) aloṇakhādaka arathasavinavika savajātāparihārika
cha etehi na parihārehi (31) pariharehi (32) eta (33) cha gāma Samalipada (34)
panihāre cha (35) etha (36) nibadhāpehi (37) Sud . . na (38) gāmasa cha
Sudasanāna vinibadhakārehi apatā (39) mahāsānāpatinā (40) Medhunena
nā (41) ohhato baṭikā . v . . kehi (42) hatha . to (43) datā
paṭikā (44) sava 22 gi pakhe (45) . diva 7 . takapinā (46) katā

Govadhanavāthavāna (47) phāsa . yo (48) Vinhupālena (49) svāmi-
vapaṇapata (50) nama (51) bhagatasapatipatapasa (52) Jinavarasa Budhasa.

REMARKS.

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

bably the stroke on the left is accidental, and we ought to read *phā*. — (49) AS. *V[ṛ]ñhu°*, which is a printer's mistake for *Vñhu°*; G. *Vñhu°*. — (50) G. *sāmvānanānāta*; AS. *sāmvānanānāta*. — (51) G. *nama*, which is perhaps right. — (52) G. *bhaga[va]tasa°*; AS. *bhagatasa°*; G. *°patipatipasa*.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

The sentence beginning with *ya amhehi* rests on two propositions which are exactly balanced and throw light upon one another. The general construction is clearly determined by the symmetry which obtains between the relative proposition : *ya amhehi* *Bhadāyaniyehi patigaya dato* on the one hand, and the principal one : *eta cha* *patigayha oyapāpehi*. They correspond link to link. The general similarity makes the more conspicuous the discrepancy which exists in respect of a single detail : instead of *Dhanamketaṣamanehi y[e] etha pavate Tira* *na*, line 13 has *mahaāīrakena odena*. This disagreement is made worse by the lacuna and by the partial uncertainty of the reading *odena*. The obscurity of these two expressions is to my mind the only real difficulty in this part of the text. One useful result at least, although only a negative one, is gained from their comparison, namely, that the singular construction attempted by Bühler, who supposed *samanehi* and *āīrakena* to be governed by *patikhaya* (as he read), must first of all be discarded. To connect, as he did, *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* and *bhikkhuki* which are separated from each other by a whole sentence, is too inadmissible to require a lengthy refutation. Either member includes two terms : first

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The five different terms have been explained in K. 19. The same is not the case with the titles and names which are special to our text, and which the imperfect preservation of the latter renders more or less obscure. As for the first, as stated before, I join with some confidence in Bhagwanlal's reading *vinibadhakārehi*. He understood the word as 'document writer.' It is certain, on the testimony of the use of *nibandhāpehi*, that *nibandha*, as in N. 5, has to be taken here in some analogous sense. But how did Bhagwanlal dispose of the initial *vi*, which implies a meaning of suppression, or negation? We have seen besides (in K. 11) that *nibandha* more specially means 'investment.' The object of the deed is to unmake the gift of the Sudasana village by substituting the gift of another. I therefore explain *vinibandhakāra* by : 'who unmakes an investment,' and take it as an epithet applied to the officers entitled to register the withdrawal of the former donation, whichever may have been the proper qualification of these *Dātakas*.

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

There remains the third qualification, of which the greater part is erased, and which begins with *baṭikā*. Although this reading seems more likely than *paṭikā*, the two forms would be equivalent, and all I venture to say is that the first part of the title seems to refer to some function of an archivist, analogous to what is elsewhere expressed by *akṣhapāṭalika* and *dhṛṣṭāśālīka*.¹ This meaning would suit the general bearing which, I think, points to the mention of such an officer. At the utmost I would note that the reading *vāsakehi*, which G. and AS. have put in at the end of the word, reminds of *sāmiyehi* (= *svāmikehi*) which, in N. 4, closes the title of the *Mahāsvāmi* entrusted with an identical task. I must add that the visible traces do not favour the restoration of the reading *sāmikehi*.

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

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

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

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

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

No. 4, Plate ii. (Ksh. 13).

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham senāye Vojayaṃtiye (1) vijayakhadhāvārā Govadhanasa
Benākatakasvāmi (2) Gotamiputo Siri-Sadakaṇi (3)
- 2 ānapayati Govadhane amacha Viṇhupālita (4) gāme Aparakakhaḍiye ya (5)
khetam Ajakālakiyam Usabhadatena (6) bhūtam nivatana (7)-
- 3 satāni be 200 eta amhakheta nivatapaṣatāni (8) be 200 imesa pavajitāna
Tekirasipa (9) vitarāma etasa chasa khetasa parihāra
- 4 vitarāma apavesa (10) anomasa (11) aloṇakhādaka araṭhasavinayika
savajātapārihārika (12) cha etahi na parihārehi parihar . hi (13)
- 5 ete (14) chasa khetaparihār . (15) cha etha nibadhāpehi (16) ariyena (17)
ānataṃ amachena Sivagutena chhato Mahāsāmiyeḥi uparakhito (18)
- 6 datā paṭikā savachhare 18 (19) vāsapakhe (20) 2 divase 1 Tāpasena (21)
katā.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. °jayati°. — (2) G. and AS. °takā svā°. — (3) G. °dhāni. — (4) G. and AS. °litaṃ. — (5) G. °ḍiyam yaṃ khe°; AS. °ḍiya ya khe°. — (6) G. *Ushabhadatena*. — (7) AS. *nivatane*. — (8) AS. °satāmi. — (9) G. °sina; AS. °sinā. — (10) G. *apāve*°; AS. °vesaṃ. — (11) AS. °masaṃ. — (12) G. °tapari°. — (13) G. °riharahi; AS. °riharāhi. — (14) AS. *eta*. — (15) G. and AS. °hāre. — (16) G. and AS. *nibadhā* lihi. The only point which in my reading seems subject to some material uncertainty is the vocal *e* of the syllable *pe*. — (17) G. *suviḍeṇa*; AS. *ariyeṇa*. — (18)

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 6 Siddha (1) Govadhane amachasa Sāmakasa (2) deyo (3) rājāpito (4)
 7 raño Gotamiputasa Sātakanisa (5) mahādeviya (6) cha jīvasutāya rāja-
 mātuya vachanena Govadhane (7) . . cho (8) Sāmako arogavatavo tato
 eva cha (9)
 8 vatavo etha (10) amhehi pavate Tiraphumbi amhadhamadāne lepe
 pativasatānam (11) pavajitāna bhikkhūna gāme Kakhadleu puva khetam
 data ta cha kheta
 9 . . kasate (12) so cha gāmo na vasati evam (13) sati ya (14)
 dāni etha (15) nagarasīme rājakaṁ kheta (16) amhasatakam (17) tato
 etesa (18) pavajitāna bhikkhūnam Teraphukānam dadama
 10 khetasa nivatapasatam 100 tasa cha khetasa parihāra (19) vitarāma
 apāvesa anomasa alopakhādaka arathasavinayika savajātāparihārika cha (20)
 11 etehi na parihārehi parihareṭha (21) eta chasa khetāparihāre (22) cha
 etha (23) nibadhāpetha (24) aviyena (25) āpata paṭihārakhiya Loṭṭaya
 chhato (26) lekho (27) savachhare 24
 12 vāsāna (28) pakhe 4 divase pachame (29) 5 Sujivinā (30) kaṭā
 nibadho (31) nibadho savachhare (32) 24 gīmhāna pakhe 2 divase 10.

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Viragahapatisa nyegamañsa (1) lepañ (2)
- 2 deyadhama kuñumbiniya (3) chasa Nandāsiriya (4) ovarako duhutu-
- 3 ya chasa Purissadatāva ovarako eva lepañ chatugabham
- 4 niyuta (5) bhikkhusaṅghasa chātudisasa piyāchitam.

REMARKS.

(1) AS. °gamasa; the *anuvāra*, although faulty, seems perfectly clear. — (2) G. and AS. lepa. — (3) G. °biniya. — (4) AS. °daśādya. The reading *siri* seems sure. — (5) G. *niyuta*.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

No. 7, Plate iii.

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

TEXT.

- 1 Bhayaṃta-Savasānam amteṇā-
- 2 sīniya pavayitāya Tāpasi-
- 3 niya cha deyadhama [leṇa]
- 4 chātudisasa bhikkhusaghasa datam.

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Tāpasinī, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savasa, granted to the universal Saṅgha of ascetics."

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

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

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

TEXT.

- Dāsakasa Mugūdāsasa (1) saparivārasa leṇa (2) deyadhama (3).

REMARKS.

(1) AS. *Mugudā*°. The *ḍ* is not quite distinct. The double stroke, however, accounts best for the crack, and besides the *ḍ* is sure in the following number. — (2) G. *leṇam*. Even the *ṇ*, much more the *m*, is extremely indistinct. — (3) G. *°dhamma*.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Chetika-npāsakiyasa **Mugūdāsasa** (1) *sapariwārasa leṇam* (2) *deyadhama* (3) *etasa leṇasa* (4) **Bodhiguta-**
2-npāsakasa putena **Dhamanandinā** *dataṃ* (5) *khetam* (6) *sapariṭṭya Kaṇṇahiniya*
eto cha *khetāto chivarikaṃ* (7) *pavattasa*.

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

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

- 1 Siddham rājñah Kshaharātasya kshatrapasya Nahapānasya jāmātrā (1)
Dinikaputrena Ushavadātēna trigośatasahasradena nadyā Bārṇāsāyām
suvarṇadānatīrthakareṇa devatābhyaḥ brāhmaṇebhyaścha shoḍaśagrāmadena
anuvārsham (2) brāhmaṇasāśasāharibhojāpayitrā
- 2 Prabhāse puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ aṣṭabhāryāpradēna Bharukachhe Daśapure
Govardhane Śorṇpārage cha chatuśālāvasadhapratīśrayapradēna ārāmataḍāga (3)-
udapānakareṇa Ibā-Pārādā-Damaṇa-Tāpi-Karabēnā-Dāhanukā-nāvāpuṇyatarakareṇa
etāsām cha nadīnām ubhatotīram sabhā-
- 3 prapākareṇa Pīṇḍitakāvaḍe (4) Govardhane Suvarṇamukhe Śorṇpārage cha
Rāmātīrthe Ccharakaparshabhyāḥ grāme (5) Nānāṅgole dvātrīśatanāḷigeramūla-
sahasrapradēna (6) Govardhane Tirāśmīshu parvateshu dharmātmanā idam
lēnam (7) kārītām imā oḥa poḍhiyo (8) [||*] Bhaṭārakā amūṭtiyā (9) cha gato
smim (10) varahāratum (11) Mālayehi (12) rudham Utamabhādrām (13)
mochayitum
- 4 te cha Mālayā pranādenēva apayātā Utamabhādrakānām (14) cha kshatriyānām
sarve parigrhā kṛitā tato smim (15) gato Poksharāni tatra cha mayā
abhiseko kṛito tīpi (16) cha gosahasrāni datāni grāmo (17) cha [||*] Data
chānena (18) kahetram (19) brāhmaṇasa Vārāhiputrasa Aśvibhūtisa hathe
kṛitā mulena (20) kāhāpapasahasrehi chatubi 4000 ya sapitusataka
nagarasīmāya utarāparāya disāya (21) eto mama lepe vasa-
- 5 tānam (22) chātudisasa (23) bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhavisati.

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

causes one-hundred-thousand Brāhmanas to be fed the (whole) year round, who has given eight wives to Brāhmanas at the religious *tīrtha* of Prabhāsa, who at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorparaga has given the shelter of quadrangular rest-houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārādā, Damana, Tāpi, Karabonā and Dāhanukā, and erected on both banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and such for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty-two-thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village Nānamgola to the congregation of Charakas at Pīṇḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha and the Rāmatīrtha in Śorparaga,—inspired by (true) religion, in the Trirāśmi hills at Govardhana, has caused this cave to be made and these cisterns. And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas, and those Mālayas fled at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were, and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadra warriors. Thence I went to the Pokshara tanks, and there I bathed and gave three-thousand cows and a village. A field has also been given by him, bought at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa Aśvibhūti, son of Vārāhi, for the price of four-thousand — 4,000 — *kāhāpaṇas*, which (field) belonged to his father, on the boundary of the town towards the north-western side. From it food will be procured for all monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave."

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

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

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

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

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

improbable. Secondly, what could be the use of specifying so accurately, as is done in the two cases, the village in which those trees would have been alienated, if the donees were only concerned with the proceeds of the sale? The fact itself, that the king's son-in-law should have sold a few cocoanut trees in order to provide himself with funds for his private charities, is the more unlikely as gifts in kind are the more usual ones; or, if money is intended, it is a consolidated investment (see N. 12), a foundation of a perpetual rent. We see below that the same donor buys a field in order to secure food for the monks, but not the reverse. If we follow Bühler, we must admit, in spite of the general parallelism of the two phrases, that the number of trees would have been noted in our case, while in N. 12 the sum of money alone would be stated, as representing the cocoanut trees (*nāligērāna*), the number of which would be undefined. In N. 12, if only we read *mūlāṃ* for *mūla*, we may well construe the word in apposition to *sahasāni*. Such an expedient is here out of the question, and this is a very strong reason for taking in N. 12 *mulasahasāni* as a compound. This must be the spontaneous impression of every unprejudiced reader; even here, where the compound is certain, its resolution into a first member ending with *mūla* and being in apposition to *sahasra* (which would be excluded by the compound *mulasahasāni* in N. 12) is, although possible, certainly too remote to appear probable at first sight. Lastly, in N. 12, if a gift of 8,000 *kārshāṇas* were really intended, it is not easy to see why it should have been consigned to the third place, without any details regarding the mode of foundation, while the inferior gift of 3,000 *kārshāṇas*, previously mentioned, is treated quite differently. From all these facts I conclude that Bhagwanlal is certainly right, and that we have here to do with a gift of 32,000 cocoanut trees, and in N. 12 with one of 8,000, the first at the village of Nānāngola, and the second at the village of Chikhalapadra. The only difficulty lies in the use of *mūla*, which seems to imply 'roots of cocoanut trees' instead of simply 'cocoanut trees.' Such an idiom is surely not more puzzling than if, in French, we reckon trees by '*pieds*' and say 32,000 '*pieds de cocotiers*.'

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

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

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

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

On account of the proximity of *mama leṣa vasatānaṁ* and *chātudisasa saṁghasa*, this inscription is one of those where the exact meaning of *chātudisasa saṁgha* is most clearly brought out, as I have tried to show in K. 13.

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

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

TEXT.

1 Sidham (1) rāṁṇo (2) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapanasa dihi-
2 tu Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa kuḍumbiniya Dakhamitrāya (3) deyadham-
mam (4) ovarako.

REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *sidham*.—(2) G. *rāṁṇo*; AS. *raṁṇo*.—(3) AS. °*mitāya*.—(4) G. °*dhammam*.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham vase 42 Vesākhamāse rāño (1) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa
Nahapānasa jāmātavā Dinikaputrena Ushavadātena saṅghasa chātudisasa
imam lepaṁ (2) niyātitaṁ data chānena (3) akshayanivi kākāpānasaḥsārā-
2 ni trini 3000 saṅghasa chātudisasa ye imasmiṁ lepe vasantānaṁ (4)
bhavisati chivarika kuśāpamūle (5) cha ete cha kākāpāṇā prayutā
Govadhanavāthavāsu śreṇisu (6) kolikanikāye (7) 2000 vṛidhi (8) paḍikaśata
aparakolikanikā-
3 ye (9) 1000 vadhi pāyūnapaḍikaśata (10) ete cha kākāpāṇā apaḍidātavā
vadhikhojā eto chivarikasahasrāni (11) be 2000 ye paḍike sate eto mama
lepe vasayuthāna bhikkhunaṁ viśāya ekikasa chivarika bārasaka yā (12)
sahasra prayutaṁ pāyūnapaḍike (13) sate ato kuśāna-
4 mūla (14) Kāpurāhāre cha gāme Chikhalapadre datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni
aṭha 8000 eta cha sarva (15) srāvita (16) nigamasabhāya nibadha (17) cha
phalakavāre charitratoti bhūyo nena datam vase 41 Kātikaśudhe
panarasa (18) puvāka vase 45
5 panarasa niyutaṁ (19) bhagavatām devānaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ cha karahāpāsa-
hasrāṇi (20) satari 70000 pañchatrisāka (21) suvarṇa (22) kṛitā
dina suvarṇasahasraṇaṁ (23) mūlyam (24)
6 phalakavāre charitratoti.

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The only remaining difficulty concerns the words *pañchatrīṣaka*, etc. It is only formal. It is indeed perfectly clear that the text wants to state how the 70,000 *kārshāpaṇas* given are equal in value to 2,000 *suvarṇas*, the *suvarṇa* being worth 35 *kārshāpaṇas*. But Bhagwanlal understands *kṛitā* = *kṛitā*, which I consider hardly admissible. The vocalisation is here very uncertain. I prefer to take *kṛitā* as equal to *kṛita* or *kṛitaṁ*, and *pañchatrīṣakam suvarṇam kṛitaṁ* as a separate proposition, which comes very near to our own idiom: 'thirty-five (*kārshāpaṇas*) make one *suvarṇa*.'

No. 13, Plate viii. (Ksh. 10.)

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

TEXT.

[Compare No. 11.]

- 1 Sidham rāṇo Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapāna-
2 sa dīhita (1) Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa
3 kuṇḍabiniya (2) Dakhamitrāya deyadhammam (3) ovarako.

REMARK.

- (1) G. *dīhita*.—(2) G. *kuṇḍam*.—(3) G. *°dhamam*.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

On the right wall of the court in Cave No. 10.

TEXT.

- 1 ṭasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa jāma-
2 Śakasa Ushavadātasa netyakesu
3 ? Chechimāne (1) Dāhanūkānagara (2) Kekāpure

4		? c (3) Anugāmimhi Ujeniya Sākhaya
5		to brāhmaṇā bhujate (4) sataśāha-
6		vata (5) brāhmaṇānam gavām sataśa-
7		bhagavatā (6) devāna brāhmaṇānam cha datā
8		Chetrasudhe panarasa (7) Kshaharā-
9		gavām Ptasahasradena (8) Usha-
10		(9) nadiye Bapāsaya (10) da-
11		suvana tittha (11) che ṇayate (12) tasa
12		(13)

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

- 1 [Sidham raño Kshaharā]
- 2 [ta Dinikaputasa]
- 5 [anuvāsam bhagavaṁ]
- 6 [sī bhaga]
- 7 [hasāni tīni datāni]
- 8 [solasa gāmā vase].

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

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

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

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

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

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

TEXT.

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

REMARKS.

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham rājūḥ Māḍhariputrasya (1) Śivadatt-Ābhiraputrasya
- 2 Abhirasy-Eśvarasenasya saṁvatsare (2) navama . (3)
- 3 mhapakhe chothe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13 (4) . .
- 4 ya puvaya (5) Śak-Āgnivarmmaṇaḥ duhitā (6) gaṇapaka . (7)
- 5 Rebhilasya bharyayā (8) gaṇapakasya (9) Viśvavarmasya .
- 6 trā Śakanikayā (10) upāsikāya Viśvudatāyā (11) sarvasatvahi-
- 7 tasukhārtham (12) Tirāśmiparvatavihāravāstavyasya chāturdīśa (13)
- 8 bhikṣusaṁghasya (14) gilānabhesajārtham (15) akshayanivī prayuktā
- . vāsta(16)-
- 9 vyasu āgatānāgatāsu (17) śreṇishu (18) yataḥ kulikaśreṇyā haste karṣhāpapa-
- 10 sahasra 1000 oḍayamtrikaśreṇyā (19) sahasrāpi dve (20)
- 11 nyāḥ (21) śatāni pañcha 500 tilapishakaśreṇ . . . (22)
- 12 ete cha karṣhāpapa chatālepa (23).

REMARKS.

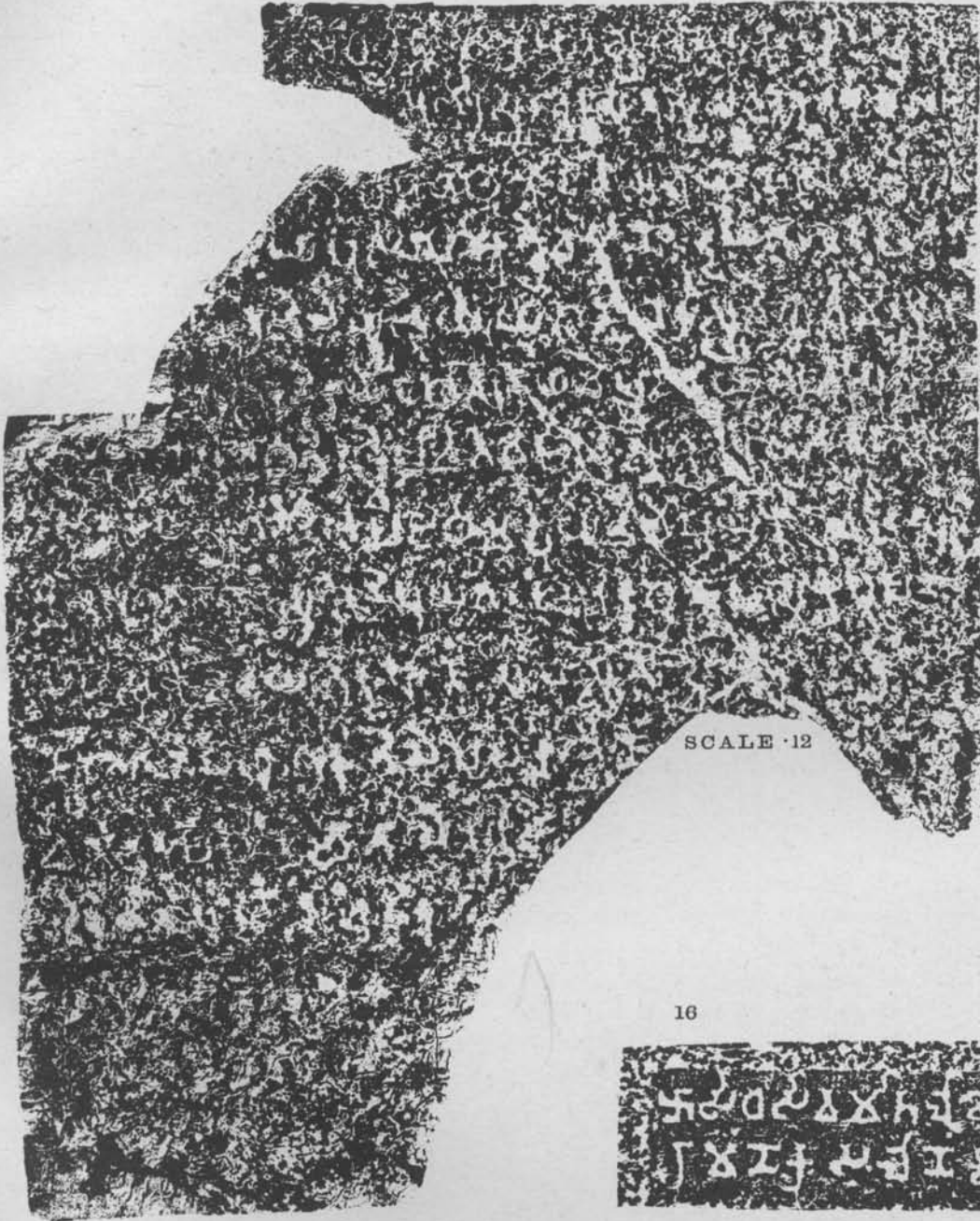
(1) AS. leaves a blank for the two first characters of *Māḍharī*, which are certainly not quite clear; but on the estampage sufficient traces of both are still discernible, especially of *ḍha*. I may mention that, as appears from the comparison of the two facsimiles, this epigraph seems to have suffered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

11



SCALE · 1

15



SCALE · 12

16

SCALE · 1



G. and AS. add fragments of one more line: *sva ma*(AS. *mā*)*sa* *sarva* (AS. *sarva*[*m*]) *rakshāti* (AS. *rakshati*) *vidya* (AS. *Vishṇu*[*udatā*]) Of all this I can discern nothing on the estampages.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

No. 16, Plate vii. (N. 5).

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

TEXT.

1 Sidham Sivamitalekhakaputasa

2 Rāmānpakasa lepaṃ deyadhamam (1).

REMARK.

(1) G. °*dhama*m.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Velidātaputasa (1) nekamasa Rāmanakasa
 2 Chhākalepakiyasa lenam deyadhammam chatudi(2)-
 3 sasa bhikkhusaṅghasa niyātitaṁ data cha
 4 nena akhayanivi kāhāpanasata 100
 5 saṅghasa hathe eto vasavuthasa pavāitasa chivari-
 6 kaṁ dātavaṁ bārasakam.

REMARKS.

(1) G. °*data*°; AS. *Velidata*°.—(2) G. and AS. *chātudi*°.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 17.

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham otarāhasa Dātāmitiyakasa (1) Yonakasa Dhammadevaputasa
 idrāgnidatasa (2) dhammātmanā (3)
 2 imam (4) leṇam pavate Tiramphumbi khānitaṁ abhantaram cha leṇasa
 chetiyaḥaro poḍhiyo (5) cha mātāpi-
 3 taro udisa ima leṇa (6) kāritaṁ sava-Budha-pujāya chātudisasa
 bhikkhusaṅghasa (7) niyātitaṁ sa-
 4 ha putena Dhammarakhitena.

REMARKS.

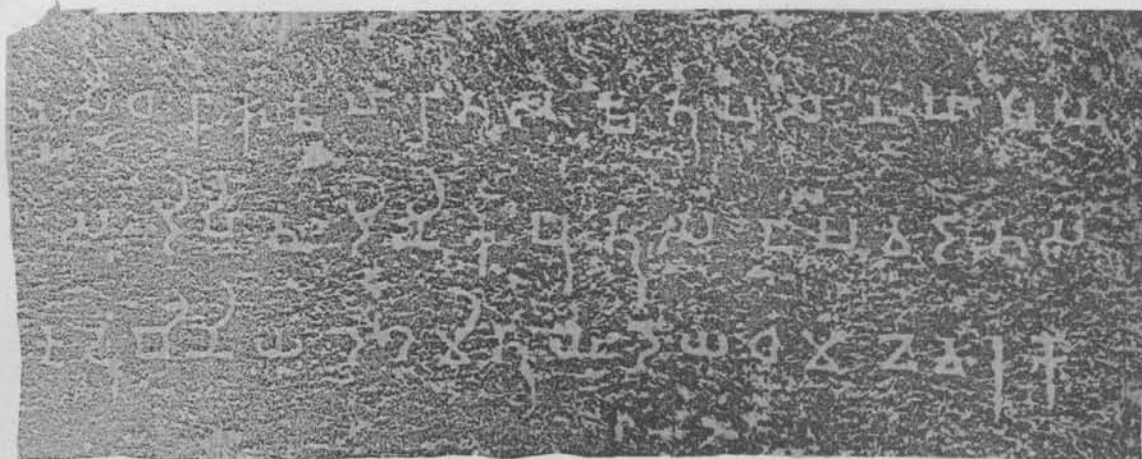
(1) G. and AS. *Damtāmi*°.—(2) G. *Indrāgni*°; AS. *Idā*°; but the Sanskrit *r* is perfectly clear.—(3) The stroke which, rising perpendicularly, makes the *ā* look somewhat like *i*, is thinner and certainly accidental.—(4) G. and AS. *ima te*°.—(5) G. *poḍhiṁyo*; AS. *poṇḍhiyo*°.—(6) AS. *leṇam*°.—(7) G. *bhikkhu*°.

8



SCALE · 1

13



SCALE · 12

17



SCALE · 12

26



SCALE · 1

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Rāyāmacha-Arahalayasa Chalisilapakasa (1) duhutuya Mahāhakusi-
- 2 r . . ya Bhaṭṭapālikāya (2) rāyāmachasa Agiyatapakasa bhamḍākārīka-
- 3 yasa bhāriyāya (3) Kapaṇapakamātuya chetiyaḡharam pavato
- 4 Tiraṇhumi niṭhapāpita.

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

"By Bhaṭṭapālikā, [grand-daughter] of Mahāhakusiri and daughter of the royal officer Arahalaya from Chalisilapa, wife of the royal officer Agiyatapaka, of the treasure office, mother of Kapaṇapaka, this Chaityagriha has been caused to be perfected on this mount Tiraṇhu."

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

Nāsikakanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

TRANSLATION.

"The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nāsik people."

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

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

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

TEXT.

. *bena cha* (1) *ni* *yāva* (2) *Nadāsiriya* (3)
cha veikā (4) *yakho cha kārītā* (5).

REMARKS.

(1) The traces preceding *be* make one think of a *ṭ*. Is it the rest of *kuṭumbena*? Above the traces of this hypothetical *ṭ*, the rest of *śidham*, which began the epigraph, are still discernible in the preceding line.—(2) AS. °*ni*. e *yā°*; G. °*yācha*.—(3) G. *Nadasi°*.—(4) G. *veyikā*.—(5) G. *kārīto*.

TRANSLATION.

" and by *Nadāsiri* the rail pattern and the *Yaksha* have been caused to be made."

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

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

TEXT.

1 *Sātavāhanakule* (1) *Kanhe rājini Nāsikakena*
 2 *Samapena mahāmātepa lepa kārītā* (2).

REMARKS.

(1) AS. °*kula*. — (2) G. *kārītām*.

TRANSLATION.

"Under king *Krishna* of the *Sātavāhana* family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the *Śramaṇas* at *Nāsik*."

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

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

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

TEXT.

1 *Deyadharmmo yaṁ upāsi-*
 2 *kāyā Mammāyā layanam.*

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Gotamiputasa sâmi-Siriyāṇa-Sātakapisa samvachhare (1) sātame
7 hematāṇa pakhe tatiye 3
2 divase pathame (2) Kosikasa mahāseṇāpatisa Bhavagopasa bharijāya
mahāseṇāpatiniya (3) Vāsuya leṇa
3 Bopakiyatisujamāna apayavasitasamāne (4) bahukāpi varisāpi ukute payavasāṇa (5)
nito (6) chātudi-
4 sasa cha bhikhusaghasa āvāso dato ti.

REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *savachha*°.—(2) G. *padhame*; AS. *paṭhame*. The central dot of *tha* seems certain on the back.—(3) AS. °*senāpatiniya*.—(4) G. and AS. °*mānasa pa*°; AS. °*yavesita*°.—(5) G. and AS. *payavasāṇe*.—(6) G. *nite*.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

No. 25, Plate vi. (Ksh. 15).

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Vāsiṭhiputasa sâmi-Siri-Pulū-
2 māisa samvachhare 2 hemamāta pakhe 4 divase ? (1)
3 etiya puvāya kuṭumbikeṇa Dhanameṇa iṇa
4 kâritam saha m . . pituhi saha (2).

REMARKS.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Śakasa Dāmachikasa (1) Iekhakasa Vudhikasa
- 2 Vishpudataputasa (2) Daśapuravāṭhavasa lepa po-
- 3 dhiyo cha do (3) 2 ato ekā poḍhi yā aparadha sa (4) me mātā
- 4 . taro udisa.

REMARKS.

(1) G. *Dama*°.— (2) G. °*putrasa*.— (3) G. *de*.— (4) G. *apara esa*; AS. *apara[dhā]* *sa*. The *dh* at least seems rather distinct.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

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

REMARKS.

- (1) G. Dama². — (2) G. poḍhi; AS. poḍhi.

TRANSLATION.

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

No. 9.—DHAR PRASASTI OF ARJUNAVARMAN:

PARIJATAMANJARI-NATIKA BY MADANA.

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

This inscription was discovered recently at Dhār (west of Mhow), the ancient capital of the Paramāra kings of Mālava and the present chief town of a State in Central India. The news of the discovery reached me through Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education, Dhār, who was good enough to send me a copy of his well written 'Summary of the dramatic inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque), Dhar, C.I., in November 1903.' According to Mr. Lele, "the slab of black stone (5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet) upon which this interesting Sanskrit inscription is engraved, was attached to the northern wall of the principal *mīhrāb* in the mosque, with the writing turned inside." — "The slab was taken out in November 1903, and is kept framed at the mosque." On receipt of Mr. Lele's 'Summary,' I requested Mr. Marshall to send me mechanical copies of the inscription. In compliance with this request, Mr. Marshall kindly instructed Dr. Vogel to forward me an inked estampage. Subsequently Mr. Cousens sent me two excellent inked estampages,¹ one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.²

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

The alphabet is an early variety of Nāgarī and exhibits several peculiarities. In the old Brāhmī alphabet the initial *i* consisted of three points. In the subjoined inscription the two upper points are represented by circles, and the lowermost one by a symbol which consists of a vertical line and of a flourish (see e.g. *iva* in l. 2); but in five instances (*kakāi*, l. 56, *imdranila*, l. 62, *mandabhāṇim*, l. 64, *aī*, l. 66, and *maṇḍabhāṇis*, l. 80) there are two distinct flourishes instead of one, and in a single case (*itthēu*, l. 22) one of the two circles is omitted. The initial *i* occurs once (in *vanassaiṇam*, l. 40). The initial *u* has two different shapes: The loop attached to it is turned either downwards or upwards; both forms may be seen together, e.g. in l. 22, where *chaūtthie* shows the second and *itthēu* the first form. The initial *ś* occurs four times (in *riś*, l. 19, *namidna*, l. 31, *niharidna*, l. 35, and *kālaśda*, l. 51), and the initial *ṛ* three

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ The second variety occurs only in ll. 23 and 42.

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

The inscription contains the two first acts of a hitherto unknown *nāṭikā*, i.e. a drama of four acts,¹ entitled *Pārijātamāñjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* (l. 4). This drama had been composed by the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*) *Madana*, whose family hailed from *Gauḍa* (Bengal), and who was a descendant of *Gaṅgādhara*² (l. 3 f.). It was acted for the first time at the spring-festival³ in the city of *Dhārā* (l. 3)—the modern *Dhâr*.

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

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

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

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

"This panegyric (*prastāvi*) was engraved by the artist (*śilpīn*) *Rāmadēva*, the son of the excellent sculptor (*rūpakāra*) *Sihāka*."

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

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

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

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

¹ See the definitions in the *Dakṛāpakam*, III. verse 40, and in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, p. 345, where the *Ratnāvalī* and *Viddhaidlabhañjikā* are quoted as examples. Others are the *Priyadarsikā*, *Karṇasundarī*, *Kamalinīkalahansa* and *Vṛishabhānujā*. The prototype of all of them is *Kālidāsa*'s *Mālavikāgnimitram*, which has however five acts and is therefore styled a *nāṭakam*.

² On the formation of *Gaṅgāddhardyaṇi* (without *vriddhi* of the first vowel) see *Pāṇini*, IV. 1.160.

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

⁴ The word *bāṇa*, 'an arrow,' may refer also to the *Bāṇa* king.

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

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

⁷ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 232 f.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 302.

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

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

Arjunavarman's grants report that he defeated Jayasimha.² The same enemy is referred to in the drama (l. 7), with the additional information that he was a king of Gūrjara (l. 7, vv. 10 and 18) and belonged to the Chaulukya family (v. 7). Hence he seems to be identical with the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II. of Anahilapātaka,³ whose grants are dated between A.D. 1199 and 1238.⁴ Although these grants do not apply to Bhīmadēva II. the name Jayasimha, they call him 'the new Siddharāja,' and 'Siddharāja' had been the surname of his ancestor Jayasimha. Hence I believe that Bhīmadēva II. is meant both in the drama and in the grants of Arjunavarman. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that the Jayasimha whom Arjunavarman defeated was the temporary usurper Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddharāja, who ruled in the place of Bhīmadēva II. in A.D. 1223.⁵ At any rate, as noted by Bühler,⁶ Mērtuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* places both the conquest of Gujārāt by Arjunadēva of Mālava and an attempted invasion⁷ by his father Subhata in the lifetime of Bhīmadēva II. himself.

The drama locates the decisive battle between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha on the borders of the land at the foot of a mountain called Parvaparvata (l. 7). The name of Arjunavarman's minister is stated to have been Nārāyaṇa (v. 8). To Arjunavarman himself the drama applies the surname Trividhvirachūḍāmaṇi (l. 7 and v. 9). Even this detail is corroborated from two different sides. The same surname occurs as Trividhvirā in the grants,⁸ and as Virachūḍāmaṇi in the colophon of the *Rasikasaṃjivini*, a commentary on the *Amaruśatakam*.⁹ This commentary is attributed to king Arjunavarman, who at the beginning of it calls himself 'the son of king Subhatavarman' and 'the light of Bhōja's family.'¹⁰

In his commentary on the first verse of the *Amaruśatakam* (p. 2) Arjunavarman quotes a Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse of 'the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana whose other name was Bālasarasvatī.'¹¹ The same person seems to be meant by the '*upādhyāya*' who is quoted as the author of an Āryā (p. 15) and of two Anuśtubh verses (pp. 16 and 44). The *upādhyāya* Madana is of course identical with the *rājaguru* Madana, the author of the *Pārijātamañjarī* and of Arjunavarman's grants.¹² The quotations in the *Rasikasaṃjivini* show that he produced other poetical works besides these,¹³ and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amaruśatakam*.

Finally the drama mentions a few localities within and near the city of Dhārā. According to the prologue, the first performance of the drama took place in a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī.¹⁴ The scene of the first act is the top of the royal palace (v. 8), and that of the

¹ *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. V. p. 379; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 26, verse 17.

³ This was already suggested by Dr. Hall, *ibid.* p. 39 f.

⁴ Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos. 188 and 216.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 205.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 187.

⁷ This invasion is alluded to in the grants of Arjunavarman; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, verse 15.

⁸ *Loc. cit.* verse 19.

⁹ Kāvya-mātā edition, p. 69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1, verse 5. On p. 23 Arjunavarman quotes a verse of 'our ancestor Muñjadēva whose other name was Vākpatriāja.' Compare *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol. XLVII. p. 93.

¹¹ Bālasarasvatī-Madana was taught poetry by the Jaina Āśādhara, a contemporary of the Mālava king Arjuna and of his two successors Dēvapāla and Jaitugidēva (Jayasimha). See Dr. Ehandarkar's *Report for 1883-84*, p. 104 f.; Bühler in *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol. XLVII. p. 94; and Prof. Kielhorn, *above*, Vol. V. App. p. 32, note 3.

¹² See the two first lines of this page.

¹³ Prof. Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts* mention three MSS. of the *Bālasarasvatīyam*, a *kāvya* by Bālasarasvatī, which Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 425) assigns to the *upādhyāya* Madana.

¹⁴ Śāradadēvi, l. 3, or Bhārati, l. 6.

second act a pleasure-garden (*līlādyānam* or *pramadōdyānam*) on the Dhārāgiri, a hill near the city (ll. 6, 12, 31, v. 30, ll. 36 and 75).

The *dramatis personæ* are : The stage-manager (*sūtradhāra*) ; the actress (*naṭī*) ; king Arjunavarman ; the jester Vidagdha ; queen Sarvakalā ; her maid Kanakalēkhā ; the royal gardener Kusumākara ; his wife Vasantallī ; and the heroine Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī. The king and Kusumākara speak Sanskrit, the remaining persons Prākṛit—Śaurasēnī in the prose passages, and Māhārāṣṭrī in the verses. The pretty verses of the bards, which are recited behind the stage, are also in Prākṛit.¹

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

“Enjoying this lovely, auspicious Vijayaśrī, thou, O lord of Dhārā, shalt become equal to Bhōjadēva” (v. 6).

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

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

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

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

In the introductory scene (*vishkambhaka*, l. 39) of the second act, Kusumākara and Vasantallī compare notes on the mutual passion of the heroine and the king.

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

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

¹ Vv. 17-19 and 28 ; but vv. 72-74 are in Sanskrit.

of the poet. It would have been a poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters. Hence I believe that, as stated in the drama, his chief queen was actually named Sarvakalā¹ and was the daughter of the king of Kuntala (v. 11),—who is perhaps identical with the then reigning Hoysala king Viraballāja II.,²—and that Pārijātamañjarī³ or Vijayaśrī⁴ happened to be Arjunavarman's favourite at the time when the drama was composed. Her miraculous appearance and her fanciful connection with the vanquished king of Gujaraṭ may have been suggested to the poet by her real name. They could not fail to please the king and his mistress, and could perhaps be risked all the more easily because the lady was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms.

Another instance in which the wedding of the favourite queen of a reigning sovereign forms the subject of a romantic story is that of Chandradēvi in the *Vikramādikadēvacharitam*.⁵ In this case, contemporary inscriptions and Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* prove that the heroine's name was not invented by the poet Bilhana, but that she was actually one of the wives of Vikramāditya VI.⁶ Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīyam* deserves to be mentioned in the same connection, as it includes a drama that resembles the *Pārijātamañjarī* in being the panegyric of a reigning king.⁷

TEXT.⁸

- 1 श्रीः⁹ ॥ श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अत्र कथंचिदलिखिते अतिलेखं लिख्यते
शिलायुगले । भोजस्यैव गुणोर्जितमर्जुनमूर्त्या ऽवतीर्णस्य ॥ १ ॥
तत्तादृक्सुमनीमनीहरतनुर्वासांगमृगारिणी मुष्टिस्त्रीकरणीयमध्यमधुरावष्टम्भ-
नञ्जातिः । आकर्ण्यन्तनटत्कटाक्षविशिष्यध्यापारधन्या जयत्यन्या चापल-
तेव चंद्रसुहृदी
- 2 देवस्य कान्ता रतिः ॥ २ ॥ अपि च । ¹⁰वल्गाहाणजयक्ष्मो विजयते
निःशेषगोत्राणकृष्णः कृष्ण इवार्जुनो ऽर्जुन इव श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।
विस्फूर्जद्विषमेषुवेधविधुरां राधां विधत्ते स यस्तूर्णं पूर्णमनोरथश्चिरमभू-
द्भाग्यमंगीकृते ॥ ३ ॥ नाद्यते सूत्रधारः । आर्ये । इतस्सावत् ।
प्रविश्य नटी । आणवेदु¹¹ अञ्जी । सूत्र । प्रिये । आ-
- 3 दिष्टो ऽस्मि तत्रभवत्या परिषदा (1) यथा ऽथ त्वया ऽस्मिन्नेव चैत्र-
पर्वणि [चतु]रशीतिचतुःपथ¹²सुरसदनप्रधाने धारापुरीयुवतिर्मृगारमुक्तासजो
जगज्जडतांधकारशतनगरचंद्रिकायाः ¹³सारदादेव्याः सद्यनि सकलदिगंतरी-
पागतानेकैर्विद्यसङ्घदयकलाकोविदरसिकसुकविसंकुले गौडान्वयगंगापुलिनरा-

¹ Vv. 11, 37, 55, 62 and l. 76; Samastakalā in v. 39.

² See the Table of the Hoysalas in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 493.

³ Ll. 29, 29, 33, 35, 38, 43, 44, 48, 59, 64, 78, 80; Kusumaśrī in l. 12, and Kusumamañjarī in l. 75.

⁴ Vv. 6, 15, 55 and l. 69; Jayaśrī in v. 70.

⁵ Bühler's edition, p. 38 ff. of the Introduction.

⁶ Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 449 and note 4.

⁷ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 f.

⁸ From three inked estampages.

Cancel the *circumflex*; the syllable *ś* is expressed by a symbol resembling the one employed at the beginning of the Bhāṭṭa plates of Udayavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 254, Plate.

⁹ Read वल्गाहाण°.

¹⁰ See p. 117 below A.

¹¹ Read अणवेदु°.

¹² Read चतुष्वथ°.

- 4 [जहं]सस्य [गंगाध]रायणे[मंदनस्य रा]जगुरोः कतिरभिनवा समस्तसामाजिक-
मधुव्रतानंदमकरंदप्रपा पारिजातमंजरीत्यपराख्या विजयश्रीनामि नाटिका
नाटयितव्या । तदाविर्भाव्यतां रंगमंगलसंपदां संप्रदायः । नटी [1*]
सहर्षं । जं अज्जी आणवेदि । किं च मए वि सुणिदं (1) जधा
मलयानिलमंदमंदंदोलणमहमहत-
- 5 मायंदमउलमयरंद[पिंडि]द[परायपुंजपिं]जरिज्जंतमंजरीकवलपरपर्योप्यणकेलिपज्जा-
उलकलयंठमिहुणमभुरकलयल्लेलावहल्लिदविहल्लमाणंसिणीमाणं पि (1)
परिमलतरंगचंगचंपयचसयमहु[य]क[य]किदल्लरणचारणरणभणकारमुहलं पि
(1) जंतकुंजरकरसीयरासारसेयसरसविभ्रसं-
- 6 [त]विविह्विडवकुडंगवडंधयारं पि (1) धारागिरिलीलीज्जाणं परिहरिय
कीदुहल्लपंफुल्ललोयणो भारहीभवणहुत्तं सहस त्ति परावडिदो ज्जेव लोयो
त्ति । ता कधेहि केरिसं इत्थ कधासंविहाणयं । सूच । आकाशे
। किमाचक्षते भवतः । स्थाने सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वं मृहीनामतिसुंदरं ।
याश्चैवं कांतमासाद्य विभ्रति स्मितमा-
- 7 धुरीं । [8 1*] तज्जोः⁴ साधूत्तं । नटीं प्रति च । आर्ये [1*] श्रुतं
त्वया । सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वमिति । नटी । अध⁵ इं । सूच ।
प्रिये [1*] शृणु तर्हि । विविधवीरचूडामणैः सार्वभौमश्रीभोजदेवान्वय-
मूर्धन्यस्य राज्ञः श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य गूर्जरपतिना जयसिंहेन सह पर्व-
पर्वतोपत्यकापरिसरेषु हिरण्यकशिपु⁶कदनकुपितवैकुण्ठकंठीरवकंठ-
- 8 नादचकितदिश्वारणेंद्रमुक्तविश्वंभरानिपतनीहेलसमार्णवल्लहरिसंफेदतुल्यतुमुलकीला-
हलः कलहो बभूव ॥ नटी । अज्ज⁷ [1*] जहिं चउरंगवल्लजुअलधूली-
कडपेहिं कवल्लिदमि मञ्जडमंडले सयंवरकोदुहल्लहल्लुफ्फलमिलंतसुरसुंदरी-
सुहयंद⁸चंदायवेण नियपरविहाओ संजादो सुणीयदि ॥
- 9 सूच । आर्ये [1*] एवमेवेतत् । नटी । तदो⁹ २ [1*] सूच ।
ततश्च प्रतिवले पलायमाने जयसिंधुरस्कांधाधिरूढस्य धनुषतो धारापते-
स्तत्कालीपसंहृतनाराचदुर्दिनस्य पुरंदरपुरद्वारकवाटविकटे वक्षसि लोकोत्त-
रपरिमलामीदवासितदिगंतरा विस्मरहंदारकहंदकुसुमहृष्टिमध्यादेका पारि-
जातमंजरी पपात ॥

¹ See p. 117 below, B.² Read °पपुञ्ज°.³ The engraver has left a blank space between the two *aksharas* प and रा.⁴ The *visarga* had been omitted by the engraver and was inserted by him on revision.⁵ See p. 117 below, C.⁶ Read °कशिपु°.⁷ See p. 117 below, D.⁸ Read °मंद° (P).⁹ See p. 117 below, E.

- 10 नटी । सक्कौतुक । तदो¹ २ [1*] सूत्र । ततश्च । अन्योन्यं गल-
हस्तनोपनतयोर्द्वेन वक्षोजयोः कर्णोर्लघनजांघ्रिकेन नयनद्वन्द्वेन हेवा-
किनी । वक्त्रं विश्वविलोचनोत्पलवनीचंद्रीदयं विभ्रती साभूहाण्य-
जिगीषुयौवनसुशामाद्यत्तनुः कामिनी ॥ [५ ॥*] तदैव चाकाशवाक्
प्रादुरासीत् । मनोज्ञां निर्विश्वमेतां कथा-
- 11 णीं विजयत्रियं । सदृशी भोजदेवेन धाराधिप भविष्यसि ॥ [६ ॥*]
नटी । अक्क² [1*] ता किं दिव्यमाणसीए सा कथा । सूत्र ।
प्रिये । न खल्वेवं । किं तु । या चौतुक्कमहीमहेन्द्रदुहिता
देवी जयश्रीः स्वयं भंगे मृत्युमवाप्य ³वायसलिलैरंतः⁴पुरस्योर्मिलैः ।
वसुः शोकतमालवालविपिनं चक्रे नदीमाढकं (1)⁵ सेयं स्वर्दुम-
मंजरी कि- (1)
- 12 सलये संक्रम्य जातांगना ॥ [७ ॥*] नटी । सकारणाचर्यं । तदो⁶ २ ।
सूत्र । ततश्च (1) देवेन जयकुंजरकुंभसल्लादाकृत्य तस्याः कुचस्थले
दृष्टिं संचारितवता महाजनलज्जया सा कुसुमश्रीः [1*] कंचुकिनः
कुसुमाकरनामधेयस्योद्यानाधिकारिणः समर्पिता । तेन धानीय धारा-
गिरिगर्भमरकतमंडपे वसंतलीलां स्वगृहि-
- 13 णीं योगक्षेमकारिणीं दत्त्वा⁷ स्थापिता । नेपथ्ये । इत इतो देवः ।
सूत्र । तत्रावलोकितकेन । प्रिये [1*] पश्य । नारायणेमात्यशुची
निवेश्य सौराज्यभारं स्वयमारूरोह । देवी वसंतोत्पलकौतुकेन नवीन-
रत्नोज्ज्वल⁸हर्म्यशृंगं ॥ [८ ॥*] अहो रामणीयकं परमारमूर्धन्यस्य ।
हयाननतरंगितत्रिविधवीरचूडामणि-
- 14 प्रगीतरसरंजितां रतिमवेक्ष्य मोहायिते । यदीयविरुदं स्मरः परपुरंभ्रिवन्धुं
जगौ स एष नृपसुंदरो जयति जैत्रचौत्रोत्सवे⁹ ॥ [९ ॥*] सविस्मयं ।
अंतःपुरवनिताश्च हिरदघटाश्चाशु गूर्जरैद्रस्य । नृखलिता यदनीकैः स
एष सुभटक्षितींद्रसुतः ॥ [१० ॥*] नटी । पासे¹⁰ उण अंतैरिया
विय कावि एसा । सूत्र । समुच्चयेन या
- 15 सृष्टा कलानां परमेष्ठिना । कुंतलैद्रसुता सेयं राज्ञः सर्वकला प्रिया
॥ [११ ॥*] तदनया सहितो मानयतु मधूत्सवं देवः । आवामप्यनंतर-

¹ See p. 117 below, F.² See p. 117 below, G.³ Read वायं.⁴ The *risarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.⁵ This mark of punctuation seems to have been cancelled by the engraver himself.⁶ See p. 117 below, H.⁷ Read दत्त्वा.⁸ Read रत्नोज्ज्वलं.⁹ Read जैत्रचौत्रोत्सवे.¹⁰ See p. 117 below, I.

- करणीयाय सञ्जीभवावः [१*] इति निःक्रांतावासुषं^१ ॥ ततः प्रविशति
विदूषकेण सह वसंतवेपरमणीयो राजा (i) साख्या^२ सह राज्ञी च ।
राज्ञी । सहकारमंजरीं दर्शयित्वा (i) सलीलस्मितं । अञ्ज-
16 त^३ [१*] नोहलियं गेणह एदं । कीदलसरवाहुलेण मणहरा पदम-
मंजरी एसा । तुह उच्छवन्नि हु मए विणित्ता गायणीइ जहा
॥ [१२ ॥*] राजा । सहर्षादरं (i) हस्तद्वयेन गृहीत्वा । देवि ।
त्वयोपनीयमानोयं सहकाराङ्कुरो मया । आत्तः पुष्पायुधस्त्रेपुरास्त्रीका-
रलाङ्कनं ॥ [१३ ॥*] अपि कुसुमे नवफलिकाव्यपदेशः पेशलांगि युक्तस्ते
17 । फलमेव कुसुममपि मे प्रसन्नया यच्चया दत्तं । [१४ ॥*] विदूषकः ।
साकूतं । अहो^४ अन्नरियं [१*] भायघेण वयस्सस कुसुममंजरी
फलत्तणेण ह्ये चडिदा । राजा । सीत्वंठमात्मगतं । या मन्मथस्य^५
जयिनोभिनवास्त्रदेवी मूर्त्ता पपात हृदये मम युवभूमौ । मंग्या
मनोहरतनुं विजयन्त्रियं तां प्राणेश्वरीमयसुदाहरते वय-
18 स्यः ॥ [१५ ॥*] किं च । या शारदी शशिकलेव कलेवरं मे 'संयाम-
डामरसमुल्लसितप्रतापं । लावण्यकांतिसुधया रूपयांचकार सा मे हृदि
स्त्वलति मन्मथविह्वलांगी ॥ [१६ ॥*] नेपथ्ये वैतालिकाः । सुपञ्चायसि-
रीसहिदो^६ सूरौ वि तुहच्छवेण कीलंती । वालायवसिंदूरं दियंगणाणं
सुहे खिवइ ॥ [१७ ॥*] जं सीमंताद्धितो हियं तए गुज्जरिंदर-
19 मणीणं । मन्ने सिंदूरेणं तेण चिय रमइ तुह लोभो ॥ [१८ ॥*]
वाणेहिं अन्नारी विसमसरेणावि नियरिज्ज रइभो । अञ्जुणवम्भ तए
उण अवल चिय विरइभा रिउणो ॥ [१९ ॥*] * ॥ विदू ॥ कल-
कलमाकर्ण्य (i) नेपथ्य[१*]वलोकितकेन । वयस्य^७ [१*] पेच्छ २ पहरि-
सकीलिदं नायरणस्य । राजा । सहकारमंजरीं विदूषकस्वार्प- (i)
20 यित्वा (i) सकौतुकं पश्यन् । सखे [१*] किमुच्यते । राज्ञीं प्रति च ।
देवि [१*] प[श्य] २ [१*] सिंदूरं क्वचिदहहासनिनदैरहंडमुड्डीयते
कस्तूरीनिकरः क्वचित्क्वचिदपि श्रीखंडरेणूत्करः । 'कास्मीरद्रवशीकरैर्दृति-
सुखोन्मुखैरतिव्याकुलः पौरैः स्त्रीरमनेकधायमधुनारब्धो मधोरत्नवः ॥
[२० ॥*] अपि च । पौष्पैराभरणैर्मनोपन्नतनवः
21 स्त्रीरं दधत्यधुना सिंदूरीमरणीकतासकलतां लेखां ललाटीतटे । मृत्थल्यो
मदविह्वलं शयविसंवादेषु पौरांगनाः श्रीडामौरजिकस्वकांतवदनान्या-

^१ Read निःक्रांती । आमुष.^२ See p. 117 below, K.^३ See p. 115 below, A.^४ Read सख्या.^५ Read मन्मथस्य.^६ See p. 118 below, B.^७ See p. 117 below, J.^८ Read संयाम^०.^९ Read कास्मीर^०.

लीकथंति स्मिताः ॥ [२१ ॥*] राज्ञी [१*] कर्णं देत्वा^१ (१)
सीतासं । अण्डत्त^२ । एदं पि आयण्णेहि (१) समयसुहावयं हिंदो-
लयं । राजा । प्रिये [१*] किमुचते । ^३अंसन्यासप्रवृत्ततपदं
ता- (१)

22 डितं मंदभूमौ षड्^४ तन्वन्^५ ऋषभरहितं धैवतेनापि हीनं । हिंदो-
लाख्यः सुखयति दधन्मध्यमं तारदेशे कपं विभक्तिमपि रुचिरं
षड्भुके पंचमे च ॥ [२२ ॥*] विदू । वयस्स^६ [१*] जाणिदं मए
वि । एसी सो हिंदोलखी (१) जहिं हिंदोलयचउत्थीए इत्योउ
कीलंति । राजा । स्मितमभिनीय (१) सोपहासं । नूनमभिज्ञो
भवान् ग्राम- (१)

23 रागेषु । विदू । सदपि । कथं^७ गेयं न जाणामि । जदा मे
वंभणी षड्वियड[दं]तसुंदरं सुहं पसारिय मंगलाइं गाएदि तदा
हं ^८गोरिगीयगहिंजी हरिणी व्य पाणे दाउमिच्छामि ॥ इति विदू-
षकं विहाय सर्वे हसन्ति । राजा । स्मिता [१*] सखे ।
एतावता गीते सम्यगभिज्ञो भवान् । कनकलेखा^९ अंचलपिहितं
सिंदूरमुष्टिं राज्ञी-

24 हस्तेर्पयति । राज्ञी गृहीत्वा स्मितमभिनीय च (१) राज्ञी मस्त-
कमुडूलयितुं मुष्टिसुत्थिपति । राजा । शिरो नमयन् सस्मितं ।
सिंदूरोडूलनायैष मूर्धा गम्भीकती मया । एष एष प्रणामश्च
तन्निषेधाय दर्शितः ॥ [२३ ॥*] राज्ञी (१) सलीलस्मितं (१) सख्याः
सिंदूरमर्पयति । कनकलेखाविदूषकौ परस्परं सिंदूरोडूलनं नाट-
यतः । विदू ॥

25 कस्तूरीचोदमर्पयन् । वयस्स^{१०} [१*] तुमं पि देवि भरेहि । [रा]ज्ञी (१)
विशृङ्खलचरणारविंदमपसरति । राजा । देवि त्वन्मुखमुल्लसत्परिमलं
ओरा[र]विंदममाङ्गुगाणामुपसेदुषां प्रतिमया स्निग्धेद्रनीलत्विषां । संजाते
मृगनाभिपच^{११}मकरीशृंगारलीलायिते चेतोहारि करोति कः पुनरिदं
कस्तूरिकापंकिलं ॥ [२४ ॥*] उपसृत्य (१) लला-

26 [ट*]स्नेदमुत्पुंसयन् । अलं संभ्रमेण [१*] अपनीयतां श्रमः । इदानीं
हि । ^{१२}संभोगीत्कलिकामिलत्सहचरीशृंगावभर्गद्रवत्कस्तूरीमृगमीलितेक्षण-

^१ Read दत्ता.

^२ See p. 118 below, C.

^३ Read अंग.

^४ Corrected by the engraver from षड्.

^५ Read तन्वन्मध्यमं.

^६ See p. 118 below, D.

^७ See p. 118 below, E.

^८ Read गीवी.

^९ Read लेखाच.

^{१०} See p. 118 below, F.

^{११} Read पच.

^{१२} लिखा looks almost like लिखा.

भरत्तोपाश्रुमिश्रीमः । गीतैकांतनिषस्यकिन्नरवधूकदर्पकेलिकमस्तेदच्छेद-
विचक्षणो विचरति श्रीखंडशैलानिलः । [२५ ॥*] विदू । वयस्य^१ ।
जदि तुमं एदाए दासीधूषाए क-

27 [ण*][य]लेहाए सह मम पाणिगहणं करावेसि (i) तदा अहं पि
तुमं व नायरियनारीसहिदी वसंतसवं^२ माणेमि । राजा (i) राज्ञी
च सयते । कनक । सनासासंकोचं विचिकित्सते । राज्ञी [i*]
स्मृतिमभिनीय । अज्जउत्त^३ [i*] पाणिगहणवयणेण संभराविद म्हि ।
मए माहवीलदाए सहयारस्य पाणिगहो कारिदव्वी [i*] तुम्हे वि
तहिं (i)

28 [णि*]मंतिदा चिद्ध । ता दाणि उवसंभारसंपादनकज्जेण उज्जाणं गमिस्सं ।
राजा । यदभिरुचितं देव्यै । इति सख्या सह राज्ञी निःक्रांता^४ ।
राजा । सखे । क सा नवफलिका पारिजातमंजरी । न न [i*]
विस्मृतं [i*] सहकारमंजरी । विदू । सस्मितं [i*] वयस्य^५ ।
ए खु एदं विंभरणं । संभरणं जेव एदं । इति सहकारमंजरी
समर्पयति । रा-

29 [जा*] । गृहीत्वा (i) सकरुणमात्मगत । परिक्लावामिमां दृष्ट्वा नूतनां
चूतमंजरीं । स्मरामि विरहक्रांतामंतः प्राणेश्वरीं नवां ॥ [२६ ॥*] इति
तादात्म्यमभिनीय शून्यमवलोकते । विदू । वयस्य^६ । मन्ने पारि-
आयमंजरीसणाहं पि दे सुन्नं हिययं । राजा । सखे [i*]
किमुच्यते । रागं सांध्यमिवाह^७ हत्यविरलं शून्यत्वमासेदुषि प्रीक्षीलस्रववि-
प्रयो- (i)

30 [ग*][त]मसि व्योम्नीव सा मे हृदि । वाला चांद्रमसी कलेव वसति
स्तोतव्यनव्योदया पंचषोर्जयिनः प्रतापमसमं साक्षाद्विधत्तेपि च ॥ [२७ ॥*]
नेपथ्ये । सहयारिणी^८ भोदु मज्झसंभा देवस्य । तिसियाण काणणेसुं
तुह रिउ[र]मणीण विंवणनिहेण । वयथाइं हारमुत्तासु सलिलकज्जेण
व विसंति । [२८ ॥*] विदू^९ । वयस्य^{१०} [i*] देवेणाहवनिज्जिदाण

31 सहसा वंदीकदंतेउरं दितेणं समिदा विओयविथणा जाणं वसंतुग्गमे ।
एदे ते णमिऊण पायजुवलं हंडप्पणामेण दे पत्तिच्छत्तभरेण भूमिव-
इणी वच्चंति वासालयं ॥ [२९ ॥*] ता किं इध द्विदेण । एहि [i*]

- धारागिरिलीलीज्जाणं जेव गच्छामो । राजा । सप्रत्याशं सीत्कंठं
च । यदभिरुचितं वयस्यार्येति निःक्रांती¹ । वसंतोत्सवी नाम
- 32 प्रध्वमोद्धः² ॥ ३० ॥ श्री[ः*] ॥ प्रविश्य कुसुमाकरः । देव्या समस्तकलया
मलयानिलिन चूतातिसुक्तकलताभिधुनोत्सवेन । धारागनामसृणमंगलगीत-
रंगैर्धारागिरिः कमपि सम्प्रदमातनोति ॥ [३० ॥*] अद्यैव³ च ।
मत्तानां मलयानिलैर्विटपिनां यूनां स्मितश्रीमतां संवन्धोचितनर्मणामिदं
वत्सादाकृष्टकेशांशुकान् । भ्रूभंगेन विवृ-
- 33 [त्य] पञ्चवकरान् रोमांचितान् कोरकैरस्यंत्या⁴कुलपाणिकंकणभणत्कारेण
धारागनाः ॥ [३१ ॥*] केवलं वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी राजदर्शनोत्कलिका-
परंपराभिरुत्ताम्यंती मर्मणि व्यथयति । सा हि ॥ सायं कोक-
वियोगदर्शनदलनमर्मक्षणा पक्षिणः किं नोड्डीय मिलंत्यमी द्रुतमिति क्लान्ता
सुहृः पृच्छति ॥ सीतारामकथासु कंपितकुचा स्वा-⁵
- 34 [से]न शून्योदमं हुंकारं ददती करोति करुणाविष्मारितार्थां सखीं
॥ [३२ ॥*] किं वहुना । तन्वी तापातिरेकेण धत्ते यस्मादिहस्ततां ।
प्रवालहस्तै [रं]धन्ति तस्येदोरातयं लताः ॥ [३३ ॥*] नेपथ्यावलोकित-
केन । कथं प्रिया मे वसंतलीला ॥ सप्रणयादरं । प्रिये [ः*]
अयमहमित इतो भवती । निर्वस्य । नूनमियमिदानीं । ऋजुश्लथभु-
जेनाधोहस्तेनाकाशले-
- 35 [खि]नी । नतानना मंदगतिस्तच्चिंतामिव गाहते ॥ [३४ ॥*] ततः प्रवि-
शति यथानिर्दिष्टा वसंतलीला । कुसुमाकरः । उपसृत्य । प्रिये
[ः*] कथमास्ते वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । वसंत । उत्तुंगे⁶ थणमंडलस्य
सिद्धरे श्रीहृप्पवालप्यहापुंजं कुंजरगामिणी वहुदि सा चिंतानमंता-
णया । अंतो नीहरिक्कण सासलहरीसत्येण पञ्जसुअं दूरारोहनिहालि-
- 36 [अ*][पि]ययमं रत्नं व चित्तं नियं ॥ [३५ ॥*] कुसुमा । सकरणचिंता-
वात्सल्यं⁷ । प्रिये [ः*] तत्किमर्थमागतासि तामेकाकिनीं बालां
विहाय । वसंत । रायागमणपञ्क्तिं⁸ उवलंभिदुं । कुसुमा । प्रिये [ः*]
साधूत्तं । कथितं हि मे राज्ञो नर्मसुहृदा विदग्धेन यव्वाद्यं⁹
साधवीसहकारविवाहारंभदर्शनापदेशेन देवो धारागिरिलीलीद्यानमागत्य
युष्मांतयुष्मांतच-¹⁰

¹ Read वयस्यार्य । इति निःक्रांती.² Corrected by the engraver from आद्यैव.³ See p. 119 below, A.⁴ Read यथाय.⁵ Read प्रध्वमोद्धः.⁶ Read °रस्यंत्या°.⁷ Read °वात्सल्यं°.⁸ युष्मांत was corrected by the engraver from युष्मंत.⁹ Read आसेन.¹⁰ See p. 119 below, B.

- 37 [ण*]सहचारिणीं प्राणेश्वरीमवश्यमेकांते संभावयिष्यतीति । वसंत । आश्व-
सिति । कुसुमा । प्रिये । एवं च कथितं । देवः परिजनस्योत्ती-
रज्ञातार्थीपि चिंतया । अभ्युपैति¹ कथांताय शून्यं कंपितमस्तकः
॥ [३६ ॥*] किं तु । नो संभावयति प्रसादविभवैर्भृत्यांश्चकोरास्त्रिजाशु-
ज्ञासं निदधाति नो कुषलये नो वाहिनीभर्त्तरि । राजा सर्वकला-
- 38 [त्रि]तोपि दिवसप्राये वियोगे प्रियां तामेव क्षणदामभीप्सति नवामापांडि-
मानं गतः ॥ [३७ ॥*] तदमुना संविधानकेन त्वया सविधिपमाशास्य
परितोषणीया वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । यतः । विरहे नूनमेकस्य
दुःखेन लभते सुखं । सुखेन चेतरो दुःखं प्रेम्णो हि कुटिला गतिः
॥ [३८ ॥*] वसंत । जं² आणवेदि पिषयमी । कुसुमा । अह-
मपि³ एतत्का-
- 39 यानुरूपस्वाभिप्रायज्ञापनाय विदग्धद्वितीयस्य राज्ञः सकाशमेव गच्छामीति⁴
निःक्रांती । विष्कंभकः ॥ ततः प्रविशति राजा विदूषकश्च । राजा ।
समंतादुद्यानमालोक्य । सखे । तस्या एव सुखेन निर्मलनिजज्योत्स्ना-
भिराप्यायिताः शंकेमी तरवी मनोज्ञमसृणुष्यायाभिरायाभिजः । सौरभं
कुसुमोत्करेण दधतस्तस्यैव सं- (1)
- 40 [स्का]रजं भंपालंपट⁵माह्वयंति मधुलिदसंतानमुच्चैस्तरां । [३९ ॥*] विदू ।
वयस्म⁶ [1*] लुप्तमशुभाणं ते । जदो वणस्त्रयं चंदो राया ।
राजा (1) दक्षिणाक्षिणंदनं सूचयित्वा (1) सप्रत्याशमुत्कंठते । नेपथ्ये (1)
मंगलध्वनिः । [रा]जा । आकण्ठितकेन । सखे । मध्यादुद्गत्य तारं
स्रग्दलघुकुचाकंपकष्टेन यासां खासेनैवावरुढं व्रजति यतिविदां सप्तकं
रक्त्वि-
- 41 [मे]व । ताभिर्ग्राम्योपि गीतध्वनिरयमधुना माधवीमंगलार्थं वारस्त्रीभिः
प्रयुक्ता गमयति गमकैर्नागरत्वं मनोज्ञैः ॥ [४० ॥*] तदेहि [1*]
देवीं प्रत्युपसर्पावः [1*] इति परिक्रामतः । विदू । वयस्म⁷ ।
जधा एस समकालुत्कंठिदकेलिदीहिआकलहंसकूडदकरविदो⁸ असमंजभमं-
जीरकलयली जधा य थोउन्हायमाणकपूरपरिमलुम्भीसिदो किलं-
- 42 [त]कुसुमामोक्षो पञ्चासब्धो ह्यदि तथा (यणम)⁹ हंपदमियामिलंतीहिं
वियडनियंवीरुभरपरिक्लंतचलणारविंदाहिं दाहिणानिलंदोलिरवसंतमाला-

¹ Read अभ्युपैति.² See p. 119 below, C.³ Read अहमप्येत⁰.⁴ Read गच्छामि । इति निःक्रांती.⁵ Corrected by the engraver from "लंपट⁰".⁶ See p. 119 below, D.⁷ See p. 119 below, E.⁸ Read असमंजस⁰.⁹ These three aksharas are due to a mistake of the engraver; they occur again in their proper place as part of the compound वीरयणमंड⁰ in the same line.

मणहराहिं धीरयणमंडलुव्वहणपरिस्स[मस]सिदमंदपचायमाणतम्भीलरसाहिं
वारविलासिणीहिं सेविज्जंती अम्भुडिदा देवी । राजा । निर्वण्णं ।
सखे [1*] किमुच्यते । वारांगनामुख- (1)

43 [ज्यो]क्खालंघनीत्कंधरद्युतिः । देवी दुग्धाण्णवे लक्ष्मीरुक्कसंतोव लख्यते ॥
[४१ ॥*] ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा राज्ञी । विदू । वयस्स^१ [1*]
इदी वि पेच्छ [1*] जधा एस कुसुमायरी मम समुहं सन्नं
करेदि तधा अ[संसयं] पारिआयमंजरी वसंतलीलाए सह इध ज्जेव
संचारइस्सदि । राजा । निर्वण्णं (1) किंचिदाश्वस्य च । क्कांतो
विरहदावेन तामेव प्रति-

44 [धा]वति । अंतःकरणपक्षी मे लावण्यामृतवाहिनी । [४२ ॥*] ततः
प्रविशति विटपांतरिता पारिजातमंजरी वसंतलीला च । राज्ञी^२
उपसृत्य (1) राजानमवलोक्य स्मितेन संभावयति । विदू [1*]
ससंभ्रमं । अहो^३ अरिइमरिडं । चूष्मो चंपयकुसुमेहिं चंपमो पाडला-
पसुणेहिं । वडलो सिरीसडप्फेहिं वियसिप्पो हंत अचरियं ॥ [४३ ॥*]
राजा । सस्मितं । धिस्सूखं [1*] नेदमरिडं किं तु देव्यायमस्माक-

45 [मा]चार्यकेण चित्रप्रयोगो नाम वृत्तायुर्वेदभेदः प्रदर्शितः । कनकलेखा ।
विहस्य [1*] भट्टा^४ [1*] य सु एसो वियक्खणत्तणेण वियट्ठी किं
तु विसेसेण दट्ठा^५ ति । इति सर्वे हसन्ति । नायिका । राजानं
ससृहमवलोक्य^६ (1) अपवारितकेन [1*] अक्के^७ [1*] अन्नपायवे अन्न-
कुसुमेहिं वियसाविट्ठं अत्थि मे कीदुहसं । वसंत । वच्चे^८ [1*]
एसो ज्जेव राया तुह उवज्जाप्पो हविसिदि । नायिका ॥

46 [उ]णं निश्चस्य (1) सवितर्कमात्मगतं । कत्तो^९ अम्हाणं तारिसा भायधेया ।
राज्ञी । अज्जउत्त^{१०} । एदं तं माइवीसहयारमिड्डणं । [रा]जा । देवि
[1*] साधु दर्शितं । पूर्वासुखालंकृतयोर्माधवीसहकारयोः । कापि
वैवाहिकी लक्ष्मीरियमाक्कादतेतरां । [४४ ॥*] किं च । धन्योयं
सहकारसुंदरयुवा चैवानिलादीलनैरुद्युक्ताः परिरिप्सते प्रियतमां वामांग-
विभ्रंभिणी । ^{११}एषाप्यहंसुवासिनी नवसता

^१ See p. 119 below, F.

^२ See p. 119 below, H.

^३ See p. 119 below, I.

^४ See p. 119 below, L.

^५ Read रायुप^०.

^६ Read दट्ठी.

^७ See p. 119 below, J.

^८ Read एषाप्यहं^०.

^९ See p. 119 below, G.

^{१०} Read °लोक्ताप^०.

^{११} See p. 119 below, K.

- 47 [न]स्त्रीभवन्ती भृशं निर्वधेन 'परासुखी न सहते वैयात्यवात्तामपि ।
[४५ ॥*] वसन्त । नायिकां प्रति । अज्जी^२ [1*] एवं जेव तुम्हारिसीची
सुधाची दूरे गादुकंठिरीओ पियसयासे परंसुहीओ हवन्ति । नायिका ।
किंचिद्विहस्य (1) सास्यमिव । अज्जी^३ [1*] तं अन्नं जेव किंपि
जंपन्ती चिह्नसि । अहं उण एत्तिगं जेव भणामि जं अन्नपायवे
अन्नकुसुमेहिं वियसाविदुं अत्थि मे कोदुह्मं । वसन्त । स्वगतं । देवी^४
- 48 [जा]व उत्तरासुहृदिदा माह्वीसहयारमिहुणं अणुरायभिभला भत्तुणो पच्छि-
मासुहृदिदस्य दंसयन्ती चिह्नि (1) ता सुहृत्तं पारिजायमंजरिं पायडं
करेमि (1) जधा देवीए कहिंपि आह्वरणे पडिविविदं पेच्छदि णं
राया । इति विटपपल्लवानपसार्य नायिकां प्रकटीकरोति । राजा ।
राज्ञीताडके प्रतिविवितां नायिकामवलोक्य (1) सहर्षावहित्यमात्मगतं ।
अये जितं मनोरथैः ।
- 49 [य]दियं वलधूलिधोरांधकारदुःसंचरसमरसंकेतनवाभिसारिका मे प्राणेश्वरी
प्रथमप्राणेश्वरीताडकदर्पणे लोचनगोचरं गता । सवितर्कात्भुतं^५ च ।
नूनमियमस्मान् पश्चिमेन विटपांतरे वसन्तलीलया केनचिदुल्लेखलंपाकेन
वचसा नर्ममर्मणि स्पृष्टा सस्मितमस्यते । सद्यः 'साव्वसधूसरेण विक-
सवैलच्छलच्छीस्पृष्टा कण्णीतालसदृष्टिनाधरपुटोद्विगच्छि-
- 50 [त]थीमता । [अ]ल्लेख्याभिनयभुक्तुंसमृकुटीसौभाग्यमृगारिणा तन्वीयं वद-
नेदुना मम दृशोर्दत्ते सुधाचर्वणां ॥ [४६ ॥*] सकरुणानुरागं च ।
प्रतिविवमिषादेशा [स्व]यं दौत्यसुपागता । अत्यंतदुर्वलैरंगैर्नूते विरहदुर्दशां ॥
[४७ ॥*] इति कोमलांगुलिग्रहेण कण्णे धृत्वा 'साविलासमवलोकयति ।
राज्ञी (1) सरोमांचमवनतमुखी स्पर्शसुखानुभवं नाटयति । वसन्त ।
ताडके नायि-
- 51 [का]प्रतिविवं निर्वर्ण्यं राज्ञेष्टया चित्तोपलक्षितकेन^६ (1) अपवार्यं साकूतं ।
वच्छे^७ [1*] पेच्छ देवीए ताडकस्य रामणिज्जयं (1) जं राया साव-
हित्यमेकदिष्टीए पेच्छन्ती चिह्नि (1) नायिका । राज्ञीताडके स्वप्रतिविवं
राजानं च निर्वर्ण्यं (1) सवितर्कप्रत्याशमात्मगतं । अस्महे^{१०} [1*] किं
एसो राया मे पडिविवं पेच्छदि (1) आदु देवीए ताडकं जेव ।
ता^{११} दाव अमयकालजडाण अंत-

^१ The two white lines across the प are due to a fault in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, and are absent in the two other copies of the inscription.

^२ See p. 119 below, M.

^३ See p. 120 below, A:

^४ See p. 120 below, B.

^५ Read 'तर्काभुतं.

^६ Read साध्वसं.

^७ Read सवि.

^८ Read 'कैनापं.

^९ See p. 120 below, C.

^{१०} See p. 120 below, D.

^{११} Corrected by the engraver from त.

- 52 [रा]लि दोलाइद न्हि । इति चिंतां नाटयति । वसंत । नायिका-
याचित्तमुपलब्ध । वच्छे¹ [1*] मा भन्नहा भवेहि । देवीए ताडंके
कक्षाहरणाहिदेवयं व तुमं । संकाणुरायनिहुओ पेच्छइ पडिविवियं
राया ॥ [४८ ॥*] जइ उण न पत्तियसि ता खण्डं तुमं पल्लवं-
तरिदं करेमि (।) जधा पडिविवसुखं ताडंके पेच्छंतस्स केरिसी दिही
भत्तुणी भोदि त्ति जाणासि । इति नायिकां पुनः पल्लवांत-
- 53 [रि]तां करोति । राजा (।) सखेदावहितं शून्यदृष्टिरालोकते । वसंत ।
वच्छे² [1*] पेच्छ २ । ताडंके तुह पडिमं अणियंती भत्ति भत्तुणी
दिही । विभरियनिहाण्डाण³ व्व सुन्नपज्जाउला जाया ॥ [४९ ॥*]
राजा (।) सावेगं पृष्ठतोवलोकते । साक्षादमात्मगतं । येनायोधनदर्शनो-
त्सवजुषां वैमानिकीनां सुखान्यजानीव निशाकरेण गगने नीतानि
विच्छायतां । भूयो दृष्ट-
- 54 [मि*][दं] तदेव सुतनोः स्मरं किमप्याननं विच्छेदातपलीढलोचनसुधा-
निधंदिचंद्रातपं ॥ [५० ॥*] नायिका (।) ससाध्वसं राजानमपांगेनावलोक्य (।)
लज्जयापसर्तुमिच्छंती परिक्रामति । वसंत । तां कृण्वि । राजा ।
निर्वस्य ससृहमात्मगतं । उच्छ्वासि स्तनयोर्द्वयं तदपि यत्कीमाविवा-
दोत्सवणं लीलोत्प्रेषि गतं तदप्यनुप[मं] शोणित्रिया मंथरं । दीर्घं
दृग्युगलं तद-
- 55 [प्य*][तु]गतं लास्येन किंचिद्भ्रुवोरेतस्यास्तु मध्यमं विजयते सौभाग्यवीजं
वयः ॥ [५१ ॥*] सखीविदूषको विदितराजनायिकावृत्तांतौ परस्परं
साकूतमवलोकयतः । राजा स्मृतिमभिनीय (।) सातंके (।) पुनस्तथैव
ताडंकेमवलोकयति । सविमर्शपक्षपातमह[ह]⁴ । अज्ञातदोषा ताडंके
‘मदृष्टालिंगितं प्रिया । धत्ते निखलमा[द्या]पि’ प्रीत्या मदनुवृत्तये
॥ [५२ ॥*] राज्ञी (।) द-
- 56 [चि]णाचिखंदितकेन⁵ (।) अधृतिमभिनीय सोद्वेगमुन्मुखी सखीमुखमीक्षते ।
तच्चेष्टां परिकल्पय्य (।) सासूयवितर्कमात्मगतं । अथो⁶ [1*] कुदो उण से
इदासाए अज्ज वियइसंसुही सविद्यारा दिही । सविमर्शमात्मगतं ।
पडिहाइ¹⁰ अज्जउत्तो स[व्भा]वसिणेइसुंदरसहावो । असुहं पि व कहइ
पुणो दाहिणनयणं पुरंतं मे ॥ [५३ ॥*] कनक । राज्ञी सवि-¹¹ (।)

¹ See p. 120 below, E.² Corrected by the engraver from सुखय⁰.³ Read सह्या⁰.⁴ See p. 120 below, G; read अयो.⁵ See p. 120 below, E.⁶ Read मथापि.¹⁰ See p. 120 below, H.⁷ Against the metre.⁸ Read पातम् । अहह.⁹ Read केनाधृति⁰.¹¹ Read सवे⁰.

- 57 [ल]क्ष्मिमतमीचते । राज्ञी । औत्सुक्यमभिनीय (i) साकृतं । [स]ङ्घि¹
[i*] किं तए हसिदं । कनक । सविलस्य² जीवमास्ते । राजा ।
विदूषकं प्रति³ अपवारितकेन । सखे । नूनमनया दासीपुण्या दानसं-
भानपूर्वं चिरनिवारितयाप्यथ⁴ सर्वं प्रकाशयते । विदू । अपवार्यं ।
अध⁵ इ । राजा (i) दृष्टिसंज्ञया कनकलेखां प्रसादयति । राज्ञी (i)
राजचेष्टां परिकलय्य तं भूमंगेन त-
- 58 [ज]यंती कनकलेख[i व]ाहो⁶ धृत्वा सावहेलं परिक्रम्य निःक्रामति⁷ ।
नायिका । सर्वेषां चेष्टाः परिकलय्य सदैव्यमात्मगतं (i) राजानं प्रति ।
चंदस्य⁸ व तुह मेहंतरमि खणदंसणेण जा ससिया । सीयामि सा
अओरि व पुण वि तइ अंतरिज्जति ॥ [५४ ॥*] प्रकाशं । अज्जे⁹ [i*]
नूण देविं पसादिदुं गमिस्सदि राया । ता एहि [i*] गच्छन्ह [i*]
इति निःक्रांते¹⁰ । राजा । सप्रत्याशं दृष्टतोवलीक्य
- 59 [न]ायिकामदृष्टा विदूषकं प्रति सविलस्य [i*] सखे [i*] दृष्टं त्वया
यन्ममापतितं । अपि सर्वकला देवी यदर्थेभूत्पराशुखी । सापि जाता
दृशोर्दूरे¹¹ विजयन्तीः प्रिया मम ॥ [५५ ॥*] तत्किमच कर्त्तव्यं ।
विदू । व[य]स्म¹² [i*] मारिदस्म भुंजिदस्म य एकं जेव णामं । योओ
वह वा अव[रा]हो अवराहो ज्वेव । ता संभावेहि महाभाइणिं
पारिभायमंजरीं । राजा । सीत्कंठं । सखे [i*] एवं करोमि । ॥
- 60 [ति] परिक्रामतः । विदू । वयस्म¹³ [i*] पेच्छ [i*] एदं तं रविरहत्तुरंग-
मकंतिसच्छायं मरगयमंडवं । राजा । दक्षिणभुजस्यंदनं सूचयित्वा (i)
सप्रत्याशं । सखे [i*] साधु दर्शितं । एतच्चेतो हरति पुरतः
पार्वतीकांतकंठच्छायाकांतं मरकतशिलामंडपं अण्णमण्णोः । येनीहाः
तैर्युतिकिसलयैर्निर्गुतानामलीनां¹⁴ मालात्मानं खलु विदुषुते मंजुना
गुंजितेन ॥ [५६ ॥*] इति परिक्रामतः ॥
- 61 [रा]जा । तस्या लोलदृशः स्तनौ सङ्गदयौ सम्यक् प्रमाणोद्धतावुक्त्तुं
निजदीपमप्रतिहतावाक्रांतकक्षांतरो । संरध्वौ¹⁵ नवपत्रभंगिरचनारंभेण

¹ See p. 120 below, I.² Read सविलस्यं.³ Read प्रत्यप°.⁴ Read °याप्यथ.⁵ See p. 120 below, J.⁶ Read वाहो.⁷ Read निःक्रामति.⁸ See p. 120 below, K.; the स्म is spoiled in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, but is quite clear and regular in the two other copies.⁹ See p. 120 below, L.¹⁰ Read निःक्रांति.¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from दशेर्दूरे.¹² See p. 121 below, A.¹³ See p. 121 below, B.¹⁴ The engraver has erased an *anusvāra* above the वा of °ताना°.¹⁵ Read संरध्वौ नवपत्रं.

- षादस्थले [मा]ध्यस्थेपि ययोर्वलित्रयमधस्तस्थौ तनुप्रातिभं ॥ [५७] ॥*
- इति परिक्रम्योपसृत्य नायिकां पश्यन् सहर्षासं धृतिनिश्वांसं विमुच्य ।
उपधाय वयस्या[ङ्गं] क्लानत[त्प्यो]त्पलांकुरा । वियोगयोगनिद्रायामियमास्ते
- 62 [मि*][या] सम ॥ [५८] ॥* तद्वत्तु [1*] निर्वर्षयामि तावत् । ततः
प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा नायिका सखी च । राजा [1*] स्वगतं ।
अहह । सुखज्योत्स्नांकुरैरस्याः पीते तमसि मांसले । इंदनीलांश-
[वः] शेषाः परभागं दधत्वमी ॥ [५९] ॥* सकरुणच[म]त्कारं ।
मरकतमयमेदिन्यां भा[ति] प्रतिविंबिता कथांगीयं । अंतर्जलशयनीयं
तापेन निषेवमाणिव ॥ [६०] ॥* वसंत । सकरुणमाकाशे ॥ छ (1)
- 63 . . [वा] वलच्चाइ^२ व मयरइय जयसि सखमज्जाए । तं चिय हंत
कुणंती णिज्जीवं होइसि कहं व ॥ [६१] ॥* नायिका । व[सं]त-
लीलां वाय्पार्द्रमवलोक्य (1) सगद[दं] । अज्जे^३ । तस्मि^४ सहाव[सु]इए
सव्वकलासंगयभि दिहे वि । धिपेमि ओसही विय सी दूरं दुल्लही
राया । [६२] ॥* राजा (1) कुसुमान्ववचित्य (1) च्छ^५सं च्छ^५नमुपसृत्य
तेर्नायिकामेक्षैकेन प्रहरति । नायिका । स- (1)
- 64 . . . विगं (1) राजानमवलोक्य । हही^६ । एस णिइओ पञ्चकळी ज्जेव
कुसुमाउही मं मन्दभाइणिं पहरदि । ता परित्तायदु २ अज्जा
[1*] इति वसंतलीलामालिंगितुमिच्छंती मूर्च्छति । राजा [1*]
सहसोप[सृ]त्य । हा प्रिये पारिजातमंजरि [1*] देहि मे प्रतिवचनं
[1*] इति सकरुणं नायिकाहृदयस्पर्शं नाटयति । वसंत । राजा-
नमवलोक्य (1) नायिकां वीजयंती साश्वासं
- 65 [सकर*][णं] च । वच्छे^७ [1*] समकस २ [1*] ण खु एसो कुसु-
माउही [1*] तुह हिययवज्जही खु भट्टा^८ एसो । नायिका (1) सञ्ज्ञां
लभते । राजा । साश्वासं निर्वर्ष्य । यत्तद्यः पुटमेदसालसलसत्पञ्चा-
चले चक्षुषी सोत्कंपस्तनया प्रसीदति धृतिश्वासत्रिया यन्मुखं । यच्चायं
पुलकः पुरा परिचितस्पर्शोपलंभात्तनौ तेनेयं सुतनुर्वभूव विधुरे जीवार्गला
मे इदि ॥ [६३] ॥* नायिका (1) राजा-
- 66 [नमुप*]लभ्य (1) ससाध्वसमुत्थायात्मानं पर्यवस्थापयति । धृतिनिःश्वास-
सुसृज्य (1) वसंतलीलां प्रत्यपवा[रि]तकेन । अज्जे^३ [1*] अइ वल्लहे

* Read 'तस्थौ'.

* Read 'तस्थौ'.

See n. 121 below, F.

* See p. 121 below, C.

* Read 'हही'.

* Corrected by the engraver from भाटि.

* See p. 121 below, D. ;

* See p. 121 below, E.

* See p. 121 below, G.

वि परव्वसे जणे केरिसो वारं वारमणुवंधनिव्वंधी । ता एहि [1*]
गच्छन्ह । इति राजानं सलज्जाभिमानमपांगेनावलोक्य पराशुखी परि-
क्रमितुमिच्छति । राजा । सौख्यं (1) वाही धृत्वा नायिका
निर्वर्णयन् स्वगतं । उत्थानं क-

67 [यमय*] जायत गतिस्तमस्तु मामीहते वैलज्जादनेदुनैव वलितं दृष्टिस्तु
सार्द्रा मयि । अंगान्येव पराशुखानि पुलको मत्पक्षपाती पुनर्मान-
प्राथमकल्पिकी मृगदृशश्चेष्टैव चिन्तयते ॥ [६४ ॥*] अपि च ॥
तस्मैदीवरमुद्राभिरंकितानि मृगीदृशः । सुरभिस्त्रेदविदूनि मदयंलंगकानि
मां ॥ [६५ ॥*] ससृहातिरेकं । उत्थानं जघनेन विव्रितमभूदस्याः क-

68 [क*] रो नीवोरक्षणसौविदक्षपदवीं वामः प्रकामं गतः । नीरंगी-
सिचयांचलं कुचतटे वध्नाति वामेतरस्तन्वास्त्रपयावगुंठितमिदं लीलायितं
जृम्भते ॥ [६६ ॥*] प्रकाशं । अपि शशिसुखि^३ मानं मुंच दृष्टि-
प्रसादैरुपजनय सुभिचं स्मेरनीलोत्पलानां । अपि भवतु भवत्याः
कीमलालापभंग्या भगिति गलितगर्वो वल्लकीनां निनादः ॥ [६७ ॥*]
इति प्र- (1)

69 [णमति] । नायिका (1) हस्ताभ्यां राजानं किरीटेन प्रेरयंती सस्मितम-
पसरति । विदू । मा^४ कहवि कोवि इह देवीए परिअणो संचरेदि ।
ता आसासेहि कंठगहेण तुरियं जेव महाभायं विअयसिरिं । राजा
[1*] आलिंग्य (1) मुहूर्त्तमिवानंदमुद्रां नाटयित्वा (1) स्वगतं । शीघ्र-
मंतर्मुखैर्भूत्वा विलीनं नवनीतवत् । करणैः स्पर्शलाभाभ्यो सुखाद्वैते
मनः स्थितं । [६८ ॥*]

70 [अ]पि च । उन्मीलितपुलकांकुरस्तनतटस्त्रे^५ दां वुज्जवालितश्रीखंडप्रभविष्णुसौरभगुण-
ग्राही हठालिंगने । आनंदाश्रुतरंगसंगमचमत्कारश्रिया शीतली विच्छेद-
ज्वरमावयोर्धृतिभवः^६ श्वासानिलः पीतवान् ॥ [६९ ॥*] ततः प्रविशति
ताडंकहस्ता कनकलेखा ॥ कनक । सचिंतासंभ्रमं । मण^७ महारा-
यस्म

71 [ल*] हा ण उण इत्थि त्ति अज्ज जाव भट्टिणी विप्पलहा । अज्ज उण
देवीए सयं जेव उल्लिहिय सव्वं उवल्लं । अहं णिमित्तमेत्तं जाद
हि । अज्जो सामिण्णिअस्स अवसंकरणिज्जदा [1*] जेण ज्जेव देविं

^१ Corrected by the engraver from पुनर्मान^०.

^२ Corrected by the engraver from सुखी.

^३ See p. 121 below, H.

^४ Corrected by the engraver from स्त्रे.

^५ The engraver has struck out a secondary i before the अ, and another before the व, of मणः.

^६ See p. 121 below, I.

वचिदुं अम्भसिदा तं जेव महारायं देवीए निओएण उल्लुठिस्सं ।
पुरोवलीक्य । एदं¹ तं मरगयमंडवं । [इ]

72 . राजानमवलोक्य स्वगतं । अम्भहे² [I*] कत्तो आसासो भट्टिणीए (I) जीए
वल्लही असंगणणवरंगसिण्हेहवाउराणिवडिदहिअयहरिणी एवं हिंडदि ।
उपसृत्य (I) वैलच्चा³ नाटयंती प्रकाशं । जयदु⁴ २ भट्टा । सर्वे
शंकते । राजा । नायिकां पृष्ठतः कृत्वा (I) कनकलेखाहस्ते ताडं-
कम[व]लो[क्य] (I) स्वगतं । अ[ये]

73 . त्या देव्या दीपोद्धनेन निपुणमुल्लुठिताः स्मः । प्रकाशं । भट्टे । अय
स्वस्वकारणकुपितापि देवी प्रसादनीयेति त्वामेव प्रतिपालयतामस्माकमत्र
दिनमतिक्रांतं । त्वत्साहायकसापेक्ष्यं⁵ ह्येतत्कार्यं । कनक । सनस-
स्मितं । भट्टा⁶ [I*] जा एसा अम्हाणं दुदीया भट्टिणी तए पडिं
दित्तेण रोसाविदा चिड्ढि (I)

74 [रा*]जा । स्मिता । कनकलेखे [I*] उभयमप्येतत्कार्यं त्वय्येवायतते ।
तत्किं प्रष्टव्यं भवत्या । कनक । ताडंकमर्पयति । राजा । गृहीत्वा
स्वगतं । कर्णालंकरणं देव्या विवस्थानं जयत्रियः । 'संप्रत्युभयथाप्येष
ताडंकः प्रतिभाति मे ॥ [७० ॥*] प्रकाशं । किं पुनः कारणं ताडं-
कप्रेषणे । कनक । एदं⁷ कारणं । एर ताडंको अज्ज ग[रु]
.

75 . [वं] कक्षाहरणं देवीए धारिदं । अज्ज खु वसंतलीलाविअड्ढगोडीमहुसत्त-
सवणजुअल[स्स] अहिणव[सो]हम्म[सुं]देरमणहरकुसुममंजरीरसम्मि [धेणण]-
छच्चरणच[रि]दस्स भत्तुणी धारागिरिपमदुज्जाणे जेव सव्वो दिणो अदि-
क्कंतो । रयणी उण मए विणा कधं ममिस्सदि त्ति विर[ह]
.

76 [पे*]सिदो । वसंतलीलाविदग्धौ (I) सभयमन्योन्यं पश्यतः । राजा ।
स्वगतं । अये वक्रोक्तिपरिपाटीपाटवन्नापनं । यदि वा (I) देवीं
सर्वकलामधिकृत्य स्तोकमेतत् । किं तु [I*] देवी प्रसादनीयेत्येतां
मुंचामि कातरां विरहे । स्वहृदयमयीस्मि जातो वणं तु सुकोमलं
हृदयात् ॥ [७१ ॥*] नेपथ्ये । [अ]

¹ See p. 121 below, J.

² See p. 121 below, L.

³ Read संप्रत्युभय⁰.

⁴ See p. 121 below, K.

⁵ Read 'सापेक्षं.

⁶ See p. 121 below, N.

⁷ Read वैलक्ष्यं.

⁸ See p. 121 below, M.

- 77 . णि प्राची कोकिलमेचकेन तमसा मालिन्यमालंवते । या प्रातः परिरंभ-
निर्भरक[रं] दोषापलापक्षमं लब्ध्वा रागिणमेव¹ यच्छति सुखं कीरं
प्रसादयिष्या ॥ [७२ ॥*] अपि च । विस्फूर्जत्करदीपिकांकुरमरुद्धावधूतं
जगद्वाणप्राणमपक्कमं विदधतः कर्पूरभंगानिलैः । सिंहद्वारि नि[वा]
.
- 78 . [त]वदिपाठतुमुलं ताम्यति शृंगारिणः ॥ [७३ ॥*] किं च । नासीरचंद्रातप-
दीपिकाभिः पूर्वाचलिनांतरितोनुमेयः । अपींदुरुत्ताम्यति राजभावाद्भूमं-
डलाखंडल सेवितुं त्वां ॥ [७४ ॥*] नायिका । वसंतलीलां प्रति
सकृत् । तए² वि देवीए भएण मंदभाइणी पारिषायमंजरी परिहरि-
दव्वा । अदो जे[व]
- 79 . [ज*]णि केरिसो वा[रं] वारमणवंधणिव्वंधी³ । वसंतलीला नायिका [सा]-
समालिंगति । राजा । अपवारितकेन नायिकां चिबुके स्पृष्टा । प्रिये
[I*] अलमन्यथा संभावनया । सुहृत्तमास्थानमधिष्ठाय प्रतिनिवृत्त एवा-
स्मि । वसंतलीलां प्रति । आर्ये । भवत्यास्मद्दृश्यं गतया लालनीयं
तावद[स्म]
- 80 . [वि]दूषककनकलेखाभ्यां सह परिक्रामति । सकृत् पृष्ठतोवलोक्य (i)
स्वगतं । आः प्रिये पारिजातमंजरी । उद्बिद्यमानचंद्रांशुदंष्ट्राकराले
निशाचरोमुखे सुच्यमानासि । नायिका । साखं । महाभाय⁴ [I*]
इत्तिगं दिट्ठी सि मए मंदभाइणीए । राजा । सव्यथमात्मगतं ।
किमपि मष्ट
- 81 . हृदयशिलायां विश्वशृंगारशिखी । तव ऋजुगुणसूत्रन्यासरेखांकितायां
लिखति विशिखटंकैः पुष्पकेतुः प्रशस्तिं ॥ [७५ ॥*] इति निःक्रांतः⁵ ।
नायिका । सानुतापमुद्गीषिकावलोकितकेन । कथं⁶ लोयणपहं अदिक्कंतो
परव्वसो जणो । स्वगतं । ता' दाणि जं देवीए कारिदव्वं तमहं
सयं जेव [करइस्सं मं]द[भाइणी] ।
- 82 [इ]ति सोडेगमुद्धांतहृदया परिक्रामति । वसंत । सौख्यं । नूणमे-
दाए⁷ किंपि अमंगलमज्जवसिदं । ता सव्वधा धारइस्सं ॥ इति
निःक्रांताः⁸ सर्वे [I*] ताडकदर्पणो नाम द्वितीयोद्भूतः ॥ श्रीः¹⁰ ॥ ❀ ॥

¹ Corrected by the engraver from 'णिसेव'.

² See p. 122 below, A.

³ The same passage has occurred before in line 68.

⁴ See p. 122 below, B.

⁵ Read निःक्रांतः.

⁶ See p. 122 below, C.

⁷ See p. 122 below, D.

⁸ See p. 122 below, E.

⁹ Read निःक्रांताः.

¹⁰ The *visarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.

रूपकारप्रकांडस्य सीहाकस्यांगजम्बना । प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा रामदेवेन
शिल्पिना ॥ [७६ ॥*] ✽ ॥

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF THE PRAKRIT PASSAGES.¹

A.—Text, line 2.—आन्नापयत्वार्यः ।

B.—Text, l. 4.—यदार्थं आन्नापयति । किं च मयापि श्रुतं यथा मलया-
निलमन्दमन्दान्दोलनप्रसरद्भ्य²माकन्दमकुलमकरन्दपिण्डितपरागपुञ्जपिञ्जर्यमाणमञ्जरीकवल-
परस्वरार्पण³केलिपर्याकुलकलकण्ठमिथुनमधुरकलकलहेलापहस्तित⁴विहस्तमानवती⁵मानमपि
परिमलतरंगचार⁶चम्पकचषकमध्वसर⁷विलम्बित⁸षट्पदचारणरणभणत्कारसुखरमपि यम्ब-
कुञ्जरकरशीकरासारसेकसरसविकसद्विविधविटपकुण्डलबद्धान्धकारमपि धारागिरिलीलोद्यानं
परिहृत्य कौतूहल⁹प्रफुल्ललोचनो भारती¹⁰भवनाभिमुख¹¹ सङ्गतिं परापतित एव लोक
इति । तत्कथय कीदृश¹²भव कथासंविधानकम् ।

C.—Text, l. 7.—अथ किम् ।

D.—Text, l. 8.—आर्य । यत्र चतुरङ्गबलयुगलधूलोनिकरैः¹³ कवलिते मार्तण्डमण्डले
खयंवरकौतूहलाकुलत्व¹⁴मिलत्सुरसुन्दरीमुखमन्दचन्द्रातपेन निजपरविभागः संजातः श्रूयते ।

E.—Text, l. 9.—ततस्ततः ।

F.—Text, l. 10.—ततस्ततः ।

G.—Text, l. 11.—आर्य । तत्किं दिव्यमानुष्याः सा कथा ।

H.—Text, l. 12.—ततस्ततः ।

I.—Text, l. 14.—पार्श्वे पुनरन्तःपुरिकेव काप्येषा ।

J.—Text, l. 15.—आर्यपुत्र । नवफलिकां गृह्णाणैताम् ।

कोकिलस्वरबाहुष्येन मनोहरा प्रथममञ्जर्येषा ।

तयोत्सवे खलु मया विनियुक्ता गायन्त्या यथा ॥ १२ ॥

K.—Text, l. 17.—अहो आश्चर्यम् । भागधेयेन वयस्वस्य कुसुममञ्जरी फलत्वेन
इस्ते चटिता ।

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes :—*Dés.* = Hémachandra's *Dśāṇāmāla*, ed. by Prof. Pischel.—*Hāla* = Hāla's *Saptasatakam*, ed. by Prof. Weber.—*Hēm.* = Hémachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, ed. by Prof. Pischel.—*Jacobi* = Prof. Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*.—*Pā.* = Dharmapala's *Pāyāla-chāṭā Nāmamāla*, ed. by Prof. Bühler.—*Pischel* = Prof. Pischel's *Prākṛit Grammar*.

² Hēm. IV. 78.

³ Hēm. I. 68.

⁴ Hāl., p. 533, s. v. *avahatthā*.

⁵ For *mānamsiṅg* = *mānavati* see *ibid.* p. 99.

⁶ *Dés.* III. 1.

⁷ *Dés.* V. 24.

⁸ Hēm. IV. 259.

⁹ Hēm. I. 117. and II. 99.

¹⁰ *Gāṇḍavaṇḍo*, verse 107

¹¹ *Dés.* VIII. 70.

¹² Pischel, § 121.

¹³ *Dés.* II. 18.

¹⁴ With *hallupphala* compare *hallapphalā*, *Dés.* VIII. 59; *hallaphala*, Hāl., p. 27 f.; and *hallohalā*, Jacobi, p. 155.

A.—Text, l. 18.—

सुप्रभातश्रीसहितः सूर्योपि तवीत्सवेन क्रीडन् ।
 बालातपसिन्दूरं दिगङ्गनानां मुखे क्षिपति ॥ १७ ॥
 यत्कीमन्तावृतं त्वया गूर्जरेन्द्रमणीनाम् ।
 मन्ये सिन्दूरेण तेनैव रमते तव लोकः ॥ १८ ॥
 बाणैरर्धनारी विषमशरेणापि निजरिपू रचितः ।
 अर्जुनवर्मस्त्वया पुनरबला एव विरचिता रिपवः ॥ १९ ॥

B.—Text, l. 19.—वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व प्रहर्षक्रीडितं नागरजनस्य ।

C.—Text, l. 21.—आर्यपुत्र । एतमप्याकर्णय समयसुखापकं^१ हिन्दोलकम् ।

D.—Text, l. 22.—वयस्य । ज्ञातं मयापि । एष स हिन्दोलको यत्र हिन्दोल-
 कचतुर्थी स्त्रियः क्रीडन्ति ।

E.—Text, l. 23.—कथं गेयं न जानामि । यदा मे ब्राह्मणी बहुविकटदन्त-
 सुन्दरं मुखं प्रसार्य मङ्गलानि गायति तदाहं गोपीगेयग्रहिलो^२ हरिण इव
 प्राणान्दातुमिच्छामि ।

F.—Text, l. 25.—वयस्य । त्वमपि देवीं पूरय^३ ।

G.—Text, l. 26.—वयस्य । यदि त्वमेतया दासीदुहित्रा कनकलेखया सह मम
 पाणिग्रहणं कारयसि तदाहमपि त्वमिव नागरिकनारीसहितो वसन्तोत्सवं मान-
 यामि ।

H.—Text, l. 27.—आर्यपुत्र । पाणिग्रहणवचनेन स्मारितास्मि । मया माधवी-
 लतया सहकारस्य पाणिग्रहः कारयितव्यः । युवामपि तत्र निमन्त्रितौ तिष्ठथः ।
 तदिदानीमुपसंभारसंपादनकार्येणोद्यानं गमिष्यामि ।

I.—Text, l. 28.—वयस्य । न खल्वेतद्विस्मरणम्^४ । स्मरणमेवेतत् ।

J.—Text, l. 29.—वयस्य । मन्ये पारिजातमञ्जरीसनाथमपि ते शून्यं हृदयम् ।

K.—Text, l. 30.—सुखकारिणी भवतु मध्याह्नसंध्या देवस्य ।

दृषितानां काननेषु तव रिपुरमणीनां बिम्बननिभेन ।

वदनानि हारमुक्तासु सलिलकार्येणैव विशन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

L.—Text, l. 30.—वयस्य ।

देवेनाहवनिर्जितानां सहसा बन्दीकृतान्तःपुरं
 ददता^५ श्रमिता वियोगवेदना^६ येषां वसन्तोद्गमे ।

^१ Compare *sukhārei = sukhayati* in Hāla and in the *Gāṇḍavaho*.

^२ With *gahilla* for *grahila* compare *ganthilla* for *granthila*; Pischel, § 595.

^३ Compare *dhareī* in the *Gāṇḍavaho*, verse 231, and Jacobi, p. 133, s. r. *dhariūga*.

^४ Pischel, § 313, end.

^५ Hēm. II. 84.

^६ For *dinta* = *dadat* see Jacobi, p. 117, s. o. *dei*.

^७ *Pd.* p. 96.

एते ते नत्वा पादयुगलं दण्डप्रणामेन ते
पादोद्वहभरणे भूमिपतयो व्रजन्ति¹ वासालयम् ॥ २८ ॥
तत्किमिह स्थितेन । एहि । धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमेव गच्छावः ।

A.—Text, l. 35.—

उत्तुङ्गे स्तनमण्डलस्य शिखर ओष्ठप्रवालप्रभा-
पुच्छं कुञ्जरगामिनी वहति सा चिन्तानमदानना ।
अन्तर्निर्हृत्य स्वासलहरीसार्धेन पर्युत्सुकं
दूरारोहनिभालित²प्रियतमं रक्तमिव चित्तं निजम् ॥ ३५ ॥

B.—Text, l. 36.—राजागमनप्रवृत्तिमुपलब्धम् ।

C.—Text, l. 38.—यदाज्ञापयति प्रियतमः ।

D.—Text, l. 40.—वयस्य । युक्तमनुमानं ते । यतो वनस्थतीनां चन्द्रो राजा ।

E.—Text, l. 41.—वयस्य । यथैष समकालोत्कण्ठितकेलिदीर्घिकाकलङ्कसकूजितकार-
म्बितो ऽसमञ्जसमञ्जीरकलकलो यथा च ³स्तोकोऽप्यमायकपूरपरिमलोन्मिश्रितः
क्षान्तकुसुमामोदः प्रत्यासन्नो भवति तथाहंप्रथमिकामिलन्तीभिर्विकटनितम्बोरुभरपरि-
खलचरणारविन्दाभिर्दक्षिणानिलान्दोलनशील⁴वसन्तमालामनोहराभिः स्थूल⁵स्तनमण्डलो-
द्गुणपरिश्रमशसितमन्दप्रत्यायमानताम्बूल⁶रसाभिर्वारविलासिनीभिः सेव्यमानाभ्युत्थिता
देवी ।

F.—Text, l. 43.—वयस्य । इतोपि प्रेक्षस्व । यथैष कुसुमाकरो मम संमुखं
संघ्रा⁷ करोति तथासंशयं पारिजातमंजरीं वसन्तलीलया सहैहैव संचारयिष्यति ।

G.—Text, l. 44.—अहो परिष्टमरिष्टम् ।

चूतश्चम्यककुसुमैश्चम्यकः पाटलाप्रसूनैः ।

बकुलः शिरीषपुष्पैर्विकसितो हस्ताश्रयम् ॥ ४१ ॥

H.—Text, l. 45.—भर्तः । न खल्वेष विचक्षणत्वेन विदग्धः⁸ किं तु विशे-
षेण दग्ध इति ।

I.—Text, l. 45.—आर्ये । अन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

J.—Text, l. 45.—वत्से । एष एव राजा तवोपाध्यायो भविष्यति ।

K.—Text, l. 46.—कुतो⁹ ऽस्माकं तादृशं भागधेयम् ।

L.—Text, l. 46.—आर्यपुत्र । एतत्तन्माधवीसहकारमिधुनम् ।

M.—Text, l. 47.—अम्बो¹⁰ । एवमेव युष्मादृश्यो सुग्धा दूरे गाढोत्कण्ठाशीलाः
प्रियसकाशे पराङ्मुख्यो भवन्ति ।

¹ Hém. IV. 225.

² Pischel, § 596.

³ With *tambōla* compare *tambōla*, Hém. I. 124.

⁴ Hém. II. 40.

⁵ Pā. p. 79.

⁶ Hém. I. 124 and 255.

⁷ Hém. I. 124.

⁸ Pischel, § 197.

⁹ Hém. II. 45.

¹⁰ Jacobi, p. 149.

¹¹ Hém. II. 204.

A.—Text, l. 47.—आर्ये । त्वमन्यदेव किमपि जल्पन्ती¹ तिष्ठसि । अहं पुनरे-
तावदेव² भणामि यदन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

B.—Text, l. 47.—देवी यावदुत्तरामुखस्थिता माधवीसङ्कारमिथुनमनुरागविह्वला³
भर्तुः पश्चिमासुखस्थितस्य दर्शयन्ती तिष्ठति 'तावन्मुहूर्तं पारिजातमञ्जरीं प्रकटा'⁴
करोमि यथा देव्याः कुचाभ्याभरणे प्रतिबिम्बितां प्रेक्षत एनां राजा ।

C.—Text, l. 51.—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व देव्यास्ताडङ्गस्य रामणीयकं यद्राजा सावहि-
त्यमेकदृष्ट्या प्रेक्षमाणस्तिष्ठति ।

D.—Text, l. 51.—अग्रहे⁵ । किमेष राजा मे प्रतिबिम्बं प्रेक्षते ऽथ वा' देव्यास्ता-
डङ्गमेव । तत्तावदमृतकालकूटयोरन्तराले दीक्षायितास्मि ।

E.—Text, l. 52.—वत्से । मान्यथा मन्यस्व ।

देव्यास्ताडङ्गे कर्णाभरणाधिदेवतामिव त्वाम् ।

शङ्कानुरागनिभृतः⁶ प्रेक्षते प्रतिबिम्बितां राजा ॥ ४८ ॥

यदि पुनर्न प्रत्येषि⁷ तत्क्षणार्धं त्वां पल्लवान्तरितां करोमि यथा प्रतिबि-
म्बशून्यं ताडङ्गं प्रेक्षमाणस्य कीदृशी दृष्टिर्भर्तुर्भवतीति जानासि ।

F.—Text, l. 53.—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व ।

ताडङ्गे तव प्रतिमामपश्यन्ती¹⁰ भटिति¹¹ भर्तुर्दृष्टिः ।

विष्णुतनिधानस्थानेव शून्यपर्याकुला जाता ॥ ४९ ॥

G.—Text, l. 56.—अव्यो । कुतः पुनरस्या हताशया अथ विसंवाद¹²संमुखी
सविकारा दृष्टिः ।

H.—Text, l. 56.—

प्रतिभात्यार्यपुत्रः सद्भावस्तेजसुन्दरस्वभावः ।

असुखमपीव कथयति¹³ पुनर्दर्शिनयनं स्फुरन्ते ॥ ५३ ॥

I.—Text, l. 57.—सखि । किं त्वया हसितम् ।

J.—Text, l. 57.—अथ किम् ।

K.—Text, l. 58.—

चन्द्रस्येव तव मेघान्तरे क्षणदर्शनेन या सञ्चिता ।

सीदामि सा चकीरीव पुनरपि त्वय्यन्तर्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

L.—Text, l. 58.—आर्ये । नूनं देवीं प्रसादयितुं गमिष्यति राजा । तदेहि ।

गच्छावः ।

¹ Fischel, § 296.

² Hém. I. 271.

³ Fischel, § 155.

⁴ Hém. IV. 181.

⁵ Hém. IV. 2.

⁶ Hém. II. 157.

⁷ Hém. I. 44.

⁸ Hém. I. 131.

⁹ Hém. I. 42.

¹⁰ Fischel, § 209.

¹¹ Hém. IV. 284.

¹² Fischel, § 281.

¹³ Pd. verse 246.

A.—Text, l. 59.—वयस्य । मारितस्य भुक्तस्य चैकमेव नाम । स्त्रीको बहुर्वापराधो
ऽपराध एव । तत्संभावय महाभागिनीं पारिजातमञ्जरीम् ।

B.—Text, l. 60.—वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व । एतत्तद्विरथतुरंगमकान्तिसञ्चार्यं भरकत-
मण्डपम् ।

C.—Text, l. 63.—

. . . . वलयानीध मकरध्वज जयसि स्रक्ष्य¹मध्यया ।
तामेव हन्त कुर्वन्निर्जीवां भविष्यसि कथमिव ॥ ६१ ॥

D.—Text, l. 63.—आर्ये ।

यस्मिन्स्वभावसुखदे सर्वकलासंगते दृष्टेपि ।
दीप्य² भीषधिरिव स दूरं दुर्लभो राजा ॥ ६२ ॥

E.—Text, l. 64.—हा धिक्³ । एष निर्दयः प्रत्यक्ष एव कुसुमायुधो मां
मन्दभागिनीं प्रहरति । तत्परिचायतां परिचायतामार्या ।

F.—Text, l. 65.—वत्से । समाश्रसिहि समाश्रसिहि । न खल्वेष कुसुमायुधः ।
तव हृदयवक्त्रमः खलु भर्तेषः ।

G.—Text, l. 66.—आर्ये । अयि वक्त्रमेपि परवशी⁴ जने कीदृशो वार
वारमनुबन्धनिर्बन्धः । तदेहि । गच्छावः ।

H.—Text, l. 69.—मा कथमपि⁵ कोपीह देव्याः परिजनः संचरत् ।
तदाश्वासय कण्ठग्रहेण त्वरित⁶मेव महाभागां विजयश्रियम् ।

I.—Text, l. 70.—मया महाराजस्य लब्धा
न पुनः स्त्रीत्यद्य यावद्भट्टिनी विप्रलब्धा । अद्य पुनर्देव्या स्वयमेवोक्तिव्य सर्वसुप-
लब्धम् । अहं निमित्तमात्र⁷ जातास्मि । अस्मि स्वामिनिद्योगस्यावश्यंकरणीयता ।
येनैव देवीं वक्ष्यितुमभ्यर्थिता तमेव महाराजं देव्या नियोगेनोत्पुष्टिष्यामि ।

J.—Text, l. 71.—एतत्तन्मरकतमण्डपम् ।

K.—Text, l. 72.—अन्नाहे । कुत आश्वाधी भट्टिन्या यस्या वक्त्रमो ऽन्याङ्गनागव-
रङ्गक्षेत्रवायुरानिपतितहृदयहरिण एवं हिण्डते ।

L.—Text, l. 72.—जयतु जयतु भर्ता ।

M.—Text, l. 73.—भर्तः । यैषास्माकं द्वितीया⁸ भट्टिनी त्वया पृष्ठं⁹ ददता
रीषिता तिष्ठति

N.—Text, l. 74.—एतत्कारणम् । एष ताडङ्गी ऽद्य
कर्णभरणं देव्या धारितम् । अद्य खलु वसन्तलीलाविदम्बगोष्ठीमधुमत्तत्रययुग-

¹ For *saṁśā* (which is here written with the dental *s*) see Pischel, § 815.

² Hém. I. 223.

³ Hém. I. 29.

⁴ Hém. I. 94.

⁵ Hém. II. 192.

⁶ Hém. IV. 172.

⁷ Hém. I. 35 and 129.

⁸ Pischel, § 196.

⁹ Hém. I. 81.

लस्याभिनवसौभाग्यसौन्दर्यमनोहरकुसुममञ्जरीरसे स्तब्धद्वरणचरितस्य भर्तृधारागिरि-
प्रमदोद्यान एव सर्वं ^२दिनमतिक्रान्तम् । रजनो पुनर्मया विना कथं गमिष्य-
तीति विरह प्रेषितः ।

A.—Text, l. 78.—त्वयापि देव्या भयेन मन्दभागिनी पारिजातमञ्जरी परिहर्तव्या ।
अत एव जने कीदृशो वारं वारमनुबन्धनिर्वन्धः ।

B.—Text, l. 80.—महाभाग । ^३एतावदृष्टोसि मया मन्दभागिन्या ।

C.—Text, l. 81.—कथं लोचनपथमतिक्रान्तः परवशो जनः ।

D.—Text, l. 81.—तदिदानीं यदेव्या कारयितव्यं तदहं स्वयमेव करिष्यामि
मन्दभागिनी ।

E.—Text, l. 82.—नूनमेतया किमप्यमङ्गलमध्यवसितम् । तत्सर्वया धारयिष्यामि ।

No. 10.—KARKALA INSCRIPTION OF BHAIKAVA II.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1508.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The village of Karkala, which is mentioned as Karakala in this inscription (text line 14) and other connected ones, is 18 miles east-south-east of Udipi, the head-quarters of the taluka in which it is situated, and 10 miles north of Mûdabidure. It is the largest Jaina settlement in the South Canara district of the Madras presidency and contains, besides the colossal image of Gummata,⁴ a number of Jaina temples which are ruined and out of repair with the single exception of the Chaturmukhabasti.⁵ This temple is situated opposite to the Jaina matha⁶ at Karkala, on a hillock⁷ half as high as the hill on which the colossus stands. Hiriyaṅgaḍi, i.e. 'the big bāzār,' which is now a few furlongs distant from Karkala, but appears, from its very name, to have once formed the commercial quarter of the town,⁸ contains, besides some bastis, a beautifully

¹ Pischel, § 176.

² Compare Pischel, § 357.

³ Hém. II. 156.

⁴ A photograph of this colossus is given above, Vol. VII. Plate facing p. 112.

⁵ For a detailed description of this temple by Mr. Waihouse see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 39 f.; Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 89 f. and the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 6.

⁶ The Jaina matha at Karkala is presided over by a pontiff, just as the mathas at Mûdabidure, Sravana-Belgoja and Humcha. He bears the title Lalitakirti and is reported to be the trustee of the Jaina temples at Karkala and in its neighbourhood. In the inscriptions at Hiriyaṅgaḍi near Karkala, the teachers to whose pontificate Karkala and the surrounding country belonged are generally called Lalitakirti-bhaṭṭarakadēva, with the word *Maladhāri* prefixed to it in two of them, viz. Nos. 66 and 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901. No. 67 of the same collection makes Lalitakirti the *vichādrakartā* or 'supervisor' of the charity recorded therein; and No. 70 says that these teachers belonged to the Kundakunda division, were lords of the lineage of Pansaśōkā and members of the Kāḷōgragaṇa. In v. 4 of the subjoined inscription, which does not mention their division (*anvaya*), it is stated that the Lalitakirtis belonged to the Dēśigaṇa. Perhaps Kāḷōgragaṇa was a local branch of the Dēśigaṇa. Pansaśōkā has been identified with Hanasōge in the Mysore State; see above, Vol. VII. p. 110, note 1.

⁷ The inscription gives this hill the name of Chikkabetta (i.e. 'the small hill') in order to distinguish it from the higher hill on which the colossus is set up.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 40.

preserved Jaina pillar¹ (*mānastambha*).² A lithograph of a similar pillar at Vênûr is given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. Plate facing p. 39. Prof. Hultzsch, who has published³ three of the inscriptions at Kārkaḷa, asked me to edit the subjoined record.⁴ The black granite slab on which it is engraved is set up on the proper right of the western entrance into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Chaturmukhabasti. At the top of the slab are, in relief, the following sculptures. In the centre, within a *maṇḍapa* surmounted by a triple umbrella, is a Jaina figure squatting on a raised seat; the *maṇḍapa* is flanked on both sides by a lampstand, and beyond the lampstand is the disk of the sun on one side and the crescent of the moon on the other; below the moon is the figure of a cow suckling its calf. The inscribed surface of the slab, including the erased lines at the end measures roughly 4' 4½" by 3' 2".

The record is written in Kanarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs, between two margins which are marked out on both sides of the slab by two double lines with a space of ⅝" between them. These double lines are entered on either margin up to l. 42 where the main portion of the inscription ends. It contains eight Sanskrit verses (ll. 1 to 8, l. 15 f. and l. 49 f.) and four short sentences (ll. 1, 3 and 8) in the same language. The remainder of the inscription is in Kanarese prose. At the end is a diagram, consisting of a square bounded by a double line. Within this is another square, similarly bounded by a double line and sub-divided into 25 minor squares with single letters written in each. The diagram is inserted between ll. 42 and 49 just in the centre of the slab, thereby dividing ll. 43 to 48 into two equal halves. About a dozen syllables in l. 42, the second halves of ll. 43 to 46, the diagram itself and the remainder of the inscription are faintly engraved. A few lines at the end of the inscription are completely erased. Although comparatively modern, the Kanarese characters in which the inscription is written differ in many points from those of the present day. Aspirates are not generally distinguished by a vertical stroke added at the bottom of the letter, except in *pha* of *phala* (l. 38); *da* is distinguished from *dha*, as in old Kanarese, by a small opening at the right side of the letter; in *bha* the aspiration is marked by the *talakaṭṭu* and a small projecting stroke at the bottom of the left side, which seems to be the origin of the vertical stroke of the modern *bha*; *kha*, *gha*, and *tha* are distinguished, by their very form, from the corresponding unaspirates. *Chha*, *ḍha* and *ṭha* do not occur in their primary form as independent letters, but only in their subscript secondary forms. *Cha* is differentiated from *ba* sometimes by the *talakaṭṭu* alone (e.g. *cha* of *aicharu*⁵ in l. 40), and in other cases by the *talakaṭṭu* and a slight indenture at the middle of the left side (e.g. *cha* of *°chamdra*, l. 13); in modern Kanarese this indenture is projected out into a horizontal stroke. In cases, however, where the *i*-curl is added to *cha*, this horizontal stroke is necessarily introduced. The same remarks hold good as regards the indenture in the middle of *ka*. The loop on the left side of *ḍa* is not fully developed. *Ta* and *ṭa* still preserve their older forms. *Sha* is, as in old Kanarese, written like *pa*, with a small slanting stroke cutting its left side in the middle. *Ṛa*, which is now altogether replaced by the common *ra*, occurs in ll. 12 (twice), 17, 25, 27, 28,

¹ *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 19.

² See above, Vol. V. p. 171, note 5. The *mānastambhas*, which are generally graceful, high and imposing, have to be distinguished from other Jaina pillars neither so tall as the former nor bearing any *maṇḍapas* on their tops. These latter are called Brahmadēva pillars and appear to be usually set up in front of colossal statues. The Tyāgada-Brahmadēva Pillar (figured on Plate facing p. 33 of the Introduction to Mr. Rice's *Śravana-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*) is set up opposite to the colossal statue on the Doḍḍabetṭa hill at Śravana-Belgoḷa; the Kūge-Brahmadēva pillar at the entrance into the *bastis* on the Chikkabetṭa hill of the same village, indicates perhaps the existence of the unfinished colossus on that hill (*ibid.* p. 29, note 1); and the colossi at Kārkaḷa and Vênûr have similar pillars in front of them, bearing an image of Brahmadēva on their tops (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraphs 6 and 7).

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

⁴ A tentative transcript and translation of it was published by Mr. Walhouse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 40 ff.

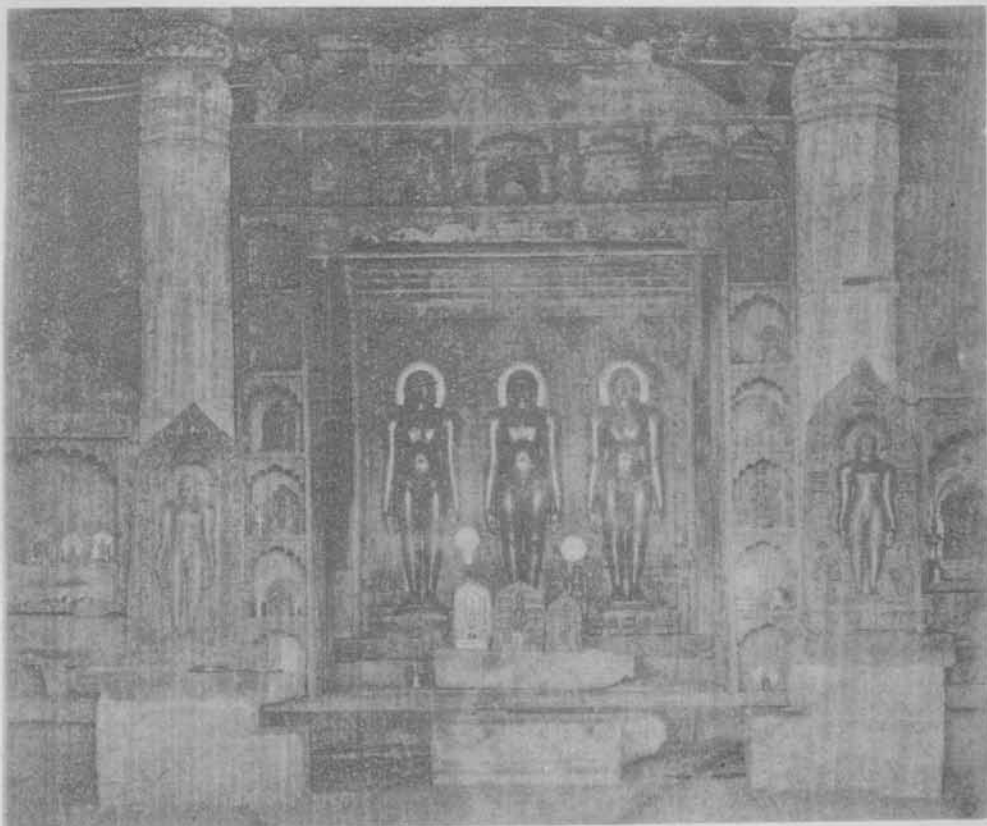
30, 32, 34, 37, and 43; *la* is written in its proper form but looks like a hook with the *talekaṭṭu* attached to it. Among vowels, initial *u* and *ū* which occur in ll. 37 and 9, respectively, are written exactly as in modern Telugu. The vowel-signs *i* and *ī* are not always distinguished; and where they are, *i* is represented by a loop at the end of the *i*-curl; *e* resembles *i* in almost every respect, except that, before being added, it makes a small angle with the letter, which the *i*-curl does not. The angle perhaps is meant for the *talekaṭṭu* which represents the *a*-sign, and this with the *i*-curl attached to it gives the compound *e*-sign. *O* and *ō* (the latter being occasionally distinguished from the former by a loop at the end of the *o*-curl) are expressed, as in Telugu, by attaching to the top-stroke of the letter two small semi-circular curves, the second of which is bent down a little lower than the first. Exception is, however, made in the case of *ma*, *ya* and certain conjunct consonants where, as in modern Kanarese, *o* is denoted by *ē* + *ū*. Many of these remarks are found, on comparison, to be applicable also to the Harihar stone inscription of Achyutarāya of Śaka-Saṃvat 1460 (=A.D. 1538-39) which is photo-lithographed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. Plate facing p. 362. It may be remarked that to this day the Jains use an older Kanarese script than other Kanarese people, and that their way of writing *bha*, *la* and *ka* and of affixing *i*, *e* and *o*-curls to consonants is not very different from what we find in this inscription. As regards orthography: The nasals preceding other letters of their class are invariably changed into an *anusvāra*; of double nasals of the same class, the first always becomes an *anusvāra*, provided it does not come after an *r*, the only exception being *nni* of °*pānni*° (l. 7); and the doubling of the consonant after an *r* is common. A hiatus between two vowels, which is not allowed by the rules of *saṃdhī*, occurs in °*travū*° for °*travū*° (l. 9), °*raṇet*° for °*raṇey*° (l. 18), and °*sthāt*° for °*sthāy*° (l. 26). *Sāl*- for *sāl*- (l. 19) and *sīta* for *sīta* (l. 41), double dental *n* for the double lingual *n*, the aspirate for the unaspirated letter and *vice versa* are purely graphical errors. Among words deserving particular mention are certain special phrases of Jaina ritual (*hālādharē*, *aṣṭādhnikā*, *siddhachakra*, etc.), some fiscal terms peculiar to the South Canara district (*mūḍe*, *hāne*, *kuḍute*, *hāḍa*, *beṭṭu*, *bālu*, etc.), and some expressions which are not intelligible to me (e.g. *aḍipina-mūliti*, *bajakaḷa*, *kambūḷa*, etc.). The use of the Kanarese word *āgara* instead of the Sanskrit *āgāra* in v. 7 is a mistake. The construction of the Kanarese passages is often complicated.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vitarāga and the verse *śrīmat-parama-gambhīra*, etc., with which almost all Jaina inscriptions begin. It then invokes (verses 2 and 3) the blessings of the Tīrthakaras (Jina, Jinapa, Jinendra or Tīrtha), of Dōrbali, and of the goddess Padmāvati of Pombuchcha on the donor Bhairava or Bhairavendra, called also Bhairarasa-Voḍeya and Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya in the Kanarese passages (ll. 48 f. and 13 f.). We may at once call this chief Bhairava II.¹ in order to distinguish him from his maternal uncle and namesake Bhairava I. referred to in the inscription as Bhairavarāja (l. 6) and Bhairarasa-Voḍeya (l. 12). The record goes on to state that, at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakīrti of the lineage of Panasōge and of the Dēśigaṇa (v. 4), Bhairava II. built (l. 19) the temple of 'the three jewels' (ll. 7, 8 and 17), by which evidently the Chaturmukhabasti is meant. Verse 6 and the Kanarese prose passage which follows it give the date of the foundation and consecration of the temple, viz. the Śāli- (or Śālivāhana-) Śaka year 1508, the Vyaya-saṃvatsara, the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, a Wednesday, when the *nakṣatra* was Mṛgaśīrṣa or Mṛgaśīrā (ll. 8 and 9) and the *lagna* Vṛisha or Vṛishabha (*loc. cit.*). This date has been calculated² by Prof. Kielhorn and is found to be correct in all details for Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1588. The Kanarese passages in ll. 10 to 14 and 17 to 18 contain a string of

¹ The distinction applies only to this paper, because there have been in this family many chiefs bearing the same name prior to the donor of our inscription. The Jaina chiefs belonging to other families on the western coast also frequently called themselves Bhairava. Writers on the history of the northern portion of South Canara invariably refer to the Kārkāḷa chiefs as "Byrasu Wodears."

² *List of Southern Inscriptions*, No. 993.

The Chaturmukha-Basti at Karkala.



E. Hultsch, photo.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

birudas of Bhairava II. and furnish the name Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya¹ (l. 17) for the temple, which is described as being auspicious on every side (*sarvatōbhadra*)² and as having four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).³ It was built on the Chikkabetta hill in the vicinity of the blessed Gummaṭśśvara at Pāṇḍyanagari in Kārakaḷa (l. 14 f.). Pāṇḍyanagari, just like the modern Hiriyaṅgaḍi, was apparently another suburb of Kārakaḷa and comprised within itself the Chikkabetta hill, on which the Chaturmukhabasti is built, the colossal statue, and the long narrow street that runs between them, containing a few Jaina houses and the *maṭha*. It probably received its name from Pāṇḍyarāya or Vira-Pāṇḍya, who set up the famous colossus.⁴ In ll. 19 ff. we are told that Bhairava II. set up the images of the three Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata⁵ on each of the four faces of the temple and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthakaras and those of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvatī.⁶

Ll. 22 to 42 record the grant of the village of Tejāra, which yielded a revenue of 700 *māḍe* of rice. Besides this, 238 pagodas (*gadyāṇa* or *varaḷa*, l. 28) from the *siddhāya* (i.e. the established revenue) of the villages Rañjāḷa and Nallūru were also granted. The income was to be utilised for the requirements of worship in the four symmetrical central shrines of the temple⁷ and in the subordinate shrines, by fourteen families of Sthānikas⁸ appointed for that purpose. Provision was also made for temple servants and musicians. The four groups (*tanḍa*) of Jaina mendicants who had quarters in the temple were supplied annually with 8 blankets, to protect themselves from cold, and with 1 blanket to receive the daily doles of rice which they collected from door to door. They were also given the necessary requirements for oil-baths, viz. oil, soap-nut and fuel. Ll. 43 to 47 record two additional grants, perhaps by the same chief, for the daily offerings (1) to Chandranātha in the *basti* situated within the quadrangle of the *hiriya-aramane* (i.e. the big palace),⁹ and (2) to Pārśvanātha in the *basti* on the Gōvardhanagiri hill.¹⁰ The inscription ends with a puzzle (v. 8), which was composed by the author of the inscription in order to celebrate the power of the five syllables *Śrīvitarāga* (i.e. Jina), which the donor Bhairava II. is said to have affixed to the inscription with his own hand in token of his approval of the charities recorded therein. The four erased lines at the end of the inscription may have contained the clue for the right interpretation of the puzzle.

¹ Perhaps so named in imitation of the Hoysabasti at Mūḍabidure, which according to the inscriptions of that temple was called Tribhuvanachūdāmaṇi-Chaityālaya and was built in Śaka-Samvat 1351, i.e. 157 years prior to the construction of the Chaturmukhabasti.

² This attribute given to the temple appears to have suggested the insertion of the puzzle in the *sarvatōbhadra* verse at the end of the inscription.

³ *Chaturmukhabasti*, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).

⁴ Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 f.

⁵ Same as Suvrata mentioned in v. 3.

⁶ These two deities are different from the Brāhmaṇical gods of the same name. Brahma and Padmāvatī in Jaina mythology are two demigods (*yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī*) who attend invariably upon the Tirthakaras.

⁷ The allotments made for the worship at each gate are very carefully recorded, and from these it appears as if the western gate, which enjoyed the largest share of the gift in money, was the primary one, while the three other symmetrical gates were only of secondary importance. This is also proved by the fact that at this particular gate alone the images of the 24 Tirthakaras were consecrated (ll. 20 and 39).

⁸ The Jaina priests are now generally known by the name *Idra* (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5). The name *Siddhātka* given to them in the inscription appears to be used in imitation of the name given to a section of Brāhmaṇas in South Canara, whose sole profession is temple service. See Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 154.

⁹ This might be the name of one of the palaces of Bhairava II. himself, which was probably situated either at Pāṇḍyanagari or Hiriyaṅgaḍi, both of which are still covered with ruins of buildings.

¹⁰ This is perhaps one of the many small hills that surround Kārakaḷa. I was informed while there, that one of these bears at its top a Jaina *basti* even now. It will be too fanciful to connect the name with Gōvardhanagiri in the Shimoga district, which 'is said to have been fortified by Jinadatta' (the mythical founder of a Jaina line of Kings in the south); (*Mysoore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 452).

The donor Bhairava II. belonged to the lunar race (v. 5 and l. 11), to the Kāśyapa-gôtra (l. 11) and to the family of Jinadatta or Jinadattarāya (ll. 6 and 12) and was the son of Gummatāmbā (ll. 6 and 13) and of Vira-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra (l. 13).¹ Gummatāmbā was the sister of Bhairava I. (v. 5), the son of Honnamāmbikā (l. 12). Some of the titles of Bhairava II. were: (1) *arirāya-ṣaṇḍara-ḍāvaṇi*, (2) 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities,' and (3) 'he who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Padmāvati of Pombuchcha.' The second and third of these, coupled with his professed descent from Jinadatta, connect Bhairava II. with the Śāntāra chiefs of Pombuchcha, who also traced their ancestry to Jinadatta and were worshippers of the goddess Padmāvati of Pombuchcha.² Mr. Rice in the Introduction to Vols. VI. and VII. of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* mentions a number of records which he assigns to 'the early members of the Śāntāra family,'³ most of whom, as stated therein, were feudatories of the Kāshtrakūṭas and were ruling the Śāntālige country.⁴ Pombuchcha, the capital of the Śāntaras, is spelt in early records as Pombuḷcha or Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura and is identical with the modern Humcha or Hombucha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district; it is mentioned in connection with the Śāntaras even in their earliest records. The alleged descent of the Śāntaras from Jinadattarāya, the mythical founder of the line of Jaina kings in the south, is not warranted by any of these earlier inscriptions. A long account of the Śāntaras which connects them with Jinadatta, first appears in a record of A.D. 1077 at Humcha itself.⁵ The Baligāmi record of A.D. 1149⁶ makes no reference whatever to the mythical Śāntaras; the stone inscription from Punēdahaḷḷi⁷ dated in A.D. 1237, connects Jinadatta with the Chālukya family. In any case the

¹ In No. 993 of Professor Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscr.*, which deals with the date of this record, Chāṅganarēndra has to be corrected into Vaṅganarēndra, and the title 'supreme lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura' there applied to Bhairava I. should, according to the present interpretation of the passage, be transferred to his son Bhairava II.

² See below, note 5.

³ The Śāntaras of Pombuchcha and the Kadambas of the western coast appear from these records to have been related to each other in some unexpected way. This fact is cleared up in one of the later Śāntara inscriptions at Baligāmi, which states that the Śāntara chief Jagaddēva, who was a feudatory of the Western Chālukya Jagadekamalla II., and the Kadamba chief Jayakēsin, who was the son of Vijayādityadēva, were sons of two uterine sisters (Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2). The Ālupas of the western coast, some of whose early inscriptions are found at Udiyāvara near Udipi, may have had some connection with Pombuḷcha, since in two unpublished inscriptions from that village (Nos. 97 and 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) Pombuḷcha and Udayāpura (i.e. Udiyāvara) are mentioned together with reference to certain tolls and *nakaras* (trading classes?) of the two places; another (No. 108 of the same collection) states that Śvētavāhana, who was the lord of Paṭṭi (*Paṭṭi oḍeyōṇa*), i.e. Paṭṭirājya, the province of which Humcha was the capital), fell in battle while entering (i.e. capturing) Udayapura; and Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 37 refers to the reign of Chitravāhana, evidently an Ālupa king, over Pombuchcha.

⁴ The exact position of this territorial division is not fixed. Dr. Fleet places it somewhere west of the Mysore State (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 395), and Mr. Rice states that it corresponds with the present Tirthahallī tāluka of the Shimoga district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 17). As however Humcha in the Nagar tāluka was the capital of the Śāntara chiefs who were ruling over the Śāntālige one-thousand country, as the earlier Śāntara records found in the Shikarpur tāluka of the Shimoga district mention certain villages of this tāluka as belonging to the Śāntālige country, as well as Sēṭuvābidu or Sēṭu, the capital of the Śāntara chief Jagaddēva in A.D. 1149, 'would be located by Mr. Rice somewhere in Canara' (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458, note 1), it may be assumed that Śāntālige included the western portion of the Shimoga district, i.e. the Shikarpur, Nagar and Tirthahallī tālukas, and probably also a portion of the South Canara district.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. No. 35. This record makes Jinadatta a member of the family of Ugra-varāha and the hereditary lord of Uttara-Madurā. It gives also the story of the goddess Padmāvati, who, being pleased with Jinadatta's prowess, built for him the city of Pombuchcha or Kanskapura. One of his descendants, Vikrama-Śāntara, is stated to have fixed the boundaries of the Śāntālige thousand province (*J. R. A. S.* for April 1905, pp. 295 and 298).

⁶ No. 32 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Sk. 312.

claim which Bhairava II. puts forth to belong to the family of Jinadatta implies nothing more than his connection with the Śāntaras and the Jaina creed which he followed.

Vol. VI. of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* contains also a number of inscriptions of a family called by Mr. Rice **Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa**. He gives an account of these chiefs in his Introduction to the same volume, pp. 19 to 21. The texts published by him show that they had no connection whatever with the Śāntaras of Humcha, and that of the records prior to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II. only a single one may be assigned to the family, viz. Mg. 65 dated in A.D. 1209, where the chief **Vira-Balludēva** receives the title *maṇḍalika-gaṇḍara-ḍāvani*, which in the slightly altered form *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvani* was assumed by almost all the subsequent members of the family. From the time of Dēvarāya II. downwards the records are more definite and furnish a connected account of the chiefs, a list of whom is given by Mr. Rice on p. 20 of the Introduction. The donor of the subjoined grant figures as the last person in that list. We gather also from these records that the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa chiefs followed the *ālīya-santāna* law of inheritance and were Jains in religion, though most of their inscriptions found at Kaṭasa and Koppa record grants to Śiva temples. As a rule they seem to have acknowledged the Vijayanagara kings as their overlords. But in Mg. 48, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1424 (= A.D. 1501-2), which was about the period of the overthrow of the Śāluva usurpers at Vijayanagara and of the acknowledgment of the Tuluva Narasa-Nāyaka as sovereign, the Kaṭasa chief **Vira-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya** seems to have been semi-independent, as no mention is made of any overlord in the inscription. The memorable battle of Tālikōṭa dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara empire, and the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly, in a Koppa inscription (Kp. 57), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1510 (= A.D. 1588-89), **Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya**, son of **Vira-Gummaṭadēvi**, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (*sthira-sāmrājya*). The subjoined Chaturmukhabasti inscription of this chief, which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high-sounding *birudas*, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II. had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long; for in Śaka 1531 (= A.D. 1609-10), **Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya**, the son of **Vira-Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya**, was ruling the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭa I. (Mg. 63). From the above records we further learn that the country over which these chiefs originally ruled was called the **Kaṭasa-rājya**, which included one thousand villages (see e.g. Mg. 88), and the chief town of which was evidently **Kaṭasa** above the ghauts. But in Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 (= A.D. 1516-17), **Kārkaṭa** seems to have been added to it; for **Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya**, who in Mg. 39 is stated to have been ruling over Kaṭasa-rājya in the *dvitīya*-Śrāvana of Śaka-Saṃvat 1438, was, according to Mg. 41,² ruling over the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa-rājya in the (*nīja*)-Śrāvana of the same year, and in Śaka-Saṃvat

¹ I have intentionally used the term 'Kaṭasa chief;' for, as will be seen in the sequel, the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa chiefs became rulers of both Kaṭasa and Kārkaṭa only in A.D. 1516-17. Prior to this their dominion was limited to the Kaṭasa country; and the name Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa applied to their family prior to A.D. 1516-17 is to be understood as being used only for the sake of uniformity.

² This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara, **Bhujabala-Mahārāya** led a campaign against the Tulu-rājya and was encamped at the *bhuvana-śāle* in Maṅgalūru. On this occasion the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa chief **Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya**, being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kaṭasa that the invading forces might leave the Tulu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa-rājya. **Bhujabala-Mahārāya**, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛishṇarāya's elder brother 'Busabairao,' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also an idea of extending their dominions below the ghauts, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but, perhaps, on promise of submission were left unmolested.

1446 (= A.D. 1524-25) the same chief was ruling 'the kingdom below and above the ghauts' (Mg. 62). With the extension of the kingdom the capital also seems to have been removed to Kārkaḷa from Kaḷasa; for in an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31) **Vira-Bairarasa-Voḍeya** is said to have been ruling from his throne at Kārakāḷa (Kp. 47). It will be seen in the next paragraph how the Kaḷasa chiefs managed to add to their dominions the Kārkaḷa country below the ghauts; but for the present it may be enough to conclude from the Koppa and Mūḍgere inscriptions published in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. that Bhairava II. of the subjoined inscription was a direct descendant of the Kaḷasa family, and that his hereditary ancestral dominion was the Kaḷasa country. His name, his title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* and the existence of an inscription of his in the Koppa tāḷuka (Kp. 57) all point to the same conclusion.

Turning now to the inscriptions at Kārkaḷa itself, from which further information may be expected about the ancestors of Bhairava II., we find that the colossus there was set up by **Vira-Pāṇḍya** or **Pāṇḍyarāya**, the son of **Bhairavēndra** of the lunar race in Śaka 1353, and that in Śaka 1358 the same chief, who is here said to have been the son of Bhairava of the family of Jinadatta, set up the Brahma pillar in front of that colossus.¹ An unpublished inscription² at Hiriyāṅgaḍi near Kārkaḷa, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), records a grant to the temple of Nēmināthasvāmin, while the *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi*, the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who had obtained excellent gifts from (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi, and who was the uplifter of the ocean which was the family of Jinadattarāya—**Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya**, was ruling over Paṭṭi-rājya. A second inscription³ in the same village, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1514 (= A.D. 1593-94), records grants to Chandra-nāthasvāmin, while *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* **Pāṇḍyappa-Voḍeya**, the son of **Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya**, was ruling his country undisturbed (*sthira-rājya*). This chief is no doubt a son of Bhairava II. and apparently enjoyed the independence which his father also possessed. The earliest of the Kārkaḷa inscriptions,⁴ which is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1256 (= A.D. 1334-35), belongs to the time of **Lōkanātharasa**, who, though only a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* 'who had acquired the five great sounds,' bears the royal titles *samastabhuvandraya*, *prithivīvallabha* and *mahārājādhirāja*. He also calls himself 'the lord of Uttara-Madhurā,' 'the jewel of the great Ugra-vainsa,' 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura,' 'the worshipper of (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi' and 'the pupil of (the Jaina teacher) Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍitadēva.' These titles make Lōkanātharasa decidedly a Śāntara chief.⁵ The existence of this record at Hiriyāṅgaḍi makes it certain that the descendants of Jinadatta 'removed the capital first to Sisila or Siṅkali and then to Karkala, both in S. Kanara' (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 456). It will now be easy to see how the Kaḷasa chiefs, of whom Bhairava II. was one, came to be connected with the Śāntaras, traced their ancestry to Jinadatta, became more zealous Jains than their ancestors at Kaḷasa, and eventually stepped into the place of the Śāntaras in the Kārkaḷa country. From the fact that the hereditary title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* of the Kaḷasa chiefs and the prominent Śāntara titles of Lōkanātharasa are found combined in the inscription of the chief Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya as early as Śaka 1379, I conclude that the Kaḷasa chiefs must have entered into close relationship of intermarriage with the descendants of the Śāntara Lōkanātharasa, about Śaka-Saṃvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), if not a little earlier. Further it may reasonably be assumed that it was by virtue of this relationship with the local Śāntaras that the Kaḷasa chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, mentioned in the previous paragraph, extended his rule to the territory below the ghauts in A.D. 1516-17.

As regards the territory ruled over by Bhairava II. and his ancestors, a rough idea of its extent may be formed from the name given to it—Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya. To ascertain its exact

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

² No. 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

³ No. 68 of the same collection.

No. 71 of the same collection.

⁵ See above p. 120 note 5.

boundaries, further places below the ghauts and in the neighbourhood of Kārkaḷa will have to be examined. But an inscription in the Koppa tāḷuka (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 47), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31), states that, while Vira-Bairarasa-Voḍeya was ruling on the throne at Kārkaḷa, his younger sister Kāḷaladēvi was in charge of (the district) Baguñji-sime. Mg. 40, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1474 (= A.D. 1552-53), records that Pāṇḍya-Voḍeya was on the throne at Keravase while a certain Bhayirarsannāji was in charge of Kaḷasa. The same fact is mentioned also in Mg. 60, dated four years later. The district Baguñji-sime apparently derived its name from the modern village of Bagguñji in the Bāle-Honnūr tāḷuka, about 8 miles north-east of Śringēri; and Keravase is identical with Keravāse, 8 miles east of Kārkaḷa (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 232). Mūḍabidure and Vēṇūr, two other important centres of Jaina religion in the South Canara district which are not very far from Kārkaḷa, do not appear to have been included in the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya. The former of these two villages was in the possession of a family of local chiefs called Chauṭar, who were under the direct control of the Vijayanagara viceroys at Mangalore, while the second belonged to another petty Jaina principality, known as Puñjaḷi- or Puñjaḷike-rājya, and was ruled over by the Ajilar.¹ Besides, the villages Mūḍabidure and Vēṇūr were included within the religious sphere of the Jaina teacher Chārūkirti, while Kārkaḷa and its chiefs were subordinate to Lalitakirti.² It may, therefore, be provisionally assumed that the territory of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs extended from Bagguñji above the ghauts to Kārkaḷa below the ghauts, including between them the towns of Keravase and Kaḷasa. This comprises almost the whole of the present Bāle-Honnūr tāḷuka³ of the Kaḍūr district in the Mysore State and the south-eastern portion of the Uḍipi tāḷuka in the South Canara district.

The village of Teḷḷara, which was granted to the Chaturmukhabasti, is situated about 3 miles north-east of Kārkaḷa and is marked on the Madras Survey Map of the South Canara district as Tellār. The two other villages, Bañjāḷa and Nallūru, which together contributed a sum of 238 *varaḷa*, are situated quite close to each other at a distance of about 4 miles due east of Kārkaḷa and are marked on the same map as Nallur and Renjāḷa. Several nameless streams are marked on the map round Tellār, and these may have to be identified with the four boundary streams mentioned in l. 24. Two other proper names which occur in ll. 43 and 47, viz. Ārūru and Kelavase, are identical with 'Arur' and 'Keravase' (Keravāse) on the same map, in the Uḍipi tāḷuka.

The requirements for the daily and annual worship in the temple, for which provision is made, call for a few remarks. The complicated calculations are very carefully worked out, and we are enabled to infer that, in measuring rice, 1 *mūḍe* was = 50 *hāne*,⁴ and 1 *hāne* = $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍuḷe*, and that, in counting money, 1 *ga* was = 10 *m*. Twelve *hāḍa*⁵ of oil cost 8 *ga* 4 *m*, and 1 *hāḍa* cost 7 *m*.

¹ See the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5, and above, Vol. VII. p. 114 and note 1. It may here be noted that in an unpublished inscription at Kārkaḷa (No. 69 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901), dated in the cyclic year Viḷambin, a certain Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, son of Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family, presided over the settlement of a dispute, in which the Chauṭaru, Ajilaru, Deśingarasarū and Śiśiladarasarū (i.e. the chief of Śiśila) acted as arbitrators (*madhyastha*).

² From the earliest inscription at Kārkaḷa referred to above, it appears as if the Jains at that place were, about Śaka 1256, the lay-disciples of Kumudachandra-Bhaṭṭarakadēva, a pupil of Bhānukīrti-Maladhāridēva of the Kāṇṭhagaṇa and the Mūḷasaṅgha, while the ruling chief Lōkanātharasa himself was the adherent of Chārūkīrti-paṇḍitadēva. Perhaps the Lalitakīrtis of Hamaṣṅge replaced the Bhānukīrtis at Kārkaḷa subsequent to Śaka 1256.

³ The inscriptions of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs found in the Koppa and Mūḍgere tāḷukas are chiefly confined to three villages: Kaḷasa, Bagguñji and Nārve. The first two villages are now included in the newly formed Bāle-Honnūr tāḷuka, and the third is on its borders, but included in the Koppa tāḷuka.

⁴ In the inscriptions at Vēṇūr we find a *mūḍe* = 50 *baḷa* (No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) or sometimes 40 *baḷa* (No. 84 of the same collection).

⁵ Compare the Sanskrit grain measure *dhāka* which is equal to 4 *prastha* or 16 *kuḍuḷa*; and also the Tamil *dādam* which is even now used in measuring oil and ghee in the Southern districts.

According to the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. II. p. 508, 1 *māḍe* of corn in South Canara varies between 56, 50, 48, 45, 40 and 35 seers in different localities. The *hāne*, which at Kārkaḷa and in the surrounding country was equal to $\frac{1}{80}$ th of a *māḍe*, may therefore be taken to be almost equal to our modern seer (i.e. 80 tolas). *Kuḍute* (coodtay), according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), is used only for measuring liquids and is equal to 12 rupees' weight. The late Dr. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* explains *kuḍute* as 'the palm of the hand hollowed or held as a cup.' This may have been the unit which the South Canara people used for measuring both liquids and grain in the latter half of the sixteenth century; for, 1 *kuḍute* in liquid measure being equal to 12 rupees' weight, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute* in grain measure being equal to 1 *hāne* (i.e. 80 tolas, as already pointed out); the above supposition will give us 1 *hāne* = $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kuḍute* = nearly 86 tolas, which is not a serious difference.

The abbreviated form *ga* used in the money calculations denotes a *varaha*, as stated in text line 28; and Mr. Brown in his *Telugu-English Dictionary* says that 'in arithmetic it stands for *gaṁḍu*, i.e. a pagoda; ' and under *gaṁḍu* he says that 'among tradesmen it is a cant word for *varaha*.' In the Kanarese inscriptions at Kārkaḷa it is used as an abbreviation of *gadyāṇa*¹ and its variants *varahagadyāṇa* or *gadyāṇaka*, which are all synonymous with *varaha*, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.' In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg. 48, *ga* is used to denote a *honnu*, which according to Dr. Kittel is 'a gold coin, the half of a *varaha*.' The next coin of lower denomination is always written in the inscription after *ga*, with a final *m* preceding it, but there is no indication anywhere as to what this *m* stands for. The expression *ga 7 6 5* (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg. 48) is explained in words as 7 *honnu* and 5 *haṇa*, the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations *honnu* and *haṇa*. This symbol (6) is used even now by village accountants and merchants of the Kanarese and Marāṭha countries in their business books to separate the money columns in calculation, even *annas* from *rupees*. Mr. Walhouse in his transcript of this inscription has throughout taken *m* for this symbol.² But I do not know whether the symbol 6, which is now used to separate different denominations of Indian and English money, and which was used in Śaka 1424 to separate *honnu* from *haṇa*, is also meant by the letter *m* inserted between the *varaha* (*ga*) and the tenths of *ga*. I have therefore retained the final *m* and not transcribed it by the symbol 6. The fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ is represented in the inscription by the symbol which, in older inscriptions, is used for '9.' The modern method of expressing the fraction one-half is by two vertical strokes (||), each of which represents $\frac{1}{4}$. One-eighth is represented by a horizontal stroke (—). In current hand, however, the two vertical strokes that represent $\frac{1}{2}$ are often merged into one. Consequently the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ used in the inscription must be a completely reversed variant of the modern form. In ll. 39, 40 and 42 the symbol = is used only as a mark of punctuation, and not as explained above to represent two-eighths, which would in this case be expressed by one vertical stroke, and not by two horizontal ones.

The puzzle contained in the *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre at the end of the inscription calls for a short remark. *Śiśupālavadha*, XIX. v. 27 is a verse of the same kind, but it is written in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. Mallinātha's commentary on the verse explains how the letters which form such verses are to be arranged so that, read from any direction in a given order, they may constitute the same verse. I have not found any other *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre.

¹ The Māḍabidure inscriptions mention three different types of *gadyāṇas*, viz. the Barakanūra-gadyāṇa, the Maṅgalūra-gadyāṇa and the Kāthāri-aṅkusa-gadyāṇa (Nos. 52 and 55 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901).

² It is not impossible that the symbol 6 has been derived from the final *m*; for in old Kanarese inscriptions the formation of this letter is not far different from the symbol in question; compare above, Vol. III. l. 15 on the Plate facing p. 194.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Śrī-Vitarāgāya namaḥ || Śrīmat-parama-gaṁ[bh]īra-syā[divād].²āmōgha-lāmoḥhanam | jīyāt=[t]railōkyanāthasya śāsonam
 2 Jina-śāsanam || [1*] Ā-chaṁdr-ārka[k]am sthiram bhūyād-āyuh-śrī-jaya-saṁpa-daḥ(dā) | Bhairavēndra-mahī-kānta[h*] śrī-Jinēndra-prasādataḥ [11][2*]
 3 Avighnam=astu³ || Bhadram=astu || Tirt[th]-aughah [s]ukham=akshayam cha kurutāch=chhri-Pārśvanātho balam kirtim Nēmi-Jinaḥ Suvira-Jinapa-
 4 ś=ch-āyuh śriyam Dōrbbalih | kalyāṇāny=Ara-Malli-Suvrata-Jinā[h] Pombuchcha-Padmāvatī ch=ā-chaṁdr-ārkkam=abhishta-dā=sta suchiram śrī-Bhairava-kshamā-
 5 patēh || [3*] Śrīmad-Dēśi-gapē⁴ kbyātē Panasōg-āval-īśvaraḥ | yō=bbūl=Lalitakirtty-ākhyas=tan-mun-imdr-ōpadēsataḥ || [4*] Śrīmat-Sōma-kul-āmrit-āmbudhi-vidhuḥ
 6 śrī-Jainadatt-ānvayaḥ śrīmad-Bhairavarāja-tuṁga-bhagini-śrī-Guṁ[ma]tāmbā-sutaḥ | śrīmad-bhōgi-Surēndra-Chakri-mahima-śrī-Bhairavēndra-prabhah śrī-
 7 ratna-traya-bhadra-dhāma-Jinapān-nirmāpya samasi[d]dhībhaḥ || [5*] Śrīmad-Chhāli-Śak-ābdakē cha galitē nāg-ābhra-bān-ōmdubbis=ch=ābdē sad-Vyaya-nāmni Chaitra-sita-shash[th]yā-
 8 m Saumya-vārē Vṛishē | lagnē san.⁵Mṛigaśirsha-bhē chirataram śrī-Bhairavēndrēpa tē śrī-ratna-traya-bhadra-[dh]āma-Jinapā bhāntu pratish[th]ā-pitāḥ || [6*] Jināya namaḥ⁶ [11*]
 9 Svasti śrī [11*] Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha (i)⁷ 1508neya Vyaya-samvatsarada Chaitra-[ś]uddha-shashthiyū Budhavāra Mṛigaśirā-nakshatraū(vū) [V]ṛishabha-lagnadallū Kaliyug-ābhinava-
 10 Bharatēśvara-chakravartti Gutti-ham nibbara-gaṁda [Pa]ṭṭi-Pombuchcha-puravar-ādī(dhī)śvara mape.⁸hokkara-kāya Mār-ānta-vairi māma(ne)ya-rāya-mastaka-sū(śū)la shaḍ-darsana-s[th]ā-
 11 pan-āchāryya Sōma-varṣa-sikhāmaṇi Kāśyapa-gōtra-pavitrikaraṇa-daksha Pombuchcha-Padmāvatī-labha-vara-prasāda samyaktv-ādy-anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛita Jina-gaṁdh-ōdaka-pa-
 12 vitrikrit-ōttamāṅga aṇuvattāṇu.⁹maṁḍalikara-gaṁda Hom[na]māmbika-priyakumāra-Bhairarasa-Voḍeyar-aliyar-enipa śrīmaj-Jinadattarāya-varṣa-sudhā-
 13 mbudhi-pūrnna(rṇṇa)chamdra śrīmad-Vira-Narasimha-Vaṁ[ga]narēndra-śrī-Guṁmatāmbā-kula-dīpaka-priyasūnu arirāya-gaṁdara-dāvaṇi śrīmadh(d)-Immedi-Bhairarasa-
 14 Voḍeyaru tamage abhyu[d]aya-ni[h*]ārēyasa-lakshmi-sukha-saṁprā[p]ti-nimittav-āgi Kārakaḷada Pāṁḍyanagariyalli śrī-Guṁmatēśvarana saṁnidhānadalli Kailāsa-giri-sa-

¹ From two inked estampages prepared in 1901.² The *ā* of *syā* has an indenture at the top, which makes it look like the *ō*-sign attached to *lō* of *trailōkyā* in the same line.³ The whole of this line is engraved so close to the projecting top section of the slab as to make the letters on the estampage look faint and broken; but every syllable can be made out from the back of the impression.⁴ The syllable *gā*, here and in the sequel, is written in a peculiar way. The *a*-sign is first affixed to *ṇ* and the *ō*-curl then attached to the former.⁵ The *ri* of *mṛi* is represented by *ṣ* and *ri*.⁶ The five syllables *Jindya namaḥ* are reversed and written from right to left.⁷ Here and in what follows the enclosure of superfluous vertical strokes in round brackets does not, as elsewhere, represent a correction, but indicates that they have to be omitted.⁸ The *e* of *re* is formed in the same way as in *gā*, note 4 above.⁹ The syllables *tāḍṇu* are corrected from *tāṇḍiku*, the subscript *t*, a portion of *ṣ* and the subscript *k* being still visible. A similar *biruda*, held by certain Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district, has *aṇuvattundiku*, perhaps correctly; see below, p. 135, note 8.

- 15 *mnibha-Chikkabettadallu* || Śrī-kāntā-kulavēśma kiṁ vara-yaśaḥ-kāntā-pramōdh(d)-
āgarāṁ bhū-kāntā-rati-sadma saj-jaya-vadhū-kṛtā-āspadaṁ kiṁ punaḥ | syā-
- 16 *tkār-ōjva(jjva)la-sam-naya-dvayamayī śrī-Bhārati-rāṅga-bhūḥ sva[h*]-śrī-mukti-Ramā-*
svayamvara-grihaṁ śrī-Jaina-gēhaṁ vṛishē || [7] Imt-appa sakala-jan-āna-*
mā-maṁ.
- 17 *dirav-āda sārvaśatōbhadrā-chaṭurmukha-ratna-tray-rūpa-Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-*
Chaityālayavanu ¹Rō[dda]da-gōva nikalāmka-malla baṁṭara-bhāva para-nāri-
sahōdara
- 18 *nudidu-bhāshege-tappava-rāyara-gaṁḍa su[va]rṇa(rṇa)-kalāśa-sthāpan-ā[ch]āryya-*
āḍakārāpa dharmma-sāmrājya-nāyaka-āgi nija-puṇy-ānubhādi(dhi)-puṇyada
prērapei(yi)-
- 19 *māda tamagū taj-Jina-bhavana-prēkshakar-āda sakala-śīla-guṇa-sāmpaṇnar-aha-*
chaṭus-saṁghakkū sākshāt-svar-muksha-lakshmi-svayamvara-sā(śā)l-ōpamav-āgi
nirmāpisi ananta-su-
- 20 *khada saṁprāpti-nimittav-āgi (i) ā nālku-dikkinallū Ara-Malli-Munisuvrata-*
Tirtthakara-pratimegaḷanū s[th]āpisi | ā pāśchima-digbhāgadalli chaṭurvṛimśati-
Tirtthakara-pratimega-
- 21 *lanū ā bahir-vvālayada guṇḍaṅga[olage Jina-bimbamgaḷanū yeḍa-baladalli*
Brahma-Padmāvatī-sahitav-āgi samsthāpisi [i] sa-vidhānadiṁ pratishṭhāpisi ||
- 22 *ā nālku-dikkinallū hadinālku vokkalu sthānikaru naḍasuva abhishēka-pūje-*
muntāḍavakkū (i) mēle naḍava aṅga-rāṅga-vaibhav-ādikamgaḷigū ā Bhairarasa-
- 23 *Voḍeyaru nija-saṁtōshadiṁ[da] rājyavan=āluv-āga ā Tribhuvanatilaka-*
Jinachaityālayadalli ā pratishṭhā-samayada puṇya-kāladalli tamage
puṇyārthav-āgi mū-
- 24 *ḍa Mukkaḍapina-hoḷe | temka Yempeya-hoḷe¹ | paḍuva Polḷakaliyada-hoḷe |*
baḍaga Balimeya-hoḷe | i nālku-hoḷegaḷanu mērey-āg-uḷla | nidi(dhi) nikshēpa |
akshipi āgā-
- 25 *mya | jala pāshāpa | siddha sādhyamga[emba (i) aṣṭa-bhōgamgaḷig=olagāda*
Tejāra-grāmavanū | aḍa[olage akki mūḍe 700nū | Ramjāḷa-Nallūra
siddhāyadallū ga 238-
- 26 *nū dhārā-pūrvvakav-āgi ā-chaṁḍr-ārka-sṭhāi(yi)y-appamte dēvargge mā[ḍ]i-koṭṭa*
dharmma-kahētradha(da) vivara | ā kahētrada chaṭuh(s)-simey-olag=uḷla
Haravar=i(i)-muntāḍavara-
- 27 *lli sa[l*]luva gēni-siddhāya baḍḍiya-bhatta huruliya-akki jōḷakke-katṭida-*
akki hoṁna-baḍḍiy-akki saha sa[l]luva akki hāne 50ra lekkada mūḍe*
700kkaṁ Nallū-
- 28 *ru-Ramjāḷadalli vokkalu-tārkkapey-āgi biṭṭa siddhāya ga 238 varahakkū saḥav-āgi*
naḍava dharmma | Paḍuvapa-bāgilalli vokkalu 2kke mūru-hottī-
- 29 *na dēvapūjege charu hāne 9 mēlu-charu hāne 3 akshate-akki hā[n]je 1 tōye pāyasa*
tuppa kalasumēḷōgara tāḷila muntāḍa paṁcha-bhakahakke akki hāne 2
- 30 *kuḍute 2 aṁtu akki hāne 15 kuḍute 2ra lekkadalli varsha (i) lkke akki mūḍe 110 [i*]*
ndayada paṁchāmṛitad=abhishēkakke ga 7 m 2 paṁchakhajjāyakke ga 7½ siddha-
- 31 *chakraḍa ārāḍhanēge ga 12 pa(pha)la-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 baigina hāladhārege ga 1*
m 4 gaṁḍha-dhūpakke ga 1 m 3 yempe hāḍa 12kke ga 8 m 4 aṣṭāhnikā 3kke ga 3
- 32 *varsh-ābhishēka lkke ga 6 aṁtu ga 47 || ☉ || Baḍagaḷa-bāgila vokkalu 2kke mūru-hottina*
dēvapūjege dina lkke charuvige akki hāne (i) 9 mēlu-[cha]ruvig[e]
- 33 *akki hāne 3 akshatege akki hāne 1 tōye pāyasa tuppa kalasumēḷōgara tāḷila muntāḍa*
paṁcha-bhakahakke akki hāne 2 kuḍute 2 aṁtu akki

¹ In *re*, as in *re* of l. 10, the *w*-sign is first affixed to *r*, and the *o*-curl is then attached to the former.

² The *d* of *śāḍ* looks like *ḍ* on account of an indenture in the middle.

- 34 dina 1kke hāne 15 kuṇṭe 2ga lekkadalli varsha (i) 1kke mūḍe 110 [i*] udayada baigina
hāladhārege ga 1½ m 3 paṁchakhajjāyakke ga 7½ pa(pha)la-vastu-
- 35 vige ga 1 m 2 gaṁdha-dhūpakke m 8 yempe hāḍa 12kke ga 8 m 4 aṣṭāhnikā 3kke ga 3
varsh-ābhishēkakke ga 6 aṁtu ga 28 m 7 || i lekkadalli mūḍa-bāgila vokka-
- 36 lu 2kke akki mūḍe 110 ga 28 m 7 || ā temka-bāgila vokkalu 2kke akki(kki) mūḍe 110
ga [2]8 m 7 || aṁtu bāgilu 4kke vokkalu 8kke varsha (i) 1kke akki mūḍe 440 ga 133
- 37 m 1 || ⊙ || Paḍuva-bāgila yeda-balada guṁḍa 2kke vokkalu 1kke oharuvige akki hāne 5ga
lekkadalli mūḍe 36 akshatēge akki mūḍe 4 ubhayam mūḍe 40 hāla-
- 38 dhāre 4kke ga 3½ m 1 phala-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 gaṁdha-dhūpakke m 3 yempe hāḍa
5kke ga 3½ aṣṭāhnikā 3kke m 5½ varsh-ābhishēkakke ga 1 aṁtu ga 10 m 1½ [i*]
i lekkadalli
- 39 baḍaga (i) mūḍa temkana guṁḍaṁgaligū | ā paḍuvana Tirtthakaru Brahma-
Padmāvatigaligū saha vokkalu 5kke akki mūḍe 200 ga 50 m 7½ =¹ ubhayam
vokkalu
- 40 6kke akki mūḍe 240 ga 60 m 9 [i*] Brahma-Padmāvatīya aicharuvige akki mūḍe
4= aṁtu vokkalu 14kke akki mūḍe 684 ga 194 || ⊙ || Dōlu-nāgasara-kombinavara
jana
- 41 6kke ga 36 adipina mūlitiyara jana 2kke akki mūḍe 16 bastiyall-iha tapasviga
taṁḍa 4kke st(śi)ta-nivācayya-hachchada 8kkaṁ kaiyy-akkiya tumbuva sūsuva ha-
- 42 chohada 1kkaṁ saha hachchada 9kke ga 5 m 2 maṁḍeya tōja-vare yempeya hāḍa 2kke
ga 2 aḍugabbu siḡege saha m 8 aṁtu ga 8 = aṁtu akki mūḍe 700 ga 238 [i*]
- 43 Hirīya-aramaneya nālku-chaṭi(vu)kada volagana bastiya Chamdranāthasvāmiya
amritapaḍige Ārūr=Al[ana]bajakaladalli Biliyara-
- 44 sara guttu Jimnappaninda akki mūḍe 20 Bāgilarasara guttu Māṁdarppā[di]yinda
akki mūḍe 10 ubhayam mūḍe 30 Nallūra
- 45 Bikkirupāṁḍiya-bālinalli ga 7½ Jattikōṭiya-bālinalli ga 3 Paṁ[jā]ladalli kambuva-
bālinalli ga 7½ aṁtu ga 18 | Gōvardhanagiriya-bastiya
- 46 Pārēvanāḍha(tha)svāmiya amritapaḍige Mallilada-kambuladalli akkiya mūḍe 30
ā mēlana daḍḍi-marugalalli mūḍe 4 [Nallū]ra Nam[bi]beṭṭi-Nāraṇanalli
- 47 a[kki] mūḍe 6 aṁ[tu*] mū[de*] 40 [Ke]lavaseya seṭi-beṭṭina hittila [pha]ladalli [ga]
8 m 2½ [i*] [I]du paṁcha-saṁsāra-kāl-ōraga-dashṭa-gāḍha-mārchohhi[ta-nā]nā-saṁsāri-
jīva-prabōdhanaka-
- 48 ra-paṁcha-mahā-kalyāṇa-[bi]j-ōpama[v-āda] Jina-maṁtra-pāt-ātmana | Śrīvitarāga | yemba
paṁchākshariyann paṁchavimśati-mala-vidūra-parama-sa[mya]g-dṛiṣṭigal=āḍakāraṇa
ā Bhairara-
- 49 sa-Voḍeyarē sva-hastadimda vo[ppa koṭṭu]dadakke Imḍravajrā-[vritta]dimda [chatur-
vimśaty]-akshara-likhita-paṁch-ākshara-rūpa-Sarvvatōbbhadra-chitra-prabāṁdhadim[da]
rachisida chi[t]ra-slōka || Śrī-vi[ta-vir-ā]gata-viga-vitam śrī-rāga-vitam ga-
- 50 ta-rāga-rāgam | śrī-[ga]m tataṁ rāgatar-āṁga-rā[mgam] śrī-Vitarāgam tata-vi[ra]-³gam
taṁ || ⊙ ||⁴ [8*]

¹ The two horizontal strokes here and in ll. 40 and 42 denote punctuations.

² The impression has clear but faint traces of the syllables *chatur-*. The verse contains 44 syllables, while the diagram inserted in the inscription has only 25. I am not sure if *chaturvimśaty* has to be corrected into *chatur-chaṣṭvimśaty* or *pañchavimśaty*.

³ The reading *ra* is pretty certain; but as this curious verse is purely made up of the five syllables contained in the word *śrīvitarāga* by permutation or combination, I think the author has evidently committed a mistake in inserting the short *ra* (not found in *śrīvitarāga*) here; *ta* or *ga* might take the place of *ra* if either of them would give a better sense.

⁴ I cannot trace on my copy of the inscription the syllables *śrī* & *śrī* given at the end of Mr. Walhouse's transcript (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 42), but find that the continuation of this line and the four following lines are completely erased, and that traces of the beginnings and ends of these lines are still visible on the estampage.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed Vitarāga.¹

(Verse 1.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 113.]

(V. 2.) May king Bhairavēndra live permanently as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), (*blessed*) with abundance of age, prosperity and victory, by the grace of the blessed Jinēndras!

(L. 3.) May there be no obstacles! May there be happiness!

(V. 3.) May all Tirthas (*i.e.* Tirthakaras) grant for a very long time endless happiness to the glorious king Bhairava: (*viz.*) the blessed Pārśvanātha,² strength; the Jina Nēmi, fame; the Jinapa Suvira, long life; Dōrbali, prosperity; (*and*) the Jinas Ara, Malli and Suvrata, fortune! And may (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha grant (*his*) desires as long as the moon and the sun (*last*)!

(V. 4.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 110.]

(V. 5.) The moon in the ocean of nectar of the glorious face of the Moon, the glorious chief Bhairavēndra, (*who belonged to*) the prosperous family of Jinadatta, (*who was*) the son of the glorious Gummatāmbā, the renowned sister of the illustrious Bhairavarāja, (*and*) whose greatness (*was equal to that of*) the blessed and happy lord of gods (*i.e.* Indra) and Chakrin (Vishnu), having set up the Jinapas in the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,³ fulfilled (*his*) object (*in life*).

(V. 6.) May those Jinapas of the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,—set up by the glorious Bhairavēndra while the prosperous year of the Śāli-Śaka (*counted*) by the elephants (8), the sky (0), the arrows (5) and the moon (1)—(*i.e.* 1508)—had dropped (*i.e.* passed away), and in the excellent year named Vyaya, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, in the Vṛisha-lagna, (*while*) the *nakshatra* (*was*) the auspicious Mṛigaśīrsha,—shine for a long time!

(L. 8.) Obeisance to Jina.

(L. 9 f.) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śālivāhana-Śaka year 1508 which corresponded to the Vyaya-samvatsara, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, (*the day of*) the *nakshatra* Mṛigaśīrā, the lagna (*being*) Vṛishabha,—the full-moon in the nectar-ocean of the prosperous family of Jinadattarāja, the dear son who illuminates (*both*) the families of the famous Gummatāmbā and of the glorious Vira-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra,⁴ the tying-rope of cattle (*viz.*) heroic hostile kings (*arirāja-gaṇḍara-dāvāni*), the glorious Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, (*who is*) known as the nephew of Bhairarasa-Voḍeya the dear son of Honnamāmbikā, (*who is*) the fresh Bharatēśvara-chakravartin⁵ of the Kali age, the chastiser of the twelve (*chiefs*) of Gutti,⁶ the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities, the protector

¹ Vitarāga is synonymous with Jinēndra which occurs in v. 2; see also above, Vol. VI. p. 165, note 4.

² [Pārśvanātha, Nēmi (Arishtanēmi) and Suvira (Mahāvira) are the 23rd, 22nd and 24th Tirthakaras. Dōrbali (Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin) is the same as Gummatā; see above, Vol. VII. p. 108. Ara, Malli and Suvrata (Munisuvrata) are the 18th, 19th and 20th Tirthakaras; see *e.g.* Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, translated by Prof. Jacobi, p. 280.—E. H.]

³ The three jewels (*ratna-traya*) of the Jinas are: *samyag-darśana*, *samyag-jñāna* and *samyak-chāritra*; see above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3. The 'abode of the three renowned jewels' is the Chaturmukhabasti itself, which in l. 17 of the text is described as being the 'embodiment of the three jewels'; the Jinapas herein consecrated are Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata mentioned in l. 20.

⁴ I have taken this to be the name of Bhairava's father; but it may as well be a *viruda* of Bhairava himself.

⁵ This is the mythical emperor who, according to Jaina mythology, was the brother of the saint Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin or Gummatā; see Mr. Rice's *Śravāṇa-Beigoja Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 25.

⁶ It is impossible that either Bhairava II. or his ancestors could have had anything to do with the well known Gutti in the Anantapur district. The reference is perhaps to the 'Gutti thirty-four kampapa,' 'the Gōve-Gutti kingdom' or 'the Gōve-Chandragutti kingdom' mentioned by Mr. Rice on p. 39 f. of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Chandragutti is a hill fortress in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district.

of those who seek refuge (*with him*), the deadly enemy of Māra (Cupid ?), a spear on the heads of respectable kings, the teacher (*āchārya*) who has established the six *darśanas*,¹ the head-jewel of the race of the Moon, the powerful purifier of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (*he*) who has obtained excellent boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha, who is adorned by numberless and various (*good*) qualities, *samyaktva*,² etc., whose head is purified by the sweet-scented water (*which has been used for washing the image*) of Jina,³ (*and who is*) the lord of sixty-six *maṇḍalikās*,— in order to obtain for himself prosperity, final emancipation, riches and happiness,⁴— at Pāṇḍyanagari (*a suburb*) of Kārakaḷa, in the presence⁵ of the blessed Gummatēśvara, and on the Chikkabēṭṭa (*hill*) resembling the Kailāsa mountain—

(V. 7.) Is this the noble abode of the lady Śrī (Lakshmi) ? (*Is this*) the excellent pleasure-house⁶ of the lady Fame ? (*Is this*) the house of amorous enjoyment of the lady Earth ? (*Or*) again, is this the sporting-place of the virtuous woman Victory ? (*This*) prosperous Jaina abode (*is indeed*) the stage consisting of the two excellent doctrines resplendent with the word *syāt*, (*whereupon*) the glorious (*goddess*) Bhārati (Sarasvatī) (*dances*), (*and is*) the house where (*the ladies*) Heavenly bliss, Salvation and Prosperity choose their husbands ⁷

(L. 14 f.) (This Bhairarasa) *Rōddada-gōva*,⁸ *Nikaṇka-malla*,⁹ the soul of warriors, the brother of the wives of others (*and*) the chastiser of kings who do not act up to the words which they utter,— because he was the foremost in setting up golden pinnacles (*on temples*), became (*as it were*) the ruler of the empire of charity, (*and*) actuated by merit (*which was*) the outcome of his good deeds (*in previous births*), caused to be made for (*the use of*) himself and the (*members of the*) four *saṅghas* who possessed all noble qualities and were (*habitual*) visitors of that abode of Jina, the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (*temple*), which is thus¹⁰ a mansion giving pleasure to all people (*who look at it*), (*which is*) auspicious on every side (*sarvatōbhadrā*), has four faces (*chaturmukha*)¹¹ (*and*) is the embodiment of the three jewels,¹²

¹ I cannot understand how a Jaina chief like Bhairava II. could claim to have established the six systems of philosophy, all foreign to his own. Perhaps he tolerated the study of these systems in his petty dominions.

² *Samyaktva* may refer to the possession of the three qualities (*ratna-traya*) referred to on p. 134, note 3, each of which begins with the word *samyak*.

³ The same epithet is applied to the *Dandandya* Baladēva in Nos. 52 and 53 of Mr. Rice's *Śravana-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*.

⁴ The predicate of this sentence is the past participle *nirmmdpisi* which occurs in l. 19.

⁵ The Chaturmukhabasti, though at a considerable distance from the colossus of Gummatēśvara, is here represented as being in its presence; for the latter was perhaps considered to be the presiding deity of Kārakaḷa and its suburbs. Besides, as the Chikkabēṭṭa hill is just opposite to the hill on which the colossus stands, it is literally true that the temple "stands in the gaze of the colossus;" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 39.

⁶ *Āgara* seems to be used here, as in Kanarese, for the Sanskrit *āgāra*, which would not suit the metre. A derivative from *ā + gṛh* is *āgara* which means 'halloaing.' This does not suit the sense of the verse.

⁷ I do not understand the meaning and the construction of the word *ṛishā* at the end of the verse. Some word like *nānam* or *dhrumam*, which characterises an *utprākṣhādharmikāra*, is required. Or can it only be a mistake for *ṛisham* = excellent?—[Perhaps the word *Ṛishā* is repeated by mistake from verse 6.—E. H.]

⁸ Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 39) translates this epithet by 'guardian of Rodda' or 'Gōva of Rodda' (*ibid.* Vol. XII. Translation, p. 91). Elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. III. Introduction, p. 16) he mentions Rodda among the conquests of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana and identifies it with 'Rodda on the northern Pennār in the Anantapur district, west of Penugonda.' If this is the correct explanation of the epithet *Rōddada-gōva*, Bhairava II., whose territory was far away from Penugonda, could only have borrowed the title from some other family. A local line of Chōḷa chiefs "in the country round Hēmāvatī and Nijugal" (in the Anantapur district) is described on p. 7 of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. These chiefs flourished about the 12th century A.D. and invariably bore the titles *Rōddada-gōva*, *nikaṇkamalla*, *aruvattundiku-maṇḍalikara-tale-gonda-gaṇḍa*, *banāra-bāva* and *marevoge-kāva*, which are almost the same as those assumed by Bhairava II. Besides, the Chōḷa chiefs of the Anantapur district belonged to the same Kāśyapa *gōtra* as Bhairava.

⁹ *I.e.* *Nishkaṇka-malla*, 'the spotless wrestler.'

¹⁰ *I.e.* as described in v. 7.

¹¹ The temple has four doors, each of which opens on three identical stone images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

¹² See above, p. 134, note 3.

just as if it verily were a hall wherein the glorious (*goddess of*) Heavenly emancipation was to choose her husband.

(L. 19 f.) And in order to acquire endless happiness, (*he*) set up on the four sides of that (*temple*) the images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata; on the western side of that (*temple*) (*he set up*) the images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras; and in the niches (*gumḍa* ?) (at each entrance) of the outer enclosure of that (*temple*) (*he*) set up images of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvatī to the left and right (*respectively*); (*and*) consecrated (*them all*) according to rule.

(L. 22 f.) (*And*) for the bathing, worship, *etc.* (of the images) performed by fourteen families of Sthānikas (*living*) in the four directions of that (*temple*), and for the *aṅga-raṅga-vaśbhava*,¹ *etc.* which follow after (*worship*), that Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, while ruling (*his*) kingdom with true delight, on the auspicious occasion of the consecration in that Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityaśālaya (*temple*), conferred on (*that*) god² for his own merit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), with libations of water, 238 *ga*³ from the established revenue of Rañjāla and Nallūru, also the village of Telāra subject to the eight enjoyments known as deposits, hidden treasures, permanent profit, future profit, water, stone, established income and feasible income, (*and*) having for (*its*) boundaries four streams, *viz.* Mukkadapina-hole to the east, Yempeya-hole to the south, Pollakaliyada-hole to the west (*and*) Balimeya-hole to the north, and 700 *mūḍe* of rice in that (*village*). The (*following are the*) details of the land (*thus*) granted.⁴

(L. 26 f.) From the 700 *mūḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *hāne* (for each *mūḍe*), accruing from the tribute on contracts due from the Haravar⁵ and such others that live within the four boundaries of that village, paddy (*in payment of*) interest, rice (*in lieu of*) gram, rice commuted from millet, and rice (*in lieu of*) the interest (*payable*) in money; and from the *ga* 238 *varaḥa* of established income granted (*subject to*) the personal observation⁶ of the tenants of Nallūru (*and*) Rañjāla together, the (*following*) charities are (*to be*) managed.

(L. 28 f.) To the 2 families (*who have*) to worship three times (*each day*) at the western gate, (*the following allotment has been made*):⁷ 9 *hāne* (for) the rice offering; 3 *hāne* (for) the superior rice offering; 1 *hāne* (for) consecrated rice; 2 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kuḍute* of rice for *tōye*,⁸ *pāyasa*,⁹ ghee, *kalasumēlōgara*,¹¹ *tāḷila*¹² and others (*together with*) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kuḍute* of rice (*altogether for one day*), the rice (*required*) for

¹ *I.e.* all kinds of enjoyments; see *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 70, note 5.

² This word is here used in the collective sense for the three gods Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

³ This is an abbreviation of *gadyāḡa*.

⁴ The details hereafter specified are not those of the 'land granted,' but of the 700 *mūḍe* of rice which was the revenue in grain realized from Telāra, and of *ga* 238 which was the income in coin from Rañjāla and Nallūru.

⁵ On this ethnic name, which is perhaps the same as Parava, see Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manusci.* Vol. I. p. 179.

⁶ According to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *tārkaṇa* means 'personal observation.' The sense appears to be that the tenants of the two villages were held directly responsible for the regular payment of *ga* 238 assigned to the temple by the king from the revenue of those villages.

⁷ The grain allotments of this paragraph are to be taken as made at *daily* rates. This specification, which is omitted here, is inserted in its proper place in the next paragraph.

⁸ *Chāra* means 'an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes;' see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

⁹ 'A dish prepared of boiled split pulse.'

¹⁰ 'A dish (or oblation) of milk, rice and sugar, *etc.*'

¹¹ 'A mixture of boiled vegetables to which pepper, salt, *etc.* are added.'

¹² This is perhaps the Jaina spelling of *tāḷada* or *tāḷida*, which means 'boiled and seasoned vegetables.'

1 year (is) 110 *mūḍe*. For bathing (the images) with *pañchāmṛita*¹ in the mornings, *ga* 7 m 2;² for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakṣajjāya*),³ *ga* 7½; for the worship of the *Siddhachakra*,⁴ *ga* 12; for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 m 2; for the evening *hāladhāre*,⁴ *ga* ½ m 4; for sandal (and) incense, *ga* ½ m 3; for 12 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 8 m 4; for 3 *aśtāhnikas*,⁴ *ga* 3; for 1 annual bathing, *ga* 6; total (for one year) *ga* 47.

(L. 32 f.) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the northern gate, (the following allotment has been made): for 1 day 9 *hāne* of rice for the rice offering; 3 *hāne* of rice for the superior rice offering; 1 *hāne* of rice for consecrated rice; 2 *hāne* (and) 2 *kuḍute* of rice for *tōye*, *pāyasa*, *ghee*, *kalasumēlōgara*, *tālila* and others (together with) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (and) 2 *kuḍute* per 1 day, the rice (required) for 1 year (is) 110 *mūḍe*. For the morning and the evening *hāladhāre*,⁵ *ga* 1½ m 3; for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakṣajjāya*), *ga* 7½; for fruits (and other similar) things, *ga* 1 m 2; for sandal (and) incense, *m* 8; for 12 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 8 m 4; for 3 *aśtāhnikas*, *ga* 3; (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 6; total (for one year) *ga* 28 m 7.

(L. 35 f.) At this rate, 110 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 28 m 7 for the 2 families at the eastern gate; (and) 110 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 28 m 7 for the 2 families at the southern gate. Thus (altogether), for the 8 families at the 4 gates for 1 year, 440 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 133 m 1.

(L. 37 f.) For 1 family (worshipping) at the 2 niches to the left and right of the western gate (the allotment is as follows): at the rate of 5 *hāne* of rice (per day) for the rice offering, 36 *mūḍe* (for one year); 4 *mūḍe* of rice for consecrated rice; the two together (amount to) 40 *mūḍe*. For 4 *hāladhāres*, *ga* 3½ m 1; for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 m 2; for sandal (and) incense, *m* 3; for 5 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 3½; for 3 *aśtāhnikas*, *m* 5½; (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 1; in all, *ga* 10 m 1½ (for one year).

(L. 38 f.) At this rate, for the 5 families in all,—(viz. those who worship) at the niches in the northern, eastern and southern (gates), (those who worship the images of) the *Tirthakaras* of that western (gate), and (those who worship the images of) *Brahma* and *Padmāvati*,—(the allotment comes to) 200 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 50 m 7½. (Thus) for the 6 families altogether (the total is) 240 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 60 m 9. 4 *mūḍe* of rice (have been also allotted) for the five rice offerings to *Brahma* and *Padmāvati*. Altogether, for the 14 families,⁶ 684 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 194.

(L. 40 f.) For 6 persons who have (to beat) the drum (and to blow) the pipe (and) the horn, *ga* 36 (have been allotted for one year); (and) for the 2 *mūḍiti*-women of the *adīpu*,⁸ 16

¹ The five nectarious substances: 'milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar.'

² Here and in the subsequent money calculations of this paragraph, the allotments appear to have been made for the whole year, though the daily rate is not specified.

³ This word is more commonly spelt with the unspirited *k*; it means 'the five pleasant articles of food (mixed together),' viz. *avalakki* (flattened rice), gingelly seeds, *kuḍle* (Bengal gram fried and split), dried kernel of coconut, and jaggery.

⁴ *Siddhachakra*, *hāladhāre* and *aśtāhnikas* are apparently technical terms of Jaina worship, which are unknown to me. *Aśtāhnikas* may perhaps correspond to *aśtavidh-ārchanas*, which occurs frequently in Mr. Rice's *Śrāvastī-Beigola Inscriptions*, e.g. in Nos. 80, 81, 86, 87.

⁵ It is strange that two *hāladhāres* both in the mornings and evenings are provided for at the northern, southern and eastern gates, while at the western gate, which was the most important one and received the largest allotment of money, provision was made for only one *hāladhāre*.

⁶ This number includes the 8 families at the four main gates and the 6 families mentioned in this paragraph.

⁷ The total 684 is arrived at by adding together 440 *mūḍe* allotted for the 4 gates; 240 *mūḍe* allotted for the niches, *Tirthakaras*, and *Brahma* and *Padmāvati*; and 4 *mūḍe* specially allotted for the five rice offerings to the two last-mentioned images.

⁸ I do not understand the meaning of *adīpina mūḍitiyaru*. This may perhaps refer to certain maid-servants of the temple, such as cooks, etc.

māḍe of rice. For the 4 groups of ascetics who dwell in the *basti*, 8 blankets to ward off cold and 1 blanket for receiving (and) spreading (i.e. drying ?) hand-rice¹—altogether, for 9 blankets, *ga* 5 *m* 2; for 2 *hāḍa* of oil for the head and arms (of the ascetics), *ga* 2; and for fuel (and) soap-nut (for the same), *m* 8; altogether, *ga* 8. In all (the allotments come to) 700 *māḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 238.

(L. 43 f.) For the rice offering² of Chandranāthasvāmin of the *basti* within the four squares (i.e. the quadrangle) of the big palace:—in the Allapabajakāḷa (field ?) at Ārūru, 20 *māḍe* of rice from Jinnappa, the lessee³ (?) of Biliyarasa, (and) 10 *māḍe* of rice from Māṇḍarpāḍi, the lessee⁴ of Bāgilarasa; both (together), 30 *māḍe*. From the land held (*bāḷu*)⁵ by Bikkirupāṇḍiya (i.e. Vikramapāṇḍya) of Nallūru, *ga* 7½, from the land held by Jattikōṭi, *ga* 3, (and) from the land held by Kambuva at Pamjāḷa, *ga* 7½; altogether, *ga* 18.

(L. 45 f.) For the rice offering of Pārśvanāthasvāmin of the *basti* (on) the Gōvardhanagiri (hill),—from the Kambuḷa (field ?) at Malliḷa, 30 *māḍe* of rice, from the enclosing hills beyond, 4 *māḍe*, from Nambibēṭṭi-Nāraṇa of Nallūru, 6 *māḍe* of rice; altogether, 40 *māḍe*. From the produce of the backyard of Seṭṭi-bēṭṭu⁶ at Kelavase, *ga* 8 *m* 2½.

(L. 47 f.) Inasmuch as that Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, possessed as he was of that excellent right perception which keeps aloof from the twenty-five impurities, himself with his own hand affixed in (token of) approval (of the grant) the five syllables (*pañcākṣari*), viz. *Śrīvitārāga*—of Him whose soul is purified by (the recitation of) the Jina-mantra—which may be compared to a seed (that can produce) the five great virtues and can awaken the soul, (passing through) varied transmigration and heavily stupefied by the bite of the black viper, (viz.) the five-fold *samsāra*, this wonderful (*chitra*) verse (was) composed in the style of the Sarvatōbhadra puzzle (*chitrāprabandha*), consisting of five letters combined as twenty-four (different) syllables, in the Indravajrā metre.

[Verse 8 contains the puzzle alluded to above and is not quite clear to me.]

No. 11.—NAGPUR MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTA I. JANAMEJAYA.

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

Mr. Venkayya sent me one set of ink-impressions of this unpublished inscription, with the following remarks:—

"The Curator of the Nagpur Museum says, the locality from which the plates containing this inscription came is unknown. There are three copper-plates, of which only the second bears writing on both sides. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom.

¹ This probably refers to the rice collected by the Jaina mendicants in begging from door to door. It is customary even now in India to give a 'handful of rice' to beggars that call at the door. This seems to be the reason why such rice is called *kaṣṭh-akki*.

² *Amṛitapāḍi* in the sense of 'rice offering' is not given in Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. It corresponds to the *amudupāḍi* of Tamil inscriptions.

³ *Guttu* appears to be used here in the sense of *guttigaddra*, 'a lessee.' Or, the meaning might be that Biliyarasa's lessee, (viz.) 20 *māḍe* of rice, was to be collected from (his tenant) Jinnappa.

⁴ Compare Dr. Fleet's remarks on *baṭasidor* on p. 61 above.

⁵ *Seṭṭi-bēṭṭu*, or more correctly *seṭṭi-bēṭṭu*, means 'the beṭṭu of the merchant.' According to Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 85, *bēṭṭu* means: 'a walled enclosure with a colossal statue.' The word here cannot be meant for the fiscal term *bēṭṭu*—a land capable of producing one crop of rice annually—(*ibid.* p. 122); for, in this case the backyard (*hittila*) mentioned in connection with it would not be intelligible.

At the broadest part they measure nearly 9 inches. Their height varies from $5\frac{1}{2}$ " to $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". They are held together by a ring, which has been cut by me with the permission of the Curator. The ring, which is not quite circular, measures about 3" in diameter. Its ends are secured in the base of a circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a counter-sunk surface, an image of Lakshmi, seated apparently on a lotus and flanked by two lampstands, of which the one on the left is not quite distinct. The lotus extends on both sides to the height of the shoulders of the goddess and is surmounted on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk. This is the usual representation of the goddess Gajalakshmi. The base of the seal is slightly damaged, and a nail seems to have been driven in to fix the seal to the ring."

The inscription records a grant of land, made by king Mahābhavagupta (I.) surnamed Janamājaya in the eighth year of his reign. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of the same prince which have been published by Dr. Fleet. Initial *o* and *au* occur in *Ōḍra* (l. 16), *ojjhā* (l. 44) and *Autathya* (l. 15), and the rare letter *jh* occurs in *ojjhā* (l. 44). The letter *ṭ* of *paṭu* (l. 5) differs in shape from that of *kuṭumvi* (l. 10), etc. The group *ṣṭa* is throughout written as *ṣa*, except in *āṣphōṭṭayanti* (l. 28), where it is wrongly employed. A final form of *t* is used in *samvat* (l. 41), and the *virāma* in *dadyāt* (l. 27), *vrāhmaṇān* (l. 9), *ētān* and *pārthivēndrān* (l. 35); elsewhere the *virāma* is omitted. The decimal figures 1, 2 and 8 occur in l. 41.

The language is Sanskrit. There is one verse in ll. 3-6, and 11 of the customary verses occur in ll. 23-38; the remainder of the record is in prose. The *visarga* is omitted in several cases. The rules of Sandhi are neglected in *śrīman* (l. 4), *°chchhinnaḥ* and *°agirasa* (l. 15), *°dhyāyinē* (l. 16), *dadyāt* (l. 27) and *aśṭamē* (l. 40). The orthography is defective in many respects. The vowel *i* is mixed up with *ī*, and *u* with *ū*. In *nōpāra* (l. 1) for *nāpura* and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f.) for *dātaka*, *ḍ* is used instead of *ḍ*. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *samdhatri* (for *°hartri*) and *sannidhatri* (l. 11), *tridatā* (l. 4) and *Trihalinga* (ll. 8 and 39). In *krichhna* (l. 5) and *samvachchharē* (l. 40), *ts* is represented by *chh*. The dental *n* takes the place of the lingual *n* in *punya* (ll. 19 and 30), *hiranya* (l. 20), *grihnāti* (l. 29 f.) and *Samgrāmēna* (l. 44). Of sibilants, *ṣ* is used for *ś* in *nisiddha* (l. 14), and *ś* for *s* in *śalila*, *purastara*, *śama* (l. 18) and *vaśēta* (for *vaśēt*, l. 26). A *y* is inserted in *śākhya* (l. 16) for *śākhā*, and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f.) for *dātaka*. The consonant *b* is always represented by *v*, which must have been pronounced as *b* just as in Bengali. This may be concluded from the spellings *sāmva* (l. 14) for *sāmva*, *tāmva* (l. 19) for *tāmva*, *°dattām=vd* (l. 32), *samvachchharē* (l. 40) and *samvat* (l. 41). Other irregularities are *vuvdhā* (l. 38) for *buddhvā*, *triyārishaya* (l. 15) for *tryārshēya*, *Kaivilāsa* and *utkirita* (l. 44) for *Kaīlāsa* and *utkīrṇa*.

The inscription opens with the words: "Om. Hail! From the prosperous Murasīman, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens, (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters." Another grant of Mahābhavagupta I. is dated from the same Murasīman, which is there spelt with a long *ū* in the first syllable,—apparently by mistake, as *Mura* is a well known word, and as *ū* is used erroneously for *u* in many other instances.¹ The next word of the same grant, *-samāvāsita*, may be meant for *-samāvāsitaḥ*. As, however, it would be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to correct *-samāvāsitāt* and to take the following word *kaṭaka* to mean 'a camp,' and not the city of Outtack.² Thus the inscription of the sixth year is dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Murasīman." With the

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 341.

² Professor Kielhorn kindly refers me to three very similar instances in inscriptions from Northern India:—

1.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 380, text line 6 f.—*śrīmad-Vishnupur-dvāsita-śrī-vijaya-kaṭakē*.

2.—*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 121, text line 23.—*śrī-Padaviha-grāma-samāvāsita-vijaya-kaṭakē*.

3.—*Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 309, text line 23, and Vol. V. App. p. 58, note 4.—*Prayaga-samāvāsita-śrīmad-vijaya-kaṭakē*.

same alteration, the three inscriptions of the 31st year¹ are dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at the prosperous Ârâma."

Lines 3-6 contain a verse which celebrates the king under his surname Janamêjaya—contracted into 'Janmêjaya' for the sake of the metre—and states that he claimed descent from the race of the Moon (*Sôma-vamśa*). The same verse occurs in the grant of the sixth year, where it is placed at the end of the whole document (ll. 43-45).

Then follows the preamble of the grant itself (l. 6 ff.) :—

"This *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara*, the ornament of the race of the Moon (*Sôma-kula-tilaka*), the lord of *Trikalīṅga*, the glorious *Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*,—who meditates at the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the glorious *Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*,²—being in good health, having worshipped the *Brāhmaṇas* in the village of *Satallamā* attached to the *Kaśalōḍā* district (*viśaya*), commands the ryots residing in that (village), the inhabitants of that district at the time, (and) all servants of the king, (*vis.*) collectors, attendants, irregular and regular soldiers, spies, staff-bearers, eunuchs, favourites of the king, *etc.*"

The king then states that he granted this village (*vis.* *Satallamā*, l. 9) by a copper-plate edict (*tāmra-śāśana*, l. 19) "to the *Bhāṭṭaputra Sānthakara*, son of *Dhṛitikara* (l. 17 f.), who belonged to the *Gautama gōtra*, who had the three *pravaras* of *Gautama*, *Āṅgīrasa* and *Autathya*, who studied the *Vājasaneyi-Mādhyaṇdina śākhā*, who had immigrated from the village of *Purushamaṇḍapa* in the *Ôdra* country (*dēśa*), (and) who resided in the village of *Murujuṅga*." Of the proper names mentioned in this passage I can identify none besides *Ôdra*, which is the Sanskrit form of *Oḍḍā*, i.e. *Orissa*.³

11 verses from the *Dharmasūtra* are quoted in ll. 23-38. Then follows the date of the grant :—"In the victorious reign of the *P. M. P.*, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the lord of *Trikalīṅga*, the glorious *Janamêjayadēva*,—in the eighth year, in the second half of the month of *Kārttika*, on the twelfth *tithi*.—and in figures : *Samvat 8*, *Kārttika śudi 12*." The *Dātaka* was the *Mahāmahattama Bhāṭṭa Sādhārāṇa*, son of *Śōbhana* (l. 41 f.). This person must be the same as the donee of three other grants of *Mahābhavagupta I.*, where he is called the *Bhāṭṭa Mahattama Sādhārāṇa*, son of *Bhāṭṭa Śōbhana*,⁴ and he seems to have been the prime-minister of the king.⁵

According to ll. 42-44, "this edict was written by the *Kāyastha Āllava*, son of *Kailāsa*, who was attached to the *Mahāsāndhivigrahi Rāṇaka Mallādatta*, son of *Dhāradatta*." The same minister is referred to in the remaining published inscriptions of *Mahābhavagupta I.* In the three grants of the 31st year he is called *Mallādatta*,⁶ while the grant of the sixth year has *Mallādhāradattasuta*,⁷ which, as the new grant suggests, is meant for *Mallā[datta]*, son of *Dhāradatta*.

The inscription ends with the statement that it was engraved by *Samgrāma*, son of *Rayanā-ojjhā*.⁸

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 347, text line 1.

² The other grants of *Mahābhavagupta I.* omit the word *maḥā* before *Śivagupta's* name.

³ *Ôdra-dēśa* is mentioned also in an inscription of *Mahāśivagupta II.*; above, Vol. III. p. 353, text line 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 348, text line 12 f.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 345 and 350.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 350.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 344, text line 42.

⁸ Compare *ibid.* p. 212, note 2. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *dja* (or *edja*) means (1) 'a teacher,' and (2) 'an artificer.' In Tamil we have the forms *vaṇṇaṭṭa* and *ṭaṭṭa*; see *South-Ind. Ins.* Vol. II, p. 293, note 2. The word is evidently a *tadbhava* of *upādhyāya*; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 393, note 23. A similar honorific term, also applied to artisans in Southern India, is *doḥḍṛya*; see above, Vol. VII. p. 168, note 8.

[illegible][illegible]

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त्यनेकवरविलासिनीचरणनीपूररवोद्भान्तमत्तपारावत-³
- 2 कुलात⁴ सकलदिगन्तरागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकीर्तिः श्रीमतो मुरसिन्ः⁵ [1*]
- 3 अस्ति श्रीश्रीश्रीराणाभमलमणिरुचामन्वयात⁶ कौस्तुभाभः शौर्यत्यागा-
- 4 'मुरा[शि]र्विरचितविधिवद्दानं(1)शुभीकृताभः [1*] श्रीमान्ज्योत्स्नाख्यस्तृदश-⁹
- 5 पतिसम[ः*] कङ्कमा¹⁰ भोक्तकामः प्रख्यातद्वेषिवंशप्रविदलनपटुभूपति¹¹ सो-
- 6 भवंधि [11*] सोयं¹² परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहा-¹³
- 7 शिवगुप्तराजदेवपादानुध्यात्परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-¹⁴
- 8 श्वरसोमकुलतिलकतुकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः¹⁵ कु-
- 9 शली¹⁶ कशलोडाविषयप्रतिवक्षसतज्ञमाश्रमे¹⁷ ब्राह्मणान् सम्पूज्य¹⁸ त-
- 10 त्तिनिवासिकुटुम्बिजनपदान¹⁹ तद्विषयीययथाकालाध्यासिन[ः*] समा-
- 11 20 हिसिन्निधाचिचाटभटपिशुनवेचिकावरोधजनराजवत्तभादीन²¹ स-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 वान²² राजपादोपजिविन²³ समान्नापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु भवत[ः] यथा-
- 13 आभिरयं ग्राम[ः*] सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः²⁴ सर्ववाधाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिकर-
- 14 करादानसहितः²⁵ साम्प्रमधुक[ः*] सगर्तोपरः²⁶ प्रतिनिसिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश-²⁷
- 15 चतुःसोमावच्छिन्नः²⁸ गौतमगोत्राय गौतमाश्रितसौतथ्यत्रियारिषयप्र-²⁹
- 16 पराय³⁰ वाजसनेयेमाध्यन्दिनशाख्याध्यायिने³¹ श्रीदेशे पुरुषमण्डपग्राम-
- 17 विनीगताय सुरुजुंगग्रामवास्तव्याय³² भटपुत्रश्रीसान्धकरनाम्ने हृति-
- 18 करसुताय³³ शलिलधारापुरस्सरभाचन्द्रतारकाकर्णचितिशमकालाप-³⁴

¹ From a set of ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.² Read 'नूपर'.³ Read 'वान्'.⁴ Read 'श्रीदश'.⁵ Read 'सिद्ध'.⁶ The र of भटारक is corrected by the engraver from क; read 'महारक'.⁷ The र of श्वर was inserted subsequently.⁸ Read 'चिकलिङ्गा'.⁹ Read 'सम्पूज्य'.¹⁰ The व of 'वरोध' is written on an erasure; read 'दीन'.¹¹ Read 'पजीविनः'.¹² Read 'निधि'.¹³ Read 'रसीतस्यध्यायि' ; compare above, Vol. III. p. 45, note 4.¹⁴ Read 'माध्यायिन'.¹⁵ Read 'सहित' ; the सा of 'पुरस्सर' is written as सा.¹⁶ Read 'कुलान्'.¹⁷ Read 'मुराशि'.¹⁸ Read 'कङ्कमा भोक्तु'.¹⁹ Read 'कुटुम्बिजनपदान्'.²⁰ Read 'प्रतिवक्ष'.²¹ Read 'वाधा'.²² Read 'प्रवेशचतु'.²³ Expressed by a plain symbol.²⁴ Read 'सौवः'.²⁵ Read 'श्रीमा'.²⁶ Read 'भूपति'.²⁷ Read 'पादानुध्यातपरममहारक'.²⁸ Read 'ब्राह्म'.²⁹ Read 'हृदयसिद्धाद'.³⁰ Read 'वान्'.³¹ Read 'सा'.³² Read 'श्री'.³³ Read 'वाजसनेयि'.³⁴ Read 'भटपुत्र'.³⁵ Read 'चितिशमकालाप'.

- 19 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च ¹पुन्ययशोभिदृश्ये ²ताम्रशासनेनाकरिक्त्य³
 20 प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य ⁴समुचितभोगभागकरहिरन्यादिकमुपनय-⁵
 21 ङ्गिभवद्भिः⁶ सुखेन प्रतिवस्तुमिति [I*] भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरियमस्म-
 22 दद्या⁷ धर्मगौरवादस्मदनुरोधाच्च ⁸स्वदतिरिवानुपालनीया [I*] तथा चोक्तं ध-
 23 र्मशा[स्त्रे] [II*] ⁹वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य¹⁰ यस्य यदा
 भूमि-¹¹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 24 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [II*] मा भूदफलंशङ्का¹² वः परदत्तेति
 पार्थिवाः [I*]
 25 स्वदानात्फलमत्यन्तं परदानानुपालने [II*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं
 26 मोदति भूमिदः¹³ [I*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वश्येत्¹⁴
 [II*] अग्नेरप[त्यं] प्र-
 27 यमं स्ववर्ण¹⁵ भुव्येषां¹⁶ ¹⁷सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [I*] यः कौञ्चनं गां च महीं
 च दद्यात्¹⁷
 28 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लाकाः¹⁸ [II*] आस्तीत्यन्ति¹⁹ पितरः प्रवत्ता(य)न्ति
 पिताम-
 29 हाः [I*] भूमिदात्ता²⁰ कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति [II*] भूमि²¹
 यः प्रतिगृह्णा-²²
 30 ति यश्च भूमि²³ प्रयच्छति [I*] उभौ तौ ²⁴पुन्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामि-
 31 नौ [II*] तडागानां सहस्राणि²⁵ वाजपेयशतानि²⁶ च [I*] गवां कीटिप्र-
 दानेन भूमिहर्ता
 32 न शुष्यति [II*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा²⁷ यो ²⁸हरेदसुन्धरां [I*] स
 विष्ठायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा प-
 33 च्यते पितृभिः सह [II*] आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुवज्रा²⁹ सोमो हुताशनः
 [I*] ³⁰शुलपा-
 34 णिस्तु³¹ भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं [II*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काल³²

¹ Read पुण्य°.

² The म of भाग was inserted subsequently.

³ Read °ङ्गिर्भवद्भिः.

⁴ Read बहुभिः.

⁵ Read भूदफलशङ्का.

⁶ Read सुवर्णं भुव्येषां.

⁷ Read लाकाः.

⁸ Read भूमि.

⁹ Read पुण्य°.

¹⁰ Read °दत्ता वा.

¹¹ Read भूमि.

¹² Read ताम्र°.

¹³ Read °दीया.

¹⁴ Read °भिः । यस्य.

¹⁵ Read भूमिदः.

¹⁶ Read सूर्य°.

¹⁷ Read आस्तीत्यन्ति.

¹⁸ Read °गृह्णाति.

¹⁹ Read सहस्रेण.

²⁰ Read हरेत वसु°.

²¹ Read °णिष.

²² Read °करीकृत्य.

²³ Read °हिरण्या°.

²⁴ Read स्वदत्ति°.

²⁵ Read भूमि°.

²⁶ Read वसेत्.

²⁷ Read दद्यात्.

²⁸ Read भूमिदाता.

²⁹ Read भूमि.

³⁰ Read °शतेन.

³¹ Read विष्णुवज्रा.

³² Read काल.

Third Plate.

- 35 काले पालनियो¹ भवद्भिः [1*] सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 36 भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः [2*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दलो-²
 37 [लं]³ श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य⁴ मनुष्यजीवितंश्च⁵ [1*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं⁶
 38 वृद्धा⁶ न हि पुत्रैः परकीर्त्तयो विलीघ्याः [2*] परमभटरकमहा-⁷
 39 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुल[ति]लकतृकलिङ्गाधिपति-⁸
 40 श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्बच्छरे⁹ अष्टमे कार्तिकमा-
 41 सहितोपच¹⁰ तिथौ द्वादश्यां यथाहृतोपि सम्बत्¹¹ ८ कार्तिक शुदि १२
 [1*] द्यौः¹²
 42 तत्कच¹³ महामहत्तमभटश्रीसाधारणः [2*] शोभनसुतः [1*] लिखितमिदं शासनं
 43 महासाम्बिविप्रहिराणकश्रीमल्लादत्तधारदत्तसुतप्रतिवहेन¹⁴ का[य]स्थत्रा-
 44 क्षवेन कै(वि)लाससुतेन¹⁵ उत्किरितं¹⁶ संग्रामेन¹⁷ (॥) रयणाश्रीज्जासुतेन¹⁸

No. 12.— BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF CHARUDEVI.

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

This inscription was first edited 25 years ago by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. p. 100 ff. On account of its archaic alphabet and of its language, which is not only Sanskrit verse (plate iii. lines 12-15), but chiefly Prākṛit prose, it has attracted much attention. Bühler succeeded in deciphering some additional portions of it,¹⁹ and a few corrections were suggested by M. Senart and myself.²⁰ At my request, Dr. Fleet was good enough to send me a set of ink-impressions of the plates, with the help of which it has been possible to make out with some probability those portions of lines 3 to 7 which Bühler considered 'utterly unintelligible.' The only item which appears to be irretrievably lost is the figure of the regnal year at the end of the first line.

The original copper-plates, which were secured by Sir Walter Elliot, are now in the British Museum. For their finding-place and for a detailed description of them see the prefatory

¹ Read पालनीयो.² Read °दलाम्बुविन्दु°.³ Read °लं श्रिय°.⁴ The two *akṣharas* चिन्त्य are engraved over an erasure.⁵ Cancel the *anusvāra*.⁶ Read वृद्धा.⁷ Read °भटारक°.⁸ Read °विकलिङ्गा°.⁹ Read संवत्सरे ऽष्टमे.¹⁰ Read °पचे.¹¹ Read संवत्.¹² Read दृढकच.¹³ Read °भट°.¹⁴ Read °प्रतिवहेन.¹⁵ The *visarga* is meant for a sign of punctuation; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 111, note 1, and above, Vol. VII. p. 193, note 3.¹⁶ Read उत्कीर्तितं.¹⁷ Read °मेघ.¹⁸ See note 15 above.¹⁹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2, note 2.²⁰ Above, Vol. VI. p. 88, note 10; Vol. VII. pp. 67 and 69.

remarks of Dr. Fleet's article, which was accompanied by photo-lithographs of the inscription (on the back of the Plate) and of the seal (on the front of the Plate). The present facsimile of the inscription has been prepared, under Dr. Fleet's superintendence, from fresh ink-impressions made for him, in 1903, in the British Museum. The seal has been reproduced from a plaster cast taken by Mr. Griggs from a sealing-wax impression which was made at the same time in the British Museum. The sealing-wax impression shows, in the centre of the seal, a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull,¹ the crest of the Pallavas, and over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Hīrahāḍagalli plates of Śiva-Skandavarman,² but are less ornamental and more irregular. This seems to be due to the fact that the engraver mechanically copied a draft which had been written in a pronounced running hand. Instances are the *vā* in line 14 and the *vām* of *gavām* (l. 15), the subscribed *v* of *savva*³ (l. 11) and the subscribed *ch* of *bahubhīsch[ā]*⁴ (l. 12), the vowel *i* of *gāmeyikā* (l. 10) and of *pibati* (l. 15).⁵ The group *tta*, while in most cases resembling *nna*,⁶ has two other shapes: in *uttare* (l. 6) the upper *t* has a fully developed loop, as in Tamil, and in *chhettam* (l. 7) and *dattā* (l. 12) the lower *t* is fashioned in the same manner. The initial *ā* of *āyu* (l. 8) differs from that of *Ātukassa* (l. 6), *āyuttā* (l. 10) and *ānatti* (l. 16). In the *nā* of *nivattanā* (l. 9) the *n* is placed in a slanting position, and the *ā* fills up the right upper corner. Another peculiar letter is the *tha* of *pariharatha* and *pariharāpe[tha]* (l. 11). A rude final form of *m* occurs at the end of ll. 13, 14, 15. Marks of punctuation are used after *siddha* on the left margin of plate i. and at the end of the inscription. In ll. 12-15 every odd *pāda* of the two *śloka*s is divided from the next by a blank space. Plates ii. a and ii. b are marked like the pages of a book by the numerical symbols '2' and '3' on the left margin, and the numerical symbol '4' occurs in l. 9.

While in the Andhra inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of Chārudēvi's grant is in accordance with that of the literary Prākṛit.⁷ In the word *saṁvachchhara* (l. 1), *v* is doubled after *anustāra*. As to the language of the inscription, noteworthy words are *Bhāradḍāya*⁸ (l. 2) for *Bhāradvāja*, *talūka*, *he[ṣṭha]*, *pāniya* (l. 5) and *chhetta* (l. 7).⁹ Instances of the nom. plur. neutr. are the three words *nivattanā chattāri sampadattā* (l. 9 f.). The abl. sing. *[kū]pāt* (l. 5 f.) is due to a relapse into Sanskrit. Pronominal forms are *amham* (l. 8) and *amhehih* (l. 9), the genitive and instrumental of *asmad*, and *taṁ* (l. 10), the acc. sing. neutr. of *tad*. Verbal forms are the gerunds *kātūna* (l. 9) and *nātūna* (l. 10) and the imperatives *pariharatha pariharāpe[tha]* (l. 11).

The inscription is dated in some year of the reign of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman, the figure or figures of the date being illegible. It contains an order by the queen of the heir-apparent (Yuvamahārāja) Vijaya-Buddhavarman, who was one of the Pallavas and, as such, a Bhāradvāja or member of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. I read the queen's name as Chārudēvi, and that of the prince whose mother she claims to have been as *[Bu]ddhi[yaṁ]kura* or, in Sanskrit, *Buddhyāṅkura*. In favour of my restoration of this damaged word it may be stated that *āṅkura*, 'a sprout,' is synonymous with *pallava*, and that other Pallavas bore the similar surnames

¹ Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 319, note 5.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

³ These two words were already noted by Bühler, *ibid.* p. 2, note 2.

⁴ Compare e.g. *nivattanā* (l. 9) with *bhāgavannā*⁵ (l. 8).

⁵ In this respect the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 4, and Vol. VI. p. 86) occupy an intermediate position.

⁶ The same form occurs in the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman.

⁷ On the four last words see Prof. Pischel's edition of Hēmachandra's Prākṛit grammar, I. 202; II. 141; I. 101; II. 17.



i.



ii a.



J. F. FLEET,

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS MADE BY MR. HENRY OLDLAND.

ii b.

8

ਸਗਲਾਨਾਨਾਸੁ ਭੰਗੁ ਖੁਲ੍ਹਾ ਭੰਗੁ
ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ
ਸਾਧੁ ਸਾਧੁ ਸਾਧੁ ਸਾਧੁ ਸਾਧੁ
ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ

10

iii.

12

ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ
ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ
ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ
ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ
ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ

14

16

Nayānkura, Tarupānkura and Lalitānkura.¹ Thus the first plate of the inscription supplies the following short Pallava genealogy :—

Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.
|
Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, married Chārudēvi.
|
Buddhyānkura.

The syllables which follow the word *Chārudēvi* at the end of the first plate can be read and restored with the help of the corresponding portions of four cognate inscriptions.

Nāsik, No. 3, l. 11 (p. 65 above), and No. 4, l. 2 (p. 71 above)—*ānapayati Govadhane amacha[m*]*.

Mayidavōlu plates, l. 3 f. (above, Vol. VI. p. 86)—*Dhamnākade vāpatam ānapayati*.

Konḍamudi plates, l. 6 f. (*ibid.* p. 316 f.)—*ānapayati Kūdūre vāpatam*.

On the strength of these analogous cases I propose to read at the end of line 4—*Ka[ḍake]* *viya* . . ., to correct the second word to *viya* . . ., and to restore *viyāpatam*, which is another possible Prākṛit form of *vāpatam* in the Mayidavōlu and Konḍamudi plates. It is true that the verb *ānapayati* is missing in our inscription; but the same is the case in the first sentence of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates.² As in that document, we seem to have here a sort of official preamble, corresponding to the address of a modern letter—‘Chārudēvi to the official at Ka[ḍake].’ As regards this Prākṛit word, its Sanskrit equivalent is *Kaṭaka*, but the name cannot refer to the town of Cuttack in Orissa, which is far to the north of the Pallava territory. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the second and third syllables of *Ka[ḍake]* are injured, and that the true reading of the word may after all be a different one.

The remainder of the inscription refers to a gift of land made by Chārudēvi. This land must have been situated in *Ka[ṭaka]*, to the officer in charge of which place the order was addressed. The grant consisted of a field near the ‘King’s Tank.’ The recipient was a temple of Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) at Dālūra (l. 7), a place which I am unable to trace. The *Ājñapti* (or *Dātaka*) was Rōhinigupta (l. 16).

TEXT.³

First Plate.

Siddha ||⁴

- 1 Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa saṁvachchhar[ā] . . . [i*]
- 2 yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pal[l]avā-
- 3 paṁ si[r]i-Vijaya-Buddhavamassa devī [Bu]ddhi .⁵
- 4 kura-janavī⁶ Chārudēvi Ka[ḍake] viya . . .⁷ [i*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 Bājatalāka-het[th]e pāṇiya .⁸
- 6 pād=uttare pāse Ātukassa kasita .⁹
- 7 chhettam Dālūre Kūḷi-Mahātaraka-¹⁰devakula[ssā]

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 3 and 5; Vol. II. p. 341; above, Vol. VI. p. 320.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, text lines 1-6.

³ From ink-impressions received from Dr. Fleet.

⁴ On the left margin of the plate.

⁵ The subscribed *l* of the second syllable of *Pallavā* in line 2 has obliged the engraver to place the syllable *ddhi* too low, the top of the *i* being on a level with the top of the broken syllable *bu*.—Restore *Buddhiyāmkura*.

⁶ Read *-janani*.

⁸ Restore *pāṇiya-kūpād*.

⁷ Read *vīyāpatam*.

⁹ Restore *kasitaccam*.

¹⁰ Read *-Mahātaraka*; *Mahātaraka*, which is another possible reading, would be a very unusual name for a temple.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 8 bhagavan-Nārāyaṇassa amhañ āyu-bala-vaddhañi-
 9 yañ kātūṇa bhūmi-nivattaṇā chaṭṭāri 4 amhehiñ¹
 10 sampadattā [i*] tañ nātūṇa gāmeṇi(ya)kā āyuttā
 11 savva-parihārehi pariharatha pariharāpe[tha] [i*]

Third Plate.

- 12 Bahubhir-vva[s]udhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=[ā]nnpālītā [i*]
 13 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ² tasya tasya tadā phalam [i*]
 14 Sva-dattam³ para-dattam⁴ vā yē⁴ haratta vasu[n]dharām [i*]
 15 gavām śata-sahasrasya hantūḥ pibati dushkrītam [i*]
 16 Āṇatti Rohaṇ[i]gu[tt]ā-tti⁵ ||

TRANSLATION.

Success! (Line 1.) The years . . (of the reign) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

(L. 2.) Chārudēvi, the queen of the Yuvamahārāja, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas, (and) mother of [Buddhyañ]kura, (addresses the following order) [to the official at] Ka[ṭṭaka] :—

(L. 5.) "The field to be ploughed by Ātuka on the northern side of the drinking-well below the King's Tank (Rājataḍḍhā), (containing) four—4—*nivartanas* of land, has been given by Us, making (it) a means for increasing Our length of life and power,⁶ to the god Nārāyaṇa of the Kāḷi-Mahāt[ā]raka temple at Dālūra.

(L. 10.) "Knowing this, ye, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (this field) with all immunities, (and) cause (it) to be exempted!"⁷

[Lines 12-15 contain two of the customary verses.]

(L. 16.) "The Āṇapti⁸ (is) Rōhiṇigupta."⁹

No. 13.—NILAMBUR PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. (MADRAS), AND G. VENKOBΑ RAO (OOTACAMUND).

This set of copper-plates was discovered by a Kurumban, while he was washing for gold, on the banks of the Chāliyār stream adjacent to Nilambūr.¹⁰ The exact spot where they were

¹ The *anusvāra* is distinctly visible after the *st* at the end of the preceding line.

² Read *bhūmiś-tasya*.

³ Read *-dattam*.

⁴ Read *yō harāta*.

⁵ Read *gutto-tti*.—The *t* of *Rōhaṇ*⁶ has an unusual shape; perhaps the *sva* of *-sahasrasya* in the preceding line interfered with its proper execution. The *ttā* of *guttā* looks almost like *vā*.

⁶ The Sanskrit equivalent of the words *amhañ āyu-bala-vaddhantyaṃ* occurs in the Uruvupalli grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 52, text line 27 f. Instead of *vaddhantyaṃ*, the corresponding portions of the Hīrahaḍagalli, Mayidavālu and Koṇḍamudi plates have *vadhaṇika*.

⁷ The corresponding Sanskrit phrase *sarva-parihārāṇ pariharata parihārayata cha* occurs in the Māṅgaḷūr grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 156, text line 30.

⁸ On *āṇatti* see above, Vol. VII. p. 185 and notes 4 and 5.

⁹ In *Rōhaṇigutta*, *Rōhaṇ* is a vulgar form of *Rōhiṇi*, which occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 295, text line 5; the usual form in Tamil inscriptions is *Uṛōṇi*.

¹⁰ [This picturesque place belongs to the Ernad (Ēraṇāḍu) taluka of the Malabar district and is situated at the foot of the Kārkūr Ghāt on the road from Ootacamund to Calicut. Near it are the tea plantations started by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, in 1840; see Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. II. p. 368 ff.—E. H.]

found is popularly known as "Grāmam Kaḍavu." The plates were made over by the discoverer to the Raja of Nilambūr, Mr. Tachcharakkāvil Mānavikraman Tirumalpād, who very kindly presented them to us for publication.

The plates are three in number; the first and last of them are engraved on one side only. The average length and breadth of the plates are $7\frac{1}{8}$ " and $2\frac{1}{8}$ " respectively; and each plate is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The edges of the plates are neither thickened nor raised into rims. The weight of these three plates is nearly $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., including the ring, which alone weighs $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The oval ring is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " for diameters. When the plates were discovered by the Kurumban, the ring bore a seal with distinct writing on it. He broke it open in the hope of finding gold encased in it, but threw it away in disgust when finding none. Thus the seal has been lost.

Though the letters are cut deeply and very distinctly, they do not show through on the back of the plates. The water of the stream, in which the plates had lain apparently for a long time, has corroded them on the margin and caused the loss of several inscribed portions, which are now broken away. The characters are similar to those of the Kūḍgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātivarman (above, Vol. VI. p. 12), of the plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37), and also to those of the Halsi plates belonging to the reigns of Ravivarman and Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 25-32). On the first side of the second plate, between lines 7 and 8, there is an addition in somewhat more modern characters, which reads: *paśchimataś=cha Na[nda]ra[sa]*. Probably this clause was added at a later period, when the existing specification was found insufficient for describing the spot; compare the *pa*, *ma*, *na* of this addition with the corresponding letters in the body of the inscription. As regards individual letters in the record itself, attention may be drawn to the Dravidian *r* and *l*. The former occurs once, in the word *Kirupāsāni* (l. 6), and the latter twice, in the words *Muṭtagi* (l. 7) and *Maḷkāvu* (l. 8). As noticed by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 13), the subscript *t* of the conjuncts *kta*, *tta* occurring in the words *uktañ=cha* (l. 14) and *Kārttika* (l. 6) has the common curvilinear form, whereas in *nta* and *stya* of the words *°kulābhyan tara°* and *svasty=astu* (ll. 11 and 16 respectively) it is represented by a looped sign. The language of the record, excepting one benedictory verse in l. 14 f., is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription belongs to the fifth year of the reign of the *Dharmamahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. While at Vaijayanti (i.e. Banavāsi), the king made a grant, on the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Kārttika, of two hamlets (*palli*) named *Muṭtagi* and *Maḷkāvu* to a Brāhmaṇa named Gōvindasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who had mastered the Yajurveda. The two hamlets were situated on the east of the village named *Kirupāsāni* in the Mogalūr district (*viśhaya*).

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, it may be noticed that *Muṭtagi* is represented in the Merkara plates of Kōṅgaṇi-mahādhirāja¹ as forming the eastern boundary of the village *Badaṇeguppe*, granted to the *Śrī-vijaya-Jinālaya* of *Talavanaganara*. *Talavanaganara* is the modern *Talakāḍ* on the Kāvēri, and *Badaṇeguppe* is 5 or 6 miles south of *Talakāḍ* on the other side of the river. *Mogalūr* is perhaps identical with either *Mugūr* or *Muḷlūr*, also near *Talakāḍ*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 स्व[स्ति] त्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिमाहासे]नमातृगणानुध्या[ता]-
- 2 भिवि[क्त]ानाश्चानव्यसगोत्राणां चारितीयुत्राणां प्रतिकृतस्वा

¹ See Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 233.

² From the original copper-plates.

- 3 ध्यायचर्चापाराणामशमेधावभृथज्ञानपवित्रीकृता-
4 [न]घानामाश्रितजनांबानां कदंबानां श्रीरविवर्मधर्ममहा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 [रा]ज[ः]¹ आत्मनः प्रवर्धमानविजयसंवत्सरे पंचमे
6 कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां मीगलूर्ध्विषये कि०३०पासाणिनाम-
7 धेययामस्य पूर्वदिग्विभागे सु०३गिनामधेयप-
8 [स्त्री]म०३०नुसंहितां काश्यपसंगोत्राय यजुर्वेद[पा]-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 [रगा]य गोविन्दस्वामिने स्वपुण्याभिरुचये सहि[रण्यं]
10 [स]यानीयपातं सर्वपरिहृतपरिहारं संप्र[दत्त]-
11 [वान्] [१*] तदवधार्य यः कदंबकुलाभ्यन्तरगतोऽन्यो वा [राग]-
12 [देव]लोभादिभिरभिभूतो हरे[त स पञ्चमहापातक]-

Third Plate.

- 13 [सं]यु[क्तो] भवति [१*] योभिरक्षेप्त तत्पुण्यफलभाग्भवति [१*]
14 चक्रश्च ॥ बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*]
15 [य]स्य यस्य यदा भूमिः² तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [१*]
16 [स्त्र]स्यस्तु मीमांसावेभ्यः प्रजा[भ्यो मङ्गलं] [१*]

TRANSLATION.

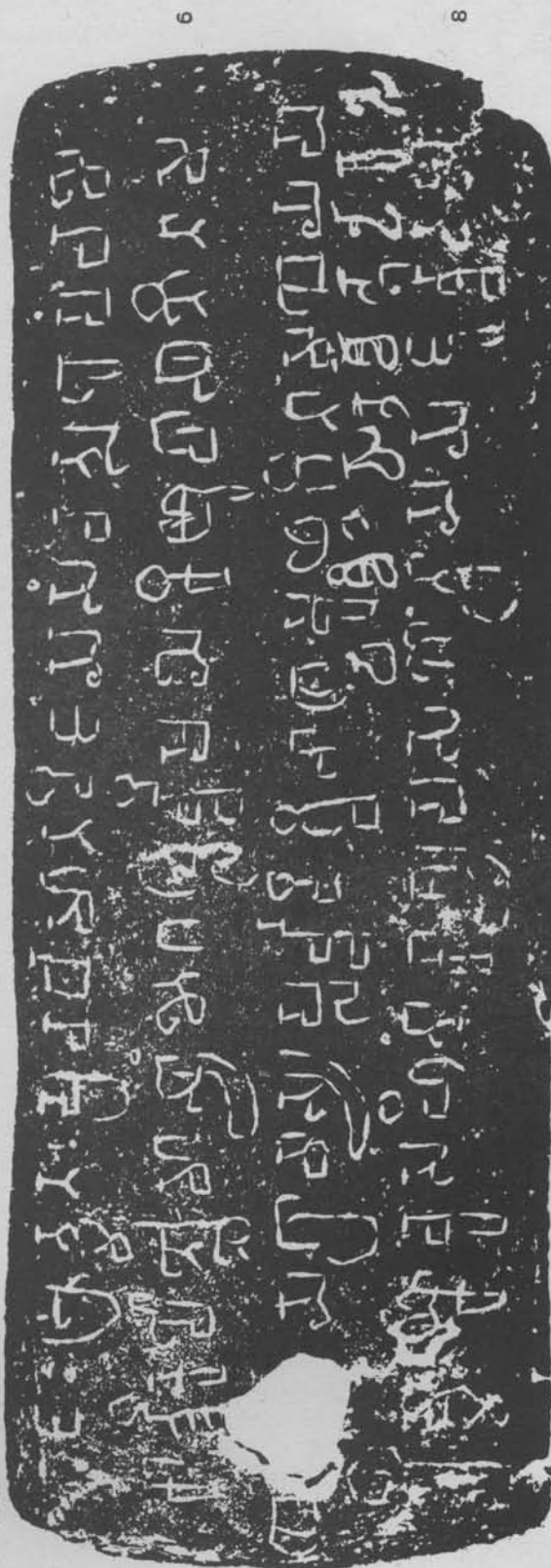
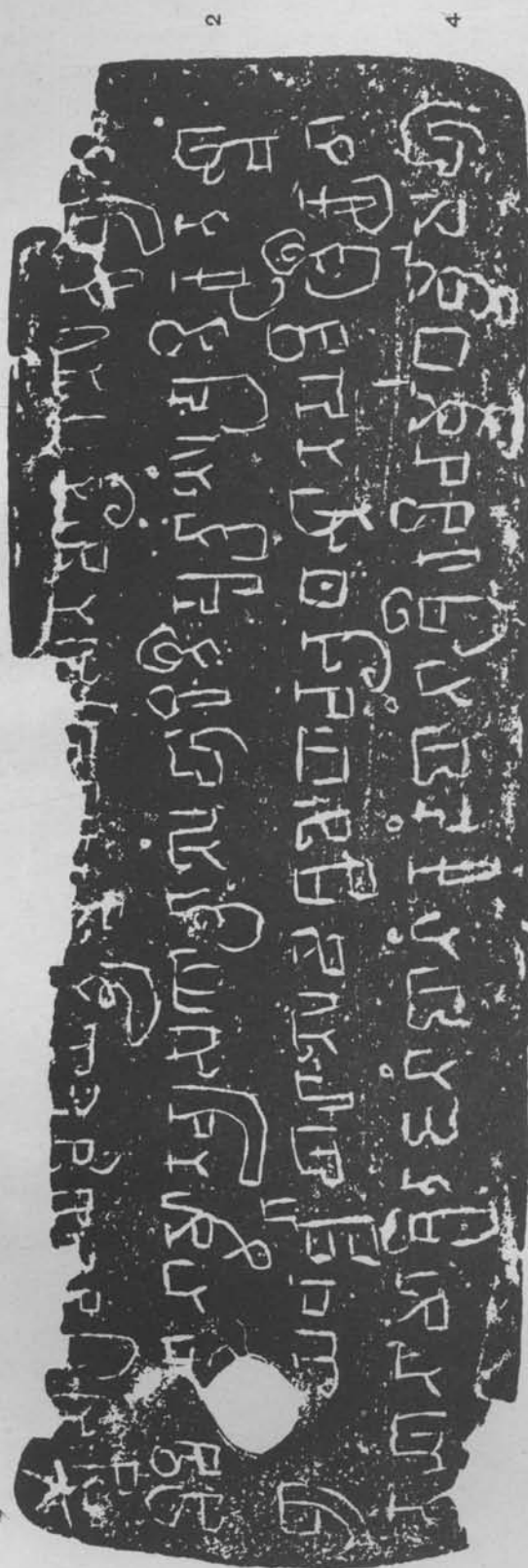
(Line 1.) Hail! The glorious Ravivarman, the virtuous (and) mighty king of the Kadambas,— who were anointed after meditating on the lord Mahāsēna and the group of the Mothers,³ who belonged to the lineage of the Mānavyas, who were the sons of Hārītī, who were well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one,⁴ who were sinless (on account of) being purified by the bath after (the ceremony of) the horse-sacrifice, and who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them),— at the prosperous (and) victorious (city of) Vaijayanti, on the full-moon *tīthī* of (the month of) Kārttika in the increasingly victorious fifth year of his (reign), gave to Gōvindasvāmin, belonging to the lineage of Kāśyapa (and) well versed in the Yajurveda, the hamlet named Muṭtagi along with Maṭkāvū, (situated) on the eastern side of the village named Kīrupāsāni in the Mogalūr district, with all exemptions, with the pouring of water, (and) with (a present of) gold, towards the increase of his own merit.

¹ Cancel the *visarga*.

² Read भूमिस्तस्य.

³ This epithet, met with in almost all the Kadamba grants, has been adopted by all the kings of this dynasty from Mayūrasarman (i.e. Mayūravarmān), the founder of the dynasty. Compare above, p. 32, v. 22:—*Shadānanaḥ gam-abhihikṭavān-anudhyāya śāndpatim mātṛibhis-saha*.

⁴ This passage has been translated in various ways. Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 15) translates it by 'studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text.' As the passage might as well apply to any student of the sacred writings, it is taken in its general sense thus:—*prati pratyēkaḥ kṛitā anuśīṭitā yā sādhyāyasya charchā uktyānantaram ukṭiḥ tām parayanti iti*.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FULL-SIZE.

E. HULTZSCH.

ii b.

10
12

10

12

iii.

14
16

14

16

(L. 11.) He who,— whether he be a member of the Kadamba family or an alien,— knowing this, influenced by passion, hatred, greed, *etc.*, takes away (*this grant*), is saddled with (*the guilt of having committed*) the five great sins. He who protects (*it*), shares the reward of its merit.

(L. 14.) And it has been said :— “The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; to whomsoever, at any time, the earth belongs, to him for the time being belongs the reward (*of the grant*).” May blessings rest upon cows and Brāhmanas! (*And let*) prosperity (*rest*) upon the subjects!

No. 14.— FIVE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS
OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

At Professor Hultzsch's request I shall give an account here of five more¹ copper-plate inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvīndachandrādēva of Kanauj, the originals of which are now² in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, and of which ink-impressions were supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Before doing so, I take the opportunity of submitting a few general remarks.

While only three stone-inscriptions, of very small importance, have been hitherto discovered of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj, the number of their known copper-plates amounts to no less than fifty-five.³ The details are as follows :—

One plate of the *Mahārājādhirāja Madanapāla*, recording a grant that was made by his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja Chandradēva*.

One plate of *Madanapāla* and his queen *Prithivīrikā*(?).

Three plates of *Gōvīndachandra*, of the reign of his father *Madanapāla*.

Twenty-six plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja Gōvīndachandra*.

Two plates of *Gōvīndachandra* and his mother *Rāhṇa* (*Rālha*)-dēvi.

One plate of *Gōvīndachandra* and his queen *Nayanakēlidēvi*.

One plate of *Gōvīndachandra* and his queen *Gōsaladēvi*.

One plate of *Gōvīndachandra* and his son, the *Yuvarāja Āsphōṭachandra* (below, C.).

Two plates of *Gōvīndachandra* and his son *Rājyapāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 21, and below, D.).

One plate of the reign of *Gōvīndachandra*, recording a grant made by the Singara prince *Vatsarāja*.

Two plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja Vijayachandra* and his son, the *Yuvarāja Jayachandra*.

Fourteen plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja Jayachandra*.

¹ See above, Vol. IV. p. 97 ff.; Vol. V. p. 112 ff.; and Vol. VII. p. 98 ff.

² The plates were “found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadaini temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface in the course of excavations for the water-works conducted on the spot in April 1898.” See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for the year ending with May 1905, p. 6.

³ There can hardly be any doubt that of a royal family of which we possess 55 copper-plates, there must have existed also a considerable number of stone-inscriptions. The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground. The same may be said regarding the records of *e.g.* the *Maitrakas* of Valabhi, of whom we have 40 plates and only a single, most insignificant stone-inscription; and of the *E. Chalukyas* of Vēṅgt, of whom 29 copper-plate inscriptions have been published, and not a single stone-inscription.

All these plates were issued during the ninety years from A.D. 1097 to A.D. 1187. Excepting the genealogy of the family and dates for each king from Chandradēva to Jayachandra, there is in them no historical information of any particular value.¹ But the plates are of great interest on account of the very large number of districts and villages mentioned in them. Nearly all these localities remain to be identified; and it is with the view of perhaps inducing others, especially residents of the United Provinces, to help in the work of identification, that I give here an alphabetical list of all names of districts that occur in the plates. So far as I can judge, most of these districts would have been called after larger villages or towns, some of which undoubtedly are still in existence.

List of districts mentioned in the plates.

Amvu(mbu)āli-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 138, line 20. (The inscription grants the village of Dātpālī on the banks of the D[ai]vahā. Daivahā apparently is the modern 'Deoha' which according to Thornton's *Gazetteer*, p. 333, is another name of the river Gogra.)

Antarāla-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXI. p. 123.

Asurēsa-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 11, line 20.

Bhailavata-pattalā(?); *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p. 787.

Bhīmamayūtāsa . . . -pattalā; above, Vol. V. p. 117, line 18.

Dayadāmi-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140, line 18.

Dēva[ha]li-pattalā; *ibid.* Vol. XV. p. 7, line 14.

Dhanēsaramana-pattalā; *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 11, line 8.

Gōyara-pattalā (in Ōnavala-pathaka); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 15. (Gōyara perhaps is the 'Gowra' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 102, long. 83° 20', lat. 26° 47'.)

Haladōya-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 101, line 14; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

[Ha?]thanḍa-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 21.

Jāru[ttha]-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 141, line 18; and p. 142, line 16.

Jiāvai-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 14; or, which is the same,—

Jiāvatī-pattalā (in Pañchāla-dēsa); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 10; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 8.

Kachchhōha-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 116, line 12; and p. 129, line 19.

Kāngali-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 127, line 17.

Kāṭi-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 102, line 13.

[Kēsāurē?]-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 105, line 12.

Kōsariva(mba)-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137, line 18.

Kō[thō]takōṭiāvarahōtta[ra]; above, Vol. IV. p. 103, line 11.

Mahasō-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 122, line 18; or, which is the same,—

Mahasōya-pattalā; above, Vol. V. p. 115, line 12.

Mā[ṇa]ra-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 131, line 20.

Nandiṇi-pattalā; below, p. 155, line 13.

Nandivāra-pattalā; below, p. 154, line 12.

Navagāma-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 109, line 14; and above, Vol. IV. p. 113, line 13.

Nēulasatāvisikā;² above, Vol. IV. p. 110, line 9.

¹ The plates generally state that Yaśovigraha, the reputed founder of the Gāhādvāla family, came when 'the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven.' The kings thus referred to are the Pratihāras of Kanauj who, as we now know, derived their descent from the Sun. The Gāhādvāla king who first took possession of Kanauj was Yaśovigraha's grandson Chandradēva, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1097.

² The *satāvisikā* of this name is derived from the Prākṛit *sattāṭṭam* or Sanskrit *saptaviṃśati*, 'twenty-seven.'—Compare, in other plates, names of districts like *Nakshapura-chaturāṭṭikā*, etc.

Pāṇḍala-pattalā (in Gōvisālaka that belonged to Dudhāli in Saruvāra); above, Vol. VII p. 99, line 15.

Paśchimachchhapana-pattalā¹ (in Antaryōdī); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 135, line 20.

Purōha-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 120, line 11.

[Rāna?] -pattalā; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 362, line 13.

Rādamanavayāhī-pattalā;² above, Vol. IV. p. 112, line 12.

Sigurōdha-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 12.

Sirāf-pattalā (in Ōpavala-pathaka in Saruvāra); above, Vol. V. p. 114, note 4; and Vol. VII. p. 99. (Sirāf probably is the 'Sirai' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 87, S. E., long. 83° 9', lat. 26° 32'.)

Tēmishapachōttara-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 115, line 14.

Ughanatērahōttara-pattalā;³ *ibid.* p. 108, line 12.

Umva(mba)rāla-pattalā; below, p. 159, line 11.

Unāvisa-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 124, line 20.

Vajaimhachchhāsaṭhi-pattalā;⁴ *ibid.* p. 125, line 17.

Valaura-pattalā; below, p. 157, line 13.

Vṛi(bṛi)hadgrihōkamisāra-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 121, line 19.

Vṛi(bṛi)hagrihē[yē?]varātha-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 104, line 13.

[Ya?]vāla-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 115, line 13.

I may add that, besides the villages granted and the districts in which they were situated, the plates also mention a fair number of places where the donations recorded in the plates were made. In no less than 33 instances this was done after bathing in the Ganges at Benares. Other places on the Ganges, mentioned in a similar way, are:—

Isapratishthāna (?); *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

Khayarā; above, Vol. IV. p. 108, line 16.

Madapratihāra (?); *ibid.* p. 101, line 18.

Mudgagiri (i.e. Monghyr on the southern bank of the Ganges); above, Vol. VII. p. 99, line 21.

Rājyapālapura; below, p. 158, line 18.

Rauḍavai; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140, line 22; p. 141, line 22; and p. 143, line 20.

Vishnupura; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 6.

Two donations were made after bathing in the Yamunā at—

Āsatikā (or Asatikā); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 9; and *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 17 (where the king is stated to have bathed at the Muraitha(?) -ghaṭṭa); and one was made after bathing in the Vēṇī (i.e. at the confluence of the rivers) at—

Prayāga (i.e. Allahābād); above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.

Other places where donations were made, not connected with any rivers, are:—

Dēvasthāna (?); above, Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15; and Vāḍaviha; *ibid.* p. 121, line 23.

And of rivers, in addition to those already given, in which the king had bathed when making a donation, the plates mention the Satī (with the Svapnāsvara-ghaṭṭa); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 23.

Of Benares the following specific localities are referred to in the plates:—

The Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p. 787; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 109, line 19; and (the) Ādikēśava (temple); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 252; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 18, and p. 124, line 24.

¹ Chhapana in this name probably is the Prākṛit chāppanā or Sanskrit chāpāchāṣat, 'fifty-six.'

² Vayāliś would be the Prākṛit vāyālīś or Sanskrit vāyāliś, 'forty-two.'

³ Tēraha in this name probably is the Prākṛit tēraha or Sanskrit trayōdaśa, 'thirteen.'

⁴ Chāḍaṣi apparently is the Sanskrit chāḍaṣi, 'sixty-six.'—Prof. Hultzsch suggests that the varāha of Kā[thā]tak[ā]śvarabōtta[re] may be the Prākṛit vārāha or Sanskrit vārāha, 'twelve'; and paḥa of Tēmishapachōttara the Sanskrit paḥa, 'five.'

The Kapālamôchana-ghaṭṭa ; above, Vol. IV. p. 110, line 13.

The Trilôchana-ghaṭṭa ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 11, line 12.

The Vêdêśvara-ghaṭṭa ; above, Vol. IV. p. 114, L.

The Avimukta-kahêtra ; *ibid.* p. 114, L., and p. 113, line 18.

The Kôṭi-tīrtha ; below, p. 159, line 15.

(The temples of) Aghôrêśvara, Indramādhava, Lauḍêśvara and Pañchômîkâra (below, p. 153, lines 18 and 19), Kṛittivâsas (above, Vol. IV. p. 126, line 22), and Lôlârka (above, Vol. V. p. 118, line 18).

Of Prayāga (the temple of) Gaṅgāditya is mentioned, above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.

* * *

Of the new inscriptions the most interesting is C., because it records a grant by Gôvîndachandra's son, the Yûvarāja Āsphôtachandra, who was unknown to us before. And the inscription A. is peculiar in recording the gift of a house at Benares, not the grant of a village. The three grants recorded in C., D. and E. were made in favour of one and the same Brâhman, a sun-worshipper and student of the *Jyôtiṣśāstra*.—The taxes specified are the *bhāgabhāgākara* (mentioned in 50 plates of this family), the *pravaṇîkara* (mentioned in 44 plates), the *turushkadandā* (mentioned in 23 plates, but not in any of the plates of Jayachandra), the *kumaragadiāṇaka* (mentioned in 10 plates), the *hiranya* (mentioned in 9 plates), and the *jalakara* and *gôkara* (mentioned together in 4 plates only).

A.—PLATE OF GÔVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1171.

This is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' ½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅝" in diameter ; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, the legend *śrîmad-Gôvîndachar[m]dradêva[h*]*, in Nāgarî letters about ⅙" high ; above the legend, the figure of a Garuḍa, squatting down and facing to the proper right ; and below the legend, a conch-shell. The plate contains 21 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅓ and ⅙". The characters are Nāgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v* ; the dental sibilant is often employed for the palatal, and the palatal occasionally (as in *rasika*, l. 3) for the dental ; and the words *vamśa* and *tāmra* are written *vansa* and *tāmvraka*, ll. 2 and 21. I may also point out that the sign of *avagraha* is used in *snâtva smābhîr*, l. 18.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramêśvara Gôvîndachandradêva*, who records that, on Monday, the full-moon tithi of Māgha of the year 1171 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted a dwelling-place (*āvāsa*¹) to the Mahattaka Dāyîmsarman,² son of the Thakkura Mahākara and son's son of the Thakkura Kākû, [a Brâhman] of the Bhâradvāja gôtra, whose three *pravaras* were Bhâradvāja, Ângirasa and Bârhaspatya. The dwelling-place so granted was at Benares itself, and lay to the east of (the) Aghôrêśvara and Pañchômîkâra, and to the west of (the) Indramādhava and Lauḍêśvara (temples).—The grant (*tāmra*) was written by the *Karaṇîka* Jalhapa.³ It contains no imprecatory verses.

¹ The original has *avāsa* and treats this word as a neuter noun. Compare *avāsanikā* for *dvāsanikā*, frequently used in the Siyadôṇî inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 163.

² Compare the name *Dāyî* (*Dāyika*), above, Vol. IV. p. 171.

³ The same Jalhapa wrote the grant of [Vikrama-]samvat 1172, published above, Vol. IV. p. 104, where he is described as *śrî-Vîśaṇyakul-ôbbhâṭa-kāyastha-thakkura*. The term *karaṇîk-ôdgata* of the present grant describes him literally as 'descended from a Karaṇîka ;' Chitrâgupta, with whom he is compared, is 'one of Yama's attendants (recorder of every man's good and evil deeds).'

The date appears to be slightly irregular. In Vikrama-saṁvat 1171 current the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended on Thursday, the 22nd January A.D. 1114; and in Vikrama-saṁvat 1171 expired the same *tithi* commenced 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January A.D. 1115. This Monday most probably is the day intended by the grant, but I should have expected it to be connected with the 14th *tithi* of the bright half, not with the full-moon *tithi*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 14 ¹śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvō vijayī ||² śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām
nivāsi-
15 nō nikhila-[janapa]dān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-
pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapatālika-bhishā-
16 g-naimitti[k-ā]ntahpurika-dāta-karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñā-
payati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā |
17 viditam=astu bhavatām=ēkasaptatyadhik-aikādaśa-³saṁvatsarē Māghē māsi
śukla-pakṣhē paurṇamāsyām=amkē=pi saṁvat 1171 Māgha-su-
18 di 15 Sōmē || śrī-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām snātvā samābhīr=gōkarṇṇa-kuśalātā-
pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvām śrī-Vārāṇasyām=ēv=Āghōrēśva-
19 ra-Pamchōmkārayōḥ pūrvvē | tath=Ēndramādhava-Laudēśvarayōḥ paśchimē
avāsam=idam⁴ Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṅgīrasa-Vā(bā)-
20 rhaspatya-triḥpravarāya⁵ tha⁶ | śrī-Kākū-putrāya | ta(tha)⁶ | śrī-Mahākara-putrāya
mahattaka-śrī-Dāyīṁsa(śa)rmanē pradattam⁷ matvā sa[r]vair=a-
21 pi paripālayitavyam=iti | ॐ || ⁸Karanik-ōdgatō vidvānś=Chitrāgupt-ōpamō
gūṇaiḥ | yasasē Jalhāṇa[h*] śrīmān=ali[kha*]t=tāmvrakam⁹ mud[ā] ||

B.— PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1187.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 6¼" broad by 1' 1" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about 1½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 24 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅜ and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvīndachandradēva*, who records that, on Sunday, the *Āgrahāyāni* or full-moon *tithi* of *Mārgaśīra* of the year 1187 (given in figures only), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of *Palasaundi* in the *Nandivāra pattalā* to the *Prānāchārya Bhaṭṭa Paṇḍita Khōṇasārman*, son of the *P. Bh. P. Ravidhara*, son's son of the *P. Bh. P. Gōhāḍa* and son of the son's son of the *P. Bh. P. Maṅgala*, a *Brāhmaṇ* of the *Pārāvasa*¹⁰ *gōtra* whose

¹ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvīndachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f. The main differences are that the present plate adds the words *sa cha* before the word *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of line 11, and omits the passage *astupati* *Vāchaspati* in lines 13 and 14 of the Kamauli plate.

² This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 15-20 are superfluous.

³ Read *-aikādaśatata-*.

⁴ Read *paśchima avāsam=idam* (or, correctly, *paśchima avāsāyam*). The construction of *vāśē* and *paśchimē* with the genitive case is contrary to the rules of grammar.

⁵ Read *-tripravarāya-*.

⁶ I.e. *thakkura-*.

⁷ Read *pradattam=iti* (or, correctly, *pradatta iti*).

⁸ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh); the first Pāda is faulty.

⁹ Read *tāmvrakam*.

¹⁰ So the name is given in the plate, but I am not sure that it is correct.

three *pravaras* were Kāṅkāyana, Kauṣika and Dhaumya, and student of the Śāṅkhāyana.¹ Bahvṛicha² śikhā.— The taxes specified (in line 20) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *hiraṇya*, *pravanikara* and *turushkadanda*. The writer's name is not given.

The title *prānāchārya* which, with *bhaṭṭa* and *paṇḍita*, is prefixed to the names of the donee and his ancestors, I have not met elsewhere, and I cannot give its exact meaning.

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1187 expired, corresponds to Sunday, the 16th November A.D. 1180, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra commenced 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.³

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 4-śrīmad-Gōvindsachāndradēvō vijayī ||⁶ Nandivāra-pattalāyām |⁶
Palasaumṇi-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janāpadān-upagatān=a[pi] [cha*] rāja-rājñi-yuva-
13 [rā]ja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēuāpati-bhāmāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhishaka(g)-na i m i-
ttik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthāna[g]ōkulādhikāri-puru-
14 [shā]n samājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādisa(śa)ti va(cha) yathā viditam=astu
bhavatām yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavan ākaraḥ sa-matey-
ākarah sa-gartt-ōsharah sa-ma-
15 [dhū]ka-chūta-vana-vātikā-viṭapa-trīpa-pū(yū)ti-gōchāra-paryantā=va(cha)turāghāṭa-visu-
(śu)ddhah s[v*]a-simā-paryantah s-ōrddh[v*]-ādhaḥ samvat 1187
Mārggasi(śi)ra-mā[sē]⁶ Āgrahāṇi-pūrṇamā-
16 [sy]ām Ravi-dinē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāpi(yāth) snātva vidhivan=
mantra-dēva-muni-mannja-bhūta-pūtri-gopāms=tarpayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-
pa[t]u-mahasam=Ushparōchisham=upasthā-
17 y=Anshadhipati-sa(śa)kala-sē(śē)kharām samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=
Vāsudēvasya pūjām=vidhāya⁷ prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā
mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha punya-yasō(śō)-
18 [bhi]vṛiddhayē Pārāvāsa-⁸gōtrāya |⁹ Kāṅkāyana-¹⁰Kauṣi(śi)ka-Dhaumya-tripravārāya |
Sikhyāyanavasthācha-sākhinō¹¹ prānāchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Maṅgala-
prapautrāya | prānāchā-
19 rya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Gōhāda-pautrāya | prānāchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Ravidhara-
putrāya | prānāchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Khōnasa(śa)rimmaḥ vrā(brā)hmanāy=
āsmābhiḥ¹² gōkarṇa-kuśala-
20 tā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvam=ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvat¹³ sāsanikṛitya pradattah¹⁴ |
iti matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-hiraṇya-pravanikara-turushkadanda-
prabhṛiti-samast-ā-

¹ The plate has *Sikhyāyana*, apparently for *Sāṅkhāyana* which occurs (for *Sāṅkhāyana*) also in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 17, line 19.

² I.e. of the Rīgveda.

³ Compare the date of Raiwān plate of Gōvindsachandra (in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 372, No. 193), which apparently corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1180, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindsachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f. In verse 6, *vijayātā* has been erroneously engraved between *vijayātā* and *vija*, in verse 8 we have *-vādā-* instead of *-vadh-*; and in the prose passage that follows the verses, *sa cha* was engraved before the first *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, but seems to have been struck out again.

⁵ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁶ Read *-māsa Āgrahāṇi-pūrṇamāsyām*.

⁷ Read *pūjām vidhāya*.

⁸ The reading is certain, but I am not sure that it is correct.

⁹ The signs of punctuation in lines 18-20 are superfluous.

¹⁰ This name is quite clear in the impression.

¹¹ Read *Śāṅkhāyana-bahvṛicha-sākhinō*.

¹² Read *bhira*.

¹³ Read *yāvat-āchāṇa*.

¹⁴ Read *datta iti*.

21 dāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || ☉ || Bhayanti ch=ātra slō(ślō)kāḥ ||

**C.— PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA AND THE YUVARĀJA MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA
 ĀSPHŌṬACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1190.]**

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅝" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2⅝" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahārājaputra-śrīma-
 d-Āsph[ō]ṭacha[n]drad[ē]vaḥ ||

in Nāgarī letters between ⅞" and ⅝" high; above the legend, a conch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right. The plate contains 28 lines of well preserved writing. The size of the letters is about ⅝". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *bhāḥramura*; and occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēttara Gōvindachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Āsphōṭachandradēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives and anointed as *Yuvarāja* (or heir-apparent), records that, on Friday, the third tithi, the *Akshaya-tṛitīyā* and *Yugādi*, of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* of the year 1190 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of *Kaṇṇāuta* in the *Nandīni pattalā* to the *Paṇḍita Dāmodaraśarma*—son of the *Paṇḍita Madanapāla*, son's son of *Lōkapāla* and son of the son's son of *Guṇapāla*—a *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, whose three *pravara*s were *Kāśyapa*, *Āvatsāra* and *Naidhruva*, who was a student of the *Vājasaneyā śākhā* (of the *Yajur-vēda*) and a sun-worshipper (*saura*), and who knew the five *siddhānta*s of the *Jyōtiḥśāstra*.—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhāgabhōgākara*, *pravanikara*, *turushkadāṇḍa* and *kumara-gadiāṇaka*. The grant was written by the *Thakkura Gāgēka*.¹

The date, for the *Kārttikādi Vikrama-samvat* 1190 expired, corresponds to Friday, the 30th March A.D. 1134, which was the proper day of the *Akshaya-tṛitīyā* and the (*Trētā*-) *yugādi*, because the third tithi of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* ended on it 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.²

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

12 -śrīmad-Gōvinda-
 13 ohamdradēvō vijayī || Tad-ētat-sammatyā samastarājapraṅkriyōpēta-yauvarājyā-
 bhishikṭa-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōṭachandradēvō vijayī ||³ Nandīni-pattalā-
 14 yāṁ Kaṇṇāuta-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-jaṇapadān-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājūni-
 mā[n*]tri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākṣapāṭalika-

¹ Here follow the six verses commencing *Bhāṣmīṁ yāḥ pratigrihṇāti, Śaṅkham bhadr-āsanam, Sarvān-ētān-bhāṣināḥ, Bahubhir=asaukṣhā, Svayam=ekam, and Taddgandhāḥ sahasrēṇa*.

² Gāgēka most probably is identical with the Gāgēka who wrote the grants F., G., and H., treated of above, Vol. IV. p. 107 ff.

³ The proper time for the *Akshaya-tṛitīyā* and the *Trētāyugādi* is the forenoon; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 179.

⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the *Kamauli* plate of *Gōvindachandra*, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 ff.

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

- 15 bhishan-naimittik-antaḥpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-puruṣhaṇ
samājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādisati cha [!°] Viditam=astu bhavatā[m]
yath-ō-
- 16 parilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaḥ-ākaraḥ sa-parṇa-ākaraḥ sa-gartti-
ḍsharaḥ sa-madhūka-chūta-vana-vitapa-vātikā-trīpa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ā-
- 17 dhaś=[cha]turāghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ ¹ navatyadhik-aikādaśasata-
samvatsarēshu Vaiśākhe māsi śukla-pakṣhe² akṣaya-tṛtīyāyām yugādan
śukra-diné
- 18 ³ ankatō=pi samvat 1190 Vaiśākha-śudi 3 Śukre ¹¹ śrīmad-Vārāpasyām
Gaṅgāyām snātvā timira-pātala-pātana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=
[Au]shadhi-
- 19 pati-śakala-śekharam samabhyarohchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya pūjām
vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā mātāpitrōr-ātmanas=
cha punya-yasō(śō)-
- 20 dhi(bhi)vṛddhayē gōka[rṇa]-kuśalātā-pūta-karakamal-ōdaka-pūrvvam=asmābhiḥ
Kāśyapa-sagotrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Nē(nai)dhruva-tripravarāya Vājasanāya-sā(śā)khi-
- 21 nē Guṇapāla-prapaṇtrāya Lōkapāla-pantrāya paṇḍita-tri(śrī)-Madanapāla-putrāya
paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmmaṇē saura-vrā(brā)hmaṇāya jyōtiḥ[śā]stra-siddhānta-
pañchaka-vidē(da)
- 22 āchamdr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsa(sa)nīkṛitya pradattō⁴ matvā yathādiyamāna-
bhāgabhogakara-pravaṇikara-turushkadamḍa-kumaragadiāpaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān=
ājñāvidhē-
- 23 yibhūya dāsyatha || Bhavanti ch-ātra paurāṇikāḥ ślōkāḥ ||⁵
- 28 | [i]ti || Tri(śrī)ḥ [||*] Likhitaṁ ṭhakkara-tri(śrī)-
Gāgēkēn-ēti⁶ śubham ||

D.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA AND THE MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA
RĀJYAPĀLA OF [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1203.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 2½" broad by 11¼" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅞" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahārājap[u]tra-śrī.

mad-Rājyapālādēva[h]

in Nāgarī letters about ⅞" high; above the legend, a conch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right, with below it some device that looks like another conch-shell. The plate contains 30 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is occasionally employed for the palatal. Besides it may be noted that the words *prakhālita*, *śekhara*, *punya* and *tāmra* are spelt *prakhyalita*, l. 6, *śeshara*, l. 19, *punya*, ll. 20 and 23, and *tāmra*, l. 30, respectively.

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous; read *-paryantō nava°*.

² Read *-pakṣhe=kaśaya-*.

³ Read *-dinē=akatō*.

⁴ Read *-pradatta iti matvā*.

⁵ Here follow the seven verses commencing *Bhāmīn yaḥ pratigrihṇāti, Śākhān bhadr-āsanam, Sarvaṇa-
stān=bhāvinān, Bahubhir=vasudhā, Gāṇ=śekhara, Sa-dattam para-dattam vā, and Vāt-ābhira-vibhramam*.

⁶ Between *nē* and *ti* there is a letter which has apparently been erased by the engraver.

This inscription also is of the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Rājyapālādēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives, records that, on Wednesday, the 5th of the dark half of Māgha of the year 1203 (given in words and figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Rājyapālapura, he granted the village of Chamaravāmi— with Harichandapālī and two or three other *pāṭakas* the names of which are doubtful— in the *Valaura pattalā*, to the *Paṇḍita Dāmodaraśarma* who has been already mentioned as donee of the grant C.— The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *pravaṇikara*, *jalakara*,¹ *gōkara* and *turushkadanḍa*. The grant (*tāmra-paṭṭaka*) was written by the *Karaṇika*, the *Thakkura Vivika*.²

The date, for Vikrama-saṃvat 1203 expired and the *pūrnimānta* Māgha, corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1146, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day the *Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti* took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, and the donation undoubtedly was made on account of that Saṃkrānti, even though this is not actually stated in the grant.

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 ³ śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēva-⁴ pādapaḍma-saṃmatyā
samastarājaprakri-
13 yōpēta-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Rājyapālādēvō vijayī⁵ • Valaura-pattalāyām |
Khā[i ?]la[pāṃḍi ?]naya[napālī ?]⁶ | Cha[ḍhuha ?]pālī | Harichandapālī |
ēshu pāṭakēshu saha⁷ Chamaravāmi-grā-
14 ma-nivāsinō śkhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-
pratīhāra-sē[nāpati-bhāṇḍ]āgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpu-
15 rika-dūta-karituragapattanākaraśhānagō kulād h i k ā r i - p a r u s h ā n = ā j ñ ā p a y a t i
vō(bō)dhayaty-ādisati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōparilī[khi*]ta-
grāmaḥ sa-[ja]-
16 la-sthala[h*] sa-lōha-lavan-ākara[h*] sa-matsy-ākara[h*]⁸ bha(sa)-gatt-ōshara[h*]
sa-madhūka-chūta-vana-viṭapa-vāṭikā-trīpa-yūti-gōchāra-pa[r*]yantaḥ s-ōrddhv-
ādhaś=chaturāghāta-vi[ś]uddhaḥ aya-[śimā]-
17 paryantaḥ⁹ varshatrayādhika-dvādaśasāta-saṃvatsarē Māghē māsi kṛishṇa-
pakshē pañchamyām tithō(thau) Vu(bu)dha-dinē yatr-āṅkē-pi saṃvata(t) ||
1203 Māgha-vadi 5 Vu(bu)dh[ś] ||¹⁰ a[dy=śha śrī]-

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 120, l. 22, I have wrongly altered *jalakara* to *jātakara*. *Jalakara* is the proper reading also in the Gagahā plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 20, and most probably *ibid.* Vol. XV. p. 8, l. 22.

² The *Karaṇika Thakkura Vivika* also wrote the grant of [Vikrama]-saṃvat 1199, recorded in the Gagahā plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 20. He is possibly identical also with the *Ākshapaṭalika Thakkura Vivika* who wrote the grants of [Vikrama]-saṃvat 1231 and 1232, treated of above, Vol. IV. pp. 124 and 126 ff.

³ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f., the main differences being that in the present plate the words *sa cha* have been inserted before the word *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of line 11 of the Kamauli plate, and that the phrase *nijabhūjopārjita* of the same line has by mistake been omitted here.

⁴ The *ś*-stroke of *dēva* is corrected from *va* which originally had been engraved after *chandra*.—As regards the construction, one would have expected something like *Gōvindachandradēvō vijayī | Tād-ātat-pādapaḍma-saṃmatyā*, as in the plate C., above, p. 155.

⁵ This and the other signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.

⁶ The reading is very doubtful; possibly two names (*Khāḍilapālī* and *Nayanapālī*?) may be intended.

⁷ Read *ēbhiḥ pāṭakaiḥ saha*.

⁸ The sign of *anusvāra* has been engraved over the *ākshara* *śyā*, over the *ś* of the following *-gattīśhara[h*]*, and over the *ś* of the following *-vāṭikā*.

⁹ This and the other signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous; read *-paryantāḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *Budhādya-śha*.

- 18 mad-Rājyapālapurē Gaṅgāyām snātvā vidhivan=mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-
pitri-gaṇāma=tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pāṭana-paṭṇa-mabasa[m=U]shṇarōchisha[m=
n]psthā-
- 19 y=Aushadhipati-sakala-sēsha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya
pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātāpi[tr]ōr=
ātmanas=cha
- 20 punya(ṇya)-yaśo-bhivridhayē¹ Kāśyapa-sagotrāya | Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidruva-
tripravarāya | Vājasanēya-sākhinē | paṇḍita-śrī-Guṇapāla-p[r]aputrāya |
pa[m*]ḍita-śrī-Lōkapāla-[pautrāya | paṇḍita-śrī]-
- 21 Madanapāla-putrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśa[r*]mmaṇē²vrā(brā)hmaṇy=āsmābhīr-
ggōkarnṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōḍva(da)ka-pūṇṇa(rvva)m = ā - c h a m d r - ā r k k a m
yāvach=chhāsanikṛitya prada[tt]ō³ [matvā]
- 22 yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-pravaṇika[ra*]-jalakara-gōkara-turushkadanda-prabhriti-
sa[m]ast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyarth=ēti⁴ || Bhavanti ch=ātra dharm-
ānu[sam(śā)]sināḥ
- 23 ślōkāḥ ||⁶
- 30 || ☉ || Likhitam ch=ēdam⁵ tāmra-pattakam karavika-ṭhakkura-
śrī-Vivikān=ēti || ||

E.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SĀM VAT 1207.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 5½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ¾" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 26 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ½ and ⅔". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *babhrāmur*=; occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental (as in *sahasra*, twice); and the word *hansō* is written *hansō*, in line 25.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaddraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindsachandradēva*, who records that, on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Pausa of the year 1207 (given in words and figures), on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, after bathing at the Kōṭi-tīrtha at Benares, he granted the village of Lōlirupādā,⁷ together with Tivāyi-kshētra,⁸ in the Umbarāla pattalā, to the Paṇḍita Dāmōdaraśarma, known to us already as the donee of the grants C, and D.—The taxes specified (in lines 17) are the bhāgabhogakara, pravaṇikara and turushkadanda. The grant (tāmra) was written by Vidyādhara, the son of (the Karavika) Dhandhūka.⁹

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1207 expired, corresponds to Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1150, when the 5th tithi of the bright half commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 3 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.

¹ This and the other signs of punctuation in lines 20 and 21 are superfluous.

² The *akshara vrā* is engraved over *śrī* which had been originally engraved.

³ Read *pradatta iti matvā*.

⁴ Read *dāsyarth=ēti*.

⁵ Here follow the eleven verses commencing *Bhūmim gaḥ pratigrihyāti, Saṅkham bhadr-dsanam, Bahubhir=vasudhā, Sarvān=etān=bhūvināḥ, Shashṭim varsha-sahasraṇi, Gām=ekām, Taḍḍyānām sahasrēṇa, Sa-dattām para-dattām vā, Vāri-kṛnēshv=aranyāḥ, Yān=tha dattāni and Vāt-ābhra-vidhramam.*

⁶ Read *tāmra*.

⁷ This was perhaps a *pātaka* of Lōlirupādā.

⁸ Or, perhaps, Lōlikapādā; see the note on the text.

⁹ Dhandhūka wrote the grant of Vikrama-samvat 1201, treated of above, Vol. V. p. 115, and is most probably identical with the *Ṭhakkura* Dhandhūka who wrote the grant of Vikrama-samvat 1197, noticed above, Vol. VI. p. 114.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 11 ¹śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijayī ||² Umvarāla-pattalāyām |³
Tivāyī-kshētrēṇa saha⁴ Lōli[ru]pādā-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=
api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvārā-
- 12 ja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapetalika-bhishag-naimittik-ānta h -
purika-dūta-karituragapattanākara[sth]ānagōkulādhikāri-purnyā(shā)n = ā j ñ ā p a y a t i
vō(bō)-
- 13 dhayaty-ādisati cha yathā |⁵ viditam=astu bhavatām |⁶ yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-
sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-
vāṭikā-vitapa-tri-
- 14 pa-[yā]ti-gōchāra-paryantaḥ s-ōrddh-ādhas=chaturāghāṭa-vīsuddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ
samvatsarāṇām saptaśhika-dvādaśasatēshu Paushe māsi sukla-pakshē
pamohamyām ti[th]au Sōma-dinē śuklē-pi samvata(t) 1207
- 15 Paushe-śudi 5 Sōmē(ma) uttarāyana-samkrāntāv-ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāpasyām
Kōṭi-ti[rthē] an[ā]tvā mātāpitṛr=ātmanas=cha pu[nyā]-yasō-bhivṛddhayē-smābhir=
ggā(ggō)karṇa-kuśalātā-pūta-karatal-ōdāla-pā-⁷
- 16 rvam Kāśya(śya)pa-gotrāya |⁸ Kāśya(śya)p-Āvatsāra-Naidhri(dhru)va-triḥpravarāya? |
Vājasanēya-sā[kh]inē paṇḍita-śrī-Lōkapāla-pautrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Madanapāla-
putrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmma-
- 17 nē vrā(brā)[hma]nāy=[ā*]-chandr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō⁹ matvā
yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhogekara-pravaṇikara-turushkapaṇḍa-prabhṛiti-sarvv - ā d ā y ā n =
ā[jā]āvīdhēyibhūya dāsyath-ēti || chha || Bhavanti ch=ātra
- 18 ślōkāḥ ||¹⁰
- 24 || chha ||¹¹ Bhū-bharttur-asya karaṇē
- 25 saras=iva haṇḍō¹² Dhandhūka ity-aritamisra-divākaro=bhūt | tasy=ātma-jēna guṇin=ēdam =
alēkhi tā[m]ram Vidyādhareṇa dharanītala-bhūshapēna || Yāvad=giran Dhanapatēr=
vvasati Smarārir=yāvan=niśāpati-
- 26 r-amashya lalāta-pattē | krādē karaṅga-śīsur-asya cha yāvad=ētat=tāvat=sthiribhavadu
śāsanam=asta-vighnam || ✽ ||

No. 15.—PIKIRA GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN.

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

Two sets of ink-impressions of this copper-plate grant were sent to me by Mr. Venkayya, who had received the original on loan from the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras, to whom it had been despatched by the Collector of Nellore. It was "originally sent by

¹ Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamuli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f.

² These two signs of punctuation are superfluous; read *vijayya=Umbardla*.

³ This name may possibly have to be read *Lōlikapādā*.

⁴ These two signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Read *ōdāka-pā*.

⁶ The signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.

⁷ Read *trīpravarāya*.

⁸ Read *pradatta iti matvā*.

⁹ Here follow the twelve verses commencing *Bhāmīn yāḥ pratigrihṇātī, Śaṅkhaḥ bhadr-dānam, Sarcān=* *stān=bhāḍeivah, Bahubhīr=rasudhā, Gām-śkām, Taddāgnām sahasrēṇa, Sva-dattām para-dattām vā, Shashtīm* *varsha-sahasrāni, Vāri-hindhō=aranyēshu, Na viśam, Yān-tha dattāni and Vāt-dhira-vibhramam.*

¹⁰ Metre here and below: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Read *haṇḍō*.

the village Munsiff of **Nelatur**, Ongole táluka, now part of the Guntur district, to the Deputy Tahsildar of Addanki and formed part of the unclaimed property of a dead **Bairági**."

Mr. Venkayya furnished me with the following description:—"There are five copper-plates on a ring, weighing together 70 tolas. The outer sides of the first and the last plates, which bear no letters, as well as the edges of the plates, are smooth. The plates measure almost 7" in length and $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. Plates ii. to iv. are a little thicker than i. and v. Part of the writing on plate i. shows through on the blank side of it. The ring was cut by me and rivetted subsequently. The diameter of the ring is $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and its thickness $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the average. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal is very much worn, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, an animal with mouth open and facing the proper left. It is represented sitting on a horizontal line which is in relief, and it resembles very closely the animal represented on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50). The tail of the animal is not seen, neither are its forelegs."

The engraving of the inscription is on the whole carefully done and well preserved. The language is Sanskrit prose, and three Sanskrit verses of the *Rishi* (Vyása) are quoted at the end of the inscription. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli and Māngaḷūr grants.¹ But there is one point in which the three grants differ. In the Uruvupalli grant *ta* has a loop on the left, as in Tamil, and *na* has none. In the Māngaḷūr grant both the form with the loop and the one without it are used in the case of *ta*, while *na* has no loop except in *kratúnām* (l. 16). In the new inscription the forms with and without loop are used for both *ta* and *na*, though in the majority of cases *ta* has a loop and *na* has none. A final form of *m* occurs five times (ll. 13, 18, 23, and twice in l. 24). Plates i., ii. b and iv. b are marked on the left margin with the numerical symbols 1, 2 and 4, while plates iii. b and v. are not numbered.

The inscription opens with the same invocation of Bhagavat (Vishṇu) as the Uruvupalli and Māngaḷūr grants. It records the grant of the village of **Pikira** in the district named **Munḍa-rāshṭra** (l. 14) in the fifth year of the reign (l. 18) of the Pallava **Mahārāja Simhavarman** (l. 14), who was the son of the **Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa** (l. 9 f.), the grandson of the **Mahārāja Skandavarman** (II.) (l. 7), and the great-grandson of the **Mahārāja Viravarman** (l. 3). To the name of each of these four princes are prefixed a number of laudatory epithets which resemble those used in the Uruvupalli grant, where, however, they are differently arranged and applied to the Pallava **Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman**, his father **Mahārāja Skandavarman** (II.), his grandfather **Mahārāja Viravarman**, and his great-grandfather **Mahārāja Skandavarman** (I.). In the Māngaḷūr grant the epithets differ, but the kings are, as in the Pikira grant, the Pallava **Mahārāja Simhavarman**, his father **Yuvārāja Vishṇugōpa**, his grandfather **Mahārāja Skandavarman** (II.), and his great-grandfather **Mahārāja Viravarman**.

The date of the Pikira grant is the fifth year, and that of the Māngaḷūr grant the eighth year, of Simhavarman's reign. The Uruvupalli grant was made by the **Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman**, but is dated in the eleventh year of the **Mahārāja Simhavarman**, whose relation to the donor is not stated. Dr. Fleet concluded from this that the Simhavarman of the Uruvupalli plates was an otherwise unknown elder brother of Vishṇugōpa. I would propose another solution of the difficulty. The term **Yuvārāja** or **Yuvamahārāja**, which is prefixed to **Vishṇugōpa** not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Simhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father **Skandavarman II.** to his son **Simhavarman**. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is

¹ Edited with photo-lithographs by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50 ff. and p. 154 ff.

i.

2
 2
 2

ii a.

4
 4
 6
 6

ii b.

8
 8
 8

iii a.

10
 10
 12
 12

iii b.

ಸುಗ್ರಹ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಇಂತಿಹ ವಾಕ್ಯವು ಹೇಳುವಂತೆ
 ಬೃಹದ್ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವು ಇಂತಿಹ ವಾಕ್ಯವು ಹೇಳುವಂತೆ
 ಸುಗ್ರಹ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಇಂತಿಹ ವಾಕ್ಯವು ಹೇಳುವಂತೆ

iv a.

[illegible]

iv b.

iv b. 
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

v.

ಕೆತ್ತಿದವನು ಬಾಹ್ಯದೊಳಿಹಿ ಸತ್ಯ ೧೪೬೫ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನದೊಳಿಹಿ ಸತ್ಯ
 ೦೪೬೫ ಕೆತ್ತಿದವನು ಬಾಹ್ಯದೊಳಿಹಿ ಸತ್ಯ ೧೪೬೫ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನದೊಳಿಹಿ ಸತ್ಯ
 ಸತ್ಯ ೧೪೬೫ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನದೊಳಿಹಿ ಸತ್ಯ ೧೪೬೫ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನದೊಳಿಹಿ ಸತ್ಯ

varman, to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher would say—the Uruvupalli grant.

The Pikira grant was issued from the camp at Mēnmātura (l. 1), the Māṅgaḷūr grant from Daśanapura,¹ and the Uruvupalli grant from the residence (*sthāna*) Palakkaḍa. I am unable to identify Mēnmātura. As regards the two other names, I have shown that Dr. Burnell's identification of Palakkaḍa with the modern Palicat is untenable.² Dr. Burnell was further inclined to consider Palakkaḍa the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit name Daśanapura.³ As stated by Dr. Fleet,⁴ this derivation is equally unsound. For the Telugu word for 'a tooth' is not *pala*, but *pallu* (genitive *paṇṭi*), and *kaḍa* does not mean 'a town,' but 'a place, a side.' Nor is it safe to connect Daśanapura with its synonym Dantapura which, according to the *Jātaka*⁵ and the *Dāṭhāvamsa*,⁶ was the capital of Kalinga and may be meant for Kalinganagara, the modern Mukhalīngam in the Gañjām district,⁷—far to the north of the Pallava territory. Thus the three ancient local names Mēnmātura, Daśanapura and Palakkaḍa are still awaiting identification. In his *Annual Report* for 1904-05, p. 47, Mr. Venkayya has shown that they may have to be looked for in the present Nellore district.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁹ [1*] Jitam=bhagavatā [1*] Svasti [1*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārān=
Mēnmātura-āvāsakāt-parama-brahmaṇya-
- 2 sya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjīta-ōrjita-kshātra-tapō-nidh[6*]r=vvidbi-vihita-sarvva-
maryyādasya
- 3 sthiti-sthitasya=ām[i]tātmanō mahārājasya prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-
Viravarmmaṇaḥ prapaṇtrō=

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 bhyuchchita-¹⁰śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-¹¹rāja-maṇḍalasya
bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhā-
- 5 va-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasya=ānēka-gō-hiranya-bhūmy-ādi-pradāna i ḥ
pravṛti-
- 6 ddha-dharmma-saṁchayasya prajā-pālana-dakṣasya lōkapālānām pañchamasya

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 lōkapālasya mahātmanō mahārāja-ār[ī]-Skandavarmanṇaḥ paṇtrō dēva-dvija-
- 8 guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyino¹² vivṛiddha-vinayasya=ānēka-saṁgrāma-sāhas-āva-
- 9 mardd-ōpalabdhā-¹³vijaya-yasāḥ-prakāśasya satyātmanō yuvamahārāja-

¹ In the Darsi fragment, Daśanapura is called a residence (*adishāḥḥāna*); *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 398.

² *Loc. cit.* note 4.

³ *South-Ind. Pal.* sec. ed. p. 86, note.

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 318, note 12.

⁵ Vol. VII. p. 66, s. v. Dantapura.

⁶ Edited by Prof. Rhys Davids (*Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1884), II. 57, 98, 100; III. 2.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 ff.

⁸ From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

⁹ Expressed by the same symbol as in the Māṅgaḷūr grant.

¹⁰ The photo-lithograph of the Uruvupalli grant (l. 4) reads *prapaṇtrasyadachchita*, which may be meant for *achchita*.

¹¹ Corrected by the engraver from *-śasata*.

¹² Read *-āpachāyino*, as in l. 6 of the Uruvupalli grant.

¹³ A superfluous hook is attached to the right of the *ma* and of the *rdā*.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 10 śr[i]-V[i]śhpugôpasya putraḥ kaliyuga-dôsh-âvasanna-dharmm-ôddharana-
n[i]tya-sannaddhasya
11 sprīhapīya-parākramô rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandôha-vijigīshur-ddharmma-
vijigīshuh¹
12 bhagavat-pād-ânuddhyātô bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-²pāda-bhaktah parama-bhāgavatô
Bhāradvājah

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 13 sva-vikram-âkrānt-ânya-nṛipa-śrī-nilayānām yathāvad-âhṛit-ânêk-âśvamêdhānām
14 Pallavānān-dharmmamahārāja-śrī-Simhavarmanā Munḍa-rāshṭrê Pīkirê
grāmê grā-
15 mēyakān-atr-âdhikṛitān=sarvvādhyaksha-vallava-³śāsanasañchārīpās=ch =ā j ñ ā -
payaty=Ayam grāmah

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 16 Kāśyapāya Taittirīyāya Vilāsaśarmmanê sarvva-parihār-ôpêtô dēva-
17 bhōga-hala-varjjam=asmad-āyur-bala-vijay-âbhivṛiddhayê samêdhamāna-
18 vijaya-r[ā*]jya-pañchama-sa[m*]vatsar-Āśvayuja-śukla-paksha-tṛi t i y ā -
yām⁴

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 19 brahmadēyī-k[ṛi]ty=[ā]smābhis=samprattas=Tatas=sarvva-parihārair=a [y a] m
grāmah parihartta-
20 vya[h*] par[i]hārayitavyas=cha [i*] Yaś=ch=ôdam=⁵asmach-chhāsanam=
atīkrāmêt=sa pāpās=śā-
21 rīran=daṇḍam=arhaty=⁶Api ch=[ā*]tr=ārshāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || Bhūmi-
dāna-saman=dānam=[i]ha lōkê na

Fifth Plate.

- 22 vidyatê [i*] yah prayachchhati bhūmim hi sarvva-kāmān=dadāti
saḥ [i*] Bahubhir=vvasudh[ā] dattā
23 bahu[bh]iś=ch=[ā]nupālītā [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
[tadā] phalam [i*]
24 Sva-dattām para-dattā[m*] vā y[ô] harê[ta] vasundharām [i*]
g[avā][m*] [śata]-sahasrasya hantuh pibati kilbīsham [i*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om.* Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat⁷ (Vishnu). Hail! From the prosperous camp of victory pitched at Mēnmâtura,

(L. 3.) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Viravarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 7.) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.),

(L. 9.) the son of the glorious Yuvamahārāja Vishnugôpa,

¹ Read *gīshur*.

² Read *bhāṭṭāraka*.

³ Read *vallabha*, as in l. 18 of the Māngalūr grant.

⁴ Here follows a symbol which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is a flourish which serves to fill up the vacant space at the end of the line.

⁵ Read *-ôdam*.

⁶ Corrected by the engraver from *-arhati*.

⁷ On the expression *jītaḥ bhagavatā* see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 25, note 4.

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father,¹ the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Sindhavarman, the rightful *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the Paliavas,² who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,—addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village (named) *Pikira* in *Muṇḍa-rāshṭra* and to the general overseers (*sarvādhyakṣa*), the favourites (*vallabha*) and the official messengers (*sāsana-samohārīn*)³ who are appointed to this (*district*).⁴

(L. 15.) "This village has been given by Us, having made (*it*) a *Brahmadēya*, to Viśaśarman of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*) (and) of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*),—accompanied by all immunities, with the exception of the cultivated land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga-hala*),⁵ for the increase of Our length of life, power and victory, on the third (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja in the fifth year of (Our) reign of growing victory.

(L. 19.) "Therefore this village must be exempted and caused to be exempted with all immunities. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict, is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this there are also (*the following*) verses of the *Rishi* (*viz.* Vyāsa)."

[Ll. 21—24 contain three of the customary verses.]

No. 16.—UNDIKAVATIKA GRANT OF ABHIMANYU.

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

These copper-plates formed part of the collection of Dr. Bhan Daji; but there is no information as to where they came from. The inscription on them was already published by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journ. Bombay Branch, R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 88 ff., and was critically examined by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509 ff. At his desire I here re-edit the text, to accompany the Plate now published, from excellent ink-impressions supplied by him. Dr. Fleet contributes the following remarks:—

"The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1886, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, through Major F. H. Jackson, Baroda. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

"The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring about 5½" by 2½". They are quite smooth, without any rims either fashioned or raised. They are fairly thick; and consequently the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; except in a few letters, where the strokes were not firm and deep enough to finish them off properly. The interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. At several places on plates ii. b and iii. the surface has split and broken away, so that the writing is damaged there; the remainder of the record is in good order.

¹ On *bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktā* see above, Vol. IV. p. 148 and note 7.

² Compare above, Vol. VI. p. 88 and note 3.

³ The synonymous term *ajñāsamohārīn* occurs in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, text line 21; p. 246, text line 24; and above, Vol. III. p. 261, text line 13.

⁴ I supply this word from the Uruvupalli grant which reads (l. 28 f.)—*taeminavishayā sarvadyuktakāṣṭha sarvanaiyyakāṣṭha (!) rājavallabhāṣṭha sañcharantakāṣṭha*. In both cases the district of Muṇḍa-rāshṭra is meant.

⁵ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 157, note 1, and above, Vol. VII. p. 66.

"The ring is oval, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 1" to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal is not of the customary kind. It was formed by flattening out part of the ring to a thickness of only about $\frac{1}{8}$ "; thus producing a six-sided surface, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", curved like the opposite part of the ring. The emblem on it,—which I take to be a *siṃha*, couchant to the left (proper right), with jaws open and tongue protruding between them,—was done in outline, rather roughly, in that surface. The weight of the three plates is 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; and of the ring and seal, $\frac{7}{8}$ oz.: total, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ oz."

Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription, on palaeographical grounds, to approximately the seventh century A.D.¹ The *upadhāniya* occurs thrice (ll. 5, 7 and 13). A horizontal dash is used as a mark of punctuation in four cases.² The language is Sanskrit. The genealogical portion contains 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ verses, and two other verses are quoted at the end. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The Sandhi rules are neglected before *u* in ll. 15 and 16. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *drishṭā* (l. 6) and *trivarggā* (l. 8). Other irregularities are *vanṣa* for *vaṇṣa* (l. 5), *punya* for *puṇya* (l. 7), and *Jayasīṃha* for *Jayasīmha* (l. 18).

The inscription is of historical importance because it contains the earliest mention of Rāshtrakūṭa kings. These princes seem to have belonged to a branch distinct from that of the Mākhāṇḍī family, whose crest was the Garuḍa, while the seal of this grant bears a lion. The genealogical portion opens with the statement that "there was a king named Mānāṅka, who was the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose glory is adorned with a multitude of many virtues." His son was Dēvarāja (l. 3 f.). He had three sons (v. 2),—among them Bhaviṣhya, whose son was Abhimanyu (l. 11). While the latter resided at Mānapuram (l. 12 f.), he granted a small village (*grāmaka*) named Uṇḍikavāṭikā (l. 15).

If we look for the name of the donee, we are confronted by two genitives: *Dakṣiṇa-Śivasya* (l. 14 f.) and *Jaṭābhāra-pravrajāṭasya* (l. 15 f.). Dr. Fleet connected the first with the following word *Uṇḍikavāṭikā* and translated the second by "(the god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as *Dakṣiṇa-Śiva*) and has gone abroad to (and settled at) *Jaṭābhāra*," which he identified with a temple called 'Jutta Shunkur,' i.e. *Jaṭā-Śaṃkara*.³ To this may be objected that the time-hallowed technical meaning of *pravrajāṭa* is 'one who has left home to become a religious mendicant,' and that this word would hardly be used with reference to an idol instead of the ordinary *pratiṣṭhāpita*. The two genitives can be explained by taking the first as the name of the donee and the second, as was done by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,⁴ as the name of a Pāsupata ascetic in charge of the temple, to whom the grant was made over on behalf of the temple by pouring water into his hand. Hence I would translate l. 12 ff. as follows:—

"He who was adorning Mānapuram by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of (his) mother and father, the small village named Uṇḍikavāṭikā to (the temple of) *Dakṣiṇa-Śiva* belonging to [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka,⁵ by pouring water (into the hands) of the ascetic *Jaṭābhāra*. Towards this (grant) nobody should practise deceit."

According to l. 18 the grant was made "in the presence of *Jayasīmha*, the commander⁶ (of the fort) of *Harivatsakōṭṭa*." The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, the '*Dakṣiṇa-Śiva* (temple) belonging to [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka' had been identified in the *Bombay Gazetteer* with the Mahādēva temple

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 886.

² After *patkā*, l. 6, *pravajiddhā*, l. 7, *bhāmīndhā*, l. 9, and at the end of l. 19.

³ *J. As. Soc. Cal.* XXX on 510, 511, 513.



i.

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46
48
50
52
54
56
58
60
62
64
66
68
70
72
74
76
78
80
82
84
86
88
90
92
94
96
98
100

ii.

6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46
48
50
52
54
56
58
60
62
64
66
68
70
72
74
76
78
80
82
84
86
88
90
92
94
96
98
100

ii b.

12

14

16

12
14
16

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible in the center of the plate.

iii.

18

20

22

18
20
22

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible in the center of the plate.

near Pagāra, which is about four miles north of Pachmarh.¹ In endorsing this identification, Dr. Fleet suggested that Uṇḍikavāṭikā, the village granted, may be one of two villages named 'Oontiya' in the same neighbourhood.² He was inclined to identify Mānapuram with Mānpur near 'Bandhogarh' in Rēwa, provided that the Mānapuram of the inscription was to be understood as the capital of Abhimanyu, not as a temporary camp of his. That the former alternative is correct, may perhaps be concluded from the name Mānapuram itself, which seems to be derived from Mānāṅka, the name of Abhimanyu's great-grandfather, and to mean 'the town or capital of Māna or Mānāṅka.'

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti [i*] Anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛita-yaśasāṁ
2 Rāshṭrakūṭānā[m] [t]ilaka-bhūtō Mānāṅka iti rājā
3 babhūva [i*] tasya vighrahavān-iva Dēvarājā(jō) Dēva-
4 rāj-ēti sūnuḥ [i*] Yasya⁵anya-bhūmipatibhir-vvijit-ā[bb]i-
5 mānair-nchchhrāyi-vāṇśa-nihitās-eva⁶yaśaḥ-pa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 tākā | dri(dri)shṭā chiraṁ prātidinaṁ nann dṛśyatō cha
7 Gaṅg-ēva punya(nya)-salilā purataḥ=pravṛi[d]dhāḥ⁷ | (||) [i*]
Tasya-ātma-
8 jā jita-ripōr-vvijita-ṭri(tri)varggā jātās=trayas=sakala-
9 rājaka-bhūmināthāḥ | yais=sāṅgarāṣaṇ samupātta-ma-
10 dā[n=°]sapatnā[ñ=°]jivā hṛitā saha bhuvā vipulā
nṛipa-ārī[h || 2*]
11 Tēhām Bhaviṣhyasya sūtō=Bhimanyuḥ

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 12 sauryy-ō[r*]ja-rūpais=sadṛiśō-Bhimanyōḥ⁸ [i*] Tēna Māna-
13 puram=adhyāsanēn-ālaṅkurvvatā mātāpitṛōḥ-pu-
14 nya-nimitt-ābhivṛiddhayē⁹ [Pētha]-¹⁰Paṅgarakīya-Dakṣiṇa-
15 Śiva[s]ya [U]ṇḍikavāṭikā¹¹ nāma grāmakō Jātābhāra-
16 pravra[ji]tasya udaka-pūrvvakō dattāḥ [i*] ā(a)tra na
k[ē]na-
17 chiki¹² vyājāḥ kartavyāḥ [i*]

Third Plate.

- 18 Harivatsakōṭṭa-nigraha-Jayasīṅgha-¹³samakṣaṁ [i*]
19 anyach-ōha [i*] Ba[h]ubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbih
[Sa]gar-ā[d]ibhiḥ |

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 511 and note 16.² From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.³ Metre of verses 1 and 2: Vasantatilakā.⁴ Cancel the visarga.⁵ As pointed out by Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 1), the correct expression would be *pany-ābhivṛiddhi-nimittāḥ*.⁶ This word is much damaged.⁷ Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 2) reads *Uṇḍikavāṭikā*; but the subscript *d* of the second syllable of *Uṇḍi*¹⁰ differs in shape from the *ḍ* of *driśṭā* (l. 6), *kōṭṭa* (l. 18) and *śaśṭi* (l. 20 f.).⁸ Read *chit* or, more correctly, *chida*.⁹ Ibid. p. 514.¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.¹¹ Read *-vāṇśa-nihitā* etc.¹² The second half of this Indravajrā verse is missing.¹³ Read *-Jayasīṅgha*.

- 20 yasya yasya yadâ bhû[m]is-tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*]
 Sha-
 21 shti-varsha-sahasrâni svarggê môdati bhûmi-dah [I*]
 22 âchchhêtâ jh-ânumantâ cha tâny-êva narakê vasê[t] [||*]

No. 17.—EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT SARNATH.

By J. PH. VOGEL, LIT.D.; LAHORE.

In the course of excavations carried on by Mr. F. O. Oertel in the winter of 1904-05 at Sarnath near Benares, a considerable number of epigraphs, besides a wealth of other archaeological materials, have come to light. Mr. Oertel intends giving a full account of his explorations in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* for that year. But as it will be some time before this is published, it seems desirable to render the most important of his epigraphical discoveries at once available to European scholars. It is hoped that this early publication of the inscriptions will not only be welcome, but that it may attract a discussion of the new finds among experts and thus lead to a solution of the various problems which will be indicated in the course of the following pages.

I.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ASOKA PILLAR.

a, b, c, d.—Inscription of Asôka.

Earliest in date is an inscription in Brâhmi of the Maurya period, cut on the shaft of a monolith of highly polished and fine-grained limestone. Its appearance agrees well with that of the pillar "bright as jade" which, according to Hsien Tsiang,¹ marked the spot where Śâkyamuni began to "turn the wheel of the Law." Unfortunately only the lower portion of the shaft was found *in situ*. Evidently the pillar had been wilfully thrown down and mutilated, probably in that same "great final catastrophe," of which Major Kittoe² received so vivid an impression in the course of his Sarnath excavations. Besides large portions of the upper part of the shaft, a Persepolitan capital of excellent workmanship was unearthed. It bears four sitting lions, carrying a wheel,—another indication of the pillar being identical with that described by Hsien Tsiang.

That its height cannot have reached the 70 feet of Hsien Tsiang's pillar does not seem a serious objection, as the figure is only approximate, and it must be remembered that there is always a tendency to overestimate the height of monuments. What is more inexplicable is that Hsien Tsiang neither connects its origin with Asôka nor mentions the fact of its being inscribed. As to the latter point, I agree with Mr. Oertel's explanation that at the time of Hsien Tsiang's visit most of the inscribed part of the shaft must have been under ground. This was certainly the case at the moment of its destruction. For, in order to lay bare the inscription, Mr. Oertel had to cut through several concrete floors, superimposed one above the other, as the ground gradually rose above the original level. It is due, indeed, to this circumstance that most of the inscription has been preserved.

Mr. Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments, from which it may be inferred that the destroyed portion consisted only of the first three lines of the epigraph. It will be seen that of the uppermost line of the main portion still *in situ* (i.e. on the Plate), several of the letters are injured and the concluding part is broken off. This missing part of twelve *aksharas* is supplied by one of those three fragments (i.d), which also contains the end of the preceding

¹ *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), Vol. II. p. 46.

² *A. S. E.* Vol. I. p. 126.

line, consisting of two fragmentary and nine entire *aksharas*. Of the former we find the missing upper portions on another small fragment (i.c), which contains one entire *akshara* besides, and thus adds three to the nine *aksharas* mentioned. It will, moreover, be noticed that between the two lines of fragment i.d there runs a dark line, which indicates where the uppermost floor met the shaft and left its mark upon it. There can be no doubt as to the original position of these two fragments, which fit exactly to the lower part of the shaft preserved *in situ*.

This is not the case with the third fragment (i.b), which has the first two syllables of three lines. But below its third line we find the same traces of the floor as are found on fragment i.d. This shows that in this third line we have the two initial syllables of the same line, the end of which is preserved on fragments i.c and i.d. Above the first line of i.a enough open space remains to make it unlikely that there was another line above it. We see, moreover, that the two syllables preserved read *devā*, which, if continued *-nam-piye Piyadasi Idjā*,¹ would form the well-known opening formula of several of the Aśoka edicts. We may, therefore, assume that fragment i.b contains the beginning of the first three lines of the original epigraph. It follows from this that the uppermost line *in situ* is the fourth line of the whole inscription which, consequently, consisted of eleven lines. Their average length is 60 cm., but the last line measures only 21.5 cm. The size of the letters varies from 1.3 to 2.8 cm. They are cut very clearly, and are legible throughout, except in portions of the third and fourth lines.

It is a question of primary importance whether we are justified in attributing the inscription to Aśoka. That the Dharmardja would erect a memorial pillar on the spot where the Master preached his first sermon—as, indeed, we know he did on the place of his birth and on that of his *parinirvāṇa*—seems *a priori* most plausible. The fine monolith with its splendid capital and well-engraved inscription in the Maurya character would seem to point to no lesser founder than the great Buddhist emperor. But the epigraph itself affords a more positive proof. I need not quote as evidence my explanation of the first two *aksharas* of i.b, which, though plausible, is hypothetical itself. The same remark applies to a conjectural restoration of *pāṭu* in the third line of the same fragment to *Pāṭalipute*—the only word of the Aśoka inscriptions beginning with those syllables.²

The following two points seem to me to be decisive. In the sixth line we read: *Hevaṃ-devānam-piye-āhā*—“Thus speaks His sacred Majesty.” And in the eighth line mention is made of the *Mahāmātas*, evidently no others than the *Dhammamahāmātas* or ‘superintendents of the sacred Law’ whom, according to the fifth rock edict,³ Aśoka had appointed thirteen years after his anointment. In the seventh pillar edict⁴ it is, moreover, stated that these officials would be occupied with the affairs of the Saṅgha also, and it is clear that to these the Sarnāth inscription refers. We read in the fifth line: *hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikhu-saṅghasi-cha bhikhuni-saṅghasi-cha viṇṇapayitaviye*—“Let thus this order be brought to notice in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns.” And the monks themselves are evidently addressed in the following passage (l. 6 f.): “Not only has such an edict been laid down for you. But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members.”

It would follow from the above that the Sarnāth pillar was erected after the institution of the *Mahāmātas*, i.e. not before the fourteenth year of Aśoka's *adhiśhēka* (about B.C. 255). It seems not unlikely that its erection took place on the occasion of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in 249 B.C.⁵ It may at first seem surprising that the epigraph—at least

¹ It is, of course, also possible that the Instrumental case was used, as in the Rumindēf (or Padariyā) and Niglīva pillar inscriptions: *Devānam-piyena Piyadasina Idjina*; see above, Vol. V. p. 1 ff.

² Rock edict V. 7. The word is only found in the Gīrnār inscription, while the other versions substitute *ia hidam*, *hidd*, ‘here;’ see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 453.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 463 and 467.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 269 ff.

⁵ V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford 1904), p. 139.

its preserved portion— does not contain any reference to the event which, in all probability, it was meant to commemorate. But at the time of its erection such a reference must have appeared superfluous. It is noteworthy that, though the Rummindêl inscription twice refers to the Buddha's birth, the reference is, in reality, incidental. The pillar was erected, not to commemorate this fact, but to record Aśoka's visit and his liberality on that occasion.

The language of the Sârṇāth inscription presents the same characteristics, peculiar to the Māgadhi dialect, as are found in the rock edicts of Kālsī, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, the pillar edicts of Radia, Mathia and Rāmpūrva, the Rāpnāth, Bairāt and Sahasrām edicts, and in the Barābar cave inscriptions. These characteristics are the Nominative Singular Masculine ending in *e*, the substitution of *l* for *r* and of *n* for *ṇ*, the exclusive use of the dental sibilant, and of forms like *hevaṃ* for *evaṃ* and *hedise* for *idṛṣṭa*.

It will be seen that our epigraph contains several words not met with in any of the other Aśoka inscriptions — a point which, though adding to its interest, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. On the other hand, the fact that in the beginning we find a passage corresponding to the fragmentary Kōsambi-Sāñchi edict, and at the end one which recurs in the Rāpnāth edict, is important for the interpretation not only of the Sârṇāth inscription, but also of the parallel passages quoted.

In publishing my version of the inscription I wish to acknowledge thankfully the great benefit derived from a number of explanatory notes which I owe to the kindness of Prof. Kern, who has authorised me to give them publicity here. Dr. T. Bloch has also favoured me with some valuable remarks to be noticed in the sequel. In my transcript I have followed Dr. Bühler's system of joining by a hyphen such words as are written continuously in the original.

TEXT.

- 1 Devā[nam-piye Piyadasi lāja*]
- 2 e [la']
- 3 Pāṭa[ṭipute*] ye-kena-pi saṃghe-bhetave-e-chum-kho
- 4 [bhikkhū-vā-bhikkhuni-vā] saṃgham-bh[i]khati se-odātāni-dus[ā]ni samnādhā-
payiā-ānāvāsasi
- 5 āvāsaiye [i*] Hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikkhu-saṃghasi-cha bhikkhuni-saṃghasi-cha
viññāpayitaviye [i*]
- 6 Hevaṃ-devānam-piye-āhā [i*] Hedisā-cha-ikā-lipi tuppākāntikam-huvā-ti saṃsala-
nasi-nikhitā [i*]
- 7 Ikam-cha-lipim-hedisam-eva upāsakānamtikam-nikhipātha [i*] Te-pi-cha-upāsakā
anuposatham-yāvu
- 8 etam-eva-sāsanam viśvaṃsayitave [i*] Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye ikike-mahāmāte-
posathāye
- 9 yāti etam-eva-sāsanam viśvaṃsayitave ājānitave-cha [i*] Āvatake-cha-
tuppākam-āhāle
- 10 savata-vivāsayātha-tuphe etena-viyamjanena [i*] Hem-eva-savesu-koṭa-visavesu
etena
- 11 viyamjanena vivāsayāthā [i*]

* The meaning of this letter is doubtful. It resembles most the sign for *l*, but the stroke to the proper right is slanting downward, and not horizontal as in *sakhalanasi* (l. 6).

* It will be noticed that initial *i* is expressed here in another way than in *iyam* (l. 5), *ikā* (l. 6) and *ikam* (l. 7). In the latter two dots are beneath and the third above; in *ikike* (for *ikaika*) we have just the reverse. It is possible that in the second case *i* has to be read. We find post-consonantic *i* in *lipi* (l. 6).

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.)—[His sacred Majesty king Piyadasī] (l. 3) at Pāṭaliputta

Whatsoever (l. 4) monk or nun begs his food(?), let him be provided with clean (or white) cloths and reside in another residence (or monastery). (L. 5.) Thus should this order be made known in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns. (L. 6.) Thus speaks His sacred Majesty. Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you so that you should remember "So be it!" (L. 7.) But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members. Let the lay-members also go on each sabbath (l. 8) in order to familiarize themselves with this order. Also on each sabbath regularly will each superintendent go to the sabbath (service) (l. 9) in order to familiarize himself with this order and to understand it. And as far as your district (reaches), (l. 10) walk ye everywhere according to this proclamation. In like manner cause (others) in all towns and provinces (l. 11) to walk according to this proclamation.

REMARKS.

Line 3, *bhetava*.—Dr. Bloch remarks: "I felt inclined at first to explain this word as *bhēttavyah* or *bhēttum* from *bhinatti*, and I supposed that the order (*śāsanam*) in the beginning contained injunctions against quarrelsome monks or nuns, who tried to cause schisms in the Saṅgha (Pāli: *saṅgham bhinditum*). I tried to get out of *bh[ī]khati* some similar word of the same meaning, and to translate the sentence: "A monk or nun who cause schisms in the Saṅgha, let them put on white cloths (instead of the ordinary yellow robe) and take their living in some other place" (*ānāvāsasi=anydvāś*). This would enable us to translate the end of the edict, from *Āvatake-cha-tuphākam-āhāle* (l. 9) thus: "As far as your district (? *āhāle*) goes, everywhere turn ye out (*vināsayātha*) [a monk or nun creating disturbances] with this mark (*etena viyaṃjanena*, viz. white cloths)." But I confess that I cannot see how *bhikkhati*, or whatever the reading may be, can be made to convey a similar meaning."—*Chum-kho*, as Dr. Bloch notes, "stands for *chu-kkho* (Skr. *tu khalu*), the group *kkh* having taken the place of *kkh* (Prkt. *kkho*), as we have *mna* for *nna* in *vināpayitaviye* (l. 5)."

L. 4, *bhikkhati*.—The vowel-stroke of the first syllable is broken, but from the little that remains I feel inclined to read rather *i* than *o*. On the Allāhābād pillar the *akshara* is missing, but was restored by Bühler as *bho* on the strength of the Sāñchi inscription. But in the latter also, judging from the facsimile, the vowel-stroke is far from certain and can as well be read *bhi*. Another difficulty is presented by the word *saṅgham*, which Bühler took to be a Nominative used as an apposition with *bhikkhū-vā-bhikkhuni-vā*, "the community, both monk and nun." In the light of the Sarnāth inscription this interpretation can hardly be maintained. It should be noticed that the word *saṅgham* is connected with the following *bhikkhati*, and not with the preceding *bhikkhū-vā-bhikkhuni-vā*.—*Dusāni* is the Plural of *dusam*, Pāli *dussam*, Skr. *dūshya*.

Samnamdhāpayiyā (for which Kōsambi and Sāñchi have *saṃnamdhāpayitu*) belongs, according to Prof. Kern, to the causative of *saṃnandhati*=Skr. *saṃnahyati*. Compare Pāli *pilandhati*=Skr. *pinahyati*, originally *pinadhyati*, from the root *nadh* (past participle *naddha*, and Latin *nodus* from *noddhus**); causative *pilandhāpeti*. "The difference in meaning," Prof. Kern remarks, "between *pilandhāpeti* and *saṃnamdhāpeti* cannot be great. We may, therefore, render it by 'to provide with' (cloths in the Accusative case)."

L. 5, *vināpayitaviye* (Skr. *viñāpayitavyam*), from *vināpeti*, Pāli *viñāpeti* (Skr. *viñāpayati*), the causative of Sanskrit-Pāli *viñānāti*. It should be noticed that Aśoka, in making his wishes known to the Saṅgha, uses the respectful term *vināpeti*, and not *ānapeti* (compare *ānapitāni* in pillar edict VII.). For the transition of *viñā* to *vinā* compare *chhamdāmnāni* in pillar edict IV. for Skr. *chhandōjñāni*.

L. 6, *tuphākāntikāṃ*, and *upāsakāntikāṃ* (l. 7) contain the Genitive Plural of *tuphe* (Nom. Plur.) and *upāsaka* combined with the postposition *antikāṃ* (see Childers, s. v.), 'penes vos' and 'penes laicos.' Prof. Kern adds that we might assume an etymological spelling *tuphākūmantikāṃ* in which the *anuvāra* became elided. "For such an elision of *anuvāra* between two vowels is found in the Vedic metrical system, in the metrical portions of the Pāli texts, and in the Sanskritized Buddhist *gāthās*, just as e.g. in Latin *templum Apollinis* becomes *templāpollinis*. Roth has rightly remarked (s. v. *samana*) that *samanēva* (*Rigv.* VI. 75, 4 and elsewhere) represents *samanam iva*. In the same way we have *dēvamānēva chitrām* (*Rigv.* X. 107, 10) for *dēvamānam iva chitrām*, and not for *dēvamānā iva chitrām* as explained in the *Padapāṭha*." Another interesting instance is pointed out by Prof. Kern in *Rigv.* VIII. 59, 2. "The traditional reading *indrām taṃ śumbha puruḥanmann āvuse* is metrically impossible, as the last four syllables must be — — — —. Now what has happened? The words of the poet were *°manāvase*, which stands for *°manam avase*. The diakenasts took *puruḥanman*° for a Vocative, and as they did not understand the *ā* in *°avase*, they shortened it. In applying the Sandhi rule of Sanskrit grammar, they changed *°man* into *°mann* and omitted the accent of *puruḥanmanam* which they took for a Vocative, but which in reality is an epithet of *indrām*, meaning 'who has slain many.' In this manner they gave birth to the *Rishi* *Puruḥanman*!"

Huvā Prof. Kern derives from the Skr. Conj. Aor. *bhuvat*, the *a* being lengthened on account of the following *ti*.—*Saṃsalanasi* is the Locative of *saṃsalanam*, which both Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch explain as the equivalent of Skr. *saṃsmaraṇa*, 'remembrance.' The expression *saṃsalanasi nikhitā* (Skr. *saṃsmaraṇe nikshiptā*) would, therefore, mean — 'put to memory.'— In l. 7 *yāvu* is the 3rd Pers. Plur. Opt. of *yāti*.

L. 8, *visvāṃsayitave*.—From the manner in which the words are connected it is evident that *visvāṃsayitave* (again in l. 9) is to be regarded as one word, and not as the adjective *visvām* (Skr. *viśvām*) + a verb *sayitave*. Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch agree in interpreting *visvāṃsayitave* as corresponding with Skr. *viśvāsayitum*, to be taken in a reflexive sense, 'to make oneself familiar with.' As instances of a similar use of a causative verb Prof. Kern quotes *darśayitum*, which sometimes has the meaning 'to show oneself.' For *°aṃs*° instead of *°ās*° he compares the Jaina Prākṛit *niyaṃsei* and *niyaṃsāvei*=Skr. *nivḍsayati*, whereas we have the reverse in *viśā*=Skr. *viśā*°, *tiśā*=Skr. *triśat*, *chattālīśa*=Skr. *chatvāriśat*.

Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye occurs also in pillar edict V.: *dhuvāye-cha-anuposatham*, 'constantly on each fast-day,' where Bühler (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 264) explains *dhuvāye*=Skr. *dhruvāya*. Compare also Kālsi rock edict I.: *no-dhuve*, 'not regularly' (in the Shāhbāzgarhi version *no dhruvam*).

L. 9, *āhāle*.—Prof. Kern is of opinion that *āhāle* cannot correspond here with Skr. *āhāra*. "Childers," he says, "has *āhāro*= 'food, nourishment; cause' (more correctly: 'ground, basis'). But there are in reality two different words which have coincided in form, namely, *āhāro*, 'food' (=Skr. *āhāra*), and *āhāro*, 'ground' (=Skr. *ādhāra*). It seems to mean 'territory' in the compound *sāhāra* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 30, 4), 'with all the territory.' In any case *āhāle* here equals *ādhāra*, and its meaning must be 'territory, field of business.'" In his rendering of the Rūpnāth edict M. Senart has adopted the meaning 'food' for *āhāle*; but the concluding sentence of the Sārnāth inscription leaves little doubt about the correctness of Prof. Kern's interpretation. It will be seen from the above that Dr. Bloch has arrived independently at the same conclusion. I may add that in later inscriptions also the word has the meaning of 'a territorial division.' Compare Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (London 1883), p. 113, footnote 4.

L. 10, *savata*.—Compare rock edict II, (Kālsi): *savatā vijitasi*, 'everywhere in the empire.'—*Viyāṃjana* (Skr. *vyāñjana*) must here (and in l. 11) have a different meaning from that

assigned to it by Bühler in the expression *hetuvatā-cha viyamjanate-cha* (rock edict III.), 'both according to the letter and according to the spirit.' The sense attached to it by M. Senart in the Rāpnāth edict is evidently the one to be applied here also. The Sārnāth inscription, moreover, places it beyond doubt that M. Senart's reading of the corresponding passage in that edict is correct.¹ The original meaning of *vyāñjana* is 'manifestation,' from which that of 'a royal proclamation' can be easily derived. In connection with the Rāpnāth legend this interpretation seems to me preferable to that suggested above by Dr. Bloch.

Vivāsayātha is the 2nd Plur. Imper. of *vivāseti*. Compare *vivasetavaya* in the Rāpnāth edict, which M. Senart² translates:—'*il vous faut partir en mission.*' But as in the Sārnāth inscription apparently no reference is made to missionary duties, I feel inclined to assign to it a more general meaning, either 'to go about for inspecting purposes' as suggested by Prof. Kern, or 'to conduct oneself,' a meaning which could be derived from that of 'to spend one's time' attached to Skr. *vivasati*. That, in any case, *vivāsayātha*, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, appears from the following *vivāśāpayāthā* (l. 11), the 2nd Pers. Plur. Imper. of a verb *vivāśāpeti* which can be nothing but a causative of *vivāseti*. This prevents me from accepting the interpretation suggested by Dr. Bloch.

L. 11, *koṭa-visavesu*.—Prof. Kern agrees with me in explaining *visavesu* as the equivalent of Skr. *vishayēshu* and quotes the following parallel cases: *ussāva*=*avaśyāya*; *pavachchhati*, v. l. *pavechchhati*=*prayachchhati*; *tāvatimsa*=*trayastrimsa*; *kulāvaka*=*kulāyaka*; *kāsāva*=*kāshāya*. In the Aśoka inscriptions we have *devuti* (pillar edict IV.)=Skr. *āyukti*, and the terminations of the 3rd Pers. Sing. and Plur. Opt. °*va* (Skr. °*yāt*) and °*vu* (Skr. °*yur*), e.g. *pāpova* (pillar edict IV.)=Skr. *prāpnuyāt*.

It is more difficult to explain *koṭa*. Prof. Kern proposes to render the compound either by 'territory belonging to the resort of a capital' or by 'rural district,' as in Tamil *kōṭṭam* has the meaning of 'an agricultural town or village.' I have translated it as a *dvandva* compound. That *kōṭa*, 'a fort,' can be used to designate a fortified city, is evident from place-names like Nagar-kōṭ (i.e. Kāngra city) and Pathān-kōṭ (for Pratiśṭhāna-kōṭa).

e, f.— Additional inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edict, the Sārnāth pillar contains two records of a later date, each consisting of only one line. The older of the two (i.e.) is incised partly beneath the Aśoka inscription, continuing, as it were, its last short line. Though the engraving of the letters, which measure from 1 to 7 cm., is inferior to that of the principal record, there can be little doubt about the reading, with the exception of the first word which is partly destroyed. The length of the line, as far as preserved, is exactly 1 m. I read it as follows:³

. rpārigeyhe rajā Aśvaghoshasya chatariśe savachhare hematapakhe
prathamē divase dasame.

"[In the fortunate reign] of Rājan Aśvaghōsha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day."

It will be seen that the sign for *anusvāra* is omitted throughout (read: *chatariśe, saṁvachhare, hematapakhe*), and that the long *ā* of *rajā* and *chatāri[m]śe* is not indicated, unless the very slight extension to the proper left of the top of *r* and *l* is meant to serve that purpose. It is probable that at the beginning there was some expression equivalent to the *vardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē* of later inscriptions.⁴

¹ See Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (Paris, 1886), Vol. II. pp. 169 ff. and 193 f.

Ibid. p. 182 ff.

² [The beginning of this inscription is shown on the Plate containing the Aśoka edict, and the continuation of it on the second Plate of Sārnāth inscriptions. The first letter of *Aśvaghoshasya* appears on both Plates. —E.H.]

⁴ For *geyha* see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 572.

The title *rājan* added to the name *Āsvaghōsha* forbids us from identifying him with the eighth Buddhist patriarch and author of the *Buddhacharita*. It is true that in later India worldly titles are not uncommonly applied to spiritual worthies. Thus the term *saṅgharājā* is the modern title of the principal ecclesiastical functionary in Burma.¹ But it is doubtful whether that custom can be referred to the period to which our inscription belongs. Nor does it seem ever to have been the custom to date documents after the pontifical reign of the head of the church. It is more likely that the date refers to the era of *Kanishka*, and that the name of the local ruler of the time was added to the Genitive according to the established custom.²

The characters well agree with this supposition. The angular *ga* and *sa* approach the forms of the Maurya *Brāhmī*. But on the whole the script resembles most closely that of the Kushana period. Compare e.g. the *akshara sya* with that of the *Kanishka* inscription beneath. Some of the letters, like *re*, *pa* and *sa*, show a somewhat later type. Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of *Huvishka*. The language, a mixture of *Prākṛit* and *Sanskṛit*, points to the same conclusion.

Another inscription (i.f.) of a still later date is engraved to the proper left of the *Āśoka* inscription and above that of *Āsvaghōsha*'s reign. It consists of one line, 52 cm. long. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 5 cm. It is evidently not the work of a professional stone-cutter. Some of the characters are moreover injured, which makes their reading somewhat doubtful. My reading is as follows :—

Ā[chā]rṇyapam Sa[mmi]tiyānam parigraha Vātsiputrikānām.

"Homage of the masters of the *Sammitiya* (?) sect (and) of the *Vātsiputrika* school."

On account of its characters, which resemble those of the early *Gupta* records, this epigraph may be attributed to the fourth century A.D. The language, it will be noticed, is more *Sanskṛitic* than that of the previous inscription. But the long *ā* is not everywhere indicated (read: *āchāryānām Sammitiyānām*). In *parigraha* the last syllable ought to be *ho*.

Unfortunately the second syllable of the second word is uncertain. If the proposed reading be correct, it would afford an interesting proof of the correctness of a Tibetan tradition, according to which the *Vātsiputriyas* were a subdivision of the *Sammitiya* sect. As stated by *Hsuen Tsiang*, the large convent which once stood at *Sārnāth* accommodated fifteen hundred monks of this sect. *Vatsiputra* was one of the fathers of the Buddhist church, who, according to a Tibetan source, collected the words of the Lord two hundred years after his *parinirvāṇa*.³

II.—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF ĀSVAGHOSHA'S REIGN.

It is curious that the name of *Rājan Āsvaghōsha* occurs again on the fragment of a stone slab (height 16·5 cm.), which Mr. Oertel discovered, almost at the surface, some 70 feet to the north-east by east of the *vihāra* which formed the centre of his explorations. It contains the first portions of two lines of a well engraved inscription, which I read :

1 Rājño Āsvaghosha[sya]

2 Upala he[ma][ntapakhe*?]

"[In the reign] of *Rājan Āsvaghōsha*, [*Upala* (?), [in the . . . fortnight of winter ?]

The characters are the same as those of *Āsvaghōsha*'s inscription on the *Āśoka* pillar.

¹ See Childers, *Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, s. v. *saṅgho*.

² See Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV. (1890), p. 127 f.

³ See Prof. Kern's *Geschiedenis*, Vol. II, pp. 354 and 443 ff.

III.—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF KANISHKA.

These inscriptions are incised on a colossal standing Bôdhisattva statue, and on an octagonal stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the image. That the two objects belong together is evident from their epigraphs, both of which record the donation of a Bôdhisattva and of an umbrella with a shaft (*chhatra-yashiti*) on the same date and by the same donors. The inscriptions are dated in the third year of Mahārāja Kanishka (spelled *Mahārāja Kanishka*), the third month of winter, the twenty-second day, and thus are the earliest records in which the name of the great Kushana ruler occurs.¹ They supply, however, no absolute proof that at that time Kanishka's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kāśī. On the contrary, it will be seen in the sequel that the latter came more probably from Mathurā and erected the image on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism.

What adds considerably to the interest of these inscriptions is the fact that the chief donor, Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, must be identical with the donor of the Śrāvastī image in the Calcutta Museum, to which Dr. Bloch devoted an excellent article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.² If the identity of the names alone (that of the monk Pushyavuddhi is partly missing in the Śrāvastī inscription) were not considered sufficient proof, the striking similarity of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script cannot leave any doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion. It is not a little curious that we meet the name of Friar Bala for the third time on an inscribed Bôdhisattva image from Mathurā,³ preserved in the Lucknow Museum, as the spiritual preceptor of the nun Buddhāmitrā whose name is also found among the donors of the Sarnāth image. The Mathurā image is dated in the reign of Mahārāja Huvishka in the year 33, which makes it exactly thirty years posterior to the Sarnāth one.

Two names found in the Sarnāth inscriptions, to which a considerable amount of interest attaches, are Kharapallāna and Vanaspara (or Vanashpara). On the umbrella shaft they are mentioned among the persons who took part in the donation, Vanaspara being mentioned first and bearing the title of *Kshatrapa*. But on the image it is distinctly stated that Kharapallāna, here called *Mahākshatrapa*, erected the Bôdhisattva together with the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara. As, however, Friar Bala's name is connected with the image in a manner which would indicate him as the donor,⁴ it is not altogether patent what part the two satraps took in the donation.

The question has been raised how mendicants, who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions,⁵ could make donations which would necessarily involve a considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sarnāth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but that the work was carried out under the supervision of Friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own. Such guidance on the part of one well versed in the holy scriptures would be needed, to make sure that the works were completely orthodox. We need not go far afield to find parallels, or quote the case of Fra Angelico, who adorned San Marco at Florence with his famous frescoes. On the very

¹ The earliest inscription of Kanishka's reign hitherto found is that of his fifth year; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 361, No. 1.

² Vol. LXVII. Part I. (1896), p. 274. Compare Anderson's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 194.

³ Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate; and Lüders, *ibid.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9. The exact find-spot is stated to be the Chaubārā mound.

⁴ The word *daṇa*, though not used in the Sarnāth inscriptions, is found on the Śrāvastī image.

⁵ Kern, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 40. That the former practice was not strictly adhered to, has been pointed out by M. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Vol. I. (Paris, 1905), p. 169; but the rule forbidding monks to touch money is still observed, at least in Burma.

borders of India the quaint paintings which cover the walls of the *dgon-pas* are executed up to the present day—so I was told in Lahul—by those of the lamas who possess the most accurate knowledge of their stupendous pantheon.

This much, at any rate, is certain, that the Sârnâth and the Śrāvastī image were made by the same master, if not by the same workmen. The style is that of the Mathurā school; the material is the red sandstone of the Agra quarries. All this points to the conclusion, already referred to above, that the donors of these images had their home at Mathurā where, as early as the reign of the satraps Rajula (or Rañjubula) and Śoḍāsa, a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bôdhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. And all evidence now available points to the fact that these were the very first images of the kind set up at those places.¹ For where else but at these sacred spots, hallowed by the presence of the Buddha himself, should we expect to find such images? And yet not a fragment of anything earlier than these has been found there. On the other hand, would Friar Bala and his companions have carried those gigantic statues from Mathurā to Śrāvastī and far-off Benares, if there had been local artists capable of converting a block of stone into a sacred image? Would he have thought it necessary to mention expressly that the image represented a Bôdhisattva, if such images had been familiar to the pious? Let us bear in mind the numberless images of Mediaeval India, all evidently made locally,—those of Sârnâth in Chunâr sandstone, those of Gayâ in basalt,—among which we hardly ever find one marked with the name of the deity which it represents.² Among the numerous inscribed Buddhist images of the early Gupta period Dr. Bloch can quote only three examples in which the subject is mentioned.

Then, if Friar Bala was a monk of Mathurā, who were his patrons, the great satrap Kharapallāna and the satrap Vanaspara? That they were Buddhists is evident; and it may be inferred from their titles that the former was the latter's father, and from their names that they were of foreign extraction. As to the latter point, it is impossible at present to arrive at a definite conclusion. For though these two names have a distinct Iranian sound,³ I need only refer to the instance of the Mughal rulers of later days, to demonstrate the unsoundness of inferring anything therefrom as to their ethnographic origin. Perhaps from their connection with Friar Bala we may hazard the conjecture that their seat of government was at Mathurā, where a line of foreign rulers is known to have existed only about a century before. It is true that on the Kshatrapa coins found in and round that city the names of Kharapallāna and Vanaspara do not occur. But this fact can easily be accounted for on the assumption that Kharapallāna, though possibly a descendant of the independent satraps of the 1st century B.C., now owed allegiance to Mahārāja Kanishka, in whose reign the inscriptions are dated, and consequently used the Kushana coinage. May we go a step further and assume that his son Vanaspara, who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallāna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father?

The Sârnâth inscriptions partly confirm and partly modify Dr. Bloch's conclusions regarding the Śrāvastī epigraph. They show that he is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation of

¹ That statues already existed in India at an earlier period is proved by the Parkham image (*A. S. E.* Vol. XX. p. 40 and Plate vi.) with its inscription in Maurya Brāhmī. But apparently it has no connection with Buddhism.

² A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900), pp. 4 ff. and 7 ff. Regarding the Mathurā sculptures the author remarks: "Elles sont tout de suite reconnaissables à la belle couleur rouge tachetée de jaune du grès des Vindhya."

³ The ending *āna* is also found in Hagāna (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87) and in Nahapāna (*A. S. E. Western India*, Vol. IV. p. 99). For the first member of the name Kharapallāna we may compare Kharamosta and Kharaosta (Bühler, *J. E. A. S.* for 1894, p. 532, and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9).

chhātram dāṇḍas=cha as meaning 'an umbrella and a stick.' It is curious that these objects were not recovered with the Śrāvastī image, which Cunningham found standing in a small temple, and not in the open. The name of Friar Bala's spiritual preceptor, which in the Śrāvastī inscription was only partly legible and had been restored by Dr. Bloch as *Pushyamitra*, appears from the epigraph on the umbrella post to be *Pushyavuddhi*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Pushya-viddhi*. Finally, the Sarnāth inscriptions establish beyond doubt that the Śrāvastī image belongs to the early Kushana period.

Conversely the Śrāvastī inscription helps to elucidate some doubtful points in the Sarnāth legends. Thus we may safely assume that the *chhātra-yashti* of the Sarnāth inscriptions, which corresponds with the *chhātram dāṇḍas=cha* of the Śrāvastī epigraph, is to be taken as a *dvandva* and not as a *tatpurusha* compound, and to be rendered by 'an umbrella with a staff' and not by an umbrella staff.' Again we should be doubtful how to explain the connection between the Genitive *bhikshusya Balasya treṇṇakasya* and the following Nominative, if the Śrāvastī record did not give us the clue that the word *dānam* is to be supplied.

Dr. Bloch's remarks regarding the characteristic features of language and script of the Śrāvastī inscription apply equally to those of the Sarnāth ones. But in view of the date of the latter falling in Kanishka's reign, it is impossible to maintain for the peculiar script which both exhibit the designation of "Northern Kshatrapa" in contradistinction with the so-called Kushana script of a later period. Its more correct name would be "early Kushana," and it shows indeed a transition between the script of Śoḍāsa's epigraphs and those of the later Kushanas. The former¹ is marked by more archaic forms and stands nearer to the Maurya type. In it we find post-consonantic *a*, *e* and *o* commonly expressed by horizontal, and not by slanting strokes as are found in the Kushana inscriptions. The *ya* is still semi-circular at the bottom, and its middle vertical stroke sometimes exceeds the side ones in length. On the other hand, the similarity between the script of the Mathurā satraps and that of the early years of Kanishka is so striking, that the two can be hardly separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the first century B.C., palaeographical evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kanishka's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A.D.

It is only natural that the later Kushana inscriptions, *e.g.* that on the Mathurā Bôdhisattva image of the year 33, above referred to, and still more that on the Kâman Buddha image dated in the year 74,² should exhibit a further development in respect alike of script and of language. Here we find the *ya* in *kya* and *sya* regularly expressed by a loop, and not by its full sign.³ Thus it approaches visibly the form peculiar to the early Gupta period. The language of the later inscriptions, though not yet pure Sanskrit, is decidedly more Sanskritic than that of the early Kushana records. Compare, for instance, *mâtâpîtûnâm* (Kâman) with *sakâ mâtâpîtîhi* (Sarnāth-Mathurā), and *parigrahe* (Kâman) with *parigahe* (Śrāvastī). On the other hand, we find *pratishṭhâpita* already in the Sarnāth inscription, whereas at an earlier period *pratîṭhâpita* is used.

The inscription is cut on three sides of the octagonal umbrella post, and consists of ten lines of 33 cm. in length, except the last line, which measures only 9 cm. The size of the *aksharas* varies from 1 to 6 cm. The letters are regular and clearly cut, but the disintegration of the surface of the stone has caused their shape to become indistinct in places, more especially towards the junction of the faces of the shaft. On the whole, however, the inscription is very well preserved, and wherever the reading appears at all doubtful, a comparison with contemporaneous epigraphs has enabled me to arrive at results which may be considered final.

¹ See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 189, No. II.

² Bühler, *ibid.* p. 212, Plate, No. xlii. The image must belong to the reign of Vâsudeva. Compare V. A. Smith, *J. E. A. S.* for 1903, p. 12.

³ The looped *ya* is found already in the inscription of Kanishka's 5th year, referred to above.

TEXT OF iii. a.

- 1 Mahārājasya Kanishkasya saṃ 3 he 3 di 22
 2 etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi-
 3 hārisya bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya
 4 Bodhisatvo chhatrayasṭi cha pratishṭhāpito
 5 Bārāṇasīye Bhagavato chaṃkame saḥ māṭ[ā]-
 6 pitihi saḥ upaddhyāścherehi saddhyevihāri-
 7 hi antevāsikehi cha saḥ Buddhamitraye trepiṭika-
 8 ye saḥ kṣhatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallā-
 9 nena cha saḥ cha[tu]hi parishāhi sarvasatvanam
 10 hitasukhārttham.

REMARKS.

Line 1.— It is doubtful whether the depression at the top of the *ra* represents an *ā*-stroke or not. The form *mahārājasya*, however, is quite distinct in the Bōdhisattva inscription. The spelling *Kanishkasya* with lingual *ṇ* has already been noticed above.

L. 2 f.— There can be no doubt as to the reading *saddhyevihāri*, with *e* in the second syllable, here and also in line 6. At first I felt inclined to read *sarddhyavihāri*, which would yield an etymologically more intelligible form; but pre-consonantic *r* is expressed by a perpendicular and not by a slanting stroke. See e.g. *purvaye* (l. 2) and *sarvasatvanam* (l. 9). In the Śrāvastī image inscription also I should prefer to read *saddhyevihārisya*.

L. 3.— The third *akshara* of *trepiṭakasya* resembles *ṭha*, which is evidently due to the stone being worn. Compare *trepiṭikaye* (l. 7 f.).

L. 4.— The vowel-stroke of the last syllable of *pratishṭhāpito* is indistinct. In one of the Bōdhisattva inscriptions we have clearly *-to*.

L. 5.— The first letter of *Bārāṇasīye* is open at the top and would, therefore, represent *pa*. But there can be little doubt that this is due either to the disintegration of the surface or to a clerical error. The vowel-stroke also cannot be said to be absolutely certain. For the ending compare *Sāvastīye* in the Śrāvastī inscription.— It is doubtful whether the inscription has *chaṃkrame* or *chaṃkame*. I have chosen the Prākṛit form which is found in the Śrāvastī inscription.

L. 6.— For the reading *upaddhyāścherehi* I am indebted to Prof. Kern, who remarks that the form *āchera* for Skr. *āchārya* occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ed. by Fausbøll), Vol. IV. p. 248, l. 9, in a verse, i.e. in a dialect different from Pāli.

L. 8.— Is perhaps *Vanaspharena* to be read? The Bōdhisattva inscription has clearly *Vanashparena*.

L. 9.— The letter (or letters?) following the second *cha* is indistinct. At first I felt inclined to read *saḥ cha sarvāhi parishāhi*, but finally chose the expression *saḥ chatuhi parishāhi*, which occurs also in the Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti. Compare Cunningham, *A. S. E.* Vol. III. p. 36, No. 21, Plate xvi., and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV. p. 119.

TRANSLATION.

In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above,¹ was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka² and

¹ The Mathurā inscriptions afford many variants of this expression such as *etasya pūrvadyam*, *asyāḥ pūrvāya* and the like. See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 ff. and Vol. II. p. 195.

² On the term *trepiṭaka* (Skr. *traipitaka*), Fem. *trepiṭikā*, compare Bloch, *l. c.* p. 280.

fellow¹ of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord² used to walk,— together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils,³ and with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripiṭaka, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes,⁴ for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.⁵

The image referred to in the inscription is 10' high and 3' wide across the shoulders. It was found in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The right arm is lost; presumably it was raised in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment, which reaches beneath the knees. The head, which measures 3' in circumference, is unfortunately much mutilated. The top is broken, so that it is impossible to decide whether it had the protuberance of the skull (*ushnisha*). Nor is there any trace of the mark between the brows (*āṇḍā*), another characteristic of the Buddha. We can, however, be certain that the hair was neither arranged in the wavy locks peculiar to the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, nor in the schematic curls of mediæval images. It is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain, close-fitting cap, which was probably meant to render the shaven head of the Buddhist monk. It is interesting to note that this treatment of the hair is very common in the Mathurā images which can be assigned to the Kushāna period. Another point of similarity is the treatment of the halo. In the case of the Sarnāth image only the lower part of it remains on the back of the torso. Along its border runs a repeat of semicircles. In Gandhāra the haloes are plain, except in a few instances where we find a border showing a conventional development of the radiate nimbus.⁶ Of this the Mathurā halo seems to be a later development, which thus forms a transition from the plain Gandhāra one to the highly ornamental halo of the Gupta period, of which Mr. Oertel's excavations have revealed some very fine specimens.⁷

Between the feet of the Sarnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the side of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers and fruits in bas-relief. Whether these are merely decorative or have some symbolical meaning, I cannot decide.⁸ In later Buddhist art the lion, if meant as *vāhana* and not merely as an indication of the *simhāsana*, is peculiar to the Bôdhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Simhanāda-Lôkēśvara.⁹ But it is questionable, whether at the period to which the Sarnāth image belongs it can have borne that signification. More probably it indicates that the statue represents Śākyasimha, 'the lion among the Śākya.'

¹ On the meaning of *saddhīyevihāri* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 84; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 379; Bloch, *l. c.* p. 279; I-tsing (Takakusu), p. 116; and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *saddhīyevihāri*.

² On the use and meaning of *Bhagavat* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 63.

³ The word *antevasin* occurs also in the 2nd Sīddhāpura edict (Bühler, above, Vol. III. p. 138): *Hemeva antevasinā āchāriye apachā[gi]taviye* ("moreover the pupil should honour his teacher"), and in a Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. I. (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198). The feminine form *antevasinī* occurs in the Mathurā Bôdhisattva inscription (p. 182 below), where the *bhikṣuṇī* Buddhāmitrā is called the *antevasinī* of Friar Bala. In another Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. XXI. (Bühler, *l. c.* p. 205), we find the form *antevasikintī*.

⁴ The four *parishads* are *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. Sometimes five or eight *parishads* are spoken of. Compare I-tsing (Takakusu) and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *parisā*.

⁵ The same expression is also found in the Anyor Buddha inscription; Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XX. p. 49 and Plate V. No. 5.

⁶ Compare Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 143.

⁷ That these are to be assigned to the Gupta period, may be inferred from the inscribed Buddha image in the Mathurā Municipal Museum. Compare Growse, *Mathurā, a District Memoir*, p. 115.

⁸ Mr. Grierson, Superintendent of the Taj Garden at Agra, to whom I sent a photograph of the sculpture, is of opinion that the bas-relief possibly represents the flower, bud, leaves and seed-pods of "*Rhododendron arboreum*" (*Flora Br. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 485), a plant that is used in Nepal as an offering at Buddhist temples.

⁹ Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique* (Paris, 1900), p. 116, and Vol. II. (Paris, 1905), p. 31.

I may add that in Mathurā we often find a cluster of lotus flowers between the feet of the image. Dr. Bloch noticed between the feet of the Śrāvastī image "a peculiar object of uncertain meaning."

It has already been noted that the image is curved on the back. Unlike mediæval images it is in the round and not in relief. This circumstance makes it probable that it never stood in a temple, but was placed in the open, sheltered only by its umbrella,¹ a probability that is strengthened by the discovery of all the fragments of the image and of the umbrella in the open space between the Aśoka pillar and the *vihāra* excavated by Mr. Oertel.

The Sārnāth image, though an important addition to our materials, only complicates one of the problems of Buddhist iconography. Had it not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call it a **Buddha** image. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bōdhisattva² are absent, and the figure wears only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions alike on the umbrella post and, as will be seen presently, on the image itself, are quite explicit in designating it a Bōdhisattva.

What then are the distinguishing features of the Bōdhisattva? Can it be, as Dr. Bloch holds, the bare right shoulder? Such a theory seems hardly tenable. For there are numerous bare-shouldered images which represent Śākyamuni at the moment of the *Bōdhi*, and we find among Gandhāra sculptures³ the uncovered right shoulder regularly combined with that position of the hands which expresses 'the turning of the wheel of the Law' (*dharmachakra-mudrā*), and which can only indicate an omniscient Buddha.

To decide on this point, it would be necessary first of all to compare the two images of Anyor and Kāman, which belong to the same period and are designated by their inscriptions as **Buddha** images.⁴ That of Kāman (Bharatpur State, Rājputāna), as noted above, must be 71 years posterior to the Sārnāth statue, assuming that the date is expressed in Kanishka's era, which in the light of its palæographical evidence seems most plausible. The Anyor Buddha image must be nearly contemporaneous with the Bōdhisattvas of Sārnāth and Śrāvastī. This is evident from the similarity both in the script and language and in the wording of their inscriptions. Unfortunately no photographs of either of these two statues are at present available. Of the Kāman image I only find the statement that it represents Buddha seated.

Anyhow, these four are among the earliest Buddhist images hitherto found in India proper; or more correctly I should say that no image has been found, which on epigraphical evidence can be assigned to an earlier period. The fact that it was thought necessary to indicate the subject in the inscription makes it indeed highly probable, that at the beginning of Kanishka's reign statues of Śākyamuni—either as Buddha or Bōdhisattva—were a novelty, at least in Gangetic India. We noticed, however, in describing the Sārnāth Bōdhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kanishka's reign. Thus we should be led to the conclusion that the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra flourished, not under the Kushana kings, but under the earlier Yavana and Śaka rulers. This conclusion,

¹ This practice was also known in Gandhāra. Compare Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. I, p. 191: "*Il faut dire cependant, pour être tout-à-fait exact, que quelques-unes d'entre elles se contentaient, comme abri, d'un parasol.*"

² Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p. 182: "The Bōdhisattva representation of later art is that of a royally attired young man Thus we may claim these youthful figures in rich attire, so frequent among Gandhāra sculptures, as Bōdhisattvas."

³ Compare *A. S. E.* for 1902-03, p. 171.

⁴ To the same period belongs the Sāñchi image of the year 70 in the reign of Vasushka, but from its inscription it is not evident what it represents.

in my opinion, would well agree with the evidence of the coins which, starting from purely Hellenistic types, manifest a constant deterioration ending in the barbarous issues of the Kushanas. And in like manner the sculptures which owed their origin to the same Hellenistic influence must have had a parallel history of gradual Indianisation.

The Sarnâth image has two inscriptions: one, as in Gupta sculptures, carved on the front of the plain pedestal, the other on the back of the image between the feet. The former (iii. b, c) is divided into two halves by a vertical, semi-circular groove. It consists of two lines, each half being nearly 24 cm. in length. The size of the letters varies between 1 and 5 cm. In the second half of the first line the sixth *akshara* is slightly damaged, and at the end one or two *aksharas* are lost. I read it:

- 1 Bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya Bodhisatvo prat[i]shthâpito . . .
- 2 mahâkshatrapena Kharapallânaena sahâ kshatrapena Vanashparena.

"(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva, has been erected by the great satrap Kharapallâna together with the satrap Vanashpara."

The inscription on the back of the image (iii. d) consists of three lines. The proper left side of the inscribed surface, which measures 40 by 17 cm., is defaced, and at the bottom a piece is broken, causing the loss of the concluding word. On an impression taken immediately after the discovery of the image, the upper parts of the *aksharas* of this word were plainly visible. But it seems that in removing it a piece of the stone has chipped off. The missing portion of the inscription can thus be restored with certainty. The size of the letters is 1 to 4.5 cm. The following is my reading:—

- 1 Mahârajasya Kapi[shkasya] sam 3 he 3 di 2[2]
- 2 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Balasya trepita[kasya]
- 3 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha [pratishthâpito].

"In the 3rd year of Mahârâja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above has (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, been erected."

NO. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON BUDDHIST IMAGES.

By T. BLOCH, Ph.D.

The first of these two inscriptions comes from Śrāvastī and has already been edited by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVIII., 1898, Part I. pp. 274 to 290. I re-edit it here partly in order to publish a facsimile of it, and partly to correct the statement made by me (*loc. cit.* p. 278) in regard to its date. The second inscription comes from Mathurâ and has recently been edited by Prof. Lüders (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9) from the imperfect facsimile published by Growse (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate). If I edit it here again, it is because, having read the inscription from the original during a visit to Lucknow in October, 1904, and with the help of two paper impressions kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, I have been able to supply the three proper names mentioned in the inscription, which in Prof. Lüders' transcript remained doubtful.¹ The first of these is the most important one. It is clearly *Balasya trepitakasya*, not [*Maha*]sya as Prof. Lüders proposed to read. This person cannot be separated from the *trepitaka Bala* of the Śrāvastī inscription, and of the recently discovered Sarnâth inscriptions of the third year of Kanishka, of which Dr. Vogel has just

¹ Two of them have also been read by Dr. Vogel in his article on discoveries at Sarnâth, p. 173 above.

published an edition. It thus appears that the date assigned to the Śrāvastī inscription in my previous paper was wrong, and that the missing name of the king should be restored either as **Kanishka** or as **Huvishka**, most probably the former one.

**A.—SET-MAHET IMAGE INSCRIPTION
OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA OR HUVISHKA.**

This inscription is on the pedestal of a colossal standing figure of a Buddha or Bôdhisattva, which was found by General Cunningham inside a small masonry building at **Set-Mahet**. It has since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The pedestal measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in height. Its right corner is broken, and about two-thirds of the first line of the inscription have become illegible.

The size of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The writing is archaic and resembles more the type used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions than the Kushana type. The letter *ya* as part of a compound (*samyuktākshara*) is expressed by its full form, and only once, in *Pushya*¹ (l. 1), by a cursive form. The upper cross-bar of *sha* fills only the right half of the letter and does not reach to the left vertical line. Further details of palaeography will be found in my previous paper (p. 277) and need not be repeated here. The language is a mixed form of Sanskrit and Prākṛit of the same type as that employed in other Kushana inscriptions. Here again no details are required, as my previous paper contains a full statement of facts (p. 279).

The inscription records that the statue, on the pedestal of which it has been engraved, and which it describes as a Bôdhisattva, together with an umbrella and a stick (l. 2: *bodhisattva chhātrāṃ dāṇḍaś=cha*) was put up at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord used to walk (l. 2: *Bhagavato chāmḱame*), inside the **Kosambakuṭī** (l. 3), as the gift of the monk **Bala**, who knew the Tripitaka and was a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārisya*, l. 2) of the monk **Pushya[vuddhi]**,² and that it was the property of some teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhists.

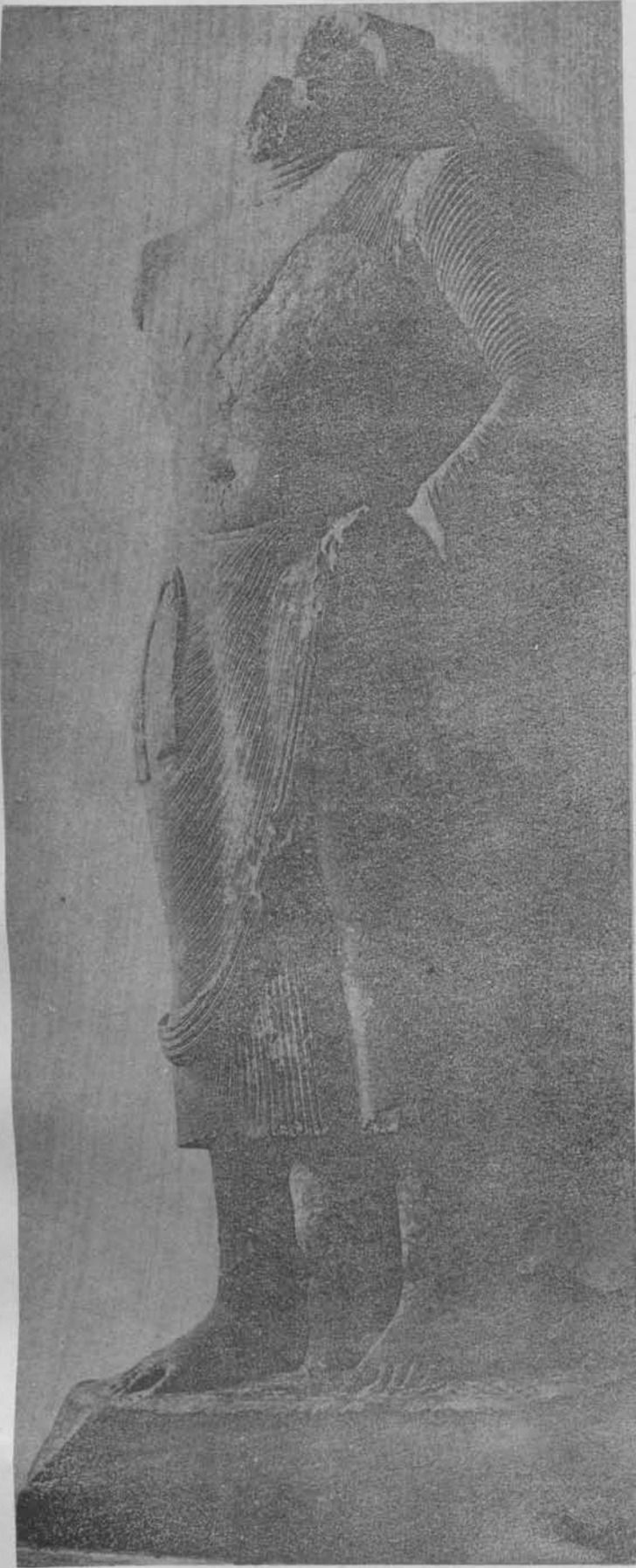
As I have shown in my previous article (p. 286), the **Kosambakuṭī** was a building inside the **Jetavana** park near Śrāvastī. The term *Bhagavato chāmḱame* may either have been used as another name of the Jetavana, or more probably it may have denoted a separate place within the park, where Buddha used to take exercise, and which was kept up as such by tradition, like the 'Buddha's walk' north of the great temple of Budh-Gaya.³ It is, however, likely that the place where Cunningham found the statue does not mark its original site, and that the ancient city of Śrāvastī lay further to the north, near the borders of Nepal.³

The date of the inscription is illegible, with the exception of the numerical figures 10 and 9, meaning the 19th day. As the missing space is too long for a mere enumeration of the numbers of the year and season, the date must have been determined by the name of the ruling king. From the second inscription and the Sarnāth inscriptions published by Dr. Vogel, which mention also a *tripitaka Bala*, who must have been identical with the person of the same name and title referred to in this inscription, we may confidently restore the beginning of the first line as: [*Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya* (or *Huvishkasya*?) *sam . . . di*] 10 9, and it is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the Kushana kings, either of Kanishka or Huvishka, not of the Kshatrapas Rañjubala or Śoḍāsa, as I suggested in my previous article for palaeographical reasons. As will be shown later on, the reign of **Kanishka** is more likely to be the true date of the inscription than the time of his successor **Huvishka**.

¹ That is *Pushyavardhi*. Sarnāth No. III.a shows that the name should be restored thus, not as *Pushya-mitra* as I proposed originally. See Dr. Vogel's article, p. 175 above.

² See Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8 ff.

³ See Vincent A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 520, and 1900, p. 1.



From photographs.

The statue to which the inscription belongs is shown on the accompanying Plate. It is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately the head is broken, and it is impossible to say whether it wore some sort of a diadem, as the so-called 'Bôdhisattva' figures in the contemporaneous art of Gandhâra. There are, however, no necklace or other ornaments of the body, and the feet are naked. The left hand rests on the hip, and the broken right hand probably was uplifted in the act of granting protection (*abhaya-mudrâ*). The right shoulder is bare, and between the feet stands some indistinct round object, which I am unable to explain. The girdle around the waist is the only mark of difference between this statue and the ordinary type of a Buddha image. The term Bôdhisattva is likewise applied to the Mathurâ image to which the second inscription belongs, and which was a seated figure. Unfortunately it is broken, and not much can be said in regard to its general appearance.

From Dr. Vogel's account it appears that the recently excavated Sârânâth image is very similar to that from Śrāvastī. He also suggests that all these three images were made at Mathurâ. The Śrāvastī image is 11 feet 8 inches high. Its material is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fathpur-Sikri.

TEXT.

- 1 [Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) saṁ
 . . . di] 10 9 etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Pushya[vu]-
- 2 [ddhis]ya¹ saddhy[e]vihārisya² bhikṣusya Balasya trepīṭakasya dānam
 B[o]dhisatvo chhāttram dāpḍaś-cha Śāvastīye Bhagavato chaṁkame
- 3 Kosambakuṭīye acharyyāpāṁ Sarvastivādinā³ parigahe.

TRANSLATION.

[In the . . . th year of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka?), in the . . . th month of, on the] 10th [day], on the date specified above, a Bôdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārin*) of the monk Pushya[vṛiddhi], (*have been set up*) at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord (*i.e.* Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakuṭī, as the property of the teachers of the school of Sarvastivādins.

B.— MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33 OF HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image from the Chaubārā mound near Mathurâ. It is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It measures 3 feet by 2½ inches. The size of the letters varies between ½ and 1½ inches. The end of the second line is damaged and cannot be restored completely.

The writing is of a later type than the Set-Mahet image inscription. The *ya* in the compound letter *syā* is expressed by the cursive form in *devaputrasya*, *Huvishkasya* and *trepīṭakasya* (l. 1), and by the full form of the letter in *bhikṣusya* *Balasya* (l. 1), while an intermediate form, with a loop attached to the left-hand side of the central line, is found in *mahārājasya* (l. 1). The old form of *śa* with a small upper cross-bar occurs only once, in *bhikṣusya* (l. 1), if the impression can be trusted. The later *sa* with a loop in the left-hand lower corner is found in *mahārājasya*, *devaputrasya*, *saṁ* (l. 1), as has been pointed out already by Prof. Lüders (*loc. cit.* p. 40). The language is the ordinary mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prākṛit employed in the

¹ See above, p. 180, note 1.

² So with Sârânâth No. III. a, lines 2 and 6. The surface of the stone above *ddhy* is damaged.

³ The *et* is added in small letters at the top of the line.

Kushāṇa period and calls for no particular remarks. But it may be noted that in *bhikkhūṇīye* (l. 2) we have the Prākṛit form instead of the usual *bhikṣhūṇī*, and that the gen. sing. of feminine nouns ending in *ī* retains the long *ī* in *bhikkhūṇīye* (l. 1), *bhāgineyīye*, *bhikkhūṇīye*, *Dhanavatiye* (l. 2); the corresponding vowel of *antevāsīn[ī]ye* (l. 1) is doubtful. The later Prākṛit form *pratithāvito* (l. 2) seems certain.

The inscription records that a Bôdhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā,¹ who knew the Tripiṭaka, a female disciple (*antevāsīnī*) of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripiṭaka. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Set-Mahet and Sarnāth inscriptions, and the three inscriptions thus cannot be far removed from each other in date. The Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of Huvishka, the year 33, the 8th day of the 1st month of summer. However, the Set-Mahet inscription, like that from Sarnāth, probably belongs to the reign of Kanishka and is somewhat earlier than the Mathurā inscription, which records a gift by the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, whose name occurs already in the third year of Kanishka in connection with the name of Bala, the donor of the Sarnāth statue.

The Mathurā statue, like those from Sarnāth and Set-Mahet, is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately nothing but its lower part, showing the crossed legs of a seated figure, is preserved (see the accompanying Plate). The place where the statue was set up seems to have been [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka, the first part of which may have been derived from Madhurā or Mathurā, the name of the town where the statue actually has been found.

TEXT.²

- 1 Mahārājasya devaputrasya Huv[i]shkaasya saṃ 30 3 gri 1 di 8
bhikṣhuṣya Balasya trepiṭakaṣya antev[ā]s[i]n[ī]ye³ bhikṣhūṇīye tre[piṭikā]ye
Buddhamitrāyo
2 bhāgineyīye bhikkhūṇīye Dhanavatiye Bodhisatvo pratithāvito [Mā]dh[u]ravanake
sahā mātāpitihi

TRANSLATION.

In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Huvishka, on the 8th day of the 1st summer (month), a Bôdhisattva was set up at [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka, together with her mother and father

No. 19.—DHULIA PLATES OF KARKARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 701.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The plates which bear the subjoined grant were found deposited in the record room of the Collector's *kachēri* at Dhulia, Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency. They were sent for inspection to Mr. H. Cousens, who has kindly asked me to publish a paper on the inscription. A summary of it has already appeared in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904*, p. 60.

¹ She occurs again in Sarnāth No. III. a, l. 7.

² From the original stone and from paper-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel.

³ The quantity of the last *ī* is uncertain.



From a photograph supplied by Mr. G. D. Ganguli.



E. Hultsch.

Scale one-fourth.

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

These are three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear writing on one side only, and the second on both sides. They measure each 1' 2" long by 7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the inscription. On the left side of each plate there is a ring-hole, but the ring and the seal which must have accompanied the plates are both lost. A portion of the right side of the second, and of the lower corners of the first and third, plates have been broken off. The letters bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ".—The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting ll. 24-26, the inscription is in verse up to line 28; and the rest is in prose, excluding ll. 33-4 and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end (ll. 42-8). All the verses of the genealogical part of this grant excepting five (vv. 6, 7, 9, 17 and 18) occur in other Rāshtrakūṭa records.—The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *kh*, one in *khaḍgaṃ* (l. 4) and the other in *śikharaṇi* (l. 9); to the two forms of *g*, one in *maṇḍalāgrō* (l. 2) or *ganaiḥ* (l. 13), and the other in *ṛ=Ḡgōvindarāja°* (l. 3) or *kar-āgrā°* (l. 5); to *ā* in *Śubhatuṅga°* (l. 20); to *j* in *tmajō ja°* (l. 6) and *dvijānām* (l. 8); to *t* in *kāmt-ēndu°* (l. 1); to *n* in *vaitāna°* and *nichayaiḥ* (l. 8); to *bh* in *bhōgika°* (l. 29); to *m* in *m=abhimukhīm* (l. 3); to the two forms of initial *a* or *ā*, one in *āsi°* (l. 2) or *asvamēdha°* (l. 44), and the other in *amkēn=āpi* (l. 31); to the secondary *i* in *mālinyāḥ* (l. 14) and *nirddalita°* (l. 25); to the subscript *ā* in *dhūma°* (l. 8); to the two forms of the subscript *ri*, one in *kṛitām* (l. 1), and the other in *kṛit-ānukṛitih* (l. 7); and to the *visarga* expressed by three dots in *vishay-āntarggataḥ* (l. 38), and by one dot and one short stroke in *grāmaḥ* (l. 40).—As regards orthography, the sign for *v* throughout serves for both *v* and *b*. The consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is in some cases observable; thus *m* is doubled in *nirmmatha°* (l. 22), but not in *sūnur=mahāpatiḥ* (l. 18). *Gha* is used instead of *h* in *rājasigha* (l. 3); final *n* before a consonant is no less than five times wrongly changed to an *anusvāra*, e.g. in *yam-nābhi-kamalaṃ* (l. 1) and *yasmiṃ prasāsati* (l. 8); *t* is doubled before *r*, e.g. in *gōttra°* (l. 7); and *anusvāra* is changed once to the dental nasal before *s* in *likhit-ānsa-pīṭhaḥ* (l. 11). The rules of Sandhi have been frequently disregarded, and in many a place *aksharas* have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshtrakūṭa chieftain Karkarāja or, as he is described in lines 28-29, "Suvarṇavarsha Pratāpaśila¹ śrī-Karkarāja who has obtained the five great sounds." Karkarāja is spoken of as a son of śrī-Dhruvarāja, younger brother of Gōvinda (II.) or, as he is described in lines 25-6, "Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara śrī-Prabhūtavarsha." The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign (*pravarddhamāna-rājya*) of Gōvinda (II.) and is dated in the year 701 (in words and figures, l. 31 f.), expired, of the Śaka era, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Pushya. The charter was issued by Karkarāja while staying at Sindinagara, on the occasion of a *saṃkrānti*,² to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is lost, son of Bhaṭṭa Chandrāditya, of the Kāśika *gōtra*, and student of the Kāṭha school. The grantee appears to have been a man of deep erudition; for he is represented to have mastered the *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Tarka*, *Nirukta* and *Yajñavidyā*. The village granted to him was Rakkhulla-grāma situated in the province (*vishaya*) of Nāsikka. The boundaries specified are to the E. Chēbhaṭikā, to the S. the Gōdāvari, to the W. Vaṭamukha, and to the N. Vaṭapura. All the localities mentioned in this grant are to be found in the Nāsik district. That Nāsikka is Nāsik goes without saying. Sindinagara, where the royal grantor resided at the time of making the grant, is known to us from the records of the earlier Yādavas, and has been identified with Sinnar, the principal town of the *tāluka* of the same name. Rakkhulla-grāma, the village granted, is Lākhalgāmv to the north of the

¹ [The same surname occurs in l. 48.—E. H.]

² [Prof. Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date of this inscription, for Śaka-saṃvat 701 expired, regularly corresponds to the 22nd December A.D. 779. On this day the Makara- or Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti took place 4 h. 30 m., and the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa commenced 6 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise."—E. H.]

Gôdâvari, Chêbhaṭikâ Chêhḍi, and Vātamukha probably Ôḍhēm. Chêhḍi is in the Niphād, and the rest in the Nāsik, *tāluka* of the Nāsik district.

As the inscription expressly refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign Gôvinda II., no doubt can now be reasonably entertained as to his having sat on the throne. I have elsewhere¹ adduced reasons why we should consider Gôvinda II. to have actually reigned. Dr. Fleet based his different opinion on the words *vyêshṭh-ôllaṅghana* of a verse occurring in the Wanî and Rādhanpur grants.² But these words, as Professor Kielhorn has remarked, by no means necessitate the conclusion that Dhruva immediately succeeded Krishṇa I. to the exclusion of his eldest brother Gôvinda II. from the succession.³ The new grant places it beyond all doubt that Gôvinda II. did succeed Krishṇa I. and did reign. Consequently Dr. Fleet's view has no grounds to stand upon, unless it can be conclusively shown that this grant is a forgery.

Although many Rāshtrakūṭa records have so far been published, they have supplied us with but few dates prior to the time of Gôvinda III. We have Śaka 675 for Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, furnished by his Sāmāgaḍ plates.⁴ The Alās copper-plate charter,⁵ issued by Gôvinda II. when Yuvarāja or prince-regent, gives the date Śaka 692 for his father Krishṇa I. And our plates give a third date, viz. Śaka 701, for Gôvinda II. himself. A fourth date is supplied by the Jaina *Harivamśa*,⁶ which was completed in Śaka 705 when Śrīvallabha, son of Krishṇa, was ruling over the South. There can be no doubt that this Krishṇa is Krishṇa I. of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. But it is by no means easy to decide whether by Śrīvallabha is meant Gôvinda II. or his brother Dhruva,⁷ as both had this epithet and were sons of Krishṇa I.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁹ [॥*] स वोव्याद्देधसा धाम ¹⁰यंनाभिकमलं कृतं । हरस्य¹¹ यस्य
कातेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*]
- 2 ¹²आसी[दिषत्ति]मिरमुद्यतमखड्गलायो ध्वस्तिं ¹³नयनभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु ॥(1)
भूपः शुचिर्बि[धु]रिवा-
- 3 तदि[ग]त्स[कीर्त्ति]र्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिध¹⁴ ॥ [२*] दृष्टा चमू-
मभिमुखीं सुभटादृष्टा[सामुत्तमि]-
- 4 ¹⁵मितं स[पदि येन] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं
कुलं च हृदयं [च नि]-

¹ Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XX. pp. 133-4.

² *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 393; above, Vol. VI. pp. 171 and 172.

³ Above, Vol. VI. pp. 240-1.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI. p. 208 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142.

⁷ *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 197; above, Vol. VI. p. 197.

⁸ From the original copper-plates.—[A few emendations in the text and in the notes are due to Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., who read the first proof-sheets. Verse 17 remains unintelligible.—E.H.]

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Read यन्नाभि^०.

¹¹ Read हरस्य.

¹² Read आसीदिष^०.

¹³ Read नयनभि^०.

¹⁴ Read 'सिधः'.

¹⁵ This मि is superfluous.

- 5 जं च स[त्वं]¹ ।। १*] खड्गं कराशान्मुखतश्च शीभा मानो ²मनस्तत्स-
ममेव यस्य [1*] महाहवे [नाम नि]-
6 ग्राम्य³ सद्यः त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यक[1*]ण्डे ॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजो
जगति विभुतदीर्घवर्त्तितिरात्तंतिहा-⁴
7 रिर[विवि]क्रमधामधारी । ⁵भूपंसृष्टिपङ्कतानुलतिः कतन्नः श्रीकर्कराज इति
गोक्षम-
8 निव्यभूव⁶ ॥ [५*] यस्मि⁷ प्रयासति महानरपे द्विजानां वैतानधूमनि-
चयैः परिकर्षुराणि⁸ । संध्या[सु सौ]-
9 धशिखराणि विलोक्ष्य केका[1*] कूजन्ति वेक्षशिखिनी जलदागमीत्काः
[॥ ६*] यस्य द्विजनाक्रान्तशान्तिः⁹
10 वाचनवारिणा [1*] प्रत्यहं गुल्फदघ्नेन य[३*]सरति मंदिरे ।। ७*] तस्य
प्रभिसकरटच्युतदानदंति[द]-
11 स्तप्रहारश्चिरोलिखितान्सपीठः¹⁰ [1*] क्षापः क्षिती क्षपितशङ्खरभूतनूजः
सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनका-
12 द्वि¹¹ इवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ८*] सेवासमायातवृद्धक्षरेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्याद्युगस्य¹² तस्य ।
अस्मा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 नववन्नार्थिगणैः प्रवीणैः [सं]सेव्यते श्री[1*] खजनैरजस्र¹³ ॥ [९*] तस्योपा-
र्जितत
14 तुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः [1*] भीक्षा भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदंतिदुर्गराजो-
भूत् [॥ १०*] च
15 गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमन्त्रातमप्रणिहितार्थमपेतयत्नं [1*] यो वन्नमं सपदि द
16 त्वा राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरतामवाप ।। ११*] काक्षीशकैरसनराधिपचोक्षपांश्च-
श्रीहृ[र्व]
17 विभेदविधानदत्तं [1*] कर्णोटकं ¹⁴वलमचित्यमजेयमन्यैभृत्यै¹⁵ कियन्निरपि यः
सह .
18 जिगाय ।। १२*] तस्मि¹⁶ दिवं प्रयाते वन्नमराजे सति¹⁷ [1*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनु-
मंजीपतिः क्षण-

¹ Read सत्वं.

⁴ Read 'कौर्त्तिरात्तंति'.

⁷ Read यस्मिन्.

¹⁰ Read 'रीतिचित्तं'.

¹³ Read 'अस्र'.

¹⁶ Read यस्मिन्दि.

² Read मनस्तत्सम.

⁸ Read भूपंसृष्टिपङ्क.

⁹ Read 'कर्षुराणि'.

¹¹ Read 'द्विरे'.

¹⁴ Read वलमचित्य.

¹⁷ A few letters have been inadvertently omitted after सति.

³ Read 'ग्राम्य सद्यः'.

⁶ Read 'निव्यभूव'.

⁸ Read 'काल'.

¹² Read 'वृद्ध' and 'वन्द्याभि'.

¹⁵ Read 'मन्यैभृत्यै'.

- 19 राजोभूत् ।[। १३*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषीत्वादितारिदिक्कं । कृष्ण-
स्त्रीवा' च[रि]तं
20 श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ।[। १४*] श्रुभतुङ्गुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं [*]
श्रीष्मेपि [न]-
21 भीमण्डलं^३ प्रावृट्प्रायते स्पष्टं ।[। १५*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टमजस्रं^४
[*] तत्क्षणम-
22 कालवर्षो वर्षति सर्वास्तिर्निर्गद्यः^५ ॥ १६*] येन निजराज्यभूर्जितमशेष-
भूपास्तपास्त-
23 मनन्तं [*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटविश्रुतचरितं 'कृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१७*] तस्य
सुतः[*] सकलमहीमण्डलप-
24 रिपालनक्षम[*] शूरः[*] [*] जितवीरवैरिषर्गी नाम्ना गोविन्दराजोभूत्
॥ [१८*] यस्य प्रवलप्र-^६

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 'वलप्रद्योतिताश्रासुखनिर्दलितवीरवैरिषर्गस्य पृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर-
26 मेखरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलकस्य प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [*] तस्यानुजः
27 श्रीधुवराजनाम्ना^७ महानुभावो विहितप्रताप[*] [*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-
चक्र[*] चूडाम-
28 णि^८ वालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव^९ ।[। १९*] तस्य सुतः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दसुवर्ण-
वर्षप्रतापशी-^{१०}
29 लश्रीकर्कराजस्तदाश्रया सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविष[य*]पतिराष्ट्रग्राममह-
30 त्तराधिकारिका^{११} समाश्रापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं मातापित्रीः पुण्ययशोभि-
31 वृध्यर्थमार्मनश्च^{१२} शकनृपकास्तातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तस्वेकोत्तरेषु चक्रेनापि
32 संवत्सरशत ७०१ पुष्यमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां संक्रान्तौ सिन्धीनगरावस्थितेन
श्री-
33 कर्कराजेन [*] तेनेदमभ्रुवमसाश्रितमप्रतिष्ठ^{१४} स्वप्रेन्द्रजालजलवीचिचलस्वभा-
34 वं [*] मत्वा जगत्तरवि^{१५} पञ्चवतीयतुष्टं संसारसागरसुखात्तरणं^{१६} विचिन्त्य
॥ २०*] श्रीश्च . .

^१ Read कृष्णस्त्रीवाकृष्णं.

^४ Read 'शगः.

^७ Read 'वल'.

^९ Read वाला^{१०} and 'भूव'.

^{११} Read 'वृध्यर्थमात्मनश्च.

^{१२} Read 'सुधीन'.

^३ Read नभी निखिलं.

^५ Read श्रीकृष्ण'.

^६ Read 'नामा.

^{११} Read 'शब्द'.

^{१२} Read 'मयावत'.

^३ Read 'चष्टं समीहितमजस्रं

^४ Read प्रवल'.

^६ For चूडामणि read क्रमेण.

^{११} Read 'कारिका'.

^{१२} Read जगत्तरवि.

- 35 मृवास्तव्यस्यानेकशास्त्रावगाधसंशुद्धबुद्धिप्रभावाभिभूताखिलवि¹ . . .
 36 दं वेदवेदांगेतिहासपुराणव्याकरणमीमांसातर्कनिरुक्तय[त्र]विद्या . . .

Third Plate.

- 37 पारगाय तक्षैविद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोक्षकठसत्रज्ञचारिणे² भट्टज . . .
 38 भट्टचन्द्रादित्यसुताय ॥ नासिक्कविषयान्तर्गतः रक्खुत्तनाम्ना³ ग्राम[*] प्र[ति]-
 पादि . . .
 39 दकपुरस्सरं दत्तः । यस्य पूर्वतो चेभट्टिकानामग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणतो गीदाव[री] .
 40 क्षिमतो वटमुखं नाम ग्राम[*] । उत्तरतो वटपुरं नाम ग्राम[*] ॥ एवं
 चतुराघाटवि[श्र] . . .
 41 द्रं[ग]ः सपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रवेश⁴ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन दत्तः । तथा च
 व . . .
 42 नोक्तं ॥ स्व⁵ दातुं सुमहत्त्वक्यं⁶ दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [*] दानं वा पालनं
 वेत्ति दानाच्छे . . .
 43 नुपा[लनं] । [१ २१*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । षष्ठि⁷
 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(?) . . .
 44 जायते क्षमिः ॥ [२२*] [तडागा]नां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधयतेन च । गवां कीटि-
 प्रदानेन भू[मि] . . .
 45 न शुध्यति ॥ [२३*] षष्ठि⁸ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [*]
 आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नर . . . [॥ २४*]
 46 [दत्तानि] यानीह पुरा नरेन्द्रैः⁹ दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्वाण्य-
 वांत(ः)प्रति[मा] . . .
 47 [नि] को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२५*] बहुभिः¹⁰ वसुधा भुक्ता¹¹
 राजभि[*] सगरादि[भि] [*] . . .
 48 यस्य यदा भूमिः¹² तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [२६*] लिखितं च मया ¹³श्रीप-
 ताप्रशीलाज्ञ[या] . . .
 49 न दुग्गाडिसुतेनोज्ज्वलशासनमालिलख¹⁴ ॥

¹ Read 'नाड' and 'बुद्धि'.² Read 'प्रवेश्य'.³ Read 'षष्ठि'.⁴ Read 'बहुभिर्व'.⁵ Read 'श्रीप्रसाप'.⁶ Read 'ब्रह्म'.⁷ Read 'स्व'.⁸ Read 'षष्ठि'.⁹ Read 'सुता'.¹⁰ Read 'नोज्ज्वलशासनम् and omit the letters following'.¹¹ Read 'गामा'.¹² Read 'हृत्त्वक्य'.¹³ Read 'नन्दी'.¹⁴ Read 'भूमिस्तस्य'.

No. 20.—TWO GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA II.

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

These two sets of copper-plates belong to the Rutlam Darbar and were lent to Messrs. Marshall and Cousens in December 1902 by the Dewan of the Rutlam State in Central India. Mr. Marshall has communicated to me a letter of the Dewan of Rutlam, from which it appears that the plates had been found in 1891 at Nôgâwâ,¹ a village 10 miles north of Rutlam, while a well near a Brâhman's house was being repaired. Each set consists of two copper-plates. To both sets is affixed a single seal, whose ring was found broken or cut, and of which it cannot be said to which set it belonged originally. The seal is elliptical, measures about 2½" by 2" in diameter, and bears, on a countersunk surface, in relief, a bull couchant which faces the proper right, and below the bull, the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭṭakkaḥ*.

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1902-03, p. 232 ff., I have already published the second of the two grants (B.), with facsimile. In now editing the first (A.), I reprint the text of the second as well, because the grant portions of both are closely connected and throw light on each other.

A.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 320.

This inscription is edited from two sets of ink-impressions prepared by Mr. Cousens in 1905, and from rubbings supplied by Mr. Marshall in the same year. It is engraved on two copper-plates which bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9 inches in height and about 11½" in breadth.

The alphabet resembles that of other Maitraka inscriptions of the same period. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs once (l. 37), and the *upadhṛmāntya* also once (l. 38). The numerical symbols for 300, 20 and 5 are used in the date portion (l. 52). The secondary form of *ā* is very often omitted. The *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṃ* before *ś* and *h*² (ll. 3, 5, 22, 45, 48), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 14, 28, 32), while the *anusvāra* is employed in three others (*saṃśakta*, ll. 1, 5, and *saṃśakāra*, l. 34).

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 49-51. The rules of Sandhi are often disregarded—even in compound words.³

The inscription records a grant of land to two Brâhmanas by the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna (II.), who issued this edict from (his capital) Valabhi (l. 1). His genealogy is described in the same words as in his grant of Samvat 310⁴ and has been translated by me elsewhere.⁵ The grant portion runs as follows:—

(L. 36.) 'The fervent worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva), the glorious Dhruvasēna (II.) whose second name was Bālāditya, being in good health, issues (the following) command to all according as they are concerned:—

(L. 37.) "Be it known to you that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, I have given in Mālavaka, in the said district (*bhukti*), at the eastern boundary of

¹ Dr. Fleet kindly informs me that this village is entered as 'Naugama' on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (1895).

² In *saṃśakāra*, l. 12, the *ka* is corrected from *śka*.

³ See *nivḍai-vaḥyamāna*, l. 38 f. and l. 40, and *brāhmana-Agnisṛṣṭinā*, l. 39 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15 ff.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 69 ff.

the village Navagrāmaka, one hundred *bhaktis* (of land) to the Brāhmaṇa Agnisvāmin, who has come from [U]dumbaragahvara, resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvédins* of the said (place),¹ to the *gōtra* of the Pārāsaras and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Kumārasvāmin, and to the Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaravi, who has come from Jambūsara, resides at Ayānakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvédins* of the said (place),² to the *gōtra* of the Kausikas and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Mahēśvara.

(L. 42.) "The boundaries of this (land are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Varāhōṭaka; to the south, a river; to the west, La[k]shmapa's *paṭṭikā*; (and) to the north, the boundary of the village Pulindānaka.

(L. 43.) "(I have given), as a meritorious gift, with libations of water, these one hundred *bhaktis*, thus defined by (their) four boundaries, with the *udraṅga*, *aparikara* (and) *bhātavātapratyāya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with the *daśāparādha*, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding gifts previously made to temples and to Brāhmaṇas and the twentieth (share due) to Brāhmaṇas,³ according to the maxim of *bhāmichchhidra*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains, (and) to be enjoyed by the sons, grandsons and (further) descendants (of the two donees)."

Ll. 46-51 contain the usual admonitions and imprecations.

(L. 51.) "The messenger (*dūtaka*) for this (grant is) the *Rājaputra* *śrī-Kharagraha*. This (edict) has been written by the chief secretary (*divīrapati*) *Skandabhāṭa*, the son of the chief secretary *Vatrabhaṭṭ[i]*, who is charged with peace and war. The year 300 (and) 20; (the month) Bhādrapada; the dark (fortnight); the 5th (*tīthi*). (This is) My own signature."

The two donees resided at Agastikāgrahāra and Ayānakāgrahāra⁴ and had emigrated from Udumbaragahvara (l. 38) and Jambūsara (l. 40). Udumbaragahvara occurs also in B. (l. 41) and in a grant of Dhruvasēna IV.⁵ Jambūsara is the modern Jambūsar between Kaira and Broach.⁶

The expression 'in Mālavaka, in the said district' (*Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktau*, l. 41 f., and *Mālavakē uchyamāna-vishayē* in B., l. 44) is a little puzzling. When publishing B. alone, I suggested that the word *uchyamāna* may refer to Daśapura, which occurs three lines earlier in the description of the donees. This idea has to be given up because A. does not mention Daśapura at all. In the description of the donees the word *uchyamāna* is used twice with reference to the immediately preceding village names Agastikāgrahāra (l. 38) and Ayānakāgrahāra (l. 40). Consequently the word *uchyamāna* before *bhuktau* and *vishayē* can only refer to the preceding locative *Mālavakē*, and *Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktau* or *-vishayē* comes to the same as *Mālavaka-bhuktau* or *-vishayē*. At any rate the two grants prove that Dhruvasēna II. was in possession of Mālwā, or at least of a portion of it.

To this province belonged the land granted in Navagrāmaka, which was bounded in the east by Varāhōṭaka, in the south by a river, and in the north by Pulindānaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam identified Navagrāmaka with the modern Nōgāwā where the two grants were discovered, Varāhōṭaka with Bhārōḍā in the east, and Pulindānaka with Paldūnā in the north. On a map of the Rutlam State which he annexed to his letter, a small river is also marked on the south-east of Nōgāwā, as required by the description in the grant.

¹ I.e. of Agastikāgrahāra.

² Compare Bühler's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 337.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 337.

⁴ I.e. of Ayānakāgrahāra.

⁵ See page 195 below.

⁶ Compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 241.

The *Dātaka* of this grant, prince (*vijayaputra*) Kharagraha¹ (l. 51) is perhaps the same person who later on ascended the throne as Kharagraha II. The writer of the inscription, the *Divirapati Skandabhāṭa*, occurs again in other grants of Dhruvasēna II.² and Dharasēna IV.;³ his father *Vatrabhaṭṭi* in grants of Śilāditya I. and Dhruvasēna II.;⁴ and his son *Anahila* in grants of Dhruvasēna III., Kharagraha II. and Śilāditya II.⁵

The year of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 320 (i.e. A.D. 639-40), is the same as that of the Bhaunagar plates published by Mr. Jackson.⁶

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁸ स्वस्ति [॥*] वलभितः प्रसभप्रणतामित्र[१*]णां मैत्रकाण[१]मतुलबल-
सम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंस्तुप्रह[र]-
- 2 शतलब्धप्रतापाश्रयापीपनतदानम[१]नार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबला-
वाप्तराज्य-
- 3 श्रियः परममाहेश्वरः(ः)श्रीभटार्कादयवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणति-
प्रविधीतामेषकल्पयः[ः]
- 4 शैशवाग्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिक्षपः¹⁰
तत्प्रभावप्रणता-
- 5 रातिचूडार(१)नप्रभासंस्तुपादनखरश्मिसङ्कृतिः¹¹ सकलकृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्चरि-
पालनप्रजाहृदय-¹²
- 6 अनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दी¹³रूपरान्तिस्त्रैय्याभिव्यवृद्धिसम्पद्भिः¹⁴स्मरशशाङ्काद्विराजोदधि-
त्रिदशगुरुधनेशानति-¹⁵
- 7 शयान[ः] शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतय[१*] दण्डवदपास्त[१*]शेषस्वक[१*]र्थफल-
प्र[१*]त्यर्थाधिकार्य(१)प्रदानानन्दित-
- 8 विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रभोदः परममाहेश्वरः
श्रीगुहसेन-
- 9 स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्त[१*]न[वि]सृतजाह्न[वी]जलौघप्रक्ष[१*]लिताशेष-
कल्पयः प्रणयिमतसहस्रोपजीव्य-

¹ The same prince is mentioned in B. below, l. 53 f., and in *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 21.

² B. below, l. 54, and *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 22.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 75, and Vol. XV. p. 340.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 16, Vol. IX. p. 239, and Vol. XIV. p. 328.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 79, and Vol. XI. p. 309; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 85, and Vol. IV. p. 75.

⁶ *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 9.

⁷ From ink-impressions and rubbings.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read °वङ्गा°.

¹⁰ Read °सत्त्व°.

¹¹ Read °सङ्कृति°.

¹² Read °सम्यक्परि°.

¹³ Read °रूपकान्ति°.

¹⁴ Read °शास्त्रीय°.

¹⁵ Read °गुरु°.

- 10 मानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसम[१*]भिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिभिः[चा]विशेष-
विष्णापिताखिलधनु-^१
- 11 ईरः प्रथ[१]मनरपतिसमतिमृष्ट[१*]नामनुप[१*]लयिता ^२धम्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता
प्रजोपघातकारि-
- 12 ए[१]सुपन्नव[१*]नां दशयिता^३ श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिपासस्य^४ संहतारातिपक्ष-
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमी विक्रमीपसं-
- 13 प्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्य[१*]तः
सकलज[गदा]नन्दन[१*]त्यङ्गुत[१]-
- 14 गुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मण्डलः[१*] समरशतविजय[शो]भासन[१*]थमण्डलाग्र-
द्युतिभासुरतराम्मपीठीदूढ-^५
- 15 'गुरुमनोरथमहाभ[१*]रः सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व-
तस्सुभ[१*]षितलवेनापि सुखोपपा-
- 16 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाभीर्यैर्हृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरम-
कल्प[१*]णस्वभावः खिली-
- 17 भूतकृतशुश्रूषपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतीदशकी[त्तिङ्]र्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वल[त]रिक्त[१*]-
र्त्यसुखसम्पद्रूपसेवानिरू-^६
- 18 ढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्प[१*]द[१*]-
नुध्य[१*]तः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरुण[१]-
- 19 त्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मि^७ स्कन्ध[१*]स[क्त][१*] परमभद्र इव
धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञ[१*]सम्प[१*]दनैक[र]सतयैवोदह-
- 20 ^८नखेदसुखररि[भ्य][१*]मन[१*]य[१*]सितसत्त्वसम्पत्तिः^९ प्रभावसम्पदशीक[त]नृपति-
शतशिरोरत्नच्छायापगूढपादपीठीपि
- 21 परावज्ञाभिम[१*]नरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेका^{१०} परित्यज्य प्रख्यात-
पौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादित-
- 22 प्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवन[१*]मोदविमलगुणसङ्घतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलि-
विल[सि]तगतिर्नीचजना-^{११}
- 23 धिरोहिभिरशेषैर्होषैरन[१*]मृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौ[र]षास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथ-
विपक्षचितिषतिलक्ष्मी-^{१२}

^१ Read 'गुणैस्सहज'.^२ Read 'धम्म'.^३ Read 'विवासास' ; the *sa* of 'संहता' is corrected from *śa*.^४ Read 'रास'.^५ Read 'लक्ष्मी'.^६ Read 'मेका'.^७ Read 'धम्म'.^८ Read 'गुरु'.^९ Read 'रतिभ्य'.^{१०} Read 'संहति'.^{११} Read 'संहति'.^{१२} Read 'दशयिता'.^{१३} Read 'दिग्मण्डलः'.^{१४} Read 'कौशिकी' and 'तरीकता'.^{१५} Read 'सत्त्व'.^{१६} Read 'चिन्तिपति'.

- 24 'स्वययइप्रक[१*]शितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंस्थाधिगम[१*] परमम[१*]हेखरः श्रीखर-
ग्रहस्तस्य तनय-
25 'तत्पादा[नुध्व][१*]तः सकलवि[द्य][१*]धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरि-
तोषातिशयः सत्वताम्यद[१*]^१ त्व[१*]गौदा[र्व्ये]-
26 ख च विग[त][१*]नु[स]न्धान[१*][श]म[१हि]तार[१*]तिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सख्य-
गुणलक्षित[१*]नेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरित-

Second Plate.

- 27 गङ्गर[वि]भागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरक्तचिमप्रसयवि[न]यशोभाविभूषणः^४ समरशतजय-
पताकाह-
28 रणप्रत्नलोदयबाहुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः^५ [स्व]धनुः[१*]प्रभावपरि-
भुतास्त्रकौ[श]लाभिमा-^६
29 [न]सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिग[न्दि]तशासना^७ परमम[१]हेखरः श्रीधरसेनस्तत्या-
नुजस्तत्पाद[१*]नुध्व[१*]तः सचरितातिशयित-
30 स[क]लपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विपयाणां^८ मूर्तिमा[नि]व
पुत्र[स]कारः^९ परिवृष्टगुणानुराग-
31 [नि]र्भरचित्तहृत्तिभिर्भनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
क[१*][न्ति]मा[विष्ट]तिहेतुरकलङ्कः
32 [कु]मुदनाथः प्राञ्चप्रतापस्वगितदिग[न्त]राजप्रध्वंसितध्वा[न्त]राशिस्ततोदित-
स्त्रविता^{१०} प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्र[त्न]यम-
33 ^{११}[त्वन्त]मतिबहुतिशयप्रयोजनानुबन्धम[१*]गमपरिपूर्णं^{१२} विदधानः ^{१३}वन्धिविशङ्क-
समासनिश्चयनिपुणः [स्व]ाननु-^{१४}
34 ^{१५}रूपमादेयं ददद्बहुविधानजनितसंस्कारस्व[१*]धूना^{१६} राज्यसालातुरीय[त]न्त्र-
योद्धमवीरप^{१७} नि[ष्ठा]तः
35 प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि ^{१८}किरणाद्यदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी
स्त्रिरसौहृदकोपि निरसिता दो-
36 धवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजगतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्पितप्रथितबालादित्यहि-

^१ Read 'स्वययइ'.^२ Read 'प्रथम'.^३ Read 'शासना'.^४ Read 'परिभूषण'.^५ Read 'पूर्ण'.^६ Read 'दय'.^७ Read 'कला'.^८ Read 'क्षर'.^९ Read 'विध्वंसित'.^{१०} Read 'सालातुरीय'.^{११} Read 'प्रध्वंसित'.^{१२} Read 'सन्धि'.^{१३} Read 'धूना'.^{१४} Read 'सत्त्वसम्पदा'.^{१५} Read 'परिभूता'.^{१६} Read 'विपयाणां'.^{१७} Read 'त्यं'.^{१८} Read 'सालातुरीय'.^{१९} Read 'शासनातुरीय' and 'रपि'.

... 28
... 30
... 32
... 34
... 36
... 38
... 40
... 42
... 44
... 46
... 48
... 50
... 52

- 37 तीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनकुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्त-
म[१*]ज्ञापयेत्यस्तु^१ व-
- 38 स्तंविदितं यथा मया मातापितृ(पुण्याप्य[१]यनायः^२ दुम्बरगह्वर[वि]निर्ग-
तागस्तिकाग्र(१)हार(१)[नि]वासिउ[च्य]-
- 39 मानचातुर्विध्यसामान्यपाराशरस[गो]त्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकु[मा]रस्व[१]मि-
पुत्रब्राह्मण-
- 40 अग्निस्वामिने तथा जम्बूसरविनिर्गतायानकाग्र(१)हारनिवासि[उ]च्यमान[चा]तु-
र्विध्यसामान्यकौशिकस-
- 41 गोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणमहेश्वरपुत्रब्राह्मणसंगरवये^३ मालवके उच्यमा-
नभु-
- 42 तौ नवग्रामकयामपूर्व[दी]प्ति^४ भ[क्ती]शतं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः वराहो-
टकग्रामकङ्कटः द[क्षि]णतो
- 43 नदी अपरतः^५ लक्षणपट्टिका उत्तरतः पुलिन्दानकयामकङ्कटः [ए]वमेतच्चतु-
राघाटनविशुद्धं भक्तीशतं
- 44 सोदङ्ग^६ सोपरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय^७ सदश[१*]पराधं
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक^८ सर्वराज-
- 45 कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षणीयं^९ पूर्वप्रक्षदे[व]ब्रह्मदेयब्र[१*]ह्मणविह्वतिरहितं^{१०} भूमिच्छिद्र-
न्य[१*]येन[१*]चन्द्र[१*]कर्णार्ण[वक्षि]-
- 46 तिसरित्पर्वतसमक[१*]लीनं पुत्रपोत्रान्वयभीम्य^{११} उ[द]कातिसर्गणे धर्मदायो
निसृष्टः यतो नयो(च)रुचितया
- 47 ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या गुञ्जतोः^{१२} कषतोः कफयतोः^{१३} प्रदिशतोर्वा न कैश्चिद्वर[१*]सिधे
वर्तितव्यभागामिभद्रनृप-
- 48 तिभिरय्यस्रद्वजैरखेर्वी^{१४} अनित्य[१*]न्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं म[१*]नुष्य^{१५} स[१*]-
म[१*]न्यच्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्विर[य]-
- 49 मस्मद्[१*]योनुमन्तव्यः परिप[१*]लयितव्यश्चेत्युतच्च^{१६} ॥ बहुभिर्वसुध[१*] भु-
क्त[१*] राजभिस्सगर[१*]दिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यद[१*] भूमस्त[स्य]^{१७}

^१ Read °पयत्यस्तु.^२ Read °यनायोदुम्बर° and compare B., text line 41.^३ The name of the donee is spaced out. It may have been filled in subsequently, or substituted for an erased longer name.^४ Read °पूर्वसौमि.^५ Read लक्षण°.^६ Read सोदङ्ग.^७ Read °देय.^८ Read °विष्टिक.^९ Read °प्रक्षणीयं पूर्व°.^{१०} Read °विंशति°.^{११} Read °पोत्रान्वयभीम्य°.^{१२} Read गुञ्जतोः.^{१३} Read कर्षयतोः.^{१४} Read °य्यस्रद्वजैरखेर्वी°.^{१५} Read मानुष्य.^{१६} Read °न्युक्तस्य.^{१७} Read भूमिस्तस्य.

- 50 तस्य तद[१*] फल^१ [॥*] [य]भीह^२ द[१*]दिभय[१*]नरे[२]नानि^३
 धर्म[१*]यतनीकृत[१*]नि [१*] निर्भुक्तम[१*]व्यप्रतिम[१*]नि त[१*]नि को
 नाम ग्राधुः^४ पु[न]-
- 51 रा[य]दीत^५ ॥ षष्ठिवर्ष[१*]सहस्र[१*][णि] स्वर्गे तिष्ठति^६ भुमिदः [१*] अष्टे-
 त[१*]^७ च[१*]नुम[१*][१*]^८ च त[१*]न्य[१*]^९ नरक्षे व[१*]दिति ॥ दूतकोच
 राजपुत्रश्रीखरपह[१*]
- 52 लिखितमिदं^{१०} सन्धिविग्रह[१*]धिष्ठतदिविरपतिवचनपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन^{११} ॥
 स ३०० २० भ[१*]द्रपद व ५ स्वस्ती मम ॥

B.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA]-SAMVAT 321.

The text of this inscription, which is here printed for the second time,¹² is based on two sets of ink-impressions and one set of estampages, prepared by Mr. Cousens. The estampages are very excellent and show many letters which, owing to the corroded condition of the original, appear only imperfectly in the ink-impressions.

The copper-plates are two in number and bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9" in height and 11½" in breadth.

The *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice (ll. 34 and 40), and the *upadhmanīya* once (l. 53). The date portion contains the numerical symbols for 300, 20, 1 and 3 (l. 54). As in A., the *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṃ* before *ś* and *h* (ll. 3, 5, 12, 23, 48, 50), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 15, 29, 34), while in three others (ll. 2, 5, 36 f.) the *anusvāra* is employed.

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but, as in A., three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 51-53. The language of ll. 41-43 is incorrect. The name of the first donee, *Dattasvāmi* (l. 42), although it has no case-ending, is joined by the particle *tathā* to the following *Kumārasvāmi* (l. 43), to which the dual case-ending *bhṛām* is affixed.

The text of the grant B. is practically identical with that of A., excepting the place of issue, the names and the description of the two donees, the description of the granted land, and the date. The grant was issued "from the victorious camp pitched at *Va[n]ditapalli*" (l. 1), which I am unable to identify. The two donees were "the Brāhmaṇa *Dattasvāmin*, who has come from *Udumbaragahvara*, resides at *Ay[ā]nakāgrahāra*, belongs to the *Trivēdins* of *Daśapura*, to the *gōtra* of the *Pārāsaras* and to the school of the *Mādhyandina-Vājasaneyas*, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa *Budhasvāmin*, and the Brāhmaṇa *Kumārasvāmin*, who resides at *Agastikāgrahāra*, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),¹³ to the *gōtra* of the *Pārāsaras* and to the school of the *Vājasaneyas*, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa

^१ Read फलं.

^२ Read साधुः.

^३ Read आष्टेता.

^४ Read चिह्नितं.

^५ See page 188 above.

^६ Read दारिद्र्यं.

^७ Read राददीत.

^८ Read मला.

^९ Read वचमहि and see B., text line 54.

^{१०} I.e. of *Agastikāgrahāra*.

^{११} Read नानि.

^{१२} Read लिखित भूमिदः.

^{१३} Read तान्येव.

Budhasvāmin" (ll. 41-43). The grant consisted of "a field measuring one hundred *bhaktis* at the southern boundary of the village Chandraputraka in Mālavaka, in the said district (*vishaya*).¹ The boundaries of this (field are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Dhammanahaḍḍikā; to the south, the boundary of the village Dēvakulapāṭaka; to the west, the boundary of the field of the Mahattara Viratara-maṇḍalin; at the north-western corner, the small tank (called) Nirgaṇḍī; (and) to the north, (the field of) Viratara-maṇḍalin" (ll. 44-46). The date of the grant was "the year 300 (and) 20 (and) 1; (the month) Chaitra; the dark (fortnight); the 3rd (*tithi*)" (l. 54).

Each of the two donees is called a son of Budhasvāmin, a student of the Vājasaneyā *sūkhā*, and a member of the Pārāsara *gōtra*. This suggests that they were sons of the same father, and that the epithet 'who has come from Udumbaragahvara,'² which is applied to the first donee (l. 41), holds good for the second as well. The first donee is stated to have resided at Ayānakāgrahāra and to have belonged to the *Trivēdins* of Daśapura. From this I conclude that Ayānakāgrahāra was a quarter or suburb of Daśapura. The second donee, who was probably the brother of the first, resided at, and belonged to the *Chaturvēdins* of, Agastikāgrahāra, which may have been another hamlet of Daśapura. This town is the modern Dasār or Mandasār, the chief town of a district of the Scindia's dominions,³ about 52 miles north of Rutlam.

As in the inscription A., the land granted belonged to the province of Mālavaka. It consisted of a field in the south of Chandraputraka and was bounded in the east by Dhammanahaḍḍikā and in the south by Dēvakulapāṭaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam thought of identifying these places, successively, with Chandodia, Dhamnod and Dival Khedi⁴—three villages in the south-west of Nōgāwā where the two grants were discovered. But the phonetical correspondence of each of the three pairs of names is only superficial; besides, Dhamnod is not in the east, but in the south-west, and Dival Khedi not in the south, but in the north-west, of Chandodia. Hence the Dewan's identification must be rejected. Dr. Fleet has very kindly searched the maps with the following result:—

"Eleven miles south-south-east from Mandasār, there is a large village which is shown as 'Dhamnar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 35, S.E. (1891), and as 'Dhamnār' in the Bhopal and Malwa Topographical Survey sheet No. 38 (1882). I suspect that this is the Dhammanahaḍḍikā of the record. But neither of the maps shows anything answering to any of the other names; unless Dēvakulapāṭaka may be found in the 'Dilauda' of the maps, four miles west-south-west from 'Dhamnār,' and in quite the right position to be on the south of Chandraputraka,—'Dhamnār' being taken to be the village on its east.⁵ And, of course, a possible identification of only one place is not sufficient to conclusively locate the record."

The date of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 321 (i.e. A.D. 640-41), falls between that of the first Nōgāwā grant—Samvat 320—and the earliest date of Dharasēna IV.—Samvat 326⁶—and thus extends the known period of the reign of Dhruvasēna II. by one year.

¹ See the remarks on page 189 above.

² See above, p. 189 and note 5.

³ See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79 f., and above, Vol. V. p. 88 f.

⁴ Dr. Fleet informs me that these villages are given on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (189b), as Chandoria, Dhamnod, Dibal and Kheri.

⁵ "There is also another 'Dilauda,' which gives its name to a station on the Holkar and Neemuch State Railway, three and a half miles north-north-east from this one, and two and a half miles north-west-by-west from 'Dhamnār.'"

⁶ See Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 481.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावाराह[न्दि]तपस्तीवासकायसभप्रणताभिन्नाणां
मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोग-
- 2 ³संसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापायतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपाज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत-
श्रेणी-
- 3 बलावासरारव्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादध्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गाभ्यातापितृचरणा-
रविन्दप्रणति-⁴
- 4 प्रविधौताशेषकल्पायः शैशवाग्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघट[१]-
स्फोटनप्र[का]शि[त]-
- 5 ⁵सत्त्वनिक्षयः तद्व्यभावप्रणतारतिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्कृतिः⁶ सक[ल]-
स्युतिप्रणी-
- 6 तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्यबुद्धि-
सम्यङ्नि[ः*] स्मरश-
- 7 शाङ्गाद्विराजोदधिचिदशगुरुधनेशनतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तुणवद-
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्थ-
- 8 फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवन-
मण्डला[भो]गप्रमोदः
- 9 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसक्तानविसृतजाह्नवीजलोच-
प्रक्षालि[ता]शेष-⁷
- 10 कल्पायः प्रणयिशतसङ्ख्योपजीव्यमानसम्यद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसमाभिगामि-
कौर्गुणै[ः*] [स]ङ्ग-
- 11 शक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविक्षापिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता
धर्मदा[याना]-
- 12 मपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणासुपप्लवाना⁸ दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य
⁹सङ्कृतारातिपक्षल[क्ष्मी]-
- 13 परिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसप्रसवि[म]लपार्थिवश्रीः¹⁰ परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधर-
सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-

¹ From two ink-impressions and an estampage.² Expressed by a symbol.³ An indistinct symbol is engraved above the line between पा and त्र of ³प्रतापात्र.⁴ Read ⁴वशा.⁵ Read ⁵सत्त्व.⁶ Read ⁶सङ्कृतिः.⁷ Read ⁷अलौष.⁸ Read ⁸प्रवाणा.⁹ Read ⁹सङ्कृता.¹⁰ Read ¹⁰संप्राप्त.

- 14 ध्यातः ¹सकलजगदानन्दनात्यभुतगुणसमुदयस्य गितसमग्रदिङ्गलः सम[र]शत-
विजयशोभास-
- 15 नाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्मपीठोद्[ढ]गु[रु]मनीरथमहाभा[र]ः² सर्व्व[विद्या]-
परावर[वि]भागाधिग-
- 16 मविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपा[द]नीयपरि[तो]षः समग्र-
लोकागाधगाभी-
- 17 र्य्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्व[भा]वः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपति-
पथ[वि]शोध-
- 18 नाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्धर्मानुपरोधीज्जल[त]रीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मा[दि]-
त्यद्विती[य]नामा पर-
- 19 ममाहेस्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः [स्त्र]यसुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरु-
णात्यादरवत[ः] समभिल-
- 20 षणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी³ स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैक-
रसत[यै]वीद्वहन्मेदसुखरतिभ्या-⁴
- 21 मनायासितसत्त्वसपत्तिः⁵ प्रभावसम्पदशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
परावन्नाभि-
- 22 मानरसाना[यज्ञित]मनोवृत्तिः⁶ प्रणतिमेका⁷ परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्य-
रातिभिरनासादितप्र[ति]क्रि[यो]-
- 23 पायः ⁸कृतनिखिलभुवनामीदविमलगुणसङ्कृतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगति-
र्मी[च]जनाधि-
- 24 रो[हि]भिरश्रेष्ठैर्धैरनामृष्टात्युक्ततद्भयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिशय-
विदक्ष[स्त्रि]तिपाति-⁹
- 25 लक्ष्मीस्त्रयंशङ्कप्रकाशितप्रविरपुरुषप्रथमसेम्याधिगमः¹⁰ परममाहेस्वरः श्रीश्वरशङ्क-
स्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादा-
- 26 नुध्यातः स[क]लविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः ¹¹सत्त्व-
सम्पदा त्वागौदार्य्येण च
- 27 विगतानुसन्धान[ः]शमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाच्चमङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितासकशा[स्त्र]-¹²
- 28 ¹³[क]लाद्येकचरितगङ्गारविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृति[र]क्तविमप्रच[यविनय]-

¹ Read "लङ्कृत".² Read "लङ्कृत".³ Read "नेत्रा".⁴ Read "प्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः".⁵ Read "कालालीक".⁶ Read "रास".⁷ Read "सत्त्वसंपत्तिः".⁸ Read "संज्ञति".⁹ Read "सत्त्व".¹⁰ Read "लक्ष्मी".¹¹ Read "नाखिलित".¹² Read "विपक्षचितिपति".¹³ Read "तानेक".

Second Plate.

- 29 शोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदभवाद्दण्डविध्वंसित-¹
- 30 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदण्डोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिम-
- 31 गङ्गलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेस्वरः श्रीधरसेन[ः*] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्य[ः*]-
त[ः*] सञ्चरितातिशयितस-
- 32 कलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुष-
कारः परिहृष्टगु-
- 33 णानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्भनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः
कान्तिमा-
- 34 त्रिर्वृत्तिहेतुरकलङ्कमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थ[गि]तदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशिः²
सततो-
- 35 दितस्त्वविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागम-
परिपूर्णं
- 36 विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूप[मादे]शं ददद्गुणवृद्धि-
विधानजनितसं-
- 37 स्कारस्त्राधूनां ³राज्यसालातुरियतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि
करुणाशृदुहृद-
- 38 यः श्रुतवानप्यगर्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दोष-
वतामुदर्यसमयसमुप-⁴
- 39 जनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थतप्रथितवा[ला]दित्यद्वितीयनामा⁵ परम-
माहेस्वरः श्री-
- 40 ध्रुवसेनकुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा
मया मातापित्रोः
- 41 पुण्याध्यायनाय ⁶उदुम्बरगङ्गारविनिर्गताय[ः*]नकाग्र(1)हारनिवासिदशपुरत्रैविद्य-
सामान्यपाराशरस-
- 42 गोत्रमाध्यन्दिनवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्वामि तथागस्ति-
काग्रहारनिवासि-
- 43 [उ]च्यमानचातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामपुत्रब्रा-
ह्मणकुमारस्वामिभ्या⁷

¹ Read °विध्वंसित°.² Read °प्रध्वंसित°.³ Read °शालातुरीय°.⁴ Read °मुदय°.⁵ Read °समर्थित°.⁶ °तायानका° is the reading of A., text line 40.⁷ Read °बुधस्वामिपुत्र°. The syllable भ्या is entered on the margin of the plate; read °भ्या.

- 44 मालवके उत्थमानविष[ये] चन्द्रपुत्रकग्रामे दक्षिणसीन्नि भक्तीशतप्रमाणचेचं
यस्याघ[1*]टनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणह-
- 45 छिडकाग्रामकङ्कटः दक्षिणतो देवकुलपाट[क]ग्रामकङ्कटः अपरतः वीरतरमण्डलि-
महत्तरचेचमर्यादा उत्तरपश्चि-
- 46 मकीणे निर्गण्णीतडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरमण्डली एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुद्धं
भक्तीशतप्रमाणचेचं शी-¹
- 47 द्रङ्गं सोपरिकर² सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरणादेयं सपशपराध³ सोत्पद्यमान
विष्टिकं सर्व्वराजकीयानामह-
- 48 स्तप्रत्तेपणीय⁴ पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविङ्कतिरहितं⁵ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्का-
णवन्नितिसरित्पर्व्व-
- 49 तसमकालानं⁶ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभीष्यं उदकातिसर्गेण धर्म्मदायी निसृष्ट[1*] यतो-
नयोक्षितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जत⁷
- 50 कषतः⁸ कर्षयतः⁹ प्रदिशतोर्व्वी न कैश्चिद्वासेधे वर्त्तितव्यसामामिभद्रनृपति-
भिरप्यस्मदङ्गजैरन्यैर्व्वी¹⁰ अनित्यान्यै[श्च]र्याण्य-
- 51 स्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयमस्मदायीनुमन्तव्यः परि-
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भु-
- 52 क्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं [1*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयाक्षरेन्दैर्द्वानानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि [1*]
¹¹निभुक्तमाख्यप्रति-
- 53 मानि तानि को नाम साधुपुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्र[1*]णि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिद[1*] 1*] आच्छेता¹² चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकी वसे-
दिति । दूतकोच राज-
- 54 पुत्रश्रीस्वरपह[1*] लिखितमिदं सन्धिविषयाधिकृतदिविरपतिवचभट्टिपुत्रदिविर-
पतिस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं ३०० २० १ चैत्र व ३ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

¹ Read सी०.² Read ०णीयं.³ Read ०तीः.⁴ Read आ० सा.⁵ Read ०करं.⁶ Read ०धिप्रति०.⁷ Read ०इशं.⁸ Read सदमापराधं.⁹ Read ०कासीनं.¹⁰ Read निर्भुक्तं.

No. 21.—JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA
ON MOUNT ABU.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount Âbû were prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultzsch to Professor Kielhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of Nēminātha and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by Tējaḥpāla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of 'the temple of Vastupāla and Tējaḥpāla;' but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to Tējaḥpāla alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was Lūpasimhavasahikā or Lūnavasahikā.¹

No. I. is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1883 by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate in his edition of Sômesvaradēva's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the *Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrīt Inscriptions* published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, p. 174 ff.

The writing covers a space of about 3' 1½" broad by 2' 7½" high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ½". The characters are Jaina Nāgarī. As *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrīt, and apart from the introductory syllable *ōm*, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll. 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by Sômesvaradēva, the well-known *purāṇīta* of the Chaulukya kings and author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*; but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms *balānaka* in l. 37 and *khattaka* in l. 40. The former apparently is identical with Marāṭhī *balāṇī*, which according to the *Dictionary* of Molesworth and Candy means 'a raised seat along the walls of the *gābhārā* or *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of a temple.' The word *khattaka* I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of 'pedestal' or 'throne.' Proper names frequently appear in their Prākṛit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form *Tējapāla*, instead of *Tējaḥpāla*, is used in verse 56.

After an invocation of Sarasvatī (v. 1) and Gaṇeśa (v. 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of Tējaḥpāla. Their native town was Anahilapura, the residence of the Chulukya kings (v. 3). The ancestor of the family was Chaṇḍapa (v. 4). His son was Chaṇḍaprasāda (v. 5), who again had a son named Sôma (v. 6). Sôma's son was Aśvarāja, whose wife was Kumāradēvi (v. 7). They had eleven children (vv. 8-24)—four sons: Lūpiga,

¹ [On *vasahi*, 'a Jaina temple,' which is to be derived from **vasathi*, another form of the Sanskrit *vasati*, see Prof. Fische's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 207. The Kannaḍa equivalent *basadi* or *basti* is a *taddhava* of *vasati* itself.—E. H.]

Kumārapāla himself is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1202.¹ According to Mērtuṅga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* Jayasimhadēva reigned until Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199,² and in the same author's *Vichārasrēṇī* the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kārttika of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199, and that of his successor's coronation as the fourth day of the bright half of Mārgasīra of the same year.³ Ballāla, therefore, must have found his death between A.D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Sōmnāthpattan inscription. No king of that name, however, is found among the Paramāra rulers of Mālava of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is altogether improbable that Ballāla belonged to this dynasty. The question who he was and how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mālava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn⁴ that after the death of Yaśovarman, which must have occurred between A.D. 1135 and 1144,⁵ the Mālava kingdom was for some time in a troubled state apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhārāvārsha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v. 37), was an enemy of the lord of Kaunḱaṇa or Koṅkaṇa (v. 36), but no particulars are added. I have quoted already above the Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1205 (A.D. 1209), where Dhārāvārsha, 'the lord of Chāndrāvati, the Saṃbhu to the Asuras—the provincial chiefs (*māṇḍalika*),' is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhīmadēva II.

His younger brother **Prahlādana** is called he 'whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmāntasimha' (v. 38). The Gūrjara king who was saved by Prahlādana from Sāmāntasimha, of course, was Bhīmadēva II., but it is difficult to say who that Sāmāntasimha was. No further details being given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that prince with certainty. The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the Sāmāntasimha of the inscription is the Guhila chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions on Mount Ābū⁶ and at Sādaḍi.⁷ In the former inscription⁸ he takes the fifth place after Vijayasimha, who must have flourished about A.D. 1125,⁹ and the fifth place before Tējaśimha, whose Chitōrgaḍh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1324 = A.D. 1257.¹⁰ He thus appears to have reigned about A.D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary Prahlādana was *yūvarāja* in A.D. 1209.¹¹ Also from a geographical point of view there is no objection to my identification, as Mēdāpāṭa, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district ruled by the Paramāras of Chāndrāvati. It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahlādana defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief. That the relations between the Chaulukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of Visaladēva, the son of Virādhavala, where the king is given the epithet *Mēdapāṭakadēśa-kaluṣa-rājya-vallī-kand-ōchchhēdāna-kuddila-kalpa*, 'he who resembled a hoe for rooting out the bulb of (*that*) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mēdapāṭaka country.'¹²

¹ *Bhārnagar Inscr.* p. 153 ff.

² See the end of *sarga* III.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 162.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 348.

⁵ The latest inscription of Yaśovarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1192, and the earliest inscription of his son Lakshmi-varman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1200. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 349 and n. 352 f.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.

⁷ *Bhārnagar Inscr.* p. 114 ff.

⁸ The Sādaḍi inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names.

⁹ Vijayasimha's daughter was the Kalachuri queen Alhanadēvi, whose Bhēra-Ghāt inscription is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era = A.D. 1155; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 7 ff.

¹⁰ *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46 f.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 222.

¹² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 210.

Besides his military achievements Prahlâdana's learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv. 39 ; 40). This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a *vyâdyôga*, called *Pârthaparâkrama*, written by him when he was *yutarâja*,¹ and several single verses of his are found in the *Sûrâgadharapaddhati*.²

As regards Sômasimhadêva, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brâhmanas (v. 41).

After the genealogy of the Paramâras the text returns again to the family of Têjahpâla. Vv. 43-46 are devoted to Têjahpâla's brother Vastupâla, his wife Lalitâdêvi and, particularly, their son Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha. Vv. 47-49 are in praise of Têjahpâla himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of Anupamadêvi, the wife of Têjahpâla (vv. 50-54). The account begins with Gâgâ, who belonged to the Prâgvâta family and was an inhabitant of Chandravatî (v. 50). His son was Dharaniga (v. 51), who was married to Tribhuvanadêvi (v. 52). Their daughter was Anupamadêvi (vv. 53 ; 54). The son of Têjahpâla and Anupamadêvi was Lâvanyasimha or Lûnasimha (vv. 55-57). V. 58 contains a short note on the family of Têjahpâla's elder brother Malladêva : Malladêva and his wife Lilukâ had a son Pûrṇasimha, who was married to Alipâdêvi and had a son of the name of Pêthaḍa.

Vv. 59 and 60 record that Têjahpâla built on the mountain Arbuda this temple of Neminâtha for the religious merit of his wife Anupamâ and his son Lâvanyasimha, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice. The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty *maṇḍapa* in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinas on the sides of it and a *balânaka* or stone seat in front of it (v. 61). There were besides ten statues representing Chandapa, Chandaprasâda, Sôma, Aśvarâja, Lûpiga, Malladêva, Vastupâla, Têjahpâla, Jaitrasimha and Lâvanyasimha, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62 ; 63). Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on *khattakas* of white marble (v. 64). The description concludes with some verses in honour of Vastupâla and Têjahpâla, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv. 65-68).

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of Vastupâla's and Têjahpâla's family (vv. 69-72). They belonged to the Nâgêndra *gachchha*, and their names, in chronological order, were : Mahêndrasûri, Sântisûri, Ânandasûri and Amarasûri,³ Haribhadrasûri, Vijayasênasûri, Udayaprabhasûri. The last, as shown by v. 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some Gîrnâr inscriptions.⁴

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that Sômêśvaradêva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this eulogy of the temple. The name of the engraver of the inscription, Chandêśvara, the son of Dhândhala, the son of Kêlhapa, and the date of the consecration of the temple by Vijayasênasûri, the Jaina priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll. 46, 47). The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phâlguna, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama. It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, *a priori* to restore the name of the month to *Śrâvana*, as done *e.g.* by Professor Kathavate ; but as the date is repeated in the inscription No. II., the reading *Phâlguna* is beyond

¹ Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1872-73, p. 4. Kielhorn, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, p. 84.

² Nos. 748, 765, 1058 and 1071 ; compare Aufrecht's collection, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXVII. p. 49.

³ In the inscription No. II. Amarasûri is called Amarachandrasûri.

⁴ Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 31, note 1. Udayaprabhasûri was also the author of an astrological treatise called *Ârambhasiddhi* ; see Weber, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prâkrit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, No. 1741.

all doubt. The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,¹ to Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230.

Of the inscription No. II. only a short account was published by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 309 f. It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B. to his edition of the *Kīrtikaumudī*. It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10" high. The size of the letters is $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Near the beginning and at the end of ll. 1 and 2 and at the end of ll. 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off. The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial *ḍ* in *ḍm* (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in *Ḍisavāla* (ll. 15, 17, 24) and *Ḍrāsā* (l. 27) by the addition of a cross-bar. The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *va* everywhere, except in *Śrīmātāmahabu* in l. 27 and *Arbudas-* in the last but one line. The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities. The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for *ra* and *sa* and medial *ē* and *ō*, the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in *bhējātē*, *bhavanē*, *-pāmthē*, *-sūrēr*, *tayōh* and *vīlōkyamānē*, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in *varshē* (l. 1), *-dēvēna* (l. 26) and *Gōsala* (l. 13). There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is fully borne out by their contents.

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom. Proper names generally appear in their Prākṛit form, and even instead of Skt. *putra* we find here the abbreviation *u°*, which stands for Prākṛit *utta* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized *utra*² (ll. 10-25). Also the form *kumara* instead of *kumāra* in l. 26 is due to Prākṛit influence. The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by *tathā* (ll. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27). As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned: *apabhāra*, m., 'a burden' (l. 29); *āṣṭāhikā*, f., 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (ll. 12, 14, 16, etc.); *kalyāṇika*, n., 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26);³ *tathājñātiya*, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (ll. 10 ff.); *maḥājana*, m., 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10);⁴ *rājhiya*, m., which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 28); *varshagranthi*, m., 'an anniversary' (l. 12);⁵ *satka*, 'belonging to' (ll. 3, 7, 10); *sārā*, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9).⁶ In line 6 *pratishṭhita* is used in the sense of *pratishṭhāpita*.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of Nēminātha, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building.

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1287, while in prosperous Anahilapāṭaka the mahārājādhirāja Bh[imadēva], the royal swan on the lotus of the Chaulukya family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . while the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rājakula, the illustrious Sōmasimhadēva, born in the family of the illustrious

¹ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 30.

² This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, plate i. ll. 14, 15; pl. ii. ll. 4, 5, 6. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338.

³ See below, p. 206.

⁴ Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 279, note 46. The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate ii. l. 10. In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation *maḥājani* is found.

⁵ Compare Marāṭhi *varshagṛāṇṭha*, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'

⁶ See below, p. 205, note 2.

Dhūmarājadēva who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy Vasiṣṭha, is reigning victoriously,' Tējahpāla caused to be made in the village of Dēulavādā on the top of the holy mountain Arbuda the temple of the holy Nēminātha, called Lūpasimhavasahikā, adorned by all shrines (*dēvakulskā*) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (*hastisālā*), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadēvi and his son Lūpasimha. The inscription gives the same pedigree of Tējahpāla as No. I., and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rāṇaka*, the illustrious Viradhavaladēva, the son of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rāṇaka*, the illustrious Lavanaprasādadēva, born in the family of the illustrious Chaulukyas, in the province (*maṇḍala*) of . . . *rātrā*, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Bhīmadēva.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between Bhīmadēva II. and the members of the Vāghēlā dynasty, which in Somēśvaradēva's account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that Bhīmadēva II. was considered lord paramount, while Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala contented themselves with the rank of a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and the title of *rāṇaka*. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by Viradhavala is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . *rātrā*, which I am unable to restore.¹

As regards the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, the inscription shows that in A.D. 1230 the reigning prince was Sōmasimha, and not Kṛishnarāja as might easily be supposed from the text of No. I. I would also point out that the legend told in No. I. of Paramāra is here ascribed to Dhūmarāja.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230. The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the Jinas and the hall for the statues of the members of Tējahpāla's family spoken of in vv. 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by Vijayasēnasūri (l. 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. Haribhadrāsūri is here called 'the lord of the frontlet-decoration (*paṭṭāḷamkaraṇa-prabhu*) by the illustrious Āpandasūri and the illustrious Amarachandrasūri,' which apparently means that he had received his *paṭṭābhishēka* from the hands of those two sūris.

The purport of the next section (ll. 6-9) is indicated already by the heading: 'And the names of the *śrāvaka* trustees appointed for this temple (*are*) as follows.' Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,² etc., in this temple is to be done and carried on for ever by the brothers Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējahpāla and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of Lūpasimha's mother Anupamadēvi and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of Anupamadēvi's family, which resided at Chandrāvati and belonged to the Prāgvāta jñātī, is inserted.

The following section (ll. 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, holy to the god,³ and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc., were to be performed by the laymen (*śrāvaka*) of

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the Vāghēlā branch.

² The word *śard* occurs again in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207 in the phrase: *arya dharmasthānasya . . . śair-mashṭabhir-gōshṭhikāi rādūla-Uchhadēva-sahitair-d-chandr-ārkaś śard karantya*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338, plate ii. ll. 3-6. It has possibly a more special meaning than supervision.

³ This seems to be the meaning of *dēvakīya*.

the country of **Chandrāvati**,¹ each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the *jāti*. About half of them belonged to the *Prāgvātas*; the rest was divided between the *Ūsavālas* or *Ōsavālas*, the *Śrīmālas* and the not very numerous *Dharkālas*. The places inhabited by them were the villages of **Uṃbarāṇiki**, **Sarāṭṭi** and **Kāsahrada**,² **Brahmāṇa**, the village of **Dhaṭṭi**, the great *tīrtha* **Muṇḍasthala**, the villages of **Philiṇi**, **Haṇḍāśūdrā** and **Davāṇi**, **Gaḍābada**, **Sāhilavādā**.

In a subsequent clause (ll. 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five *kalyāṇikas* of **Nēmināthadēva**, i.e. the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (*śrāvaka*) residing at **Dēūlavādā** on the holy mountain **Arbuda**.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (ll. 26-30): 'Thus is this agreement: The lord of the prosperous **Chandrāvati**, the illustrious *rājakula* **Sōmasimhadēva**; again his son, the illustrious *rāja*[*kula*] **Kāṇhaḍadēva**, and the other princes, all royal persons; again the *sthānapatis* *bhaṭṭārakas*, etc., of the prosperous **Chandrāvati**, *kavilāsa*:³ again the *Gūguli* **Brāhmaṇas**,⁴ all the trustees (*who belong to the caste of the*) merchants; again all persons, (*viz.*) *sthānapatis*, ascetics, *Gūguli* **Brāhmaṇas** and *rāṭhiyas* and others, residing at (*the temples of*) the holy **Achalēśvara** (*and*) the holy **Vaśiṣṭha** on the mountain **Arbuda** and in the neighbouring villages, (*viz.*) the village of **Dēūlavādā**, the prosperous village of **Śrīmātāmahabu**, the village of **Ābuya**, the village of **Ōrāsā**, the village of **Ūtarachha**, the village of **Sihara**, the village of **Sāla**, the village of **Hēṣṭaūṇji**, the village of **Ākhi**, **Kōṭaḍi** belonging to the holy **Dhāndhalēśvaradēva**, and others—twelve villages (*in all*); again all the *rājaputras* belonging to the race of the illustrious **Pratīhāras**, residing in the villages of **Bhālībhadā**, etc., having sat down one by one in the hall of (*the temple of*) the holy **Nēmināthadēva**, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (*and*) for his own delight, from the *mahan*[*ta*], the illustrious **Tējaḥpāla**, the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy **Lūṇasihavasahikā**. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (*endure*). For—

'What need is there of alms-bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (*or*) red garments (*and*) tufts of twisted hair, (*since*) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince **Kāṇhaḍadēva** mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the **Paramāra** **Kṛishṇarājadēva** spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the *mahārājakula*, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, in this holy **Lūṇasihavasahikā**, presented by an edict the village of **Davāṇi** in **Vāhirahadi** to the holy **Nēmināthadēva**, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with **Sōmasimhadēva** entreating the future kings of the **Paramāra** race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

¹ I take the term 'the body of the *śrāvakas*, namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to **Chandrāvati**' as the collective designation of the persons enumerated in detail later on.

² [According to Forbes, *Rās Māli*, p. 64, **Kāsahrada** is the present **Kasindra-Pāḍi** near **Ahmadābād**; see Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 229. It is mentioned in two **Rāshtrakūṭa** grants, *ibid.* p. 57 (**Kāsahrada**), and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 202 (**Kāsahrada**).—E. H.]

³ Perhaps *kavilāsa* is a proper name; at any rate, I do not know its meaning.—[Can it be meant for *Kailāsa*?—E. H.]

⁴ The *Gūgulis*, or *Guglis* as they are called now, are a class of **Brāhmaṇas** who at present are found chiefly in **Dvārka**. They are **Vaiṣṇavas** by religion and mostly *pujāris* or priests in the temples of **Kṛishṇa**; compare *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII. p. 146, and Vol. IX. Part I. p. 9 f., where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of *Dēulavādā* on the mountain Arbuda is the *Dilwara* of the *Indian Atlas*, situated lat. 24° 36' N.; long. 72° 43' E. The village of *Umbaraṇiki* is the *Umarni* of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of *Dilwara*. The village of *Dhaūli* is *Dhauli*, 8½ miles west-south-west of *Dilwara*. The great *tīrtha* of *Muṇḍasthala* is perhaps identical with the *Murthala* of the map, 8½ miles south-east of *Dilwara*. The village of *Gaḍāhaḍa* may be identified with the *Gadara* of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of *Dilwara*, supposing *Gadara* to stand for *Gaḍāra* (*Gaḍāḍa*). *Sāhilavādā* is *Selwara*, 8½ miles west-north-west of *Dilwara*. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Arbuda, *Ābuya* is the *Abu* of the map, 1½ miles south-west of *Dilwara*. *Ūtarachha* is *Utraj*, 5½ miles north-east of *Dilwara*. *Sihara* is *Ser*, 8 miles north-east of *Dilwara*. *Hēṭhauṇji* is *Hetamji*, 2 miles south of *Dilwara*. *Kōṭadi* may be the *Kotra* of the map, 7 miles east of *Dilwara*. *Sāla* possibly is identical with *Salgaon*, 1 mile east-south-east of *Dilwara*. *Ōrāsā* bears a certain resemblance to *Oria*, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of *Dilwara*, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount *Ābū* by *Nayachandrasūri*, a descendant of the holy *rishi* *Kṛishṇa*, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.¹

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III.-XXXII., all of which are edited now for the first time,² are written in *Nāgarī* characters of the *Jaina* type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their *Prākṛit* form. Once, in *Chamḍapa* in No. IV. l. 1, *ḍa* shows the peculiar shape given in *Bühler's Indische Palæographie* in Plate V. col. XVI. l. 22, from an inscription of *Bhīmadēva* I.

No. III., which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that *Tējapāla* caused to be made the great shrine (*mahātīrtha*) of the holy *Nēmiātha* in this *Lūpavasahikā* for the religious merit of his son *Lūpasiha* 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of *Phāguṇa* (*Phālguna*) in the year 1287 of king *Vikrama*.' According to Professor *Kielhorn*, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for both V. 1287 expired and V. 1287 current. It would correspond, for V. 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV.-XXXII. prove that *Tējapāla* in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of *Jinas* and *tīrthakuras*, by *Tējapāla* for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is *maham̐*, the abbreviated form of *mahanta*. It is borne by *Tējapāla* and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIV. and XXVI.-XXXI. *Tējapāla*'s ancestors *Chandapa* and *Chandaprasāda*, his father *Āsvarāja* or *Āsarāja*, and his mother *Kumārādēvī* are given the title of *ṭha*^c, which stands for *ṭhakkura*, whereas *Sōma*, the son of *Chandaprasāda* and father of *Āsvarāja*, is constantly styled *maham̐*.³ This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as *Chandapa* and *Āsvarāja* are called also *maham̐* in

¹ I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount *Ābū*.

² Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 310. No. XX.

³ The pedigree in No. II. l. 3 f. shows the same distinction.

Nos. III.-VIII., X.-XVIII., XXI.-XXIII. and XXXII.¹ In No. XXXII. we find *phakurājñi* as the title of Samtōshā, the mother of Tējāhpāla's second wife, Suhadādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called *pha*°. As shown by Nos. XXVI., XXVII. and XXX., Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tējāhpāla, bore the title of *saṃghapati*.² From the ninth *sarga* of the *Kīrtikaumudī* it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śātrūṃjaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa. The title itself is alluded to in *sarga* IX. verse 12, where it is said: 'He dined when all (*others*) had dined; he went to sleep when all the (*other*) pilgrims had fallen into slumber; he was the first to awake. In this manner he performed the vow of being a *saṃghaprabhu*.'³ Seven times female relatives of Tējāhpāla are given the title of *bātī* (Nos. IV., XI., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX.-XXXI.)

No. XXXII. mentions the Mōdha *jñātī* in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhadādēvi, the second wife of Tējāhpāla, belonged.

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārśva (No. XII.), Muni Suvrata (No. XXI.), Vārisēpa⁴ (No. XXIV.), Chandrānana (No. XXV.), the eternal Jina Rishabha (No. XXX.), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No. XXXI.), and the *tīrthakaras*⁵ Śīmaṃdharasvāmin⁶ (No. XXVI.), the Jina Yugamdharaśvāmin (No. XXVII.), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII.), and Subāhu (No. XXIX.).

Nos. IV.-XVIII. are dated in the Vikrama year 1288; Nos. XIX.-XXIII. in the Vikrama year 1290; Nos. XXIV. and XXV. on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293; Nos. XXVI.-XXXI.⁷ on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V. 1293 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A.D. 1237; No. XXXII. is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V. 1297 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1241.

No. I.⁸

TEXT.

1 श्री° ॥ वदे सरस्वतीं देवीं याति या क[ि]व[ि]मानसं । नी[य]मा[न]ा
[निजे]न[े]व [यानमा]नस[व]ासिन[ि] । १ यः [क्ष]ि[ति]मा[न]प्य[व]शः
प्रकोपे शान्तेपि दीप्तः । स्मरनिघट्टाय । निमीलिताक्षो[पि] सम[्य]दर्शी
स वः शिवायास्तु शि-

¹ Similarly in the pedigree of Tējāhpāla's wife Anupamadēvi in No. II. l. 7 f. four persons are called *mahām*°, while the rest is styled *pha*°.

² The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No. II. l. 4.

³ The title of *saṃghapati* occurs also in the *Śātrūṃjayamāhātmya*. According to XIV. 84 ff. it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hastiśēna, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places.

⁴ The correct Sanskrit form would be *Vārisēṇa*.

⁵ The four *tīrthakaras* are distinguished by the epithet *viharamāna*, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me.

⁶ The Jina Śīmaṃdharasvāmin is known from Hēmaṃchandra's *Sthavirāvalīkharita*, IX. 95 ff. and the *Śātrūṃjayamāhātmya*, I. 163.

⁷ Of No. XXVIII. the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year.

⁸ On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1740 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 [वात]नूजः ॥ २ अणहिलपुरमस्ति स्वस्तिपात्रं प्रजा[नाम]जरजर[धृतु]ः
पा[ल्य]भानं चु[लुकैः] । [चिरम]तिरमणीनां य[त्र] वक्त्रे[दु]मंदी[कृत]
इव [सि]तपक्षप्रक्षयेष्वंधकारः ॥ ३ तत्र प्राग्वाटान्वयमुकुटं कुटजप्रसून-
- 3 विशदयशः । दानविनिर्जितकल्पद्रुमपंड्यड्यः समभूत् ॥ ४ चंडप्र[सा]द-
संज्ञः स्वकुल[प्रासा]दहेमदंडो ऽस्य । प्रसर[त्की]र्त्तिपताकः पुण्यवि-
पाकेन स्रुतभूत् ॥ ५ आत्मगुणैः किरणैरिव सोमो रोमोद्गम-
सतां कु- ॥¹
- 4 व्वन् । उदगादगाधमध्याहुग्धीदधिबांधवात्तस्मात् ॥ ६ एतस्मादजनि
जिनाधि[ना]थभक्तिं बिभ्राणः स्वमनसि शशदश्वरा[ज]ः । तस्यासीद्वि-
ततमा कुमारदेवी देवीव त्रिपुररिपोः कुमारमाता ॥ ७ तयोः
प्रथमपु- ॥
- 5 चो भूम्नो लूणिगसंज्ञया । देवादवाप वाली ऽपि सालोक्यं [व]।-
सवेन [स]ः ॥ ८ पूर्वमेव सचिवः स कीविदैर्गण्यते स्म गुणवत्सु
लूणिगः । यस्य निस्तुषमतेर्मनीषया धिक्कृतैव धिषणस्य धीरपि ॥ ९
श्रीमल्लदेवः श्रि-
- 6 तमल्लदेवस्तस्यानुजो मंत्रिमतस्त्रिकाभूत् । बभूव यस्यान्यधनांगनासु लुब्धा
न बुद्धिः शमलव्यवृद्धेः ॥ १० धर्मविधाने भुवनच्छिद्रपिधाने विभिन्न-
संधाने । सृष्टिकृता न हि सृष्टः प्रतिमल्लो मल्लदेव- ॥
- 7 स्य ॥ ११ नीलनीरदकदम्बकमुत्तखेतकेतुकिरणोदरणेन । मल्लदेवयशसा
गलहस्तो हस्तिमल्लदधनांशुषु दत्तः ॥ १२ तस्यानुजो विजयते
विजितेन्द्रियस्य सारस्वतामृतकृताद्भुतहर्षवर्षः । श्रीवत्सु-
- 8 [पा]ल इति भालतलस्थितानि दीप्याक्षराणि सुकृती कृतिनां विलुपन् ॥
१३ विरचयति वस्तुपालबुलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचि-
दर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ १४ तेजःपालः पालितस्वा-
- 9 मितेजःपुंजः सोयं राजते मंत्रिराजः । दुर्हंतानां शंकनीयः कनीयानस्य भ्राता
विश्वविभ्रांतकीर्त्तिः ॥ १५ तेजःपालस्य विष्णोश्च कः स्वरूपं निरूपयेत् ।
स्थितं जगन्नयीध्वं यदीयोदरकंदरे ॥ १६ जालूमाजसाज-
- 10 धनदेवीसोहगावयजुकाख्याः । पदमलदेवो चैषां क्रमादिमाः सप्त सीदर्यः ॥ १७
एते ऽश्वराजपुत्रा दशरथपुत्रास्त एव चत्वारः । प्राप्ताः किल पुनरवना-
वेकीदरवासलोमेन ॥ १८ अनुजस्यना समेतस्तेजपाः- ।

¹ These strokes as well as those at the end of ll. 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41, 42 are merely intended for filling up the line.

- 11 लेन वस्तुपाली ऽयं । मद्यति कस्य न हृदयं मधुमासी माधवेनेव ॥ १८
पंथानमेको न कदापि गच्छेदिति स्मृतिप्रोक्तमिव स्मरन्ती । सहोदरौ
दुर्वरमोहचौरे संभूय धर्माध्वनि तौ प्रवृत्तौ ॥ २० इदं सदा सो-
12 दरयोददेतु युगं युगव्यायतदोर्गुगत्रि । युगे चतुर्थेऽनघेन येन कृतं कृतस्या-
गमनं युगस्य ॥ २१ सुक्तामयं शरीरं सोदरयोः सुचिरमेतयोरस्तु ।
सुक्तामयं किल महीवलयमिदं भाति यत्कीर्त्या ॥ २२ ए- ।
13 कोत्पत्तिनिमित्तौ यद्यपि पाणी तयोस्तथाप्येकः । वामो ऽभूदनयोर्न तु
सोदरयोः कोपि दक्षिणयोः ॥ २३ धर्मास्थानां कितासुर्वी सर्वतः कुर्वता-
ऽमुना । दत्तः पादो बलाहं युगलेन कलेर्गले ॥ २४ इतश्चौलुक्ववीरा- ।
14 णां वंशे शाखाविशेषकः । अर्षोराज इति ख्यातो जातस्तेजोमयः पुमान् ॥ २५
तस्मादनंतरमनंतरितप्रतापः प्राप क्षितिं क्षतरिपुर्लवणप्रसादः । स्वर्गापगा-
जलवलक्षितशंखशुभ्रा बभ्राम यस्य लवणाब्जिमतीत्य कीर्तिः
15 ॥ २६ सुतस्तस्मादासीदशरथककुस्थप्रतिकृतेः^१ प्रतिक्रमापालानां कबलितबली वीर-
धवलः । यशःपूरे यस्य प्रसरति रतिक्लांतमनसामसाध्वीनां भग्नाऽभिसरण-
कलायां कुशलता ॥ २७ चौलुक्वः सुकृती स वीरधवलः क- ।
16 र्खेजपानां जपं यः कर्षेपि चकार न प्रलपतामुद्दिश्य यौ मंजिणी ।
आभ्यामभ्युदयातिरेकवचिरं राज्यं स्वभर्तुः कृतं वाहानां निवहा घटाः
करटिनां बहाय सौधांगणे ॥ २८ तेन मंजिहयेनायं जाने जानूप-
वर्तिना । वि-
17 भुर्भुजद्वयेनेव सुखमास्निष्यति श्रियं ॥ २९ इतश्च ॥ गौरीवरश्चगुरभूधरसंभवो
ऽयमस्त्यर्बुदः ककुदमद्रिकदंबकस्य । मंदाकिनीं घनजटे दधदुत्तमां [नि] यः
श्यालकः शशिभृतो ऽभिनयं करोति ॥ ३० कचिदिह विहरन्तीर्वी- ।
18 क्षमाणस्य रामाः प्रसरति रतिरंतर्मोक्षमाकांक्षतो ऽपि । कचन मुनि-
भिरर्थीं पश्यतस्तीर्थवीथीं भवति भवविरक्ता धीरधीरात्मनो ऽपि ॥ ३१
श्रेयःश्रेष्ठवशिष्ठहोमहुतभुक्कुंडान्मृतंडात्मजप्रद्योताधिकदेहदीधितिभ-
19 रः कोप्याविरासीन्नरः । तं मत्वा परमारणैकरसिकं स व्याजहार श्रुतेरा-
धारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नामाऽथ तस्यान्वयः ॥ ३२ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं
बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेद्रवंशे । भूमीभृतो यः कृतवानभिज्ञानं पञ्चदयोच्छे-
20 दनवेदनासु ॥ ३३ धंभुकध्रुवभटादयस्तस्ते रिपुद्विपघटाजितौ ऽभवन् ।
यत्कुले ऽजनि पुमान्मनोरमो रामदेव इति कामदेवजित् ॥ ३४ रोदः-
कंदरवर्तिकीर्त्तिलहरीलिप्तामृतांशुतेरप्रद्युम्नवशी यशीधवल इ- ।

^१ ककुस्थ^० would be more correctly written ककुस्थ^०.

- 21 त्वासीत्तनूजस्ततः । यश्चौलुक्कुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतं मत्वा सत्वरमेव
मालवपतिं ¹बल्लालमालववान् ॥ ३५ शत्रुश्रेणीगलविदलनोन्निद्रनिस्तृणधारो²
धारावर्षः समजनि सुतस्तस्य विश्वप्रशस्यः । क्रोधाक्रान्तप्र- ।
- 22 धनवसुधानिचले यत्र जातास्योतमेत्रोत्पलजलकणाः कौकणाधीशपत्न्यः ॥ ३६
सोयं पुनर्दाशरथिः पृथिव्यामव्याहृतौजाः स्फुटमुज्जगाम । मारीचवैरादिव
यो ऽधुनापि [मृ]गव्यमव्यग्रमतिः करोति ॥ ३७ सामं-
- 23 तसिंहसमितिचित्तिविस्तृतौजःश्रीगूर्जरक्षितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनुजो
दनुजोत्तमारिचारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्ज्वलयाचकार³ ॥ ३८ देवी सरोजासनसंभवा
किं कामप्रदा किं सुरसौरभेयी । प्रह्लादनाकारधरा
- 24 धरायामायातवत्येष न निश्चयो मे ॥ ३९ धारावर्षसुतो ऽयं जयति
श्रीसीमसिंहदेवी यः । पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाहानमुभयतो
जगृहे ॥ ४० मुक्ता विप्रकरानरातिनिकराभिर्जित्य तत्किंचन प्रापत्संप्रति
सीम-
- 25 सिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाशं यशः । येनोर्वीतलमुज्ज्वलं⁴ रचयताप्युत्ताभ्यतामी-
र्ष्यया सर्वेषामिह विद्विषां न हि सुखात्कालिन्यमुन्मूलितं ॥ ४१ वसुदे-
वस्यैव सुतः श्रीकृष्णः कृष्णराजदेवो ऽस्य । मात्राधिकप्रतापो यशोद-
- 26 यासंश्रितो जयति ॥ ४२ इतश्च ॥ अन्वयेन विनयेन विद्यया विक्रमेण
सुकृतक्रमेण च । क्वापि कोपि न पुमानुपैति मे वस्तुपालसदृशो
दृशोः पथि ॥ ४३ दयिता ललितादेवी तनयमवीतनयमाप सचिवेन्द्रात् ।
नाम्ना जयंत- ।
- 27 सिंहं जयंतमिन्द्रात्पुलोमपुत्रीव ॥ ४४ यः शैशवे विनयवैरिणि बोधवंध्ये धत्ते
नयं च विनयं च गुणोदयं च । सोयं मनोभवपराभवजागरूकरूपो न
कं मनसि चुंबति जैत्रसिंहः ॥ ४५ श्रीवस्तुपालपुत्रः कल्यायुरयं जयं-
- 28 तसिंहो ऽस्तु । कामादधिकं रूपं निरूप्यते यस्य दानं च ॥ ४६ स
श्रीतेजःपालः सचिवश्चिरकालमस्तु तेजस्वी । येन जना निश्चिंताश्चिंता-
मणिनेव नंदन्ति ॥ ४७ यश्चाणक्यामरगुरुमरुद्वाधिशुक्रादिकानां प्रागुत्पादं
व्यधित भुवने
- 29 मंत्रिणां बुद्धिधानां । चक्रे ऽभ्यासः स खलु विधिना नूनमेनं विधातुं
तेजःपालः कथमितरथाधिक्यमापैष तेषु ॥ ४८ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिकेतनं
तनुभृतां श्रीवस्तुपालानुजस्तेजःपाल इति स्थितिं बलिक्रतामुर्वीतले पाल-
यन् । आत्मीयं व-

¹ Possibly the reading is बल्लालम्.² Read 'निद्रि'.³ Read पुनरुज्ज्वलं.⁴ Read 'लमुज्ज्वलं'.

- 30 इ मन्थते न हि गुणग्रामं च कामंदकिष्वाणकोपि चमत्करोति न
हृदि प्रेक्षास्पदं प्रेक्ष्य यं ॥ ४८ इत्यथ ॥ मङ्गं श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीअनुप-
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्धनं ॥ प्राग्वाटान्वयमंडनैकमुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रावतीवास्तव्यः स्त-
- 31 वनीयकीर्तिलहरिप्रक्षालितस्त्रातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यद्वृत्तानु-
रागादभूत्को नासप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्भूतरोमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-
सृतसज्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुद्वये ।
- 32 गुणिना हृदरेणैव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-
विख्यातशीलसंपन्ना । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं देधा मनस्वेकं ॥ ५२
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वाचायणीव शीलिन । तदुहिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-
पालेन
- 33 पत्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमन्त्री-
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकीचित्तदाक्षिण्यदानप्रमुखगुणगणैर्दुष्टीतिताशेषगोत्रा ॥ ५४
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरयं रयं जयन्ति- ।
- 34 रिद्र]यदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्धापि मीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणानमुष्य श्रीसूणसिंहकृतिनः कति
न स्तुवन्ति । श्रीबंधनीदुरतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता त्रिजगति क्रि-
- 35 यते स्म कीर्त्तः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च खलसर्पैः ।
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ मङ्गदेवसचिवस्य
नंदनः पूरुषसिंह इति लीलुकासुतः । तस्य नंदति सुतोयमङ्गला-
- 36 देविभूः सुकृतवेश्म पेयडः ॥ ५८ अभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य
मन्त्रिणः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थ-
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्य श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमर्बुदे ।
- 37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति क्षितीदुसचिवः शंखोज्ज्वलाभिः^१ शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-
दिंदुकुंदरुचिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मंडपमग्रतो जिन[वरा]वासद्विपंचाशतं
तत्पार्श्वेषु बलानकं^२ च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमच्छंड-
- 38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवच्छंडप्रसादस्ततः सोमस्तथाभवो ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः
पवित्राश्रयाः । श्रीमङ्गुणिगमङ्गदेवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाङ्गयास्तेजःपालसमन्विता
जिनमतारामोद्गमकीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमन्नीश्वरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीजै-
- 39 ऋसिंहाङ्गयस्तेजःपालसुतश्च विभुतमतिर्लावण्यसिंहाभिधः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्तयः
करिवधस्कंधाधिरुढाक्षिरं राजन्ते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिग्नायकानामिव ॥

- 40 साश्वत्तकगताः कांतासमेता दश । चीलुक्चक्षितिपालवीरधवलस्याद्वैतबंधुः
सुधीस्तेजःपाल इति व्यधापयदयं श्रीवस्तुपालानुजः ॥ ६४ तेजःपालः सक-
लप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफलः
- 41 सरोवरस्यैव सङ्कारः ॥ ६५ तेन भ्रातृयुगेन या प्रतिपुरग्रामाध्वशैलस्थलं
धापीकूपनिपानकाननसरःप्रासादसन्नादिका^१ । धर्मस्थानपरंपरा नवतरा
चक्रे ऽथ जीर्णोद्भूता तत्संख्यापि न बुध्यते यदि परं तद्देदि- ।
- 42 नी मेदिनी ॥ ६६ शंभोः आसगतागतानि गणयेद्यः सम्प्रतिर्यो ऽथ वा
नेत्रोन्मीलनमीलनानि कलयेन्मार्कण्डेनाम्नी मुनेः । संख्यातुं सचिवद्वयोवि-
रचितामेतामपेतापरव्यापारः सुकृतानुकीर्तनततिं सोप्युज्जिहीते यदि ।
- 43 ॥ ६७ सर्व्वत्र वर्त्ततां कीर्त्तिरश्वराजस्य शाश्वती । सुकर्त्तुमुपकर्त्तुं च
जानीते यस्य संततिः ॥ ६८ आसीच्छंडपमंडितान्वयगुरुर्भागद्रगच्छत्रियसूडा-
रक्षमयन्नसिद्धमहिमा सूरिर्महेंद्राभिधः । तस्माद्विस्मयनीयचारुचरितः श्रीशान्ति-
- 44 [सूरिस्त]तोप्यानंदामरसूरियुगमसुदयश्चन्द्रार्कदीप्रद्युति ॥ ६९ श्रीजैनशासनवनीनव-
नीरवाहः श्रीमांस्ततो ऽप्यवहरो हरिभद्रसूरिः । विद्यामदोन्मदगदध्वनव-
द्यवैद्यः ख्यातस्ततो विजयसेनमुनीश्वरो ऽयं ॥ ७० गुरो[स्त]
- 45 स्था[श]षां पात्रं सूरिरस्त्युदयप्रभः । मौक्तिकानीय सूक्तानि भाति
यत्प्रतिभांनुधेः ॥ ७१ एतद्धर्मस्थानं धर्मस्थानस्य चास्य यः कर्त्ता । तावद्वयमिद-
मुदियादुदयत्ययमर्जुंदो यावत् ॥ ७२ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवसुलुक्धनरदेवसेवितांद्भि-
- 46 युगः । रचयांचकार रुचिरां धर्मस्थानप्रशस्तिमिमां ॥ ७३ श्रीनेमिरम्बिका-
याश्च प्रसादादर्जुदाचले । वस्तुपालान्वयस्यास्तु प्रशस्तिः स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥ ७४
सूत्रं^२ केल्लणसुतधांधलपुत्रेण चंडेश्वरेण प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्त्ता ।[^३]
- 47 श्रीविक्रम[संवत् १२८७ व]र्षे [फाल्गु]णवदि ३ रवौ श्री[नागेंद्रग]च्छे [श्री-
विजय]सेनसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) *Om.* I worship the goddess Sarasvatī who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (*thither*), as it were, by her own swan (*which serves her as*) a vehicle.²

(V. 2.) May the son of Śivā³ grant you welfare,— he who, though patient, is red in anger; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love; (*and*) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything.

(V. 3.) There is (*the city of*) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Chulukyas equal to Aja, Rāji and Raghu,⁴ where even at the close of the bright half of the

¹ Read °सन्नादिका.

² In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is *mānasa*, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season.

³ I.e. Gaṇeśa.

⁴ Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great-grandfather, of Rāma. Rāji was the grandson of Purāṇavaśa.

month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women.

(V. 4.) In that (*town*) there was Chaṇḍapa, the crown of the family of the Prāgvātas, whose fame was as white as *kuṣaja* flowers, (*and*) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees.

(V. 5.) In consequence of the maturing of his good actions there was (*born*) to him a son named Chaṇḍaprasāda, a golden staff on the palace of his family, provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V. 6.) From him, who was not shallow-hearted,¹ (*and*) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang Sōma, who by his own virtues caused thrills (*of joy*) to the good, as (*the moon causing thrills*) by her beams (*sprang from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre*).

(V. 7.) From him was born Āsvarāja, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinās. His beloved wife was Kumārādēvī, as Dēvī, the mother of Kumāra, (*was the wife*) of the destroyer of Tripura.²

(V. 8.) Their first son was the minister called Lūpiga. By fate he obtained, though being (*still*) a youth, a residence in the same world as Vāsava.³

(V. 9.) That pure-minded minister Lūpiga, whose intelligence despised, as it were, even the wisdom of Dhishapa,⁴ was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment.

(V. 10.) His younger brother was the illustrious Malladēva, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with Mallidēva,⁵ who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (*and*) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others.

(V. 11.) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (*and*) as to repairing what has been broken,⁶ the Creator did not create a rival of Malladēva.

(V. 12.) The fame of Malladēva, surpassing the beams of the moon freed from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of Hastimalla.⁷

(V. 13.) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious Vastupāla, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the nectar of his poetry, (*and*) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned!

(V. 14.) Vastupāla, the foremost among the ministers of the Chulukyas and among poets, never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems.

(V. 15.) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother Tējāhpāla, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master; who is to be dreaded by the wicked; (*and*) whose fame spreads in all directions.

(V. 16.) Who can fathom the natures of Tējāhpāla and Viṣṇu, as the rules (*of conduct*) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (*of the first*) and the string of the three worlds⁸ in the cavity of the belly (*of the second*)?

(V. 17.) These (*brothers*) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, Jālhū, Māu, Sātū, Dhanadēvī, Sōhagā, Vayajukā, and Padamaladēvī.

¹ The word *madhya* appears to be used here as a synonym of *antara* which, according to Amara III. 3, 186 has also the meaning of *antarātman*.

² I.e. Śiva.

³ I.e. in common parlance, he died.

⁴ I.e. Brihaspati.

⁵ Mallidēva is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present Avastarpiṇi.

⁶ I believe that the terms *bhuvana-cchchhidra-pidhāna* and *vidhinna-samdhāna* refer to Malladēva's works of charity, but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another.'

⁷ I.e. Indra's elephant.

⁸ The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together.

(V. 18.) Surely, these sons of Aśvarāja are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb.

(V. 19.) Does not this Vastupāla accompanied by his younger brother Tējaḥpāla delight everybody's heart like the first month of spring followed by the second?

(V. 20.) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21.) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (and) who made the Kṛita age appear even in the fourth age!

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time!

(V. 23.) Although the two hands (of a man) are due to springing from one (body), yet one of them is left (or bad); but of these two brothers neither (was so, although they had sprung from one father), as both were honest (or right).

(V. 24.) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (age).

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arṇōrāja.

(V. 26.) After him Lavaṇaprasāda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (and) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,¹ roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (king), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Viradhavala, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V. 28.) The wise Chaulukya Viradhavala did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (and) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (and) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace.

(V. 29.) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees.²

Again—

(V. 30.) There is this (mountain) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaufī,³ who, carrying the Mandākinī on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer⁴ (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgā on his head covered with thick braids).

(V. 31.) In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics.

(V. 32.) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vasiṣṭha distinguished by virtuousness⁵ there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the son

¹ I.e. the Gaṅgā.

² Compare *Edm.* I. 1, 10.

³ I.e. the Himālaya, the father-in-law of Śiva.

⁴ I.e. Śiva.

⁵ I take *śrīyaḥ-śrīṣṭha-* to stand for *śrīyasi śrīṣṭha-* and *śrīyas* to be a synonym of *dharma*, as taught by Amara I. 4, 24, Halāyudha I. 126, and Hēmachandra, *Ankārthas.* II. 580, and *Abhidhānaś.* 1372.

of Mritāṇḍa.¹ Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him **Paramāra**. From that time his family received that name.

(V. 33.) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious **Dhūmarāja**, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (*of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off*).

(V. 34.) Then there were **Dhandhuka**, **Dhruvabhāṣa** and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants. In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, **Rāmadēva** by name.

(V. 35.) From this (*king*), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called **Yasōdhavala**, who was not subject to the god of love, (*and*) who quickly killed **Ballāla**, the lord of **Mālava**, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the **Chaulukya** king **Kumārāpāla**.

(V. 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, **Dhāravarsha**, the edge of whose sword was indefatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of **Kauṅkara** shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V. 37.) Evidently it is the son of Daśaratha that has been born again on earth as this (*prince*) of unchecked strength, (*and*) out of hatred, as it were, against **Mārīcha**² even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V. 38.) His younger brother **Prahlādana**, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious **Gūrjara** king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by **Sāmantasimha**, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu.³

(V. 39.) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seated (*Brahman*)⁴ or the celestial cow granting (*every*) wish that has come to the earth in the form of **Prahlādana**.

(V. 40.) Long live this son of **Dhāravarsha**, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them!

(V. 41.) Having remitted the taxes of **Brāhmaṇas** and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king **Sōmasimha** soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (*or the spottiness*) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy.

(V. 42.) Long live his son **Kṛishnarājadēva**, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (*and*) who (*therefore*) resembles the glorious **Kṛishna**, the son of **Vasudēva**, who is united with **Yasōdā**, (*and*) whose splendour is augmented by his mother!

Again—

(V. 43.) No man equalling **Vastupāla** in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V. 44.) From the excellent minister **Lalitādēvi**, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name **Jayantasimha**, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of **Palōman** (*obtained*) **Jayanta** from **Indra**.

(V. 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this **Jaitrasimha**, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (*and*) who (*even*) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues?

(V. 46.) May he live for a *Kalpa* age, this Jayantasimha, the son of the illustrious Vastupāla, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (*of the suppliants*) !

(V. 47.) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious Tējāhpāla, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares !

(V. 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as Chānakya, the preceptor of the gods,¹ Marudvyādhi,² Śukra,³ and others. Otherwise, how should this Tējāhpāla have obtained his superiority over them ?

(V. 49.) There is the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, called Tējāhpāla, an abode of prosperity to (*all*) living beings, who maintains the order established by Bali on the surface of the earth ; seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, Kāmandaki does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and Chānakya also ceases to wonder at (*his own*) intellect.

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious Anupamadēvi, the wife of the illustrious Mahām Tējāhpāla—

(V. 50.) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious Gāgā, the only diadem adorning the Prāgvāta family, an inhabitant of Chandrāvati full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (*or*) nodded his head (*or*) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct ?

(V. 51.) His son was Dharapiga by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (*and*) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (*strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner*).

(V. 52.) His beloved wife was Tribhuvanadēvi, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (*but*) one.

(V. 53.) Their daughter Anupamadēvi, who on account of her virtues resembled Dēvi, the daughter of Daksha, in person, was united with the illustrious Tējāhpāla as husband.

(V. 54.) This Anupamadēvi, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister Tējāhpāla.

(V. 55.) Their son, this Lāvanyasimha, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-bannered (*god of love*).

(V. 56.) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious Lāpasimha, the son of the illustrious Tējāhpāla, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds ?

(V. 57.) This vessel (*filled with*) a money-hoard of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,⁴ is continually increasing although good people subsist on it.

(V. 58.) The son of the minister Malladēva, begotten on Lilukā, was called Pūrpasimha. Flourishing is his son, begotten on Ahlapādēvi, this Pāthada, an abode of virtues.

(V. 59.) Anupamā was the wife of the minister Tējāhpāla. Their son was this long-lived (*youth*) called Lāvanyasimha.

¹ I.e. Brihaspati.

² [I.e. Pavanavyādhi or Uddhava, the counsellor of Kṛishṇa.—E. H.]

³ Śukra was the teacher of the Asuras.

⁴ The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the *Kṛtikāraṇḍī*

(V. 60.) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Tējāhpāla built this temple of the holy Nēminātha on the (mountain) Arbuda.

(V. 61.) The minister Tējāhpāla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nēmi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (and) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (*maṇḍapa*) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (*balānaka*) in the front.

(V. 62.) The son of the illustrious Chaṇḍapa was Chaṇḍaprasāda; from him (*was born*) Sōma; his son was Aśvarāja by name; his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (*the men*) called the illustrious Lūpiga, the minister Malladēva and the illustrious Vastupāla, together with Tējāhpāla.

(V. 63.) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupāla is he named the illustrious Jaitrasimha, and Tējāhpāla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lāvanyasimha by name. The statues of these ten (*men*), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina.

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called Tējāhpāla, the matchless friend of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, caused to be made here ten images of those (*persons mentioned above*) together with their wives on *khattakas* of spotless stone.

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupāla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Tējāhpāla appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all creatures.

(V. 66.) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells, fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top, one does not even know the number; it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67.) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mārkaṇḍa,¹ might also set himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions² drawn up by the two ministers, provided he abandon other occupations.

(V. 68.) May the fame of Aśvarāja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to help, perpetually spread in all directions!

(V. 69.) There was a sage (*sāri*) called Mahēndra, the preceptor of the family adorned by Chaṇḍapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nāgēndra *gachchha*, who had acquired his greatness without effort. After him (*came*) the illustrious Śāntisūri, of admirable good conduct. After him (*there was*) a pair, Ānanda(*sāri*) and Amarasūri, whose splendour was as bright as that of the rising moon and (*the rising*) sun.

(V. 70.) After them there was the illustrious Haribhadrasūri, the purifier from sin, who was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous excellent sage Vijayasēna, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated with the liquor of learning.

(V. 71.) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (*sāri*) Udayaprabha. His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72.) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two rise as long as this (*mountain*) Arbuda rises!

¹ [*I.e.* Mārkaṇḍeya, who according to the *Mahābhārata* (III. 183, 49) was many thousand years old, though he looked only twenty-five.—E. H.]

² The term *sukṛit-daukṛitana* seems to have about the same meaning as *dharmasthāna-prastāvi* occurring in v. 73.

(V. 73.) The illustrious *Sômêśvaradêva*, whose feet are honoured by the *Chulukya* king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building.

(V. 74.) By the grace of the holy *Nêmi* and *Ambikâ* on the mountain *Arbuda* may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of *Vastupâla* !

(Line 46.) This eulogy has been engraved by the mason *Chandêśvara*, the son of *Dhândhala*, the son of *Kêlhana*.

(L. 47.) On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of *Phâlguna*, in the year 1287 of the glorious *Vikrama*, the consecration was performed by the illustrious *Vijayasênasûri* of the illustrious *Nâgêndra gachchha*.

No. II.¹

- 1 ओ² ॥ ओं नमः.....[सं]त् १२८७ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुनवदि ३
रवौ अद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके चौलुककुलकमलराजहंससमस्तराजा-
बलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभ...³
- 2 विजयिराज्ये त.....। श्रीवशिष्ट⁴ कुंडयजनानलोद्भूतश्रीमद्भूमाज-
देवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्यैव महाराजा-
धिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसा[द].....
- 3 राजामंडले श्रीचौलुककुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीलवणप्रसाददेवसुतमहामंड-
लेश्वरराजकुलश्रीवीरधवलदेवसत्कसमस्तसुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्री-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁵ श्रीचंड[प].....⁵
- 4 चंडप्रसादात्मजमहं⁶ श्रीसोमतनुजठ⁷ श्रीभासरजभार्याठ⁸ श्रीकुमारदेव्यैः पुत्र-
महं⁹ श्रीमल्लदेवसंघपतिमहं¹⁰ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजसहोदरभ्रातृमहं¹¹ श्रीतेजः-
पालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं¹² श्रीचनुपमदेव्यास्तत्कुक्षि[सं]...¹³
- 5 विचपुत्रमहं¹⁴ श्रीलूणसिंहस्य च पुण्ययोगिवृद्धये श्रीमदर्वुदाचलोपरि¹⁵ देउलवाडा-
ग्रामे समस्तदेवकुलिकालंकृतं विशालहस्तिशालोपयोगितं श्रीलूणसिंह-
वसहिकाभिधानश्रीनिमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिदं कारितं ॥ छ [॥]
- 6 प्रतिष्ठितं¹⁶ श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीमहेंद्रसूरिसंताने श्रीशान्तिसूरिशिष्यश्रीभाणंदसूरिश्री-
अमरचंद्रसूरिपट्टालंकरणप्रभुश्रीहरिभद्रसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ छ ॥
अथ च धर्मस्थाने कृतश्रावकगोष्ठिकानां नामा-
- 7 नि यथा ॥ महं¹⁷ श्रीमल्लदेवमहं¹⁸ श्रीवस्तुपालमहं¹⁹ श्रीतेजःपालप्रभृतिभ्रातृत्रय-
संतानपरंपरया तथा महं²⁰ श्रीलूणसिंहसत्कमातृकुलपत्ने²¹ श्रीचंद्रावतीवास्तव्य-
प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ²² श्रीसावदेवसुतठ²³ श्रीशालिगतनुजठ²⁴

¹ On a white slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1741 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Restore श्रीभीमदेव. ⁴ Read "वशिष्ट".

⁵ Restore श्रीचंडपसुतठ श्री.

⁶ Restore "संभूतप".

⁷ Read श्रीमदर्वुदा.

⁸ Read प्रतिष्ठितं.

⁹ The *p* of "पत्ने" seems to have been corrected out of *ध*.

- 8 श्रीसागरतनयठ° श्रीमागापुत्रठ° श्रीधरणिमभ्रातृमहं° श्रीराणिममहं° श्रीलीला
तथा ठ° श्रीधरणिमभार्याठ° श्रीतिहुणदेविकुल्लिसंभूतमहं° श्रीअनुपमदेवि-
सहोदरभ्रातृठ° श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीभाम्बसीहठ° श्रीऊदल°
9 तथा महं° श्रीलीलासुतमहं° श्रीलूणसीह तथा भ्रातृठ° जगसीहठ° रत्न-
सिंहानां समस्तकुटुम्बेन° एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकल-
मपि स्नपनपूजासारादिकं सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च ॥ तथा।°
10 श्रीचंद्रावल्याः सत्कसमस्तमहाजनसकलजिनचैत्यगोष्टिकप्रभृतिश्रावकसमुदायः° ॥
तथा °उंबरणीकीसरउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञा° श्री° रासलंड° आसधर तथाज्ञा°
माणिभद्रउ° श्री° आल्हण तथाज्ञा° श्री° देल्हणउ° खीम्बसी°
11 हृ धर्कटज्ञातीयश्री° नेहाउ° साल्हा तथाज्ञा° धउलिगउ° आसचंद्र तथाज्ञा°
श्री° वहुदेवउ° सोम प्राग्वाटज्ञा° श्री° सावडउ° श्रीपाल तथाज्ञा° श्री°
जींदाउ° पाल्हण धर्कटज्ञा° श्री° पासउ° सादा प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयपूनाउ° सा-
12 ल्हा तथा श्रीमालज्ञा° पूनाउ° साल्हाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः° । अमीभिः श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवप्रतिष्ठावर्षग्रंथियाचाष्टाहिकायां° देवकीयचैत्रवदि ३ तृतीयादिने स्नपन-
पूजाद्युत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा कासद्वदग्रामीयजएसवालज्ञा-
13 तीयश्री° सोहिउ° पाल्हण तथाज्ञा° श्री° सलखणउ° वाल्हा प्राग्वाटज्ञा°
श्री° सांतुयउ° देल्हुय तथाज्ञा° श्री° गोसलउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° श्री°
कोलाउ° आम्बा° तथाज्ञा° श्री° पासचंद्रउ° पूनचंद्र तथाज्ञा° श्री°
जसवीरउ° ज-
14 गा तथाज्ञा° 10 ब्रह्मदेवउ° राल्हा श्रीमालज्ञा° कडुयराउ° कुलधरप्रभृति-
गोष्टिकाः° 11 । अमीभिस्तथा ४ चतुर्थीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य द्वितीया-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा 12 ब्रह्माणवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहाजनि°
15 आंमिगउ° पूनड जएसवालज्ञा° महा° धांधाउ° सागर तथाज्ञा° महा°
साटाउ° वरदेव प्राग्वाटज्ञा° महा° पाल्हणउ° उदयपाल श्रीसवालज्ञा°
महा° आवोधनउ° जगसीह श्रीमालज्ञा° महा° वीसलउ° पासदेव प्रा-13
16 ग्वाटज्ञा° महा° वीरदेवउ° भरसीह तथाज्ञा° श्री° धणचंद्रउ° रामचंद्रप्रभृति-
गोष्टिकाः° 14 । अमीभिस्तथा ५ पंचमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य तृतीया-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा धउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री° सा-

1 Read श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीभाम्बसीहठ°. The line is filled up by a sign resembling a hook.

2 Read °कुटुम्बेन.

3 This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line.

4 Read °गोष्टिक°.

5 Read उंबरणीकी°.

6 Read खीम्बसी°.

7 Read °गोष्टिकाः°.

8 Read °प्रतिष्ठा°.

9 Read आम्बा°.

10 Read ब्रह्मदेव°.

11 Read °गोष्टिकाः°.

12 Read ब्रह्माण°.

13 The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

14 Read °गोष्टिकाः°.

- 17 जणउं पासवीर तथाज्ञां अं वीहडिउं पूना तथाज्ञां अं जसडुयउं
जेगण तथाज्ञातीयअं साजनउं भीला तथाज्ञां पासिलउं पूनुय तथाज्ञां
अं राजुयउं सावदेव तथाज्ञां दूगसरणउं साहणीय ओइसवाल-¹
- 18 ज्ञां अं सलखणउं महं जीगा तथाज्ञां अं[*] देवकुंथारउं आसदेव-
प्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः² । अमीभिस्तथा ६ षष्ठीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य चतुर्था-
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा मुंडखलमहातीर्थवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय-
- 19 अं संधीरणउं गुणचंद्रपाल्हा तथा अं सोहियउं आखेसर तथा अं जेजाउं
खांखण तथा फीलिंग्ग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञां वापलगाजणप्रमुखगोष्टिकाः⁴
अमीभिस्तथा ७ सप्तमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचमाष्टाहिकाम-
- 20 होत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा हंडाउद्राग्रामडवाणीग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीयअं 'आम्बु-
यउं जसरा तथाज्ञां अं[*] लखमणउं आस तथाज्ञां अं आसलउं
जगदेव तथाज्ञां अं सुमिगउं धणदेव तथाज्ञां अं जिणदेवउं जाला
- 21 प्राग्वाटज्ञां अं आसलउं सादा श्रीमालज्ञां अं देदाउं वीसल तथाज्ञां
अं आसधरउं आसल तथाज्ञां अं धिरदेवउं वीरुय तथाज्ञां अं
गुणचंद्रउं देवधर तथाज्ञां अं हरियाउं हेमा प्राग्वाटज्ञां अं लखमण-
- 22 उं कडुयाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः⁶ । अमीभिस्तथा ८ अष्टमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथ-
देवस्य 'षष्ठाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा [ग]डाहडवास्तव्यप्राग्वाट-
ज्ञातीयअं देसलउं 'ब्रह्मसरण तथाज्ञां जसकरउं अं धणिया
तथाज्ञां[*] अं
- 23 देल्हणउं आल्हा तथाज्ञां अं वालाउं पद्मसीह तथाज्ञां अं 'आंबुयउं
वीहडि तथाज्ञां अं वीसरिउं पूनदेव तथाज्ञां[*] अं वीरुयउं साजन¹⁰
तथाज्ञां अं पाहुयउं जिणदेवप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः¹¹ । अमीभिस्तथा ९
नवमीदिने
- 24 श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य सप्तमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा साहिलवाडावास्तव्य-
ओइसवालज्ञातीयअं देल्हाउं आल्हण अं नागदेवउं ¹²आम्बदेव अं
काल्हणउं आसल अं वीहियउं लाखण अं जसदेवउं वाहड अं
- 25 सीलणउं देल्हण अं वहुदा अं महवराउं धणपाल अं पूनिगउं
वाघा अं मोसलउं वहुडाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः¹³ । अमीभिस्तथा १० दशमीदिने

¹ The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.² Read षष्ठीदिने.³ Read आंबुय°.⁴ Read ब्रह्म°.⁵ Read 'गोष्टिकाः°.⁶ Read 'गोष्टिकाः°.⁷ Read 'गोष्टिकाः°.⁸ Read आंबुय°.⁹ Read आम्ब°.¹⁰ Read 'गोष्टिकाः°.¹¹ Read ब्रह्माष्टा°.¹² Read साजन (P).¹³ Read 'गोष्टिकाः°.

श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य षष्ठमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा श्रीशर्वदो-
परि देउलवा-

- 26 डावास्तव्यसमस्तश्रावकैः ¹ श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचापि कल्याणिकानि यथा-
दिनं प्रतिवर्षं कर्त्तव्यानि ॥ एवमियं व्यवस्था श्रीचंद्रावतीपतिराजकुलश्री-
सोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्रराज² श्रीकान्हडदेवप्रमुखकुमरैः समस्तराजलोकैस्त-
- 27 था श्रीचंद्रावतीयस्थानपतिभट्टारकप्रभृतिकविलास तथा श्रीगुलीब्राह्मणसमस्त-
महाजनगोष्ठिकैश्च³ तथा श्रीशर्वदाचलोपरि श्रीअचलेश्वरश्रीवशिष्ठ तथा संनि-
हित ⁴ ग्रामदेउलवाडाग्रामश्रीश्रीमातामहबुग्रामश्रावयग्रामश्रीरासाग्रामज⁵
- 28 तरङ्गग्रामसिद्धग्रामसालग्रामहिठउंजीग्रामश्रीखीग्रामश्रीधांधलेश्वरदेवीयकोटडीप्रभृति-
हादशग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानस्थानपतितपोधनगुगुलीब्राह्मणराठियप्रभृतिसमस्तलोकै-
स्तथा भालिभाडाप्रभृतिग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानश्रीप्रतीहा-
- 29 रवंशीयसर्वराजपुत्रैश्च आत्मीयात्मीयस्वेच्छया श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य मंडपे समुप-
विश्योपविश्य महं श्रीतेजःपालपाश्चात् स्त्रीयस्त्रीयप्रमोदपूर्वकं श्रीलूणसीह-
वसहिकाभिधानस्यास्य धर्मस्थानस्य सर्वोपि रक्षाप्रभारः स्वीकृतः । तदेतदा-
- 30 त्मीयवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्भिरैतैः⁶ सर्वैरपि तथा एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च धर्म-
स्थानमिदमाचंद्रार्कं यावत् परिरक्षणीयं ॥ यतः ॥ किमिह कपालकमंडलुवल्कल-
सितरक्तपटजटापटलैः । व्रतमिदमुज्ज्वलमुन्नतमनसां प्रतिपन्ननिर्व्वहणं ॥ ६ ॥
- 31 तथा महाराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन अस्यां श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमि-
नाथदेवाय पूजांगभोगार्थं वाहिरहृद्यां डवाणीग्रामः शासनेन प्रदत्तः ॥ स च
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवाभ्यर्त्तनया प्रमाराव्यभिचाराचंद्रार्कं यावत् प्रतिपात्यः ॥⁷
- 32 ॥ सिद्धिचेत्रमिति प्रसिद्धमहिमा श्रीपुंडरीको गिरिः श्रीमान् रैवतकोपि
विश्वविदितः चेत्रं विसृजेरिति । नूनं चेत्रमिदं द्वयोरपि तयोः श्रीशर्वदस्त-
अभू भेजाते कथमन्यथा सममिमं श्रीआदिनेमी स्वयं ॥ १ संसारसर्व-
स्वमिहैव मुक्तिस-
- 33 ॥ स्वस्मप्यत्र जिनेश दृष्टं । विलोक्ष्यमाने भवने तवास्मिन् पूर्व परं च त्वयि
दृष्टिपांथे ॥ २ श्रीकृष्णर्षीयश्रीनयचंद्रसूरैरिति ॥ सं सरवणपुत्रसं सिंह-
राजसाधू साजणसंसहसासाहदेपुत्री सुनयव प्रणमति ॥ शुभं ॥¹¹

¹ Read श्रीशर्वदो.

² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Read श्रीब्राह्मण.

⁴ Read श्रीशिवकेश.

⁵ Read श्रीशर्वदा.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is out of place; read संनिहितग्राम.

⁷ Read श्रीश्रावय.

⁸ Read संतिष्ठमान and श्रीब्राह्मण.

⁹ कुर्वन्भिरैतैः.

¹⁰ At the end of the line there is a symbol.

¹¹ At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in l. 31.

No. III.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८७ वर्षे फागुणसुदि ३ सोमे अद्येह श्रीशर्व-
दाचले³ श्रीमदणहिलपु-
- 2 रवास्त⁴ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁵ श्रीसोमान्वये महं⁶ श्रीआ-
सरासुतमहं⁷ मालदे-
- 3 वमहं⁸ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजभाढमहं⁹ श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं¹⁰ श्रीअनु-
पमदेविकुलि-
- 4 संभूतसुतमहं¹¹ श्रीलूणसीहपुष्यार्थ अस्यां श्रीलूणवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-
महातीर्थ कारितं ॥ ८ ॥ छ ॥

No. IV.⁴

- 1 श्री⁵ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे 'प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁶
श्रीसोममहं⁷ श्रीआसरान्वये महं⁸ श्रीमालदेवसुतावार्द्धश्रीसदमलश्रेयो-
- 2 ऽर्थ महं⁹ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. V.⁷

- 1 श्री⁸ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁹
श्रीसोममहं¹⁰ श्रीआसरान्वये महं¹¹ श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं¹² श्रीपुनसीहीयभा-
- 2 र्यामहं¹³ श्रीआल्लणदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं¹⁴ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारि-
ता ॥ छ ॥

No. VI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे¹¹ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-
महं¹² श्रीसोमान्वये¹³ महं¹⁴ श्रीआसरान्वये महं¹⁵ श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं¹⁶ [१*]
श्रीपातूश्रेयोऽर्थ महं¹⁷ श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलि-
- 2 का कारिता [१*]

No. VII.¹³

- 1 श्री¹⁴ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्¹⁵ १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-

¹ On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine. No. 1742 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read 'शर्वदा'.

⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor. No. 1666 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The ८ of 'चंडप' has an abnormal form.

⁷ On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor. No. 1667 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor. No. 1668 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Read 'वर्षे'.

¹² Read 'सोमान्वये'.

¹³ On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor. No. 1669 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁵ Read 'विक्रम'.

- महं° श्रीसीमान्वये महं° श्रीआसरासुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं°
 श्रीलीलूश्रेयोऽर्थ महं° श्री-
 2 तेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ।[*] छ ॥

No. VIII.¹

- 1 श्री³ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं°
 श्रीसोममहं° श्रीआसरासुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं° श्रीपुनसीहसुतमहं°
 श्रीपेयडश्रेयोऽर्थ महं° श्रीते-
 2 जपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. IX.³

- 1 श्री⁴ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्⁶ १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं°
 श्रीसीमान्वये महं° श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं° श्रीपुनसीहश्रेयोऽर्थ महं° श्रीतेजपालेन
 देवकुलि[का*] कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. X.⁵

- 1 श्री⁷ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं°
 श्रीसीमान्वये महं° श्रीआसरासुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवश्रेयोऽर्थ तत्सोदरलघुभ्रातृमहं°
 श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ ॥⁸

No. XI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं°
 श्रीसोममहं° श्रीआसरासुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं° श्रीपुनसीहसुतावाईश्री-¹¹
 2 बलालदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं° श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XII.¹²

- 1 श्री¹³ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्¹⁴ १२८८ वर्षे श्रीमत्पत्तनधास्तथप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडप-
 श्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं° श्रीआसरासुतश्रीमालदेवमहं°

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 5 in the corridor. No. 1670 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ On the lintel of cell shrine 6 in the corridor. No. 1671 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The स of °संवत् has not been finished.

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 7 in the corridor. No. 1672 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Between the last two signs of punctuation there is a symbol.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 8 in the corridor. No. 1673 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Read °सुतावाई°.

¹² On the lintel of cell shrine 40 in the corridor. No. 1727 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol. Before this, but a little lower down, there is a reversed श्री.

¹⁴ Read °संवत्.

- 2 श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं^१ श्रीतेजपालेन महं^२ श्रीवस्तुपालभार्यायाः महं^३ श्रीसोखु-
कायाः पुण्यार्थं श्रीसुपार्श्वजिनालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIII.¹

- 1 श्री^४ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री-
चंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं^५ श्रीआसरासुतश्री-
2 मालदेवमहं^६ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं^७ श्रीतेजपालेन महं^८ श्रीवस्तुपालभार्या-
ललतादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIV.⁵

- 1 श्री^९ ॥ संवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं^{१०} श्रीआसरांगज-
महं^{११} श्रीवस्तुपालसुतमहं^{१२} श्रीजयतसीहश्रेयोऽर्थं
2 महं^{१३} श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XV.⁸

- 1 श्री^{१०} ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं^{११}
श्रीआसरांगजमहं^{१२} श्रीतेजपालेन श्रीजयतसीहभार्याजयतलदेवि-
2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVI.¹⁰

- 1 नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं^{१३}
श्रीआसरांगजेन महं^{१४} श्रीतेजपालेन श्रीजयतसीहभार्यासूहवदेवि-
2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVII.¹¹

- 1 श्री^{१३} ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-
श्रीसोममहं^{१४} श्रीआसरान्वयसमुद्भवमहं^{१५} श्रीतेजपालेन महं^{१६} श्रीजयतसी-
2 हभार्यामहं^{१७} श्रीरूपादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ।[*] छ ॥

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 41 in the corridor. No. 1729 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

⁴ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

⁵ On the lintel of cell shrine 42 in the corridor. No. 1731 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

⁸ On the lintel of cell shrine 43 in the corridor. No. 1732 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ On the lintel of cell shrine 44 in the corridor. No. 1734 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 45 in the corridor. No. 1736 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹² Expressed by symbol.

No. XVIII.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोममहं
श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुताश्रीसहजलश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन दे-
2 वकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XIX.³

- 1 श्री⁴ ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं
श्रीलूणसीहभार्यामहं श्रीलषमादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका
कारिता ॥

No. XX.⁵

- 1 ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुत-
महं लूणसीहभार्यायणादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका
कारिता ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXI.⁶

- 1 श्री⁷ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८० वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं
श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीआसरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेव-
भ्रातृमहं श्री-
2 वस्तपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीअनुपमदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ
देवश्रीमुनिसुव्रतस्य देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XXII.⁸

- 1 श्री⁹ ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्री-
[सी]मश्रीआसगान्वयसमुद्भूतमहं¹¹ श्रीतेजपालेन स्वसुतश्रीलूणसीहसुतागउरदेवि-
श्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥[*] छ ॥

No. XXIII.¹²

- 1 श्री¹³ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंड-
प्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीआसरान्वय[समुद्भूत]महं श्री[तेजपालेन] स्वसुतावउल-
देविश्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 46 in the corridor. No. 1738 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1684 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1685 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor. No. 1686 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read 'वस्तपाल'.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor. No. 1690 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ The त of 'समुद्भूत' is not quite finished.

¹² On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor. No. 1692 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

No. XXIV.¹

- 1 ॥ श्री² ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्³ १२८३ चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह⁴ श्रीश्र्वुदा-
चलमहातीर्थे श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ⁵ श्रीचंडपठ⁶ श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं⁷ श्री-
सोमान्वये ठ⁸ श्रीश्रासराजसु[त]-
- 2 ॥ महं⁹ श्रीमालदेवमहं¹⁰ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं¹¹ श्रीतेजःपालेन¹² स्वभगिन्याः
पद्मलायाः श्रेयोर्थ¹³ श्रीवारिसेणदेवालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारि[ता] ॥

No. XXV.⁴

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह¹¹ श्रीश्र्वुदाचल-
महातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां महं¹²
श्रीतेजःपालेन
- 2 मातुलसुतभाभाराजपालभणितेन स्वमातुलस्य महं¹³ श्रीपूनपालस्य तथा भार्या-
महं¹⁴ श्रीपूनदेव्याश्च श्रेयोर्थ¹⁵ अस्यां देवकुलिकायां श्रीचंद्राननदेवप्रतिमा
कारिता ॥

No. XXVI.⁹

- 1 श्री¹⁰ ॥ ¹¹स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपात् सं १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह¹²
श्रीश्र्वुदाचल[तीर्थे]¹³
- 2 स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञाती-
3 यठ¹⁴ श्रीचंडपठ¹⁵ श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं¹⁶ श्रीसोमान्वये ठ¹⁷ श्रीश्रासराजठ¹⁸ श्रीकुमारदे-
4 व्योः सुतमहं¹⁹ श्रीमालदेवसंघपतिश्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं²⁰ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभ-
5 गिन्या वार्दजाल्हणदेव्याः²¹ श्रेयोर्थ²² ²³विहरमाणतोर्थकरश्रीसीमंवरस्वामिप्रतिमा-
6 लंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ प्रतिष्ठिता²⁴ श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीविजयसेन-
सू[रभिः] ॥

No. XXVII.¹⁶

- 1 [॥ श्री]¹⁷ ॥ ¹⁸स्वस्ति संवत् १२८३ चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह¹⁹ श्रीश्र्वुदाचल-
तीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलू[णसीह]-

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1715 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read °संवत्.

⁴ Read °श्र्वुदा°.

⁵ The त् of °तेजःपालेन is only half finished.

⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1716 of Mr. Cousens's list.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read °चंडपठ°.

⁹ On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor. No. 1707 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.

¹² Read °श्र्वुदा°.

¹³ Read वार्द°.

¹⁴ Read °सीमंवरस्वामि°.

¹⁵ Read प्रतिष्ठिता.

¹⁶ On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor. No. 1708 of Mr. Cousens's list.

¹⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁸ In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.

¹⁹ Read °श्र्वुदा°.

- 2 ॥ वसहिकाख्यश्रीअरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंड-
प्रसादमहं° श्री[सी]-
- 3 ॥ मान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेव-
संघपतिमहं° ॥
- 4 ॥ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिनीवाईमाउश्रेयोर्थ¹ विहर-
माण- ॥
- 5 ॥ तीर्थकरश्रीयुगंधरस्वामिजिनप्रतिमालंकृता देवकुलिका इय² कारिता ॥³
॥ छ [॥]

No. XXVIII.⁴

- 1 ⁵ [अद्येह श्रीअर्बुदाचले° स्वयंकारित-
श्रीलू]-
- 2 [ण]सीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीअरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ[°]
- 3 श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसीमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतम[हं°]
- 4 श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या⁶ सा[ज]-
- 5 [देव्याः श्रेयोर्थ] विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीवाहुजिनालंकृता⁷ देवकुलिका कारि[ता ॥]

No. XXIX.¹⁰

- 1 ॥ श्री¹¹ ॥ ¹²स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येह श्रीअर्बुदाचलमहातीर्थ¹³ स्वयं[का]-
- 2 ॥ रितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्री-
चंडप-
- 3 ॥ ठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसीमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः
सुतमहं° श्रीतेजःपाले-
- 4 न स्वभगिन्या¹⁴वाईधणदेविश्रेयसे विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसुवाहुविंवालंकृता¹⁵
देवकुलिका कारिता [॥*]

¹ Read °वाई°.² Read °कुलिकेयं.³ After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 28 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Cousens's list.⁵ The first *aksharas* of this line are illegible.⁶ Read °अर्बुदा°.⁷ Read °श्रीवस्तुपाल°.⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁹ Read °श्रीवाहु°.¹⁰ On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Cousens's list.¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.¹² In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.¹³ Read °अर्बुदा°.¹⁴ Read °वाई°.¹⁵ Read °सुवाहुविंवा°.

No. XXX.¹

- 1 ॥ श्री^३ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १]२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येह श्रीश्रवदाचलमहातीर्थे^२ स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकास्थश्रीनिमिनाथ-
देव- ॥
- 2 ॥ चैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञा[तीयठ° श्रीचिंचडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसो-
मान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवसंवप- ॥
- 3 ॥ तिमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या वार्द्धसीहगाया
अयोर्य शश्वतजिनश्रीऋषभदेवालंकृता देवकुलिका कारिता [॥*]

No. XXXI.^४

- 1 ॥ श्री^५ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले
अद्येह श्रीश्रवदाचलमहातीर्थे^६ स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकायां श्रीनिमिनाथ-
देवचैत्ये जगत्यां^७
- 2 ॥ श्रीप्राग्वाटजावीयठ° श्रीचिंचडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआ-
सराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं°
- 3 ॥ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या ^{१०}वार्द्धवयजुकायाः अयोर्य श्रीवर्द्धमानाभिध-
शश्वतजिनप्रतिमालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ शुभम् भवतु । मंगलं
महाश्रीः ॥^{११} ॥

No. XXXII.^{१२}

- 1 श्री^{१३} संवत् १२८७ वैशाखवदि १४ गुरौ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयचंडपचंडप्रसादमहं[°*]
श्रीसोमान्वये महं[°*] श्रीआसराजसतमहं[°*] श्रीतेजःपालेन श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्त-
व्यमोदज्ञातीयठ° जाल्हणमुतठ° आमासुतायाः ठकुराज्ञीसंतीषाकुचिसंभूताया
म[°*] श्रीतेजःपालद्वितीयभार्यामहं[°*] श्रीमुहडादेव्याः [अयोर्य] [॥*]

No. 22.—NAUSARI PLATES OF SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA;
THE YEAR 421.

By PROFESSOR E. HOLTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SALE).

The copper-plates which bear this inscription come from Nausari,¹⁴ the head-quarters town of the Nausari division of the Baroda State. The inscription was first published, with a lithograph, by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal*

¹ On the lintel of cell shrine 30 in the corridor. No. 1711 of Mr. Cousens's list.

² Expressed by a symbol.

^३ Read °श्रवदा°.

⁴ On the lintel of cell shrine 31 in the corridor. No. 1712 of Mr. Cousens's list.

^५ Expressed by a symbol.

^६ Read °संवत्.

^७ Read °श्रवदा°.

^८ Read °चैत्यजगत्यां.

^९ Read श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय°.

^{१०} Read वार्द्ध°.

^{११} This sign of punctuation is followed by a symbol.

^{१२} On the ornamental niche close to the entrance doorway of the main shrine. No. 1744A of Mr. Cousens's list.

^{१३} Expressed by a symbol.

^{१४} Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888) lat. 20° 57', long. 72° 59'.

Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI. p. 1 ff. It is now re-edited from an excellent ink-impression supplied by Dr. Fleet, who contributes the following remarks on the original :—

"The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1884, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about $8\frac{5}{8}$ " long by 5" broad at the ends and $4\frac{7}{8}$ " in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The ring is about $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Śrī-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.: total, 2 lbs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz."

The alphabet resembles that of other records of the early Chalukyas. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs once (l. 12). Final forms are found of *m* (ll. 1, 2, 20), *t* (l. 13) and *n* (l. 17). The only mark of punctuation is a small vertical line after *Svāmantasvāmī* (l. 14). The date at the end of the inscription is expressed in words and numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit, mostly prose; two well known Anuṣṭubh verses occur in l. 1 f. and l. 19 f. Although the inscription is very well preserved, and though the engraving is neat and distinct, the text is full of serious blunders. As may be seen from the footnotes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and syllables are either omitted or corrupted. In line 15 a whole word seems to be missing, which cannot be supplied with certainty.¹

The inscription opens with an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu (l. 1 f.). It then states that in the family of the Chalukyas² (l. 5) was Pulakēśi-Vallabha (l. 6), "who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the collection of all hostile kings, who resembled Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira, (and) who possessed true chivalry." His son was Dh[a]rāśraya-Jaya-simhavarman (l. 9 f.), "whose power had been increased by (his) elder brother, the glorious Vikramāditya-Saty[ā]śraya-Prithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka, the fervent Māhēśvara, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father and of the holy Nāgavardhana, (and) who by unchecked prowess had overcome the Pallava family." His son was the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) Śryāśraya-Śilāditya³ (l. 13), "who illuminated all quarters of the sky by the banner of (his) fame that was as pure as the great garland of the rays of the spotless full-moon in autumn, who was as liberal as Rājarāja (*i.e.* Kuvēra), [who resembled] the god of love in being endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, (and) who was as skilled in all arts (and) as brave as (Naravāhanadatta) the emperor of the Vidyādhara." While residing at Navasārikā, he granted to the Brāhmana Bhōgikkasvāmin (l. 15) a village named Āsaṭṭi-grāma (l. 16). The donee was an Adhvaryu (*i.e.* a student of the Yajurveda), the pupil (?) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātṛīśvara (?), and the son of [S]āmantasvāmin. The latter was the son of Agāmisvāmin, who belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and resided at Navasārikā. The village granted was included in the district (*vishaya*) of Kaṇhavalāhāra, a subdivision of the Bāhirika district (*vishaya*). According to the two last lines of the inscription, "this (edict) was written by the minister (*s[ā]ndhivigrah[ā]ku*), the glorious Dhana[m]jaya,

¹ See p. 232 below, note 14.

² For this early variant of the name 'Chalukya' see Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 336, note 3.

³ On the seal, Śilāditya's surname Śryāśraya is spelt *Śrī-āśraya*, without Sandhi.

on the thirteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha, in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one— 400 20 [1].”

Of the royal personages named in this grant, two belong to the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. These are Pulakēśi-Vallabha, i.e. Pulakēśin II., and his son Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Prithivivallabha, i.e. Vikramāditya I. The latter is said to have worshipped the holy Nāgavardhana, which may be the name of a temple or of a spiritual guide,¹ and to have overcome the Pallava family.² He is distinguished by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc., from the remaining two princes of the Chalukya family that are referred to in the grant, viz. Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman and his son, the Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, who were not of sovereign, but of mere feudatory rank. The former of them was a younger brother of Vikramāditya I., the son of Pulakēśin II. The grant states that “his power had been increased by his elder brother.” This seems to imply that he was entrusted by Vikramāditya I. with the administration of a province, which must have included Navasārikā, where his son resided at the time of the grant, and Āsaṭṭi-grāma, the village granted by him. Another copper-plate grant of the same Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, which comes from Surat,³ mentions the villages Kāmanāya, Ōsumbhālā and Allūraka. Bühler has identified Navasārikā. Āsaṭṭi-grāma and the three last with the modern Nausāri (where these plates were obtained). Astgām,⁴ Kamrēj, Umbhél and Alurā⁵—all south of the Tapti in Lāṭa or Southern Gujarāt.

Altogether the grants of this Gujarāt branch of the Chalukya family are four in number:

A.—The Nausāri plates of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, dated in the year 421.

B.—The Surat plates of the same, dated in the year 443.

C.—The unpublished Balsār plates of (his brother) Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarāja, dated in the Śaka year 653.⁶

D.—The Nausāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, younger brother of Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasārāja, dated in the year 490.⁷

According to A. and B., Jayasimhavarman and his son, the Yuvarāja Śilāditya, were contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 655 to 680) in the year 421, and of Vinayāditya (A.D. 680 to 696) in the year 443 of an unspecified era. This can be no other than the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A.D. 249-50.⁸ With this starting-point the dates of the two grants of Śilāditya (A. and B.) correspond to A.D. 671 and 692.⁹ The Balsār plates of Maṅgalarāja (C.), who seems to have governed Gujarāt in succession of his father Jayasimhavarman after the death of the Yuvarāja Śilāditya (probably an elder brother of Maṅgalarāja), are dated in the Śaka year 653=A.D. 731-32.¹⁰ Like the dates of A. and B., that of D. has to be referred to the Kalachuri era. Accordingly, Pulakēśirāja, the younger brother of Maṅgalarasārāja (the Maṅgalarāja of the Balsār plates), was ruling in A.D. 739.¹¹

It remains to be added that the Bāhirikā-vishaya and its subdivision Kaṇhavalāhāra, to which Āsaṭṭi-grāma belonged, have not yet been identified.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 123, and *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. p. 5. The name Nāgavardhana appears twice in a grant of doubtful authenticity; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 123 ff. and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 367 f.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 145, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 362 f.

³ *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 211 ff.

⁴ Dr. Fleet informs me that this is a large village seven miles east-south-east-½-south from Nausāri, and remarks that “in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt ‘Ashtgām,’ which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsaṭṭi-grāma.”

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 198.

⁶ *Jour. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. p. 5.

⁷ See note 3 above.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 77; *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 219 f.; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 55.

⁹ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 364, No. 8, and p. 370, No. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 374, No. 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 376, No. 6.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Om² svasti [||*] Jayaty-āvishkṛitam Vishṇôr=vvārāham kshôbhit-ârṇṇa[va]m [||*]
dakshin-ônṇata-da[m*]shṭr-âgra-vi-
2 śâ(śrâ)nta-bhuvana[m*] vapuḥ [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstûya[māna*]-
Mānavya-sagôtrānām(pām)
3 Hārīti-putrānām sapta-lôka-mâtribhis=sapta-Mâtribhi[r-abhi*]varddhitâsa(nām)
Kârttikêya-pa-
4 nirakshapa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparānām bhagavamn-³Nârāya[ṇa*]-prasâda-samâsâdita-
varâha-la-⁴
5 ūchhanikshapê rakshapê vasêkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitām Chalikyânām-ânvayê⁵ nija-
bhujâ-bala-parâjit-â-
6 khila-ripu-mahipâla-samêtivirâmayudhishtôpamâna[h*]⁶ satya-vikrama[h*] śrī-
Pulakêsi-Vallabhah [||*] Tasya
7 putraḥ paramamâhêśvara-mâtâpitṛi-śrī-Nâgavarddhana-pâd-ânuddhyâta-śrī-Vikramâditya-
Saty[â*]-
8 śraya-Prithivivallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramamâhêśvara-bhaṭṭâra[k]ēna(ṇa)⁷ anivârīta-
paurush-â-
9 krata-⁸Pallav-ânvayēna jyâyasâ bhrâtrâ sama[bhi*]varddhita-vibhûtir=Ddhârâśraya-⁸
śrī-Jayasimbha-
10 varmm[â ||*] Tasya putraḥ sarad-amala-sakala-śasadhara-marîchi-mâlâ-vitâna-
viśuddha-kīrti-patâkâ-

Second Plate.

- 11 vibhâsita-lamanta-¹⁰dig-antarâhab(lah) pradâtâ Rô(râ)jarâja [i*]va rû[pa*]-¹¹lâvaṇya-sau-
12 bhâgya-sampannaḥ=Kâmadîva¹² sakala-kalâ-pravi(vi)ṇaḥ paurushavân=Vidyâdhara-chakra-
13 varit-i(i)ya Śryâśraya-śrī-Śilâditya-yuvarâja(jô) Navasârikâm-adhivasat(san)[||*]
Navasâri-
14 kâ-v[â*]stavya-Kâśyapa-sagôtr-Âgâmisvâminah putraḥ Svâ(sâ)mantasvânî | tasya
putrâ-
15 ya [||*] Mâtrīsvavira[h¹³ ||*] tasy-ânuja-bhrâtrâ(trê) Kikkasvâminah¹⁴ Bhôgikkasvâminê
¹⁵Adhvaryu-[sa*]brahmachâri-
16 pê Bâhirikâ-¹⁶vishay-ântarggata-Kaṇhavalâhâra-¹⁷vishayê Âsatti-grâmaḥ s-ôdraṅgaḥ
sa-pa-

¹ From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Cancel the *anusvâra*.⁴ Read -lâuchhan-êkshapa-kshapa-vastkṛit-.⁵ Read -*anvayê*.⁶ Read probably -*samiti Râma-Tudhishtir-ôpamânaḥ*.⁷ Read -*paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakṣa-âniôdrita-*.⁸ Read *krânta-*.⁹ Read -*Ddhârâśraya-* and see Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 361, note 4.¹⁰ Read -*samasta-*.¹¹ Compare text line 15 of the Surat plates; *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 226.¹² The particle *ira* may have to be supplied here.¹³ Read either *Mâtrīshavarīḥ* or, more probably, *Mâtrīśvaraḥ*; for the latter see l. 20 of the Surat plates.¹⁴ Perhaps *śishyâya* has to be supplied here.¹⁵ Here and in -*vishayê* (l. 16) and *rikam* (l. 17) the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.¹⁶ The first letter of *Bâhirikâ* closely resembles that of *bala* (l. 5), *brahma* (l. 15) and *bahu* (l. 19). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *Thâharikâ*.¹⁷ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read this word as -*Kaṇḍavalâhâra*; but the *â* is quite distinct. The third *akshara* may be either *va* or *dha*.

[illegible][illegible]

- 17 rikaram udak-otsargga-pûrvam mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha punya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhaye
dattavân [I*]
18 Vât-âhâ(ha)ta-dîpa-sikhâ-chañchalâ[m*] lakshî(kshmi)m=anusmṛitya sarvair=âgâmi-
nripatibhidhammaddâyô=¹
19 numantavyah [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ rājâ(ja)bhi[h*] Sagar-âdibhi[h*]
yasya yasya yadâ bhâ-
20 mi[s=*]tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Mākha(gha)-śuddha-trayôḍaśyām likhitam=
idam sandhivigrahaka-²srî-Dhana[m*]jayēna
21 samvatsara-śata-chatuṣṭayē³ êkaviṁśaty-adhikē 400 20 [I]⁴ [II*] Ôm⁵ [II*]

No. 23.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF KUMARAVISHNU II.

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

These copper-plates "were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalûr in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago." The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A. Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. The subjoined transcript is based on two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya, who also furnished me with the following description of the original :—

"The copper-plates are five in number. The first and last bear writing on the inner side only. The plates have no rims. In the upper and lower borders they are not as broad as in the middle. Their breadth accordingly varies from 8" to 8½". The height is throughout 2½". At a distance of 1" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, ½" in diameter; and through these holes passes a circular ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), ¾" in diameter and about ¼" thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures between 1¼" and 1½" in diameter and bears in its middle an indistinct symbol in relief. Around the margin there seems to be a legend which is too much worn to be made out. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 95 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao."

The inscription on the plates is well preserved; only a few syllables at the end of ll. 2, 3, 4, 12 and 20 are obliterated. The sign of *anuvāra* is so small that its existence on the plate remains doubtful in most cases where the context requires it. A final form of *m* occurs thrice (ll. 28, 29 and 32). The letter *t* is distinguished from *n* by a loop; but in a single case (*grāmēyakānātrā*², l. 15) the form with the loop is used for *n*. The end of a verse is marked by a double vertical line in three cases (ll. 28, 29 and 30), and the end of the inscription by five circles between double lines. Plates i., ii.b, iii.b and iv.b bear on the left margin the numerical symbols 1, 2, 3 and 4, while plate v. is not numbered at all. The language is Sanskrit prose, and four Sanskrit verses 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll. 26-32.

The inscription is an edict issued from Kāñchipura (l. 1) in the second year of the reign (l. 23) of the Pallava Mahārāja Kumāravishnu (II.) (l. 14), who was the son of the M.

¹ Read *nripatibhir=ayam=asmad-dāyô*; compare l. 29 of the Surat plates.

² Read *sandhivigrahika*.

³ Read *chatuṣṭaya êkaviṁśaty*.

⁴ The figure '1' is hardly visible at all, but is secured by the preceding words and by the empty space between '20' and *ôh*.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

Buddhavarman (l. 8), the grandson of the *M. Kumāravishṇu* (I.) (l. 6), and the great-grandson of the *M. Skandavarman* (l. 3). It records that the king granted to a Brāhmaṇa a field in the village of **Chendalūra** (ll. 14 and 16 f.) in **Kavachakāra-bhōga** (l. 16), a subdivision of the district of **Karmā[ñ]ka-rāshṭra** (l. 14) or **Kammā[ñ]ka-rāshṭra** (l. 16).

Of the localities mentioned in this record **Kāñchīpura** (l. 1) is Conjeeveram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, and **Chendalūra** is **Chendalūr** in the Nellore district, the village where the plates were unearthed. **Karmānka**-or **Kammānka-rāshṭra**, i.e. 'the district named (after) Karma or Kamma,' is mentioned as **Karma-rāshṭra** in two Eastern Chalukya grants,¹ and as **Kamma-rāshṭra** in a third one.²

The wording of this inscription is very similar to that of three other Pallava grants, which belong to the reign of **Simhavarman**, viz. the **Pikira**, **Māngaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants.³ Nay, ll. 1-14 are almost identical with ll. 4-16 of the **Uruvupalli** grant.⁴ The names of the kings, however, differ in those three grants on the one hand and in the **Chendalūr** plates on the other, and no lineal connection can be established between both sets of kings. The name **Skandavarman** occurs in both, but **Kumāravishṇu** I., **Buddhavarman** and **Kumāravishṇu** II., who were the three direct descendants of **Skandavarman** according to the **Chendalūr** plates, are unknown to the three other grants. Nor do their names occur in the Pallava pedigree of the **Kāśākuḍi** plates, which begins with **Simhaviṣṇu**.⁵ Under these circumstances our only guide can be the palaeography of those different records. The alphabet of the **Chendalūr** plates is more archaic than those of the **Kūram** and **Kāśākuḍi** plates, but resembles those of the **Pikira**, **Māngaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the **Pikira**, **Māngaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the **Chendalūr** plates ruled in the interval between **Simhavarman** and **Simhaviṣṇu**. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will enable us to bridge some of the gaps in the direct succession of the Pallavas, one of which is now partially filled by the information contained in the **Chendalūr** plates.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti? [||*] Jitam-bhagavatā [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Kāñchi[p]urād-abhyuchchita-
śakti-
- 2 siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-[vīra]-
- 3 sya mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmanāḥ prapantṛō dēva-dviḡa-guru-vṛiddh-ā(ō)pa[chā]-
- 4 yinō vivṛiddha-vinayasy-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhu(bhū)my-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-
[dharma-sa]-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 ūchayasya prajā-pālana-dakṣhasya lōkapālānām=⁷pañchamasya
- 6 lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Kumāravishṇōḥ pautṛō bhagavad-bhakti-sa-
- 7 mbhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ādi-rāja-pratispa[r*]ddhi-guṇa-samudayaasy-āmi-
- 8 tātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Buddhavarmanāḥ putrah prajā-samraṇjana-paripālan-ōdyō-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 16.

² See p. 238 below.

³ See p. 160 above.

⁴ Only the compound beginning with *ādirdja* is peculiar to the **Chendalūr** plates (l. 7).

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 344, and *Lyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

⁶ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁷ On the left margin of plate i.

⁸ Corrected from *lōkapālānāma*.

i.

2
4

2 2

4 4

ii a.

6
8

6 8

ii b.

10
12

10 12

iii a.

14
16

14 16

32

32

30

30

2.

28

28

26

26

12 b.

24

24

22

22

12 a.

20

20

18

18

111 b.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 ga-satata-satya-vrata-dīkshito=nēka-samara-sāhas-āvamardda-labdha-
 10 vijaya-yasa[h].¹prakāśaḥ Kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasanna-dharmm-ōddharāṇa-ni-
 11 tya-sannaddhō rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigi(gi)shur-ddharmma-vijigi-²
 12 shur=bhagavat-pād-ānu[d]dhyātāḥ parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvājō bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-
 pā[da-bha]-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 13 ktaḥ sva-vikram-ākrañt-ānya-nripa-śrī-nīlayānā[m] yathāvad-āhrit-ānēk-āśvamēdhānā-
 14 m=Pallavānān=dharmmamahārāja[h] śrī-Kumāravishṇuḥ Karmma[m*]ka-rāśhtrē
 Chendalūra-
 15 grāmō grāmēyakān=atr=ādihikṛita-sarvva-naiyōgika-vallabhānā=ch=ājñā[ā]-
 16 payati yath=āsminn=asmābhi[h] Kammā[m*]ka-rāśhtrē Kavachakāra-bhōgē
 Chendalū-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 17 ra-grāmō rāja-vastu bhūtvā sthitañ=chatu[r*]ddisam=ashtasata-paṭṭikā-sa-
 18 mmitam [i*] samudāyatō dvātri[m*]śad-yukta-chatusśatī(ta)-paṭṭikā-sammita[m]
 kshētra[m*]
 19 brāhmaṇāya Kaundinya-gōtrāya=Chchhandōga-sūtrāy=Ābhi-
 20 rūpā ³vāstavyāya Bhavaskandatrātāya brahmadē[ya]-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 21 ma[r*]yyādayā dēvabhōga-varjja[m] hala-nyāyēna sarvva-parihār-ōpētam=a-
 22 smad-āyur-⁴bala-vijay-aśvavy-ābhi-riddhayaḥ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-
 23 rājyē dvitiyē sa[m]vatsarē Kā[r*]ttikē māsē śukla-pakshasya pañchamya[m*]
 24 sarvva-m-ēta[t=*]kshētra[m] samprattan=Tad=avagamya sarvva-parihārair=ētat=
 brahmadēya-kshētra-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 25 m=pariharantu parihārayantu cha [i*] Yaś=ch=ēdam=asmach-chhāsanam=atikrāmēt=sa pā-
 26 paś=sārīran-danḍam=arhati [i*] Api ch=ātra Brahma-gītāḥ ślōkāḥ [i*] Bhūmi-
 dānā-
 27 t=paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhaviṣhyati [i*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=
 na bha-
 28 viṣhyati [i] Sva-dattām=para-⁵dattām=vā⁶ yō harēta vasundharām [i*] gavām
 śatasahasra-

Fifth Plate.

- 29 sya hantu[h] pibati kilbisham [i] Pū[r*]vvai[h] pūrvvataraiś=ch=aiva dattām⁷
 bhūmim harēt=tu yaḥ [i*]
 30 sa nitya-vyasanē magnō narakē cha vasēt=puna[h*] [i] Bahubhir-vvasudhā da-
 31 ttā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
 32 tadā phalam [i*] Ēvam=ājñā(jñā)ptam=iti [i*] Gō-brāhmaṇan=nandatu [i*] Svasty=
 astu prajābhya[h*] [i] ॐ [i]

¹ The syllable *sa* was entered subsequently below the line.² The syllable *ji* stands below the line.³ Here four *akṣaras* are engraved on an erasure; they look like *yu||a||ārw*.⁴ Originally *smaddā*⁵ had been engraved. Subsequently the first *dd* was struck out.⁵ The *akṣara mpa* seems to have been corrected from *mad*.⁶ Read *-dattām* *ed*.⁷ The *anusvara* has failed to come out on the photo-lithograph.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vishnu). Hail! From the victorious **Kāñchīpura**,

(L. 2.) the great-grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Skandavarman**, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 6.) the grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Kumāravishṇu (I.)**, whose mind was truthful,

(L. 7.) the son of the glorious **Mahārāja Buddhavarman**, whose mind was immeasurable,

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, the glorious **Kumāravishṇu (II.)**,—the rightful **Mahārāja** (of the family) of the **Pallavas**, who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (*and*) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,—addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village of **Chendalūra** in **Karmā[n]ka-rāshṭra** and to all officers (*naityōgika*) and (*royal*) favourites who are appointed to this (*district*):—

(L. 16.) “In the village of **Chendalūra** in **Kavachakāra-bhōga**, (*a subdivision*) of this (*district of*) **Kammā[n]ka-rāshṭra**, the king's domain¹ in the four directions amounts to eight hundred *paṭṭikās*.² (*Of this*) a field amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty-two *paṭṭikās* has been given by Us as a *Brahmadēya*, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga*), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the Brāhmaṇa Bhavaskandatrāta of the Kaundinya *gōtra* and the Chhandōga *sūtra*, who resides in **Abhirūpā** . . . —this whole field (*has been given*), for the increase of Our length of life, power, victory and supremacy, in the second year of (*Our*) reign of growing victory, in the month **Kārttika**, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight.

(L. 24.) “Knowing this, they must exempt this *Brahmadēya* field with all immunities and cause (*it*) to be exempted. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this (*there are*) also (*the following*) verses sung by Brahman.”

[Ll. 26-32 contain four of the customary verses.]

(L. 32.) “Thus it has been ordered (*by Us*).” Let cows and Brāhmaṇas rejoice!³ Let there be welfare to (*all*) men!

No. 24.—CHENDALŪR PLATES OF SARVALOKASRAYA ; A.D. 673

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

Like the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II. (No. 23 above), these copper-plates “were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalūr in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago.” The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A

¹ Literally ‘that which stands having become the king's property.’

² *Paṭṭikā* seems to be the same as the Tamil *paṭṭi*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *nivartana*; see *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 359, note 12. Compare *Lakṣmaṇa-paṭṭikā*, i.e., ‘the *paṭṭikā* (belonging to) Lakṣmaṇa’ in a Maitraka grant, above, p. 193, text l. 43.

³ Compare above, p. 49, note 2, and p. 148, text l. 16

Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. They are now edited from two sets of inked estampages received from Mr. Venkayya, who supplies the following description of the original :—

“The copper-plates are five in number and have no rims. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner side only. In the upper and lower borders the plates are not so broad as in the middle; their breadth accordingly varies from $9\frac{1}{8}$ " to $9\frac{1}{4}$ ". The height too gradually decreases from either margin to the middle of the plate—it being roughly $2\frac{7}{8}$ " in the margins and $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in the middle. At a distance of $\frac{5}{16}$ " from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, also $\frac{5}{16}$ " in diameter; and through these holes passes an oval ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by 3", and $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures about $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". It bears, in relief on a plane surface, the legend *Śrī-Vijayasiddh[i]* in the middle; below the legend is a seven-petalled lotus in relief; and above the legend is the crescent of the moon between two symbols which may be taken to be daggers pointing upwards. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 84 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao.”

The inscription is carefully engraved and on the whole well preserved. The alphabet resembles that of the two published copper-plate grants of Sarvalōkāsraya's father Vishṇuvardhana II.¹ A final form of *t* occurs in ll. 2, 33 (twice), 37, and one of *m* in l. 41. The lingual *l* is used in *Chalukyānām* (l. 5), *lalita* (l. 22), *Kolli* (l. 25) and *Kālabava* (l. 29 f.), and the Telugu *r* in ll. 25 and 29. The first plate bears on the left margin the numerical symbol ‘1’; but the remaining plates are not numbered.

The language is Sanskrit prose; two Sanskrit *ślokas* ‘sung by Brahman’ are quoted in ll. 37-39. The rules of Sandhi are disregarded in the two compounds *bhagavat-srī* (l. 2) and *amat-sāsanam* (l. 33), and frequently between two words (ll. 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35).

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahārāja* Sarvalōkāsraya (l. 24), son of the *M. Vishṇuvardhana* (II.) (l. 16), grandson of the *M. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman* (l. 10 f.), and great-grandson of the *M. Vishṇuvardhana* (I.), ‘who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas*’ (l. 5 f.). Some of the laudatory epithets bestowed on Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Vishṇuvardhana II. were evidently copied from inscriptions or office records of the *Pallavas*,² who had been supplanted by the Eastern Chalukyas. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman seems to have borne the surname *Simhavikrama* (l. 8), and Vishṇuvardhana II. that of *Makaradhvaja*.³ Sarvalōkāsraya's valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words which fill five lines (16-21), but which contain nothing of any historical interest. His surname *Vijayasiddhi*, which occurs also on the seal of this grant, is alluded to in the next compound:⁴ ‘he who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (*vijaya-siddhi*) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles’ (l. 21 f.).

In later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty⁵ this king *Vijayasiddhi* or *Sarvalōkāsraya* is named *Mangiyuvārāja*. To his reign has to be referred the date at the end of the subjoined inscription (l. 39 f.): “(This) set of copper-plates (*paṭṭikā*) was given (to the donees) on the occasion of an eclipse on the full-moon tithi of *Vaiśākha* in the second

¹ See the Plates in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 191, and Vol. VIII. p. 320.

² For the epithets *चक्रवर्ति* and *व्रतापीपत* in l. 6 f., *चन्द्रकरी* in l. 9 f., *सुबाहु* and *विधिविहित* in l. 11 f., see e.g. the *Pikira* grant of *Simhavarmā*, above, p. 161, text ll. 4, 5 f. and 2.

³ I.e. ‘the god of love.’ The inscription justifies this surname by asserting that the king ‘had seized the countries, ear-rings (*makara*) and banners (*dhvaja*) of many mighty (*tuṅga*) enemies (l. 13 f.);’ compare above, Vol. VI. p. 345 and note 2.

⁴ The first part of this compound is found also in *Pallava* grants; see e.g. above, p. 235, text l. 9.

⁵ See above, Vol. VII. Appendix, p. 93, note 6.

year of the reign of increasing victory." According to Dr. Fleet, Maṅgiyavarāja reigned from A.D. 672 to 686.¹ Hence his second year would correspond to A.D. 673, while Mr. Sewell's *Eclipses of the Moon in India* do not record any lunar eclipse in Vaiśākha between A.D. 665 and 683. They do mention a total eclipse of the moon, not in Vaiśākha, but in Jyēsthā, on Friday, 6th May 673. Prof. Kielhorn, to whom I submitted this difficulty, has solved it by showing (see his Postscript on p. 240 f. below) that by Brahmagupta's rule the month would not be called Jyēsthā, but Vaiśākha. Accordingly, the European date of the subjoined inscription of Maṅgiyavarāja's reign is the 6th May 673—a result which corroborates the correctness of Dr. Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.

According to l. 24 ff. "the very pious one, he who possesses the dignity of *Mahārāja*, the glorious *Sarvalōkāśraya-Mahārāja*" informs "the villagers in the village of Chendaṭūra in (the district named) *Kamma-rāshṭra* and all officers (*naigōgika*) and favourites gone to this (district)" that he has granted this village to six Brāhmaṇas, who were Chhandōgas (i.e. students of the Sāmaveda), and each of whom received two shares of it. Five of them belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* (l. 27) and one to the Kālabava *gōtra* (l. 29 f.). Curiously enough their proper names are not given, but only their native villages, followed in the case of the first donee by the Sanskrit word *vāstavya*, 'residing in' (l. 28), and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word *bōya*, which seems to be employed in the same sense.² The six villages in question were Kaṭūra, Vaṅgra, Koḷṭipuro (P), Pidena, Kuriyida and Kodiṅki. The phraseology of the grant portion again resembles that of the Pallava copper-plates.

L. 34.—"And the *Ājñapti* for this (grant is) the sun among men (*Narabhāskara*) who resembles the sun crowning the peak of the eastern mountain (*Udayagiri*),³ the principal mountain of the circle of the earth (which is) the family of *Ayyapa*, he who has been victorious in the crush of many battles, the fervent *Māhēśvara*, the glorious *A[na]ghavarman*." The edict was written by Pāmbēya Sarvōttama Ātharvaṇa (l. 41).

The village granted, Chendaṭūra, must be the same as the present Chendalūr, at which the copper-plates were discovered. The district *Kamma-rāshṭra*, to which it belonged, is mentioned as *Karma-rāshṭra* in two other grants of Viṣṇuvardhana II. and Maṅgiyavarāja.⁴ In the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II. the same village and district are named Chendalūra and Karmā[ṇ]ka- or Kammā[ṇ]ka-rāshṭra.⁵

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति० [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीच[॥*]णां हारी[ती]-
- 2 पुत्राणां लोकमात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां० भग[वत्स्व]-
- 3 नारायणप्रसादसमुपलब्धवरवराहलाञ्छ[ना]नां
- 4 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां अनैकाग्रमेधयाजि-
- 5 नां चक्रुःस्थानां कुलमलंकरिण्योः श्रीविष्णुवर्धनमहाराज-¹⁰

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 98.

² The same seems to be the case in a grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 187 f.

³ This epithet may imply that the *Ājñapti* was the governor of the fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX, p. 105, text l. 16.

i.
2 4
2 4
●

ii a.
6 8 10
6 8 10
●

ii b.
12 14
12 14
●

iii a.
16 18 20
16 18 20
●

22

22

24

24

22 24
 24 26
 26 28
 28 30
 30 32
 32 34
 34 36
 36 38
 38 40
 40 42
 42 44
 44 46
 46 48
 48 50
 50 52
 52 54
 54 56
 56 58
 58 60
 60 62
 62 64
 64 66
 66 68
 68 70
 70 72
 72 74
 74 76
 76 78
 78 80
 80 82
 82 84
 84 86
 86 88
 88 90
 90 92
 92 94
 94 96
 96 98
 98 100

26

26

28

28

30

30

26 28
 28 30
 30 32
 32 34
 34 36
 36 38
 38 40
 40 42
 42 44
 44 46
 46 48
 48 50
 50 52
 52 54
 54 56
 56 58
 58 60
 60 62
 62 64
 64 66
 66 68
 68 70
 70 72
 72 74
 74 76
 76 78
 78 80
 80 82
 82 84
 84 86
 86 88
 88 90
 90 92
 92 94
 94 96
 96 98
 98 100

32

32

34

34

32 34
 34 36
 36 38
 38 40
 40 42
 42 44
 44 46
 46 48
 48 50
 50 52
 52 54
 54 56
 56 58
 58 60
 60 62
 62 64
 64 66
 66 68
 68 70
 70 72
 72 74
 74 76
 76 78
 78 80
 80 82
 82 84
 84 86
 86 88
 88 90
 90 92
 92 94
 94 96
 96 98
 98 100

36

36

38

38

40

40

36 38
 38 40
 40 42
 42 44
 44 46
 46 48
 48 50
 50 52
 52 54
 54 56
 56 58
 58 60
 60 62
 62 64
 64 66
 66 68
 68 70
 70 72
 72 74
 74 76
 76 78
 78 80
 80 82
 82 84
 84 86
 86 88
 88 90
 90 92
 92 94
 94 96
 96 98
 98 100

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 स्य प्रपौत्रः अभ्युदितशक्तिसिद्धिसंपन्नस्य प्रतापोपगतराज-
 7 मण्डलस्य [प]रन्तपतिमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलविदारणविधिदर्शित-
 8 सिंहविक्रमस्य सिंहविक्रमस्य रणभूषणायमान-
 9 व्रणकिणालंकृतसर्वगात्रस्य अनेकगोहिरण्यभूष्या[दिप्र]-
 10 दानैः प्रहृष्टधर्मसञ्चयस्य श्रीमती महाराजस्येन्द्रमहा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 रक्तवर्माणः पौत्रः स्वबाहुवलाज्जितोर्जितश्चाचतपोनिधेः विधिवि-
 12 हितसर्वमर्थ्यादस्य 'प्रतापानुरागावनतसामन्तचक्रस्य
 13 चक्रवर्तिलक्षणेपेतस्य गृहीतानेकतुंगारिवसुधा-
 14 मकरध्वजस्य मकरध्वजस्य स्वप्रभावाज्जितसकलसामन्त-
 15 मकुटतटघटितमणिकिरणारुणीकृतचरणारविन्दस्य'

Third Plate; First Side.

- 16 श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजस्य पुत्रः निजभुजपराक्रमाव[न]मितानेक-
 17 शत्रुसामन्तानीतद्विरदपतिमदधाराभिषेककईमितसप्त-
 18 'हृदभुरभिरभ्यामणोपविष्टानेकराज्यामितसमितिको-
 19 ल[१*]हलीभूतराजहार[१*] मदाससमस्तकाशिनीजनघनपयी-
 20 धरावलुप्यमानकुङ्कुमपङ्कावशेषशोभितकमकगिरिश-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 21 लाविशालवचस्यलः अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्हलब्धविज-
 22 यसिद्धिः जलधिरिव रम्यतरलक्ष्मीकृत्तनिवासः मूर्त्त इव व-
 23 सन्तः ससुहृ इव गुणानां दृष्टान्त इव भूमिपतीनां
 24 परमब्रह्मण्यः महाराजालुभावश्रीसर्वलोकाययमहाराजः
 25 कम्भराष्ट्रे चेन्दुरग्रामे ग्रामेयकामच गतसर्वनैयोगिक-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 26 वक्त्रभाञ्जापयति [१*] एव ग्रामोक्षाभिः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः छन्दोगेभ्यः'
 27 कौण्डिन्यगोत्रेभ्यः षट्कुम्भगिरतेभ्यः सतताविच्छिन्न[प]चमहायज्ञ-
 28 क्रियेभ्यः कटूरवास्तव्याय हे अग्नि [१*] वंशनीयाय हे [१*] कौक्किपु-

¹ The पा of प्रताप¹ seems to be corrected from पी.

² Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 12 f.

³ Read 'हृद' and compare *Sisupalavadha*, VI. 50.

⁴ The visarga has not come out on the accompanying Plate, though it is quite distinct on the ink-impressions.

- 29 ॐबोयाय हे [१*] पिदेनबोयाय हे [१*] कुरियिद्बोयाय हे [१*] काळ-
 30 बवबोचाय^१ कोदिक्किबोयाय हे अंशे [१*] एवमेतेभ्यः ब्र[ह्म]देय-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 31 मर्यादया सर्वपरिहारोपेतो देवभोगहृलवर्णं आयुर्वल[वि]ज-
 32 याभिद्वये सप्रतः^२ [१*] तदवगम्य परिहरन्तु परिहारयन्तु च [१*]
 33 ^३योऽस्मत्शासनमतिक्र[१*]मेत् स पापः शरीरन्दण्डमर्हति [१*]
 34 अपि चात्रात्रमिद[१]यगिरिशिखरमकुटायमानभास्कर इव नर-
 35 भास्करः अय्यणान्वयधरणिमण्डलकुलप[र्वत]ः अनेकसमर-

Fifth Plate.

- 36 संवद्विजयी पर[म]माहेश्वरः श्रीमद[ण]धवर्मा^४ [१*] अपि चात्र ब्रह्म-
 37 गीता^५ श्लो[के] भवतः [१*] भूमिदानात्परन्द[१*]नम भूतव भवि-
 ष्यति [१*] तस्यैव हरणात्
 38 पापन भूतव भविष्यति [१*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
 वसुधरां [१*] गवा^६ शत-
 39 सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति किल्बिषं [१*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे हि-
 40 तीये वैशाखपौर्णम[१]स्यां ग्रहणनिमित्तं^७ दत्ता पट्टिका [१*] स्वस्त्य-
 41 स्तु सर्वभूतेभ्यः [१*] पांडेयेन सर्वोत्तमेनाधर्षणेन^८ लिखितम् ॥ श्री^९ ॥—

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.

Vishnuvardhana II., the father and immediate predecessor of Maṅgiyuvārāja, according to Dr. Fleets's calculations, commenced to reign some time in February-March A.D. 663, and the traditional length of his reign is nine years. A date of the month of Vaiśākha of the second year of Maṅgiyuvārāja's reign therefore would in the first instance be expected to fall in or near April A.D. 673; and I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of our date is **Friday, the 6th May A.D. 673** (falling in Śaka-samvat 595 expired), when there was a total eclipse of the moon, from 13 h. 21 m. to 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India. The question is, whether this day could have been described as the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.

According to the rules now in force, the 6th May A.D. 673 would have been the full-moon day of the month Jyēṣṭha (which follows upon Vaiśākha); by the same rules the Śaka year 595 expired would have contained an intercalated month Āshāḍha. By the rules of mean intercalation and the ordinary manner of naming the months, the intercalated month in Ś. 595

^१ Read ॐबोचाय.

^२ Read संप्रतः.

^३ The [ण] seems to be corrected from द; read श्रीमदनव^०.

^४ Read गीतौ श्लोकौ.

^५ The left top-stroke of ण is written upside down.

^६ Expressed by a symbol.

^७ Read यीश्वरसंन^०.

^८ Read गवां.

^९ Read ॐनाथधर्षणेन.

expired (according to both the *Ārya-* and the *Sūrya-siddhānta*) would have been *Jyēshṭha*, and the 6th May A.D. 673 the full-moon day of the first or intercalated *Jyēshṭha*. But this very intercalated month, by an earlier—*Brahmagupta's*—rule, would have received its name, not from the following month *Jyēshṭha*, but from the *preceding* month *Vaiśākha*, i.e. it would have been called *Vaiśākha*, not *Jyēshṭha*, and, by the earlier rule referred to, the 6th May A.D. 673 would thus have been correctly described as the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* (or, more fully, of the second *Vaiśākha*).

This date at once reminds us of the date of the Kaira plates of *Dharasēna* IV. (*Northern List*, No. 484), which quotes a 'second *Mārgaśira*,' and falls in A.D. 648 or *Śaka-samvat* 570 expired. In the case of that date, by the rules of mean intercalation and according to the *Ārya-* and *Sūrya-siddhāntas*, a month was intercalated in Ś. 570 expired before the month *Pauṣa*. By the ordinary rule that month would have been called *Pauṣa*, so that there would have been two months called *Pauṣa*; but the date, in quoting 'the second *Mārgaśira*,' shows that there really were two months called *Mārgaśira*, and that therefore the intercalated month, by the earlier rule, had received its name from the *preceding* *Mārgaśira*.

I would besides compare the *Chōla* date No. 38, of the 25th November A.D. 1033 (above, Vol. V. p. 21), where the given name of the month—*Mārgaśira*, instead of *Pauṣa*—likewise can be accounted for only by the assumption that a month, by the rules of mean intercalation intercalated before *Pauṣa*, had taken its name from the *preceding*, not from the following month. In that *Chōla* date the month *Mārgaśira* which is quoted was the second *Mārgaśira*, just as in the date under discussion the month *Vaiśākha* in my opinion was the second *Vaiśākha*.

For a date (of the 5th February A.D. 817, with a lunar eclipse), which proves the observance of the rules of mean intercalation, but is otherwise of no importance here, see my *Southern List*, No. 68.

NO. 25.—TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

By PROFESSOR R. FISCHER, PH.D.; BERLIN.

The two *Prākṛit* poems here edited were discovered at *Dhār*, in November 1903, together with the corresponding slab of black stone which contains the *praśasti* of *Arjunavarman* published above, p. 96 ff., by Professor E. Hultzsch. Prof. Hultzsch was good enough to send me two inked estampages which had been forwarded to him by Dr. Vogel and Mr. Cousens, and one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.

Like the *praśasti*, the poems are on the whole well preserved; in the second poem, however, the beginning of lines 26-38 is broken away, as may be seen from Plate iii. The inscription consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. Only one serious mistake occurs in A. verse 65, where instead of *chammakkaṇam aṇamaggo* apparently must be read *chakkammaṇam aṇamagge*.

The alphabet is the same as in the *praśasti* and has been already discussed by Prof. Hultzsch. I would draw special attention to the initial *i*, *u*, *o*; to *tha*, e.g. in *thakkaṃ*, A. verse 40 (Plate i. l. 16), *tha*, A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), *thāhiā*, B. 2 (Plate ii. l. 1), *anathakkaṃ*, B. 40 (Plate iii. l. 14), *thāhaviā*, B. 87 (Plate iii. l. 32); to *kkha*, e.g. in *rakkhaū*, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); to *jjha*, e.g. in *majjhe*, A. 6 (Plate i. l. 3); to *sa*, e.g. in *Sivāya* (Plate i. l. 1), *°paramēsvara°*, *śrī°*, *°satam*, *mahātriā* (Plate ii. l. 42); and to *ṅa*, e.g. in *kayaṇi garuḍa* (Plate i. l. 18) and *maṅgalaṃ* (Plate ii. l. 42). *Chchha* and *ttha*, though resembling each other, are more clearly distinguished than in the manuscripts of the Jains, where these two letters are constantly confounded; compare, e.g. *°vīthāro* and *°chchhāya*, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); *°sarichchhaṃ* and *ettha*, A. 15 (Plate i. l. 6). There occurs in A. 87 (Plate ii. l. 34) one letter about the reading of which I am not certain. It

looks exactly like *thā* as given by Bühler on Plate v. l. 26, No. 19 of his *Indian Palaeography*; but since *thā* in all other instances (B. 2, 78, 87) has quite a different form, the reading remains uncertain. Unfortunately there is a gap just in this place.

There is much inconsistency in writing the Anusvāra and the secondary forms of *e* and *o*. Thus in B. 16 (Plate ii. l. 6) we read *paḍihantam*, but in B. 20 (Plate ii. l. 8) *paḍihantam*. In A. 52, 54 (Plate i. l. 21), *e* in *pariyattante kāle ke ke* and *o* in *jo vi hu so vi hu* are partly written in the ancient, partly in the modern fashion. Instead of the Anunāsika in combination with *v* the inscription uses throughout the group *mv*, which is also found in manuscripts (see my *Prākṛit Grammar*, § 179). Thus we have *jāehim vi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23); *hōntehim vi*, A. 84 (Plate ii. l. 32); *kaehim vi*, A. 86 (Plate ii. l. 33); *annehim vi*, A. 92 (Plate ii. l. 35); *jāehim vi*, A. 100 (Plate ii. l. 38), etc. In B. 98, 103 (Plate iii. ll. 37, 38 f.) *valayam va* is wrong for *valayam va*. Similar mistakes, as *jam māi* instead of *jam māi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), have been noticed in the foot-notes on the text.

The orthography is that of the Jainas. Hence in the beginning of words, and generally when doubled, dental *n* is written instead of cerebral *ṇ*, with the single exception of *ṇu*, as remarked in the note on A. 5. Very often also *nha* is written instead of *ṇha*. The *ya-śruti* shows the same inconsistency as in the manuscripts.

The language of the poems is Māhārāṣṭrī. There occur, however, some forms which are Apabhraṃśa, such as *laggavi*, A. 92, *milavi*, B. 108, *sha*, B. 45, *āṇam*, B. 48, *loa*, B. 61, instead of *loo*. Blunders like *tan na* instead of *tam na* and *kayaṇ garuḍa* instead of *kayaṇ garuḍa* in A. 43, which occur very frequently, I am inclined to attribute to the author himself, considering the numerous cases where *hu* is written instead of *khu*, as in A. 54, B. 8, 28, 36, etc. Even faults like *ḥiam* instead of *ḥiam* in B. 36, *kim ttha* instead of *kim tha* in A. 95, *gauravam* in B. 62, *gauraviām* in B. 92, *gauraviā* in B. 105, where *au* is written instead of *o* (compare Hēma-chandra, l. 1), may go back to the author himself. On the whole, however, the latter must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Dōśī-words which have not yet been met elsewhere. At the same time there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration, as in A. 23 and 28, 32 and 33, 98 and 101, or with very slight modifications, as in A. 10 and 55, 14 and 101, 93 and 94. The half-verse *na ya jāo nea jamnūhī* occurs no less than five times (A. 10, 16, 48, 55, 85).

The poems consist of two odes, each of 109 stanzas in the Āryā metre, to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. They have no poetical value. In the first the author varies *ad nau-seam* essentially two thoughts, viz. that nobody has carried the earth so well as the tortoise, and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of this tortoise. In the second it is said that even the tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhōja who now carries the earth. Though a very poor performance, the poems, owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode, pleased king Bhōja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself:—"Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhōja alone. By him this *Kārmāṣataka* has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies" (A. 107), and:—"By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhōja has this *Ṣataka* been composed" (B. 109). The very fact that in the second ode king Bhōja is several times directly addressed (B. 5, 6, 7, 11, etc.) would alone suffice to prove that he himself is not the real author. Tradition has it that Bhōja was a great friend and admirer of scholars and poets, and it is well known that in legendary works like Mērtuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and Ballāla's *Bhōjaprabandha* many famous poets of quite different

¹ The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhōja has been drawn up by Prof. Aufrecht, *Catalogue Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 418, and Vol. II. p. 95.

centuries are placed at his court. As yet no poems had been found which could with certainty be ascribed to the time of Bhôja. So far the new find is of some interest.

With the exception of a few stanzas, the poems are easily intelligible. It would have been a tedious task to translate them. I have therefore contented myself with mentioning in the notes all the difficulties and trying to explain them as far as possible. The abbreviation Gr. refers to my Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages, where the remaining abbreviations are explained on p. 410 ff.

TEXT OF A.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

इच्छ[१]ए जस्य भुञ्जन् धरिभं एकाए असमसत्तोए ।

उभयेउ सो सुहाइं तुम्हाणं पव्वईनाहो ॥१॥

सो कुम्भो वो रक्खउ कणयदिकडारदेहवित्तारो ।

जो जरठभुञ्जणवल्लीकंदच्छायं समुव्वहइ ॥२॥

जस्य भणिएण भुञ्जन् कुम्भप्पमुहा वि धारयन्ति [2] इमं ।

सो अकलिज्जसरुभो ससिचूडो देउ सोक्खाइं ॥३॥

कमठकुडुम्बे विउले वि पसविआ उअह एत्थ सा एका ।

भुञ्जणभरस्स वि पट्ठी जीए जाएण ओडुविआ ॥४॥

कुम्भेण को णु सरिसो विणा वि कज्जेण जेण एक्केण ।

जह निअसुहस पट्ठी तह दिआ [3] भुञ्जणभरस्स ॥५॥

एकं त्वि[अ] सा धन्ना मज्जे महिलाण पसविआ कमटो ।

अइदुव्वहो वि वूढो भुञ्जणभरो जीए जाएण ॥६॥

कमठकुली के न इआ अप्पा वि इ दुव्वहो परं ताण ।

अविरोलं भुञ्जणभरो उव्वूढो तेण एक्केण ॥७॥

कमठकुली जायाणं संखं को सुणइ किं तु [4] सो एक्की ।

आजम्भं भुञ्जण[भ]रो उव्वूढो जेण एक्केण ॥८॥

जो कह व परिगहिओ भारो कुम्भेण निअह तस्स मई ।

जीएण समं पेच्छइ पम्मुक्की पलयपेरस्सि ॥९॥

१. As in many other cases, e.g. जीए, A. 6, जणबीए, A. 46, धरबीए, A. 49, etc., the final ए of इच्छाए and एकाए is metrically short; Gr. § 85, 875. असमसत्तोए = असमसत्ता ।

२. कणयदि = कनकादि°. जरठ°, 'which exhibits the colour of dry earth and the bulbous root of a creeper,' i.e. 'which is yellowish, or brown.'

३. Instead of °कुडुम्बे read °कुडुम्बे. For पट्ठी compare Gr. § 53, 358. ओडुवइ and ओडुइ occur frequently in this *Sataka*; compare A. 18, 81-83, 36, 37. In A. 44 there is a substantive ओडुवण. The verb means 'to place,' 'to set,' 'to locate,' and is common in Pāli. Compare Childers, s.v.; *Jāt.* 1, 143, 20; 3, 184, 6; 390, 17; *Anguttaran.* III. 135, 4; *Therīg.* 73, 357, etc. In Prākṛit it must be restored in Hāla, 642, 787.

४. Observe the cerebral in the enclitic ह here and elsewhere (B. 21, 23, 37, 60, 75, 105).

५. इआ, Gr. § 476. अविरोलं belongs to विरोलइ, Hc. 4, 121, विरोलिय, P. 191, and means 'not tossing about,' 'not shaking about,' 'not agitated,' 'quietly.'

६. मई, as संखा in A. 11, must be taken as Acc. Plur. Perhaps we ought to correct them to मई and संखे.

पायाली मज्जंतं खंधं दाऊण भुञ्जणमुद्धरिअं ।
 तेण कमटेण सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्भिहिइ ॥१०॥
 [5] निअसुहकज्जे जम्भो जाणं संखा वि ताण को मुणइ ।
 परकज्जेकरसिद्धो कुम्भकुडुम्बे परं दिट्ठो ॥११॥
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं मज्जे महिल्लाण पसविआ तं सि ।
 वीसामओ वि जाओ जीए जायस्स न इ भुञ्जणे ॥१२॥
 जे वि इ धरंति धरणिं तेहिं पि समं धरिज्जे सा वि ।
 इअ एरिस[6]ववसाओ कुम्भो च्चिअ एत्थ उप्पसो ॥१३॥
 जइ जम्भो वि इ जायइ ता जायउ कमठ तुम्भ सारिच्छो ।
 परउवयारेकफलो पेरंतं जाव जो पत्तो ॥१४॥
 निअजाईयसरिच्छं चरिअं निव्वडइ एत्थ पुरिसाण ।
 निअपरजाइविरुहं दीसइ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥१५॥
 [7] निअयपसवस्स गव्वं एक च्चिअ कमठिणी समुव्वडउ ।
 जीए तणयस्स सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्भिहिइ ॥१६॥
 अज्जावहि अग्निहं वोओ भुञ्जणे वि नेअ उप्पसो ।
 एकलजुएण भुञ्जणं कुम्भो एको च्चिअ वहेइ ॥१७॥
 सो च्चिअ वुअइ भारो वोओ खंधं न जस्स ओडे[8]इ ।
 कुम्भो अग्नेण समं पेच्छइ जइ भारसुव्वइइ ॥१८॥
 सो च्चिअ वुअइ भारो अग्नेहिं जाइ जो न परिकलिउं ।
 अग्नेण समं इट्ठो वूटो वि इ सो अनिव्वूटो ॥१९॥
 जाई देव्यायत्ता चरिअं पुण होइ पुरिससाहीणं ।
 अज्जवसायं पेच्छइ केरिसओ सो इ कुम्भस्स ॥२०॥
 रे देव [9] तं विडंवसु पुरिसो किं जाइ तुह विडंवेउं ।
 कुम्भो कओ कह तए तस्स वि चरिआइं कह पेच्छ ॥२१॥
 कुम्भेण धरा धरिआ लोओ जंपेइ नाइ इअ विलिओ ।
 अंगाइं अंगेसुं निअयाइं उअइ निण्हवइ ॥२२॥
 परिकलिउं न चइअइ अज्जवसाओ इ एत्थ पुरि[10]साण ।
 कुम्भस्स तं खु रु[अ] ववसाओ सो इ पुण तस्स ॥२३॥

१०. जम्भिहिइ, Gr. § 540.

११. Read °कुम्भे.

१५. निव्वडइ, Hc. 4, 62.

१७. अ° अ°=अयावधि अनिष्टं. Read वीओ, Gr. § 106. एकल is to be added Gr. § 595; एकलजुएण=एकलजुएण, 'one-yoked,' i.e. 'quite alone.' Compare A. 74, 78, 92, and एकलपुरिओ, A. 106; compare also एअंतओ, B. 25.

१८. Read वुअइ and वीओ. For ओडेइ compare note on A. 4.

१९. Read वुअइ.

२१. Read °डंवसु, °डंवेउं, °आइ.

२२. विलिओ=विलितः, Gr. § 81.

२३. चइअइ, V. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 86. The first verse of this stanza is repeated in A. 23.

चक्रमणविरहियाणं निष्परिसणं ववसिभस्स सो खेअ ।
 पेच्छह कमठे दोमि वि पेरन्तं जाव पत्ताइ ॥२४॥
 उवमाणं कह लब्भउ पेच्छह कुम्भस्स असमचरिभस्स ।
 न य जाओ न य दीसइ न य होही ज[11]स्स सारिच्छी ॥२५॥
 अनेण मणेण तए कुम्भो हयदेव्व सो विणिम्मविओ ।
 अवहत्थिज्जण तं पि हु चरिअं तस्सअहा जायं ॥२६॥
 आयारो सो रइओ अणचक्रमणं च देव्व तं दिअं ।
 कुम्भस्स ववसिएणं सयलं तुह मत्थए पडिअं ॥२७॥
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ हु [12] एत्थ पुरिसाण ।
 कुम्भेण तं खु कलिअं हिअए वि हु जअ सम्माइ ॥२८॥
 कुम्भो वहेइ भुअणं धुअं हि भुअणस्स उप्परे कुणसि ।
 हयदेव्व साहुचरिअं पुल्लउ किं भस्सए अअं ॥२९॥
 आयारो जाई वा ववसाए कारणं न पेच्छामो ।
 सुणिकच्छवे निहालह ववसायं ता[13]ण पेच्छेह ॥३०॥
 सोअं च[३]ज्जण निअं भुअणस्स वि ओड्डिओ तहा खंधो ।
 रे साहु साहु कच्छव अअं वडुत्तणं लअं ॥३१॥
 दुज्जणजणो हु जंपइ पड्डी कुम्भेण ओड्डिआ भारे ।
 एअं पि हु तेण कयं वीएणं भणसु जइ भणसु ॥३२॥
 दुज्जणजणो हु जंपइ पड्डी कुम्भेण ओड्डिआ भा[14]रे ।
 पड्डी वि हु ओड्डिज्जइ एअं निव्वडइ कुम्भस्स ॥३३॥
 निअमुहकज्जे सव्वो इह ववसइ तं खु कमठ तेण विणा ।
 चिअंतंतेहिअि कच्छव न आणिओ तुह अहिप्पाओ ॥३४॥
 रिअं भुअणकडिअं अच्छइ रेहाहि वल्लिअं निअह ।
 वडुत्तणस्स रेहा एक्का कमठस्स तत्थ परं ॥३५॥
 [15] विहिआ तारिसओ अिअ [नी?] विहिओ धरउ केण अनेण ।
 इअ कुम्भेणं पड्डी ओड्डिआ भुअणभारस्स ॥३६॥

२४. निच^०=निदर्शनं. दोमि, i.e. अणचक्रमणं and ववसाओ ? Compare A. 23, 27.

२५. Read लब्भउ.

२६. तस्स^०=तस्सात्थया.

२८. जअ is grammatically incorrect; read जं न. The first verse of this stanza has already occurred in A. 2.

२८. The first letter of धुअं is not quite clear; from धवलत्तं in A. 89, where the same shape of the letter occurs, it becomes certain that धु is meant. The sense is: "For thou, O fate, hast put the polar star above the earth." Compare A. 70, 72, 97. With उप्परे compare उत्परि, Hc. 4, 334, and उप्पि, Gr. § 148.

३१. For ओड्डिओ compare note on A. 4.

३२. One would expect जइ भवसि; compare A. 74. Read वीएणं.

३४. ^०तेहिअि is grammatically and metrically incorrect; read ^०हिं वि. Gr. § 180.

३५. Read रेहाहिं or ^०हि.

३६. नी is uncertain. धरउ is incorrect for धरिज्जउ.

होतेहिं अवयवेहिं पडिं ओडुवइ जइ न ता साहु ।
 तेहिं विण वि पडिं कुम्भो ओडुवइ भुअणस ॥३७॥
 केणावि जो न दिहो खुनो न कया वि एत्थ सुहु नवी ।
 परड[16]वयरणे मग्गो पढमो कुम्भेण निम्माविओ ॥३८॥
 रे कुम्भ तं सि जाओ अवेहिं मुहा किमेत्थ जाएहिं ।
 जस्स समप्पिअभारं सुहेहिं भुअणं पि निवसेइ ॥३९॥
 अम्मवसिअं खु तं चिअ जं न हु कइथा वि को वि अणुसरिही ।
 तं कुम्भे चिअ यकं इअरा इअर चिअ वराया ॥४०॥
 [17]निअकज्जे जाण तणू ताणं संखं पि एत्थ को मुण्ड ।
 जीअं पि हु परकज्जे जस्स पुणो सो हु कमठवई ॥४१॥
 संखारहिआ जाया भुअणे अवे वि तं पि तइ कुम्भ ।
 भङ्गीए पुणो भेओ अओ चिअ तुम्ह निव्वडिओ ॥४२॥
 अच्छउ भुअणुव्वहणं हिअएण वि तअ जाइ चित्तेउं ।
 तं पि हु कम[18]ठेण कयइअण गई असावन्ना ॥४३॥
 पडोए ओडुवणे लोओ सुहुसुहइ कमठरायस्स ।
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं भग्गो न हु मुणइ केरिसयं ॥४४॥
 के के न एत्थ जाया के न हु होत्ता खणे तहिं पि जणा ।
 मोत्तूण कमठरायं भण भुअणं केण उअरिअं ॥४५॥
 सासेण जस्स भुअ[19]णं सयलं जससइ कमठरायस्स ।
 को तेण होउ सरिसो जाओ जणणीए सो वेअ ॥४६॥
 वहुए वि एत्थ जाया तेहिं पि हु किं पि किं पि एत्थ कयं ।
 भुअणुअरणसमत्थो एओ चिअ कच्छओ जाओ ॥४७॥
 के के न एत्थ जाया चरियायारेहिं अत्थि ताण समा ।
 कच्छवसरिच्छएणं न य आओ ने[20]अ जन्मिहिइ ॥४८॥

३७. Read होतेहिं.

३८. Read अवेहिं and सुहेहिं.

४०. For यकं compare Hc. 4, 16; *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3, 256 f.; 6, 84 ff.

४२. The second verse means: "In one way or another (?), however, another special lot has fallen to you."

४३. तअ and कयइअ are grammatically incorrect for तं अ and कयं वइ.

४४. सुहुसुहइ apparently means 'to shout at,' 'to applaud.'

४६. For जणणीए with short ए compare Gr. § 385 and note on A. 1.

४७. Read वहुए; the form is quite unusual and probably wrong. Compare सर, A. 109, नवर, B. 34, and Gr. § 380.

४८. Read रेहिं. अत्थि is used in the sense of सन्ति; see Gr. § 493. For न य आओ etc. compare A. 10, 16, 55, 56.

सुखं भुञ्जन् पि कयं संका धरणीए तह समुहरिया ।
 किं किञ्च किञ्च विहिञ्चं कुम्भ तए एत्थ जाएण ॥४८॥
 खेभो सोक्खब्भहिभो भारव्वहणे विहाइ कुम्भस्य ।
 गरुपाण ववसिआणं को मज्झं जाणिउं तरइ ॥५०॥
 भुञ्जन्भरव्वहणेण वि भजं सोक्खं विहाइ कमठस्य ।
 [21] जं रुद्धं तं सुहयं भक्ता हु गई न सोक्खस्य ॥५१॥
 परियत्तंते काले के के हु खणा न एत्थ उप्पत्ता ।
 सो हु खणो एको विष जसिं कुम्भो समुप्पन्नो ॥५२॥
 धक्का सि कच्छवि तुमं धक्को जाओ वि तुज्झ सो एक्को ।
 तह विहुरे जेण तहा जयस्ससत्ती समुप्पसिआ ॥५३॥
 उभयारो गणियाणं जो वि हु सो वि [22] हु कुणेइ इह लोए ।
 भुञ्ज[णस्य] वि उभयरिणं कुम्भेण परं हु एकेण ॥५४॥
 जाओ सो विष वुद्धइ जओ सहली हु. तस्स एकस्य ।
 जस्स सरिच्छो भुञ्जणे न य जाओ नेष जम्भिहिइ ॥५५॥
 जम्भप्फली हु जओ जो जायइ होउ होउ किन्तेण ।
 परउभयरणस्य कए जो जओ सो हु फलजओ [23] ॥५६॥
 पोट्टभरणस्य कज्जे [जे जा]या ते सुभा हु तम्मि खणे ।
 परउभयरणस्य कए जाणं जओ हु ते धक्का ॥५७॥
 कमठवइ तं सि जाओ जाएहिम्वि एत्थ किं य भजेहिं ।
 तं किं पि जेण विहिञ्चं चक्काण मणे न जम्माइ ॥५८॥
 कमठवइ किं भणिज्जउ धक्को जओ हु तुज्झ एकस्य ।
 परउभयरणस्य क[24]ए चप्पा जेणं तहा खविओ ॥५९॥
 निभउभयरणस्य कए सयलो वत्थूण आयरं कुणइ ।
 परउभयरणं चप्पा कुम्भ तय खेप इह विहिओ ॥६०॥
 कइआ वि जो न दिहो न य निसुओ नेष भणुह्वं पत्तो ।
 सो मओ पढमं चिअ कुम्भेण एत्थ कइविओ ॥६१॥

४८. Instead of किञ्च किञ्च read किं न किं न.

५०. Read 'अहिभो. विहाइ=विभाति. तरइ, Hc. 4, 86.

५१. जयस्ससत्ती=जयस्स असत्ती, i.e. जगतीऽशक्तिः; compare Gr. § 395, 173. With विहुरे=विहुरे supply the locative जयसि or जए=जगति. समुप्पसिआ belongs to पुसइ, Hc. 4, 105, and means 'has been wiped off,' i.e. 'has been removed.'

५४. हु is a blunder for खु, Gr. § 94.

५५. सहली=सफलः.

५६. किन्तेण is a blunder for किं तेण.

५७. हु ते metri caused for ते हु.

५८. 'हिम्वि is wrong for 'हिं वि, Gr. § 180. य, Gr. § 175. मणे Gr. § 409. जम्माइ is wrong for जं माइ.

६०. तय=तया is wrong for तइ or तए, Gr. § 421.

६१. कइआ, Gr. § 118. निसुओ, Dññ. 4, 27; Pāyā. 184

जाओ कुम्भ तुमं चिअ अनेहिं सुहा [25] किमेय जाएहिं ।
 पायाले मज्जन्तं भुअणं पि हु जेण उअरिअं ॥६२॥
 के के न एय जाया ताणं मग्गी वि एस न हु फुरिओ ।
 परउअयरणुअओ एको कुम्भो हु निप्फओ ॥६३॥
 परउअयरणे वटा पढमं कुम्भेण एय कइविआ ।
 गरुएहिं कया मग्गा पच्छा सीक्खेण मग्गंति ॥६४॥
 दन्तिकिरिपअएहिं देक्खा[26]वेक्खीए धारिआ धरणी ।।
 चअणमणमग्गी निव्वडिअं एय कुम्भस्स ॥६५॥
 अणचंक्रमणा इअरे पढमो ववसाइआण इह कुम्भो ।
 जेण रइए हु मग्गे वटा इअराण संपन्ना ॥६६॥
 अणचल्लिराण पढमो विहिणा कुम्भो हु एय निअविओ ।
 ववसाइआण पढमो सो चिअ पेच्छेह कइ जाओ [27] ॥६७॥
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं धन्ना जाई वि तुम्ह निप्फणा ।
 जीए जाएण कयन्त किं पि न जाइ जं भणिउं ॥६८॥
 रे धरह धरं उअरह तिहुअणं पायडेह तह सत्तिं ।
 देक्खावेक्खीए कयं किरिपसुहा को न उअहसइ ॥६९॥
 कुम्भो धरेइ भुअणं तए समं कीस तं सि धुअ कइसु ।
 लज्जसि न विप्फुरं[28]तो अइ व अयासाण कइ लज्जा ॥७०॥
 अणमग्गेण वि चल्लिरा धन्ना पावन्ति के वि गरुअत्तं ।
 अणमग्गचल्लिरेण वि कुम्भेण कइं जसी पत्तो ॥७१॥
 अणकुलेणं विहिणा धुअ तं जाएसु उअरि भुअणस्स ।
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं सव्वे तुम्हे तले विहिआ ॥७२॥
 कच्छवि तुमं पसूआ अन्नाओ पसविआ[29]ओ वंभाओ ।
 जीअ तणएण तुलिअं तइलीकं वोअनिरवेक्खं ॥७३॥

६२. Read अनेहिं.

६३. चअओ, Gr. § 155.

६४. Read गरुएहिं. वटा=वर्त्ता, Gr. § 358.

६५. देक्खावेक्खीए, which occurs also in A. 69, apparently means: 'with regard to its being seen,' 'in order that it may be seen,' = दर्शनापेक्षया. चअणमणमग्गी is wrong for चअणमणमग्गी=चअणमणमग्गी, 'moving about where there was no path,' as it is clear from the preceding and following stanzas. चअणमण=चअणमण; compare Hc. 4. 161. निव्वडिअं, Hc. 4. 62.

६८. कयन्त is a blunder for कयं तं.

६९. For देक्खा^० compare note on A. 65.

७०. अयासाण=अयाससाम्, Gr. § 186, 409.

७१. पावन्ति, Gr. § 504. चल्लिर and चल्लिर, Gr. § 488, 596.

७२. Read वीअ^०.

जइ भारो वि हु वुम्भइ ता वुम्भइ एत्य कुम्भभारसमो ।
 एकलजएण वूढो जेण सया वीअनिरवेक्खो ॥७४॥
 कज्जेण एत्य उअरिं जो जायइ सो हु तत्य धुअ सच्चं ।
 उअरिद्धिओ वि हेडे जो ववसाएण पम्भुओ ॥७५॥
 तं कुम्भ एत्य जाओ तए जिअन्तं [30] सि एत्य रे धओ ।
 वीअधुरिएण खंधो जस्स न केणावि उदुरिओ ॥७६॥
 वंभाओ पसविआओ वि सयलाओ वि एत्य अन्नमहिलाओ ।
 विहिआओ कच्छवेणं अन्नं भणितं न सम्माइ ॥७७॥
 अस्से वहंति भारं विणा न वीएण ते हु कइआ वि ।
 एकलजुएण भारं एकी कुम्भो चिअ वहेइ ॥७८॥
 दइण कुम्भ[31]रूअं जम्भो उव्विसइ अत्तणो वि इहं ।
 दइण ववसिआइं तस्स पुणो अहिअमुव्विसइ ॥७९॥
 जम्भविणासाण कए जो जम्भो सो हु कस्स न हु एत्य ।
 जम्भफलो पुण जम्भो जाओ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥८०॥
 वीएण विणा वूढं जं वूढं तं खु एत्य सच्चिमयं ।
 अन्नमुहं दइणं जं वुम्भइ तं खु जाउ दइ ॥८१॥
 [32] चंकमिअन्तं वुम्भइ जे[ण] मग्गे वि दरिसिए इअरा ।
 न चयंति पयं दाउं मग्गे जइ कमठनिअविअं ॥८२॥
 धरणिधरणमि हिअयं जाणं जायं खु तेहिं समयं पि ।
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो पेच्छइ एकेण कुम्भेण ॥८३॥
 कमठणि तं सि पसूआ जीए जाएण सयलमहिलाओ ।
 होत्तेहिस्वि पसवेहिं वंभाओ इडे[33]ण विहिआओ ॥८४॥

७४. Read वुम्भइ, Gr. § 541. For एकल^० see note on A. 17. Read वीअ^०. Instead of the second वुम्भइ one would expect वुम्भउ; compare A. 32.

७५. हेडे, Gr. § 107. पम्भुओ, Gr. § 196.

७६. Read जिअं ते and वीअ^०. The second verse means: "whose shoulder has not been freed from the burden by a second one able to bear a burden."

७७. Read everywhere उ instead of ओ, which is against the metre; compare Gr. § 85, 376.

७८. Read वीएण. For एकल^० see note on A. 17.

७९. The meaning of उव्विसइ is not certain. It seems to mean 'gets tedious.' I have not found the word elsewhere.

८१. Read वीअ^० and वुम्भइ. सच्चिमय occurs again in A. 102 and B. 9; it means 'real,' 'true,' Sanskrit सत्यमय इह; Gr. § 364; जाउ दइ=यातु दइ seems to be a proverbial saying.

८२. Read चंकमिअं तं. चयंति, Gr. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 86. ८३. Read तेहि.

८४. हो^० wrong for होत्तेहिं वि, Gr. § 180. Instead of वंभाओ read उ^०.

[के के] न एत्थ जाया के न हु अच्छन्ति के न होहन्ति ।
 तह वि तुह कुम्भ तुम्मी न य जाओ नेअ जग्गिहिइ ॥८५॥
 कज्जसएहिं कएहिंवि किन्तेहिं कएहिं साररहिंएहिं ।
 एअं पि खु तं किज्जइ जह विहिंअं एत्थ कुम्भेण ॥८६॥
 दिठ्ठे मग्गे जी वि हु सो वि हु पायडइ निअयववसा[34]यं ।
 केणावि हु अ थाइ (?) कुम्मी सिअ पयट्ठो ॥८७॥
 जाई अइसयहोणा रुअं पुण वीत्तिअं पि न हु जाइ ।
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं तह वि हु लहुईकया पुहई ॥८८॥
 धवला[35]ण गई एसा सुभा वि न सुअन्ति उअह धवलत्तं ।
 कुम्भस मयस वि कप्परं पि भुअणं समुव्वहइ ॥८९॥
 गरुआण गई एसा अन्ते वि [सुअ]न्ति नेअ अत्ताणं ।
 कुम्मी मग्गे वि पट्ठिं न हु कइइ कइ व धरणीए ॥९०॥
 उव्वट्ठो भुअणभरो सुहिआ धरणी कया जणेण समं ।
 एहिन्तेहिं पि समं जं रुअइ होउ तं कुम्भे ॥९१॥
 उव्वट्ठो अवेहिंवि भारो धरणीए किं तु मिलिएहिं ।
 एअलज्जुअस घडणा लम्भ[36]वि कुम्भस उप्पसा [॥९२॥]
 सेसकिरिअदिअयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअं लोआ ।
 अप्पा परस कज्जे आजसं जेहिं तह खविओ ॥९३॥
 किरिसेसकमडदिअयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअं लोआ ।
 चइऊण निअयसोअं अप्पा जेहिं तहा खविओ ॥९४॥
 कुम्भेण किं त्थ विहिंअं लोओ स[37]लहेइ लोअभणिए[ण] ।
 जेण ससेसा पुहई वूढा न हु उअह नीसेसा ॥९५॥
 लोआणं कुम्भस य जग्गो जग्गप्फलो विहाइ मअं [१]
 कज्जेण पुणो दीह वि विवरोअं अन्तरं गरुअं ॥९६॥
 विरणउ धुअं देवो भुअणस वि उप्परे तहा वि वला ।
 निअचरिएहिं पेअह कुम्मी सिअ उप्परे जाओ ॥९७॥

८५. The first verse is metrically quite incorrect. Read °सएहिं कएहिं वि किं तेहिं कएहिं. Gr. § 180.

८८. Read वी°.

८९. For कप्परं compare note on B. 45.

९१. Read एहिं तेहिं.

९२. Read अवेहिं वि, Gr. § 180. For एअल° see note on A. 17. लम्भवि, Gr. § 585.

९३. Read जेहिं or जेहिं, Gr. § 180.

९५. Read य instead of त्थ; compare A. 53.

९६. Read होइ.

९७. Read वला.

[38] जइ जम्भो शिअ लम्भइ ता लम्भउ कमठजम्भसारिच्छो ।
 अफलेणं अन्नेणं लहेण व होउ न हु कज्जं ॥८८॥
 रे कमठ तुज्ज गोत्ते के न हुभा के न अत्थि होहिंति ।
 सत्तेण पुण भणामो तुज्ज सरिच्छो तुमं चेअ ॥८९॥
 ओ कमठो शिअ जाओ जाएहिंम्वि किं जणेहिं अन्नेहिं ।
 जम्भस्स किं पि [39] सरिसं जीवन्तेहिं न जेहिं कयं ॥९०॥
 जइ जम्भो शिअ लम्भइ ता लम्भउ कमठजम्भसारिच्छो ।
 लहेण व अन्नेणं न हु कज्जं तेण न हु कज्जं ॥९१॥
 पसवच्छलेण गम्भा सविआ सयलाण एत्थ महिलाण ।
 सच्चिमओ पुण पसवो जाओ कमठस्स जणणीए ॥९२॥
 इअराण पसविआ[40]ण वि गम्भा सविआ हु सयलमहिलाण ।
 सत्तेण पसविआ पुण एक शिअ कमठ तुइ जणणी ॥९३॥
 अन्नाओ पसविआओ वि नेअ पसूआउ ताण गम्भुइ ।
 जाया सच्चयसवा एक शिअ कमठिणी भुअणे ॥९४॥
 भुअणे वि जा न जाओ सरिसो ता किं करेउ सो वरओ ।
 एको शिअ वइइ भरं [41] कुम्भो वीअं अपावन्तो ॥९५॥
 एकलधुरिओ सो शिअ भारेण समं पि एत्थ जो वीअं ।
 उव्वइइ उअइ भारं अओ उण भणिअमेत्तेण ॥९६॥
 कुम्भस्स वि वीसामो दिओ एकेण भोअराएण ।
 हरिजण वेरिआसं कुम्भसयं विरइअं तेण ॥९७॥
 गाहासयं न एअं गाहाण सएहिं वेवली[42]हिं कयं ।
 सयवारं एकेकं पटइ जणी जेण तेण सयं ॥९८॥
 एआइ सयाइ तए गाहाण सएहिं नेअ रइआइ ।
 सयवारं आवत्ती जेण एआण तेण सए ॥९९॥ ॥ ॥
 ॥ इति महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवविरचितं अवनिकूर्मशतम् ॥ ॥
 ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ ॥

८८. Read लम्भइ and लम्भउ.

१००. Read जाएहिं वि किं जणेहिं, and in the second verse जेहिं or जेहि.

१०१. Read लम्भइ and लम्भउ.

१०२. Read गम्भा.

१०३. Read गम्भा.

१०४. Read अन्नाओ 'आउ and गम्भ'.

१०५. वरओ=वराकः, Gr. § 80. Read वीअं.

१०६. For एकल see note on A. 17. Read वीअं.

१०८. Read सएहिं 'लेहिं, or twice 'हि.

१०९. Read एआइ सयाइ and सएहिं, or the same without Anusvāra. सए must be taken in the sense of सयाइ.

Compare ३३ए, A. 47 (with note), and ३३ए, B. 34. तए=तथा is rather singular here, since Bhōja has not been addressed in this ode.

TEXT OF B.

[1] ओ नमः शिवाय ॥

भुशणाइं वडइ कन्हो वुम्भइ तस्सेअ निअइ कंकालं ।

हेलाए जेण सो इइ तुम्हाण सिवो सिवं देउ ॥१॥

कुलगिरिणो लहुवविआ जलनिहिणो थाहिआ सकळेण ।

पच्छा धरिआ धरणी सुवहा जेण हु सा होइ ॥२॥

कुलगिरिधरणीजलनिहिमेरुप्पमुहा नरेन्द इइ [2] पढमं [1]

लहु[ध]विजणं पच्छा धरिअं भुअणं पि हेलाए ॥३॥

धरणि चिअ ता गरुई ते गरुआ जे वर्हति तं पि पुणो ।

लहुवविअं पढमं चिअ एअं सयलं तप्पो वूढं ॥४॥

धवली सो चिअ वुअइ भरधारणवावडेहिं [3] समयं पि ।

उअअइ जो हु भरं सो एक्को भोअ तं चेअ ॥५॥

लहुवविजणं सयलं भुअणं भरधारणहिं समयं पि ।

पच्छा वुम्भइ भूवइ को हु गुणो चडइ इअविहिण ॥६॥

इइ अप्पस्स सयासा वुम्भइ लहुअं इमेण विहिण ॥

भण चडइ को इइ गुणो भूवइ धरणीधरंतस्स ॥७॥

धरणि तुहं गरुअत्तं कुअप्पमुहेहिं एअ जं दिअं ।

लीलाए तं हु हरिअं भोएणं इअधरंतेण ॥८॥

भारस्स इइ गुरुत्तं [4] धवलाहासेहिं चडइ चडवविअं ।

सच्चिमधवलेण हिअो भारी वि हु लहइ लघुवत्तं ॥९॥

कुम्मेण तुह गुरुत्तं करचरणविअज्जिएण वडुविअं ।

पच्छा सेसमुहेहिं भोएणं तं कयं पयडं ॥१०॥

१. Read °णाइ, कएहो, वुम्भइ.

२. लहुववइ is a denominative from लहु according to Gr. § 559, = *लच्चापयति; compare § 552 and लहुवी = लच्ची in § 139. It means 'to make light,' 'to reduce in weight,' 'to relieve.' For थाहिआ compare थाइ in Gr. § 88; it means 'they have been fixed, made stationary.' हु is wrong for खु.

३. °प्पमुहा is Acc. Plur.; Gr. § 89, 367 A.

४. धवली, Désin. 5, 57, = यी यस्सं जातावुत्तमः. Read °डेहि. उअअइ, 'to remove,' Gr. § 488, 553.

५. Read °एहि and वुअइ. For इअ° compare Gr. § 116.

६. Read वुम्भइ. अप्पस्स सयासा लहुअं = चात्सनः सकाशात्सुक्कं, 'something lighter than oneself,' compare B. 18. चडइ here and in A. 9 means 'to be found,' 'to be,' compare Hc. 4, 206, *Materialien*, s. v. *cadai*, and संचडइ, B. 17.

७. Read °हेहि, and खु instead of हु. For इअ° see note on B. 6.

८. धवला° = धवलाभासः. चडवविअं is a double causative from चट् (note on B. 7), as दवावेइ from दा (Gr. § 552); चडइ चड° means 'it becomes increased,' = वडुविअं of the next stanza. Read लहुवत्तं.

सखेण वि अइगरुषा धरणी पडिहाइ चिन्तमाणाण ।
 इह पुण एसा कलिआ पडिहायइ भोअ कह लहु[5]आ ॥११॥
 चिरपरिचिआण पासा उहालसु लहुववेसु तह धरणिं ।
 तह वि तह सिअ रत्ता अन्नस मुहं न पुलएइ ॥१२॥
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा एसो भारो हु तुम्ह पडिहन्तो ।
 पुज्जइ सव्वं दिहं तुम्हाण वि गरुडमा सुणिआ ॥१३॥
 तुम्हाण एस भारो पडिहन्तो कुम्भसेसकिरिपमुहा ।
 [6] पेच्छइ इमस्स भारं भूराओ भणइ विहसन्तो ॥१४॥
 भारव्वहणसमत्था अय्यावहि जे जयन्नि विक्खाया ।
 ते वि उअ हासपयविं कुम्भप्पमुहा तए नीआ ॥१५॥
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं पसुवग्गे निवडिअस्स पडिहत्तं ।
 भुवणेकधवल तं चिअ तए कहं कह णु अवहरिअं ॥१६॥
 निअगरुडमाए लहु[7]अं भुअणं काजण वुअए पच्छा ।
 तुह नहुअत्तमेअं अन्नस्स न कह व संचडइ ॥१७॥
 धरणि तुमं अइगरुई तुज्ज सयासाओ कच्छओ गरुओ ।
 भोएण सो वि जित्तो गरुआहिअि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥१८॥
 असरिच्छं धरणिभरं धारय वग्गेण सह वहंतेण ।
 अत्थि गरुआण गरुआ जणवाओ इह तए हरिओ [8] ॥१९॥
 अइदुव्वहो हु भारो धरणि त्ति जणस्स भोअ पडिहन्तं ।
 कह अकमेण सो सिअ तए हिओ तं धरंतेण ॥२०॥
 कुम्भस्स सो हु दप्पो माहप्पो सो हु सेसपमुहाण ।
 धरणिं धरंतएणं कह णु तए सो हु उप्पुसिओ ॥२१॥
 धरणी तए हु धरिआ गरुअत्तं कच्छवस्स अवहरिअं ।
 अकुणंतेण व काइव्व तस्स त[9]ए पाडिआ वट्टा ॥२२॥
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा सखेण पस्स मए हु विक्खाया ।
 अन्नह हिअयं ताणं न जाइ सयसिक्करं कह णु ॥२३॥

१२. उहालसु, Gr. § 553.

१३. १४. पडिहन्तो=प्रतिभान् in the sense of प्रतिभाति.

१५. जयन्नि=जगति, Gr. § 395.

१६. For णु compare note on A. 5.

१७. Read वुअए. नहुअत्तं apparently belongs to णडुलौ or णडुलौ, 'tortoise,' Désin. 4, 20: "This thy tortoisanship is not at all found with any other."

१८. Read सयासाउ and compare note on B. 7. जित्तो, Gr. § 194. Read गरुआहिं वि and compare Gr. § 369. For अत्थि see note on A. 48.

२१. For उप्पुसिओ compare note on A. 53.

२२. Read काइ व. For वट्टा see note on A. 64.

२३. जाइ=जायते, Gr. § 487. सय^०=सतत्रौत्कारं.

धरणिभरे तद् कलिये सो अद्गच्छो वि पल्लुधो कुम्भो ।
 अणुभारंभवल्लो को लायद् लेख्ये इभरे ॥२४॥
 लङ्घवविज्जणं भुञ्जणं पच्छा एतन्तो वदन्तेण ।
 को [10] गारो ह्ये अप्पे को तस्सिं कड्ढसु निम्भविधो ॥२५॥
 लङ्घवविज्जणं कुम्भं समयं धरणीए पुण वदन्तेण ।
 अप्पस्स तद् य ताणं वड्ढत्तं कं तए विहिणं ॥२६॥
 वड्ढत्तणस्स कल्ले जाप्पो कुम्भो ह्ये एत्थ धरणीए ।
 तीए लङ्घवत्तकज्जे भोअः तुमं एत्थ उप्पवो ॥२७॥
 जं इह पसूहिं दिअं केवियत्तं ह्ये तस्स निम्भा[11]हो ।
 पुहद् तुहं वड्ढत्तं भोएणं अज्ज पायडिअं ॥२८॥
 लङ्घवविज्जणं धरणिं पच्छा धरिभाए को गुणो चड्ढ ।
 फलकज्जे सव्वो वि ह्ये कज्जाइं भोअ विरएद् ॥२९॥
 कुलगिरिणो लङ्घवविभा लङ्घवविभा सायरा तद्देअ मद्दे ।
 पच्छा भारी कलिधो लङ्घववहणेण किं होद् ॥३०॥
 पुहद् [12] गरुत्तणं तुह केवियत्तं धीरुज्जिअहिं वड्ढविअं ।
 भोएण तस्मि कलिये अत्ताणं पेच्छ कोट्टेण ॥३१॥
 गरुत्तणं पसूहिं धरणीए जं ह्ये एत्थ वड्ढविअं ।
 तं पायडिज्जण पोरिसमज्जं भोएण लङ्घवविअं ॥३२॥
 को वि गरुत्तकज्जे धरणीए एत्थ निम्भवि विहिणा ।
 अवो ह्ये को वि विहिणो तीए वि ह्ये ल[13]हुइमाकज्जे ॥३३॥
 एअं चिअ तुह कम्भं जे गरु लङ्घववेसि ते चेअ ।
 एअस्सिं किज्जन्ते साह फलं किं तुहं फलद् ॥३४॥
 धरणिमुद्दे सयले वि ह्ये लङ्घववह कम्मलीए किं भणिमो ।
 तुम्हे धि कुणह् एअं पिसुणा उण किं करिअन्ति ॥३५॥

२४. वल्लो=चाकटे, Pañal. 247; compare वल्लग्गद्, Hc. 4, 206. I am not sure about the meaning of लायद् and hence of the sense of the whole second verse.

२५. For लङ्घ^० see note on B. 2. गारो, Gr. § 61, 357. अप्पे, Gr. § 401.

२६. समयं=समकं, i.e. समं, 'together with.' ताणं, viz. the tortoise and the earth.

२८. Read पसूहिं. केवियत्तं, Gr. § 149. Read खु. पायडिअं=प्रकटितं, Gr. § 77.

३१. Read केहिं वि एहिं. कोट्टेण=कौतुकेन, Hc. 4, 422, 9.

३२. Read खु. अज्जं, Gr. § 181.

३३. लहुइमा, Gr. § 353.

३४. गरुए, as वड्ढे in A. 47, is quite a singular form of the Nomin. Plur. instead of गरुआ and वड्ढआ. किज्जन्ते is the Loc. of the Participle Praes. Pass., = क्रियमाणे. साह, Gr. § 264.

३५. मुद्दे सयले are Acc. Plur.; compare Gr. § 357. कम्मलीए=काकल्या ?

अज्जावहि गरुत्तं धरणीसरिनाहपव्वएसु ठिअम् ।
 गरुत्तणम् [14] नामं एहिं ताणं हु अत्यम्विअं ॥३६॥
 गरुत्तणं हु गरुत्तं एको वहिउं न जाव सक्केइ ।
 ता पुव्वेहिं विहत्तं तं पि तए लहुइअं कह णु ॥३७॥
 मइ गरुत्तं सा तइ य गरुत्तमा दो वि तइ य हरिआइं ।
 अइरडिरलहरिआहिं सरिनाहो निअइ रोवेइ ॥३८॥
 तइ उप्पमे भूवइ गरुत्तं ताण वि अलिअं जाव ।
 पस[15]रंतनिअरनिहा कुलगिरिणो ताव रोवन्ति ॥३९॥
 जत्थ पुरिसाण हिज्जइ गरुत्तं तत्थ मडिलिआण कहं ।
 अणयअं पुहई वि हु रोवइ सरिआण भंगीए ॥४०॥
 धरणीए तले कुम्भो कीलप्यमुहा वि लज्जिआ तुक्का ।
 जा लहुअत्तं तीए पुहईए कयं हु भोएण ॥४१॥
 जा मरिजणं धरिआ कुम्भपुहईहिं क[16]इ वि इइ धरणी ।
 सा विहिआ खेळणयं भोअ तए इइ धरन्तेण ॥४२॥
 धरणीए समं धरिआ कुलगिरिपमुहा हु आव तेण समं ।
 जलनिहिणा तुट्ठेण अज्जं वेला तुहं गहिआ ॥४३॥
 पुहईए गरुत्तं अज्जावहि नेअ केण वि निरुहं ।
 धरिजण तए अं लहुइलहुअ त्ति नाम कयं ॥४४॥
 तइनमिअकप्परे[17]णं धरणी एइ धारिआ कहं कह व ।
 सा नीसंका अज्जं हसेइ गिरिनिअरनिहेण ॥४५॥
 लहुभाविआ हु धरणी कुलगिरिणो खन्विआ सरीनाहो ।
 अणगहिरो निअविओ कस्स निमित्तस्स मइ कहसु ॥४६॥
 धरणी अज्जं हिट्ठा तइ धरिआ भोअ मअए अं ।
 पुरिसीत्तिमेण रइअं लहुअत्तं गरुत्तमअ[18]हिअं ॥४७॥
 कमढो धरेइ धरणिं आएणं गरुत्तमा वि अइलहुई ।
 तइ धरिआ पुण सा वि हु पेच्छसु कं गरुत्तं पत्ता ॥४८॥

३६. Read ठिअं, एविहं, सु, अत्यम्विअं.

३८. निअइ, Hc. 4, 181.

४१. लुक्, Gr. § 566. Read सु.

४४. I think we must write लहुइलहुअ=°इआ and translate this by 'lighter than light.'

४५. कप्पर=the shell of the tortoise; compare A. 89. एइ, i.e. शा=एषा, Gr. § 263.

४६. For खन्विआ from अणय (root धि) compare अणयइ, Gr. § 548.

४७. हिट्ठा, Désin. 8, 67. Read °अं. गरुत्तमं=गरुत्तमं अअं, Gr. § 178.

४८. आएणं, Gr. § 429.

३७. Read सु and पुव्वेहि. विहत्तं=विमत्तं.

४०. For अणयअं see note on A. 40.

४१. Read °मुहई. खेळं, Gr. § 206.

लहुअत्तं तुह दिवं मा मन्नसु धरणि भोअराएण ।
तेण धरिआ सि एअं गरुआण वि गरुदमं देइ ॥४८॥
कुम्भविणासे खुहिआ अज्जावहि संकिआ ठिआ धरणी ।
तइ धरिआ पु[19]ण एहिं सप्पसरा पुण व सप्पसरा ॥५०॥
लहुआविआ वि पुहई अप्पं लहुआविअं न मनेइ ।
न गणंति किं पि दइए रत्तुम्भत्ताओ महिलाओ ॥५१॥
लहुअविआ वि हु हई भोअ तए सुणइ गरुअमत्ताणं ।
महिलाण पिएण कयं सयलं लडहं पडीहाइ ॥५२॥
कुम्भेण धरा धरिआ लहुअं अप्पं सया [20] वि मन्नन्ती ।
तइ धरिआ पुण एसा दूणं अत्ताणयं लहइ ॥५३॥
जो गारओ हु दिन्नी पसूहिं सो ह्रीइ एत्थ केरिसओ ।
लहुअत्तणं तइ कयं पडिहाइ महीए अइगरुअं ॥५४॥
लहुअत्तं गरुअत्तं भारस्स चडेइ धारएण कयं ।
गरुअविआ कुम्भेण धरणी लहुआविआ हु तए ॥५५॥
गरुअत्त[21]णं पि दिअं पसूहिं पडिहाइ लहुअमव्वहिअं ।
तइ दिअं लहुअत्तं पडिहायइ गरुअमव्वहिअं ॥५६॥
मरिज्जण जो धरिज्जइ भारो इह कुम्भ सो हु केरिसओ ।
अइपलहुआए तुम्हे इमीए कह कायरा जाया ॥५७॥
गरुएणं लहुअत्तं उअणीअं गरुदमं पि इह देइ ।
इअ सायरपमुहा[22]णं हिअए खेओ न तणुओ वि ॥५८॥
दाऊणं लहुअत्तं सइ धरणीगरुदमा हु वट्टविआ ।
भूवइ पुहईए तए इअ तीए वट्टिओ हरिसो ॥५९॥
पेच्छंताण सरुअं पुहईसरिनाहकुलगिरिमुहाण ।
गरुअत्तं पडिहायइ तइ कलिए कह ण लहुअत्तं ॥६०॥
लोअ पसिडीए कए गरुअत्तं पलहुए वि प[23]यडेइ ।
भारे कह तं सि पुणी गरुअं लहुअं हु पायडसि ॥६१॥
एआए गरुअत्तं तुम्हेहिं कुम्भ पयडिअं एत्थ ।
खगगतोलिआए पेच्छइ रे गौरवमिमीए ॥६२॥

५०. Read एहिं. सप्पसरा=सप्पसरा.

५१. Read °साउ °लाउ.

५२. लडहं=रन्ध्रं, Désin. 7, 17.

५४. Read पसूहि.

५६. The Anusvāra in दिअं is not certain. Read पसूहि and twice °अहिअं, and compare note on B. 47.

६१. लोअ must be taken as Nominative according to Gr. § 364. The Anusvāra in गरुअं is not quite certain. Read खु instead of हु. पायडसि Gr. § 77, 491.

६२. Read गौरव°.

केत्तिअमेत्ते भारे कइ तए पोरिसं पमोत्तूण ।
 रुअसयाइं कयाइं लोए लहुवाविओ अण्णा ॥६३॥
 पुइइ चेलयसरिसा कुलगिरि[24]पमुहा तहेअ पडिआणं ।
 तोलिअइ गरुअत्तं भुएण एअं तुमं कुणसि ॥६४॥
 भारस्स वइणकज्जे पट्टी सीसं इहं कयं विहिणा ।
 मणिवलओ व्व धरिअइ भारो एसो नवा वट्ठा ॥६५॥
 जं जं गरुअं जं जं च दुव्वइं जं च जं च अणसक्कं ।
 तं तं कुणतएणं कन्ही लहुआविओ भोअ ॥६६॥
 इमिणा [25] गरुअत्तेणं पुइइ तए गरइमा इमा लहा ।
 पेअ्हेसु पलहुअत्तं असिणा अण्णस तुलिआए ॥६७॥
 मा मज्जउ जलमज्जे मा सरिनाहा मिलंतु गोत्तस्स ।
 इअ तं दयाए धरणिं लोअस्स इमस्स उव्वहसि ॥६८॥
 धरणी धरंगणसमा ककरसरिसा तहेअ कुलगिरिणी ।
 [26] हीभारे कलिए तए भोअ ॥६९॥
 सरिनाहपुइइपमुहा रुठा गरुअत्तणेण इह लोए ।
 गरुआणं लहुववणे किं हु फलं तुज्ज सिअ्हेइ ॥७०॥
 आरोविअवडुत्ते भारे अण्णस्स गारवं लोआ ।
 देन्ति तुमं पुण साइसु विवरीअं ताण ववहरसि ॥७१॥
 लहुइं करेसु ध [27] कुणसु अअं पि ।
 तइ सा तहा वि रत्ता सयलं लडइं तुहं गणइ ॥७२॥
 काऊणं लहुअत्तं भोअं अण्णं तुहं पयासंती ।
 धरणी करगहकए अण्णं तुह भोअ ओप्पेइ ॥७३॥
 धरणीए लहुअत्तं तं इह निअवसु कुणसु जं महिअं ।
 तुह सत्तीए इमीए अअं गरुअत्तणं च . . . ॥७४॥
 [28] गोरविअं लहुअं विडलं महिं धरंतेण ।
 कइ णु तए अइचीअं अओ सिअ गारवो दिओ ॥७५॥

६३. Read कइ and ०सयाइं.

६५. वट्ठा=वरमा; see note on A. 64.

६७. Between सि and आ of असिणा a kind of symbol is inserted.

७०. Read खु instead of हु.

७१. पयासंती=प्रकाशयन्ती, Gr. § 553. ओप्पेइ, Gr. § 104.

७३. निअवसु, Gr. § 553. महिअं=काङ्क्षितं; compare note on Hc. 4, 129. च . . . probably=अहिअं. compare B. 7, 9.

७५. अइचीअं=अवधुतम् or अवाधयम्, Pāyā. 165; Dēśin. 3, 14.

६४. पडिआणं=पतितानी belongs to गरुअत्तं.

६६. अणसक्कं=अणसक्कम्. Read करइ.

मा मन्त्रसु धरणि तुमं मन्त्रिभारो हु जं महं गुरुभो ।
 भोएण तं सि धरिआ एसो भारो तुहं गुरुभो ॥७६॥
 गुरुभत्तं तं मन्त्रसि धरणि इहं जं पसुहिं तुह दिन्नं ।
 तुह ग [29] तुमं धरिआ ॥७७॥
 जलनिहिणी थाहविआ लहुवविआ कुलगिरी तहा धरणी ।
 अज्ज वि तं किं काहिसि न याणिमो भोअ मह कहसु ॥७८॥
 पट्टीए वहइ कुम्भो सेसो सीसेण तह रणण किरी ।
 पअं तं वहु मन्त्रसु इअ भोअो जं करे धरइ ॥७९॥
 अइभारिआ मए कि [30] [क]मठ मा गज्ज ।
 उव्वहसु पेच्छ धरिआ भोएणं कह इमा अज्ज ॥८०॥
 मा कमठ वहसु गव्वं मा तं इह सेस उत्तुणो होसु ।
 धरणिभरो केतुलभो गुरुआहिम्वि अत्थि गुरुअयरा ॥८१॥
 कलिअं भोएण महिं दहूणं मा इ सुणह लहुअ ति ।
 कुम्भसुहा गुरुभत्तं एआए तु [31] [॥८२॥]
 लहुवविउं गउरविउं भोअ तुमं चेष एअ जाणिसि ।
 लहुवविआ सा वि मही वहविआ सा वि भत्तीए ॥८३॥
 धरणि पसुहिं दिन्नं गुरुभत्तं तुह विहाइ केरिसयं ।
 लहुअन्तेणं दिन्नं भोएणं तं पि केरिसयं ॥८४॥
 हरिअणं पसुहया भोएणं धरणि जं तुमं धरिआ ।
 ह . . [32] सह सअं तं तुहं दाउं ॥८५॥
 दुइत्तं न य विरयसि जंपसि न य किं पि कुणसि न विरुहं ।
 मउणेण वि गुरुभत्तं गुरुआणं कह तुमं हरसि ॥८६॥
 लहुवाविआ इ धरणीकुलगिरिणी सायरा वि थाहविआ ।
 एत्तुलएण कएणं किं विहिअं होइ मह कहसु ॥८७॥
 ह . . [33] काकण कुलगिरिपुसुहो ।
 भोअ तए पठमं चिअ जह हअ वहसु तह एहिं ॥८८॥
 कमठकडाहठिआए गुरुभत्तं तुअ पुहइ केरिसयं ।
 सीहिअभोअभुआए केरिसयं तं पि मह कहसु ॥८९॥

७७. Read पसुहिं.

७८. For थाहविआ see note on B. 2. ७९. रणण=रदेन. Read वहु.

८१. उत्तुणी=दुह; Désin. 1, 99; Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, 13, 1. Read गुरुआहिं वि and see note on B. 18.

८३. वहविआ=वह्यापिता from वही=महान्, Désin. 7, 29, which has been retranslated into Sanskrit by वह ,

८८. Read एहिं.

धरणी ता लहुवविष्ठा कुलगिरिणी सायरा इमं गय[णं] ।

[34] तुह हिमयं कह व न हु धार ॥८०॥

वहुत्तं पसुदिनं अवहरिजणं महीए भोएण ।

अन्नं चिन्नं गरुत्तं दिन्नं जं माइ न हु हिमए ॥८१॥

केरिसयं पसुदिनं दिन्नं पुरिसिहिं केरिसं होइ ।

गरुत्तं धरणि तुमं साइसु कह केण गौरविन्नं ॥८२॥

धरणिमुहा लहुव[35][विष्ठा] ए[P] वि सयसा वि ।

पच्छा भारो वूढो नरेन्द सन्नं नरेन्दो सि ॥८३॥

गरुत्तं गरुत्तं हरिजणं रोविन्नं हु तं अप्पे ।

परगरुत्तमाए गरुत्तो अप्पा भण केरिसो होइ ॥८४॥

जो अप्पस सयासा भारो गरुत्तो हु वुत्तए सो हु ।

धरणिवहणेण भूवइ को तुज्ज [36] ॥८५॥

कुम्भकिरिसेसदिगयपसुहे जिणिजण भोअ सयलपसु ।

कं पोरिसं विटत्तं पसुजिणणे होइ मह कहसु ॥८६॥

कुलगिरिसायरपुहईपसुहे लहुववसि को निवारइ ।

परलाहवकरणेण अप्पे भण को गुणो चडइ ॥८७॥

कह कह वि मर [37] एत्थ जाव सुहा ।

लहुवाविजण सा कह वलयस तए समुवूढा ॥८८॥

अप्पावहि गरुत्तं लोए जाणं सुदूरमारुटं ।

ताण वि कह लहुत्तं केहूरं पेच्छ भारुटं ॥८९॥

लहुवावसु तं धरणिं पिहसु दण्णेण कुणसु अन्नं पि ।

जं रुद्धं तं विरयसु तइ र [38] ये ॥९०॥

कमठकडाहं फहं किरिणी दाढा गया हु सयसाहं ।

जीए भरेण महीए खगगगे धरसि कह तं पि ॥९१॥

गरुत्तं गरुत्तं अवहरिजं नेअ कह व फिहेइ ।

तन्तस चिन्नं लहुत्तं इधराण पुणो तइ अन्न ॥९२॥

८२. Read पुरिसिहि and गौरविन्नं.

८४. Read सु instead of हु.

८६. विटत्तं. Gr. § 223, 286, 565. जिन्नं is derived from the stem of the present जिन्नं, Gr. § 478.

८७. For चडइ compare note on B. 7.

८८. केहूरं, Gr. § 149.

९०. फहं=फहं, Dāśin. 6, 86, =सर्पस सर्पसरीरं फहन्.

grieve at their fate; compare Dāśin. 1, 6.

९२. फिहेइ, Hc. 4, 177. Read तं तन्न.

९५. For सयासा compare note on B. 7. Read वुक्क.

९८. Read वलयं व.

१००. For पिहसु see Weber on Hāla, 171.

दाढा, Gr. § 76. नया सयसाहं=नया; रुद्धमार्थ, they

तद् धरिओ धरणिभरो लहुओ वलय[39]स्व तुह भुए सहइ ।
 कुम्भपसुहेहिं सो वि हु चडिओ भारो व पडिहाइ ॥१०३॥
 धरणी सहावगइआ भोएण धरिओ त्ति अइगइआ ।
 एहिं इमोए समुहं को पेच्छइ पेच्छिउत्तरइ ॥१०४॥
 अहिमालहिमाइगुणे तुह आयत्ते मए हु विनायं ।
 लहुआविआ वि धरणी क[40]ह गु तए सा वि गौरविआ ॥१०५॥
 लहुआविआ हु धरणी लहुअविअं मअए न अप्पाणं ।
 तद् लहुअ त्ति एसा गरुअ अत्ताणयं मुणइ ॥१०६॥
 दिओ वि हु कन्हेण इमोए इह गारओ हु खोणीए ।
 पडिहाइ नेअ गरुओ लहुअत्तं तद् कयं गरुअ ॥१०७॥
 मिलवि [41] पसुहिं धरिआ संकिअवित्तासकंपिरी यक्का ।
 धरणी कपुम्मुक्का अज्जपरं भोअ संपन्ना ॥१०८॥
 कुलगिरिणी भूमिहरा सयला वि हु लहुइआ इहं जेण ।
 तेण सयं निम्भविअं एअं सिरिभोअराएण ॥१०९॥ ॥

No. 26.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELBORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 36 dates of Chôla kings. The most important of them is No. 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr. Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parāntaka I. and, together with my date No. 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. Of the other dates, one (No. 102) is of the reign of Rājendra-Chôla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Rājārāja II.; 3 dates (Nos. 103-105) belong to Vikrama-Chôla, 8 (Nos. 107-114) to Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. (Vīrarājendra-Chôladēva, Tribhuvanavīradēva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Rājārāja III., and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Rājendra-Chôla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained; at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Rājendra-Chôla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March¹ and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Rājārāja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July² A.D. 1146; Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. between (approximately) the 6th³ and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Rājārāja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.⁴

१०३. Read वलय व. सहइ, Ho. 4, 100. Read °हेहि.

१०४. Read एविहं phim समुहं=समुहं. Read पेच्छिउत्तरइ and compare note on A. 50.

१०५. Read गौर°.

१०६. Read कपुम्मुक्का.

¹ See No. 102.

² See No. 108.

१०८. मिलवि, Gr. § 588. For यक्का see note on A. 40.

³ See No. 106.

⁴ See Nos. 129 and 119.

Mr. Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the king Parāntaka I., which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. and Rājādhirāja II., because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr. Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

A.—PARANTAKA I.

101.—In the Śivalōkanātha temple at Grāmam.¹

16 Svasti śrī [||*] Kali[y*]uga-va[r*]sham nālayirattu nār[ra]-
 17 ttu nālu Madirakonda kō=Pparakōsaripaṇṇaṇ-
 18 ku yāṇḍu 36āvadu Kali[y*]u . . . [nra] nā
 19 paḍiṇāṅgu-nārā[y*]irattu eḷu[ba] . . . [i]rattu
 20 muppattu ēḷu . . .
 22 . . . i[v]v-āṭṭai Ma-
 23 [gara-nā]yaṇṇu=Chchaṇi-kkiḷamai perra 'Iravadi-n[ā].

“(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 36th year (of the reign) of king Parakōsarivarman who took Madirai,—on the fourteen-hundred-thousand, seven[ty] . . . [thousand] thirty-seventh day . . . Kaliyuga . . . on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Ma[kara] in this year.”

For the current year 4044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, which by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which [the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha ended 18 h. 21 m., while] the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-samkrānti, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, had taken place 8 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A.D. 942, when the *ahargana*, calculated by Warren's Table, was 1477014d. 8 h. 33 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 1477015th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, the 1477037th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol. VII. p. 1, I have stated that between A.D. 900 and 985 the Chōla date No. 55, which is of the 40th year of the reign of Parāntaka I., must correspond to either the 24th July A.D. 919 or the 25th July A.D. 946. The present date No. 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A.D. 943, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No. 55. And the two dates together prove that Parāntaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chōla date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No. 6 of Ś. 1030, and No. 16 of Ś. 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarājendra, which does not admit of verification.

B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

102.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.²

1 Sva[stī] śrī [||*] Tiru maṇṇ[i] vaḷava . . . kō=
 [Ppa][ra*]kōsaripa[nma]r-āṇa śrī-Rājēnta(ndra)-Chōladēvaṇku [yāṇḍu 5āvadu]

¹ No. 735 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² Read *Iravadi*.

³ No. 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

- 2 ivv-āṇḍu Mēsha-nā[ya*]ṛṛu Śev[vā][y*]-kkiḷamai
peṛṛa Śadaiya-ttir[unā]!.¹

"In [the 5th year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,— on the auspicious(?) day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year."

According to the result previously² found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I., this date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1016 or A.D. 1017. In A.D. 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday on which the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitra ended 21 h. 33 m., while] the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system from 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m. to 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 6 h. 34 m. to 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.— I can give no special reason why the day should be described as 'the auspicious day of Śatabhishaj.'

The date would prove that the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D. 1012.

C.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

103.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.³

- 1 Svasti [śrī ||*] Pū-mālai miḍaindu
5 kō=Pparakēsaripanmar-āṇa Tiribhu[va*]nachakravattiga! śrī-Vikrama-
Śōḷadēvar[k*]ku y[ā]ṇḍu
6 nālāvadu Isha[bha-n]āyayṛṛu [p]ṭ[rvva]-pakshattu tri[tī]yayum [Bu]dan-[ki]ḷamai-
yu[m*] peṛṛa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyaisṭha) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h. 29 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

104.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

- 1 Pū-mādu pu[ṇa]ra
2 kō=Pparakēsaripan[ma]r-āṇa Tiribnvanachchakravattiga! [Vi]kkirama-
[Ś]ōḷadēvarkku yā-
3 ṇḍu [n]ālāvadu Rishabha-nāyar[ṛu] a[para-pakshat]tu [trit]i[yayum Budha]n-kiḷamai-
yum peṛṛa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

There can be no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the reading in line 3 of the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

¹ According to Mr. Venkayya the reading to all appearance is as given above; but he adds that 'tin nāl' may be intended.

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

³ No. 564 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 563 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

105.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Pū-mādu puṇara
 2 kō=Pparakēsaripanmar=āna Tribhuvanach[cha]k[ka]rava[tti]ga!
 Vi[k]kīrama-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu Sāvadu Śīnga-nūyaggu [a]pa[ra-ra]kkattu²
 tritīyayum Śēvvāy-kkīlamaiyum peṇṇa Rēvati-nā[!].

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śimha."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125, which was the 22nd day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) commenced 0 h. 34 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

D.— RAJARAJA II.

106.— In the Kapardīśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡḷi.⁴

- 1 || Svasti śrī [||*] Pā maruviya Tiru-mādu[m]
 5 kō=Pparakē[śa]ripa[nma]r=āna T[iri]buvāṇa[śa]kkaṇavattiga!
 śrī-Rājarājadēva[r*]kkn yāṇḍu padin[ā]rāva[di]-
 6 [ṇ e]dirām=āṇḍu Kaṇka[da]ga-nā[ya]ṅgu [aparapakṣa]-tuvād[e]ṣiyum Budaṇ-
 ki[la]maiym peṇṇa Pu[ṇa]rpūṣattu nāl.

"In the year opposite the sixteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth *tithi* [of the second fortnight] of the month of Karkāṭaka."

According to the result previously⁵ found for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja II., this date would be expected to fall in either A.D. 1162 or A.D. 1163. For A.D. 1163 my calculation has yielded no result that could be at all acceptable. Nor can a perfectly correct result be obtained for A.D. 1162; but in this year the choice would clearly lie between Wednesday, the 11th July, and Thursday, the 12th July, as may be seen from the following details:—

Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, was the 15th day of the month of Karkāṭaka. The 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āṣhāḍha) ended on this day 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; but the *nakṣatra* was Ārdrā (by the Brahma-siddhānta for 8 h. 32 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise), followed by Punarvasu. On the other hand—

Thursday, the 12th July A.D. 1162, was the 16th day of the month of Karkāṭaka. On this day the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 59 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise; but the *tithi* which ended on it, 1 h. 0 m. after mean sunrise, was the 13th, *not* the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āṣhāḍha).

Obliged to choose between the two, I would decide in favour of Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, and assume that in the original date the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu has been erroneously quoted instead of the immediately preceding *nakṣatra* Ārdrā.

¹ No. 556 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² Read -pakkattu.

³ Compare below, No. 121.

⁴ No. 626 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁵ See above, p. 2.

I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1173 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1169, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Rājārāja II. be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146,

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

107.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.¹

- 1 [Sva]ṭi śrī [i*] T[i]r[i]buvaṇachchakkaravattiga] śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga-Sō]la-
dēvar]kka yāṇḍu n[ā]-
- 2 lāvaṇa Mīṇa-nāyaru [pū*]vva-pakshattu paṇjamiyum V[i]yāla-kkilaṁmai-
yum per[ra*]
- 3 [U]rōśa[ni]-nā].

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōlādēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra²) ended 9 h. 25 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi for 20 h. 21 m. or 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

108.—In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] T[i]r[i]buvaṇach[cha][kka*]ravattiga] śrī-[Vī]rarāśē[ṇḍa]ra-
Sō[la]dēvar]kka yāṇḍu ā[rā]vadu Karkadaga-nāyaru apara-pakshat[ta⁴
ā]-vāśaiyum [Vī]yāla-kkilaṁmai perra Urōśa[ni]-nā[ī].

"In the fifth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrarāśēndra-Chōlādēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi the whole day. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 18 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, was the 11th, not the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśāḍha).—The result shows that in the original the 12th *tithi* has been wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.

The result would also show that the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] T[i]r[i]buvaṇachchakkarava[r]ttiga] śrī-[Vī]rarāśēnd[i]ra-Sō[la]-
pakkshattu [ā]vā[ḍa]śa[si]y[ā]ra Vīyāla-kkilaṁmai perra Urōśa[ni]-nā[ī].

¹ No. 415 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpadi*.

³ No. 364 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ Read *pakshatta* *drā*.

⁵ No. 361 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The engraver has corrected *ni* into *nā*.

"In the sixth [year] (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōla[dēva],—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.—In the Chandramaṇḍisvara temple at Tiruvakkarai.¹

1 k[o]ṇḍ-aru[i]ṇa śrī-Ku[ḷ]ottuṅga-
 Śōladēvaṅku iy[ā]ṇḍu 16vaḍu Magara-nāyya(ya)ṅṅu irubattunālan=
 diyadiyum Tiṅga[-ki]lamaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakshattu navamiyum peṅṅa
 Aṇḷattu nāḷ.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-saṁkrānti took place 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 19 h. 8 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 40 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.²

1 [Sva]ṭi śrī [i] Tribh[ā]vanachchakkaravat[ti]gaḷ Madurai[yum] ḷamum
 Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalai[yum]
 2 k[o]ṇḍ-aruḷiya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu i[ru]ba[d]āvaḍu Ishaba-nāyyaṅṅu
 3 apara-pakkattu ākāda[si]yum [N]āya[ṅ]u-kki]lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa U[t]tirāda[t*]ti=nāḷ.

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, ḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttarāśādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakṣatra* on this day was Uttara-Bhādrapadā, for 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.—The result shows that in the original U[t]tirāda[t*]ti= is an error for Uttirāṭṭādi.³

112.—In the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kallā-Perumbūr.⁴

1 [Ha]ra Svast[i] ār[i] [i] T[i]r[i]buvaṇa[chcha]kkaṇavatt[i]gaḷ Ma]-
 2 durai[yum] ḷa[mu]m Pāṇḍiyan m[ā]ḍi-ttalaiy[u]n=
 3 [Garu*]vū[ru*]ṇ-gonḍ-aruḷiya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku
 4 du yāṇḍu 23vaḍu Vriśchika-nāyyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu tray[ō]-
 5 daṣ[i]yum Tiḷ[ga]t-k[i]lamai[y]um [p]eṅṅa Viśā[ga]tu [nāḷ].

¹ No. 193 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² No. 480 of the same collection.

³ In the month of Rishabha an 11th *tithi* of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the *nakṣatra* Uttarāśādhā (Uttirāḍam).

⁴ No. 585 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ḵam, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and Karuvūr,—on the day of Viśākṣā, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākṣā, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 1 h. 58 m., according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.—In the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kaḷḷa-Perumbūr.¹

- 1 [Ha]ra Svasti āri [H*] Tiribuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga! Madu[r]ai[ya*]-
- 2 [m*] [I]lamum Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-talaiya[m*] koṇḍu aruli-
- 3 [ya] āri-Kulō[t]tuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṛkku yāṇḍu 25-
- 4 vadu Kaḷkadaga-nāyaṛ[ru*] [pū]rvva-pakṣa[t*]tu pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum Budan-kiḷa-
- 5 [m]ai pe[rra*]
- 6 Utt[i]ra[ttu nā].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ḵam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṣaka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 28th day of the month of Karkāṣaka, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th, not the 5th, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa²).—Accordingly, we should have expected *chaturthiyum* in the original instead of *pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum*.

114.—In the Vēḍāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēḍāraṇyam.³

- 1 Svasti āri [H*] T[i]r[i]buvana[ch]chakkaravarttiga! Madurai[y]a[m]
- 2 Ka[ru]vārum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ muḍi[i]-
- 3 ttalaiyuṇ=goṇḍu virar abishēgamum viśaiyar abishēgamum paṇṇiy-a[ru]ḷiṇa Tiri-
- 4 buvaṇaviradēvaṛkku yāṇḍu 3[2]vadu Daṇu-nāyaṛru apara-pakṣhattu na[va]mi-
- 5 yum Ti-
- 6 ngat-ki[ā]maiyaṇ peṛra Śittirai-nā.

"In the 3[2]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣa."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Dhanuṣa, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Pauṣa).—Accordingly, we should have expected *aṣṭamiyum* in the original instead of *na[va]miyaṇ*.

¹ No. 584 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² I.e. the *Gaṇḍā-chaturthi*.

³ No. 427 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

F.—RAJARAJA III.

115.—In the Agastyésvara temple at Agattiyānpalli.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiriba(bu)va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]rt[ti]gaḥ śrī-Rājarājadēva[k]ku
yāṇḍu iran[d]āvadu Kumba-nāyaggu-ppūrva-pakkasha(paksha)-dudigaiyum²
Tiṅgaḥ-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Śadaiyattu nāḥ.

"In the second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.—In the Āmalakésvara temple at Tirunellikkāval.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvana[ṇa]chchakkaravattigal śrī-Irāja[r]ājadēva[r]kku yāṇḍu
ettāvaḍiṇṇu edirām-āṇḍu Kumma(mba)-nāyag[ru] pūrva-pakshattu chaturdeśiyum
Nāyaggu-kkila-
2 maiyum⁴ peṇṇa Pūrat[ti] nāḥ].

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.⁵

117.—In the Akshayalingésvara temple at Kīvalūr.⁶

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Tiribu[va]nachchakkara[va]ttigal [śrī-Rāja*?]rājadēvaṅku
yāṇḍu pa[t]tāvadu Mēsha-nāyaggu apara-pakshattu chatatthiyum Velli-
kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Mūlattu nāḥ.

"In the tenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, [the glorious Rāja]rājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² *Dudigai* is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *duditya*.

³ No. 523 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ The *ai* of *mai* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

⁵ The Mīna-sankrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225.

⁶ No. 517 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

118.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡu.¹

- 1 Tiribuvapaśa[k]karava[t]tigal śiri-**[Rāja*]**rā[ja*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu
 12ā[va]ḍu Śiṅha-nā[ya]ṅḡu apara-pakkashat[t]u² [śa]dutti[ya]m Tiṅga[-
 [k]i]lamaiyum peṅṅa Utti

“In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **[Rāja]rā[ja]dēva**,— [on the day of] **Uttā**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight “the month of **Śiṅha**.”

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227**, which was the 6th day of the month of **Śiṅha**, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 17 h. 13 m., while the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Bhadrpadā** for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.— The result shows that the last words of the original date must have been *Uttirattādi-nāḷ*.

119.— In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.³

- 1 [Sra]sti śrī [||*] Tiri[b]nvaṇachcha[k]karavattigal śrī-**Rājairājadēvarkku** yāṇḍu
 pad[i]nāṇvadu Kaṅkaḍaga-nāyaṅḡu paṇḍālān=d[i]-
 2 yadiy-āṇa Viyāla-kkilamaiyum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiy[u]m Aṇ[i]lamum-āṇav-
 aṅḡu.

“In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājairājadēva**,— on the day of **Anurādhā**, which was the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a **Thursday**, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to **Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231**. In A.D. 1231 the **Karkāṭa-samkrānti** took place 9 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was **Thursday, the 10th July**. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 15 h. 48 m., while the *nakṣatra* was **Anurādhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of **Rājairāja III.** could not have commenced after (approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1216.

120.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannamalai.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tir[i]bu[va]ṇachchakkara[va]ttigal śrī-**Rājairājadē[vakku]** yāṇḍu
 16vadu Ishapa(ba)-vāyōṅḡu iru[ba]ttettān=diyadiyam Śaṇ[i]-k[ki]lamaiyum peṅṅa
 Nirugaś[i]rishattu nāḷ.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājairājadēva**,— on the day of **Mṛigaśīras**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of **Ṛishabha**.”

The date corresponds to **Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232**. In A.D. 1232 the **Ṛishabha-samkrānti** took place 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day of the month of **Ṛishabha** therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the *nakṣatra* was **Mṛigaśīras**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² Read *-pakshattu*.

³ No. 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 485 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

121.—In the Aruñāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] T[i]r[i]buvāṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-Irājāirājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu
 18vadu Kāttigai-mādam piṇḍa padinēlāṅ(n)=diyadi[y]=āṇa Nāyāṅgu-
 kk[i]lamaiyum Rēvatiyum daśamiyum [p]eṇṇa
 2 ipṇu.

“In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on this day, which corresponds to the tenth *tithi*, to (the day of) Rēvati and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kārttigai.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vṛischika-samkrānti took place 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vṛischika or Kārttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 13th November. On this day the 10th *tithi* (of the bright half of Mārgasīra) ended 2 h. 16 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvati from² 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

122.—In the Akshayaṅgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.³

- 1 Ōm svasti śrī [i*] Tr[i]bhuvāṇachchakravatt[i]gal śrī-Irājārājādēvaṅku
 yāṇḍu pad[i]p[e]ttāva[du Dha]nnu-[n]āyāṅgu apara-pakshattu ashtamiyum
 Nāya-
 2 ṇu-kk[i]lamaiyum perṇa Atta[t*]tu nā.

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanu (and the day of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti that took place 15 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

123.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.⁴

- 1 . . . [ṇa]chcha[k]karavatt[i]ga[i] śrī-Rājārājādēva[x]ku y[ā]ṇḍu 19[ā]vadu
 Mi[du]ṇa-nāyāṅgu=pp[ū]rva-pakshattu tiraiyōḍēsiyum Nāyāṅgu-kk[i]lamaiyum
 perṇa Kēṭ[t]ai-nā.

“In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Jyēsthā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āshāḍha) ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Jyēsthā, by the equal space system the whole day,

¹ No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the *nakshatra* (Uttara-Bhadrapadā) at the commencement of the day, but with the *nakshatra* (Rēvati) which only commenced 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos. 102, 105 and 112.

³ No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 496 of the same collection.

by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.— By the result previously¹ found for the commencement of Rājārāja's reign this day fell in the 18th, not the 19th, year of the king's reign.

124.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Rāja-
- 2 rājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattu-onbadāvaḍu Vriṣh-
- 3 chiga-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu trayōḍaśiyum
- 4 Nāyaṅṅu-kiḷamaiyum [peṅṅa Aśva]ti-nā!

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriṣchika."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vriṣchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 8 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Aśvini for 7 h. 18 m., after mean sunrise.

125.— In the Vighnēśvara temple at Anbil.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*]
- 15 . . . Ti[r]i[bn]vāṇach[cha]kkaṛavattiga[!]
- 16 śrī-Rājārājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu pat-
- 17 *to[ṇ]badāvaḍu Kumbha-nā[ya]ṅṅu pū-
- 18 [r*]va-pakshattu pañjam[i]yum Viyāla-[k]ki-
- 19 ḷamaiyu[m] peṅṅa Rēvati-nā!

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 6 h. 44 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

126.— In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttēṅṅūr.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvāṇachchakkaṛa[vaṭ*]-
- 2 tiga! śrī-Rāśārāśādēva[ku*]
- 3 yāṇḍu 24 edirām-āṇḍu [Ma*]-
- 4 gara-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu [chatu*]-
- 5 rddasiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyum [pe*]-
- 6 ṅṅa Uttirāḍattu nā!

"In the year opposite the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) ended 15 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ See above, p. 1

² No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

³ No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁴ Part of the *o* of *to* is entered at the end of the preceding line.

⁵ No. 532 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

127.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvana^{ch}chakkaravattiga! śrī-Irājarājadēva^{rk}ku yāṇḍu 27vaḍu
Simha-
- 2 nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamai[y]um [B]udan-kiḷamaiyum perṛa Magattu
nā.

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

128.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.²

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tiribuvana^{ch}chakkaravattiga! śrī-Rāja[rā]jadē[va]rkku {yā}ṇḍu
27[ā]vaḍu Ma[ga]ra-[n]āyaru[u] [apa*].
- 2 [ra]-pakshattu paṇjadēsayum Tīnga-kiḷamai[yum] perṛa Pūṣattu nā[!].

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth *tithi* of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara."

In the month of Makara a fifteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakṣatra* Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king's reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D. 1243.

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign.³ For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h. 11 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.— It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D. 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.— In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tir[i]buvana[^{ch}cha]kkara[va]ttiga! śrī-Irājarāja-
- 2 dēva^{rk}ku yāṇḍu [2]9[va]du Miduna-ā[ā*]yaru muppattirand[ā]-
- 3 n=diyadiy-āṇa Tīnga-kiḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshat-
- 4 tu pradamaiyum Pū[ā]mum āṇa aru.

"In the [2]9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² No. 495 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

³ Mr. Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes *śaśa*. On the other hand, he states that *apara-pakshattu* probably is the actual reading.

⁴ No. 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁵ The 3 of 4 is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June.¹ On this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Āshāḍha) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.²

- 1 Svastī [śrī] [||*] [Ti]ribuvānāchchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irārājādēvar[k*]kn
yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇu-nāyaru apara-paksha[t]tu trayō[daśi]yum
- 2 Anilamum peṇṇa Nāyaru-kkilamai-nāḷ.

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

The date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra).—The word *trayōdaśiyum* of the original therefore would be a mistake for *tuṣṭādaśiyum*.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.³

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||*] Tirubuvānāchchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irāsēndira-Śōḷadēvaṅku
yāṇḍu
- 2 nālāvadu Magara-nāyaru=ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Budan-kilamai-
- 3 yum peṇṇa Tiruvōṇattu nāḷ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁴

- 1 [Ti]r[i]buvānāchchakkaravatti[ga]! śrī-Rāsēnd[i]ra-Śōḷadē[va]ṅku [y]āṇḍu [o]ṇ-
- 2 badāvadu Magara-nāyaru pūrva-[pa]kshattu dvitīyaiyum Śev[vā-kki]laimai pe-
- 3 ṅṅa Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

¹ The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.

² No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 423 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 418 of the same collection.

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara,"

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h. 21 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

133.— In the Rajatagirīśvara temple at Tiruttēngur.*

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Tribhu[va*]nachchakravattiga| śrī-Rājendra-Śōladē[va*]i[ku]
yāṇḍu llvadiṇ edirām-āṇḍu Karkāḍaga-nā[yar]ru apara-pakshattu T[i]-
- 2 ngat-kilā[m]aiyum Urōsanīyum perṛa nā[ī].

"In the year opposite the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight² of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which [the 11th *tithi*] of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 10 h. 59 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

134.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.³

- 1 Svasti śrī ॐ Tri[bhuva]nachchakkaravatt[iga] śrī-Rājēndira-Śō[ā]dēvarkku
y[āṇ]-
- 2 ḍa 16[āvaḍu] Rishaba-nā[yar]ru [p]ū[rva]-pakshattu ākāḍas[i]yu[m] Tīngat-
kilāmaiye per[ra]
- 3 Uttirattu nā[ī].

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rājē]ndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h. 0 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.— By the result previously⁴ found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

135.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tir[ibuva]nachchoha[kka]ravattiga| śrī-⁶[Rā]śēnd[i]ra-
Śō[ā]dē[va]rkkku [y]āṇḍu 1[8āvaḍu] Maga[ra]-[n]āyayru [a]pa[ra]-pakshattu
[du]di[ya]iyum Budan-k[i]lamai[y]um perṛa T[i]ruvō[ṇat]tu [nā[ī]].

* No. 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² The *tithi* is omitted in the original.

³ No. 460 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ See above, p. 7.

⁵ No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The *ra* of *raśē* seems to have been written twice in the original.

"In the 1[8th] year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōlādēva,— on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Maka]ra."

In the month of Makara a second *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 0 h. 51 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.— Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

136.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.¹

1 Svasti śrīh ॐ Tiribuvānachchakkaravarttiḡaḡ śrī-Rājendra-Śōlādēvarkku yāṇḍu
20[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyarru pūrva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum Budhaṇ-
kilamaiyum [p]eṇṇa Punarpūśattu nāḷ.

"In the 20th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōlādēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha²) ended 19 h. 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 27.— DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 17.)

Of the nineteen new Pāṇḍya dates here published, Nos. 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jātavarman Kulasēkhara, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara I., and Jātavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara I., which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-samvat 1229,³ has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kōṇṇirimēḷkonḍāḡ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401; and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāṇḍya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered.

No. 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² This *tithi* is a *Kalpādi*.

³ This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāṇḍya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāṇḍya Varuṇa, coupled with the Śaka year 792.

A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.—In the Agastyéśvara temple at Tiruchchupai.¹

- 1 Tir[ibu]va[ṇa]ohohakkara[va]tt[i]gaḥ śrī-Kulaśēgaradē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu 13 edir
14va-
2 du ²Mē[la-n]āyā[ṇ]a]para-pakkattu pañjamiyum Budan-k[i]la[m]aiyum
peṇṇa Mu(mā)lattu
3 [n]āḥ.

"In the 14th opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date—'the 14th opposite the 13th year'—in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara of whom I have examined two dates, 'of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,' and of 'the year opposite to the thirteenth,' i.e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.² If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i.e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara,³ the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.—In the Agastyéśvara temple at Tiruchchupai.⁵

- 1 oḥḥ Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanaohchakkaravattigaḥ śrī(śrī)-Kulai(la)[sēgara]dēva[ṇ]ku i-
2 y[ā]ṇḍu paṇṇu[m]ā[ṇ]ṇa[ṇ]vadu Tulā-nāyā[ṇ]a . . . -[pakṣha]tu aṣṭami-
3 yum Viyāla-kkilama(mai)yum peṇṇa Pūṣattu nāḥ.

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the . . . fortnight of the month of Tulā."

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Kulaśēkharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśēkhara is identical with Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara. A date of that king's 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, not of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

¹ No. 121 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1908.

² The *la* of *Mēla* is entered below the *m* of *mā*.

³ See above, Vol. VI. pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2.

⁴ In the Pāṇḍya date No. 14, above Vol. VI. p. 307, Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is simply called the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva.

⁵ No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1908.

56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th *tithi* of the [dark] half (of Kārttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*, not the 8th.

B.— MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

46.—In the Sundarēśvara temple at Madura.¹

- 120 śrī-kō Mā.²
 121 rapanmar-āṇa ³Trabhuvāṇa-
 122 chchakkaravattiga| Śōṇā-
 123 ḍu koṇḍu Muḍigo[n]-
 124 ḍasōlapurattu vīrar-ava-
 125 ⁴bhishēgamum vijaiya[r-a-
 126 ⁴va]bhishēgamum pa[n]pi-
 127 [y-a]ruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-
 128 yadē[vaṅku] yāṇḍu 1-
 129 5vadu Dhanu-nāyagga a-
 130 para-pakshattu trayōda-
 131 siyum Śevvāy-kkiḷa-
 132 maiyum perra [Vi]śā-
 133 gattu [n]ā[1].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who took the Chōḷa country and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍigonḍa-śōlapuram,—on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

I have previously⁵ found that Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgasīra) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.— MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

47.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁶

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] [Kō Mā]rapan[mar Tirubu]vaṇachchakkaravattiga| śrī-
 Kulasegaradē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu 40vadu Miṇa-nāyagga apa[ra]-pakshattu
 ḍasamiyum Tiṅga-kkiḷa[m]aiyum perra Tiruvōnattu nā|
 2 i-ṇṇāḷāvadu Śakādhī(tī)tam 1229.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Śravāṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Miṇa this day (i.e. year) corresponds to Śaka 1229 expired."

¹ No. 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² The *ś* of *Mā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

³ Read *Tridha*.

⁴ Read *abhiśēga*.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

⁶ No. 551 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

Above, Vol. VI. p. 310, No. 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māvarman Kulaśekhara I. corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308 (in Śaka-samvat 1229). This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-samvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 11 h. 29 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmin temple at Tiruppullāpi.¹

- 1 k[ō] Mārapan[ma]r-ā[ṇa Tribhu]
ga[] [e]mmandalamum koṇḍ-aru[]ya śr[ī]-Kulaśēgaradēva[]ku yāṇḍu
[2]vadu Kaṇḍaga-nāya[] mudal tiyaḍ[i]yum
2 [ttu] a[shṭam]i[]m [Ti]ṅga[]-ki[]amaiyum Śi[]ttiraiyum peṇṇa
nā[].

"In the [3]2nd year (of the reign) of king Māvarman [alias the emperor of the three worlds], the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day which corresponded to (the day of) [Chi]trā, to a Monday, to the eighth *tithi* of the [fortnight], and to the first solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka,² and on which the 8th *tithi* of the [bright] half (of Āshāḍha) ended 19 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Ādivarāṣa-Perumāḷ temple at Śingavaram.³

- 1 Svasti śrī []* kō Mārapanmar Tribhuvana-
chchakkaravatt[]ga[] [śrī]-Kulaśēgara[d]ēva[]ku yā-
2 pṇu 30āvadu Śimha-nāya[]-ppūrvva-pakṣhattu ēkādaśa[](śi)yum peṇṇa
Mu(mū)lattu nā[].

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Śimha."

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A.D. 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 18 h. 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Āṇaikāṭṭa-Perumāḷ temple at Kalappāḷ.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrīh — [K]ō [M]ārupan[mar Tiri]buvana-chchakkaravatt[]ga[] śr[ī]-Kulaśēgara-
dēva[]ku yāṇḍu 3[4]vadu Kaṇḍaga-nāya[] pūrvva-pakṣa[t]tu tr[ī]t[ī]-
yaiyyum Śaṇ[]-kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Magattu nā[].

"In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

¹ No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti took place 9 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

³ No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁴ No. 661 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

*The date apparently corresponds to **Saturday**, the **8th July A.D. 1301**, which was the 12th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the *nakṣatra* was **Maghā**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 13 h. 47 m., according to **Garga** for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, *tithi* of the bright half (of **Śrāvaṇa**).—Accordingly, the word *tr[i]ṣ[i]yaṭṭyūm* of the original seems to be a mistake for *dvitīyaṭṭyūm*.

51.—In the **Paśupatiśvara** temple at **Allūr**.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō [M]āṇapaṇmar=āṇa
- 2 Tiribuvāṇa[ch]chakkaravattiga-
- 3 | śrī-Kulaśēgarādēvaṅku y[ā]-
- 4 ṇḍu 29vaḍu Kaṅkaḍa-
- 5 ga-nāyaṅṇu apara-pakṣhattu tra-
- 6 2yōdesiyūm Śaṇi-k[i]lamaiyūm pe-
- 7 ṅga Puṇapūsattu nāl.

"In the 29th year (of the reign) of king **Māṇavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulaśēkhara**,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

For the 29th year of **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.**³ this date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1296 or A.D. 1297; but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 30th year of the king's reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to **Saturday**, the **9th July A.D. 1303**, which was the 12th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āshāḍha**) ended 8 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** the whole day, according to **Garga** from 2 h. 38 m., and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.** must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1288.

D.—**JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.**⁴

52.—In the **Dēvanāyaka-Perumāḷ** temple at **Tiruvēndipuram**.⁵

- 1 6 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṅ=Chchadai[pa]ṇmar Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 10[āvaḍu] pattā[va]ḍu Kaṅkaḍaga-nāyaṅṇu
- 2 apara-pakṣhattu paṇjamiyūm Tiṅgaḷ-kilamaiyūm peṅga Rēvati-nāl.

"In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king **Jatāvarman** (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Rēvati**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

For **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.**, whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276,⁶ this date corresponds to **Monday**, the **23rd July A.D. 1285**, which was the 27th day of the month of

¹ No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

² Part of the *ś* of *yō* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

³ For **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II.** the date would be incorrect.

⁴ No. 56 may be a date of **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.**

⁵ No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁶ See above, Vol. VI, p. 314.

Karkāṭaka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 9 h. 4 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be incorrect.

53.—In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr.¹

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[i] [H*] Kōṭ=[Ch]chadaipaṇma[r]=āṇa [Tiribuva]ṇachchakkaravatt[i]gal
- 2 śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu l[l]vadu Mricchiya-²nā.
- 3 [ya]ṅṅu apara-pakshattu shashti(shṭhi)yum [Buda]ṇ-kiḷamaiyum perṇa Pū-
- 4 sattu nāḷ.

"In the 1[l]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vṛiśchika,³ and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h. 52 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But by the previously⁴ found result this day would fall in the 12th, not the 11th, year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.⁵

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

54.—In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālaiyārkōvil.⁶

- 1 [śrī]-kō=Chchadaipa[n]mar=āṇa stri(tri)[bhūva]ṇa-
- chchakka[rava]ttigaḷ [śrī]-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-
- 2 yadēvaṅku iyāṇḍu 12vadu Simṇa(mha)-nāyayṅṅu [3]l tēdi⁷ [apa]ra-[pa]ksha[t]tu
- tri[tī]yai[ya]m Buda-
- 3 ṇ-kiḷa[m]aiyu[m] perṇa Irēba(va)di-nāḷ.

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simha."

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287, when the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the 30th, not the 31st, day of the month of Simha, the Simha-samkrānti having taken place

¹ No. 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² Read *Vṛiśchika*.

³ The Vṛiśchika-samkrānti took place 17 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A.D. 1287.

⁴ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

⁵ Mr. Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9. And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A.D. 1294, which was the 14th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h. 17 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise. Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For the 19th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. it would be incorrect.

⁶ No. 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

⁷ The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.

8 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshēśvara temple at Achecharapākkam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōḥ-Chatapaṇmar Tiri[buṇa]chechakaravatti śrī-Śu[n]dara-
[Pān]ḍiyadēva[r][k*]ku yā[n*]ḍu 13ku edir [2āva]ḍu Kaṇ-
- 2 nī-nāyaru apara-[pa*]kshattu Tīngat-kīḷa[m]aiyu[m*] saptamiyum peṇṇa
Rō[śa]nī-nā[!].

"In the [2nd] opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.²

For Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] K[ā= Chechad]saipaṇmar-ā[ṇa] Tribbuṇaachchakkaravattigal
śrī-Śundira-[P]āṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu
- 2 9[āvaḍu] oṇ[ba]dāvaḍu [M]ēsha-[nā]yaru pū[rva]-pakshattu tṛiti(tī)yaiyum
Vellī-kkīḷamaiyum peṇṇa Kāṭta(tti)gai-nā-⁴
- 3 [!].

"In the 9th—ninth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or to Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. According to the previously obtained result,⁵ the 9th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1259; but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date *would* be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, *not* the 9th, year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

If the date were one of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It *would* be correct for

¹ No. 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

² The Kanyā-samkrānti took place 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.

³ No. 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁴ The ā of nā is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaiśākha) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., or the 10th (or 11th) year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

E.—KONERANMAIKONDAN¹ VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57.—In the Vṛiddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇāvāśal.²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śakābdam
- 2 1339_n mēl śrī-
- 3 Kōṇēraṇmaiko[n]-
- 4 ḍān=Tribhuvaṇachchakravatti
- 5 śrī-Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēvar
- 6 [zāvadu e]dir 15 Makara-nāyaṇṇu
- 7 pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum
- 8 Budha-v[ā*]ramum peṇṇa Uttarā(ra)-
- 9 t[ā]di-nāḷ.

"In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (of the reign) (of) the glorious Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, (which was current) after the Śaka year 1339,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

For Śaka-saṃvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418, which was the 17th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 11 h. 12 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

58.—In the Virattānēśvara temple at Kilūr.³

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ Tribhu[va]ṇachchakkaravattigal śr[i]-
Vikk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku
- 2 yāṇḍu 8āvadu Kaṇḍadaga-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum Velli-
kk[i]lāmaiyum [p]eṇṇu
- 3 Attattu nāḷ.

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1408, and it actually corresponds to Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408, which was the 30th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 18 h. 16 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ or Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ.

² No. 612 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ No. 287 of the same collection.

59.—In the Śivāṅkuréśvara temple at Tirthanagari.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [—] Kōṇēr[i]-
 2 mēlkond[ā]ṇ Tiribuvanaḥchakkaravattigaḥ
 3 śrī-Vikkira[ma*]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu nā-
 4 l[ā]vadu Kumba-nāyaṇṇu pārvva-pakshattu triti(tī)yaikum
 5 N[āya]ṇṇu-kkilamaiy[u]m peṇṇa Uttiratta nāḥ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of Kōṇērimeḷkondāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikra[ma]-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a *tithi* of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni; and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalguni instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadā. For the month of Kumbha² of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405.

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third *tithi* instead of the second (*dvitīyaikum*).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṇērimeḷkondāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

F.—MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

60.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Tenkāśi.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] Kō Māṇavarmanmar-āna Tribhuvanaścha(cha)kravattigaḥ śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu iraṇḍāvadīṇ edir pad[i]ṇṇōṇṇāvadu Karkkaṭaka-ñāyaṇṇu muppadān=diyadiyum pū[ra]iaiyum Sōma-vāramum peṇṇa Tiruvō[ṇa]ttu nāḥ.

"In the eleventh opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon *tithi* and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkkaṭaka."

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkkaṭa-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkkaṭaka. The 30th day of the same month

¹ No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

² For the month of Makara and the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalguni.

³ No. 196 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

therefore was **Monday**, the 28th July A.D. 1455, and on this day the full moon *tithi* (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 21 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śrāvaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

61.—In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālaiyārkkōvil.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō [M]āra[pa]ṇmar-āṇa [Tri]bhuvā[na]śa[kra]vatti[ga] śrī-
[Vi][ra*]-Pā[p]ādiyadē[va]rku [y]ān[du] 14va[du] Ma[gara]-nā[ya*]rku
[a]para-pakshattu=[ppa]ñjam[i]yum Nā[ya]rku-kilamai[yum] peṇṇa Attattu
2 nāl.

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vi[ra]-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Makara**.”

If the day given under No. 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1456. And the date would actually be correct for **Sunday**, the 18th January A.D. 1457, which was the 21st day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

62.—In the Virattāṇḍēśvara temple at Tiruvadi.

- 2 [K]ō M[āra]paṇmar T[irib]uvaṇa-
3 chchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-V[i]ra-Pā-³
4 ṇḍiyadēvaṛku yān-
5 du paḍipālāvadu Mīṇa-nāyaṛ-
6 ṇu apara-pakshattu prathamai-
7 [yu]m Śaṇi-kk[ila]mai[y]um⁴ [peṇ]ra Attattu nāl.

“In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mina**.”

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1456 or 1457; and the date would actually be correct for **Saturday**, the 12th March A.D. 1457, which was the 16th day of the month of **Mina**, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h. 21 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

The results set forth under Nos. 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I may state here that I have a date,⁵ which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, i.e. the 19th year, and of Śaka-samvat 1361, of a king Māravarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Tirunelvēli-Perumāl, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva. This king would have commenced to reign about A.D. 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya of Nos. 60-62.

¹ No. 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

³ The secondary d is repeated at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ The word Śaṇi-kk[ila]mai[y]um is entered above the line.

⁵ No. 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895. Compare also Mr. Venkayya's Report for 1904-05, p. 53.

No. 28.—BETUL PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA;
THE GUPTA YEAR 199.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER; NAGPUR.

These plates were found by me in the possession of Sahib Lal Singh, Malguzar of Betul in the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, in March 1905. Sahib Lal Singh, though belonging to an old respectable family, is a Kurmi—a prominent cultivating caste of Northern India, who of course are not entitled to accept any charitable gifts. The plates clearly do not belong to his family, and Sahib Lal Singh is unable to explain how it came by them. His forefathers belonged to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and came to Betul five generations ago. They left their native place in the Unao district in Oudh about 180 years ago and are believed to have lived in the Hoshangâbâd, Narsinghpur and Nâgpur districts. Apparently they brought the plates with them, having obtained them somewhere in Narsinghpur which adjoins Jabalpur.

These are two copper-plates, with a hole ($\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter) in each for the ring or seal, which is lost. The first plate measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $5\frac{1}{8}$ " and the second $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", the weight of each being 12 ozs. 6 grs. and 13 ozs. 17 grs. respectively. Both the plates are quite smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on one side only, and some of the letters show through on the backs of them; and but for a fault in the second plate, which has caused a hole $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter in the last line, obliterating portions of the numerical symbols of the year (which has been fortunately stated in words in the beginning), the inscription throughout is very legible. I have deciphered the text from the original plates, an impression of which was very kindly made for me by Mr. H. Cousens. At Prof. Hultzsch's instance Mr. H. Krishna Sastri prepared fresh impressions, which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The letters are smaller—about $\frac{1}{6}$ "—at the beginning of each plate. They gradually grow bigger, attaining the highest size—about $\frac{1}{2}$ "—at the end.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 13, 17, 25, and of *t* in ll. 21 and 25. Orthographical peculiarities are the use of *ñ* before *śa* in ll. 12 and 14, and of *b* for *v* in *sambutsara* (ll. 2, 3 (twice), 29) and *parivrājaka* (l. 5). The letter *t* is doubled in *gōttra* (l. 5, but not in l. 15), *puttra* (ll. 6, 16, 28), *pauttra* (l. 16) and *°pittrōr* (l. 12). The last line contains the numerical symbols for 100, 10, 90 and 9, the two last of which, as stated before, are partially obliterated. The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting four benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in ll. 21-27.

The inscription is one of the *Parivrājaka Mahārāja Samkshōbha* and is dated in the year 199 of the Gupta era (A.D. 518-19), in the *Mahāmārgasīrsha-samvatsara*, on the tenth tithi of the month *Kārttika*, without specifying the fortnight and the week-day. Another grant of the same king, which was found near Khōh by General Cunningham in 1879 and is dated in the Gupta year 209 (A.D. 528-29), was republished by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 112 ff. The text of both inscriptions is very similar, and both were written by the same *Īśvaradāsa*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of half of the village *Prastaravātaka* and a quarter of *Dvāravatikā* in the province of *Triपुरi* by the *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* to the *Brāhmaṇa Bhānsvāmin* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. The value of the inscription chiefly lies in the mention of geographical names, as, with regard to the history of the donor himself, it adds nothing new to what is given in the Khōh plates. The genealogy of the *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* in both

is the same, and in both he is stated to be ruling the *Ḍabhālā-rājya*, which had come to him by inheritance together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. The present inscription goes to show that Tripurī was a province of the *Ḍabhālā* kingdom. We know Tripurī well.¹ It was the name of the capital of the Haihayas or Kalachuri kings—the present **Tewar**, six miles from Jabalpur,—and it apparently also gave its name to the surrounding province. If this be correct, as is very probable, the Kalachuri domination in the country about Jabalpur disappears at least between A.D. 475 and 528, when the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* ruled the country, as proved by their inscriptions actually found. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur may have been dominant at that time in Mahākōsala, but not in the northern country about Tripurī. Dr. Fleet says that “in *Ḍabhālā* we have undoubtedly the older form of *Dālala*, *Dāhāla*, *Dahāla* or *Ḍahālā*, which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kālīñjar.”² This gives a clue to the identification of *Prastaravātaka* and *Dvāravatikā*, which I take to be the present **Patparā** and **Dwārā** near Bilahrī, 9 miles from Murwārā town and about 60 miles from Tewar—the old Tripurī. *Prastaravātaka* probably was corrupted into *Pattharvātaka* or *Pattharwārā*, which finally became *Patparā*, conveying the same meaning in the local patois as its Sanskrit equivalent, viz. ‘a stony tableland,’ and *Patparā* is a stony tableland up to this day. On the site of this *Patparā*, which had the palace of *Kāmkandalā*, there appears to have been formerly a village, as foundations of numerous buildings are still found. *Patparā* is only a mile off from Bilahrī, and the ruins of temples and buildings commence at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the present Bilahrī village. That names of villages ending in *vātaka* or *pātaka*, which may have been corrupted into *vārā* or *wārā*, were common on the Bilahrī side, may be inferred from the Bilahrī inscription,³ which mentions *Khailapātaka*, *Dhaṅgaṭapātaka*, *Ambipātaka*, etc. One of these, *Khailapātaka*, General Cunningham identified with the present *Khailwārā* or *Kailwārā*, 6 miles from Bilahrī, and I think *Dhaṅgaṭapātaka* is perhaps represented by the present village *Thanaurā*, about 4 miles from Bilahrī, the name having been corrupted into *Dhanwārā*. *Thanwārā*, and finally *Thanaurā*. Within a radius of 20 miles from Bilahrī, one may find such villages as *Gulwārā*, *Murwārā*, *Kailwārā*, *Nauhwārā*, *Kanhwārā*, *Bharwārā*, etc., the *wārā* of which is apparently a corruption of the old *vātaka*. The village *Dwārā* stands on the same tableland as *Patparā*, being 5 miles east from the *Kāmkandalā* buildings and between 3 and 4 miles from the Bilahrī village. The *Malguzar* of this village is still a *Brāhmaṇ* and has held it for several generations. He does not however belong to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. He is a *Garga* and may have been engrafted when the male line of *Bhānusvāmin* became extinct, the village going to a female heir and consequently by her marriage to a different *gōtra*, or it may have changed hands since. *Dvāravatikā* may therefore be confidently identified with this *Dwārā*. The six inscriptions of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* were found either at *Khōh*, *Majhgawām* or *Bhumarā*, which places are all quite close to *Uchchakalpa* or the present *Uchahrā*, the capital of the Nagode State, where another family, that of the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa*, closely connected with the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* both chronologically and territorially, ruled. *Uchahrā* is about 60 miles from Bilahrī, and we know from the *Bhumarā* pillar inscription, edited by Dr. Fleet⁴, that that village formed the boundary between the two territories. This would show that the *Ḍabhālā* country was almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the present Jabalpur district to the north and extended to about 120 miles from Tripurī town, the villages granted in the present inscription being situated midway between Tripurī town and the boundary of the *Ḍabhālā* kingdom in the north. This will clearly show that the present inscription does not really belong to Betul. As Dr. Fleet remarks (*loc. cit.*), “copper-plates, being small and portable, are

¹ See General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 54.

² *Gupta Inscr.* p. 113 f. In the *Vikramānkaśekhacharita* (XVIII. 93 and 95) *Dāhāla* and *Dāhala* occur almost side by side, indicating that the two forms were indifferently used.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 251 ff.

⁴ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 111.

always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified."

One knotty problem however remains yet to be solved. What were the eighteen forest kingdoms included in the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas*' dominions? These must have been contiguous to Dabhālā, and as such the choice seems to lie between the ancient Gaur country, latterly known as Gōndwānā, on the one hand and the Baghelkhand and Chutiā Nāgpur country together with Chhattisgarh on the other. All this country formed part of the Gupta empire. "The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himālayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, and the free tribes of Rājputāna and Mālwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might."¹ With regard to the conquest of South Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and the forest tribes Mr. Smith (*op. cit.* p. 248) narrates the details thus: "The invader (Samudragupta), marching due south through Chutiā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kōsala in the valley of the Mahānadi, and overthrew its king, Mahēndra. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces." Now these backward parts originally constituted what were known as *Aṭhārāgarh*, i.e. the eighteen forts or forest kingdoms, to wit, Sakti, Sārangarh, Raigarh, Bāmra, Rairākhoh, Sonpur, Patnā, Bargarh, Phuljhar, Borā Sāmbhar, Khariār, Bindrā Nawāgarh, Sambalpur, Chāndrapur, Baud, Athmalik, Gāngpur and Bonai. Of these the first eight are still feudatory states, the next four *zamīndāris*, and the next two Government *khālsā*, all attached to the Central Provinces.² On the abolition of the south frontier agency in 1837 Baud and Athmalik were transferred to the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Gāngpur and Bonai were attached to Chutiā Nāgpur. Bargarh, being confiscated for rebellion, was given over to the Raja of Raigarh. Again, among the Orissa tributary states there are eighteen *garhmāls*, though they are somewhat too far away from the Dāhal country. Chhattisgarh, i.e. the thirty-six forts, included twice eighteen forts, viz. eighteen *garhs* in one group subordinate to the senior branch of the Haihayas ruling at Ratanpur, and the same number in the second group held by the junior branch living at Raipur. So the grouping of states or estates into eighteen would appear to be customary and traditional towards Chhattisgarh. As regards the western Gaur country, which included the present districts of Betul, Chhindwārā, Seoni and Mandlā,³ there is no record or tradition of its ever having been divided into eighteen forest kingdoms. It therefore seems very probable that the eighteen forest kingdoms of the inscription lay somewhere in the direction of Chhattisgarh, which was subdued by Samudragupta as mentioned before. As the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* owed allegiance to the Gupta kings, it seems within the range of probability that those kingdoms were handed over to them, unless they formed part of the Parivrājakas' dominions before Samudragupta's conquest. It is with the greatest diffidence that I hazard this conjecture, and I am not at present prepared to localise exactly the eighteen forest kingdoms. I however hope that the information, which I have partly acquired from my personal acquaintance with the country, may perhaps prove of some use to an antiquarian willing to solve the question.

¹ Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 250 f.

² Since I wrote the above, Bāmra, Rairākhoh, Sonpur, Patnā, Borā Sāmbhar and Sambalpur have been transferred to Bengal.

³ General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 150.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 १ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 २ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ३ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ४ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ५ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ६ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ७ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ८ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ९ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 १० नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ११ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 १२ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 १३ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 १४ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Om² namô [bha]gavatô Nârâyana³ [i*] Svasti [i*] Śrîmati pravarddhamâna-
vijaya-
2 rājya(jyô) sambatsara-⁴satô navanavaty-uttarô Gupta-na(nri)pa-rājya-bhuktau
Mahâ-
3 mârghasîrsha-sambatsarô⁵ Kârttika-mâsa-daśamyâm⁶ asyâm sambatsara-⁷mâsa-
4 divasa-pûrvvâyâ[m*] chaturdâśa-vidyâsthâna-vidita-paramârthasya Kapilasy-êva
5 maharshêḥ sarvva-tatva(ttva)-jñasya Bharadvāja-sagôtrasya nripatiparibrâ(vrâ)jaka-
6 Sûsarmmanah kul-ôtpannêna mahârāja-śrî-Dêvâdhyâ-putra-pranaptrâ mahâ-
7 rāja-śrî-Prabhâñjana-pranaptrâ mahârāja-śrî-Dâmôdara-naptrâ gô-sahasra-
8 hasty-asva-hirany-ânêka-bhûma(mi)-pradasya gura-pitri-mâtri-pûja(jâ)-tatparasy-ânêka-
9 samara-sata-vijayinah s-âshṭadâś-âṭavi-rājy-âbhyantaram [Pa]bhâlâ-rājyam sama-
10 nupâlayi[ghô]r-anêka-guṇa-vikhyâta-yasasah śrî-mahârāja-Hastinah sutêna
11 varṇa-âsrama-dharma-ssthâpan-âbhiratêna parama-bhâgavatên-âtyanta-pitri-bhaktêna
12 aya-vatâśa-môda-⁸karêṇa mahârāja-śrî-Samkshôbhêna(na) mâtâpitrôr-âtmanas-cha
pûnyâ-
13 bhivridhy-artham Tripuri-vishayô Prastaravâṭaka-grâmasya⁹ arddham Dvâravati-
14 kâyâś-cha chaturthô-ôśah¹⁰ êvam-êtau pûrvv-âghâṭa-parichchêda-maryyâ-

Second Plate.

- 15 dayâ Bhâradvāja-sagôtrâya Mâdhyandina-Vâji(ja)sanêya-sabra[hma]-
16 chârîṇô brâhmaṇa-Bhânusvâminê putra-pauttr-ânvay-ôpabhôgyau¹¹ êtau
17 s-ôdraṅgau s-ôparikarau¹² a-châṭa-bhaṭa-pravâśyau¹³ chôra-drôhaka-varjjam¹⁴ tâmra-
18 sâsanêna¹⁵ âgrâhârau atisrîṣṭau [i*] Tad-asmâ-kul-ôttair-mmat-pâdapinḍ-ôpa-
19 jivibhir-vvâ kâlântarêshv=api na vyâghâṭah karâṇiyah [i*] Êvam-âjñâ(jñâ)pt[ê] yô-
20 nyathâ kuryât=tam=aham dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat-âvadhyanêna nirddahêyam [i*]
Uktañ=cha
21 bhagavatâ paramarshîṇâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [i*] Pûryva-dattâm dvijâtibhyô
yatnât¹⁶
22 raksha Yudhishtîra [i*] mahi(hi)m=mahimatâm srêshṭha dânaśch=chhrêyô-
nupâlanam [i*] Bahubhiḥ¹⁷
23 vasudhâ bhuktâ rājabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmih¹⁸ tasya
24 tasya tadâ phalam [i*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrâṇi svargga(rggê) môdati bhûmi-
dah [i*] âchchhêtâ
25 ch=ânumanâś cha tany=êva narakô vasêt [i*] Bhûmi-pradânân=na param
pradânam¹⁹
26 dânaś=viśiṣṭam paripâlanam-tu [i*] sarvvê=tisrîṣṭam paripâlya bhûmim nripâ
27 Nṛig-âdyâḥ²⁰ tridivam prapannâ iti [i*] Likha(khi)tañ=cha Jivita-naptrâ Bhujaôga-
28 dâsa-puttrêṇa vyâpâraṇayâ²¹ Îśvaradâśêna [i*] Dûtakah Puna-
29 rvasuh [i*] Sambatsara²² 100 [90 9] Mahâhmargga-varshê²³ Kârttika di
10 [i*]

¹ From the original copper-plates.² Read -samvatsarê.³ Read sva-vamâ-âmôda-.⁴ Read "bhôgyâv-.⁵ Read =varjjam.⁶ Read Bahubhir-.⁷ Read -âdyâś-.⁸ Read Mahâhmargga[stirâh*]-varshê.⁹ Expressed by a symbol.¹⁰ Read -daśamydm-.¹¹ Read -grâmasy-drddham.¹² Read "kardv-.¹³ Read idsanên=âgrahârav-.¹⁴ Read bhémis-.¹⁵ Read "pay=Êvara°¹⁶ Read samvatsara-.¹⁷ Read samvatsara-.¹⁸ Read =mâsa.¹⁹ Read -prâśyau.²⁰ Read yatnât-.²¹ Read pradânam.²² Read Samvatsari.

TRANSLATION.¹

(Line 1.) *Om.* Reverence to the divine Nārāyaṇa! Hail! In the glorious, augmenting and victorious reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the Mahāmārgaśīrsha-samvatsara, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika,—on this (tithi, specified) as above by the samvatsara, month and day,—by the Mahārāja, the illustrious Saṁkshōbha, who is born in the family of the kingly ascetic Suśarman, who had learnt the whole truth of the fourteen receptacles of science,² who, like the great sage Kapila, knew all the first principles,³ (and) who was of the Bhāradvāja gōtra;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dēvādhyā;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhañjana;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmōdara;—who is the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, of elephants, horses, gold and many lands, who was earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother, who was victorious in many hundreds of battles, who sought to govern properly the kingdom (rājya) of Dabhāla together with (all the country) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms, (and) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life, who is a most devout Bhāgavata, who is extremely devoted to (his) ancestors,⁴ (and) who causes the happiness of his own race;—(by him) —for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself—half of the village Prastaravātaka and a quarter of Dvāravatikā in the province (vishaya) of Tripuri,—in accordance with the usage of the specification of (their) ancient boundaries,—are granted by a copper charter as agraḥāras to the Brāhmaṇ Bhānuśvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, a student of the Mādhyandina-Vājasaneyā (śākhā),—to be enjoyed by (his) sons, sons' sons and (further) descendants, with the udraṅga and the uparikara, (and with the privilege that they are) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers.

(L. 18.) Therefore even in future times no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by My feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 20.) And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas :—

[Here follow four of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) And (this charter) has been written by virtue of (his) office by Īśvaradāsa, the grandson of Jīvita (and) the son of Bhujagadāsa. The Dātaka (is) Punarvasu. In the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 9, in the year Mahāmārga[śīrsha], on the 10th day of Kārttika.

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The date of the above record, being of the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199, would be expected to fall in A.D. 518, and I shall be able to prove that it did fall in that year. But its exact European equivalent cannot be given with absolute certainty.

¹ Since the text is almost identical with that of the Klōh copper-plates of the Gupta year 209, I have adopted, *mutatis mutandis*, Dr. Fleet's translation as given in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 115 f.

² [See Yājñavalkya, I. 3 :—*Purāṇa-nyāya-mīmāṃsā-dharmasāstr-āṅga-mītrilāḥ | viddāḥ sthānāni vidyānām dharmasya oha chaturdaśa* ||.—E. H.]

³ [This reference to the (twenty-five) *tattvas* of the Sāṁkhya doctrine and to its founder Kapila deserves to be noted.—E. H.]

⁴ [With the epithet *atyanta-pitṛi-bhaktēna* compare *pitṛi-bhaktah*, the legend on the seals of the copper-plate grants of the two Kālīṅga kings Nandaprabhañjanavarman and Chappavarman; above, Vol. IV. p. 143.—E. H.]

In the Gupta year 199, corresponding to the expired year 3619 of the Kaliyuga, a month by the rules of mean intercalation would have had to be intercalated before the month Kārttika. Judging from other dates, I consider it highly probable that in the period to which our date belongs the rules of mean intercalation were observed, and that moreover a month, by those rules intercalated before the proper Kārttika, would have received its name from the preceding month Āśvina. Assuming this to have been actually the case, the Gupta year 199 would have contained only one month called Kārttika, and the month Kārttika which is put down in the date would be the ordinary Kārttika of our Tables. But the possibility is not excluded that the intercalated month might have been called Kārttika too, and in that case the term *Kārttika* of the date might be taken to denote either the first Kārttika (which would be the month Āśvina of our Tables) or the second Kārttika (i.e. the ordinary Kārttika of the Tables).

At first sight, another difficulty is presented by the circumstance that in line 3 of our record the *tithi* of the date is simply described as 'the tenth *tithi* of the month Kārttika' (*Kārttika-māsa-dāsamī*), without any indication as to which lunar fortnight the *tithi* must have belonged to. But this difficulty, in my opinion, is removed by the fact that at the end of the record, where the date is repeated in figures, the same *tithi* is described by the expression *Kārttika-di 10*. In the Khôh plates of Samkshobha of the Gupta year 209 (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 114) we find the *tithi* described, in lines 2 and 3, as *Chaitramāsa-suklapaksha-trayōdasi*, and in line 24 as *Chaitra-di 28*; and in the Majhgawān plates of Hastin of the Gupta year 191 (*ibid.* p. 107), in line 2 as *Māghamāsa-bahulapaksha-tritīyā*, and in line 20 as *Māgha-di 3*. The manner in which the Khôh plates are dated has been taken to prove that the month Chaitra of those plates was the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra; and the dates of both records indicate that it was the custom to quote, when a date was repeated in figures, the number of *tithis* elapsed since the commencement of the month, irrespectively of the lunar fortnights. Applying this to the date under discussion, we conclude from the statement *Kārttika-di 10* that since the commencement of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika there had elapsed 10 *tithis*, or, in other words, that the tenth *tithi* of the month Kārttika, quoted in line 3, was the 10th *tithi* of the first or dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika (the *Kārttikamāsa-bahulapaksha-dāsamī*).

From what has been stated above, it follows that the *tithi* of our date is the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of, probably, the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of our Tables, but that possibly it may be the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina of the Tables. On the first alternative the date would correspond to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika ended 8 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; on the second alternative to Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina (i.e., possibly, the first *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) ended 13 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise. It will be shown now that, in either case, the Jupiter's year in which the date fell was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year, as required by the wording of the original date.

The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit has fully explained that a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha¹ year occurs when Jupiter at his heliacal rising (i.e. his first appearance in the morning after his conjunction with the sun) is in either of the *nakshatras* Mṛgaśīras and Ārdra, i.e., when at his heliacal rising his true geocentric place (or true longitude), according to the equal space system, is between 53° 20' and 80°, according to the Brahma-siddhānta between 52° 42' 20" and 72° 28' 12.5", and according to Garga between 53° 20' and 73° 20'. Now in the time immediately preceding the 15th September (and the 15th October) A.D. 518 Jupiter was in conjunction with the sun at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518, when his own true longitude was 51° 3', and that of the

¹ For the similar years, which have been hitherto found in five inscriptions, see especially the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, Introduction, p. 105.

sun $51^{\circ} 2' 52''$.¹ And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May,² when his true longitude was $54^{\circ} 21'$ (while that of the sun was $64^{\circ} 23' 35''$), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was $54^{\circ} 35'$ (while that of the sun was $65^{\circ} 20' 31''$). Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A.D. 518 Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than $53^{\circ} 20'$ —by all three systems of the *nakshatras* rose heliacally in the *nakshatra* Mrigashiras, and that therefore the year which then commenced was a *Mahā-Mārgaśirsha* year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A.D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place some time before sunrise of the 17th June A.D. 519,³ and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A.D. 519,⁴ when a *Mahā-Pausha* year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, a *Mahā-Māgha* year commenced on the 3rd August A.D. 520, and a *Mahā-Phālguna* year on the 4th September A.D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A.D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to **Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518**, but may possibly correspond to **Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518**.

No. 29.—TRIPLICANE INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By V. VENKATYA, M.A.

Madras was "a mere fishing village up to the year 1639 A.D., when the English⁵ became possessed of it by a grant from the puppet sovereign Srīraṅga of Vijayanagara, then at Chandra-giri."⁶ Some of the suburbs of Madras are, however, very ancient. Leaving aside St. Thomé connected with the St. Thomas legends,⁷ Mailapur (or Mayilāppūr) and Tiruvāmūr (Tiruvāṇmiyūr) are mentioned in the Tamil poem *Dēvāram* composed in the 7th century A.D.⁸ The former is also believed to have been the residence of the immortal Tiruvalluvar,⁹ a couplet of whose is quoted in the ancient Tamil work *Maṇimēgalai*.¹⁰ Tiruvallikkēni (the modern Triplicane) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaishnavas known as *Nālāyiraprabandham* by the saints Pēyālvār,¹¹ Tirumalīsai-Ālvār¹² and Tirumāngai-Ālvār, the last of whom informs us that the (Pārthasārathisvāmin) temple was founded by an unnamed king of the Tondaiyar, i.e. by a Pallava king.¹³ Egmore (Elumbūr in Tamil) is mentioned in records of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I. and was apparently the headquarters of a subdivision (*nāḍu*)

¹ The calculations which have yielded the above results have all been made according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. By the *Ārya-siddhānta*, at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 43'$, and that of the sun $51^{\circ} 4' 18''$; and at mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was $51^{\circ} 57'$, and that of the sun $52^{\circ} 1' 36''$. This shows that, according to the *Ārya-siddhānta*, the conjunction would have taken place between one and two hours before mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518.

² At mean sunrise of the preceding day, the 24th May A.D. 518, the true longitude of Jupiter was $54^{\circ} 3'$, and that of the sun $63^{\circ} 26' 38''$.

³ At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was $85^{\circ} 33'$, and that of the sun $85^{\circ} 58' 33''$.

⁴ At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was $86^{\circ} 45'$, and that of the sun $99^{\circ} 18' 3''$.

⁵ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 175.

⁶ The Roman Catholic Church at St. Thomé is believed to be built over the grave of St. Thomas; *ibid.* p. 176. Rāmarāya of Vijayanagara is said to have led an expedition against the place in A.D. 1558; Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 193.

⁷ The saint Tiruvāṇṇasambandar is reported to have revived at Mayilāppūr a dead girl, whose bones had been preserved by her father in a pot. The temple is called Kapālīchcharam (i.e. Kapālśvara) in the hymn composed by the saint. Jains and Buddhists seem to have lived at that time in the vicinity of Mayilāppūr.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 221.

⁹ *Essay on Tamil literature* by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri of Madras, No. I. p. 38 f.

¹⁰ *Iyarpā*, III. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.* IV. 35.

¹² *Periyatirumoli*, verse 180.

in the district called Puliyūr-kōttam.¹ Nuṅgambākkam occurs in a copper-plate inscription belonging to the time of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I.² The Tamil *Dēvāram* contains a hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr composed by Tiruñānasambander.³

The Pārthasārathisvāmin temple at Triplicane contains (1) the subjoined Pallava inscription;⁴ (2) a number of fragments of Chōla records built into the floor in various parts of the temple;⁵ (3) a mutilated epigraph of the Pāṇḍya king [Māra]varman Kulasēkhara;⁶ and (4) a few Vijayanagara inscriptions. Some of the Chōla fragments belong to the time of Kulōttuṅga III. and Rājārāja III.⁷ The Pāṇḍya epigraph mentions Tirumayilāppūr (i.e. Mailapur) in Puliyūr-kōttam⁸ and (the temple of) Teḷiyasiṅga-Nāyaṇār in Eḷumūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam.⁹ The Vijayanagara records belong to the time of Sadāśiva, Raṅga and Venkatapati.¹⁰ Two of the suburbs, viz. Puddappākkam and Vēppēri, and three of the outlying villages, viz. Sembiam, Nāḍumbarai and Veysarpāḍi,¹¹ were granted to the Triplicane temple during the Vijayanagara period, while a pious Vaishṇava made some additions to it in or before A.D. 1564-5 during the reign of Sadāśiva.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone built into the floor close to the entrance into the *garbhagriha* of the temple. As people walk on it very frequently, the stone has become much worn, and the writing has suffered considerable damage. Very few *akṣaras* are, however, really doubtful, though some are broken.

The alphabet is Tamil, with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha characters. The following is a list of the latter :— *svasti śrī, Pallavakulatīla*^o (line 1); *Bhāradvāja-gōtr-ātmapatiy-ākiya* (l. 1 f.); *śrī-Dantivarma-Mahārāja* (l. 2 f.); *varshavarddhana* (l. 3); *mṛi* of *tiruvamriḍu* (ll. 7 and 14 f.); *śarma* (l. 11 f. and twice in l. 12); *svāmibhōga* (l. 14); *ādharma* (l. 15); *ha* of *lōha*, *tshī* of *ratshī*^o (l. 17); *ndharmma*^o (l. 18); *ratshī*^o (l. 18 f.); *svasti* (l. 19).— The *puḷḷi* (or *virāma*) is marked in a large number of cases and is denoted by a short vertical line added at the top of the letter. One graphic peculiarity deserves notice. When lingual *i* and rough *r* are doubled, the symbol for the secondary *i* or *u*, which is now placed over the second letter or by its side, is, in this inscription, added, in most cases, so as to include the first as well. In other words, the two letters are treated as a group. In line 9, double *kki* is written similarly as a group. Two forms of *ṛ* occur, one with the central loop

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 133.

² This inscription has recently been discovered at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu near Arkonam and will be published in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. Part III.

³ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 132.

⁴ No. 234 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁵ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25.

⁶ No. 238 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903. It is dated in the 4[9]th year of the king's reign and may perhaps belong to the "Kales Dewar" of the Muḥammadan historians; see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, paragraph 13.

⁷ Nos. 241 and 243 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903 are two of them. In some of them Tiruvāpamiyūr (the modern Tiruvāmūr) is said to have been in Kōttūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-vaḷanāḍu.

⁸ Called after Puliyūr, which is close to Madras; above, Vol. IV. p. 8, note 1. According to an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I., Tiruvorriyūr, 6 miles north of Fort St. George, belonged to Puḷal-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puḷarkōttam, which was called after Puḷal near Madras on the road to Nellore; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 132.

⁹ Mention is also made of Ayanapuram in Tuḍarmuṇṇi-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puḷarkōttam *alias* Vikrama-Chōla-vaḷanāḍu. Ayanapuram is the name of a śrotriem village to the west of Madras (No. 72 on the Sydapet taluk map).

¹⁰ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25. The inscription of Raṅga is in Telugu, while the rest are all in Tamil.

¹¹ Called Veshārupāḍi in the inscription. The modern name connects the village with the sage Vyāsa or some person called after him. Vēḷṣārru, which occurs in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I. at Tiruvorriyūr, is perhaps an older form of Veshārupāḍi; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 134.

fully developed and the other without it. The former is more common, while the latter occurs at least twice.¹ The vowel *u* is added to the consonant *t* in two different ways: one, as in modern Tamil, with a vertical stroke going upwards, and the other without it. The latter is perhaps meant to be Grantha, though it is used in Tamil words also. The *akshara lu*, which occurs twice (ll. 8 and 16), differs from the modern form of it in the vertical stroke of the *u*-symbol being omitted as in *tu*.

The inscription consists of 19 lines of Tamil prose and is dated during the reign of king **Dantivarman-Mahārāja**, who was "the ornament of the Pallava family" and belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. The only other record of Dantivarman-Mahārāja hitherto known is mutilated,² and the description of the king which we find in the Triplicane inscription is there missing. It is therefore uncertain if the two kings were the same. In any case, as the name Dantivarman does not occur in the hitherto known genealogies of the Pallavas, and as the alphabet of the Triplicane inscription does not look very ancient, it may be concluded that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined record was later than the Pallava king **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**, who fought against the **Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II.** (A.D. 733-34 and 746-47).³

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the Pallavas of **Conjeeveram**, who probably ceased to be a ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D.⁴ The **Gaṅga-Pallavas** appear to have taken their place, though the exact period when this happened is not yet known. Leaving out **Vijaya-Narasimhavarman**⁵ and **Vijaya-Īśvaravarman**,⁶ whose relationship to the main line is not yet ascertained, four Gaṅga-Pallava kings⁷ are known, viz. **Danti(vikrama)varman**, **Nandi(vikrama)varman**, **Nṛpatuṅga-(vikrama)varman** and **Kampa(vikrama)varman**. The last was probably a brother of the third⁸ and might have been his co-regent in a portion of the Pallava dominions; but he is not mentioned in the *Bāhūr* plates of **Nṛpatuṅga**.⁹ Adding together the latest known years of the other three (**Dantivikramavarman** 51 years,¹⁰ **Nandivikramavarman** 62 years,¹¹ and **Nṛpatuṅga-vikramavarman** 26 years¹²), we get 139 years. The **Chōla** king **Parāntaka I.** was actually ruling over the dominions of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and therefore it may be supposed that the overthrow of the latter by the Chōlas took place during the reign of his predecessor **Āditya I.** Accordingly, the event may be placed roughly in A.D. 900.¹³ Deducting the total duration of the reigns of the Gaṅga-Pallava kings, we obtain roughly A.D. 760 as the date of the accession to power of the first king **Dantivikramavarman**. This event cannot be placed earlier, because the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III.** is reported to have levied tribute from **Dantiga**, the ruler of **Kāñchi**, about A.D. 804, and this **Dantiga** has been identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king **Dantivikrama-**

¹ Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 80.

² Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 344, note 3.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 157.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. pp. 178 and 380, and Vol. VII. p. 22 f. Dr. Fleet thinks that **Vijaya-Narasimhavarman** was the earliest of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that his initial date must be placed somewhere about A.D. 760 to 770; above, Vol. V. p. 160.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 23 f.

⁷ **Skandasiṣhyavikramavarman** of the *Rāyakōṭa* plates was also a Gaṅga-Pallava. He is said to have belonged to the family of another **Skandasiṣhya**, who was the son of the *Mahābhārata* hero **Aśvatthāman** by a **Nāga** woman; above, Vol. V. p. 52. We have however no clue as to the time when **Skandasiṣhyavikramavarman** lived. Neither are we told what relationship he bore to the main line.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII. p. 196.

⁹ Extracts from this inscription were given by Prof. Hultzsch; above, Vol. IV. p. 180 f.

¹⁰ No. 262 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

¹¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

¹² Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

¹³ See the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 10.

varman.¹ It thus appears extremely doubtful if there could have been any interval between the date of Nandivarman Pallavamalla² and the accession of Dantivikramavarman.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Gaṅga-Pallavas annexed the entire dominions of the ancient Pallavas already during the reign of the first king Dantivikrama. It looks as if the expansion of the former was gradual and reached its highest point during the reign of the last king Nripataṅga.³ We may therefore conclude that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined inscription, who could not be a Gaṅga-Pallava, belonged to the family of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who seem to have continued in some form or other down to a very late period,⁴ and that he reigned as an independent king in a portion of the ancient Pallava dominions before they were completely occupied by the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

At Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district are two inscriptions, one dated in the 7th year of the reign of Dantivarman,⁵ and the other in the 9th year of Dantippōttaraśar.⁶ The former records that a certain Brāhmaṇa purchased land for building a tank, and the latter registers an endowment for the removal of silt in the tank called Vayiramēga-taṭāka at Uttaramallūr. It is just possible that Dantivarman is only the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar, and that the tank referred to in both of these inscriptions is the same. Even if this surmise should not prove correct, the fact that the earliest Uttaramallūr inscription mentioning the Vayiramēga-taṭāka belongs to the time of the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar may be taken—at least provisionally—to show that the tank probably came into existence during his time, and that its name was derived from Vayiramēga,⁷ one of his *śrūdas*.

If the foregoing inferences are confirmed by future researches, they would establish that the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar (or Dantivarman) bore the title Vayiramēga. We have at present no materials to decide if this Dantippōttaraśar is identical with the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription, though the similarity of the names and the undisputed Pallava origin of both are in favour of the identity. The Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār refers to a king of the *Toṇḍaiyar* (i.e. a Pallava king) named Vayiramēga.⁸ Another unnamed Pallava king is mentioned by the same saint as the founder of the Triplicane temple, as I have already pointed out.⁹ In the hymn dedicated to Paramēśvara-Viṇṇagaram (i.e. the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāl temple) at Conjeeveram,¹⁰ reference is made by the same saint to several battles fought by an unnamed Pallava king. These three Pallava kings appear to be distinct.¹¹

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 181, and Vol. V. p. 159. I think the possibility of Dantiga being the same as the Dantivarman of our inscription is not altogether excluded.

² The latest known record of his reign is dated in his 50th year; above, Vol. IV. p. 137, and Vol. V. p. 157, note 7.

³ This may be concluded from the fact that Nripataṅga's inscriptions are found over a larger extent of country than those of the other two; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903-04, paragraph 13.

⁴ We hear of a queen named Mārambāvai of a certain Nandippōttaraiyaṇ, who belonged to the Pallavatilaka family. This queen appears to have been living at the time of the early Chōla king Rājakesarivarman; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1900-01, paragraph 10, and above, Vol. VI. p. 321. An inscription of Dantivarman, "born in the Pallavatilaka family which rose from the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*," has recently been discovered at Tiruvejārai in the Trichinopoly district (No. 541 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905). Thus, along with the Gaṅga-Pallavas, the regular Pallavas seem to have continued in the Tamil country down to the Chōla conquest. The exact relationship which the latter bore to the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram is not known. Perhaps the descendants or successors of the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription (who bore the title *Pallavakulatilaka*) spoke of themselves as belonging to "the family of Pallavatilaka" in order to distinguish themselves from the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

⁵ No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

⁶ No. 74 of the same collection.

⁷ This is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Vajramēga.

⁸ *Periyatirumoli*, verse 180.

⁹ See page 290 above.

¹⁰ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 844, note 3.

¹¹ In verse 479 of the *Periyatirumoli*, the same saint refers to a *Toṇḍai-maṇṇavaṇ*, i.e. a Pallava king, who might be one of these three.

The first, Vayiramēgaṇ, was apparently the saint's contemporary, while the builder of the Triplicane temple must have lived prior to him. The military exploits of the third seem to have been fresh in the saint's mind, and if this impression of mine be correct, the former might have lived a short time before the latter.

It is not impossible that Vayiramēgaṇ,¹ the Pallava contemporary of Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār, is identical with Dantippōttareśar, during whose reign the Vayiramēga-taṭśka at Uttaramallūr appears to have been built. If the battle of Mannai mentioned in verse 3 of the Paramēśvara-Vinnagaram hymn² be the same as that fought at Mannaikuṭi by the Pallava general Udayachandra against the Pāṇḍya according to the Udayēndiram plates,³ it may be concluded that the saint Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār must have lived soon after the reign of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla. If this surmise prove correct, Vayiramēgaṇ, the contemporary of the saint, must have been one of the immediate successors of Nandivarman.

The facts and inferences above set forth would yield the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. for the period of the Vaishnava saint Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār and of his Pallava contemporary Vayiramēgaṇ. The same would be the approximate date of the construction of the Vayiramēga-taṭśka at Uttaramallūr, and probably also of the subjoined inscription. It is sufficient to note that paleographical considerations do not militate against this conclusion.

Against this date of Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār may be urged the Vaishnava tradition that he was later than the saint Nammālvār.⁴ And the latter would appear to have lived subsequent to the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna, whose accession took place in A.D. 862-63,⁵ as mention is made in the existing text of the *Tiruvdymoli* of the village Varagunamāṅgai,⁶ called evidently after Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. This argument would bring Nammālvār down to the 10th century A.D. and make the interval between him and Rāmānuja (11th century A.D.) very short. Vaishnava tradition asserts that this period was occupied by Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār and several *āchāryas*, the earliest of whom must have lived long after Tirumāṅgai.⁷ Apart from this objection, there is some reason to suppose that the *Tiruvdymoli* known to Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār is different from what has come down to us. The *āchārya* Nādamuniṅai, who probably lived in the 11th century A.D.,⁸ was informed by Vaishnavas⁹ both at Kumbakonam in the Tanjore district and at Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birth-place of Nammālvār, that they had only heard of the name *Tiruvdymoli*. It had disappeared somehow, and no copy of the work existed at the time. At

¹ From the Kadaba plates of Prabhūtavareha (above, Vol. IV. p. 386) it may be concluded that Vayiramēgaṇ was a surname of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga (A.D. 754). It is claimed for this king that he subjugated the ruler of Kāñchi. The genuineness of the Kadaba plates is, however, open to question (*ibid.* p. 333), and we must have indisputable evidence of the occupation of the Pallava country by Dantidurga before we admit that the tank at Uttaramallūr could be called after him, or that reference could be made to his prowess in a Tamil hymn.

² In certain copies of the *Nāḍiyiraprabandham* the place is called *Mannaiyil*, which makes its identification with Mannaikuṭi less probable.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II. p. 372.

⁴ The *Tiruvdymoli* composed by Nammālvār had to be recited in the Śrīraṅgam temple according to certain arrangements made by Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6*, Part II., paragraph 25.

⁶ Verse 897. Śrīvaramāṅgai or Śrīvaramāṅgalam mentioned in the same poem (verses 509 to 519) is probably identical with the village of the same name founded by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman (called Neṇṇūjadaiyaṇ in the Tamil portion) according to the Madras Museum plates; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 74.

⁷ This is clear from the fact stated later on that the *Tiruvdymoli*, which had been known to Tirumāṅgai, disappeared during the time of the first *āchārya* Nādamuniṅai, who was informed that it had been lost 'a long time ago.' The mere name and a single hymn of the poem were all that remained of it at the time.

⁸ Nādamuniṅai is said to have visited Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram founded by Rājēndra-Chōla I. (A.D. 1011-12 to at least 1033).

⁹ Nādamuniṅai was led to make this enquiry on hearing a hymn of the *Tiruvdymoli* (beginning with *āraṇamudā*, the 48th decade of the existing text) recited in the Vishnu temple at his native place by certain Vaishnavas from Ālvār-Tirunagari.

Ālvār-Tirunagari Nādamuṇigal was directed to recite twelve thousand times, with his mind concentrated on Nammālvār, a poem (beginning with *Kaṇṇinuṇ śiruttāmbu*) composed by Madurakavi Ālvār, Nammālvār's elder contemporary and disciple. He was told that Nammālvār would then appear to him in a vision and grant what was required. Accordingly, Nādamuṇigal's 'eye of knowledge' was opened, and he was initiated into the *Tiruvāymoli* and other 'mysteries' by Nammālvār. No reference is, however, made to the recovery of any manuscript of the poem. If this tradition be true, the only conclusion warranted by historical criticism is that Nādamuṇigal himself composed almost the whole of the existing text of the *Tiruvāymoli*.¹ I would, however, consider this surmise as purely provisional until the date of Nammālvār is established from independent sources. At any rate, the tentative period of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār obtained in this paper need not be altered in the light of any conclusions based on the existing text of the *Tiruvāymoli*.

The object of the subjoined inscription is to record that the priests² (*kulaṅgiḷār*) of the Triplicane temple had mortgaged a field, belonging apparently to the temple, and that, in consequence, the equivalent of the interest on forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy fell short in the rice offerings presented to the god. A certain Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyariyaṇ gave thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṇḷus* of gold and redeemed the mortgaged field. Thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṇḷus* of gold were therefore equal to forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy. Thus paddy was sold at the rate of three *kāḍis* for one *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold. We do not know at present how much a *kāḍi* contained. It is mentioned in a Gaṅga-Pallava inscription at Ukkal, in a Chōla copper-plate grant preserved in the Madras Museum, and in two stone inscriptions at Conjeeveram.³ The interest on forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy apparently amounted to 5 *nāḷis* every day or 18½ *kalams* per year. The five *nāḷis* of paddy were converted into two *nāḷis* of rice to be offered to the god at night. If this failed, the master's share (*svāmi-bhōga*) in certain other fields was to be utilized for the offering.

A lamp-stand, cup and pot are particularly mentioned as deserving to be taken care of, probably because they were special gifts of the donor Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyariyaṇ.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pa[ll]lava-kula-tīlada⁴ [Bh]āra-
- 2 dvāja-gōtr-ālakāra-patiy=ākiya⁵ śrī-
- 3 Dantiva[r]ma-mahārāj[ar]k[un] varsha-varddhana-
- 4 m [yā]ṇḍu pa[n]ṇirandāvad[u] Tjiruvalli-
- 5 kkeṇi kulaṅgi[l]ārgaḷ [Ka]rumāraśchēri-ppula[m]
- 6 or[er]i-ittu nāṇpatt[ai]g-āḍi n[el] po[li]li-ūt[ta] Tiru-
- 7 vaḍigaṭku tiruvamṇidu mūṭṭa-Ppugaḷttunai-Viś[ai]-

¹ Internal evidence in support of this surmise is not altogether wanting. Unlike other hymns, each decade of the *Tiruvāymoli* consists, not of ten verses, but of eleven, the last of which declares it to be ten out of the thousand composed by Nammālvār. In the Śaiva *Dēvāram* the last verse of each hymn furnishes the name of the composer, while each hymn of the other Vaiṣṇava *Ālvars* contains generally ten verses. At any rate, none of them had determined beforehand the total number of verses which he should compose. It is worthy of note that in the poem, which Nādamuṇigal was required to recite twelve thousand times, the number of verses composed by Nammālvār is given as one thousand. In verse 573 of the *Tiruvāymoli* occurs the following:—*ninr-ilaṅgu-muḍiyināy* = *irubattōr-kāl* = *araṇḍaḷai katta venri-nṇu-maḷud*, etc. The portion in roman type occurs in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I. These two points do not prove anything by themselves. But taken with the surmise based on tradition they are not altogether meaningless.

² The word *kulaṅgiḷār* occurs also in No. 168 of 1904 in connection with a Śiva temple at Tiruvakkarai. It means literally 'temple proprietor' and may denote either the temple authorities or the temple priests.

³ *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. III. p. 8 and note 8.

⁴ *Tīlada* is a *taddhava* of the Sanskrit *tilaka*.

⁵ The *ki* of *ākiya* is written in Grantha.

- 8 **yarayan** muppadiṇ kādī nellum aṇ-kaḷaṇṇu¹
 9 poṇṇuṇ-guḍuttu miṭṭu-ttanad-ākki nārpa[t]-
 10 t[ai]ṇ-gāḍiyun-nisadi aṇṇāṇi nellāl-irunnā-
 11 ḷi² tū-kkuttal-ariṣi[y]āl-irā-ppōṇagaṇ=[Ja]ṇga[ṣa]-
 12 rmmaṇuṇ=Jaṭṭisarmmaṇum ḷaiya-Ṣaṭṭisarmmaṇuṇ-gā-
 13 ṭṭuvārāṇā[r*]gaḷ[!*] muṭṭil[l=Av]ippulattun=Dattāṇ-pula-
 14 ttuṇ=Gā[rai]kīlā[ṇ-pu]lā[t]tum svāmi-bhōgattu-ṭṭiruva-
 15 [m]riḍu kāṭṭuvōmāṇōm [!*] i-dḍharmmat-ullā[r] yāva-
 16 rēṇuṇ-gō-chchēvadu śeyidu śeluttav-oṭṭi kuḍut-
 17 tōm [!*] [ḷi]a-viḷakkum vatti[!*] lō[ha]-ppāṇaiyūm ratshipa-³
 18 du [!*] **Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyaraiyaṇ** *ndharmmam idu [!*] idaṇai ra-
 19 tshittār=ādī iraṇḍum eṇ muḍi-mēliṇa [!*] svastī |||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the twelfth year of the increasing years of the glorious **Dantivarman Mahārāja**, who was the ornament of the **Pallava** family (and) the lord adorning the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**,—the priests of the **Tiruvallikkēṇi** (temple) having mortgaged the field in **Karumārachchēri**, the offering for the god accruing from(?) the interest of forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy fell short. **Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyarayaṇ** gave thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṇṇus* of gold, redeemed (the field), and made (it) his own. With two *nāḷis* of clean pounded rice (made) from five *nāḷis* of paddy, (the interest on)⁴ forty-five *kāḍis* (of paddy) per day, **Saṅgaśarman**, **Ṣaṭṭisarman** and the younger **Ṣaṭṭisarman** shall present the night offering. If (this) fails, we shall present the offering out of the master's share in **Avippulam**,⁵ **Dattāṇ's** field and **Kāraikilāṇ's** field. Having agreed that any one concerned in this charity might do what the king could and carry it out, we gave (it). The *ḷi*-lamp,⁶ the cup (and) the metal pot have to be taken care of.

This (is) **Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyaraiyaṇ's** charity. The two feet of those who protect this (charity) shall be on my head. Hail !

No. 30.—TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D. ; ROSTOCK.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller **Kharōṣṭhī** inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years. Whoever has had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity and penetration of scholars like **Bühler**, **Senart** and others. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single **Kharōṣṭhī** inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every detail. Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined inscription. It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its first purely mechanical reproduction.

¹ Read *aṇ-kaḷaṇṇu*.

² Read *iru-nāḷi*.

³ Read *rakṣi*?

⁴ Cancel the letter *ṣ*.

⁵ The word *kāḍiyun* in l. 10 appears to be used in the sense of *kāḍiyin*.

⁶ *Avippulam* means literally "oblation field." The produce from this field was evidently used for oblations.

⁷ For the explanation of this term see above, Vol. VII. p. 134.

The inscription is engraved round a steatite vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Peshawar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stûpas near Shâhpur; but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. p. 24, and Plate iii. fig. 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXII. p. 151, and added a correction *ibid.* p. 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, *ibid.* p. 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II. p. 125, and Plate lix. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr. Vogel, by Mr. Ram Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

TEXT.

Sihileṇa Siharachhitēṇa cha bhratarehi Takhaśilāe ayam thuvo pratithavito savabudhana puyae.

TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihila (Sinhila) and Siharachhita (Simharakshita) this Stûpa was erected at Takhaśilā (Takshaśilā) in honour of all the Buddhas.

REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ", take an intermediate position between those of the Aśoka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Aśoka characters are less numerous and less marked; but the *la* with its hook bent down and rounded and the *sa* with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shâhbâzgarhi and Mansehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transliteration of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read *Sihilēna*, *Siharachhitēna* and *savabudhana*; but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between *na* and *ṇa*, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual *ṇa*. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of *ṇ* instead of Sanskrit *n* in the word *Śakamunisa* (l. 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one *n*-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, p. 453, Mr. Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of five *mātrās* with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run:—

Sihilēna Siharachhitēṇa cha
ayam thuvo pratithavito

bhratarēhi Takhaśilāe |
savvabuddhāna pūyāse ||

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings *Gihilēna* and *bhatarēhi*. The correct readings *Sihilēna*, which can only stand for *Sihilēna*, and *bhratarēhi* would imply that

the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six *mātrās*, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial *bhr* was removed by the cæsura standing between *cha* and *bhratarehi*. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr. Thomas' suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No. 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1308.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; MADRAS.

These plates were discovered at Śoraikkāvūr near Kuttālam, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr. O. N. Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long, 4" broad, and $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick. The ring is 1" in diameter, and the whole set weighs $16\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. with the ring, which alone weighs $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamil numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and barring slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation; nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskrit verses which give the genealogy of prince Virūpāksha, a passage in Tamil prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the shares of land granted among the donees, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in Sanskrit, once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god Śrī-Harihara and is in Kanarese characters, the alphabet of the Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamil characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamil inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between *r* and the secondary form of *ā*; the secondary *ā*, *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on; e.g. *syā* in line 23, *bhā* in line 115, *hyā* in line 116, *vā* in line 132, *mā* in line 138, *bā* in line 146; *dē* in line 15, *nē* in line 28; *ko* in line 129; *rai* in line 53, *kai* in line 128; *dhau* in line 18, *dan* in line 164. In line 70 the *lu* of *padinālukku* is engraved below the line; in line 57 the letter *ku* is corrected into the symbol of the secondary *ā*; and in line 26 *vāsarē* is written as *pāsarē*. The Grantha letter *ṭ* is used for the Tamil *ṭ* in the words *utpaṭa* and *Āṭi* occurring in lines 68, 121 and 138.

The inscription belongs to the time of Virūpāksha (v. 5) or Vira-Virupanna-Uḍaiyar (l. 43 f.), the son of Harihara (II.) (v. 4) or Vira-Harihara-rāya (l. 42) of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, and records the grant of the village of Śiraikkāvūr (v. 10, ll. 53 f. and 60 f.) together with $10\frac{1}{2}$ *vēlīs*¹ of land adjoining it, under the name of Vijayasudarsanapuram, to

¹ In the Tamil portion this is given as $10\frac{1}{2}$ *vēlīs* (ll. 52 f. and 67 f.).

fourteen Brāhmanas of various *gōtras*. This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in Śaka 1308, the Kshaya-samvatsara,—i.e. two years later than his Âlampūṇḍi grant.¹ Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8 f. and ll. 45-49) :—

“The date, for Śaka-samvat 1308 expired, which was the year Kshaya, regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387. On this day the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna and the *karana* Nāga ended 7 h. 35 m., the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī for 19 h. 3 m., and the *yōga* Vaidhṛiti from 6 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month Paṅguni (Chaitra).”

Both the Âlampūṇḍi and Śoraikkāvūr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with Saṅgama, the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virūpāksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again Kāmākshi, the wife of Saṅgama, and Mallādēvi, the wife of Harihara II., are referred to. While in the Âlampūṇḍi grant Mallādēvi is spoken of simply as belonging to ‘the family of Rāmadēva,’ in the present record she is described as his ‘grand-daughter’ (son’s daughter) in the beginning (v. 5); but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama *Nārāyaṇvīlāsa* by Virūpāksha,² makes Mallādēvi the daughter of king Rāma. In a supplementary note on the Âlampūṇḍi grant,³ Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallādēvi may have been the daughter of the Yādava king Rāmachandra. Adverting to this Mr. R. Sewell writes as follows:⁴—

“The plate in question asserts that Mallādēvi belonged to ‘the race of Rāmadēva,’ while the drama (*Nārāyaṇvīlāsa*) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Rāma, calling Virūpāksha the ‘daughter’s son of king Rāma;’ and from this Mr. Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Rāmachandra of the family of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Rāmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Rāmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallādēvi, or Mallāmbikā, though she may have been ‘of the race of,’ was not the daughter of, king Rāma,—if Rāma was identical with Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri.”

The present plates add a further relationship, viz. that Virūpāksha was the son of the son’s daughter (*pautri*) of Rāmadēva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,⁵ we may conclude that Virūpāksha was the great-grandson of king Rāmachandra.

In the present record Virūpāksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father; for the Śaka year 1308 falls in the reign of Harihara II.⁶ From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 224 ff.

² Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No. I. p. 90.

³ Above, Vol. V., Add. and Corr., p. v.

⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIV. p. 19.

⁵ [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri (the Rāmadēva of verse 5) may have had an (otherwise unknown) son named Rāmahūpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallādēvi, the mother of Virūpāksha.—E.H.]

⁶ In the Tiruvīlmiḷalai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II., and in which his son Virūpāksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Mupaiyadaraiyan made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvīlmiḷalai is only a mile distant from Tiruppāmburam mentioned in our record.

month Bhādrapada of the year Tārana (Śaka 1326).¹ The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa.² Another record from the Shimoga district states that in the month Kārttika of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Tārana, Bukka II. was on the throne.³ This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Harihara's death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Ēkāmraṇātha temple at Conjeeveram.⁴ It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II. Again we learn that the coronation of Dēvarāya I. took place in Śaka 1328, in the month Kārttika of the year Vyaya.⁵ Evidently therefore Bukka's reign must have come to a close at this time. But it must also be noted that in the month Mārgaśīra of the year Tārana, Śaka 1327, Virūpāksha is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara.⁶ This reign overlaps that of Bukka II. Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virūpāksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virūpāksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II., ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of Bukka II. This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I. Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harihara II. there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus:—Bukka II., Virūpāksha, Bukka II. once again, and Dēvarāya I. Virūpāksha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time.

Besides calling Virūpāksha the lord of the Tuṇḍira, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries (v. 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Ālampūṇḍi grant. He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Rāmanātha (at Rāmēśvaram). He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Brāhmaṇical faith (*vēdu-mārga*, v. 7).⁷ He is stated to have gilded (the *vimāna* of the temple at) Śrīrangam and the 'Golden Hall' (at Chidambaram), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chōḷas.

As regards the donees, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaiṣṇava names; and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrīvaiṣṇava *Āchārya-puruṣas*.⁸

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, Śīraikkāvūr, the village granted, is the same as the modern Śīraikkāvūr where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttālam Railway Station. Tiruppāmpuram (v. 10, ll. 49 f. and 65) is now known as Tiruppāmbāpuram and is about 9 miles west of the Nannilam station, also in the Tanjore district. I am unable to identify Elumuri in Elumuri-paru (ll. 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskrit as *Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit*⁹ (v. 9), while Uyyakkōṇḍa-vaḷaṇādu (ll. 59 and 63 f.), a district of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam (l. 58 f.), is Sanskritized as Ujjivana (v. 9).

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (ll. 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained.

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tīrthahallī tāluka, No. 129.

² *Id.* Vol. II. No. 126.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tīrthahallī tāluka, No. 11.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 3.—[Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 329 f.—E. H.]

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Hassan tāluka, No. 133, p. 85.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tīrthahallī tāluka, No. 196.

⁷ Compare above, Vol. III. p. 118 and note 4.

⁸ *Viz.* Vēdagōmapurattār (ll. 75 and 79), Gōmaṭattār (l. 82 f.), Vaṅgippurattār (l. 90 f.), Uṇṇuputtār (l. 97), Sottaiyār (l. 111), and Kārambiḥcheṭṭu (l. 104).

[For *nivṛit*, 'a division,' see verse 9 of the Ālampūṇḍi plate.—E. H.]

TEXT.¹*First Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 [Śubham=a]stu [||*] Ōmkâr-âmkura-dam[shtr]-
 2 [āya sa]kal-âmnāya-ghôshinē [||*]
 3 â[dyây=â]s[|tu na]mas=tasmai Varâ-
 4 hāya [ma]haujasē || [1 ||*] Âdhāra-śa-
 5 ktim=ambhōdhi-mēkhalām ratna-ga-
 6 rbhinīm [||] Hara-mūrttim Harēḥ kântâ-
 7 m Bhûtagadhatrim=upās[ma]hē || [2 ||*] Âs[|i]-
 8 t Sôm-ânva[y]-ô[ttamsah] Kāmâ-
 9 kshi-Satṅgam-âtmajah | B[u]k[ka-bhû]pa i-
 10 ti khyâtô rājâ Raghur-i[v=âparah] || [3 ||*]
 11 Asti rājâdhirâj[ô-sya putrô]
 12 Harihar-êśvarah | yash=shōda[śa-ma]-
 13 hādāna-sukṛit-âmrta-sâ[garah] || [4 ||*] Sa
 14 pautryām Rāmadēvasya [Mall]â-
 15 dēvyâ[m*]² mahâsayam | (i) Virûp[â]ksha-ma-
 16 hî[p]ālām labdhavân-âtma[sa]mbha-
 17 yam || [5 ||*] Sa Kuntal-êndus=Tuṇḍ[ira-Chô]-
 18 [le]-Pāṇḍya-kshitiśvarah | san[nidhan]³
 19 [Rāma]nāthasya tulām-ârû[ḍhavâ]-
 20 n=dhanaiḥ || [6 ||*] Sa gô-saha[sra-dô]
 21 vēda-mâ[rgga]-sthâpana-[tatparah] [||*] Śri-
 22 raṅga-Kāñchanasabhâ-puna[r-ut]bhâ.⁴
 23 [sana]-kshamah || [7 ||*] Dānaślâ[gh]yē [Śa]kasy-
 24 â[bdē] Kshaya-samvatsarē [śu]bhē [||]

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 Pâ(phâ)lgunē māsya-amāvāsy[ām]
 26 tithau Saumyasya pâ(vâ)[sa]rē || [8 ||*]
 27 Vaidhṛiti-sprîśi Rēvatyām [ka]ra-
 28 nē⁵ Nāga-nāmni sah | Chôlêsh[u]
 29 Saptakhaṇḍ-âkhyâ-nivṛity-Ujjîva-
 30 n-âhwayē || [9 ||*] Chirai[kkâ]vûr-iti
 31 gr[â]man=Ṭirupp[â]mpura-s[|i]mani | [pâ]-
 32 d-ôn-aikâdasa-vṛiti-kshêtra-[sv]-
 33 m[gha]tit-ântikam || [10 ||*] Kṛita-prâśastiḥ [Vi]-
 34 ja[ya]suda[r]śana[pu]r-âkhyayâ [||] chatu-
 35 [r]ddasabhyô viprêbhyaḥ prâdâ[d=u]-
 36 daka-pûrvvakam || [11 ||*] Samast-ôpâ[dhi]-
 37 rahitas-sarvvamānyatayâ sthiraḥ | [va]-
 38 rddhatâ[m]=agrahârô-yam-â-cha[ndra]-ravi-
 39 tārakam || [12 ||*] Svasti śri-vijay-âtbbhu.⁶
 40 daya-śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalîśvaran r[â]-

¹ From the original plates.² The *ś* of *dś* is at the end of l. 14.³ The third member of the syllable *dhan* is at the beginning of l. 19.⁴ Read -*udbhâ*.⁵ The *ś* of *śd* is at the end of l. 27.⁶ Read -*dbbhu*.

- 41 jādhirājan rājaparamēśvaran
 42 śrī-Vira-Harihararāya-kumāra-śrīma-
 43 [n-ma]hāmaṇḍaliśvaran śrī-Vira-Vi-
 44 ruppanna-Uḍaiyar pri[thvi]-rājya-
 45 m paṇṇiy-arulāniṇṇa Śak-ābda[m]
 46 1308ṇ mēl-chchellāniṇ-
 47 ra Kshaya-samvatssaram¹ Paṅguni-mā-
 48 sam amā[vā*]syaiyum Budhan-ki[la]-
 49 maiyum peṇṇa Rēvati-nāḷ Tiru[p]-
 50 pāmpurat[til vaḍa]-vayalil Puḷudi-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 51 vaṇa-Pperumāḷ jīvitān-tiṇandu
 52 iluvaiyāḷ vēli patt-a-
 53 raiyē² araikkāl kūḍiya Śiraikkā-
 54 vūr-āṇa Vijayasudarśanapurattu nā-
 55 nā-gōtrigaḷ āna³ bhattagaḷukku [u]-
 56 daka-pūrvvam-āka⁴ sarvvamānya-agra[hā]-
 57 ram-ā[ga*] [Rā]hu-śāntya-arttham-āka⁵ dharmma-[śā]-
 58 sanam (p)paṇṇi-kkuḍutta Śō[la-ma]-
 59 n[da]m Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷa[nāḍu]
 60 Elumuri-ppaṇṇu kīl-kūṇu agaram [Śi]-
 61 raikkāvūr nāṅg-ellai[kk-uṭ].
 62 ppattā⁷ nāṇjai puṇjai nattaṅga[ī]
 63 sakala-prāptigaḷum Uyyakko-
 64 nḍa-vaḷanāḍu Elumuri-ppaṇṇu-kkīl-
 65 kūṇu Tiruppāmpuram vaḍa-vayalil [Śi]-
 66 raikkāvūr ellaiy-uḍaṇ kū[ḍiṇa]
 67 nilam patt-araiyē araikkāl
 68 vēliyum utpaṭa⁸ [nā]nā-gōtrigaḷ āna
 69 bhattagaḷukku¹⁰ nichchayitta bhāgam 1[4] [ī*]
 70 īnda bhāgam padinālukku¹¹ vagai [ī] Ā-
 71 trē-¹²gōtrattu Āpastamba-[sūtra]-
 72 ttu Udāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]tra-
 73 n [N]ārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Ā-
 74 trē-¹²gōtrattu Āpastamba-sū-
 75 trattu Vēdagōmpurattu Tiruva-
 76 raṅga-Nārāyaṇa-[bhaṭṭa]ṇ putraṇ
 77 Gōvinda-¹³bha[ṭṭaṇ bhāgam]—l—Ātrē-¹³

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 78 gōtrattu Āpastamba-sūtrat-
 79 tu Vēdagōm[pu]rattu Lakshmaṇa-

¹ Read -samvatssaram.

² Read -dga.

³ Read -utpaṭṭa.

⁴ Read bhattagaḷukku.

⁵ Read śtrāya.

⁶ The ai of rai is at the end of l. 52.

⁷ The d of rā is corrected from ku.

⁸ Read utpaḍa.

⁹ The syllable lu is engraved below the line.

¹⁰ The first member of the syllable gō is at the end of l. 76.

¹¹ Read dga bhattagaḷukku.

¹² Read -dga.

¹³ Read nānd.

- 80 bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa-
 81 ṇ bhāgam—1—Kaṇḍinnya-gōtra-
 82 ttu Āpastamba-sūtrattu Gō-
 83 maṭṭhattu Karuṇākara-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]traṇ
 84 Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—
 85 Parāśara-gōtrattu Ā[pa]stamba-
 86 sūtrattu I[ru]maṭṭapō[ṣaṇ] Āk-
 87 ¹kontavilli-sōma[yā]ji-²[pu]-
 88 traṇ Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakshyamāna-
 89 r bhāgam—1—Vatssa-³gō[tra]ttu Ā-
 90 pastamba-sūtrattu Vaṇḍippu[ra]-
 91 ttu Bhagavān-bha[ṭ]ṭaṇ putraṇ Śrīra-
 92 mgarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Vat-
 93 ssa-³gōtrattu Āpa[sta]mba-sū-
 94 trattu Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa-
 95 [ṇ] putraṇ Yajñamūrtti-bhaṭṭaṇ bh[ā]-
 96 gam—1—Vatssa-³gōtrattu Ā[pa]-
 97 stamba-sūtrattu Uṇḍuppuṭṭūr [Nā]-
 98 rāyapa-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Dāmō[dara]-
 99 bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Bhāradvāja-g[ō]-
 100 trattu Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Ku-
 101 rōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ [Śrī]-
 102 ram[ga*]nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—[Bhāradvā]-
 103 ja-[gō]trattu Āpasta[m]ba-sū[tr]attu
 104 Kārambichcheṭṭu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭaṇ
 105 putraṇ Yajñātma-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 106 Saṃkṛiti-gōtrattu Āpastamba-
 107 sūtrattu Iruṅgaṇṭi⁴ Dēvarā-
 108 ja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bha-
 109 ṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Śaṭa(ṭha)ma[r]shapa-gōtrat-
 110 tu Bōdhā[ya]na-sūtrattu Irāyūr
 111 Soṭṭai ⁵Nṛīrttarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śr[ī]-
 112 raṅga[nātha]-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Viśvā-
 113 mitra-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana-sūtrat-
 114 tu [Ś]ōñalūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putra[ṇ]
 115 ⁶Maṇḍalapurusha-sōmayājiyār bh-
 116 āgam—1—Sāva[rpi]-gōtrattu Drāhy-
 117 āya[pa]-sūtrattu Gaṃgōli [S]ōma-
 118 nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrīparvata[nātha]-bha-
 119 ṭṭaṇ bhāgam—1—Āga bhāgam—14—[In]-
 120 da bhāgam paṇḍālu pērkkuṃ Pra[bhava]-
 121 varusham Āṭi-⁷māsam pūrva-pakṣa[tt]u pra-
 122 thamai mudal-āga śuṅgam [ubhaya]-mārggam⁸

¹ Read *koṇḍa*.

² Read *Vatssa*.

³ Read *Nṛīrtta*.

⁴ Read *Adi*.

⁵ The letter *y* is entered below the line.

⁶ Read *gandi*.

⁷ Read *Maṇḍala*.

⁸ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 81, l. 5a.

- 123 iḍaitturai puramb=āga [sa]kala-su-
 124 varṇ-ādāyam sakala-bha[k]t-ā[d]āyam
 125 śekku-kkaḍamai ve[t̪i]-vari kaṭṭi-
 126 gai avasaram vāśal¹ oṭṭu o[lai] e-
 127 [lu]ttu rājasam paṭṭaya-kāṇik-
 128 kai² t[ō]raṇa-kāṇik[kai] [śem]bo-
 129 ṇ-var[i] āśu]podu ma[kka]l pērā³ ko-
 130 [lu[m] vilaiyāṣeru araśu-pé[ru]
 131 pāḍi-kā[va*]l ariśi-kāṇam araimaṇai-
 132 y-ā[li]yam [maga]mai talaiyārikkam v-
 133 āśal-ppa[ṇam] pul-vari aḍai[ppu]-ttā-
 134 [vu n]lavaṇ sōḍi kār-aḍai māv-a-
 135 ḍai⁴ kuḷav-aḍai oḷu[kku-nīr-nilai-nīr]-p-
 136 pāṭṭam ta[gi]-kkaḍamai [ka]t̪t-āyam [ti]-
 137 rigaiy-ā[yam] sōḷaku . . [ṇavāvi]-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 138 rattap[paḍi] Âṭi-Kāṭṭigai⁵[ppachchai] m-
 139 āṇāvi-ttēvai Pi[li]yā[r*] nō-
 140 ṇbi tiruvilakk-ep[ṇai]-ttē-
 141 vai paṭṭi-tteṇ[ḍa]m kurra-tteṇ-
 142 ḍam āl-amaṇji āḍ-aḍai-pp-uḍaiyar k-
 143 āṇikkai marṇum eppēr paṭṭa variga-
 144 lum nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāpā-
 145 m⁶ akshaṇi-āgāmi-siddha-[sā]ddhyam p[ū]-
 146 rrv-āyam apū[rvv-āya]m utpaṭṭa sarvva-b-
 147 ādhā-parih[āram=āga] ā-cha[ndr-ārka-sthāyi]-
 148 y=āka⁷ sa[rvva]m[ānaya-agra]hāram=āga [kuḍu]-
 149 ttōra [i]* [Sukha]mē bhujittu=kkoḷ-
 150 lavum [i]* Sa[rvva]mānyam pūrvva-mariyādā [i]*
 151 Dāna-pā[ḷana]yōr-mmaddhyē dānāt⁸
 152 śrē[yō=nupā]lanam | dā[nā]t=[sva]-
 153 rggam=avā[pnōti pā]lanād-ach[ya]tam [pa]-
 154 dam— [13 i]* S[va-dattām para]-dattām vā yō [ha]-
 155 rēta va[sundharām] [i]* shash[t̪im] var[sha]-sa[ha]-
 156 srāṇi [viśt̪bhāyā]n-jāyatē kṛim̐ [i] 14 [i]* Ê[k=ai]-
 157 va [bha]gini lōkē sarvvēśhām=ēva bhūbhujā-
 158 [m]! na bhōgyā na kara-[ggrā]hyā vipra-datt-
 159 ā vasundharā— [15 i]* Sāmā[nyō]=yan-dharma-sēt[u]⁹
 160 nṇripāpām kālē kālē [pā]lan[i]yō
 161 bhavatbhīh¹⁰ | sarvvān-ētān bhāvināḥ pā-
 162 rtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-
 163 mabhadraḥ [i] 16 [i]* Pautrō B[u]kka-[na]rēndrasya
 164 dauhitrō¹¹ R[āma]-bhūpatēḥ | vidyatē hi [Vi]-

¹ *Vāśal* is corrected from *vachchal*.

² The *ai* of *kai* is at the end of l. 127.

³ The third member of the syllable *ko* is at the beginning of l. 130.

⁴ The *ai* of *ḍai* is at the end of l. 134.

⁵ Read *Āḍi-Kāṭṭigai*.

⁶ Read *pāshānam*.

⁷ Read *āga*.

⁸ Read *dānāch=chhrēyō*.

⁹ Read *-sētura*.

¹⁰ Read *bhavatbhīh*.

¹¹ The first member of the syllable *dau* is at the end of l. 163

165 [rū]pākshō rājā Harihar-ātmajaḥ [|| 17 ||*] Śubham-a-
 166 s[ta]—
 167 Śrī-Harihara [|| *]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v. 2 the goddess of the Earth.

(V. 3.) There was a king called **Bukka**, who was the son of **Kāmākshi** and **Saṁgama**, and an ornament of the race of the **Moon**.

(V. 4.) His son is the **Rājādhirāja Harihara**, who performed the sixteen great gifts.

(V. 5.) He had by **Mallādēvi**, the son's daughter of **Rāmadēva**, a son named **Virūpāksha**.

(V. 6.) He, the moon of the **Kuntaḷas** and the lord of the **Tuṇḍira**, **Chōḷa** and **Pāṇḍya** countries, had, in the presence of (*the god*) **Rāmanātha**, weighed himself against gold.

(Vv. 7-12.) In the **Śaka year** (*expressed by the chronogram*) **dānaśīlaghya** (*i.e.* 1308), in the auspicious **Kṣhaya-saṁvatsara**, in the month **Phālguna**, on the new-moon *tithi*, on a **Wednesday**, while (*the nakshatra*) was **Révati**, (*the yōga*) **Vaidhṛiti** (*and*) the *karana* **Nāga**,—he, the donor of a thousand cows, the establisher of the Brāhmaṇical faith (*vēda-mārga*), who was able to regild (*the vimāna at*) **Śrīraṅgam** and the **Golden Hall** (*at Chidambaram*),—gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya* (*and*) an *agrahāra*, to fourteen Brāhmaṇas the village of **Vijayasudarśanapuram**,¹ (*which was made up of*) **Chīraikkāvūr** in **Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit**, (*a subdivision*) of **Ujjivana** in the **Chōḷa** (*country*), and of a field of ten and three quarters *eritis*² on the outskirts of **Tiruppāmpuram**.

(Ll. 39-58.) On the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Révati**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the new-moon (*tithi* in the solar) month **Paṅguni** (*of*) the **Kṣhaya-saṁvatsara** which was current after the **Śaka year 1308** (*had passed*),—while the **Mahāmaṇḍalésvara Vira-Virupanna-Uḍaiyar**, the son of the **Mahāmaṇḍalésvara Rājādhirāja Rājaparamésvara Vira-Harihararāya**, was pleased to rule the earth,—(*he*) gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, in order to propitiate (*the bad influence of*) **Rāhu**, by a religious edict, (*the following land*) to the **Bhāṭṭas** of various *gōtras* (*living*) in **Śīraikkāvūr** *alias* **Vijayasudarśanapuram** which included ten and five-eighths *vēlis* (*of land*) in the northern fields of **Tiruppāmpuram**,—excluding the possessions of (*the god*) **Puḷadivana-Perumāl**:—

(Ll. 58-69.) The wet land, dry land and house sites, with all acquisitions, enclosed within the four boundaries of **Śīraikkāvūr**, a village (*belonging to*) the eastern group (*of*) **Elumuri-parru**, (*a subdivision of*) **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanāḍu** (*in*) **Śōḷa-maṇḍalam**, together with ten and five-eighths *vēlis* of land bordering on **Śīraikkāvūr** (*and situated*) in the northern fields (*of*) **Tiruppāmpuram** (*in*) the eastern group of **Elumuri-parru**, (*a subdivision of*) **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanāḍu**, were assigned in 14 shares to **Bhāṭṭas** of various *gōtras*.

¹ [Professor Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions **Sudarśanāchārya** who wrote the *Āpastamba-grīhyasūtratīkā* and the *Śrutaprakāśikā*. The *Vaḍagalai-Guruparamparāprabhāva* records that the latter work consists of notes taken by **Sudarśanabhaṭṭa**, the grandson of **Parāśarabhaṭṭa**, from the discourses of the **Vaiṣṇava** teacher **Ambāḷāchārya** on the *Śrībhāṣya*. According to the *Vaḍagalai* tradition **Sudarśanabhaṭṭa** was an elder contemporary of the great **Vēdāntadēśika**, who is believed to have been a friend of the **Vēdic** scholar **Vidyāranya**, and who is said to have composed a verse in praise of the **Vijayanagara** officer **Gōpaṇa** (*above*, Vol. VI. p. 322). It thus appears that, in case the author of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* was not living at the time of the **Śīraikkāvūr** grant, his memory must have been quite fresh in the minds of **Vaiṣṇavas**. And as most of the donees of the grant are **Vaiṣṇavas**, it is not unlikely that the granted village was called **Vijayasudarśanapuram** after the *Achārya*, provided **Vijayasudarśana** was not a surname either of **Virūpāksha** or of his father **Harihara II**.—V. V.]

² [For *eriti* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *vēli* see *South-Ind. Inser.* Vol. II. p. 364, note 3.—E. H.]

(Ll. 70-119.) The recipients of these fourteen shares were :—

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Sūtra.
1	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	Uḍāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭa .	Ātrēya . . .	Āpastamba.
2	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vēdagōmpurattu Tiruvaraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa.	Do. . . .	Do.
3	Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vēdagōmpurattu Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa.	Do. . . .	Do.
4	Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭa . . .	Gōmaṭhattu Karuṇākara-bhaṭṭa.	Kauṇḍinya . .	Do.
5	Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakṣhyamāṇa .	Irumalapō[śan] villi-sōmayājin. Ākkoṇḍa.	Parāśara . . .	Do.
6	Śrīraṅgarāja-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vaṅgippurattu Bhagavān-bhaṭṭa.	Vatsa	Do.
7	Yajñamūrti-bhaṭṭa . . .	Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Do. . . .	Do.
8	Dāmōlara-bhaṭṭa . . .	Uruputtūr Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Do. . . .	Do.
9	Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Bhāradvāja .	Āśvalāyana.
10	Yajñātma-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kārambicheṭtu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa.	Do. . . .	Āpastamba.
11	Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Iruṅgaṇḍi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Saṁkṛiti . . .	Do.
12	Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Iṛayūr Śōṭṭai Nṛittarāja-bhaṭṭa.	Śāthamarshapa .	Bōdhāyana.
13	Maṇḍalapuruṣa-sōmayājin . . .	Śēṇalūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Vīśvāmītra . .	Do.
14	Śrīparvatanātha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Gaṅgōḷi Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭa .	Sāvarni . . .	Drāhyāyana.

(Ll. 119-149.) We (*viz.* Virūpāksha) gave these shares to (*these*) fourteen persons as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, including all taxes.¹ (*and including*) hidden treasure, deposits, water, stones, permanent profits, future profits, established income, feasible income, old taxes and new taxes (*to have effect*) from the first (*tiṭhi*) of the first fortnight (*of the solar*) month Āṣi (*in*) the Prabhava year.²

Vv. 13-16 contain the usual imprecations and benedictions.

(V. 17.) There exists king Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara, the son's son of king Bukka, (*and*) the daughter's son of king Rāma.

No. 32.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF SRIGIRIBHUPALA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1346.

By M. NARAYANASVAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., HIGH COURT VAKIL, MADRAS.

The finding-place of these plates is not known. But from Mr. Sewell's description of them³ it appears that they were preserved in the office of the Head Assistant Collector of North Arcot.

¹ These taxes (ll. 122-143) are left untranslated.

² Prabhava is the name of the cyclic year immediately following Kshaya, in which the grant was made see ll. 24 and 47 of the text.

³ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 12.

Hence it is likely that they were found in the North Arcot district. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum, and I edit the inscription on them from two ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, with the permission of Government.

The copper-plates are three in number. The inscription is engraved on both sides of each of them. The second and third plates are marked at the left top corner of their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 3 respectively. The first two plates measure 9" by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", while the dimensions of the third and last plate are $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ring, if any, on which the plates were strung, is lost; and they are now kept together by a string passed through the ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, bored on the top of each plate.

The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved is Grantha; but in the following cases Tamil letters have been used:—*n*, *g*, *ḍ* and *nā* of the word *Vēṅgaḍaṇātha* in line 102; *tiru* of *Tiruvēṅkata* in l. 108; *Pillai* in l. 112; *peru* of *Perumkai* in ll. 115 and 121 f.; nearly the whole of the phrase *Kuppan=ullittārukku* in l. 123; and *r* of *Nāyinar* in l. 130. The colophon *Śrī-Triyambaka* is written in Kannaḍa characters. A few peculiarities of the alphabet are worth noting. The secondary *ā*-symbol is added near the bottom of the consonant in a few cases; compare *jā* and *nā* in the word *prajānām* in l. 34, *nā* of *nāthasya* in l. 40, *nānā* in l. 44, and *samastānām* in l. 46. The guttural *n* of *Śāringinōḥ* in l. 65 resembles *ndya*. The subscript consonant in conjunct letters is in some cases added by the side of the first instead of at the bottom as in modern Grantha; compare *bdē* in *Śakasy=ābdē* in l. 56, *bda* of *pratyabda* in ll. 67 and 81, *ṅḍi* of *Śāringinōḥ* in l. 65, and *stā* of *samastānām* in l. 46. Final *m* is in some cases not distinguished from *ma*; but, in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily, the distinction has been introduced into the text; compare e.g. *m* in *Lakshmīm* (l. 3), *sambhūtam* (l. 5), *vaibhavam* (l. 5 f.) and *bhūṣhaṇam* (l. 7) with *m* in *°paham* (l. 4), *sampa°* (l. 19), *°ratim* (l. 38) and *grāmam* (l. 51). The group *ṛṇṇa* is written somewhat like *ṇṇa*; compare *sampārṇṇa* in l. 59 and *vistīrṇṇam* in l. 54. The letter *dī* of *Divākara* in l. 113 resembles the Tamil vowel *i* of the 12th century A.D. The conjunct *rgga* is also peculiarly shaped; see *Bhārggava* in ll. 108, 112 and 124. The difference between the vowel *ri* and the secondary consonant *r* is marked by making the *r*-symbol end in a loop in the former case; compare *prithivīm* in l. 37, *nīrid* in l. 49, *Bhṛigu* in l. 57, *ṛittair* in l. 72, and *vyāṛittair* in l. 72 f. with *samprāptē* in l. 56 f., *grāmam* in line 62 f., and *pratyēkam* in l. 76, etc. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the hard dental *t* is used for the soft *d* in *Patma°* (l. 17), *vidvatbhīr* (l. 45), *Chitambara°* (l. 77 f.), *Utbāhu°* (l. 120) and *bhavatbhīḥ* (l. 146). The form *ranna* is used for *ratna* in l. 27, and the lingual *ḷ* for the dental *ḷ* in *bhūpālō* in the same line. Both these forms are probably due to the influence of Kanarese, which may also account for the change of *ḍ* into *ḷ* in *Paluvūt-kōṭṭa* (l. 48). *Bā* is substituted for *vā* in the word *Bādhalā* in l. 120. As a rule *n* is doubled when it occurs in conjunction with *d*; see *Gōvinnda* in l. 89, *Utbāhusumndara* in l. 120 f., and *Skandda* in l. 126.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Nearly one-half is in verse, and the other half, enumerating the donees and the shares which each of them received, is in prose. In only one place a Tamil phrase, *Kuppan=ullittārukku*, occurs (l. 123). The inscription uses abbreviated forms for the *gōtras* and *sūtras* of the donees, except in the case of the chief person, *Sampatkumāra-paṇḍita* (ll. 133-135).

The record begins by tracing the first Vijayanagara dynasty from the Moon, in whose lineage *Yadu* is said to have been born (v. 5). In the race of *Yadu* was born *Saṅgama* (I.), whose son was *Bukka* (I.) (v. 6). His son was *Harihara* (II.) (v. 7). His son was *Dēvarāya* (I.), and his son *Vijayabhūpati* (v. 8) or *Vijayabhūpāla*¹ (v. 9), who had two sons:

¹ He is also called *Vijayabhūbhuj* (v. 16), *Vijayarāj* (v. 21) and *Vijayarāya* (v. 24).

Dēvarājendra (v. 10) or Dēvarāya (II.) (v. 11) and Śrīgiriṇdra (v. 10), Śrīgiriśvara (v. 12) or Śrīgiribhūpāla (v. 13). The former, being the elder, succeeded to the throne (v. 11), while the second went over to Maratakapuri and was ruling the country of which it was the capital (v. 12). He made the subjoined grant of land to Sampatkumāra-panḍita¹ and his relatives and other learned men with him, on a Friday coupled with the Rēvatī nakṣatra, on the Utthāna-dvādaśī tithī, in the cyclic year Krōdhin corresponding to the Śaka year 1346. The Śaka date is expressed by the chronogram tattvālōka (v. 19), the same as that of the Satyamaṅgala plates of Dēvarāya II.,² which were issued in the month of Āshāḍha. Our record belongs to the month of Kārttika; for the Utthāna-dvādaśī is the twelfth tithī in the bright half of the month of Kārttika, when Viṣṇu is said to rise from his four months' sleep. It is otherwise called *Prabōdhanī*. Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—

"On the *utthāna-dvādaśī-tithī* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 185. For this tithī of Śaka-saṁvat 1346 expired, which was the year Krōdhin, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 3rd November A.D. 1424, when the 12th tithī of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m., and the nakṣatra was Rēvatī from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise."³

The chief donee, Sampatkumāra-panḍita, is described as a very learned medical man, whose father Gōvinda-panḍita (v. 14) was also well versed in the Āyurvēda and in the Vēdāṅgas. The village Nipatatāka (v. 17), the gift of which is recorded by the present inscription, had been given away to the same donee by (the donor's father) Vijayabhūbhuj (v. 16). So we may infer that by some means or other it had lapsed in the interval. It is said to have been watered by the Nāgskulyā channel (v. 18), a branch of the Kāvēripāka channel (v. 17), and was situated in Kalavā-nivrit⁴ (Kalavai-paru in Tamil), a division of Paḷuvūt-kōṭṭa (Paḷuvūr-kōṭṭam). When the village was granted, its name was altered into Vijayarāyapura (v. 24) or Vijayarātpura (v. 21), evidently in honour of its original donor Vijayarāya.

As regards the name Śrīgiribhūpāla, a word of explanation is necessary. Śrīgiri is another form of Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district. The god of the temple at that place is called Mallikārjuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikārjuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet into its equivalent Śrīgiribhūpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him, makes it possible that Śrīgiribhūpāla was the same person as the Pratāpadēvarāya who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamaṅgala plates of Dēvarāya II. as the younger brother of the king. For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrīgiriṇdra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpadēvarāya, he must be another brother of Dēvarāya II., not hitherto known. Śrīgiribhūpāla (*alias* Mallikārjuna ?) is of course distinct from Mallikārjuna *alias* Immaḍi-Dēvarāya, who was the son of Dēvarāya II.,⁵ and whose dates range from Śaka 1370⁶ to Śaka 1387.⁷

As regards the places mentioned in this grant, Maratakapuri is already known to us from the expression Maratakanagara-prānta occurring in the Satyamaṅgala plates of Dēvarāya II., and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has suggested that it may be identical with Viriñchipuram in

¹ See vv. 16, 21 and l. 135.—[*Sampatkumāra* is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil *Śelvapillai*, the name of the god at Mēlukōte in the Mysore State. It seems therefore possible that the chief donee belonged originally to the Kanarese country, and his father's native place, Rambhāmayūranagarī (v. 13), may have to be looked for in the same country. One of the minor donees, Hampāṇa-bhaṭṭa (l. 93), was evidently called after the Pampāpati temple at Vijayanagara.—V. V.]

² Above, Vol. III. p. 35.

³ "For another date of exactly the same tithī, but with a wrong week-day, see *Southern List*, No. 488."

⁴ Compare above, p. 300, note 9.

⁵ Compare Appendix II. p. 15, No. 21.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Seringapatam tāḷuka, No. 11.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 321 f.

the North Arcot district.¹ Kalavā-nivṛit is derived from the town of Kalavai in the Arcot tāluka of the North Arcot district.² For Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam see above, Vol. IV. pp. 82, 138, 180, 271; Vol. V. p. 50; Vol. VII. p. 192; and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89. The name of the village granted, Nipatataka, is evidently a Sanskrit translation of a Tamil name which should be Kaḍappēri.³ As a matter of fact there is at present a village called Kaḍappēri in the Wāḷājpēt tāluka of the North Arcot district, which is situated five miles east of the anicut or masonry dam across the Pālār river, and two miles south-west of Kāvēripāk itself. It is situated on the Kāvērippākkam channel which at present takes off from the Pālār river on the southern side of the anicut, and is irrigated by a branch from it. It thus retains its ancient name, notwithstanding the attempt of a king to impose on it a new one.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 भूवराहाय नमः ।
- 2 शुभमस्तु । विनायकाय नमः ।
- 3 लक्ष्मीम् पद्मऊयत्वादमन्त-
- 4 रायतमोपहम् । प्रथमद्वन्द्व-
- 5 सम्भूतम् प्रणयाद्वैतवै-
- 6 भवम् । [१*] करुणामयवामांगं क-
- 7 ल्याणगुणभूषणम् । वन्दे चन्द्र-
- 8 कलाकल्पम् महस्त्रितयलोचनम् । [२*]
- 9 भुवः प्रेमपरिषुंगपुष्काङ्कि-
- 10 तवाह्वे । नमो वराहवपु-
- 11 षे श्रीवैभवपुष्पे त्विषे । [३*] व-
- 12 न्देनन्तफणाभूषां स्यन्दन-
- 13 'मोरुधन्वनः । मेदिनीं हरिदोस्तम्-
- 14 'वमेवनादानुलासिनीम् । [४*] आ-
- 15 सीत् सोमान्वये रम्ये यदुः पर-
- 16 मधार्भिकः । अंशावतीर्षो यद्व-
- 17 शे भगवान् 'पद्मलोचनः । [५*] त-
- 18 त्कुले संगमो राजा समभूत्
- 19 सम्पदाविधिः । विक्रमैकरसस्त-

¹ Above, Vol. III. Additions and Corrections, p. vii.

² Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 271.

Nīpa is the name of a tree, *Nauclea Cadamba*.—[An inscription of Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar at Kāvēripākkam registers the sale of the village of Kaḍappēri in Kalavai-paṇṇu, a subdivision of Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, p. 34, No. 386 of 1905.—V.V.]

³ From ink-impressions.

⁴ The *ś* of *mmd* is at the end of l. 12.

⁵ Read 'सम्भ'.

⁶ Read पद्म°.

- 20 स्व बुक्कभूपोभवत् स्रुतः । [६*] श्री-
 21 सर्व्वमंगलोपेतो राजा ह-
 22 रिहरेश्वरः । सिद्धसारस्वतस्मा-
 23 च्चाज्ञोकेशस्तत्तनूभवः । [७*]
 24 देवरायमहाराजस्तस्मादजनि
 25 पार्थिवः । यस्य पुत्रोभवद्दीप्ता-
 26 न् राजा विजयभूपतिः । [८*]

First Plate; Second Side.

- 27 सोयं विजयभूपाको^१ रत्नसिं-
 28 हासनम् भजन् । कटके भूभृताश्चक्रे
 29 सिंहासनजुषो द्विषः । [९*] श्रीदा-
 30 र्थ्यैर्धैर्य्यशौर्य्याणामावा-
 31 सौ^२ वासवोपमौ । अभूतान्दे-
 32 वराजेन्द्रश्रीगिरीन्द्रौ तदात्मजौ । [१०*]
 33 देवरायो महाराजः पुरोजन्म-
 34 तया तयोः । प्रजानां सुकृतोन्मे-
 35 षैः प्राप सिंहासनं परम् । [११*] पु-
 36 रोम् मरतकाख्यान्तु सम्प्राप्य श्री-
 37 गिरीश्वरः । शशास पृथिवीमेनां
 38 सुचामेवामरावतीम् । [१२*] सोयं श्री-
 39 गिरिभूपालोः^३ काश्यपान्वयज-
 40 न्ननः । रम्भामयूरनगरीनाथस्य गु-
 41 णशालिनः । [१३*] सर्वायुर्व्विद्विदां-
 42 गसरस्वत्पारदृष्टनः । गोवि-
 43 न्दपण्डितेन्द्रस्य तनूजाय यशस्वि-
 44 ने । [१४*] नानान्वयायैर्व्विप्रेन्द्रै-
 45 र्व्विद्वत्भिर्व्वि[र]न्ध्रवैरपि^४ । समेता-
 46 य समस्तानाम् भिषजामग्रयायि-
 47 ने । [१५*] दत्तम्^५ सम्पत्कुमाराय पूर्व्व

^१ The *ś* of *śś* is at the end of l. 23.

^२ The *ś* of *śau* is at the end of l. 30.

^३ Read °विभ्रवि°.

^४ Read दत्तं.

^५ Read °भूपालो रज°.

^६ Read °भूपालः काश्यपान्वय°.

^७ Read नानान्वय वै°.

^८ The *ś* of *śśś* seems to have been added subsequently.

- 48 विजयभूभुजा । पकुवूत्कोट-
 49 तिलकं कलवानीवृद्धमम् । [१६*] कावेरिपा-
 50 ककुब्बाशप्राप्तजीवनवर्धितम् ।
 51 भा[म]म्^१ नीपतटाकाख्यम्^२ कांचणी-
 52 यगुणान्वितम् । [१७*] आम्नाव्यमान-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 53 सस्याख्यम्^३ नागकुल्याप्रवा-
 54 हतः । विस्तीर्णं सीमया वङ्गरा
 55 विविधोद्यानशोभितम् । [१८*] तत्वा-
 56 लोके शकस्यान्दे सम्प्रा-
 57 से क्रोधिवत्सरे । भृगुवा-
 58 सररेवत्यामुत्थानहादशीति-
 59 यौ । [१९*] हिरण्योदकसम्पूर्ण-
 60 धारापूर्वकमादरात् । तमघ-
 61 हारमाकख्यं सर्वमाश्रमदात्
 62 पुनः । [२०*] ततस्तम्पत्सुतो धा-
 63 ममेनं विजयरा[ट]पुरम् । व[ट]पञ्चाश-
 64 त्संख्यभागं कृत्वा तच्चै-^४
 65 शशार्कणिः । [२१*] हौ^५ भागी^६
 66 विदधे किञ्च कामाक्षीधर्मम-
 67 ण्डपे । प्रत्यङ्गिद्विजभुक्त्यर्थ-
 68 म् भागमेकमकल्पयत् । [२२*] स्वार्थ-
 69 ण्द्वविंशतिम् 'भागान्निधाया-
 70 श्यानयं सुधीः । सोदरेभ्यवा-^७
 71 वलन्धुभ्यो म[नी]विभ्यश्च दत्तवा-
 72 न् [२३*] अभिजनविद्यावृत्तैर्व्या-
 73 वृत्तैरेव भूषितो विप्रैः ।
 74 आकल्पमग्रहारो जीयात्ता(म)-

^१ Read धाम्.

^२ Read °सस्याख्यं.

^३ The secondary *ś* of *śu* is omitted in the original.

^४ Read सोदरेभ्यस्त्वन्धुभ्यो.

^५ The first three letters of this line are engraved upon an erasure.

^६ Read °काख्यं.

^७ Read तच्चय°.

^८ Cancel the * after भागी°.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 75 स्त्रा¹ तु विजयरायपुरम् । [२४*] अतः
 76 परम् प्रत्येकम् भागनिर्णय² उच्य-
 77 ते । ग्रामदैवतस्य श्रीचितम्ब-³
 78 रनाथस्य शिवस्वैकी भागः ।
 79 गोविन्दनाथाख्यस्य विष्णोरे-
 80 की भागः । कामाक्षीधर्ममण्ड-
 81 पे प्रत्यब्दन्दिजभुक्त्यर्थम् भा-
 82 गम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः उमाप-
 83 तिभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप य-
 84 जुः चन्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य
 85 आप यजुः पुण्डरीकाक्षभट्ट-
 86 स्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः[ः]⁴ दे-
 87 वराजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आ-
 88 प यजुः लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य भागम् ।
 89 काश्य आप यजुः 'गोविन्दभट्टस्य
 90 भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप यजुः भास्कर-
 91 भट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वा आप
 92 त्रिवेदिवामनभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। आ-
 93 त्रेय आश्वल ऋक् हर्म्यभट्टस्य
 94 भागम् ।१। आत्रेय आश्वल ऋक् विज-
 95 येसरभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। कौशिक⁵
 96 आप यजुः मार्त्तण्डभट्टस्य भाग-
 97 म् ।१। 'षठम[र्व] की श्रीराराजभट्टस्य
 98 भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप यजुः लक्ष्म-
 99 णभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप

Third Plate; First Side.

- 100 यजुः भास्करभट्टस्य भागम् ।२। क[१*]श्य
 101 आप यजुः 'एकान्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।

¹ Corrected from स्त्रा.² Read 'निर्णय'.³ Read श्रीविदम्ब^०.⁴ The visarga seems to be an interlineation.⁵ Read गोविन्द^०.⁶ The secondary & of au is omitted in the original.⁷ Read षठ^०.⁸ Read एकान्द्र^०.

2 a.

4

6

8

2

4

©

6

E. HULTZSCH;

i b.

82

10

0

10

1

10

9

2

88

50

1

SCALE .6

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA.

ii a.

54

55

10

5

10

1

10

56

10

1

01

1

1

A

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

- 102 भारद्वाज आप यजुः वेङ्गडनाथ-¹
 103 दीक्षितस्य भागम् ।०॥०। बाधूल आप
 104 यजुः समरपुंगवभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।
 105 वत्स आप यजुः यज्ञनारायणभट्ट-
 106 स्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आप यजुः का-
 107 ऋक्षिनाथपावनाश्रयीर्भागम्² ।१।
 108 भार्गव आप यजुः तिरुवैकटभट्टस्य³
 109 भागम् ।१। वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् वरद-
 110 राजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। भारद्वाज आ-
 111 प यजुः पापनाशस्य भागम् ।०॥०।
 112 भार्गव आप यजुः आण्टान्⁴ पिक्कै
 113 भागम् ।०॥०। बोधा यजुः दिवाकर-
 114 न् पुत्रन् चन्द्रभट्टस्य भ[१*]गम् ।०॥०। भार्ग-
 115 व आप यजुः पेरुक्कै⁵ देवरा-
 116 जस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज आप यजुः
 117 श्रीरुद्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०।०। काश्यप आ-
 118 प यजुः श्रीरंगनाथस्य भागम् ।०।०।
 119 वत्स आप यजुः त्रियम्बकस्य⁶ भागम् [१*]०॥०।
 120 बाधूल⁷ आप यजुः उद्वाडुसुन्द-⁸
 121 रस्य भागम् ।०।०। भार्गव आप यजुः⁹ पेरु-
 122 क्कै वैकटस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज
 123 आप यजुः कुप्पनुक्किट्टासक्कु¹⁰ भागम् १
 124 भ[१*]र्गव आप यजुः श्रीमूलपुत्रन् गु-
 125 ¹¹णीतुंगन् भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आ-
 126 प यजुः ¹²स्कन्दकुमारस्य भागम् ।०॥०। निद्र-¹³

¹ The letters *Vēṅgaḍaṇā* are Tamil.

² पावनाश is the vulgar Tamil form of the Sanskrit पापविनाश. The form पापनाश occurs in line 111.

³ The letters *tiru* are Tamil.

⁴ Read *Anḍan*; the word *Pillai* is written in Tamil.

⁵ The letters *peru* are Tamil; read *Peruṅgai*.

⁶ Read त्रियम्बकस्य.

⁷ Read बाधूल.

⁸ Read उद्वाडुसुन्दरस्य.

⁹ The *visarga* is engraved above the line. The letters *peru* are Tamil; read *Peruṅgai*.

¹⁰ The whole of this name is written in Tamil, except the letter * which is Grantha.

¹¹ The *ś* of *śo* is at the end of l. 124.

¹² Read स्कन्द.

¹³ [Read निद्रु^o and compare Apastamba's *Śrautasūtra* edited by Prof. Garbe, XXIV. 9, 14.—E. H.]

- 127 पकाश्च आप ¹श्रीरंगउपाध्यायस्य
128 भागम् १०१०१ वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् विशेष-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 129 ऋषुचवरदराजस्य भागम् १०१०१ वा-
130 सिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् नायिनार्² पुत्रन्
131 अनन्तनारायणस्य भागम् १०१०१
132 वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् अनन्तनाराय-
133 णभट्टस्य भागम् १०१०१ काश्यप-
134 गोत्रस्य आपस्त[म्*]वसूत्रस्य यजुः(-)
135 त्रैविनः सम्पत्कुमारपण्डितस्य
136 भागम् १२२१ काश्यप आप यजुः
137 सम्पत्कुमारतनयस्य श्रीनिवा-
138 सभट्टस्य भागम् १६१ स्वदत्ताम् प-
139 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म्*] ।
140 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि ³[वि]ष्टायाञ्चा-
141 यते क्रिमिः । [२५*] स्वदत्तात्⁴ द्विगुणम् पु-
142 ण्यम् परदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्ता-
143 पद्वारेण स्वदत्तम्⁵ निष्फलम् भ-
144 वेत् । [२६*] सामान्योयम्⁶ धर्मसेतु-
145 र्भूपाणां काले काले पालनी-
146 यो भवत्भिः⁷ । सर्वानेतान् भा-
147 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो⁸
148 याचते रामभद्रः । [२७*]
149 श्रीत्रियंबक⁹ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Salutation to Bhāvarāṣa! Let there be prosperity! Salutation to Vināyaka!

(Verse 1.) May that primal one (Vināyaka) increase (our) prosperity, who dispels the darkness of obstacles, who was born of the primal pair (Śiva and Pārvatī), and who is possessed of an unparalleled wealth of kindness (to his devotees)!

¹ Read श्रीरंगोपा°.

² The syllable [vi] is a subsequent addition.

³ Read स्वदत्तं.

⁴ The *d* of *yō* is at the beginning of l. 143.

⁵ The *r* of *Nāyindr* is Tamil.

⁶ Read स्वदत्तादि.

⁷ Read °योयं.

⁸ In Kannada characters; read श्रीविंयक.

⁹ Read भवतिः.

(V. 2.) I salute him (Śiva), the left half of whose body is the very embodiment of mercy (Pārvatī), who is adorned with good qualities, whose ornament is the moon's digit, and whose eyes are the three lights (*viz.* sun, moon and fire) !

(V. 3.) Salutation to that effulgence, whose form is that of a boar, whose arm bristled (*with pleasure*) at the loving embrace of the earth (*when he brought her up from the bottom of the sea*), and which increases (*our*) happiness and plenty !¹

(V. 4.) Salutation to the earth which is an ornament on the (*expanded*) hood of Ananta, (*which served as*) a war-chariot to him (Śiva) who had the Mēru (*mountain*) for his bow (*at the time of burning Tripura*), and which is the pea-hen on the pillar of the arm of Hari (Vishṇu) !

(V. 5.) In the beautiful race of the Moon was Yaśu, of exceeding virtue, in whose lineage the lotus-eyed lord (Vishṇu) was born as a partial incarnation (*viz.* Kṛishṇa).

(V. 6.) In his race arose king Saṁgama, who was a storehouse of all prosperity. His son was king Bukka, who was the very essence of valour.

(V. 7.) His son was king Hariharāśvara, who was endowed with fortune and with all auspicious things, who was fully accomplished in learning, and who was verily the lord of the world.²

(V. 8.) From him was born the king Dévarāya-Mahārāja, whose son was the wise king Vijayabhūpati.

(V. 9.) This Vijayabhūpala, being seated on the jewel-throne, caused (*his*) enemies to occupy the dens of lions on the sides of mountains.

(V. 10.) He had two sons, Dévarājendra and Śrigirindra, who resembled Vāśava (Indra) and were the abodes of generosity, fortitude and valour.

(V. 11 f.) The Mahārāja Dévarāya, being the elder of these two, ascended the exalted throne owing to the fructification of the good deeds of (*his*) subjects; but Śrigiriśvara, having obtained the city called Marataka, ruled this earth just as Sutrāman (Indra) (*rules the city of*) Amarāvati.

(Vv. 13-20.) In the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) tattvālōka (*i.e.* 1346), in the year Krōdhin, on a Friday, under (the *nakshatra*) Rēvati, on the *tithi* (called) Utthāna-dvādasi, this Śrigiribhūpala again granted, out of respect, as *sarvamānya*, by pouring out a full stream of water with gold, to endure till the end of the Kalpa, this *agrahāra*, (*viz.*) the village named Nipataśaka, the front-ornament of the Paḷuvūt-kōṭṭa,³ the best (*village*) in Kalavā-nivṛit, which is irrigated by the water obtained from a branch of the Kāvēripāka channel, which possesses desirable advantages, which is rich in crops flooded by the waters of the Nāgakulyā, which is of wide extent with vast boundaries, which is adorned with various gardens, and which had been granted before by Vijayabhūbhuj to Sampatkumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and relatives, who was the foremost among all physicians, and who was the renowned son of the great Gōvīda-papḍita, who was born in the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was the lord of the city of Rambhāmayūra, who was possessed of (*good*) qualities, and who had seen the further shore of the ocean of the whole Āyurvāda and the Vēdāṅgas.

¹ There is a play upon the word *śṛī*, suggesting that Vishṇu in his boar-incarnation, while rescuing one of his consorts, *viz.* the Earth, was not inattentive to his other wife.

² There is a subtle suggestion in the use of the attribute *śṛī-sarvamangal-ōṣṭha*. The king's name (Harihara) being composed of that of Vishṇu and Śiva, there is an appropriateness in his being said to be joined to Śṛī (Vishṇu's wife) and Sarvamangalā (Pārvatī, Śiva's consort). So he is also 'verily the lord of the earth,' *viz.* Vishṇu whose other consort is the Earth.

³ This represents the Tamil *Paḷuvār-kōṭṭam*.

(V. 21 f.) Afterwards Sampatsuta,¹ having divided this village Vijayarātpura into fifty-six shares, gave thereof two shares to (the temples of) Śiva and Viṣṇu, and set apart one share for the yearly feeding of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāmaṅkṣi-dharma-maṇḍapa*.

(V. 23.) This wise man reserved twenty-two shares for himself and gave the remaining ones to his brothers, relatives, and learned men.

(V. 24.) May this *agrahāra* named Vijayarāyapura prosper till the end of the Kalpa, adorned by holy Brāhmaṇas of good lineage, learning and virtuous conduct!

(L. 75.) Hereafter follows the assignment of the shares to each individual.

No.	Name of donee.	Gōtra.	Sūtra.	Śakha.	Share.
1	The temple of Śrī-Chidambaranātha Śiva in the village.	...	...	...	1
2	(The temple of) Gōvinda-nātha Viṣṇu	...	...	...	1
3	For feeding Brāhmaṇas yearly in the <i>Kāmaṅkṣi-dharma-maṇḍapa</i> .	...	...	...	1
4	Umāpati-bhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	Āpastamba	Yajus	1
5	Chandra-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$
6	Puṇḍarikākṣa-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	1
7	Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	1
8	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	[2*] ²
9	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$
11	Trivēdi-Vāmana-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	"	...	1
12	Hampaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Ātrēya	Āśvalāyana	Rich	1
13	Vijayēśvara-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	1
14	Mārtāṇḍa-bhaṭṭa	Kauśika	Āpastamba	Yajus	1
15	Śaurirāja-bhaṭṭa	Śaṭhamarṣaṇa	Bōdhāyana	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
16	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Vādhūla	Āpastamba	Yajus	$\frac{1}{2}$
17	Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	"	"	2
18	Ēkāma-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$
19	Vēṅgaḍanātha-dīkṣita	Bhāradvāja	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$
20	Samarapuṅgava-bhaṭṭa	Vādhūla	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$
21	Yajñanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Vatṣa	"	"	
22	Kāḷahastinātha and Pāvanāśa	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
				Carried over	19 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ I.e. Sampatkumāra of v. 16.

² The number of shares is missing; but, adding up the other shares and deducting them from the total 56 (v. 21), we arrive at the figure 2 for this donee.

No.	Name of donee.	Gōira.	Sūtra.	Śākhā.	Share.
				Brought forward .	19½
23	Tiruvēṅkata-bhaṭṭa	Bhārgava	Āpastamba	Yajus	1
24	Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa	Vāsishṭha	Bōdhāyana	Rich	1
25	Pāpanāśa	Bhāradvāja	Āpastamba	Yajus	½
26	Āṇḍāṇ Pillai	Bhārgava	"	"	½
27	Chandra-bhaṭṭa, son of Divākara	...	Bōdhāyana	"	½
28	Peruṅgai Dēvarāja	Bhārgava	Āpastamba	"	½
29	Śrī-Rudra-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	"	"	½
30	Śrīraṅganātha	Kāśyapa	"	"	½
31	Tryambaka	Vatsa	"	"	½
32	Udbāhusundara	Vādhūla	"	"	½
33	Peruṅgai Vēṅkata	Bhārgava	"	"	½
34	Kuppan and partners¹	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
35	Guṇḍattuṅga, son of Śrīmāla	Bhārgava	"	"	½
36	Skandakumāra	Bhāradvāja	"	"	½
37	Śrīraṅgopādhyāya	Nidhruva-Kāśyapa	"	...	½
38	Varadarāja, son of Viśēṣajña	Vāsishṭha	Bōdhāyana	Rich	½
39	Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Nāyinar	"	"	"	½
40	Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	½
41	Sampatkumāra-panḍita	Kāśyapa	Āpastamba	Yajus	22
42	Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, son of Sampat-kumāra	"	"	"	6
				TOTAL .	56

The inscription ends with three of the usual imprecatory verses (25-27) and the name of the god Śrī-Tryambaka (Śiva).

No. 33.—TWO ANAIMALAI INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. VENKOB RAO; OOTACAMUND.

The two subjoined inscriptions were discovered by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the Nṛsiṃha temple at the village of Nāraṣiṅgam, 6 miles east of Madura. The central shrine of this temple is cut into the hill known as Ānaimalai. In an inscription dated in the

¹ [For *ajjīṭṭṭr* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 54 and 71, and the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, s.v.:—"associés, participants, parties intéressées. Il se dit principalement des frères associés ou qui vivent sous le régime de la communauté; lorsque l'un d'eux fait un marché, les autres sont *ajjīṭṭṭr*." The *Sukīrti-bhṛtaraṇ* of the Piprāwā inscription probably belonged to such an 'undivided family,' and this is the reason why only the name of Sukīrti, who must have been the head of the family, was quoted there.—E.H.]

33rd year of the reign of the Chôla king Parāntaka I.¹ found in the temple, the hill is called Tiruvāṇaimalai. It is also referred to in his *Dēvāram* by Tiruñānasambandar, the great Śaiva saint, as a stronghold of the Jainas.² Tradition has it that Tiruñānasambandar drove out the Jainas from the vicinity of Madura after converting the then reigning Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ to the Śaiva faith.³ There are still vestiges of Jaina dominancy on the hill. On a rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave there are a number of Tamil inscriptions,⁴ one of which mentions Ajjanandi.⁵ The cave is evidently one of those which the Jainas occupied in old times.

The first inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the central shrine. The letters are cut boldly and deeply, and, being in the interior, the record is in good preservation; at the end of lines 5 and 6 are a few damaged letters which can be easily supplied from the context. The alphabet is Grantha. The final *m* is represented by a smaller *m* with a vertical stroke on its top; see e.g. *-idam* in l. 3. The letter *ṇa* is of a more archaic type than that of the Gaṅga-Pallava period,⁶ and *ya* is also slightly different from the common form of that time.

The record consists of three verses, of which the first mentions the son of Māra of the Vaidya family,⁷ who was the minister (*mantrin*, v. 2) of the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka. He was apparently an expert in the art of composing poetry and hence is called Madhurakavi. His actual name, Māraṅgāri, occurs in the second inscription, where he also bears the title Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṇ. He was a native of Karavandapura (v. 1) or, according to the second inscription, of Kaḷakkuḍi.⁸ The third verse contains the date—a Sunday in the month of Kārttika of the year 3871 (expired) of the Kaliyuga era=A.D. 770. On this day an image of the god Viṣṇu was set up in the cave.

The second inscription, which, though well preserved, is not cut so deeply as the first, is a supplement to the latter and is engraved on the right side of the entrance. The characters of this record are an archaic form of Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Grantha. The latter is employed in some Sanskrit words that occur in the inscription, viz. *mantri* (l. 2), *Vaidyan* (l. 2 f.), *svargg-drōhaṇa* (l. 6 f.), *anujan* (l. 8) and *mantra-padam* (l. 9). The Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this inscription seems to be the same as that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman published by Mr. V. Venkayya;⁹ compare *r*, *n*, *t*, *u* and particularly *k* (which has not yet assumed the shape peculiar

¹ No. 63 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² *Aṇaimāmalaiy-āḍiyāyav-idaṅgaḷir-palav-allal-śā-r-inargalk-eliyēn-alēn-Riruvāḷavāy-ara-ṇirkavē*.—Tiruñānasambandar's *Tiruvāḷvady Padigam*.

³ *Śendamil*, Vol. III. p. 406.

⁴ Nos. 67 to 74 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁵ A Jaina teacher of this name is mentioned in the rock inscriptions at Vaḷḷimalai in the North Arcot district; above, Vol. IV. p. 141 f.

⁶ See e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 320, and *South-Ind. Insors.* Vol. III. p. 90.

⁷ Probably the word *vaidya* is derived from *vēda*, and the name seems to indicate that the members of the family were proficient in the sacred literature.

⁸ In an inscription at Pirāṇmalai (No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903) Karavandapura is mentioned as another name of Kaḷakkuḍi in the district of Kaḷakkuḍi, and in a record at Sūchindram (above, Vol. V. p. 43) Karavandapuram is said to have been situated in the district of Kaḷakkuḍi. Kaḷakkuḍi is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kaḷakkāḍ in the Nāṅgunēri taluka, which even to this day has a dilapidated fort (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 314).

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 57. The village granted in this inscription is Vēlaṅguḍi renamed Śrīvaramaṅgalam after the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḷaiyaṇ, one of whose birudas was apparently Śrīvara. In the *Tiruvāḷmoli* (verses 508 to 516) reference is made to Śrīvaramaṅgai or Śrīvaramaṅgalanagar, which is identified with Nāṅgunēri known to Vaiṣṇavas under the names Vāṇamāmalai and Tōḍādri. It is not unlikely that the two Śrīvaramaṅgalams are identical.

to the later alphabet wherein it is hardly distinguishable from *ch*) with the corresponding letters of the plates. The secondary *i* is written more on the top than on the side of the consonant as it is in later forms. The *puḷḷi* appears to be marked in a number of cases. The vowels *a* and *d* are the same as those employed on the Kīl-Muttugūr stones.² Though the Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this inscription resembles to a certain extent the characters of the Madras Museum plates, yet as the Grantha alphabet used in the latter seems to be more developed than that of the Sanskrit portion of the subjoined records, it is safer to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the latter is earlier than the Jaṭilavarman of the Museum plates.

The king is here called Mārañjadaiyaṇ, i.e. Śadaiyaṇ, the son of Māraṇ (or Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māravarman in Sanskrit).³ His minister Māraṅgāri,⁴ mentioned above, excavated the cave at Ānaimalai, but died before its consecration.⁵ His younger brother Māraṇ Eyinaṇ alias Pāṇḍimaṅgalavīśaiyaraiaṇ, who succeeded him as minister, subsequently built the *maṇḍapa* in front and performed the consecration ceremony.

From the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya⁶ we learn that he was also surnamed Mārañjadaiyaṇ. But an inscription of his found at Uttamapālayam⁷ in the Madura district couples Śaka 792 with his 8th year. His accession must therefore be placed about A.D. 862. The Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the Ānaimalai inscription was thus a predecessor of Varaguna and may have been his grandfather.

It is worthy of note that Madhurakavi was the name borne by one of the Vaishnava Āḷvārs, and the Madhurakavi of the subjoined inscriptions was also a Vaishnava. Nammāḷvār, who, according to Vaishnava tradition, was a contemporary of Madhurakavi Āḷvār, was called Kārimāraṇ, i.e. Māraṇ, the son of Kāri. Is it possible that he was the son of the minister Māraṅgāri? If this be the case, it is not apparent why he has omitted to mention the shrine built by his father, while the Tirumōgūr temple, which is situated close to it, is the subject of a hymn⁸ by Nammāḷvār.

TEXT OF No. I.⁹

1 ¹⁰करवन्दपुरनिवासी श्रीमान्वैद्यः शिला-

2 गृहं विष्णोः [1¹¹] चकृत कृती मधुरकविर्भ-

¹ It occurs in *p* and *n* of the word *maṅgalappāraraiaṇ* (l. 3 f.), in *a* of *Māraṅgāri* (l. 4 f.), in *y* and *n* of *jeṇḍa pinnai* (l. 7), in *n* of *anejan* (l. 8), in *y* of *eydiya* (l. 9), in *n* of *Pāṇḍi* (l. 9), and in *n* of *Māraṇ* (l. 11).

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 177.

³ In the Madras Museum plates, the king (called Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māravarman, in the Sanskrit portion and Neḍuñjadaiyaṇ in the Tamil portion) bears the surname Parāntaka along with a number of other titles. This would lead us to identify the Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the subjoined records with the donor of the Madras Museum plates. But the alphabet of the latter seems to be more developed than that of the former. A *sthalag* in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet (No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895) set up in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ. The writing seems to resemble that of the Museum plates, and the inscription refers to Viḷuṇam.

⁴ Here again the minister is called Vaidyaṇ. The Madras Museum plates tell us that Mūrti Eyinaṇ alias Viremaṅgalappāraraiaṇ, who was the king's *Mahādāmanta* in the 17th year of his reign, was a Vaidya. The inscription quoted in the paper on the Madras Museum plates refers to a fourth member of the same family, viz. Śāttāṅgaṇavadi alias Amṛitamaṅgalavaraiaṇ, who was a *Mahādāmanta* in the 8th year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ. The last as well as the two brothers mentioned in the Ānaimalai inscriptions were natives of Karavandapuram.

⁵ The Tamil word *stṛṭṭaḷittal* (or more correctly *stṛṭṭaḷittal*) is synonymous with the Sanskrit *samprōḷḷaṇa*, which according to Monier-Williams' Dictionary means 'the act of sprinkling well over, consecration (of a temple, etc.).'

⁶ No. 414 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁷ No. 705 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Pāṭṭampattu, Mudal Tiruvāymoḷi beginning *tāṭa tāmarai-tāḍamaṇi-vayal-Tirumōgūr*.

⁹ From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinathan Rao.

¹⁰ The metre of this verse and of the next is Āryā.

- 3 धुरतरो मा[र]स्तुरिदम् ॥— [१*] मन्त्री स ए-
 4 व मतिमान्याण्डस्य परा[न्त]काभिधान-
 5 स्य [१*] अमितर्द्धिमग्रजेभ्यः [प्रादादि]म-
 6 मग्रहारमपि ॥— [२*] कलेः^१ [सहस्रदि]-
 7 तथेदगोचरे [ग]तेष्ट-
 8 त्यामपि सैकसप्ततौ [१*] छतप्र-
 9 तिष्ठो भगवानभूक्तमादिहै-
 10 व पौण्ड्रिनि मासि कार्तिके [॥ ३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Pre-eminently charming (*in manners*), a resident of **Karavandapura**, the son of **Māra**, (*and a*) learned (*and*) illustrious (*member of the*) **Vaidya** (*family*),— **Madhurakavi** made this stone temple of **Vishnu**.

(V. 2.) The same (*viz.* **Madhurakavi**), the wise minister of the **Pāṇḍya** (*king*) named **Parāntaka**, also gave away to the first-born (*i.e.* **Brāhmaṇas**) this immensely rich *agrahāra*.

(V. 3.) When three thousand and eight hundred and seventy-one years of **Kali** had passed^२—on the day of the sun in the month of **Kārttika**, this (*image of the*) god was duly set up here.

TEXT OF No. II.^३

- 1 Kō Mārañjadaiyarku u-
 2 ttara-mantri Kaḷakkudi Vai-
 3 dyan Mūvëndamaṅgalap-
 4 pēraraiyaṅ āgiya Mārañ-^४
 5 [gā]ri i-kkaṇṇali śeydu
 6 nīr[ttā]ḷiyādōy svargg-ārō-
 7 ha[ṇṇaṅ]=jeyda piṇṇai ava-
 8 ṇṇukku anujan uttara-
 9 mantra-padam=eydiṇa Pāṇḍi-
 10 maṅgalaviśaiaraiyaṅ^५
 11 āgiya Māraṇṇ=Ei-^६
 12 ṇṇaṅ muga-maṇḍamaṇṇ=7je-
 13 ydu nīr[ttā]ḷittāṅ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Māraṅgāri *alias* **Vaidyan** **Mūvëndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṅ** of **Kaḷakkudi**, the prime-minister (*uttara-mantrin*) of king **Mārañjadaiyaṅ**, made this stone temple and ascended heaven (*i.e.* died) without consecrating (*it*). Subsequently, his younger brother **Māraṅ Eyiyaṅ** *alias*

^१ The metre of this verse is **Varṇasāstra**.

^२ Literally, "when a trial of thousands and eight hundred together with seventy-one had come within the range of the years of **Kali**."

^३ From an inked stampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

^४ In the original there seems to be a *ka* after the guttural *ṇ*.

^५ Read *visaiyaraiaṅ*. The *r* of *rai* looks like *ka*.

^६ Read *Eyiyaṅ*.

^७ Read *maṇḍapaṇṇ*.

Pāṇḍimaṅgalaṣaṣṭyaṣaiyaṣaṣ, who attained to the dignity of prime-minister, made the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and consecrated (*the shrine*).

INDEX.¹

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

A		PAGE		PAGE
abhaya-mudrā, ...		177, 181	āgrahāyaṇī, the full-moon tithi of Mārgaśīra, ...	163
Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, quoted, ...	84n, 215n		āhāla (ādhāra), ...	170
Abhimanyu, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> , ...	164, 165		āhāra, a district, ...	67, 84
Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya, <i>ch.</i> , ...	128		abargapa, ...	261
Abhinava-Siddharāja, <i>sur. of Jayantasimha</i> , ...	99		Ahlapādēvi, <i>f.</i> , ...	203, 217
Ābhira, <i>dy.</i> , ...	89		Ahmadābād, <i>vi.</i> , ...	206n
Abu, <i>vi.</i> , ...	207		Ahōbalam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	12
Ābū, <i>mo.</i> , ...	200, 201, 202, 207		Aihola, <i>vi.</i> , ...	25n, 33n
Ābūya, <i>s.a.</i> Abu, ...	206, 207		Aja, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	213
Achalēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	206		Ajakālakiya, <i>field</i> , ...	72
Āchārya-purusha, ...	300		Ajanṭā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	27
Achoharapākkam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	280		Ajilar or Ajilaru, <i>family of Jaina chiefs</i> , ...	129
Achyutarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	124		Ajitasēna, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , ...	17
Ādam, <i>measure</i> , ...	129n		Ajjapandi, <i>do.</i> , ...	318
Addanki, <i>vi.</i> , ...	10, 11		Ajmer, <i>vi.</i> , ...	81
Ādhaka, <i>measure</i> , ...	129n		Ājñapti, ...	145, 146, 238
adhika-tithi, ...	56n		Ājñāsamohārin, <i>s.a.</i> śāsanasaṃhārin, ...	163n
adhishtāna, <i>s.a.</i> sthāna, ...	161n		ājya, ...	34
Adhvaryu, a student of the <i>Yajurveda</i> , ...	230		Ākarāvantī, <i>co.</i> , ...	41, 47, 61, 62
Ādikēśava, <i>te.</i> , ...	151		Ākbi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	206
Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa, ...	151		akshapaṭalika, ...	70, 157n
adipina-mūliti, ...	124, 137		ākshasālika, ...	70
Āditya I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	292		Akshayalingēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	267, 269
Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ, <i>te.</i> , ...	277		akshaya-tritiyā, ...	5, 155
Āgāmisvāmin, <i>m.</i> , ...	230		Akshēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	280
āgara, a house, ...	124, 135n		Ālampūṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	299, 300
Agastikāgrahāra, <i>vi.</i> , ...	189, 194, 195		Ālaṅguḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	3
Agastya, <i>risāi</i> , ...	9		Alāsa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	184
Agastyēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	12, 267, 275		Alhapādēvi, <i>Kalachuri queen</i> , ...	202n
Agattiyāppalli, <i>vi.</i> , ...	267		āliyasantāna, <i>law of inheritance</i> , ...	127
Agbōrēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	152, 153		Allāhābād, <i>vi.</i> , ...	151, 169
Agiyatanaka, <i>m.</i> , ...	91		Allapabajakala, <i>field</i> , ...	138
Agnisvāmin, <i>m.</i> , ...	189		Āllava, <i>m.</i> , ...	140
Agnivarman, <i>m.</i> , ...	89		Allār, <i>vi.</i> , ...	278
Agra, <i>vi.</i> , ...	174		Allāraka, <i>s.a.</i> Alarā, ...	231
āgrahāra, ...	9, 10, 11, 288, 305, 306, 315, 316, 320		alphabets:—	
			box-headed, ...	25
			Brāhmī, ...	96, 166, 172, 174m

¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the *Additions and Corrections* on pp. vi and vii. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Grantha, ...	8, 291, 296, 307, 318, 319	Añchavāḍi, vi., ...	53
Kanarese or Kannaḍa, ...	16, 50, 123, 124, 298, 307, 314	Āṇḍāṇ Pillai, m., ...	317
Kharoṣṭhī, ...	296	Andhra, dy., ...	144
Nāgarī, ...	96, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 200, 207	Andhrabhṛitya, dy., ...	29, 41n
Telugu, ...	9, 124	Anēkārthasamgraha, quoted, ...	215n
Vaṭṭeluttu, ...	318, 319	āṅga-raṅga-vaibhava, ...	136
Ālupa, dy., ...	126n	Āṅguttaranikāya, quoted, ...	243n
Ālurā, vi., ...	231	Annamā, s. a. Annemāmbā, ...	10
Ālupa, s. a. Ālupa, ...	126n add.	Annama-Vēma, s. a. Vēma, ...	10
Ālvār, a Vaiṣṇava saint, ...	295n, 319	Annaya, Redḍi k., ...	9
Ālvār-Tirunagari, vi., ...	294, 295	Annemāmbā, queen of Kōmaṭi-Prōla, ...	9
Āmalakēśvara, te., ...	267	Antarāla-pattalā, di., ...	150
Amara or Amarakōśa, quoted, ...	46n, 214n, 215n	Antarvēdi, di., ...	151
Amarachandrasūri, s. a. Amarasūri, ...	203n, 205	Anugāmi, vi., ...	86
Amarasūri, Jaina teacher, ...	203, 218	Anupa, s. a. Anūpa, ...	61
Amarāvati, the city of Indra, ...	315	Anūpa, co., ...	41, 47, 62
Amarāvati, vi., ...	10, 11, 12, 68	Anupamadēvi or Anupamā, wife of Tējappāla, ...	203, 205, 206n, 217
Amarēśvara, te., ...	10	anuvāra, ...	16, 25, 39, 51, 183, 188, 194, 242
Amaruśatakam, poem, ...	99	Anyor, vi., ...	177n, 178
Ambālaśāhārya, Vaiṣṇava teacher, ...	305n	apabhāra, a burden, ...	204
Ambariṣha, mythical k., ...	61	Āpaga, co., ...	12
Ambikā, goddess, ...	219	Āpara-Kakhaḍi, s. a. Western Kakhaḍi, ...	74
Ambipāṭaka, vi., ...	285	Aparanta, s. a. Aparānta, ...	61
Ambuāli-pattalā, di., ...	150	Aparānta, co., ...	41, 47, 62
Amlābād, vi., ...	13	Āpastamba, rishi, ...	313n
Amṛitamangalavaraiyaṇ, sur. of Śāttāṅga- vadi, ...	319n	Āpastambagrihyasūtratīkā, ...	305n
amṛitapaḍi, a rice offering, ...	138n	Āpatsahāyēśvara, te., ...	3
amudupaḍi, s. a. amṛitapaḍi, ...	138n	Ara, Jaina saint, ...	125, 134, 135n, 136
Anaghavarman, m., ...	238	Arachosia, co., ...	91
Anahila, m., ...	190	Arahalaya, m., ...	91
Anahilapāṭaka, vi., ...	99, 204	Ārāma, vi., ...	140
Anahilapura, vi., ...	200, 213	Ārambhasiddhi, astronomical work, ...	203n
Āṇikāṭṭa-Perumā, te., ...	277	Arbuda, s. a. Ābū, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 215, ...	218, 219
Āṇaimalai, hill, ...	317, 319	Arhat, ...	68
Ānandasūri or Ānandasūri, Jaina teacher, 203, ...	205, 218	Aridvāramaṅgalam, vi., ...	4
Ananta, serpent, ...	315	Arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvanī, bīruda of the Kaṭasa- Kārkaṭa chiefs, ...	126, 127, 128, 134
Anantanārāyaṇa, m., ...	317	Ariṣṭanēmi, s. a. Nēmi, ...	134n
Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	317	Arjuna, mythical k., ...	61, 98
Anapōta or Anapōta-Redḍi, Redḍi k., 10, 11	and add., 12, 13	Arjuna, Arjunadēva or Arjunavarman, ...	98, 99, 100, 101, 241
Anapōtanīḍu, ch., ...	12	Arkonam, vi., ...	291n
Ānarta, co., ...	41, 47, 49	Arṇava, metre, ...	33n
āpatī, s. a. ājñaptī, ...	146n	Arpōrāja, Vāghēla k., ...	201, 215
Anavēma, Redḍi k., ...	10, 12, 13	Arśacidā, dy., ...	62
Anavōta, s. a. Anapōta, ...	10	Araḷāla-Perumā, te., ...	8
Apbil, vi., ...	6, 270	Arunāchalēśvara, te., ...	4, 6, 7, 268, 269, 272
		Arur, vi., ...	129

	PAGE		PAGE
Ārūra, <i>s.a.</i> Arur, ...	129, 138	Bagguñji, <i>vi.</i> , ...	129
Āruvattunāḷku-maṇḍalikara-talegonda-gaṇḍa, ...		Baghēlkaṇḍ, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
<i>biruda</i> , ...	135n	Bāgilarasa, <i>m.</i> , ...	138
Āryasiddhānta, ...	241, 261, 290n	Baguñji-sime, <i>di.</i> , ...	129
Āśādhara, <i>Jaina poet</i> , ...	99n	Bāhirikā-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , ...	230, 231
Asaka (Ashaka), <i>s.a.</i> Asvaka, ...	61, 62	Bahmaui, <i>dy.</i> , ...	12
Āsandi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	55	Bāhu, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208
Āsarāja, <i>s.a.</i> Asvarāja, ...	207	Bāhubaliu, <i>s.a.</i> Gummaṣa, ...	134n
Āsatikā or Asatikā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	151	Bāhūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	292
Āsatṭi-grāma, <i>s.a.</i> Astgām, ...	230, 231	Bāl, <i>title</i> , ...	208
Aśtādhyāyī, <i>quoted</i> , ...	39n	Baicha or Baichapa I., <i>ch.</i> , ...	16, 17, 22
āśtāhikā, ...	204 and add.	Baichapa II., <i>ch.</i> , ...	16, 22
ashtāhika, ...	124, 137, 204 add.	Bairāt, <i>vi.</i> , ...	168
ashtavidhārohana, ...	137n	Bajakala, ...	124
Ashtgām, <i>s.a.</i> Astgām, ...	231n	Bala, <i>Buddhist friar</i> , 173, 174, 175, 176, 177n, ...	179, 180, 181, 182
Asika, <i>s.a.</i> Rishika, ...	61, 62	bala, <i>measure</i> , ...	129n
Asoka, <i>Maurya emperor</i> , 37, 40, 41, 46n, 47, ...	93, 166, 167, 188, 189, 171, 172, 178, 297	Baladēva, <i>ch.</i> , ...	135n
Āsphōtachandra, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	149, 152, 155	Bālāditya, <i>sur. of Dhruvasēna II.</i> , ...	188
Assam, <i>co.</i> , ...	286	balānaka, <i>s.a.</i> balāpi, ...	200, 203, 218
Astgām, <i>vi.</i> , ...	231	balāpi, ...	200
Asurēsa-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150	Bālasarasvatī, <i>sur. of Madana</i> , ...	99
Asvaghōṣa, <i>k.</i> , ...	171, 172	Bālasarasvatīyam, <i>poem</i> , ...	99n
Asvaka, <i>co.</i> , ...	62	balasidor (balasidor), <i>those who have culti-</i>	
asvamedha, <i>sacrifice</i> , ...	80	<i>vated</i> , ...	61, 138n
Āsvarāja, <i>m.</i> , ...	200, 203, 207, 214, 215, 218	Bali, <i>demon</i> , ...	217
asvasamstha, <i>a horseman</i> , ...	26	Ballāmi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	126
Āsvatthāman, <i>mythical hero</i> , ...	292n	Ballimeya-hole, <i>stream</i> , ...	136
Āsvibhūti, <i>m.</i> , ...	79, 81	Ballāla, <i>author</i> , ...	242
Athmalik, <i>di.</i> , ...	286	Ballāla, <i>k.</i> , ...	201, 202, 216
Ātuka, <i>m.</i> , ...	146	Balsār, <i>vi.</i> , ...	231
Ātukūru, <i>s.a.</i> Gani-Ātukūru, ...	9, 10	bālu, <i>land held</i> , ...	124, 138
auttārāsa, <i>a northerner</i> , ...	91	Bāmra, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
Avāhi-Dēva or -Dēvaya, <i>m.</i> , ...	11	Bāpa, <i>demon</i> , ...	98n
avagraha, ...	97, 152	Bāpa, <i>dy.</i> , ...	28n, 98n
Avajivanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	7	Bāpa, <i>poet</i> , ...	28, 29
Avanijanāśraya, <i>sur. of Pulakēśirāja</i> , ...	231	Bāpa, <i>the great, k.</i> , ...	28, 35
Avasarpinī, ...	214n	Banavāsi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	29, 147
Avimukta-kshētra, ...	152	Bandhogarh, <i>vi.</i> , ...	165
Avippulam, <i>field</i> , ...	296	baṅgaru-molaka, <i>golden sprouts</i> , ...	12
Ayāvakāgrahāra, <i>vi.</i> , ...	189, 194, 195	Bannahalli, <i>vi.</i> , ...	30
Ayanapuram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	291n	Baṭṭara-bāva, <i>biruda</i> , ...	135n
Āyurvēda, ...	308, 315	bappa, ...	163n
Ayyapa, <i>family</i> , ...	238	Barābar, <i>vi.</i> , ...	168
Ayyapadēva, <i>Noḷamba k.</i> , ...	56	Barakanūra-gadyāpa, <i>coin</i> , ...	130n
Ayyaparasaaya, <i>m.</i> , ...	56	bārasaka, ...	83
		Bargarh, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
		Bārpaśā or Barpaśā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	78, 86, 87, 88
		basadi, <i>s.a.</i> basti, ...	200n
		basti, <i>a Jaina temple</i> , ...	122, 125n, 138, 200n

B

Bādāmi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	25n, 46n, 231
Badaneguppe, <i>vi.</i> , ...	147

	PAGE		PAGE
Baud, <i>di.</i> , ...	236	bhaṭṭa, ...	140, 153, 154, 183, 305
Bāgūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	56	bhaṭṭaputra, ...	140
Beḷugula, <i>s.a.</i> Śravaṇa-Belgola, ...	17, 24	bhaṭṭāraka, ...	206, 230
Benākāṭaka, <i>vi.</i> , ...	68, 72	Bhaunagar or Bhāvnagar, <i>vi.</i> , ...	190, 200
Benares (Vārāṇasī), <i>vi.</i> , 149n, 151, 152, 153, 155, 158, 166, 173, 174, 177		Bhava, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, ...	36
Bennegeśi, <i>m.</i> , ...	59	Bhāva-Bṛihaspati, <i>temple priest</i> , ...	201
Benneyūr, <i>s.a.</i> Bennūr, ...	52, 59	Bhavadōpa, <i>m.</i> , ...	94
Bennūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	34n, 52	Bhavaśakandatrāta, <i>m.</i> , ...	236
beṭṭu, ...	124, 138n	Bhaviṣya, <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.</i> , ...	164
Betul, <i>di.</i> , ...	286	bhavya, <i>the Jaina community</i> , ...	22n
Betul, <i>vi.</i> , ...	284, 285	Bhayirasa-Voḍeya, <i>Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ch.</i> , ...	127
Bezvāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	10	Bhayirasa-Voḍeya, <i>s.a.</i> Bhairava II., ...	127
Bhadaini, <i>te.</i> , ...	149n	Bhayirasa-pṇāji, <i>ch.</i> , ...	129
Bhadāvaniya, <i>s.a.</i> Bhadāyaniya, ...	62, 64	Bbēra-Ghāt, <i>vi.</i> , ...	202n
Bhadāyaniya or Bhadāyanika, ...	64, 65, 67	bhikṣu, ...	67, 177n
Bhadraśāhu, <i>Jaina author</i> , ...	134n	bhikṣuṇī, ...	177n
bhāgabhogakara, ...	152, 154, 155, 157, 158	Bhīmadēva I., <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , ...	207
Bhagavat, <i>s.a.</i> Buddha, ...	71, 177n, 180	Bhīmadēva II., <i>do.</i> , ...	99, 201, 202, 204, 205
Bhagavat, <i>s.a.</i> Viṣṇu, ...	160, 162, 163, 236	Bhīmakhaṇḍam, <i>Telugu poem</i> , ...	9n
Bhāgavata, <i>a devotee of Bhagavat</i> , 163, 236, 288		Bhīmamayūṭasa . . . -pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150
Bhagīratha, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	29, 80, 35	Bhīmasēna, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	61
Bhālavata-pattalā (P), <i>di.</i> , ...	150	Bhīṣma, <i>Epic hero</i> , ...	98
Bhairasa-Voḍeya, <i>Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ch.</i> , ...	129n	Bhōgikkasvāmin, <i>m.</i> , ...	230
Bhairasa-Voḍeya, <i>s.a.</i> Bhairava I., ...	124, 134	Bhōja, <i>k.</i> , ...	242, 243, 251n
Bhairasa-Voḍeya, <i>s.a.</i> Bhairava II., 124, 135, 136, 138		Bhōja or Bhōjadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , ...	98, 99, 100
Bhairava I., <i>Kārkaḷa ch.</i> , ...	124, 126	Bhōjaprabandha, ...	242
Bhairava II., <i>Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ch.</i> , 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 135n		Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maṇḍa Mosque), ...	96
Bhairava or Bhairavēndra, <i>ch.</i> , ...	128	Bhōpāl, <i>vi.</i> , ...	101n
Bhairava or Bhairavēndra, <i>s.a.</i> Bhairava II., 124, 134		Bhujabala-Mahārāja, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> , 127n	
Bhairavarāja, <i>s.a.</i> Bhairava I., ...	124, 134	Bhujabalin, <i>s.a.</i> Gammata, ...	134n
Bhājā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	76	Bhujabādāsa, <i>m.</i> , ...	268
bhakti, <i>measure of land</i> , ...	189, 195	bhukti, <i>a district</i> , ...	188
Bhālibhādā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	206	Bbumarā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285
bhaṇḍākārikya, ...	92	bhūmiechhidra, ...	189
Bhānukīrti, <i>title of Jaina teachers</i> , ...	129n	Bhūta, <i>demons</i> , ...	62
Bhānukīrti-Maladhārīdēva, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , ...	129n	bhūtavātapratyāya, ...	189
Bhānusvāmin, <i>m.</i> , ...	284, 285, 288	bhuvana-sāle, ...	127n
Bhānuvarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	30, 31	Bhūvarāha, <i>s.a.</i> Viṣṇu, ...	314
Bharatēśvara-chakravartin, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	134	Bikṣirupāṇḍiya (Vikramapāṇḍya), <i>m.</i> , ...	138
Bhārati, <i>s.a.</i> Sarasvatī, ...	99n, 135	Bilabī, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285
Bhārōḍā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	189	Bilhana, <i>poet</i> , ...	101
Bharukaottha, <i>vi.</i> , ...	79	Bijayarasa, <i>m.</i> , ...	138
Bharwārā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285	Bindrā Nawāgarh, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	316	Bīrūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	30
Bhaṭapālikā, <i>f.</i> , ...	91, 92	Biyāla, <i>m.</i> , ...	59
		bōdhi, ...	178
		Bodbiguta, <i>m.</i> , ...	77
		Bōdhisattva, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182	

	PAGE		PAGE
Bonai, <i>di.</i> , ...	286		
Bopaki (Vopaki), <i>ascetic</i> , ...	94		
Borā Sāmbhar, <i>di.</i> , ...	286		
Bower Manuscript, ...	27		
bōya, <i>s.a.</i> vāstavya, ...	238		
Brahmadēva, <i>Jaina god</i> , ...	123n		
Brahmadēva-maṇḍapa, ...	15		
Brahmadēva pillar, ...	123n, 123		
brahmadēya, ...	163, 236		
Brahmagupta, <i>astronomer</i> , ...	238, 241		
Brahma-Kuṇḍī, <i>s.a.</i> Guṇḍakamma, ...	10, 11n		
Brahman, <i>god</i> , ...	22, 23n, 216, 233, 236, 237		
Brahman, <i>s.a.</i> Brahmadēva, ...	125, 136, 137		
Brahmāpa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	206		
Brāhmaṇa, 28, 33n, 34, 49, 61, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 86, 88			
brahmapurī, ...	26		
Brahma-siddhānta, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 57, 58 add., 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 289			
Bṛihaspati, ...	22, 214n, 217n		
Bṛihasambhitā, <i>quoted</i> , ...	62n		
British Museum plates, ...	143		
Broach, <i>vi.</i> , ...	189		
Būchā-Redḍī, <i>s.a.</i> Tārāla-Būchā-Redḍī, ...	11		
Buddha, 67, 70, 71, 91, 168, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 207			
Buddhaśerita, ...	172		
Buddhamitrā, <i>Buddhist nun</i> , ...	173, 177, 182		
Buddharakṣita, <i>vi.</i> , ...	68		
Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	234, 236		
Buddhism, ...	80, 91, 167, 173, 174		
Buddhist, 64, 68, 70, 75, 79, 80, 167, 170, 172, 177, 178, 180, 290n			
Buddhyashkura, <i>Pallava prince</i> , ...	144, 145, 148		
Budhasvāmin, <i>m.</i> , ...	194, 195		
Budh-Gaya, <i>vi.</i> , ...	180		
Bukka I., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	16, 17, 305, 306, 307, 315		
Bukka II., <i>do.</i> , ...	300		
Bukkapa, <i>ch.</i> , ...	16, 22		
Bukkarāya, <i>s.a.</i> Bukka I., ...	16, 22		
buḷl orest, ...	144, 188		
Burma, <i>co.</i> , ...	172, 173n		
Busalsrao, <i>s.a.</i> Bhubabala-Mahārāya, ...	127n		
Bātuga I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , ...	54		
Bātuga II., <i>do.</i> , ...	54		
Byrasu Wodears, <i>the Kārkaḷa chiefs</i> , ...	124n		
		C	
		Calcutta, <i>city</i> , ...	180
		Chaduhapālī, <i>vi.</i> , ...	157
		Chaicha or Chaichapa, <i>mistake for</i> Baicha, ...	16, 17
		Chaitraparvan, <i>s.a.</i> Vasanotsava, ...	98n
		Chaitri, <i>the full-moon day of Chaura</i> , ...	10
		Chaitrotsava, <i>s.a.</i> Vasantotsava, ...	98n
		chaityagriha, ...	91
		Chakora, <i>mo.</i> , ...	61
		Chalikya, <i>s.a.</i> Chalukya, ...	230, 231
		Chalisilapa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	91
		Chāliyār, <i>ri.</i> , ...	146
		Chalukya, Eastern, <i>dy.</i> , ...	109n, 251, 237, 238
		Chalukya, Western, <i>dy.</i> , ...	126n, 230, 231, 292
		Chalukya, <i>family</i> , ...	237
		Chālukya, <i>do.</i> , ...	126
		Chamaravāmi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	157
		Chamayya, <i>m.</i> , ...	59
		Chambal, <i>ri.</i> , ...	286
		Chāpakya, <i>minister</i> , ...	217
		Chandaladēvi, <i>queen of Vikramāditya VI.</i> , ...	161
		Chandapa, <i>m.</i> , ...	203, 205, 207, 211, 218
		Chandaprasāda, <i>m.</i> , ...	203, 205, 207, 211, 218
		Chandavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , ...	288n
		Chandavēga, <i>metro</i> , ...	33n
		Chandēśvara, <i>m.</i> , ...	203, 219
		Chandodia or Chandoria, <i>vi.</i> , ...	195
		Chandra-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	316, 317
		Chandradēva, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	149, 150
		Chandradītya, <i>m.</i> , ...	183
		Chandragiri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	290
		Chandragupta, <i>Maurya k.</i> , ...	40, 41, 46
		Chandragutti, <i>vi.</i> , ...	134n
		Chandramañjīśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	265
		Chandranana, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208
		Chandranātha or Chandranāthasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , 125, 128, 138	
		Chandrapur, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
		Chandraputraka, <i>vi.</i> , ...	195
		Chandravati, <i>vi.</i> , ...	201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 217
		Chāṅganarōndra, <i>mistake for</i> Vāṅganarōndra, ...	126n
		Charaka, ...	79
		Chārāpa, <i>demi-gods</i> , ...	62
		chāritra, ...	22n
		charu, ...	34, 136n
		Chārudēvi, <i>queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman</i> , ...	144, 145, 146

	PAGE
Conjeevaram, vi., ...	3, 17, 28n, 234, 292, 293, 295, 300
Cuttack, vi., ...	139
D	
Dabhāla, co., ...	285, 286, 288
Dāhala, Dāhāla, Dabhāla or Dahala, s.a. Da- bhāla, ...	285, 286
Dāhanukā, ri., ...	79
Dāhanūkā, vi., ...	86
Daivahā, s.a. Deoha, ...	150
Dakhamitrā, f., ...	82, 85
Daksha, demon, ...	217
Dakshipa-Bhōjarāja, sur. of Ravivarman, ...	9
Dakshipāpatha, co., ...	41, 47, 62
Dakshipa-Siva, te., ...	164
Dālūra, vi., ...	145, 146
Dāmachika, clan or district, ...	95, 96
Damaṇa, ri., ...	79
Damascus, vi., ...	95
Dāmōdara, Parivardjaka k., ...	288
Dāmōdara-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	306
Dāmōdaraśarman, m., ...	155, 157, 159
Dānaślāghya, chronogram, ...	305
Dandaka, metre, ...	26, 38n
Dandakavili or Konḍavīti Dandakavili, Telugu poem, ...	11, 12, 13
dandanātha, ...	16
dandanāyaka, ...	29, 135n
Danḍin, ...	48n
Dantapura, vi., ...	161
Dantidurga, Rdshtrakūṭa k., ...	184, 294n
Dantiga, s.a. Dantivarman-Mahārāja, ...	293n
Dantiga, s.a. Dantivikramavarman, ...	292
Dantippōttaraśar, Pallava k., ...	293, 294
Dantivarman, Pallavatilaka k., ...	293n
Dantivarman, s.a. Dantippōttaraśar, ...	293
Dantivarman or Dantivarman-Mahārāja, Pallava k., ...	292, 293, 296
Dantivikrama or Dantivikramavarman, Gaṅga- Pallava k., ...	292, 293
Danu, demoness, ...	216
darśana, ...	22n
darśanas, the six, ...	135
Darśi, vi., ...	161n
Dārūkāvanēśvara, te., ...	261, 280
Daśakumāracharita, ...	41n
Daśanapura, vi., ...	161
daśaparādha, ...	189

	PAGE		PAGE
Daśapura, s.a. Daśor, ...	79, 95, 189, 194, 195	days, lunar :—	
Daśaratha, mythical k., ...	215, 216	dark fortnight :—	
Daśarūpakam, quoted, ...	98n	tenth, ...	7, 276, 277, 289
Daśor, vi., ...	195	eleventh, ...	1, 2, 264, 265, 273
dates :—		twelfth, ...	140, 263, 264, 265, 272
recorded by a chronogram, ...	8, 305, 308, 315	thirteenth, ...	6, 266, 272, 276, 278
recorded in numerical symbols, ...	38, 188,	fourteenth, ...	208, 270
189, 194, 195, 230, 231, 284, 288		fifteenth, ...	271, 299
recorded in numerical words, ...	10, 134	new-moon, ...	57, 58, 305
Dāthāvasa, name of a Buddhist work, ...	161	days, solar :—	
Dattāmitri, vi., ...	91	first, ...	267, 277
Dattay, m., ...	298	eighth, ...	4
Dattasvāmin, m., ...	194	fourteenth, ...	268
Davāpi, vi., ...	206	seventeenth, ...	269
Dayādāmi-pattalā, di., ...	150	twenty-fourth, ...	265
Dāyi (Dāyika), m., ...	152n	twenty-fifth, ...	299
Dāyinsarman, m., ...	152	twenty-eighth, ...	268
days, lunar :—		thirtieth, ...	279, 282
bright fortnight :—		thirty-first, ...	279
first, ...	58, 271, 272, 306	thirty-second, ...	271, 272
second, ...	267, 273, 274, 278	days of the week :—	
third, ...	5, 155, 163, 302, 207, 262, 277,	Sunday, 4, 7, 153, 154, 203, 204, 205,	
278, 280, 281, 282		219, 265, 267, 269, 270, 272, 282,	
fourth, ...	209, 266	283, 318, 326	
fifth, ...	4, 7, 58 add., 158, 236, 264,	Monday, 5, 6, 54, 57, 58 and add., 153,	
266, 270, 281		153, 154n, 158, 207, 265, 269, 267,	
sixth, ...	124, 134	268, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277,	
seventh, ...	3	278, 280, 282, 283, 289, 290	
eighth, ...	277	Tuesday, ...	4, 56n, 263, 273, 276, 280
tenth, ...	183, 268, 269	Wednesday, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 56n, 121, 134,	
eleventh, ...	8, 9, 17, 21, 273, 277	157, 262, 263, 264, 269, 271,	
twelfth, ...	6, 17, 21, 308	272, 274, 275, 277, 279, 281, 299, 305	
thirteenth, ...	231, 269, 270, 274, 289	Thursday, 1, 2, 3, 56n, 153, 208, 263, 264,	
fourteenth, ...	3, 5, 267	265, 268, 270, 275, 276	
fifteenth, ...	271	Friday, ...	6, 7, 10, 155, 208, 238, 240,
full-moon, ...	10n, 54, 57, 58 and add.,	267, 280, 281, 282, 285	
147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 237,		Saturday, 8, 9, 261, 268, 270, 277, 278,	
240, 241, 282, 283		283, 289, 290	
dark fortnight :—		Demetrias, vi., ...	91
first, ...	2, 5, 41, 45, 98n, 283	Decha, sur. of Gogra, ...	159
second, ...	274, 282	Dēsi-gaṇa, ...	123n, 124
third, ...	195, 203, 204, 205, 219, 262, 263,	Dēśināmamālā, quoted, 26n, 117n, 247n, 252n,	
279, 282, 289		253n, 255n, 256n, 257n, 258n, 259n	
fourth, ...	267, 268	Dēśiṅgarasara, ch., ...	120n
fifth, ...	4, 56n, 157, 189, 275, 278, 279, 283	dēśi words, ...	242
sixth, ...	279	Dēūlavādā, s.a. Dilwara, ...	203, 204, 207
seventh, ...	2, 7, 208, 280	Dēūpālī, vi., ...	150
eighth, ...	6, 208, 266, 269, 275, 276	dēvabhōga-hala, ...	163
ninth, ...	3, 6, 265, 266, 276	Dēvāḍhya, Parivrajaka k., ...	286
		Dēvagana, m., ...	59
		Dēvagēri, vi., ...	25, 30, 56n

	PAGE		PAGE
elephant crest, ...	50, 52	Gandapara, <i>ri.</i> , ...	138 add.
Elkūru, <i>vi.</i> , ...	54, 56, 57	Gandhāra, <i>co.</i> , ...	174, 177, 178, 181
Elumābūr, <i>s.a.</i> Egmōre, ...	290	Gandharva, <i>demi-gods</i> , ...	36, 62
Elamuri-parru, <i>di.</i> , ...	300, 305	Gapēsa, <i>god</i> , ...	23n, 200, 213n
Elumār-nādu, <i>di.</i> , ...	291	Gapēsa-chaturthi, ...	266n
eras :—		Gaṅga, Western, <i>dy.</i> , 26n, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55,	56, 57, 58
Gupta, ...	284, 288, 289, 290	Gaṅgā (Gangos), <i>ri.</i> , 23n, 151, 152, 153, 155,	157, 215
Gupta-Valabhi, ...	188, 190, 195, 201	Gaṅgādharma, <i>m.</i> , ...	98
Kalachuri-Chēdi, ...	202n, 231	Gaṅgāditya, <i>te.</i> , ...	152
Kaliyuga, ...	8, 9, 261, 289, 318, 320	Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	294n
Kanishka, ...	172, 178	Gaṅga-Pallava, <i>dy.</i> , ...	292, 293, 295, 318
Śaka or Śāka (Śāli or Śālivāhana), 8,		Gāṅgēya, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , ...	98
9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 41, 52, 53, 54,		Gāṅgēya, <i>s.a.</i> Bhishma, ...	98
55, 56n, 124, 125n, 127, 128, 129, 130,		Gaṅgōji Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
134, 183, 184, 231, 240, 241, 261, 274,		Gāṅgpur, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
276, 277, 281, 283, 299, 300, 305, 308, 315, 319		Gani-Ātukūru, <i>vi.</i> , ...	10
Vikrama, 52, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158, 201,		Gaṇjigere, <i>vi.</i> , ...	52, 53
202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 219		Garga, <i>astronomer</i> , 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 57, 58 add.,	
Ereyamma, <i>m.</i> , ...	59	262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271,	
Ereyappa, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , ...	53, 54, 56	272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280,	
		281, 282, 283, 289	
		garhmāla, the eighteen, ...	286
		Garuḍa, <i>god</i> , ...	62
		Garuḍa banner, ...	8
		Garuḍa crest, ...	152, 164
		Gāthā, ...	26n, 170
		Gaṭṭavāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	53
		Gauḍa, <i>co.</i> , ...	28, 98
		Gauḍavaho, <i>quoted</i> , ...	117n, 118n
		Gaur, <i>co.</i> , ...	286
		Gauri, <i>s.a.</i> Pārvati, ...	215
		Gautami-putra, <i>sur. of</i> Śātakarṇi, ...	63, 72
		Gayā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	174
		ghaḍiṅghaḍā (ghaṭikāghaṭa), <i>s.a.</i> gōshṭhi, ...	26n
		ghaisāsa, ...	26n
		ghaṭikā, ...	26, 34
		ghaṭikāsāhasa, <i>s.a.</i> ghaisāsa, ...	26n
		Ghōḍerāya-Bhīmāya-guru, <i>s.a.</i> Ghōḍerāya-	
		Gaṅga, ...	9n
		Ghōḍerāya-Gaṅga, <i>m.</i> , ...	9
		Ghōḍerāya-Bhīmāsvara, <i>s.a.</i> Ghōḍerāya-Gaṅga, ...	9n
		Girinagara, <i>s.a.</i> Junāgaḍh, ...	42, 45
		Girnār, <i>mo.</i> , ...	37, 40n, 42, 62, 87, 167n, 203
		Goa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	25n
		Gōḍavari, <i>ri.</i> , ...	11, 183, 184
		Gogra, <i>ri.</i> , ...	150
		Gōhaḍa, <i>m.</i> , ...	153
		gōkara, ...	152, 157

	PAGE		PAGE
Golden Hall,	 300, 306	Gôyara, s.a. Gowra,	 150
Gômatattâr, family name,	 300n	Gôyara-pattalâ, di.,	 150
Gômathattu Karunākara-bhaṭṭa, m.,	 306	Græco-Buddhist art,	 174, 177, 178
Gondwânâ, co.,	 286	Grahavarman, ch.,	 48n
Gôpana, ch.,	 306n	grāmaka, a small village,	 164
Gôsâlādēvi, queen of Gōvindahandra,	 149	Grāmam, vi.,	 261
goshṭhi,	 26n	Grāmam Kāvatu,	 147
Gotami, Andhra queen,	 94	Greek,	 95
Gotami Balasiri, do.,	 61	Gūgulî (Guglî) Brāhmaṇa,	 206
gotras :—		Guhila, family,	 202
Âtrêya,	 306, 316	Gujarât, co.,	 99, 101, 231
Bharadvāja or Bhāradvāja, 144, 146, 152, 153, 163, 236, 284, 285, 288, 292, 293n, 296, 306, 316, 317		Gujarât Chalukya, family,	 231
Bhārgava,	 317	gulma, battalion,	 89
Barga,	 285	Gulwarâ, vi.,	 285
Gautama,	 140	guñḍa, a niche (P),	 136
Kālabhava,	 238	Gummaṭa, Jaina saint,	 15, 122, 134n
Kās̄yapa, 126, 135, 147, 148, 155, 163, 280, 315, 316, 317		Gummaṭambâ, f.,	 126, 134
Zauṇḍinya,	 236, 238, 306	Gummaṭêsvara, s.a. Gummaṭa,	 17, 24, 125, 135
Kausika,	 183, 189, 316	Gurapala, m.,	 155
Mānavya,	 34, 148	gupas, the six,	 36n
Nidbruva-Kās̄yapa,	 317	Gundlakamma, ri.,	 10
Parâsara or Pârâsara,	 189, 194, 195, 306	Gurôttinga, m.,	 317
Pâravasa,	 153	Gupta, dy., 29, 31, 36, 37, 172, 174, 175, 177, 179, 286, 288	
Sankriti,	 306	Gûrjara, co.,	 69, 202, 216
Śathamarshana,	 306, 316	Gutti, s.a. Chandragutti,	 134
Sāvarni,	 306	Gutti, vi.,	 134n
Vâdhula,	 316, 317	Gutti thirty-four, di.,	 134n
Vâsishtga,	 317	gutta (guttigodâra),	 138n
Vatsa,	 306, 316, 317		H
Vishâmītra,	 206		
		bâña, measure,	 124, 129, 137, 138
Hira (Csa), vi.,	 12	Haguna, Khattrapa k.,	 174n
Gowadhana or Gôvardhana, vi., 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 79, 80, 82, 89		Haihaya, s.a. Kalachuri,	 285, 286
Gowardhanagiri, hill in the Shimoga district,	 125n	Hâla, author,	 117n, 118n, 243n, 259n
Gwardhangirâ, hill near Aôrbaça,	 125, 138	haladihare,	 124, 137
Gôve-Chandraguti, di.,	 134n	Haladôpa-pattalâ, di.,	 150
Gôre-Gutti, di.,	 134n	Halâyudha, quoted,	 48n, 216n
Govinda II., Pradyakûtâ k.,	 183, 184	Hallegere, vi.,	 26n
Govinda III., do.,	 184, 292	Halsi, vi.,	 30, 147
Gôvin-da-bhaṭṭa, m.,	 306, 316	Hampapa-bhaṭṭa, m.,	 308n, 316
Gôvindachandra, Kanauj k., 149, 152, 153, 154n, 155, 157, 158, 159n		hana, coin,	 130
Gôvidanâtha, te.,	 316	Hanasoge, vi.,	 122n, 129n
Gôvinda-panḍita, m.,	 308, 315	Haṇḍâdridrà, vi.,	 206
Gôvindasvamin, m.,	 147, 148	hâne, measure,	 124, 129, 130, 136, 137
Gôvisâlaka, di.,	 151	Harava, s.a. Parava,	 136
Gowra, vi.,	 150	Haravihasam, Telugu poem,	 11, 12
		Haribhadrasûri, Jaina teacher,	 203, 205, 218

	PAGE	PAGE
Harichandrapālī, vi., ...	157	Īlam, Ceylon, ... 5, 265, 266
Haribar, vi., ...	124	Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, s.a. Bhairava II., ... 124, 134
Harihara, god, ...	298	Immaḍi-Dēvarāya, sur. of Mallikārjuna, ... 308
Harihara II., Vijayanagara k., 12, 16, 17, 298, 299, 300, 305, 306, 307		Indaḍra, Indavura or Indāvura, s.a. Indaruma, ... 52, 59
Hariharēśvara, s.a. Harihara II., ...	315	Indavara, Indapara or Indāvāra, vi., ... 52
Hārīti-putra, ...	34, 148	Indayūra, s.a. Indavara, ... 52
Harivaṃśa, Jaina work, ...	184	indra, a Jaina priest, ... 125n
Harivaṃśam, Telugu poem, ...	10	Indra, god, ... 134, 216, 315
Harivarman, Kadamba k., ...	30, 31, 147	Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, E. Chalukya k., ... 237
Harivatsakōṭṭa, fort, ...	164	Indrāgnidatta, m., ... 81, 91
Harshaoharita, quoted 28, 46n, 47n, 48n		Indramādhava, te., ... 152
Hastimalla, the elephant of Indra, ...	241	Indravajrā, metre, ... 23
Hastin, Parivrajaka k., ...	288, 289	Irāyūr Śōṭṭai Nrittarāja-bhaṭṭa, m., ... 306
Hastisēna, m., ...	208n	Iruga or Irugapa I., ch., ... 16, 17, 22
[Ha P]chaṇḍa-pattalā, di., ...	150	Irugapa II., ch., ... 16, 17, 22, 23, 24
Hēmachandra, 25n, 26n, 34n, 39n, 117n, 144n, 208n, 215n, 242, 246n, 247n, 248n, 249n, 252n, 254n, 255n, 257n, 259n, 260n		Irugappa, s.a. Iruga I., ... 17
hēmanta, the winter season, ...	31	Irugēndra or Irugēśvara, s.a. Irugapa II., ... 16, 23
Hēmasēna, Jaina teacher, ...	17	Irumalappōṣaṇ Ākkoṇḍavilli-sōmayājīn, m., ... 306
Hēmavati, vi., ...	135n	Iruṅgaṇḍi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa, m., ... 306
Hetamji, vi., ...	207	Īsapratishṭhāna, vi., ... 151
Hēṭhaññī, s.a. Hetamji, ...	206, 207	iṣṭi, ... 24
Himālaya, mo., ...	215n, 286	Isidore of Kharaso, ... 51
Himavat, s.a. Himālaya, ...	61	Īśvaradāna, m., ... 234, 238
Hirahadagalli, vi., ...	144, 145, 146n	Īśvarasēna, Alāira k., ... 89
hiranya, ...	152, 154	Itihāsa, ... 195
Hirē-Bāsūr, vi., ...	52, 54	I-tsing, ... 177
Hirēmagalūr, vi., ...	50, 53, 54, 56n	Iyarpā, quoted, ... 29n
Hiriyāṅgaḍi, vi., ...	122, 125, 128	
Hiṭṭahebbāgilu, vi., ...	25	
Hinen Tsiang, ...	166, 172	
hōma, ...	34	
Hombucha, s.a. Humcha, ...	126	
Honnāmāmbikā, f., ...	126, 134	
honnū, coin, ...	180	
Hooghly, vi., ...	286	
Hosabasti, te., ...	125n	
Hoysala, dy., ...	101, 135n	
Humcha, vi., ...	122n, 126, 127	
Hurumañji, s.a. Ormuz, ...	12	
Husukūru, vi., ...	55	
Huvishka, Kushana k., ...	172, 173, 180, 181, 182	

	PAGE		PAGE
Janaka, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	22	Junâgadh, <i>vi.</i> , ...	37, 42
Jânaki, <i>f.</i> , ...	16, 23	Junnar, <i>vi.</i> , ...	75, 89
Janamējaya, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	61	Jupiter, <i>planet</i> , ...	31n, 289, 290
Janamējaya or Janmējaya, <i>sur. of Mahābhava-</i> <i>gupta I.</i> , 139, 140		Jyōtiṣśāstra, ...	152, 155
Jāṅgala, <i>co.</i> , ...	201		
Jāru[tt̥ha]-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150	K	
Jaṭābhāra, <i>ascetic</i> , ...	164	Kachchha, <i>co.</i> , ...	41, 47
Jātaka, <i>quoted</i> , 23n, 40n, 45n, 48n, 161, 176, 243n		Kachchhōha-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150
Jaṭā-Śamkara, <i>te.</i> , ...	164	Kadaba, <i>vi.</i> , ...	294n
Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , ...	274, 275	Kadaka (Katakā), <i>vi.</i> , ...	145, 146
Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., <i>do.</i> , 275n,		Kadamba, <i>co.</i> , ...	35
278n, 279, 280, 281		Kadamba, <i>family</i> , 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34,	
Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., <i>do.</i> , 274, 278,		35, 36n, 126n, 147, 148, 149	
279, 280, 281		Kādamba, <i>do.</i> , ...	28n
Jaṭilavarman, <i>do.</i> , ...	294n, 318, 319	kadamba, <i>tree</i> , ...	28, 34
Jattikōṭi, <i>m.</i> , ...	138	Kādambārī, <i>quoted</i> , ...	29n, 43n
Jaugaḍa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	168	Kaḍappēri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	309
Jāvali, <i>vi.</i> , ...	54, 55	kāḍi, <i>measure</i> , ...	295, 296
Jayachandra, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	149, 150, 152	kāhāpaṇa (kārhāpaṇa), <i>coin</i> , 79, 80, 82, 83,	
Jayadāman, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> , ...	41, 45n	84, 85, 89, 90	
Jayadānakakāra, <i>biruda</i> , ...	54, 56	Kaikasi, <i>demoness</i> , ...	30n
Jayadutta[raṅga], <i>do.</i> , ...	53, 54, 56n	Kailāsa, <i>m.</i> , ...	140
Jayakēśin, <i>Kadamba ch.</i> , ...	126n	Kailāsa, <i>mo.</i> , ...	9n, 62, 64, 135, 206n
Jayanta, <i>god</i> , ...	216	Kailāsanātha, <i>te.</i> , ...	5
Jayantasimha, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , ...	99	Kailāsanāthasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , ...	205, 266
Jayantasimha, <i>s.a. Jaitrasimha</i> , ...	203, 216, 217	Kaira, <i>vi.</i> , ...	189, 241
Jayasimha, <i>ch.</i> , ...	164	kaiyakkī, ...	138n
Jayasimha or Jayasimhadēva, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,		Kākati or Kākatiya, <i>dy.</i> , ...	9, 11
99, 201, 202		Kakhaḍḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	74
Jayasimha, <i>Kēraḷa k.</i> , ...	8, 9	Kakhaḍḍi, <i>Western, vi.</i> , ...	72
Jayasimha, <i>s.a. Bhīmadēva II.</i> , ...	99, 100	Kākū, <i>m.</i> , ...	152, 153
Jayasimha, <i>s.a. Jaitugidēva</i> , ...	99n	Kākustha, <i>s.a. Kākusthavarman</i> , ...	29, 35
Jayasimha II., <i>IV. Chālukya k.</i> , ...	30n	Kākustha (Kākustha), <i>s.a. Rāma</i> , ...	36
Jayasimhavarman, <i>Gujarāt Chālukya ch.</i> , 230, 231		Kākusthavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36	
Jayāśraya, <i>sur. of Maṅgalarāja</i> , ...	231	Kakutstha, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	215
Jayaśrī, <i>s.a. Vijayaśrī</i> , ...	100, 101n	Kalachuri, <i>dy.</i> , ...	98, 202n, 285
Jētavana, <i>park</i> , ...	180	Kālahastinātha, <i>m.</i> , ...	316
Jiāvai-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150	Kālaiyārkōvil, <i>vi.</i> , ...	279, 283
Jiāvatī-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150	Kalakkāḍ, <i>vi.</i> , ...	318n
jihvāmūliya, ...	25, 188, 194, 230	Kalakkūḍi, <i>di.</i> , ...	318n
Jina, 15, 21, 23, 67, 71, 124, 125, 134, 135,		Kalakkūḍi, <i>s.a. Kalakkāḍ</i> , ...	318, 320
136, 138, 203, 205, 206n, 207, 208, 214, 218		Kālaladēvi, <i>Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa princess</i> , ...	129
Jinadatta or Jinadattarāja, <i>mythical k.</i> , 125n,		kalam, <i>measure</i> , ...	295
126, 127, 128, 134		kalañju, ...	295, 296
Jinapa or Jinendra, <i>s.a. Jina</i> , ...	124, 125, 134	Kalappāḍ, <i>vi.</i> , ...	5, 277
Jinnappa, <i>m.</i> , ...	138	Kaḷasa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	127, 128, 129
Jivita, <i>m.</i> , ...	288	Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya, <i>co.</i> , ...	127, 128, 129
jñāna, ...	22n	Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa, <i>family</i> , ...	127, 129
Jumna (Yamunā), <i>vi.</i> , ...	286		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kalasa-rājya, <i>di.</i> , ...	127	Kapheri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	83, 84
Kalavai, <i>vi.</i> , ...	309	Kanhwarā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285
Kalavai-parṇu, <i>di.</i> , ...	308, 309n	Kanishka, <i>Kushana k.</i> , ...	172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182
Kalavā-nivṛit, <i>s.a.</i> Kalavai-parṇu, ...	308, 309, 315	Kāntasānti, <i>sur. of</i> Śāntinātha, ...	17
Kales Dewar, <i>s.a.</i> Māvarman Kulasekhara I., ...	291n	Kāpūr-gaṇa, ...	129n
Kalhapa, <i>author</i> , ...	101	Kapālamōchana-ghaṭṭa, ...	152
Kali age, ...	34, 134, 215	Kapālcēvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	290n
Kālidāsa, <i>poet</i> , ...	98n	Kapālichcharam, <i>s.a.</i> Kapālcēvara, ...	290n
Kaliṅga, <i>co.</i> , ...	161, 288n	Kapaṇaṇaka, <i>m.</i> , ...	91
Kaliṅganagara, <i>s.a.</i> Mukhaliṅgam, ...	161	Kapardīvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	2, 4, 5, 6, 263, 268
Kālīñjar, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285	Kapichitā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	75
Kāliśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	279, 283	Kapila, <i>rishi</i> , ...	288
Kalla-Perumbūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	265, 266	Kāpura, <i>di.</i> , ...	83
Kālōgra-gaṇa, <i>school of</i> Jaina teachers, ...	122n	Karabopā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	68, 79 and add.
kalpa, ...	217, 315, 316	Kāraikilān, <i>m.</i> , ...	296
kalpādi, <i>tithi</i> , ...	264n, 274n	Kārakaṇa, <i>s.a.</i> Kāraka, ...	122, 125, 128, 129, 135
Kalpa-sūtra, <i>Jaina work</i> , ...	134n	Kārambichohettu, <i>family name</i> , ...	300n
Kālsī, <i>vi.</i> , ...	168, 170	Kārambichohettu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
kalyāṇi, <i>a square pond</i> , ...	50	karapa —	
kalyāṇika, <i>festival</i> , ...	204, 206	Nāga, ...	299, 305
Kānakōḍa, <i>m.</i> , ...	126n add.	karapika, ...	152, 157, 158
Kāmākshī, <i>queen of</i> Saṅgama, ...	299, 306	Karavandapura, <i>sur. of</i> Kaḷakkudi, ...	315, 319n, 320
Kāmākshī-dharma-maṇḍapa, ...	316	Karavandīvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	2
Kamalinikalahaṁsa, <i>nāṭikā</i> , ...	98n	Kāri, <i>m.</i> , ...	319
Kāman, <i>vi.</i> , ...	175, 178	Kārimāraṇ, <i>sur. of</i> Nammālvār, ...	319
Kāmandaki, <i>author</i> , ...	217	Kāraka, <i>vi.</i> , ...	122, 129, 124n, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135n
Kamauli, <i>vi.</i> , ...	153n, 154n, 155n, 157n, 159n	Karkarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , ...	183
Kāmbōja, <i>co.</i> , ...	62	Kārkūr Ghāt, ...	146n
kambuḷa, ...	124, 138	Kārlō, <i>vi.</i> , ...	59, 66, 79
Kambuva, <i>m.</i> , ...	138	Karmapēya, <i>s.a.</i> Kamrōj, ...	231
Kāmkandalā palace, ...	285	Karṇa, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	8, 98n
Kammāka- or Karmāka-rāshṭra, <i>s.a.</i> Kamma- rāshṭra, ...	234 and add., 236 and add., 238 and add.	Karṇasundarī, <i>nāṭikā</i> , ...	98n
Kamma- or Karmā-rāshṭra, <i>di.</i> , ...	234, 238	Kārttikēya (Skanda), <i>god</i> , ...	29, 35n
Kampavikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava k.</i> , ...	292	Karumārachchēri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	296
Kamrōj, <i>vi.</i> , ...	231	Karuvūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	5, 286
Kanakalēkhā, <i>f.</i> , ...	100	Kāsahraḍa, Kāsahraḍa or Kāsahraḍa, <i>s.a.</i> Kāśindra-Pāḷaḍi, ...	206
Kanakapura, <i>s.a.</i> Pombuchcha, ...	126n	Kāśakudi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	26, 284
Kanauj, <i>vi.</i> , ...	149, 150n	Kāśalōḷā, <i>di.</i> , ...	140
Kaṇāuta, <i>vi.</i> , ...	155	Kāśī, <i>s.a.</i> Benares, ...	178
Kāñchi or Kāñchipura (Conjeeveram), <i>vi.</i> , 8, 28, 34n, 35, 233, 234, 236, 292, 294n		Kāśikā-ṛpitti, ...	39n
Kāṅgali-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150	Kāśikhapaṇam, <i>Telugu poem</i> , ...	9n
Kāṅgavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	28, 30, 35	Kāśindra-Pāḷaḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	206n
Kāṅgrā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	171	kaṭaka, <i>a camp</i> , ...	139
Kāṇḍadēva, <i>s.a.</i> Kṛishṇarājadēva, ...	206	Kāṭaya-Vēma, <i>Beḍḍi k.</i> , ...	12
Kaphagiri, <i>mo.</i> , ...	61	kaṭhāri-aṅkusa-gadyāṇa, <i>coin</i> , ...	130n
Kaphahini, <i>Western vi.</i> , ...	77	Kaṭhāsaritsāgara, <i>quoted</i> , ...	68
Kaphavalāhara, <i>di.</i> , ...	230, 231	Kāṭi-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150

	PAGE		PAGE
Kēṭṭam, <i>vi.</i>	238	Komarayya, <i>m.</i>	59
Kandarpa, <i>s.a.</i> Kōṅkaṇ.	202, 216	Kōmaṭi, <i>caste</i>	11
Kandika, <i>śaṅkṣa</i>	94	Kōmaṭi, <i>Redḍi ch.</i>	13
Kanṭhōṣa, <i>vi.</i>	25n	Kōmaṭi, <i>Redḍi prince</i>	10
Kavāṇṭhāra-bhāṭṭa, <i>di.</i>	234, 236	Kōmaṭi-Prōla, <i>Redḍi k.</i>	9, 10
Kāvēri, <i>vi.</i>	147	Kōmaṭi-Vēma, <i>do.</i>	11
Kāvēripāṭṭa, <i>s.a.</i> Kāvērippāṭṭaka (Kāvēripāṭṭa), <i>vi.</i>	303, 309, 315	Kōmaṭi-Vēma, <i>s.a.</i> Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma,	12
Kāṇṭhā, <i>vi.</i>	206	Kōmaṭi-Vēma, <i>s.a.</i> Vēma,	10
Karṭṭāṭṭa, <i>s.a.</i> Kāṇṭhāṭṭa,	17	Koṇḍamudi, <i>vi.</i>	66, 69, 145, 146n
Kāṇṭha, <i>vi.</i>	28	Koṇḍavīdu, <i>vi.</i>	11, 12, 13
Kāryāḍarā, <i>vi.</i>	48n	Koṇḍarāmaikoṇḍāṇ or Kōṇḍarimēlkoṇḍāṇ	
Kāyastha, <i>vi.</i>	140	Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i>	274, 281, 282
Kekāpura, <i>vi.</i>	86	Kōṅḍāḷva, <i>dy.</i>	56
Kelavase, <i>s.a.</i> Keravāṣe,	129, 138	Kōṅḍāṇi-Mahādhirāja, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i>	147
Kēlhaṇa, <i>m.</i>	203, 219	Kōṅḍunivarmaṇ, <i>do.</i>	52, 58
Kēraḷa, <i>co.</i>	8	Kōṅkaṇ, <i>co.</i>	202
Keravase, <i>s.a.</i> Keravāṣe,	129	Koppa, <i>vi.</i>	127, 128
Keravāṣe, <i>vi.</i>	129	Kōsambakuṭi,	180, 181
[Kōṣāṇṭhā?] -pattalā, <i>di.</i>	150	Kōsamba-pattalā, <i>di.</i>	150
Kōṣava, <i>s.a.</i> Viṣṇu.	61	Kōsambi, <i>vi.</i>	168, 169
Kōṣavayya, <i>m.</i>	59	Kōṭaḍi, <i>s.a.</i> Kotra,	206, 207
Khāḷipāṭṭa, <i>vi.</i>	157	Kōṭ[thō]takōṭiāvarahōṭṭa[ra], <i>di.</i>	150, 151n
Khāḷipāṭṭaka, <i>s.a.</i> Khāḷipāṭṭa,	285	Kōṭi-tīrtha,	152, 158
Khāḷipāṭṭa or Kāḷipāṭṭa, <i>vi.</i>	285	Kotra, <i>vi.</i>	207
Khāḷipāṭṭa, <i>dy.</i>	61	kōṭṭam, <i>a district</i> ,	171
Kharagraha II., <i>Valabhi k.</i>	189, 190	kōṭṭanigraha (kōṭṭapāla),	164n
Kharasota,	173n	Kōṭṭār-nāḍu, <i>di.</i>	291n
Kharasota,	174n	Krishṇa, <i>god</i> ,	98, 206n, 216 and add., 217n, 315
Kharapāṭṭa, <i>śaṅkṣa</i> <i>ch.</i>	173, 174, 177, 179	Krishṇa, <i>rishi</i> ,	207
Khāṇṭa, <i>di.</i>	286	Krishṇa (Kanha), <i>Sātavāhana k.</i>	93
khattala, <i>a palatol</i> ,	200 and add., 203, 218	Krishṇā, <i>vi.</i>	10, 11, 12, 28n
Khayarā, <i>vi.</i>	151	Krishṇa I., <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i>	184
Khoh, <i>vi.</i>	284, 285, 288n, 289	Krishṇarājadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i>	201, 205, 206, 216
Khōṇḍarāṇa, <i>m.</i>	153	Krishṇarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i>	127n
Kikkavāṇṭa, <i>m.</i>	230	Krishṇavarman I., <i>Kadamba k.</i>	30, 31
Kiḷ-Matṭarāṭṭa, <i>vi.</i>	319	Krishṇavarman II., <i>do.</i>	30, 31
Kiḷār, <i>vi.</i>	281	Kṛita age,	215
Kiṇṭāṭṭa, <i>śaṅkṣa</i> <i>ch.</i>	38n	Kṛittivāsa, <i>te.</i>	152
Kiriyamugali, <i>s.a.</i> Chikmagāḷi,	50, 51, 58	Kshaharāta, <i>dy.</i>	72, 78, 82, 85, 86
Kīrtikamudi, <i>śaṅkṣa</i> ,	200, 201, 204, 208, 217n	Kshatrapa, <i>a Satrap</i> ,	41, 45n, 78, 82, 85, 86, 173, 174, 175, 180
Kirupāṭṭa, <i>vi.</i>	147, 148	Kshatrapa, Western, <i>dy.</i>	41
Kistna, <i>di.</i>	10, 12	Kahatriya, <i>caste</i> ,	28, 34, 47, 61
Kiṇṭār, <i>vi.</i>	267, 269	Kubja, <i>m.</i>	28, 29, 36
koḍaṅge, koḍage, koḍiḅa or koḍagi, <i>an allot-</i> <i>ment</i> ,	51	Kuḍā, <i>vi.</i>	62, 77, 91
Kodinkī, <i>vi.</i>	238	Kūḍgere, <i>vi.</i>	147
Kōḷamba, <i>vi.</i>	8	kuḍute, <i>measure</i> ,	124, 129, 130, 136, 137
Kōḷipura, <i>vi.</i>	238	koḍuva, <i>do.</i>	129n
Komaravēḍōḅa, <i>śaṅkṣa</i> ,	56	Kūḅo-Brahmadēva pillar	123n
		Kukura, <i>co.</i>	41, 47, 61, 62

	PAGE		PAGE
Kulaipa, <i>ch.</i> , ...	41, 49		
kulabgilār, <i>priests</i> , ...	295		
kularika, <i>a potter</i> (?), ...	89		
Kuladēkharadēva, <i>sur. of Ravivarman</i> , ...	8, 9		
Kūligere, <i>vi.</i> , ...	53		
Kūji-Mahātāraka, <i>te.</i> , ...	146		
Kulōttuṅga I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	290, 291n		
Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II., <i>do.</i> , ...	261		
Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III., <i>do.</i> , ...	1, 4, 7, 260, 264, 265, 266, 291		
Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-valanādu, <i>s. a. Puliyūr-</i> <i>kōttam</i> , ...	291n		
Kumāra, <i>s.a. Kārttikēya</i> , ...	214		
Kumārādēvi, <i>f.</i> , ...	200, 207, 214		
kumaragadiāṇaka, ...	152, 155		
Kumārāgiri, <i>Reddī k.</i> , ...	11, 12, 13		
Kumāra-Hakasiri, <i>ch.</i> , ...	92		
Kumārāpāla, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , ...	201, 202, 216		
Kumārāsāmin, <i>m.</i> , ...	189, 194		
Kumāra-Vēdagiri, <i>s.a. Pina-Vēdagiri</i> , ...	13		
Kumāraviśṇu I., <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	234, 236		
Kumāraviśṇu II., <i>do.</i> , ...	233, 234, 236, 238		
Kumbhakōṇam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	294		
Kumbhīnāl, <i>demoness</i> , ...	30n		
Kamudābandra-Bhaṭṭārakadēva, <i>Jaina</i> <i>teacher</i> , ...	129n		
Kundakunda, <i>do.</i> , ...	123n		
Kuṇḍi, <i>s.a. Guṇḍakamma</i> , ...	10		
Kuṇḍi-Prabha, <i>do.</i> , ...	10		
Kuntala or Kuntala, <i>co.</i> , ...	101, 305		
Kūpaka, <i>co.</i> , ...	8		
Kuppan, <i>m.</i> , ...	317		
Kuppehālu, <i>vi.</i> , ...	56		
Kūram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	234		
Kuriyida, <i>vi.</i> , ...	298		
Kūrmasātaka, <i>poem</i> , ...	242, 243n		
Kurmi, <i>caste</i> , ...	284		
Kurnool, <i>di.</i> , ...	10		
Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306		
kusa, <i>grass</i> , ...	34		
kusapa, ...	82, 83, 84		
Kushapa or Kushan, <i>dy.</i> , ...	172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 297		
Kāśmāṇḍini-yakhi, <i>goddess</i> , ...	15		
Kusumākara, <i>m.</i> , ...	100		
Kusumamañjarī, <i>s.a. Pārijātamañjarī</i> , ...	101n		
Kusumāśrī, <i>do.</i> , ...	101n		
Kuttālam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	298, 300		
Kuvalāla (Kolar), <i>vi.</i> , ...	52, 58		
Kuvēra, <i>m.</i> , ...	29		
		L	
		lagna :—	
		Vṛisha or Vṛishabha, ...	124, 134
		Lahore, <i>vi.</i> , ...	297
		Lahul, <i>vi.</i> , ...	174
		Lākhaḡāṇv, <i>vi.</i> , ...	183
		Lakshmana, <i>m.</i> , ...	189, 236n
		Lakshmana-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	316
		Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> , ...	139
		Lakshmi-varman, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , ...	202n
		Lalitādēvi, <i>wife of Vastupāla</i> , ...	203, 216
		Lalitakīrti, <i>title of Jaina teachers</i> , ...	122n, 124, 129
		Lalitakīrti-Bhaṭṭārakadēva, <i>s.a. Lalitakīrti</i> , ...	122n
		Lalitānkura, <i>Pallava surname</i> , ...	145
		Lalitavistara, <i>quoted</i> , ...	45n
		languages :—	
		Apabhraṃśa, ...	242
		Bengali, ...	139
		Gujarāṭi, ...	45n
		Kanarese, ...	51, 123, 124, 261, 307
		Māgadhī, ...	168
		Māhārāshṭrī, ...	100, 242
		Pāli, ...	26n, 39n, 40n, 45n, 71
		Prākṛit, ...	39, 97, 100, 143, 144, 170, 172, 180, 181, 204, 207, 241
		Sanskṛit, ...	8, 9, 16, 25, 37, 39, 40n, 79, 81, 84, 96, 97, 100, 123, 139, 143, 147, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 160, 164, 172, 175, 180, 181, 183, 188, 194, 200, 204, 207, 230, 233, 237, 284, 291, 298, 307, 318 add.
		Śaurasēni, ...	100
		Tamil, ...	8, 261, 291, 292, 298, 307, 318 and add.
		Telugu, ...	9, 13n, 261, 291n
		Lāṭa, <i>co.</i> , ...	231
		Lauḡēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	152
		Lavaṇaprasāda, <i>Vāghēla k.</i> , ...	201, 205, 215
		Lāvaṇyasīmha, <i>m.</i> , ...	203, 217, 218
		Līlukā, <i>f.</i> , ...	203, 217
		Līnga, <i>ch.</i> , ...	13
		lion orest, ...	164
		Lōkanātharasa, <i>Sāntara ch.</i> , ...	128, 129n
		Lōkapāla, <i>m.</i> , ...	155
		Lōlārka, <i>te.</i> , ...	152
		Lōlirapādā or Lōlikapādā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	158, 159
		Loṭā, <i>m.</i> , ...	74
		Lucknow, <i>vi.</i> , ...	140, 173, 179, 181
		lunar race, ...	126, 128
		Lūpasīha, <i>s.a. Lūpasīmha</i> , ...	207

	PAGE		PAGE
Lūpasihavasahikā, <i>s.a.</i> Lūpasimhavasahikā, .	206	Mahāmātas, <i>Superintendents of the Sacred</i>	
Lūpasimha, <i>s.a.</i> Lāvanyasimha, .	203, 205, 217	<i>Law</i> , ...	167
Lūpasimhavasahikā, <i>sur. of the Nēminātha</i>		Mahānadi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	286
temple, ...	200, 205	mahanta, <i>title</i> , ...	206, 207, 217
Lūpavasahikā, <i>s.a.</i> Lūpasimhavasahikā, .	200, 207	Mahā-Pausa, <i>year</i> , ...	290
Lūniga, <i>m.</i> , ...	200, 203, 214, 218	Mahā-Phālguna, <i>do.</i> , ...	290
M		mahārāja, 9, 62, 70, 144, 145, 146, 155, 157,	
Macha, <i>mo.</i> , ...	61, 62	160, 162, 163, 178, 174, 176, 179, 181, 182,	
Mācha, <i>Redḍi ch.</i> , ...	13	283, 234, 236, 237, 238, 284, 285, 286, 288, 315	
Mācha, <i>Redḍi k.</i> , ...	9, 12	mahārājādhirāja, 9, 29, 128, 140, 149, 152,	
Madana, <i>poet</i> , ...	98, 99, 100	153, 155, 157, 158, 183, 204, 205, 230, 231	
Madanapāla, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	149	mahārājakula, ...	206
Madanapāla, <i>m.</i> , ...	155	mahārājaputra, ...	155, 157
Mādānīdu, <i>ch.</i> , ...	12, 13	Mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōtachandradēvaḥ,	
Madapratihāra, <i>vi.</i> , ...	151	<i>legend on seal</i> , ...	155
Mādharī, <i>Ābhīra queen</i> , ...	89	Mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Rājyapālādēvaḥ, <i>do.</i> , .	156
Mādhaba-mahārājādhirāja, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , .	52	mahāsāmanta, ...	319n
Madhukammōja, <i>m.</i> , ...	59	mahāsāmiya, <i>s.a.</i> mahāsvāmika, ...	72
Madhurakavi, <i>sur. of Māraṅgārī</i> , .	318, 319, 320	mahāsāndhivigrahi, ...	140
Mādhoravanaka, <i>vi.</i> , ...	182	Mahāsēna, <i>s.a.</i> Kārttikēya, ...	148
Madhūtsava, <i>s.a.</i> Vasantōtsava, ...	98n	mahāsēnāpati, ...	67, 70, 94
madhyastha, <i>an arbitrator</i> , ...	129n	mahāsēnāpatnī, ...	94
Madirai, <i>s.a.</i> Madura, ...	261	Mahāśivagupta II., <i>Trikaliṅga k.</i> , ...	140n
Madras, <i>city</i> , 290, 291n, 294n, 295, 307 and		Mahāśivaguptarājādēva, <i>do.</i> , ...	140
add., 318, 319		Mahasō-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150
Madras Museum plates, ...	9	Mahasōya-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150
Madura, <i>vi.</i> , ...	276, 317, 318	mahāsvāmika, ...	68, 70, 73
Madurai, <i>s.a.</i> Madura, ...	4, 5, 265, 266	mahātīrtha, <i>a great shrine</i> , ...	207
Madurakavi-Ālvār, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> , ...	295, 319	mahattaka, ...	152
Magalur, <i>s.a.</i> Hirēmagaḷūr, ...	50	mahattama, ...	140
mahā-āryaka (mahāśīraka), ...	67, 68, 73	mahattara, ...	195
Mahābhārata, 28n, 35n, 40, 47n, 49n, 62, 63,		Mahāvagga, <i>quoted</i> , ...	170
79, 218n, 292n		Mahāvastu, <i>do.</i> , ...	63, 79, 87, 89
Mahābhāshya, <i>quoted</i> , ...	39n	mahāvihārasvāmin, ...	73
Mahābhavagupta I., <i>Trikaliṅga k.</i> , ...	139, 140	Mahāvīra, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	134n
Mahābhavaguptarājādēva, <i>s.a.</i> Mahābhava-		Mahēndra, <i>mo.</i> , ...	61
gupta I., ...	140	Mahēndra, <i>South Kōśala k.</i> , ...	286
Mahād, <i>vi.</i> , ...	75	Mahēndrasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , ...	203, 318
Mahādēva, <i>s.a.</i> Śiva, ...	36, 164	Mahēśvara, <i>s.a.</i> Śiva, ...	188
Mahāhaksiri, <i>ch.</i> , ...	91, 92	Māhēśvara, ...	230, 238
mahājana, <i>a merchant</i> , ...	204	Mahēśvara, <i>m.</i> , ...	189
Mahākara, <i>m.</i> , ...	152	Mailapur, <i>vi.</i> , ...	290
Mahākōśala, <i>co.</i> , ...	285	Maitraka, <i>family</i> , ...	149n, 188, 236n
mahākshatrapa, ...	40, 41, 45, 46, 49, 173	Majhgawān, <i>s.a.</i> Bhumarā, ...	285, 289
Mahākūṭa, <i>te.</i> , ...	25n	Makaradhvaja, <i>sur. of Vishṇuvardhana II.</i> , ...	237
Mahā-Māgha, <i>year</i> , ...	290	Maladhārin, <i>sur. of Mallishēpa</i> , ...	17
mahāmahattama, ...	140	Maladhārin, <i>title of Jaina teachers</i> , ...	122n
mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, ...	128, 204, 205, 305	Mālatimādhava, <i>drama</i> , ...	26n
Mahā-Mārgasīrsha, <i>year</i> , ...	284, 288, 289, 290	Mālava or Mālavaka, <i>s.a.</i> Mālwa, 81, 96, 99,	
		188, 189, 195, 201, 202, 216	

	PAGE		PAGE
Maṇavaḷli, vi., ...	29	Maṅgalūra-gadyāna, coin, ...	130n
Mālavikāgnimitram, drama, ...	98n	Maṅgalūru, s.a. Mangalore, ...	127n
Malaya, mo., ...	5, 61, 81	Maṅgapa, ch., ...	16, 22
Mālaya, co., ...	79, 81	Maṅgiyuvārāja, E. Chalukya k., ...	237, 238, 240
Maḷkāvu, vi., ...	147, 148	Maṇimēgalai, Tamil poem, ...	290
Māḷkhēḷ, vi., ...	164	Mañjuśrī, Bōdhisattva, ...	177
Malla or Mallā-Redḍi, Redḍi k., ...	10, 11	Maṇṇai, vi., ...	294
Malladatta or Mallādatta, m., ...	140	Maṇṇaikūḍi, vi., ...	294
Malladēva, m., ...	201, 203, 205, 214, 217, 218	manne, hill country, ...	9
Mallādēvi, queen of Harihara II., ...	299, 305	Mānpur, vi., ...	165
Mallāmbikā, s.a. Mallādēvi, ...	299	Mansehra, vi., ...	297
Mallaya, Redḍi k., ...	9	Manu, ...	38n, 48n, 84
Malli, Jaina saint, ...	125, 134, 135n, 136	Māra, god, ...	135
Mallidēva, do., ...	214	Māra, m., ...	318, 320
Mallikārjuna, Śilādhara k., ...	201	Mārambāvai, queen of Nandippōttaraiyaṇ, ...	293n
Mallikārjuna, te., ...	308	Māraṇ, Pāṇḍya k., ...	319
Mallikārjuna, Vijayanagara k., ...	308	Māraṇ, sur. of Nammālvār, ...	319
Mallila, vi., ...	138	Māraṇ Eyipaṇ, m., ...	319, 320
Mallinātha, commentator, ...	130	Māraṇḡari, m., ...	318, 319, 320
Mallishēṇa, Jaina teacher, ...	17	Māraṇjādaiyaṇ, Pāṇḍya k., ...	319, 320
Maḷtavūra, s.a. Mattavara, ...	52, 59	Māraṇjādaiyaṇ, sur. of Varaguna, ...	319
Mālwā, co., ...	79, 189, 286	Mārasimha II., W. Gaṅga k., ...	54
Mālyavat, demon, ...	30n	Marataka or Maratakapuri, s.a. Viriñchipuram, ...	308, 315
Mammā, f., ...	93	Maratakanagara-prānta, di., ...	308
Māna, s.a. Mānāṅka, ...	165	Māravarman, s.a. Māraṇ, ...	319
Mānāṅka, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k., ...	164, 165	Māravarman Kulasēkhara I., Pāṇḍya k., ...	274, 276, 277, 278, 291
Mānapuram, s.a. Mānpur, ...	164, 165	Māravarman Kulasēkhara II., do., ...	278n
Mā[ṇa]ra-pattalā, di., ...	150	Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., do., ...	274, 276
Mānasa, lake, ...	213n	Māravarman Tirunelvēli-Perumāl Vira-Pāṇ- dyadēva, do., ...	283
mānastambha, pillar, ...	123	Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, do., ...	274, 282, 283
Mandākini, ri., ...	215	Marevoḡe-kāva, biruda, ...	135n
Mandākrāntā, metre, ...	26	Māricha, demon, ...	216
Maṇḍalapurusha-sōmayājīn, m., ...	306	Mārkaṇḍa or Mārkaṇḍeya, riśhi, ...	218
maṇḍalika, ...	135	Mārtaṇḍa-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	316
Maṇḍalika-gaṇḍara-dāvapi, biruda of Vira- Balludēva, ...	127	Maru, co., ...	41, 47
Mandara, mo., ...	24, 61	Marudvyādhi, s.a. Uddhava, ...	217
mandāra, tree, ...	23	maṭha, ...	122, 125
Māṇḍarpāḍi, m., ...	138	Mathia, vi., ...	168
Mandasor, s.a. Dasōr, ...	79, 195	Mathurā (Muttā), vi., 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182	
Māndhātṭivarman, Kadamba k., ...	28n, 30	mātrāsamaka, ...	27
Mandlā, di., ...	286	Mātrīvara, m., ...	280
Māṇḍūka-Śambhu, s.a. Māṇḍūkēśvara, ...	10	Mattavara, vi., ...	52
Māṇḍūkēśvara, te., ...	10n	Māṇ, f., ...	201, 214
Māṅgala, m., ...	153	Maṇlika, co., ...	62n
Maṅgalarāja, Gujardt Chalukya ch., ...	231	Maurya, dy., 40, 46, 47, 166, 167, 172, 174n, 175	
Maṅgalarasārāja, s.a. Maṅgalarāja, ...	231	Mayidavōlu, vi., ...	145, 146n
Maṅgalēṣa, W. Chalukya k., ...	25n, 46n		
Mangalore, vi., ...	129		
Māṅgaḷūr, vi., ...	146n, 160, 161, 162n, 234		

	PAGE		PAGE
Mayilāppūr, <i>s.a.</i> Mailapur, ...	290	Mudgagiri, <i>s.a.</i> Monghyr, ...	151
Mayūrasārman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , 28, 29, 30, 31, ...	34, 148n	Mūdgere, <i>vi.</i> , ...	128
Mayūravarmān, <i>s.a.</i> Mayūrasārman, ...	28n, 148n	Mudigondasōlupuram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	276
Mēdapāṭa or °pātaka, <i>di.</i> , ...	202	Mugūdāsa, <i>m.</i> , ...	77
Medhuna, <i>m.</i> , ...	67	Mugūḷi, <i>s.a.</i> Hirēmagaḷūr, ...	50
Mēlukōṭe, <i>vi.</i> , ...	308n	mugūḷi, <i>tree</i> , ...	50
Mendamma, <i>m.</i> , ...	59	Mugūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	147
Mēnmātura, <i>vi.</i> , ...	161, 162	Muḥammadan, ...	9n, 11, 291n
Merkara, <i>vi.</i> , ...	147	Mukhalingam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	161
Mēru, <i>mo.</i> , ...	8, 61, 315	mukha-maṇḍapa, ...	321
Mērutunga, <i>author</i> , ...	99, 202, 242	Mukkadapina-hole, <i>stream</i> , ...	136
Mhow, <i>vi.</i> , ...	95	Mulaka, <i>co.</i> , ...	61, 62
mīḍha (mīḷha), ...	45n	Mūlasaṅgha, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> , ...	129n
Mimānsā, ...	183	Mūlika, <i>co.</i> , ...	62n
Miraj, <i>vi.</i> , ...	30n	Mullūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	147
Mlēchchha, <i>a</i> Muḥammadan, ...	9	Multagi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	147 and add., 148
Mōḍha, <i>family</i> , ...	208	Muṇaiyadaraiyan, <i>m.</i> , ...	299n
Mogalūr, <i>di.</i> , ...	147, 148	Munḍaka, <i>co.</i> , ...	62
Monghyr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	151	Munda-rāshtra, <i>di.</i> , ...	160, 163
months, lunar :—		Mundasthala, <i>s.a.</i> Murthala, ...	206, 207
Āshāḍha, ...	56n, 83, 308	Munisuvrata, <i>s.a.</i> Suvrata, 125, 134n, 135n, 136, 208	
Āvayuja or Āśvina, ...	163, 289	Muñjadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , ...	99n
Bhādrapada, ...	54, 189, 300	Mura, <i>demon</i> , ...	17, 24
Chaitra, 10n, 52, 53, 86, 98n, 124, 134, 182, ...	195, 205, 208, 289	Muraitha(?)-ghaṭṭa, ...	151
Jyēsthā, ...	238, 240, 241	Murasīman, <i>vi.</i> , ...	139
Kārttika, 10, 17, 24, 54, 57, 58 and add., 83, ...	140, 147, 148, 202, 236, 284, 288, ...	Murthala, <i>vi.</i> , ...	207
Māgha, ...	152, 153, 157, 231, 289	Mūrti Eyaṇṇ, <i>m.</i> , ...	319n
Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśīrsha, 41, 45, 58, 153, ...	154, 202, 241, 300	Murajunga, <i>vi.</i> , ...	140
Pauṣha or Pushya, ...	153, 183, 241	Murwārā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285
Phālguna or Phālgua, 203, 204, 207, 219, ...	299, 305	Mūsi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	12
Vaiśākha or Vesākha, 54, 82, 155, 208, 237, ...	238, 240, 241	Māvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyan, <i>sur. of</i> Māraṇ- gāri, ...	318, 320
months, solar :—		Mysore, <i>co.</i> , ...	55, 56
Āṣi, ...	306		
Kārttigai, ...	269		
Pāṅguni, ...	299, 305		
Tai, ...	3		
Moon, race of the, 8, 134, 135, 140, 305, 307, 315			
Mothers (Mātri), ...	35, 148		
Mōṭupalli, <i>vi.</i> , ...	10, 12n		
Mṛigēsavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	25, 28n, 30		
Mṛitaṇḍa, <i>riśāi</i> , ...	216		
Mūḍabidure, <i>vi.</i> , ...	122, 125n, 129, 130n		
mūḍe, <i>measure</i> , 124, 125, 129, 130, 136, 137, 138			

N

Nābhāga, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	61
Nādamuṇigal, <i>Vaiṣṇava āchārya</i> , ...	294, 295
Nadāsiri, <i>f.</i> , ...	93
Nadumbarai, <i>vi.</i> , ...	291
Nāga, <i>dy.</i> , ...	292n
Nāga, <i>Redḍi ch.</i> , ...	10
Nāgakulā, <i>channel</i> , ...	308, 315
Nagarkōṭ (Kāṅgrā), <i>vi.</i> , ...	171
Nāgavardhana, <i>teacher</i> , ...	230, 231
Nāgēndra-gachchha, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> , ...	203, 218, 219
Nagode State, ...	285
Nāgpur, <i>vi.</i> , ...	138
Nahapāna, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> , ...	78, 82, 85, 86, 174n

	PAGE		PAGE
Nabusha, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	61	Nāradapañcharātra, <i>quoted</i> , ...	63
Naināra, <i>sur. of Sudarśanāchārya</i> , ...	305n add.	Narasa-Nāyaka, <i>Tuḷuva ch.</i> , ...	127
nakara, ...	126n and add.	Narasimha-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
nakshatras:—		Nāraśingam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	317
Anurādhā, ...	4, 7, 265, 268, 272	Narasiṅgayya, <i>m.</i> , ...	59
Ārdrā, ...	1, 2, 262, 263, 289	Naravāhanadatta, <i>legendary k.</i> , ...	230
Aśvini, ...	270	Nārāyaṇa, <i>m.</i> , ...	99
Chitrā, ...	266, 277	Nārāyaṇa, <i>s.a. Viṣṇu</i> , ...	145, 146, 288
Hasta, ...	269, 281, 283	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Jyēṣṭhā, ...	269	Nārāyaṇavilāsa, <i>drama</i> , ...	299
Kṛittikā, ...	5, 280, 281	Nārgol, <i>vi.</i> , ...	79
Maghā, ...	2, 5, 271, 277, 278	Narmadā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	286
Mṛigaśīrā, Mṛigaśīra or Mṛigaśīrsha, 124,		Nārve, <i>vi.</i> , ...	129n
134, 268, 289, 290		Nāsik, <i>vi.</i> , 41n, 47n, 48n, 59, 73, 84, 92, 93,	145, 183
Mūla, ...	57, 58 and add., 267, 275, 277	Nāsika, <i>s.a. Nāsik</i> , ...	92
Punarvasu, ...	3, 6, 263, 274, 278	Nāsikka, <i>do.</i> , ...	183
Pūrva-Phalgunī, ...	2, 267	nāṭikā, <i>a drama of four acts</i> , ...	98
Pushya, ...	6, 271, 272, 275, 279	Naugama, <i>s.a. Nōgāwā</i> , ...	188n
Rēvatī, 6, 261, 263, 269, 270, 278, 279, 299,		Nausārī, <i>vi.</i> , ...	229, 231
305, 308, 315		Navagāma-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150
Rōhini, ...	3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 264, 265, 273, 280	Navagrāmaka, <i>s.a. Nōgāwā</i> , ...	189
Śatabhishab, ...	7, 262, 267, 273	Navanara (Navanagara), <i>vi.</i> , ...	67
Śravana, ...	3, 272, 274, 276, 277, 282, 283	Navasārikā, <i>s.a. Nausārī</i> , ...	230, 231
Uttara-Bhadrapadā, ...	4, 265, 268, 281, 282	Nayachandrasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , ...	207
Uttara-Phalgunī, ...	266, 273, 282	Nayanakēlidēvi, <i>queen of Gōvindahandra</i> , ...	149
Uttarāshādhā, ...	265, 270	Nayanapālī, <i>vi.</i> , ...	157
Viśākhā, ...	266, 276	Nayānkura, <i>Pallava surname</i> , ...	145
Nakshispura-ahaturastikā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150n	Nāyinār, <i>m.</i> , ...	317
Nālayiraprabandham, <i>name of a work</i> , ...	290, 294n	Nedumāraṇ, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , ...	318
nālgāmunḍa, ...	59	Nedūñjaḍaiyaṇ, <i>sur. of Jaṭilavarman</i> , ...	294,
nāli, <i>measure</i> , ...	295, 296	318n, 319n	
Nallanūka, <i>Redḍi ch.</i> , ...	10	Nelatur, <i>vi.</i> , ...	160
Nallur, <i>vi.</i> , ...	129	Nellore, <i>di.</i> , ...	10
Nallūru, <i>s.a. Nallur</i> , ...	125, 129, 136, 138	Nellore, <i>vi.</i> , ...	11
Nambibēṭṭi-Nārana, <i>m.</i> , ...	138	Nēmi, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	134, 218, 219
Nammālvār, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> , ...	294, 295, 319	Nēminātha or Nēmināthasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , 128,	
Nānāghāt, <i>vi.</i> , ...	92	200, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207	
Nānāngola, <i>s.a. Nārgol</i> , ...	79, 80	Nēulasatāvisikā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150
Nandagiri, <i>mo.</i> , ...	52, 58	Nidugal, <i>vi.</i> , ...	135n
Nandaprabhañjanavarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , ...	288n	nigamasabbā, <i>the public hall</i> , ...	84
Nandasiri, <i>f.</i> , ...	75	Nigliṇa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	167n
Nandini-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150, 165	nija-Śrāvapa, ...	127
Nandippōttaraiyaṇ, <i>Pallavatilaka k.</i> , ...	293n	Nikaḷaṅka-malla, <i>biruda</i> , ...	135
Nandivāra-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	150, 153, 154	Nīlabe, <i>f.</i> , ...	59
Nandivarman or Nandivarman Pallavamalla,		Nīlambūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	146
Pallava k., ...	26, 292, 293, 294	nīlpaṇya, <i>measure of land</i> , ...	51, 58
Nandivikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava k.</i> , ...	292	Nīpatatāra, <i>s.a. Kāḍappēri</i> , ...	308, 309, 315
Nāṅgunēri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	318n	Nirgaṇḍi, <i>tank</i> , ...	195
Nanhwārā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285	Nirukta, ...	183
Nannilam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	300		

	PAGE		PAGE
Nishāda, co., ...	41, 47	Palakkada, vi., ...	161
Nitimārga, sur. of Western Gaṅga kings, ...	51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58	Pālār, ri., ...	309
nivartana, land measure, ...	72, 74, 146, 236n	Palasaupāḍi, vi., ...	153
nivṛit, a division, ...	300n	Palāṣini, ri., ...	42, 46
niyōgika or naiyōgika, an officer, ...	236, 238	Paldūnā, vi., ...	189
Nōgāwā, vi., ...	188, 189, 195	Pallava, s.a. Pahlava, ...	61
Nṛipakāma-Poysala, Hoysala k., ...	56	Pallava, dy., 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 144, 145, 146, 160, 161, 163, 230, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296	
Nṛipatūṅga or Nṛipatūṅgavikramavarman, Gaṅga-Pallava k., ...	292, 293	Pallavakulatilaka, biruda of Dantivarman-Mahārāja, ...	293n
Nṛisimha, te., ...	317	Pallavatilaka, family, ...	293n
Nūka, s.a. Nallanūka, ...	10	Pallava-Trinētra, sur. of Vēma, ...	9, 10, 11
Nūgambākkam, vi., ...	291	Palmādi, vi., ...	51, 59
O		Paluvūt-kōṭṭa, s.a. Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam, ...	308, 315
odayantrika, guild, ...	89	Pāmbēya Sarvōttama Ātharvapaṇi, m., ...	238
Odḍa, s.a. Orissa, ...	140	Paṇjāla, vi., ...	138
Ōḍhēm, vi., ...	184	Pampāpati, te., ...	308n
Ōḍra, s.a. Orissa, ...	140	Panasōge (Panasōkā), s.a. Hanasōge, ...	122n, 124
oil-millers (tilapishaka), guild of, ...	89	pañchakhajjāya, ...	137
Ōisavāla, s.a. Ūsavāla, ...	206	Pañchaladēsa, co., ...	160
ōja or vāja, an artificer, ...	140n	pañchāmṛita, ...	137
Ōṇavala-pathaka, di., ...	150, 151	Pañchōmkāra, te., ...	152, 153
Ongole, vi., ...	10	Pāndala-pattalā, di., ...	151
Oontiya, vi., ...	165	Pāṇḍimaṅgalaviśaiyaraiaṇ, sur. of Māraṇ Eyiaṇ, ...	319, 321
Ōṛāṣā, s.a. Oria, ...	206, 207	paṇḍita, ...	153, 154, 155, 157, 158
Oria, vi., ...	207	Paṇḍitārya, sur. of Śrutamuni, ...	17, 23
Orissa, co., ...	140, 286	Pāṇḍya, co., ...	5, 8, 265, 266, 274, 275n, 291, 294, 300, 305, 318, 320
Ormuz, vi., ...	12	Pāṇḍyanagari, vi., ...	125, 135
Ōsumbhālā, s.a. Umbhāl, ...	231	Pāṇḍyappa-Voḍeya, Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ch., ...	128
P		Pāṇḍyarāya, s.a. Vira-Pāṇḍya, ...	125, 128
Pachmarhī, vi., ...	165	Pāṇḍya-Voḍeya, ch., ...	129
Padamaladēvi, f., ...	201, 214	Pāpini, ...	25, 26, 39n, 46n, 91, 98n
Padapāṭha, ...	170	Panjāb, co., ...	12
Paḍariyā, vi., ...	167n	Panno-Ōja, m., ...	59
paḍika (pratika), coin, ...	82, 83, 84	Paṇṛuṭṭi, vi., ...	8
Padmanābha, Jaina teacher, ...	17	Pāpanāṣa, m., ...	317
Padmanābha, te., ...	8	Pārādā, ri., ...	79
Padmanāyaka, s.a. Velama, ...	11	Parakēsarivarman, sur. of Chōla kings, 1, 2, 3, 261, 262, 263	
Padmāvatī or Padmāvatidēvi, goddess, ...	124, 125, 126, 128, 134, 135, 136, 137	paramabhaṭṭāraka, ...	140, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158
Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam, di., ...	308, 309, 315n	Paramāra, dy., ...	96, 98, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 216
Pagāra, vi., ...	165	Paramāra, k., ...	201, 216
Pahlava, tribe, ...	41, 49	paramēśvara, ...	9, 140, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 183, 230
Pāiyalachchhī Nāmamālā, quoted, ...	117n, 247n, 254n, 257n	Paramēśvara-Viṇṇagaram, s.a. Vaikunṭha-Perumāḷ, ...	293, 294
Pāka-nāḍu, di., ...	10, 11		

	PAGE		PAGE
Parāntaka, <i>sur. of Jaṣilavarman</i> , ...	319n	Pennār, <i>vi.</i> , ...	135n
Parāntaka, <i>sur. of Mārañjaḍaiyan</i> , ...	318, 320	Penukoṇḍa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	135n
Parāntaka I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	260, 281, 292, 318	Periyatirumolī, <i>quoted</i> , ...	290n, 293n
Parāsarabhaṭṭa, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher</i> , ...	305n	Persia, <i>co.</i> , ...	12
Parava, <i>tribe</i> , ...	136n	Perumbāpappāḍi, <i>di.</i> , ...	28n
Pāricāta, <i>s.a. Pāriyātra</i> , ...	61, 62	Peruṅgai Dēvarāja, <i>m.</i> , ...	317
Pārijātamañjarī, <i>nāṭikā</i> , ...	98, 99, 101	Peruṅgai Vēṅkaṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	317
Pārijātamañjarī, <i>queen</i> , ...	100, 101	Peshawar, <i>vi.</i> , ...	297
parinirvāna, ...	167, 172	Pēthaḍa, <i>m.</i> , ...	203, 217
parishā (parishad), ...	176, 177n	Pētha-Paṅgaraka, <i>s.a. Pagāra</i> , ...	164
Parivrājaka, <i>family</i> , ...	284, 285, 286	Pēyālvār, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> , ...	290
Pāriyātra, <i>mo.</i> , ...	62	Phāguṇa, <i>s.a. Phālguna</i> , ...	207
Parkham, <i>vi.</i> , ...	174n	Philipi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	206
Pārśva, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208n	Phirāṅgipuram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	13
Pārśvanātha, <i>do.</i> , ...	125, 134	Phuljhar, <i>di.</i> , ...	286
Pārśvanāthasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , ...	138	Pidena, <i>vi.</i> , ...	238
Pārthaparākrama, <i>drama</i> , ...	203	Pikira, <i>vi.</i> , ...	160, 161, 163, 234, 237n
Pārthasārathisvāmin, <i>te.</i> , ...	290, 291	Pimḍitakāvaḍa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	79
pārvaṇa, ...	84	Pina-Vēdagiri, <i>ch.</i> , ...	13
Parvapārvata, <i>mo.</i> , ...	99	Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Pārvatī, <i>goddess</i> , ...	314, 315	Piprāvā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	317n
Paśchimachohhapana-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	161	Pirāṅmalai, <i>hill</i> , ...	318n
paśu, <i>animal sacrifice</i> , ...	84	Piriya-Mugulī, <i>s.a. Hirēmagalūr</i> , ...	50, 51, 59
Pāsupata, ...	164	Pisāchīpadraka, <i>vi.</i> , ...	65
Paśupatiśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	278	Pisājīpadaka, <i>s.a. Pisāchīpadraka</i> , ...	62, 65
pāṭaka, ...	157, 158n	Pitri-bhaktā, <i>legend on seal</i> , ...	288n
Pāṭaliputta (Patna), <i>vi.</i> , ...	169	Piyadasi, <i>sur. of Aśoka</i> , ...	87, 169
Pātālīśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	4	Pokhara, <i>vi.</i> , ...	81
Paṭhāṅkōṭ, <i>vi.</i> , ...	171	Pokshara, <i>s.a. Pokhara</i> , ...	79
Paṭika, <i>ch.</i> , ...	297	Polai, <i>vi.</i> , ...	291n
Patnā, <i>di.</i> , ...	286	Pōlaya-Vēma, <i>Reḍḍi ch.</i> , ...	11, 13
Patparā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285	Pollakaliyada-hole, <i>stream</i> , ...	136
Pattana, <i>vi.</i> , ...	208	Pombuchcha or Ponbucheḥa, <i>s.a. Humcha</i> , ...	124, 126, 134, 135
paṭṭi, <i>s.a. nivartana</i> , ...	236n	Pombulcha, <i>do.</i> , ...	126
Paṭṭi, <i>s.a. Paṭṭi-rājya</i> , ...	126n	Pomburcha, <i>do.</i> , ...	126n
paṭṭikā, ...	169, 237	Ponvulcha, <i>do.</i> , ...	126n add.
paṭṭikā, <i>s.a. nivartana</i> , ...	296	Pōta, <i>Reḍḍi ch.</i> , ...	10
Paṭṭi-Pombucheḥapura, <i>s.a. Humcha</i> , ...	126, 128, 134	Pōta, <i>s.a. Anapōta</i> , ...	10
Paṭṭi-rājya, <i>co.</i> , ...	126n, 128	Prabandhachintāmaṇi, <i>name of a work</i> , ...	99, 202, 242
Pausha, <i>year</i> , ...	31n	Prabhañjana, <i>Parivrājaka k.</i> , ...	288
Pāvanāśa, <i>m.</i> , ...	316	Prabhāsa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	79, 208
Pavanavyādhi, <i>s.a. Uddhava</i> , ...	217n	Prabhūtarsha, <i>sur. of Gōvinda II.</i> , ...	183
Pāvāpi, <i>m.</i> , ...	11	Prabhūtarsha, <i>s.a. Gōvinda III.</i> , ...	294n
Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, <i>Reḍḍi k.</i> , ...	12, 13	prabōdhanī, <i>s.a. utthāna-dvādasi</i> , ...	308
Peggūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	50	Prachita, <i>metre</i> , ...	26, 33n
Pemmāḍi, <i>m.</i> , ...	59	Prāgrāṭa, <i>family</i> , ...	201, 203, 205, 206, 214, 217
Pemmāḍigāmunda, <i>m.</i> , ...	59	Prahlādana, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , ...	201, 202, 203, 216
Pemmāḍigaṇḍa, <i>m.</i> , ...	58n	prāṇachārya, ...	153, 154
Pemmāḍigaṇḍa, <i>m.</i> , ...	58		
Pemmanāḍi, ...	58		

	PAGE		PAGE
Prapañaliṅga, s.a. Prapavēśvara,	 24n	Pūjodivana-Perumāḷ, te.,	 305
Prapavēśvara, te.,	 24	Pūjamāyī, s.a. Siri-Pūjamāyī Vāsithiputa,	 68
prapaynakriyā,	 49n	Punarvasu, m.,	 288
praśasti,	 28, 98, 241	Punḍarikāksha-bhaṭṭa, m.,	 316
Prastaravatāka, s.a. Patparā,	 284, 285, 288	Punēdadhalli, vi.,	 136
pras̥tha, measure,	 129n	Pūngi, di.,	 10, 11
Pratāpadēvarāya, Vijayanagara prince,	 308	Puñjali- or Puñjalike-rāja, di.,	 129
Pratāpasrudra, Kūkatiya k.,	 11, 12	Purāna,	 183
Pratāparudriyam, name of a work,	 101	Purisadattā, f.,	 75
Pratāpaśila, sur. of Karkarāja,	 183	Pūrṇasimha, m.,	 203, 217
Pratihāra or Pratibhāra, family,	 150n, 206	pūrpimanta,	 289
Pratishtāna-kōṣa, s.a. Paṭhānkōṭ,	 171	Purōha-pattalā, di.,	 151
pravaraṅkara,	 153, 154, 155, 157, 158	purōhita, a family priest,	 200
pravaras :—		Puruhanman, rishī,	 170
Āgiraśa,	 140, 153	Purūrasva, mythical k.,	 218n
Autathya,	 140	Purushamaṇḍapa, vi.,	 140
Āvatsāra,	 155	Pushpitāgrā, metre,	 26
Bārhaspatya,	 152	Pushyagupta, ch.,	 41, 46
Bhāradvāja,	 152	Pushyavuddhi (Pushyavṛddhi), Buddhist friar,	 173 and add., 175, 177, 180, 181
Dhauṃya,	 154		
Gautama,	 140		
Kāṅkāyana,	 154		
Kāśyapa,	 155		
Kaṁśika,	 154		
Naidhruva,	 155		
Pravarasēna II., Vākātaka k.,	 31 and add.		
pravrajita,	 164		
Prayāga, s.a. Allāhabād,	 139n, 151, 152		
Prēhara or Prēharā (?),	 28, 29, 35		
Prēmapurisēvara, te.,	 6		
prithivivalabha or prithiviallabha,	 128, 183, 230, 231		
Prithu, mythical k.,	 35		
Prithvisrikā (?), queen of Madanapāla,	 149		
Prijadarśikā, nātikā,	 98n		
Prōlaya-Vēma, s.a. Vēma,	 10		
Puduppakkam, vi.,	 291		
Fugaḷttunai-Viśaiyaraiyan, m.,	 285, 296		
Pulakēsīn II., W. Chalukya k.,	 33n, 231		
Pulakēsirāja, Gujarāt Chalukya ch.,	 231		
Pulakēsī-Vallabha, s.a. Pulakēsīn II.,	 230, 231		
Pujal-nādu, di.,	 291n		
Pularkōṭṭam, di.,	 291n		
Pulicat, vi.,	 161		
Pulindānaka, s.a. Paldūnā,	 189		
Puliūr, vi.,	 291n		
Puliūr-kōtṭam, di.,	 291		
Pullaribōdu, hill,	 13n		
pulli, s.a. virāma,	 291, 319		
Pulōman, demon,	 216		
		R	
		Rācha or Rācha-Vēma, Redḍi k.,	 13, 13
		Rāchamalla, W. Gaṅga k.,	 52
		Rāchamalla II., do.,	 56, 57, 58
		Rāchamalla III., do.,	 51, 52, 54, 57, 58
		Rachchha-Gaṅga, W. Gaṅga k.,	 54, 56
		rādā,	 98
		Rādā, f.,	 98n
		Rādhanpur, vi.,	 184
		Radia, vi.,	 168
		Raghu, Kadamba k.,	 29, 30, 35
		Raghu, mythical k.,	 22, 213
		Raghuvamsa, quoted,	 26n, 35n, 36n, 46n
		Rāhu, planet,	 305
		Raigarh, di.,	 286
		rainy season,	 72, 74
		Raipur, vi.,	 286
		Rairākhhol, di.,	 286
		Raivataka, mo.,	 208
		Raiwān, vi.,	 154n
		rājādhirāja,	 305
		Rājādhirāja II., Chōḷa k.,	 261
		rājaguru,	 98, 99
		Rajahmundry, vi.,	 12

	PAGE		PAGE
Rājakēsarivarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	293n	Raṇḍavai, <i>vi.</i> , ...	151
rājakula, ...	204, 206	Raṅga, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	291
Rājamalla, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , ...	55	Raṅganātha, <i>te.</i> , ...	8
rājan, ...	171, 172	Raṅjāla, <i>s.a.</i> Renjāla, ...	125, 129, 136
rājaparamēśvara, ...	305	Raṅjubula, <i>s.a.</i> Rajul, ...	174, 180
rājaputra, ...	189, 190, 206	Rāshtrakūṭa, <i>dy.</i> , 126, 164, 183, 184, 206n,	292, 294n
Rājarāja (Kuvēra), <i>god</i> , ...	230	Rasikasamjivini, <i>commentary</i> , ...	99
Rājarāja II., <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	1, 2, 3, 260, 263, 264	Rās Mālā, <i>quoted</i> , ...	206n
Rājarāja III., <i>do.</i> , 1, 6, 260, 267, 268, 269,	270, 271, 272, 291	Ratanpur, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285, 286
Rājataḍāka, <i>tank</i> , ...	146	rāthiya, ...	204, 206
Rajatagirīśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	270, 273	ratna-traya, <i>the three jewels</i> , ...	134n, 135n
Rājatarāṅgi, <i>quoted</i> , ...	34n, 101	Ratnāvali, <i>nāṭikā</i> , ...	98n, 100
Rājendra-Chōla, <i>k.</i> , ...	56	Rāvapa, <i>demon</i> , ...	30n
Rājendra-Chōla I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , 260, 261, 262, 291,	294n, 295n	Ravidhara, <i>m.</i> , ...	153
Rājendra-Chōla III., <i>do.</i> , 1, 7, 260, 272, 273, 274		Ravivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	30, 31, 147, 148
Raji, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	213	Ravivarman, <i>Kēraḷa k.</i> , ...	8, 9
Rājputāna, <i>co.</i> , ...	79, 286	Rāyachēkōlugapda, <i>sur. of Vēma</i> , ...	9
Rajula, <i>Kshatrapa ch.</i> , ...	174	Rāyakōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , ...	292n
Rājyapāla, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	149, 157	Rayapā-ojjhā, <i>m.</i> , ...	140
Rājyapālapura, <i>vi.</i> , ...	151, 157	Rebhila, <i>m.</i> , ...	89
Rakkhulla-grāma, <i>s.a.</i> Lākhalgāmv, ...	183	Reḍḍi, <i>dy.</i> , ...	9n, 10, 11, 12, 13
Raksha, ...	86	Renjāla, <i>vi.</i> , ...	129
Rākshasa, ...	62	Rishabha, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208
Rālhaṇa (Rālha)-dēvi, <i>mother of Gōvindachan-</i>		Rishabhadatta, <i>Kshaharāta k.</i> , ...	72
<i>dra</i> , ...	149	Rishika, <i>co.</i> , ...	62
Rāma, <i>saint</i> , ...	22n, 36n, 48n, 61, 213n, 216n, 230	Rodda, <i>vi.</i> , ...	135n
Rāma or Rāmadēva, <i>s.a.</i> Rāmachandra, 299,	305, 306	Rōddada-gōva, <i>biruda</i> , ...	135
Rāmabhūpati, <i>Yādava prince</i> , ...	299n	Rohanigutta, <i>m.</i> , ...	69
Rāmachandra, <i>Yādava k.</i> , ...	299	Rōhigigupta, <i>m.</i> , ...	145, 146
Rāmadēva, <i>m.</i> , ...	98	Rūdamaṇavayālisī-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151
Rāmadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , ...	201, 216	Rudra, <i>s.a.</i> Śiva, ...	23
Rāmāgiri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	264, 268, 271	Rudradāman, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> , 40, 41, 45, 47n,	48n, 49, 62
Rāmaṇaka, <i>m.</i> , ...	90	Rukmāṅga, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	50
Rāmanātha, <i>te.</i> , ...	300, 305	Rummindēt, <i>the Lumbini garden</i> , ...	167n, 168
Rāmānuja, <i>Vaiṣṇava āchārya</i> , ...	294	rūpakāra, <i>a sculptor</i> , ...	98
Rāmarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	290n	Rūpnāth, <i>vi.</i> , ...	168, 170, 171
Rāmatirtha, <i>vi.</i> , ...	79	Rutlam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	188, 195
Rāmāyapa, 26n, 30n, 36n, 39, 40, 45n, 46n,	48n, 49n, 215n		
Rambhāmayūranagarī, <i>vi.</i> , ...	308n, 315		
Rāmēśvaran, <i>island</i> , ...	300		
Rāmpūrva, <i>vi.</i> , ...	168		
rāpaka, ...	140, 205		
[Rāna P.]pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151		
Raparāga, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , ...	46n		
Rapasāgara, <i>Āluva prince</i> , ...	126n add.		
Rapavikrama, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , ...	53		

S

sabhā-maṇḍapa, ...	200
Sādaḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	202
Sādagera or Sādakara, ...	62
Śadaiyaṇ, <i>s.a.</i> Māraḍjaḍaiyaṇ, ...	319
Sadāsīva, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	291
Sādharāpa, <i>m.</i> , ...	140
Sagara, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	35, 61, 149
Sahasrām, <i>vi.</i> , ...	60, 163

	PAGE		PAGE
Sābilavādā, s.a. Selwara, ...	206, 207	Sāñchi, vi., ...	163, 169, 178n
Sāhityadarpaṇa, quoted, ...	98n	sāndhivigraha, ...	230
Sahya, mo., ...	61	Saṅgaravi, m., ...	189
Sailarwadi, vi., ...	75	Śaṅgaśarman, m., ...	296
Śaiva, ...	295n, 318	saṅgharājā, ...	172
Śaka, tribe, ...	61, 62, 79, 86, 89, 95, 96, 178	Sanjan, vi., ...	79
Śakāni, a female of the Śaka tribe, ...	89	saṅkumada, civet, ...	12
Sakarāyapaṭṭa, s.a. Sakkarāyapaṭṭa, ...	50	San Marco, church, ...	173
Sākhā, vi., ...	86	Sāntaḷige one thousand, di., ...	126
Sakkarāyapaṭṭa, vi., ...	50	Santānasāgara, tank, ...	13
Sākahināthasvāmin, te., ...	7	Śāntara, family, ...	126, 127, 128
Sakti, di., ...	286	Sānthakara, m., ...	140
Śākya, tribe, ...	177	Śāntinātha, Jaina teacher, ...	17
Śākyamuni, s.a. Buddha, ...	166, 178	Śāntisūtri, do., ...	203, 218
Śākyasimha, do., ...	177	Śāntivaravarman, s.a. Śāntivarman, ...	30
Sāla, s.a. Salgaon, ...	206, 207	Śāntivarman, Kadamba k., ...	28, 30, 36
Salgaon, vi., ...	207	Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit, s.a. Elumuri-parru, ...	300, 305
Sāluva, family, ...	127	Saptasatakam, poem, ...	117n
Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), m., ...	73, 74	sārā, supervision, ...	204, 205n
Sāmalipada, vi., ...	67, 68	Śārādādevī, s.a. Sarasvatī, ...	99n
samaṇa, s.a. śramaṇa, ...	67	Śaraśārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ, te., ...	1
Sāmāgaḍ, vi., ...	184	Śārangarh, di., ...	286
Sāmantasimha, Guhila ch., ...	202, 216	Sarasvatī, goddess, ...	200, 213, 216n
Sāmantasvāmin, m., ...	230	Sarasvatī, te., ...	99
Samarapuṇḍava-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	316	Sarāṭṭi, vi., ...	206
Samaṣṭabhuvanāśraya, ...	128	Śārdūlavikrīḍita, metre, ...	26
Sambalpur, di., ...	286	śarman, ending of Brāhmaṇa names, ...	28n
Śāmbhu, s.a. Śiva, ...	202, 218	Śārnāth, vi., 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, ...	173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182
Saṅgama I., Vijayanagara k., ...	299, 305, 307, 315	Śārngadharapaddhati, quoted, ...	203
saṅgha, ...	62, 75, 76, 82, 89, 90, 91, 94, 135, ...	Saruvāra, di., ...	151
saṅghapati, ...	167, 169	śarvādhyakṣa, ...	163
saṅghaprabhu, s.a. saṅghapati, ...	208	Sarvakalā or Samastakalā, queen of Arjuna-varman, ...	100, 101
Samgrāma, m., ...	140	Sarvalōkāśraya, sur. of Maṅgiyavarāja, ...	237, 238
Samgrāmadhira, sur. of Ravivarman, ...	8, 9	Sarvamāṅgalā, s. a. Pārvatī, ...	316n
samidh, ...	34	sarvamānya, ...	305, 306, 315
Sāmkhya, ...	288n	Sarvāstivādin, school of Buddhists, ...	180, 181
samkrāntis : —		Sarvatōbbhadra, verse, ...	125n, 130, 138
Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti, ...	272n, 277n	śāsanasaṁhārīn, an official messenger, ...	163
Uttarāyana-samkrānti, ...	157, 158, 183n, 269	Śātakapi Gotamiputa, Andhra k., ...	73
Sāmkshōbha, Parivrajaka k., ...	284, 288, 289	Śātakarpi, do., ...	28, 29, 36, 41, 47, 63
Sammitiya or 'tiya, sect of Buddhist monks, ...	172	Śātakarpi, sur. of Andhrabhṛitya kings, ...	29, 62
Sampatkumāra or Sampatkumārapāṇḍita, m., ...	307, 308, 315, 316n, 317	Satallamā, s. a. Satlama, ...	138 add., 140
Sampatsuta, s.a. Sampatkumāra, ...	316	Sātārā, vi., ...	25n
samsāra, ...	139	Sātavāhana (Sādavāhana), family, ...	93
samtānaka, a celestial tree, ...	22	Sātavāhana, s.a. Andhrabhṛitya, ...	29, 61
Sāntōshā, f., ...	208	Sati, vi., ...	151
Samudragupta, Gupta k., ...	29, 286		
samyaktva, ...	135		

	PAGE		PAGE
sakta, ...	204	Simhavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	30
Satlatna, vi., ...	193 add.	Simhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	160, 163, 234, 237n
Satrumjaya, vi., ...	208	Simhavikrama, <i>sur. of</i> Indrabhattarakavarman, ...	237
Satrumjayamāhātmya, <i>quoted</i> , ...	208n	Simhavikramapattana, <i>sur. of</i> Nellore, ...	11
Sāttāṅgaṇavadi, m., ...	319n	Simhavishnu, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	234
Sattisārman, m., ...	296	Sindho-Sauvira, co., ...	41, 47
Satyamaṅgalam, vi., ...	308	Sindinagara, s.a. Sinner, ...	183
Satyāśraya, <i>sur. of</i> W. Chālukya kings, ...	230, 231	Singa, ch., ...	12
Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, <i>governor of Revatidvīpa</i> , ...	25n	Singara, family, ...	149
Satyavākya, <i>sur. of</i> W. Gaṅga kings, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57		Singavaram, vi., ...	277
Sāḍ, f., ...	201, 214	Sinner, vi., ...	183
Saura, a sun-worshipper, ...	165	Śiraikkāvūr, s.a. Śōraikkāvūr, ...	298, 300, 305
Śaurirāja-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	316	Sirasi, s.a. Sirsi, ...	151
savana-traya, ...	34	Sirasi-pattalā, di., ...	151
Savasa, m., ...	76	Siri-Puṣumayi or Siri-Pulumai, <i>Andhra k.</i> , ...	59, 95
Selvapillivi, te., ...	308n	Siri-Puṣumāyi(māvi) Vāsiṭhīputa, do., ...	61, 67, 72
Selwara, vi., ...	207	Siri-Sātakapi (Sadakapi) Gotamiputa, do., ...	61, 72
Sembiyam, vi., ...	291	Siritana, s.a. Śristana, ...	61, 62
Śēṣalūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	306	Siriyaṇa-Sātakapi, s.a. Yaṇasiri Sātakapi, ...	72
Sēnāpati, s.a. Kārttikēya, ...	29, 35	Sirsi, vi., ...	151
Seoni, di., ...	286	Sisa, metre, ...	13n
Ser, vi., ...	207	Sisila or Śisāla, s.a. Sisukali, ...	123, 129n
Śēsha, serpent, ...	23	Sisukali, vi., ...	128
Seṭagiri, mo., ...	61, 62	Śisupālavadhā, <i>quoted</i> , ...	26, 36n, 130, 239n
Seṭi-betta, ...	138	Sitā, ...	22n, 216n
Set-Mahot, vi., ...	180, 181, 182	Śiva, god, ...	10n, 28, 29, 33, 127, 214n, 215n, 291, 295n, 314, 315, 316
Sēto or Sētuvinaḍḍu, vi., ...	126n	Śivā, s. a. Pārvatī, ...	213
Shajānana, s.a. Kārttikēya, ...	29, 35	Śivadatta, <i>Ābhīra k.</i> , ...	89
Shahbāzgarhi, vi., ...	170, 297	Śivagupta, s.a. Mahāśivaguptarājadeva, ...	140n
Shābpur, vi., ...	297	Sivaguta, m., ...	72
Śiddāpara, vi., ...	177n	Śivakhandila, m., ...	67
Siddha, demi-gods, ...	86, 62	Śivalōkanātha, te., ...	261
siddhachakra, ...	124, 137	Śivamāra I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , ...	26n
Siddhāntas, the five, ...	155	Sivamita, m., ...	90
Siddharāja, <i>sur. of</i> Jayasimha, ...	99	Śivāṅkurēśvara, te., ...	282
siddhāya, ...	125	Śivaratha, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	30, 31
Sigurōḍha-pattalā, di., ...	151	Śivaskandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	144
Sihāka, m., ...	98	Śiyadōpi, vi., ...	152n
Sihara, s.a. Ser, ...	206, 207	Si-yu-ki, <i>quoted</i> , ...	166n
Sibarachchhita (Simharakahita), m., ...	297	Skandabhaṭṭa, m., ...	189, 190
Sibila (Simhila), m., ...	297	Skandagupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> , ...	37, 38, 42n
Śilāditya, <i>Gujarāt Chalukya ch.</i> , ...	230, 231	Skandakumāra, m., ...	317
Śilāditya I., <i>Valabhī k.</i> , ...	190	Skandaśishya, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	292n
Śilāditya II., do., ...	190	Skandaśishyavikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pal-lava k.</i> , ...	232n
śilpin, an artist, ...	98	Skandavarman I., <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	160, 234, 236
Simandharasāmin, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208	Skandavarman II., do., ...	160, 162
Simhala (Ceylon), island, ...	12	Śōbhana, m., ...	140
Simhanāda-Lōkēśvara, <i>Bōdhisattva</i> , ...	177	Śōḍasa, <i>Kshatrapa ch.</i> , ...	174, 180

	PAGE		PAGE
Śōhagā, f., ...	201, 214	Śrīstana, mo., ...	62
Śōla-maṇḍalam, s.a. Chōla-maṇḍalam, ...	305	Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, ...	300
sōma, juice, ...	34	Śrīvallabha, sur. of Rdshtrakūṭa kings, ...	184
sōma, m., ...	200, 203, 207, 214, 218	Śrīvara, sur. of Neḍuñjadaiyan, ...	318n
Sōmasimhadēva, Paramāra k., ...	201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 216	Śrīvaramaṅgai (Śrīvaramaṅgalam), s.a. Nāṅgunēri, ...	294n, 318n
Sōmēśvaradēva, author, ...	200, 201, 203, 205, 219	Śrīvaramaṅgalam, sur. of Vēlaṅguḍi, ...	294n, 318n
Sōmnāthpattan, vi., ...	201, 202	Śrīvaramaṅgalanagar. s.a. Śrīvaramaṅgai, ...	318n
Soṇarēkhā, ri., ...	42	Śrī-Vijaya-Jinālaya, te., ...	147
Soṇpur, di., ...	286	Śrī-Vijayasiddhi, legend on seal, ...	237
Śōṇaikkāvūr, vi., ...	298, 299, 300, 305n	Śrī-Vitarāga, ...	125, 138
Śōrpāra, vi., ...	79	Śrīyaṇa-Sātakapi, s. a. Sīriyaṇa-Sātakapi, eruch, ...	94 34
Śōṭṭaiyār, family name, ...	300n	Śrūtamuni, Jaina teacher, ...	17, 24
South Kōsala, s.a. Chhattīsgarh, ...	286	Śrūtaprakāśikā, name of a work, ...	305n
Sovasaka (Sauvarsha), m., ...	76	Śrīyāśraya, sur. of Śīlāditya, ...	230, 231
sparsavēdi, ...	11	sthāna, residence, ...	161
śrāddha, ...	34	Sthānakundūra, s.a. Tālagunda, ...	28, 36
śramana, ...	22n, 65, 93	sthānapati, ...	206
Śrautasūtra, ...	313n	sthānika, ...	125, 136
śrāvaka, ...	205, 206	Sthānu, s.a. Śiva, ...	33
Śravana-Belgoḷa, vi., ...	15, 17, 122n, 123n, 300	Sthavira, ...	64
Śrāvasti (Sahet-Mahet), vi., ...	173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181	Sthavirāvalīcharita, quoted, ...	208n
Śrī, s.a. Lakshmi, ...	135	St. Thomas, ...	290
Śrī-āśraya, legend on seal, ...	230	St. Thomē, vi., ...	290
Śrībhaṣya, ...	305n	stūpa, ...	91, 297
Śrī-Bhaṭṭakkaḥ, legend on seal, ...	188	Subāhu, Jaina saint, ...	208
Śrīgiri (Śrīparvata), s. a. Śrīsaila, ...	10, 309	Subhāṭa or Subhāṭavarman, Paramāra k., ...	98, 99
Śrīgiriṇdra, Śrīgiriśvara or Śrīgiriḥpāla, Vijayanagara prince, ...	308, 315	Suchindram, vi., ...	318n
Śrīmāḍ-Gōvīndachandradēvaḥ, legend on seal, ...	152	Sudarśana, lake, ...	40, 41, 42, 45, 46n, 49n
Śrīmāla, family, ...	206	Sudarśanabhāṭṭa, s.a. Sudarśanāchārya, ...	305n
Śrīmātāmahabu, vi., ...	206	Sudarśanāchārya, author, ...	305n and add.
Śrīmūla, m., ...	317	Sudisaṇa or Sudasaṇa, s.a. Piśāchīpadraka, ...	65, 67, 68, 69, 70
Śrīmātha, Telugu poet, ...	9n, 11, 12, 13n	Śūdra, caste, ...	29n
Śrīngēri, vi., ...	129	Suhadādēvi, f., ...	208
Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	317	Sujīvin, m., ...	74
Śrīpālādēva, Jaina teacher, ...	17	Sukīrti, m., ...	317n
Śrīparvata, s.a. Śrīsaila, ...	28, 34	Sukra, ...	217
Śrīparvatanātha-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	306	Sunāli, demon, ...	30n
Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa, W. Gaṅga k., ...	53, 54, 55	summer, ...	59, 61, 67, 74, 83, 89, 189
Śrīraṅga, Vijayanagara k., ...	290	Sun, race of the, ...	150n
Śrīraṅgam, island, ...	294n, 300, 305	Sundarēśvara, te., ...	276
Śrīraṅganātha, m., ...	317	Supārēva, Jaina saint, ...	208
Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	306	Suradhēnupura, vi., ...	55
Śrīraṅgarāja-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	306	Sūrāmbā, queen of Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, ...	13
Śrīraṅgopādhyāya, m., ...	317	Surāshṭra, co., ...	41, 47, 49, 62
Śrī-Rudra-bhaṭṭa, m., ...	317	Surat, vi., ...	231, 232n, 233n
Śrīsaila (Srisailam), mo., ...	10n, 12, 28n	Surāṭha, s. a. Surāshṭra, ...	61

	PAGE
Sūryasiddhānta, ...	241, 290n
Suśarman, <i>Parivṛājaka k.</i> , ...	288
sūtras :—	
Āpastamba, ...	306, 316, 317
Āśvalāyana, ...	306, 316
Bṛāhmayana, ...	306, 316, 317
Drāhyāyana, ...	306
suvarṇa, coin, ...	83, 85
Suvarṇamukha, vi., ...	79
Suvarṇasikātā, s.a. Sonarēkhā, ...	42, 46
Suvarṇavarsha, sur. of Karkarāja, ...	183
Suvira, s.a. Mahāvira, ...	134
Suviśākha, ch., ...	40, 41, 49
Suvrata, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	125n, 134
Śvabhira, co., ...	40, 41, 47
svāmi-bhōga, ...	295
Svapnēśvara-ghaṭṭa, ...	151
svastika, symbol, ...	65, 73
svayamvara, ...	49
Śvētavāhana, ch., ...	126n and add.

T

Takhasilā (Takhasilā), s.a. Taxila, ...	297
Tālagunda, vi., ...	24, 28, 29
Talakād or Talakād, vi., ...	51, 147
Talavananagara, s.a. Talakād, ...	147
talekaṭṭu, ...	123, 124
Tālikōṭa, vi., ...	127
tāmra, tāmra or tāmra-paṭṭaka, s.a. tāmra-śāsana, ...	152, 157, 158, 159
tāmra-śāsana, a copper-plate edict, ...	140
Tāpasa, m., ...	72, 76
Tāpasinī, f., ...	76
Tāpi, ri., ...	79
Tapti, vi., ...	231
tarka, ...	183
tarkuta, a mendicant, ...	34n
Taruṇānkura, <i>Pallava surname</i> , ...	145
tathājñātiya, ...	204
tattvālōka, chronogram, ...	308, 315
tattvas, the twenty-five, ...	288n
Taxila, vi., ...	297
tōdi, ...	279n
Tējapāla, m., ...	200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 214, 215, 217, 218
Tējapāimha, <i>Guhila ch.</i> , ...	202
Tējapāla, s.a. Tējapāla, ...	207
Tekirasi, sect of ascetics, ...	72

	PAGE
Telāra, s.a. Tellār, ...	125, 129, 136
Tellār, vi., ...	129
Telliyasiṅga-Nāyanār, te., ...	291
Telugu country, ...	12
Tēmishapachōttara-pattalā, di., ...	151
Teṇkāsi, vi., ...	282
Tērāla-Būchā-Reddi, <i>Redḍi ch.</i> , ...	11
Tēvūr, vi., ...	279
Tewar, vi., ...	285
ṭhakkura, ...	152, 155, 157, 207, 208
ṭhakkurājñi, ...	208
Thanaurā, vi., ...	285
Thērigāthā, quoted, ...	243n
tilada (tilaka), ...	295n
Tippa, m., ...	11, 12
Tirapbu, s.a. Tirraśmi, ...	62, 64, 65, 67, 74, 91
tirtha, ...	17, 78, 79, 86, 88, 206, 207, 208
Tirthakara or Tirtha, a <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	124, 125, 134, 135n, 136, 137, 207, 208
Tirthanagari, vi., ...	282
Tiruchchunai, vi., ...	275
Tirumaliśai-Ālvār, <i>Vaiṣṇava saint</i> , ...	290
Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, do., ...	290, 293, 294, 295
Tirumayilāppūr, s.a. Mailapur, ...	291
Tirumōgūr, vi., ...	319
Tirunānasambandar, <i>Śaiva saint</i> , ...	290n, 291, 318
Tirunellikkāval, vi., ...	267
Tiruppalātturai, vi., ...	261, 280
Tiruppāmbāpuram, vi., ...	300
Tiruppāmburam, s.a. Tiruppāmbāpuram, ...	299n, 300, 305
Tirupparattikupru, vi., ...	17
Tiruppullāni, vi., ...	277
Tiruppuṇavāśal, vi., ...	281
Tiruttēngūr, vi., ...	270, 273
Tiruvadi, vi., ...	1, 8, 283
Tiruvadigai, s.a. Tiruvadi, ...	8, 9
Tiruvakkarai, vi., ...	265, 295n
Tiruvālaṅgādu, vi., ...	291n
Tiruvālaṅjūli, vi., ...	2, 4, 5, 6, 263, 268
Tiruvālavāy, te., ...	318n
Tiruvallam, vi., ...	28n
Tiruvallikkēni, s.a. Triplicane, ...	290, 296
Tiruvalluvar, <i>Tamil poet</i> , ...	290
Tiruvāmūr, vi., ...	290
Tiruvāpaimalai, s.a. Āpaimalai, ...	318
Tiruvāpamiyūr, s.a. Tiruvāmūr, ...	290, 291n
Tiruvāpāmalai, vi., ...	4, 6, 7, 268, 269, 272
Tiruvārūr, vi., ...	262, 263, 274, 276
Tiruvāymoli, poem, ...	294, 295, 318n, 319n

	PAGE
Uchahra, <i>vi.</i> , ...	285
Uchchakalpa, <i>s.a.</i> Uchahrâ, ...	285
Udâiyârkôyil, <i>vi.</i> , ...	2
Udâli Vinâyakabhâtta, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Udayachandra, <i>ch.</i> , ...	294
Udayagiri, <i>mo.</i> , ...	238
Udayaprabhasûri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , ...	203, 218
Udayapura or Udâyâpura, <i>s.a.</i> Udiyâ- vara, ...	126n and add.
Udayavarma, <i>Paramâra k.</i> , ...	101n
Udayendiram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	294
Udbâhusundara, <i>m.</i> , ...	317
Uddhava, <i>m.</i> , ...	217n
Udipi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	122, 126n
Udiyâvara, <i>vi.</i> , ...	126n and add.
udraṅga, ...	189, 288
Udumbaragahvara, <i>vi.</i> , ...	189, 194, 195
Uesavâla, <i>family</i> , ...	206
Ughanatêrahôttara-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> , ...	151
Ugra-vaiṣa, <i>family</i> , ...	126n, 128
Ujeni, <i>vi.</i> , ...	86
Ujjain, <i>vi.</i> , ...	54, 56n, 57, 202n
Ujjivana, <i>s.a.</i> Uyyakkonda-vaṣanâḍu, ...	300, 305
Ukkal, <i>vi.</i> , ...	295
ullittâr, ...	317n
Umâdêvi, <i>queen of Jayasimha</i> , ...	8
Umâpati-bhâtta, <i>m.</i> , ...	316
Umarni, <i>vi.</i> , ...	207
Umbarâla-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> , ...	151, 158
Umbarapikî, <i>s.a.</i> Umarni, ...	206, 207
Umbhêl, <i>vi.</i> , ...	231
Unâvisa-pattalâ, <i>di.</i> , ...	151
Updikavâtikâ, <i>s.a.</i> Oontiya, ...	164, 165
upadhmâniya, ...	25, 164, 188, 194
upâdhyâya, ...	99, 140n
upamâ, ...	41
uparikara, ...	189, 388
upâsaka, ...	177n
upâsikâ, ...	177n
upatalpa, ...	40, 46n
Uppahallî, <i>vi.</i> , ...	50, 51, 52, 55, 56
Ûrjayat, <i>s.a.</i> Gîrnâr, ...	42, 46
ûrpâ, ...	177
Urôsapi, <i>s.a.</i> Rôhîni, ...	146n
Urpavallî, <i>s.a.</i> Uppahallî, ...	52, 59
Urapputtûrâr, <i>family name</i> , ...	300n
Urapputtûr Nârâyana-bhâtta, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Uravupallî, <i>vi.</i> , ...	146n, 160, 161, 163n, 234

	PAGE		PAGE
Uzabbadata, <i>ch.</i> , ...	72	Vanaspara or Vanashpara, <i>Kshatrapa ch.</i> , 173,	
Ushavadāta, <i>ch.</i> , ...	78, 82, 85, 86, 87		174, 177, 179
ushpiśha, ...	177	Vanditapalli, <i>vi.</i> , ...	194
Ūtarachha, <i>s.a.</i> Utraj, ...	206, 207	Vaṅga or Vaṅgavolu, <i>s.a.</i> Ongole, ...	10
utprākshālamkāra, ...	135n	Vaṅgipurattār, <i>family name</i> , ...	300n
Utraj, <i>vi.</i> , ...	207	Vaṅgipurattu Bhagavān-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Uttamabhadra, <i>co.</i> , ...	79, 81	Vaṅgra, <i>vi.</i> , ...	238
Uttamapāṣaiyam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	319	Varadarāja, <i>m.</i> , ...	317
Uttara-Madburā, <i>vi.</i> , ...	126n, 128	Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	317
Uttaramallūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	293, 294	Varaguṇa, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , ...	274n, 294, 319
uttaramantrin, <i>prime minister</i> , ...	320	Varaguṇamaṅgai, <i>vi.</i> , ...	294
utthāna-dvādasi, ...	308, 315	varaha, <i>a pagoda</i> , ...	126, 129, 130, 136
uvachcha or ōchcha, <i>s.a.</i> ōja, ...	140n	varahagadyāna, <i>s.a.</i> gadyāna, ...	130
Uyyakkonḍa-valanāḍu, <i>di.</i> , ...	300, 305	Varāhamihira, <i>astronomer</i> , ...	41n
V		Varāhi, <i>f.</i> , ...	79
Vaḍagalai, ...	305n	Varāhōṭaka, <i>s.a.</i> Bhārōḍā, ...	189
Vaḍagalai-Guruparamparāprabhāva, ...	305n	Vardhamāna, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208
Vāḍapalli, <i>vi.</i> , ...	13	Vārisēpa or ōshēpa, <i>do.</i> , ...	208
Vadaviha, <i>vi.</i> , ...	139n, 151	varman, <i>ending of Kshatriya names</i> , ...	28n
Vādibhakaṇṭhīrava, <i>sur. of</i> Ajitasēna, ...	17	varṇas, the four, ...	61
Vādibhasimha, <i>do.</i> , ...	17	varṣā, the rainy season, ...	31
Vādikōlāhala, <i>sur. of</i> Padmanābha, ...	17	varshagrānṭhi, <i>an anniversary</i> , ...	204
Vāghelā, <i>family</i> , ...	201, 205	vasahi, <i>s.a.</i> vasati, ...	200n
Vāgvijaya, <i>m.</i> , ...	305n add.	Vasantalilā, <i>f.</i> , ...	100
Vāhirahadi, <i>di.</i> , ...	206	Vasantarāja, <i>sur. of</i> Kumārāgiri, ...	11
Vaichaya, <i>s.a.</i> Baicha I., ...	17	Vasantatilakā, <i>metre</i> , ...	26
Vaidya, <i>family</i> , ...	318, 319n, 320	Vasantōtsava, the spring festival, ...	12, 98n
Vaidyanāthasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , ...	270, 271	vasati, <i>a Jaina temple</i> , ...	200n
Vaijayanti, <i>lexicon</i> , ...	30n	Vāsava, <i>s.a.</i> Indra, ...	214
Vaijayanti, <i>s.a.</i> Banavāsī, ...	29, 147, 148	Vāsiṣṭha, <i>rishi</i> , ...	201, 205, 215
Vaikunṭha-Perumāḷ, <i>te.</i> , ...	293	Vāsiṣṭha, <i>te.</i> , ...	206
Vairamēgha, <i>sur. of</i> Dantidurga, ...	294n	Vāsiṭhi, <i>Andhra queen</i> , ...	59, 95
Vaisākha, <i>year</i> , ...	31n	vassa, ...	82, 90
Vaishnava, 206n, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295n,		vāstavya, <i>a resident</i> , ...	238
	300, 305n, 318n, 319	Vastupāla, <i>m.</i> , 200, 201, 203, 205, 208, 214,	
Vaiśya, <i>caste</i> , ...	29n, 75		215, 216, 217, 218, 219
Vaiśya, <i>tribe</i> , ...	41, 46	Vāsu, <i>f.</i> , ...	94
Vajaimhāchchāsāṭhi-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151	Vasudēva, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	216
Vākāṭaka, <i>family</i> , ...	27	Vāsudēva, <i>Kushāna k.</i> , ...	175n
Vākpatirāja, <i>sur. of</i> Muñjadēva, ...	99n	Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Valabhi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	47n, 149n, 188	Vasushka, <i>Kushāna k.</i> , ...	178n
Valaura-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151, 157	vāṭaka or pāṭaka, <i>ending of village names</i> , ...	285
Vālīśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	264, 268, 271	Vāṭamukha, <i>s.a.</i> Ōḍhēm, ...	183, 184
Vallimalai, <i>hill</i> , ...	318n	Vāṭapura, <i>vi.</i> , ...	183
Vāṇa-Kaiyilāya-Tirumalai, <i>shrine</i> , ...	9	Vāṭrabhaṭṭi, <i>m.</i> , ...	189, 190
Vāpamāmalai, <i>s.a.</i> Nāṅgunēri, ...	318n	Vāṭsarāja, <i>Sīṅara prince</i> , ...	149
Vānapuram, <i>sur. of</i> Tiruvallam, ...	28n	Vāṭsiputra, <i>Buddhist patriarch</i> , ...	172
		Vāṭsiputrika, <i>s.a.</i> Vāṭsiputriya, ...	172
		Vāṭsiputriya, <i>school of Buddhist monks</i> , ...	172
		Vayajukā, <i>f.</i> , ...	201, 214

	PAGE		PAGE
Vayiramōgaṇ, <i>biruda of Dantippōttaraśar</i> , ...	293, 294	Veṅkeṭagiri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	11
Vayiramōga-taṭāka, <i>tank</i> , ...	293, 294	Veṅkaṭapati, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	291
Vēda, ...	28, 34, 288	Vēnūr, <i>vi.</i> , ...	123, 129
Vēdagōmapurattār, <i>family name</i> , ...	300n	Vēppēri, <i>vi.</i> , ...	291
Vēdagōmapurattu Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306	Veshārupādi, <i>s.a. Veysarpādi</i> , ...	291n
Vēdagōmapurattu Tiruvaraṅga-Nārāyaṇa- bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306	Veysarpādi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	291
Vēdamārga, ...	300, 305	vichāra-kartṛi, <i>a supervisor</i> , ...	122n
Vēdāṅgas, the six, ...	34n, 183, 308, 315	Vichāraśrēṇi, <i>name of a work</i> , ...	202
Vēdāntadēsika, <i>Vaiṣṇava āchārya</i> , ...	305n	Vidabha, <i>co.</i> , ...	61
Vēdāranyam, <i>vi.</i> , 264, 265, 266, 269, 271, 272, 273		Vidagḍha, <i>m.</i> , ...	100
Vēdāranyēśvara, <i>te.</i> , 264, 265, 266, 269, 271, 272, 273		Viddhaśālabhaṇḍikā, <i>nāṭikā</i> , ...	98n
Vēdas and śākhās:—		Vidyādhanaṁjaya, <i>sur. of Hēmasēna</i> , ...	17
Riṣh, ...	33, 154n, 170, 316, 317	Vidyādhara, <i>demi-gods</i> , ...	62, 230
Bahvriṣha, ...	154	Vidyādhara, <i>m.</i> , ...	158, 159
Śāṅkhāyana, ...	154	vidyādhikārin, ...	12
Sāman, ...	33, 238	Vidyānātha, <i>author</i> , ...	101
Chhandōga, ...	236, 238	Vidyāranya, ...	305n
Yajus, ...	33, 79, 147, 148, 230, 316, 317	Vighnēśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	270
Charaka, ...	79	viḥāra, ...	89, 172, 178
Kāṭha, ...	183	viḥaramāṇa, ...	208n
Taittirīya, ...	163	viḥārasvāmin, ...	73
Vājasanēya, ...	155, 189, 194, 195	Vijayabhūpāla, °bhūpati, °bhūbbhuj, °rāj or °rāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	307, 308, 315
Vājasanēyi-Mādhyaṇḍina or Mādhyaṇ- dina-Vājasanēya, ...	140, 194, 288	Vijaya-Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	144, 145, 146
Vēdēśvara-ghaṭṭa, ...	152	Vijayachandra, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	149
Vēgavati, <i>ri.</i> , ...	8	Vijayāditya, <i>W. Gaṅga prince</i> , ...	55
Vējayanti or °nti, <i>vi.</i> , ...	72	Vijayādityadēva, <i>Kadamba ch.</i> , ...	126n
Velama, <i>caste</i> , ...	11	Vijaya-Īśvaravarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava k.</i> , ...	292
Vēlaṅguḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	318n	Vijayanagara, <i>vi.</i> , 12, 16, 17, 127, 129, 290, 291, 298, 299, 300, 305n, 307, 308n	
vēli, <i>land measure</i> , ...	298, 305	Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava k.</i> , ...	292
Velidāta, <i>m.</i> , ...	90	Vijayarāyapura or °rāṭpura, <i>sur. of Nipatatāka</i> , 308, 316	
Vēlsārru, <i>s.a. Veysarpādi</i> , ...	291n	Vijayasēnasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , 203, 205, 218, 219	
Velugōṭi, <i>family</i> , ...	11	Vijayasiddhi, <i>sur. of Maṅgiyavarāja</i> , ...	237
Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali, <i>Telugu poem</i> , ...	11, 12, 13	Vijayasimha, <i>Guhila ch.</i> , ...	202
Vēma, <i>m.</i> , ...	11	Vijaya-Śiva-Mādhātṛivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	147
Vēma, <i>Reḍḍi ch.</i> , ...	11	Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman, <i>do.</i> , ...	147
Vēma, <i>Reḍḍi k.</i> , ...	9, 10, 11, 12	Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	144, 145, 146
Vēma, <i>s.a. Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma</i> , ...	12, 13	Vijayaśrī, <i>s.a. Pārijātamañjari</i> , ...	98, 100, 101
Vēma, <i>s.a. Pōlaya-Vēma</i> , ...	13	Vijayasudarśanapuram, <i>sur. of Śoraikāvūr</i> , 298, 305	
Vēmapuram, <i>sur. of Ātukūru</i> , ...	10	Vijayēśvara-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	316
Vēmasāni, <i>Reḍḍi princess</i> , ...	10	Vikrama-Chōla, <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	1, 2, 260, 262, 263
Vēmaya or Vēma, <i>Reḍḍi k.</i> , ...	9, 10	Vikrama-Chōla-vaṇaṇḍu, <i>sur. of Pulakōṭṭam</i> , 291n	
Vēṅgaḍanātha-dikshita, <i>m.</i> , ...	316	Vikramāditya I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , ...	230, 231
Vēṅgi, <i>co.</i> , ...	149n	Vikramāditya II., <i>do.</i> , ...	292
Vēṇi, <i>confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges</i> , ...	151	Vikramāditya V., <i>do.</i> , ...	25n
Vēṅkaṭa I., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	127	Vikramāditya VI., <i>do.</i> , ...	101
		Vikramāṅkadēvacharitam, <i>poem</i> , ...	101, 285n

	PAGE
Vikrama-Śāntara, <i>Śāntara k.</i> , ...	126n
Vikrama-Śāntara II., <i>Vishnukundin k.</i> , ...	26, 28n
Vilāsaśarmā, <i>m.</i> , ...	163
Vilūṣam, <i>vi.</i> , ...	319n
Vinayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , ...	231
Vināyaka, <i>s.a. Gaṇeśa</i> , ...	314
Vindhya, <i>mo.</i> , ...	61
Vindhyagiri, <i>hill</i> , ...	15, 17
Vinḥupāla (Vishnupāla), <i>m.</i> , ...	67, 70, 71
Vinḥupālita, <i>m.</i> , ...	71, 72
vinibandhakāra, ...	70
Vira, <i>m.</i> , ...	75
Vira-Bairarasa-Voḍeya, <i>Kaṣa-Kārkāla ch.</i> , ...	128, 129
Vira-Ballāla II., <i>Hoysala k.</i> , ...	101
Vira-Balludēva, <i>Kaṣa-Kārkāla ch.</i> , ...	127
Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, <i>do.</i> , ...	129n
Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, <i>s.a. Bhairava II.</i> , ...	128
Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, <i>Kaṣa-Kārkāla ch.</i> , ...	127
Vira-Bhayirasa-Voḍeya, <i>do.</i> , ...	127
Viraśūḍāmaṇi, <i>sur. of Arjunavarman</i> , ...	99
Viradhavala, <i>Vāghēlā k.</i> , ...	200, 201, 202, 205, 215, 218
viragal, ...	319n
Vira-Gummatādevī, <i>s.a. Gummatāmbā</i> , ...	127
Vira-Hariharaśāya, <i>s.a. Harihara II.</i> , ...	298, 305
Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> , ...	309n
virāma, ...	97, 139, 201
Viraṃgaṇalappērāmaśāy, <i>sur. of Mūrti Eyiṇa</i> , ...	319n
Vira-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra, <i>ch.</i> , ...	126, 134
Vira-Nārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Kōmaṭi-Vēma</i> , ...	11
Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>ch.</i> , ...	125, 128
Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , ...	8
Virarājendra, <i>Chōla k.</i> , ...	261
Virarājendra-Chōlādēva, <i>s.a. Kulōttunga-Chōla III.</i> , ...	260, 264, 265
Vira-Rudra, <i>s.a. Prātāparudra</i> , ...	9
Viraśarman, <i>m.</i> , ...	34
Viraśāparvan, ...	35n
Viraśāra-maṇḍalin, <i>m.</i> , ...	195
Viraśāśāśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	8, 281, 283
Viravarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	160, 162
Vira-Viruppappa-Uḍaiyar, <i>s.a. Virūpāksha</i> , ...	298, 305
Viriñchipuram, <i>vi.</i> , ...	308
Virūpāksha, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , ...	298, 299, 300, 305, 306
Viśalādēva, <i>Vāghēlā k.</i> , ...	202
visarga, ...	25, 38, 97, 143n, 183
Viśeṣajūa, <i>m.</i> , ...	317

	PAGE
Vishṇu, <i>god</i> , ...	9, 17, 24, 134, 214, 216n, 230, 242, 294n, 305, 308, 315, 316, 318, 320
Vishṇudata, <i>m.</i> , ...	95
Vishṇudattā, <i>f.</i> , ...	89
Vishṇugōpa or Vishṇugōpavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , ...	160, 162
Vishṇupura, <i>vi.</i> , ...	139n, 151
Vishṇu-purāṇa, ...	35n, 48n, 62
Vishṇu-smṛiti, <i>quoted</i> , ...	47n
Vishṇuvardhana, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , ...	135n
Vishṇuvardhana I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , ...	25n, 237
Vishṇuvardhana II., <i>do.</i> , ...	237, 238, 240
Vishṇuvarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , ...	30, 31
Viśvanātha, <i>te.</i> , ...	282
Viśvavarman, <i>m.</i> , ...	80
Vitarāga, <i>s.a. Jina</i> , ...	124, 134
Vīṭiyya, <i>m.</i> , ...	59
Vivika, <i>m.</i> , ...	157
Vōpadēva, <i>m.</i> , ...	94
Vriddhapuriśvara, <i>te.</i> , ...	281
Vri(bri)hadgrihōkamisāra-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151
Vri(bri)hagrihō[yō?]varaṭha-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151
Vriśabbhānujā, <i>nāṭikā</i> , ...	98n
vṛiti, <i>s.a. vēli</i> , ...	305
Vudhika, <i>m.</i> , ...	95, 96
vyākaraṇa, ...	183
Vyāsa, <i>rishi</i> , ...	160, 163, 288, 291n
vyāyōga, ...	203

W

Wapi, <i>vi.</i> , ...	184
wārā, <i>s.a. vāṭaka</i> , ...	285
Warangal, <i>vi.</i> , ...	11
wheel of Buddhist law, ...	166
winter, ...	94, 95, 171, 172, 173, 176, 179

Y

Yādava, <i>dy.</i> , ...	8, 183, 299
Yadu, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	8, 307, 315
Yajñamūrti-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Yajñanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	316
Yajñātma-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , ...	306
Yajñavalkya[smṛiti], <i>quoted</i> , ...	283n
yajñavidyā, ...	183
Yaksha, ...	62, 93, 125n
Yakṣiṇī, ...	125n
Yama, <i>god</i> , ...	152n
Yamunā (Jumna), <i>vi.</i> , ...	151
Yānasiri-Sātakani, <i>Audhra k.</i> , ...	68

	PAGE		PAGE
Yasôdhavala, <i>Paramâra k.</i> , ...	201, 216	Yempeya-hole, <i>stream</i> , ...	136
Yasôvarman, <i>do.</i> , ...	202	Yimmañi-Bhairasa-Odeya, <i>Kaṭasa-Kārkaṭa</i>	
Yasôvigraha, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , ...	150n	<i>ch.</i> , ...	127, 128
Yaudhēya, <i>dy.</i> , ...	41, 47	yôga :—	
[Ya?]vaala-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , ...	151	Vaidhṛiti, ...	299, 305
Yavana, ...	41, 47, 61, 73, 91, 178	Yudhishtira, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	230
Yayāti, <i>mythical k.</i> , ...	61	Yugamdharaśvāmin, <i>Jaina saint</i> , ...	208
years of the cycle :—		yuvamahārāja, ...	144, 145, 146, 160, 162
Chitrabhānu, ...	7	yuvārāja, 31, 149, 152, 155, 160, 184, 202, 203,	
Krôdhin, ...	308, 315		230, 231
Kshaya, ...	299, 305, 306n		
Manmatha, ...	13		
Paridhāvin, ...	52		
Pārthiva, ...	10		
Prabhava, ...	306		
Siddhārthin, ...	56n		
Śubhakṛit, ...	17, 24		
Tāraṇa, ...	300		
Viḷambin, ...	129n		
Vyaya, ...	124, 134, 300		
years of the reign, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 25,			
31, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67, 72, 74,			
82, 83, 89, 94, 95, 139, 140, 147, 148, 160,			
161, 163, 167, 171, 173, 175n, 176, 179,			
181, 182, 233, 236, 238, 261, 262, 263,			
264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271,			
272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279,			
280, 281, 282, 283, 291n, 293, 296, 318, 319			

Z

Zodiac, signs of the :—

Dhanus, ...	266, 269, 272, 276
Kanyā, ...	7, 280
Karkāṭaka, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 273,	
	277, 278, 279, 281, 282
Kumbha, ...	2, 3, 5, 6, 267, 270, 283
Makara, ...	4, 8, 9, 261, 265, 270,
	271, 272, 273, 274, 281, 282n, 283
Mēsha, ...	3, 5, 6, 7, 262, 267, 275, 280, 281
Mīna, ...	3, 264, 267, 276, 277, 283
Mithuna, ...	4, 269, 271, 272
Ṛishabha, ...	262, 265, 268, 273
Sirbha, ...	1, 2, 7, 263, 268, 271, 277, 279, 280
Tulā, ...	6, 275
Vṛiśchika, ...	2, 5, 266, 270, 279

